



EFRAIM KARSH

Contact: efraim.karsh@kcl.ac.uk; efka48@gmail.com;
karsh@besacenter.org

PRESENT POSITIONS

- Director, [Begin-Sadat Center for Strategic Studies](#), Bar-Ilan University
- Professor Emeritus of Middle East and Mediterranean Studies, King's College London. [Personal website](#)
- Professor of Political Studies, [Bar-Ilan University](#)
- Principal Research Fellow, [Middle East Forum](#), Philadelphia

PREVIOUS POSITIONS

- Professor of Middle East and Mediterranean Studies, King's College London, 1996-October 2014
- Founding Director, [Middle East & Mediterranean Studies](#), King's College London, 1994-2010 (currently Institute of Middle Eastern Studies): Offers postgraduate research and teaching on the history, politics, economics and international relations of the Middle East and the Mediterranean. Currently includes 12 fulltime members of staff, 18 visiting fellows, and some 200 students
- Director, Middle East Forum, Philadelphia, 2011-12
- Reader (Associate Professor) in War Studies, King's College London, 1992-96
- Lecturer (Assistant Professor) in War Studies, King's College London, 1989-92
- Senior Research Fellow, Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies, Tel-Aviv University (currently the Institute for National Security Studies), 1984-89
- Lecturer (Assistant Professor) in Political Science, Tel-Aviv University, 1986-89
- Director of Studies in International Relations, Israel's Open University, 1982-85
- Intelligence Analyst, Israel Defense Forces (IDF), attained rank of Major, 1974-81

VISITING POSITIONS

- First Nachshon Visiting Professor in Israel Studies, Harvard University, Fall Semester 2003
- Starr Fellow in Jewish Studies, Harvard University, Spring Semester 2003
- Visiting Professor, Universite Assas 2, Sorbonne, Fall 1999
- Visiting Professor of Political Science, Columbia University, Summer Semester, 1989, 1990

- Research Fellow, Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies, Wilson Center, Washington D.C., February 1988
- Participant in the International Visitor Program, U.S. Information Agency (USIA), January 1988
- Visiting Scholar, London School of Economics and Political Science, University of London, Summer 1987
- Research Associate, International Institute for Strategic Studies, London, 1985-86
- Visiting Scholar, University of Helsinki, Spring Semester 1985

EDUCATION

- **Ph.D.** Tel-Aviv University, 1985—International Relations
- **M.A.** Tel-Aviv University, 1980—International Relations
- **B.A.** Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1975—Arabic Language and Culture & Modern History of the Middle East

SELECT GRANTS

- Hertog Foundation (New York), 2007-10: \$270,000 for researching *Palestine Betrayed* (Yale University Press, 2010; paperback 2011)
- Littman Trust (Geneva), 2005: £10,000 for the study of radical Islam
- Committee for Central and Inner Asia, Cambridge University, 2002: £1,500 in support of a study on the former Soviet Muslim republics
- British Academy, 1994: £5,000 for researching *Empires of the Sand* (Harvard University Press, 1999; paperback 2001)
- Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC), 1990-91: £62,000 for directing a project on *Non-Conventional Weapons Proliferation in the Middle East* (published by Oxford University Press, 1993)

PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES

- Editor, [*Middle East Quarterly*](#) (refereed journal), 2010-
- Founding Editor, [*Israel Affairs*](#) (refereed journal), 1994-
- Founding Editor, [*Routledge Series in Israeli History, Politics, and Society*](#), 1994-. Over 60 books published.
- Referee for academic journals, including *American Political Science Review*; *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*; *Armed Forces & Society*; *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*; *Bulletin of Peace Proposals*; *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*; *Cogent Social Sciences*; *Cold War History*; *Conflict Quarterly*; *Diplomacy and Statecraft*; *Environmental Politics*; *European Journal of International Relations*; *Imperial and Commonwealth History*; *International Affairs*; *International History Review*; *International Security*; *International Studies Quarterly*; *Journal of Cold War Studies*; *Journal of Conflict Resolution*; *Journal of Contemporary History*; *Journal of Eurasian Studies*; *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*; *Journal of Military History*; *Journal of Peace Research*; *Journal of Strategic Studies*; *Journal of the Royal Geographic Society*; *Mediterranean Politics*; *Middle Eastern Journal*; *Millennium*; *Nations and Nationalism*; *The New East*; *Political Psychology*; *Political Science Quarterly*; *Review of International Studies*; *Security Dialogue*; *War in History*
- Referee for grant-awarding organizations, including the AHRC, the British Academy, ESRC, EURIAS, Leverhulme Trust, the U.S. Institute for Peace, and the Israel Science Foundation (ISF).

- Consultant/referee to publishers in the fields of modern history, international relations, and strategic affairs, as well as Middle Eastern and Israeli history, politics, and society. These include Harvard, Yale, Princeton, Oxford, Cambridge, and Columbia University Presses, Routledge, MacMillan, Simon & Schuster, HarperCollins, The Free Press, Lexington, Palgrave, I.B. Tauris, Frank Cass, and Valentine Mitchell
- Membership in academic and professional boards, including Board of Directors of the *International Journal of Political Science & Diplomacy*; *Journal of Contemporary European Antisemitism*; *Military and Strategic Affairs Journal*; Berlin International Center for the Study of Anti-Semitism (ICSA); Association of Israel Studies (AIS); Canadian Institute for Jewish Research (CIJR); Board of Directors of Scholars for Peace in the Middle East (SPME); Advisory Board of the Centre for Near Eastern Studies, School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS); International Advisory Board for Academic Freedom (IAB), Bar-Ilan University; Research Board of the Institute for Jewish Policy Research (London); and the International Advisory Board of the scholarly Turkish journal *Review of International Law and Politics*
- Media appearances in all main radio and television networks in the United Kingdom and the United States, among other countries, including such programs as *Nightline* (ABC) and its British counterpart *Newsnight* (BBC 2), *Q & A* (CNN), *48 Hours* (CBS), *TV AM* (ITN), *The Sunday Programme* (LWT) *The World Today* (BBC World Service), *All Things Considered* (US National Public Radio), and *The Larry King Show*
- Newspaper and magazine articles and op-ed pieces, including *The New York Times*, *The New York Times Magazine*, *The Wall Street Journal*, *The New Republic*, *Commentary Magazine*, *The International Herald Tribune*, *Los Angeles Times*, *The New York Sun*, *The National Post* (Canada), *The London Times*, *The Sunday Times*, *The Daily Telegraph*, *The Sunday Telegraph*, *The Spectator*, *The Scotsman*, *The Jerusalem Post*, *Die Zeit*, *Der Spiegel*, *Welt am Sonntag*, *Daily Star* (Lebanon), *Irish Times*, *Die Weltwoche* (Switzerland), *El Pais*, *Maariv*, and *Haaretz*
- Consultant on Middle Eastern affairs to the British Ministry of Defence (MOD) and the Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO), as well as to national and international economic companies/organizations; briefed several parliamentary committees, such as the House of Commons Defence Committee
- Advisor to leading law firms on substantial insurance claims attending Middle Eastern and/or African conflicts and wars
- Addressed numerous forums and institutions worldwide, including Oxford, Cambridge, Columbia, and Harvard universities, the Sorbonne, the International Institute for Strategic Studies, the Royal Institute of International Affairs, the Swedish Institute of International Affairs, the Finnish Institute of International Affairs, the American Enterprise Institute, Australian National University, the universities of Sydney, Monash, and South Wales, the Australian Institute of International Affairs (Sydney), Australian Defense Academy (Canberra)

COURSES TAUGHT

- The Making of the Modern Middle East, 1789-1923
- A History of the Mediterranean Peoples
- War and Peace in the Middle East
- The March of Folly
- Nation and Empire
- A History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict

- A History of Modern Israel
- Israeli Defense and Foreign Policies
- U.S. Policy in the Middle East and the Mediterranean
- Introduction to International Relations
- Geography and International Relations
- The Small State in the International System
- Problems in Regional Security
- Russia and the Middle East from Peter the Great to Putin
- Soviet Military and Strategic Thinking

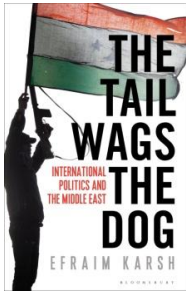
KING'S COLLEGE DOCTORAL THESES COMPLETED UNDER MY SUPERVISION

- Aaron Stein (2015): "Kilowatts or Kilotons: Turkey and Iran's Nuclear Choices"
- Michal Shavit-Fradkin (2015): "The Mediatization of the Israeli Defense Forces, 2000-2012" (Published as *Media Strategy and Military Operations in the 21st Century: Mediatizing the Israel Defense Forces*, London, Routledge, 2017).
- Noam Hartoch (2015): "Evolution of the Syrian Air Force, 1946-67"
- Doron Pely (2014): "How Sulha Works" (Published as *Muslim/Arab Mediation and Conflict Resolution: Understanding Sulha*, London, Routledge, 2016).
- Dana Barnett (2014): "Post-Zionism and Israeli Universities"
- Sterling Jensen (2014): "Iraqi Narratives of the Anbar Insurgency"
- Tabish Shah (2014): "The East-West Discourse and Political Behaviour: A Longitudinal Approach to Islamism Through Linguistic, Behavioural, and Neurological Deconstruction"
- Asaf Romirwosky (2012): "Palestine Refugee Relief before UNRWA" (Published as *Religion, Politics, and the Origin of Palestine Refugee Relief*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).
- Michael Sharnoff (2012): "Gamal Abdel Nasser's Responses to Peace Immediately after the 1967 War"
- Jonathan Schanzer (2010): "The Republican Task Force on Terrorism: A History 1989-2001"
- Gil Samsonov (2010): "Intergenerational Relations in Israel's Likud Party" (Published as *Hanesichim*, Tel Aviv, Dvir, 2015).
- Luigi Reale (2009): "Jewish Internment in Italian Concentration Camps in WWII" (Published as *Mussolini's Concentration Camps for Civilians: an Insight into the Nature of Fascist Racism*, London, Valentine Mitchell, 2011).
- Howard Patten (2008): "Not So Strange Bedfellows: Israel's Policy of the Periphery at the United Nations" (Published as *Israel and the Cold War: Diplomacy, Strategy, and the Policy of Periphery at the United Nations*, London & New York, Tauris & Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).
- Andrew Roe (2008): "From the Annexation of the Punjab to the Pursuit of the Fakir of Ipi: British Challenges & Responses on the North-West Frontier, 1849-1947" (Published as *Waging War in Waziristan: the British Struggle in the Land of Bin Laden 1849-1947*, Lawrence, University of Kansas Press, 2010).
- Damla Aras (2008): "The Turkish-Syria Crisis, 1998: A Case Study"
- Eleni Stavrou (2008): "Greece and the Arab World during the Papandreou Era 1981-1989" (Published as *A Pioneering Vision: Greek-Arab Relations during the Papandreou Era 1981-1989*, Athens, Papazisis Publishers, 2010).

- Walter Rothschild (2007): “The Development of the Railway System in Mandatory Palestine”
- Ella Akerman (2007): “Russia’s Policy toward Iraq 1991-2003”
- Peter deNeufville (2006): “Ahmad Shah Masoud and the North Afghan Uprising”
- Hidayet Erbil (2006): “Turkey’s Foreign Policy in the Post-Cold War Era”
- David Shiek (2005): “Development of the Israeli Navy 1948-2000”
- Udi Lebel (2003): “The Politics of Commemoration: The Case of Israel” (Published as *Politics of Memory: the Israeli Underground’s Struggle for Inclusion in the National Pantheon and Military Commemoration*, London, Routledge, 2013 & *Haderekh el ha-Pante’on*, Jerusalem, Karmel, 2007).
- Raqueul Shaul (2002): “The Making of Japan's Middle Eastern Policy 1974-2000”
- Hassan Abedin (2002): “Abdul Aziz al-Saud and the Great Game in Arabia, 1896-1946”
- Sedat Laciner (2001): “From Kemalism to Ozalism: The Ideological Evolution of Turkish Foreign Policy”
- Fiorella Seiler (2001): “King of the Armed Ghetto: Israel in the West-German National Press 1977-82”
- Robert Waller (1999): “Libya’s National Security Policy 1969-94”
- Ronen Hoffmann (1999): “The Impractical peace: Syrian-Israeli Peace Negotiations 1992-95”
- Jonathan Sless (1999): “Britain’s Policy towards Israel 1949-51”
- Rory Miller (1998): “Divided Against Zion: Anti-Zionist Opposition in Britain to a Jewish State in Palestine, 1945-48” (Published as *Divided Against Zion: Anti-Zionist Opposition in Britain to a Jewish State in Palestine, 1945-48*, London, Cass, 2000).
- Jack Cann (1996): “Portuguese Counterinsurgency Campaigns in Africa 1961-1974 : a Military Analysis” (Published as *Counterinsurgency in Africa: the Portuguese Way of War, 1961-1974*, Westport, Greenwood, 1997).
- Shimon Naveh (1995): “In Pursuit of Military Excellence: The Evolution of Operational Theory” (Published as *In Pursuit of Military Excellence: The Evolution of Operational Theory*, London, Cass, 1997).
- Andrew Rathmell (1994): “Secret War in the Middle East: The Covert Struggle for Syria, 1949-61” (Published as *Secret War in the Middle East: The Covert Struggle for Syria, 1949-61*, London & New York, Tauris & St. Martin’s Press, 1995).
- Leonard Leshuk (1994): “American Perceptions of Soviet Economic and Military Power 1921-46” (Published as *US Intelligence Perceptions of Soviet Power 1921-1946*, London, Cass, 2003).
- Alan Ray (1994): “Why Nations Intervene: The Sources of Foreign Military Intervention”
- John Fayemi (1994): “Threats, Military Expenditure and National Security: Analysis of Trends in Nigeria’s Defense Planning, 1970-90”
- Jimmy Peters (1993): “From a Constabulary to a Political Force: The Transformation of the Nigerian Military”
- James D. Smith (1992): “Stopping Wars: Defining the Obstacles to Ceasefire” (Published as *Stopping Wars: Defining the Obstacles to Ceasefire*, Boulder, Westview Press. 1995).

PUBLICATIONS: BOOKS

The Tail Wags the Dog: International Politics and the Middle East. London & New York: Bloomsbury Continuum, 2015. 256 pp.



[Access](#) via Google Books

“Karsh’s account deserves credit for granting Middle Easterners their own agency. At a time when the ills of the Middle East are so often blamed on colonialism, imperialism or “Satan” great or small, the author’s perspective is refreshing. (And in academic departments of Middle Eastern Studies, which remain in thrall of Edward Said’s theory of Orientalism, it can be close to heresy.)”—Neil Rogachevsky, [Wall Street Journal](#)

“Challenges the received wisdom that the destinies of the core Middle Eastern polities - Syria, Lebanon, Israel, Palestine, Jordan, and Iraq - were largely shaped by Britain and France who divided these spoils seized from Turkey in World War I... Cogent and compelling.”—Joshua Muravchik, [Commentary Magazine](#)

“Well-researched and knowledgeable... a welcome correction to some of the most egregious myths about the making of the modern Middle East.”—David Patrikarakos, [Newsweek](#)

“The title of his last book captures a counterintuitive theme running through Karsh’s work. He argues that the Arabs and Islam haven’t been mere corks on the international political ocean. Rather, as with the Arab Spring, they’ve played an active role in creating the waves that all the players—the big powers included—have had to respond to. Karsh understands better than anyone the local conditions and local interests that have created the currents of Middle East politics.”—Fred Siegel, [City Journal](#)

“The task of challenging and revising established conventions is one of the hallmarks of effective scholarship in the field of history. Professor Efraim Karsh, an esteemed academic and author of numerous books on Middle Eastern history and politics, sets out to accomplish exactly this purpose by declaring that the impact of the great powers on the Middle East has for years been overstated... Karsh presents a compelling case, argued with great passion and conviction [and his] arguments collectively add a thought-provoking perspective to our understanding of the Middle East.”—Jonas Kauffeldt, *History: Review of New Books*

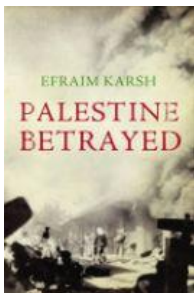
“Efraim Karsh, the venerable scholar of Middle-Eastern politics whose writing is shorn of the self-flagellating sophistry of Western academia... seeks to demolish the long-held thesis that external interference, namely by the US and before that by Britain and France, is to blame for the Middle East’s overflowing cup of woes.”—Kanchan Gupta, [Midday](#)

“A tour de force on the follies of great-power Middle East policies over the past century, down to the disastrous misconceptions and blunders of President Barack Obama.”—David Hornik, [PJ Media](#)

“[An] illuminating new history... enthralling and eye-opening for foreign policy devotees.”—[Publishers Weekly](#)

“Refutes the common notion that Middle Eastern history is based on the region’s interactions with the west, and offers a different idea: that such history has actually been formed more by trends and behavior patterns within the region than dictated by encounters from the outside... Any studying Middle East history and politics will find this different perspective refreshing and enlightening, and a ‘must’ for any real understanding of the traditional approaches and their failures.”—*The Bookwatch*

Palestine Betrayed. New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2010. 342 pp. Paperback edition: 2011.



[Access](#) via Google Books

“A brave and exceedingly important piece of work.”—David Vital, Author of *A People Apart*

“[A] tour de force.... With his customary in-depth archival research... clear presentation, and meticulous historical sensibility, Karsh confirms his status as the preeminent historian of the modern Middle East writing today.”—Daniel Pipes, [National Review](#)

“A work of meticulous, even exhaustive scholarship which must be taken with the greatest seriousness and respect by historians of diverse points of view. Indeed, any student of modern Israel will ignore at their peril its sheer cornucopia of factual revelations.”—Howard Sachar

“This is the story of the triple betrayal of Palestine by British colonial masters, Arab despots and Palestinian demagogues. A must read for anyone interested in the Middle East’s longest-running conflict.”—Amir Taheri

“[A] path breaking work of historical scholarship... Karsh has delved deeper into the British and Israeli archives - and some Arab ones - than any previous historian of the period. He deftly uses this new material to seal the case that the Nakba was, to a large extent, brought on by the Palestinians’ own leaders.”—Sol Stern, [City Journal](#)

“A thoroughly researched, sound historical account of the struggles that ensued between the Jewish and Arab communities when the British decided to leave Palestine.”—Sol Schindler, [Washington Times](#)

“Ephraim Karsh’s *Palestine Betrayed* tells in rich detail the story of the fall of the British Mandate and the rise of Israel, going a long way towards doing justice to the history at hand.”—Seth Frantzman, [Jerusalem Post](#)

“If ever a book merited the description tour de force, this is it.”—Paul monk, [Australia-Israel Review](#)

“A meticulous refutation of the twisted 1948 narrative retailed by Palestinian nationalists, [that] puts the ball squarely back in their court.”—Martin Kramer

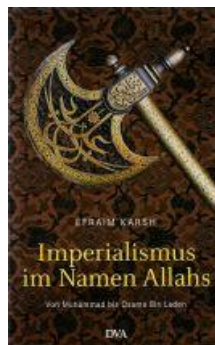
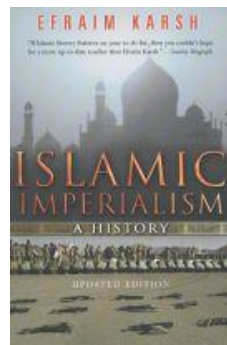
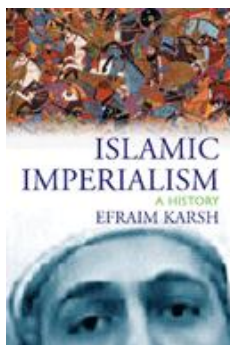
“Basing itself on Arabic as well as Western, Soviet, UN, and Israeli sources, Karsh’s is corrective history at its boldest and most thorough.”—[Jewish Ideas Daily](#)

“Definitively and brilliantly lays out the case for the historical Palestinian rejection of both a state and of a second, separate *Jewish* sovereign state.”—Phyllis Chesler, *PJ Media*

“The book makes an important contribution... to the scholarly and public debate on [the 1948 Arab-Israeli] war.”—Hillel Cohen, *American Historical Review*

“Exploiting more fully than anyone ever has the archival resources pertaining to the Arab ‘evacuation frenzy.’”—Edward Alexander, [Scholars for Peace in the Middle East](#)

Islamic Imperialism: A History. New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2006. 276 pp. Paperback edition: 2007. Revised paperback edition: 2013. German edition: *Deutsche Verlagsanstalt*, 2007



[Access](#) via Google Books

“[Ephraim Karsh] is among the few we may rank with Bernard Lewis as knowledgeable interpreters of Middle Eastern affairs from the deep historical perspective.”—David Warren, *Ottawa Citizen*

“A straightforward and thoughtful history of Islamic imperialism from the beginning: major evidence that we in the West didn’t cause it and aren’t causing it now.”—James Woolsey, CIA Director 1993-95

“A vigorous refutation of the oversimplified analysis of Middle Eastern woes which piles responsibility for all these troubles on the West and its imperialist policies, past and continuing... It is refreshing to have the case so trenchantly argued... Ephraim Karsh’s narrative in *Islamic Imperialism* does much to explain the frustrated, irrational nature of so

much of contemporary Islam's engagement with the modern world. His analysis will not convince western liberals with minds fixated on their own guilt, let alone any Muslims, but he has performed a signal service in providing an explanation for much of what has been going on in the Middle East during the last century or so."—Edmund Bosworth, *Times Literary Supplement*

"Karsh is a skilful historian with a knack for finding illuminating quotes in original source materials. He writes engagingly. His narrative is well-paced and clear."—Malise Ruthven, *Sunday Times*

"[Karsh] has produced an impeccable history of how the Muslim mainstream has behaved towards its neighbors... The chapters on the Ottomans and Iran...are masterpieces of concise historical writing.... I could not recommend this magnificent effort of reportage and analysis more highly. It ought to be not only on our shelves, but also on our desks and bedside tables. Efraim Karsh, Professor of Mediterranean Studies at King's College London, is well on his way toward claiming the crown of a new generation of scholars of Islam and I wish him luck. We need him. In Muslim lands, his book ought to be translated into every local language and distributed free of charge. Alas, it will be banned."—Hazhir Teimourian, *Literary Review*

"Anyone interested in the debate about the place of Islam in the modern world should read this book... Karsh offers a new approach. He rejects the condescending approach of the apologists and the hateful passion of the Islamophobes. Instead he presents Islam as a rival for Western civilization in what is, after all, a contest for shaping of mankind... Muslims readers would respect him because, while he designates Islam as an adversary, he respects them. Being disliked for the right reasons is better than being liked for the wrong ones.... What does Islam want? Karsh poses the question and answers it unambiguously: it wants to reshape the world after its own fashion just as Christianity did in its heyday. The message is clear: the world would do well to take Islam's ambitions seriously."—Amir Taheri, *Sunday Telegraph*

"Only a shrewd and talented revisionist, a professor with curiosity and nerve, could take on the clichés of Middle East scholarship and insist that they be reconsidered. That describes Efraim Karsh, a much-published and much-admired professor at the University of London. His new book, *Islamic Imperialism: A History* (Yale University Press), deserves serious consideration by anyone who cares about this debate. He challenges not only our favorite ideas about the Middle East but even our notions of imperialism... Muslims should respect Karsh, if only because he respects them. He sees them as subjects in history, not objects; they are actors on the world stage making their own decisions about their future."—Robert Fulford, *National Post*

"In his nervy, tightly documented *Islamic Imperialism*, Karsh challenges scholars and Muslim leaders to refute his own picture of Islam: an imperialist seventh-century Arabic movement that forced itself on neighboring lands such as today's Pakistan, Iran, Iraq, Syria and Egypt for secular colonialist payoffs - money, booty, territory."—Carlin Roman, *Philadelphia Inquirer*

“In *Islamic Imperialism* Efraim Karsh argues for the existence of an Islamic imperial drive and traces it from Muhammad’s time to current Islamist aggressions. One can hardly imagine a thesis with larger implications for prosecuting the war on terror.”—Daniel Pipes

“The originality of Karsh’s interpretation is its underlying assumption that Islam was, from the very beginning, a pretext for personal and dynastic political ambition, from the razzias against the Meccan caravans and the expulsion of Jewish tribes from Medina, to the siege of Vienna a millennium later in 1529, and Hamas today.”—Theodore Dalrymple, [City Journal](#)

“[This book] turns on its head conventional wisdom that the Arab world is a perpetual victim—whether of Western foreign policy, or of its own incompetence.”—Miriam Shaviv, *Jewish Chronicle*

“The book is timely as well as polemical... a work deserving to be read for its penetrating analyses of the long history of Islam as an expanding and proselytizing faith.”—Robert L. Tignor, *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*

“Lively, clearly written and well-researched account... The crisp manner with which he disposes of accepted wisdom will delight the reader. And in laying to rest the victim theory, he restores a measure of dignity to the Middle East.”—Ralph Amelan, *Jerusalem Post*

“Karsh’s thesis is disclosed in the book’s arresting title. From its beginnings, he argues, Islam was a creed that made no separation between temporal and religious power. Mohammed never thought of ruling solely in men’s hearts: he ruled in Medina. He set out to conquer the Arab world, and he laid down a justification for all conquest everywhere... I like Karsh’s robust refusal to accept Muslim history as a sob story against us in the West. His narrative helps explain the rage and the sheer hopelessness of so much Muslim engagement with modern politics.”—Charles Moore, *Daily Telegraph*

“If Islamic history features on your to-do list, you couldn’t hope for a more up to date teacher than Efraim Karsh, who offers a new approach to the place of Islam in today’s world and a new look at the Crusades with *Islamic Imperialism*.”—*Sunday Telegraph*, Summer Book Selection

“Since September 11, 2001, I have read many books about Islam but had not been able to find one that explains the history of Islam in terms accessible to non-specialists like me. I found that book in 2006. It is “Islamic Imperialism: A History” (Yale University Press, 288 pages, \$30) by Efraim Karsh. The book succinctly describes the rise and spread of Islam over the centuries and relates that history to the present state of world affairs. It is well written and amply documented. I highly recommend it.”—Diane Ravitch, *New York Sun*, Best Books of 2006

“A brisk, dense history of Islam for its origins to modern times... most persuasive.”—Jack Carrigan, *Catholic Herald*

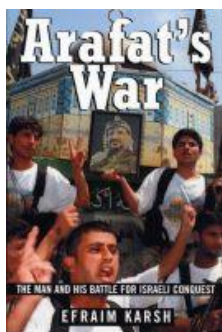
“Confronted by the threat of Islamist terrorism, the West still does not know its enemy. Efraim Karsh’s new book is a scholarly, readable, and persuasive attempt to enlighten us before it is too late. His thesis is simple: we have not paid enough attention to the history and ideology of Islamic imperialism.... The sobering message of this fine book will be dismissed by many Muslims merely on the pretext that its author is Jewish. The fact is, however, that the greatest experts on the Islamic world, from Ignaz Goldziher to Bernard Lewis, have very often been Jewish. Even if the House of Islam won’t face up to its own history, those in the firing line would be foolish not to know what they are up against.”—Daniel Johnson, *American Spectator*

“One of the few indispensable books on Islam.”—Dennis Prager, *Real Clear Politics*

“A fascinating read.”—Ian Pinder, *Guardian*

“Sachbuch der Woche” (Non-Fiction Book of the Week: German edition).—*Österreich* (Austria)

Arafat's War: The Man and his Battle for Israeli Conquest. New York: Grove, 2003. 296 pp (hardcover & paperback). Hebrew edition: Maariv, 2004



[Access](#) via Google Books

“Jews and Arabs have argued for years about who killed the Oslo peace process. Efraim Karsh’s **Arafat’s War** is a book to settle the argument. Yasser Arafat, the author shows us, isn't simply an ordinary thug. He is an inveterate terrorist addicted to bloodshed the way other men take to alcohol or heroin. His single, non-negotiable objective has remained constant: the complete destruction of the Jewish state.... The savage battle between Palestinians and Israelis is often presented as if it were historically predestined. But in this eye-opening and exhaustively researched book, Karsh shows us that it is in large part the product of a single man's pathological will. “—Jonathan Kay, *New York Post*

“Definitive and depressing indictment of a corrupt and brutal man who bears responsibility for the fact that there is no independent Palestinian state alongside Israel.”—Oliver Kamm

“A brilliant and concise analysis of Arafat’s ideology, and the policies of his PLO towards Israel... A must read for all those interested in the possibilities for peace and democracy in a

vitally important part of the world. Karsh's writing is clear and lively, and his research is astonishing."—Anders Lewis, *FrontPageMagazine.com*

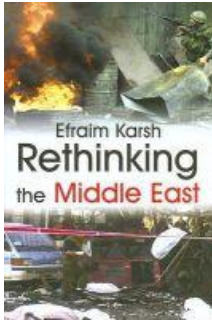
"Karsh's book may well have been titled 'The Case Against Arafat.' He dwells briefly on Arafat's boyhood, his early misadventures, his first murder (the account here, described by an eyewitness, is chilling), his struggle to gain absolute mastery of the Palestinian cause, and his sojourns - both of which ended violently - in Jordan and Lebanon. Most of the book, however, deals with the Oslo period... Karsh has done his research well. He is particularly adept at capturing every instance of Arafatian doublespeak - the 'feigned moderation' for Western audiences, the frank avowals to destroy Israel to Arab ones . . . As Karsh's narrative unfolds, it becomes abundantly clear that Arafat and the PLO remain what they have always been: dedicated to Israel's destruction. In his 40-year war against Israel, Karsh can detect no sign that Arafat has ever moderated his views. Karsh has written a polemic, but it is a necessary polemic that cuts through the mystagogy and wishful thinking surrounding Arafat and his movement . . . [A] commendable volume."—Bret Stephens, *Jerusalem Post*

"Middle East scholar Efraim Karsh (*Fabricating Israeli History*) makes a lively case that Palestinian leader Yasir Arafat never intended to fulfill any of his peace commitments, and has in fact 'used "peace" as a strategic deception aimed at promoting the eternal goal of Israel's destruction'... The author draws on Arabic, Hebrew and English-language sources to give what may be the most comprehensive account yet of certain events-like the Palestinian leadership's five years of maneuvering to avoid canceling, as promised, the parts of the Palestinian National Covenant that call for Israel's destruction . . . Well argued, fast-paced, and engaging."—*Publishers Weekly*

"Adducing compelling evidence, Karsh depicts Arafat as the mastermind who planned the al-Aqsa Intifada - including the suicide bombings, drive-by shootings, and lynchings - long before he found it convenient to describe the orchestrated violence as a spontaneous national response to Ariel Sharon's pre-approved visit to Temple Mount. The al-Aqsa Intifada thus fits into a cynical larger strategy - which Karsh chillingly limns in Arafat's own words - for using peace negotiations as a temporary gambit in enlarging and solidifying the machinery necessary to destroy the state of Israel. Because most Palestinians want peace, Karsh does not blame them for their leader's perfidy. But he does blame Israeli leaders and the international community, accusing them of almost criminal naiveté in affording Arafat repeated openings to work his black magic."—Bryce Christensen, *Booklist*

"A riveting book, indispensable to all who are looking for insight into the labyrinthine politics of the Middle East, and the entire Arab world... *Arafat's War* takes a hard look at the life and politics of a man who fooled so many for so long."—*Christian Courier*

Rethinking the Middle East. London: Frank Cass, 2003. 210 pp.



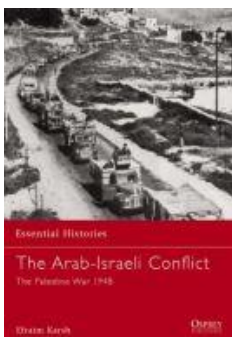
[Access](#) via Google Books

“Efraim Karsh is one of the Middle East’s most original and creative historians and *Rethinking the Middle East* showcases some of his best work. Karsh has carved out a specialty of taking received wisdom - from the grand themes of modern Middle Eastern history to the minute specifics of the Palestinian exodus from Haifa in 1947-48 – and turning it upside down. He does this by reviewing the record with an open mind, scholarly care and more than a pinch of courage. The results are as fascinating as they are important.”—Daniel Pipes

La Guerre d’Oslo. Paris : Les Editions de Passy, 2005 (with Joel Fishman).

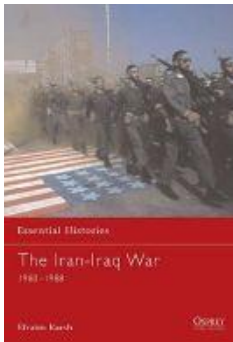


The Arab-Israeli Conflict: The Palestine 1948 War. Oxford: Osprey, 2002. 100 pp. Romanian edition: 2015.



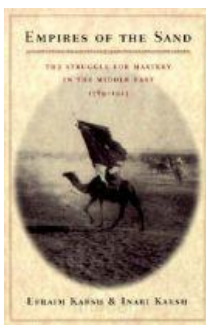
[Access](#) via Google Books

The Iran-Iraq War, 1980-1988. Oxford: Osprey, 2002. 100 pp.



[Access](#) via Google Books

Empires of the Sand: The Struggle for Mastery in the Middle East, 1789-1923. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1999 (with Inari Karsh). 410 pp. Paperback edition 2001.



[Access](#) via Google Books

“In a *tour de force* that offers a profoundly new understanding of a key issue in modern Middle Eastern history, Efraim and Inari Karsh review the relations between Europe and the Ottoman empire in the final century-and-a-half of the latter’s existence, and in the process nearly reverse the standard historical interpretation... I can hardly remember last reading so important and daring a reinterpretation of Middle Eastern history, or one so laden with implications.”—Daniel Pipes, *Commentary Magazine*

“A readable, scholarly reexamination of a long and complicated Middle Eastern history... The Karshes provide useful historical backgrounds to the emergence of independent countries in Egypt, Greece, the Balkans and former Danube principalities like Serbia and Romania. But the main purpose of this very detailed and broad-shouldered history is to revise many of the standard interpretations that have been given to Middle Eastern history over the last two centuries. Most generally the Karshes dispute the idea that the main events and developments in the region stem from the machinations of the great powers, especially Britain and France. The ‘main impetus behind regional developments,’ they write, was ‘the local actors’... The authors write clearly and authoritatively and with great geographical sweep. They provide crisp and informed accounts of the main events involving the Ottomans and the rest of the world... Those who do not know much of these events will learn a great deal from this book, while specialists

with views differing from the Karshes' will face a robust challenge to their interpretations.”—Richard Bernstein, *New York Times*

“A bold and unequivocal reinterpretation of the struggle for mastery in the Middle East throughout what is conveniently called the ‘long nineteenth century.’”—Alain Silvera, *Middle Eastern Studies*

“A provocative new history of the Middle East that in important respects is different from any one had read before.”—Colin Walters, *Washington Times*

“Contrary to the supposition, popular with historians from the East and the West, that the Ottoman Empire was slowly bled to death by the great powers of Europe who later fed upon its imperial remains, Efraim and Inari Karsh argue that the great powers repeatedly bolstered the toppling empire, that the Ottomans played a considerable part in their own demise, and that ‘the main impetus for the developments of this momentous period came from the local actors’... All in all, the Karshes make a strong case that ‘greed rather than necessity drove the Ottoman Empire into the First World War.’”— Charles M. Stang, *Boston Book Review*

“*Empires of the Sand* is an excellent and stimulating work that deserves a readership beyond the work of the professional historian. The Karshes have suggested interesting answers to hard questions, and are worthy of thanks.”—Ralph Ameen, *Jerusalem Post*

“The chief goal of the authors of *Empires of the Sand* is to explain the volatility of the twentieth-century Middle East in terms of its origins in the nineteenth century... In seeking to do so they have presented a carefully-researched and well-written work.”—William Ochsenwald, *MESA Bulletin*

“A complex and challenging revision of Middle Eastern political history.”— Anthony Sattin, *Sunday Times*

“This is a fascinating book.”—Geoffrey Wheatcroft, *Sunday Telegraph*

“In this striking reinterpretation of the modern history of the Middle East, the authors discard the traditional view of Middle Eastern rulers and peoples as passive, near helpless victims of Western imperialist machinations. Rather, they convincingly portray both Ottoman and Arab leaders as active players in the game of power politics... The authors have superbly integrated an interesting cast of characters with broad historical forces. The result is an original and provocative re-examination of the recent history of this vital region.”—Jay Freeman, *Booklist*

“The authors assault the prevailing wisdom that the decline of the [Ottoman Empire] was inevitable; they claim, rather, that it resulted from a series of poor choices made by its leaders. This approach is both provocative and productive, as the authors, relying on an impressive array of archival and secondary sources, demonstrate how the Ottoman leaders sealed their own fate - their decision to play cat-and-mouse with both sides during WWI was only the final error in a series of blunders.”—*Publishers Weekly*

“The authors reject the traditional perception of East-West relations as a ‘clash of civilizations,’ underscoring instead the existence of mutual interdependence based on vicissitudinal convergence of interests. Hence, they argue, during the period [between 1789 and 1923] both regional and external powers have actively engaged in political machinations and power politics.”—Hisham Sihab, *al-Mustaqbal*

“Chapter by chapter, the Karshes argue in favor of overturning nearly every accepted history of the region.”— Jeff Sharlet, *Chronicle of Higher Education*

Fabricating Israeli History: “The New Historians.” London: Cass, 1997 (hardcover & paperback). 205 pp. Second, expanded edition: 2000. Hebrew: Ha-kibbutz Ha-meuhad, 1999.



[Access](#) via Google Books

“The impact of Norman Cohn’s *Warrant for Genocide*, exposing the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* forgery, is dwarfed in comparison to Karsh’s book, which rips the veneer off certain seemingly respectable scholars... Not only are they empty vessels, Karsh shows in this astonishing book, but they are something much worse: vessels overflowing with deadly dynamite.”—Yoram Bronowski, *Haaretz*

“The first serious, comprehensive analysis of the revisionist school of national historians in Israel in the State’s fifth decade of sovereignty. A frontal, no-holds barred assault that cannot fail to sharpen the debate between the established school and its opponents. It is required reading for the inquisitive no less than the engaged professional historians.”— JC Hurewitz, Columbia University

“Whatever the future holds for the New Historians... nobody interested in their views can afford to bypass Karsh’s insightful work.”— Itamar Rabinovich, *International History Review*

“Efraim Karsh is a fine scholar, an absorbing writer and a well respected director of Mediterranean Studies at King’s College, London. In *Fabricating Israeli History*, he takes to task the new school of Israeli historians who are challenging what they see as the myths that

have cast a rosy glow over their country's past. In doing so, he demonstrates how the pen can be, not just mightier, but much nastier than the sword.”—Bernard Josephs, *Jewish Chronicle*

“Karsh seems to have scored a palpable hit on the contentious issue of the strategic thinking of [David] Ben-Gurion.”—*The Economist*

“Efraim Karsh, whose scholarship in all the relevant documentation in English, Hebrew, and Arabic far outweighs that of the New Historians, has delivered a crushing blow to them, revealing how hollow and superficial their theses are.”—Hyam Maccoby, *Midstream*

“The first full-length and detailed rebuttal to those Israeli scholars who call themselves the ‘new historians’... Karsh’s key strength is the application of unprejudiced common sense to clarify issues clouded by the pseudo-scholarship of propagandists.”—Daniel Pipes, *Middle East Quarterly*

“A skilful surgical probing and occasionally a savage attack on the New Historians.”—*Jerusalem Post*

“*Fabricating Israeli History* is an incisive analysis of the origins of the Arab-Israeli conflict... Efraim Karsh is a witty and an eloquent writer as well as a reputable historian with all the necessary methodological and linguistic tools (Hebrew, Arabic, and English) to demolish the “new historians” who have created the myths which dominate the airwaves and headlines of much of the media... The book is only 205 pages long and there is not a word that can be called ‘extraneous.’”—Norman Berdichevsky, *Contemporary Review*

“Karsh has done a good service in questioning and probing certain assumptions of the revisionists.”—Martin Kolinsky, *Times Higher Education Supplement*

“This book takes issue with the revisionists through careful analysis of the sources and documentation of the period.”—*History Today*

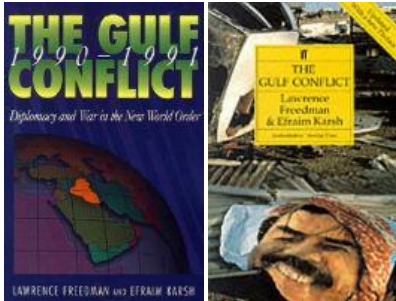
“This concise, well-documented study deals convincingly with the views of Israel's New Historians (Benny Morris, Ilan Pappé, Avi Shlaim) who bitterly accuse Israel's leaders (Ben-Gurion, Golda Meir etc.) with all troubles suffered by the Palestinian Arabs.”—*Jewish Review*

“Totally undermines the foundations on which the 'new historiography' is predicated.”—Shabtai Teveth, *Haaretz*

“Systematic and efficient demolition of all fundamentals of the new historians 'revolutionary' conclusions.”—Menahem Ben, *Tel-Aviv Weekly*

“Karsh has a point. My treatment of transfer thinking before 1948 was, indeed, superficial.”—Benny Morris, *Times Literary Supplement*

Gulf Conflict 1990-1991: Diplomacy and War in the New World Order. Princeton & London: Princeton UP & Faber, 1993 (with Lawrence Freedman). 504 pp. Updated paperback edition, 1994. *New York Times* Bestseller List & Notable Books of the Year (1993)



“There will be other, no doubt more sensational books on the Gulf War, especially when the extent of the West’s role in building up Mr. Hussein becomes known. But it is unlikely that there will be a better balanced or more comprehensive chronicle of that seminal event.”—H.D.S. Greenway, *New York Times Book Review*

“The distinguished team of Freedman and Karsh aspire two years after the Gulf War to write the kind of book that historians normally wait to write until two or three decades later... Freedman and Karsh have done a heroic job of mining the immense amount of contemporary journalism on the Gulf War and assessing it with regard to the long-term historical issues and structures. Until later books on the subject are written, well into the 21st Century, this balanced, thoughtful, comprehensive volume is likely to be the central scholarly reference work on the nightmare of 1990-1991.”—Micheal R. Beschloss, *New York Newsday*

“Rises well above immediate and partisan concerns: if you want to know as much as can now reasonably be known about the diplomatic and military history of the war over Kuwait, this is the book to read.”—Fred Halliday, *International Affairs*

“Two of England’s most distinguished academic analysts of the military have teamed up on this essential, timely, clear, well-documented study.”—Claude E. Welch, *Armed Forces & Society*

“Truly exceptional... It is doubtful that a more useful book on the politics of that conflict will be produced for some time.”—W. Andrew Terrill, *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*

“The definitive study of the Gulf War.”—Roger Hardy, *BBC World Service*

“A definitive chronicle of the 1990-91 crisis, stretching from the prelude to Saddam's invasion to his defeat by the US-led coalition... The judgments underlying it are sound, and carry lessons relevant today.”—Andrew Gowers, *Financial Times*

“Rich in detail and analysis... This will be the standard text on the Gulf War for some time to come.”—Scott D. Sagan, *Political Science Quarterly*

“An excellent overview of the crisis.”—William Quandt, *Foreign Affairs*

“An excellent, well-organized and dispassionate account of the war.”—Sir Charles Powell, *The Times*

“Deals evenly with every aspect of the conflict and maintains an objective balance throughout... This book should be required reading for all in the news media who purvey instant opinions and demand simple answers. The detailed account of the manifold problems and conflicting factors to be solved, and of the political maneuvering required to do so in both the international and domestic field is fascinating, revealing much that is not generally known.”—Michael Carver, *Sunday Telegraph*

“Admirably rational.”—John Keegan, *Daily Telegraph*

“This judicial and balanced book makes a substantial contribution to the debate about the possibility, and perhaps the duty, of international intervention.”—Martin Wollacott, *Guardian*

“Authoritative.”—*Sunday Times*

“An extremely well-researched, balanced, and judicious study of the first major crisis and war of the post-Cold War era.”—Patrick Glynn, *Times Literary Supplement*

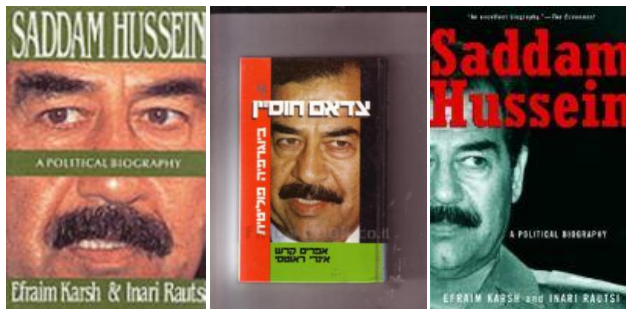
“A comprehensive, exhaustive, and well-authenticated account of the background, eruption and escalation of an episode that ended with the Allied offensive against Iraq.”—Nissim Rejwan, *Jerusalem Post*

“Comprehensive and thought-provoking analysis of the war... The authors are to be commended for a work which is evocative of the war itself and yet sufficiently dispassionate in its analysis of the stratagems and tactics of the main players.”—John Yates, *Yorkshire Post*

“In a subtle and convincing way, Freedman and Karsh take the reader through the various factors which made the invasion of Kuwait seem not simply desirable to Saddam Hussein in the summer of 1990, but also perhaps necessary.”—Charles Tripp, *Times Higher Education Supplement*

“Freedman and Karsh have produced a timely, objective historical study. It is remarkable how well good modern historians write. The right lessons are properly taught, but the book is never heavy going; the logic of the joint authors' analysis, supported by the depth and excellence of their research, pulls the reader compulsively along. One is certainly much wiser at the end.”—James Wilson, *Army Quarterly and Defence Journal*

Saddam Hussein: A Political Biography. New York: Free Press, 1991 (with Inari Rautsi). 307 pp. Paperback: Futura, 1991. Hebrew: Maarachot, 1992. Czech: Melantrich, 1994. Revised and updated paperback edition: Grove, 2003.



[Access](#) via Google Books

“The best book out now on a man who clearly is much more interesting and enigmatic than the cartoon figure we love to hate.”—Robert Scheer, *Los Angeles Times*

“Karsh and Rautsi have set a standard for evidence and analytical rigor that other biographers will be hard-pressed to match... Not only do the full documentation and precise style reflect a long investment in research and writing, but the authors have produced a subtle interpretation of Saddam, which casts him as a man forged by his society even as he sought to re-forge it.”—Martin Kramer, *New York Newsday*

“For the newcomer to contemporary Iraqi history, this is a useful book, very well organized and clearly written.”—William F. Powers, *Washington Post*

“Dissects Saddam's career with surgical precision... what emerges is deviousness of a more than Satalinian subtlety... To be recommended as an accurate, even scholarly, account of the present situation in Iraq, as well as various kinds of the past -all the way back to the Babylonian captivity.”—Anthony Burgess (Author of *A Clockwork Orange*), *The Observer*

“Probably the best biography of Saddam Hussein.... presents a coherent view of a man who has generated a good deal of mythology.”—Roger Hardy, *BBC World Service*

“An excellent biography.”—*The Economist*

“Maintains its integrity to the end.”—Ann Kelly, *San Francisco Chronicle*

“A detailed and dispassionate account of Hussein's rise to power and the political milieu in which he thrives... This much-needed book is thorough, up-to-date and highly readable. Recommended for scholars of the modern Middle East as well as informed laypersons.”—*Library Journal*

“One of the great virtues of the Karsh and Rautsi book, *Saddam Hussein: A Political Biography*, is that it captures so well not simply the consequences of the system of power, but also the social and moral worlds in which it exists and thrives... To understand this process is to understand something not simply about the workings of Iraqi politics or the place of Iraq in the region, but also about security, instability and war in the Middle East as a whole. Karsh and Rautsi are to

be congratulated for writing a book that is sensitive to these larger questions and provides the best and most serious analysis hitherto of the phenomenon of 'Saddamist' politics in Iraq.”—Charles Tripp, *Survival*

“At last someone has produced a balanced, careful, academically sound but lively account of the man and his universe, without sliding into superficial sensationalism... Karsh and Rautsi have written what will become a standard biography of Saddam Hussein.”—Gerd Nonneman, *International Affairs*

“... All such events have unequivocally proved the very scrupulous, accurate, and lucid explanations and elaborations that Efraim Karsh and Inari Rautsi have masterfully provided in this in-depth political biography of Saddam Hussein... This is a first-rate biography of Saddam Hussein on many accounts... This book gives the reader as sense that he is living in the mind of Saddam Hussein and in his surrounding atmosphere... This is an authoritative biography, which should be read by every scholar interested in the contemporary history of Iraq and its role in shaping the geopolitical equation in the whole Middle Eastern region. The fluent, lucid, and colourful language in which the book is written must be commended.”—Mohammad Ja’afar Mahallati, *Political Science Quarterly*

“Of the several, increasingly numerous, books that have appeared on Saddam Hussein and his Iraq, the political biography by Karsh and Rautsi is the best so far produced. It is not just that it is a solid, detailed, and comprehensive piece of work... it is, rather, the whole approach of the authors to their subject that gives the book its value.”—G.H. Jansen, *Middle East International*

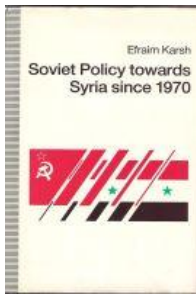
“An excellent and scholarly work.”—*The Middle East*

“The most reliable book on Saddam Hussein and Iraq yet to appear.”—Douglas Kellner, *Author of The Persian Gulf Media War*

“At the very least the book is extremely readable account of Saddam's rise to international prominence. Without abandoning academic analysis the authors have succeeded in producing a work that can be read with pleasure by the interested "layman"... *Saddam Hussein: A Political Biography* is a timely and lucid assault on the distorted image we have formed in the West, of Iraq and its leader. This book deserves to be widely read, and might even help to set us back onto the path of attempting to understand rather than condemn the Arab states of the Middle East.”—Sean McKnight, *Small Wars and Insurgencies*

“A useful account of how Saddam came to power and how he behaved at various moments in his political career.”—William Quandt, *Foreign Affairs*

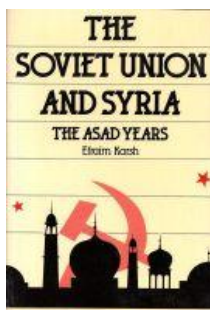
Soviet Policy towards Syria since 1970. London: Macmillan, 1991. 235 pp.



“Demolishes the cold war myth - accepted as conventional wisdom in some quarters - that the Kremlin was a reckless instigator and Syria its obedient satellite.”—*International Journal of Middle East Studies*

“This is a well argued book, which has not been outdated by the Gulf War, since it concentrates on the principles underlying Soviet and Syrian policies.”—Maurice Gent, *International Affairs*

The Soviet Union and Syria: The Asad Years. London & New York: Routledge for the Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1988. 127 pp. Reissued by Routledge, 2013.



[Access](#) via Google Books

“A strikingly clear and compelling interpretation of the vicissitudes of strategic relations between Moscow and Damascus from 1970 to 1988... Exemplary analysis.”—Fred Lawson, *Middle East Report*

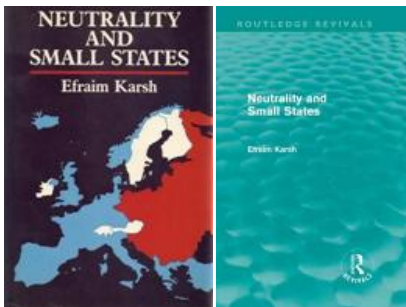
“The strength of the book lies in the way it prefigures the important changes Mikhail Gorbachev is now bringing about.”—Patrick Seale, *BBC World Service* (Arabic Topical Programs)

“This is a concise and balanced account of the relationship between the Soviet superpower and the Arab world's ablest political tactician. The author is an Israeli academic and Senior Fellow of his country's most prestigious think-tank, the Jaffee Centre for Strategic Studies, but his approach is wholly objective... It is a measure of the quality of this book that developments since it was completed follow naturally from Karsh's analysis. This is something which writers on the Middle East do not always achieve.”—Peter Mansfield, *Asian Affairs*

“The strength of Karsh's effort lies in his precise and excellent account of the [Syrian-Soviet] interdependence and how it changed over a period of nearly two decades.”—Daniel Pipes, *Orbis*

“A penetrating analytical study.”—Maurice Gent, *International Affairs*

Neutrality and Small States. London & New York, Routledge, 1988. 225 pp.
Reissued as Routledge Revivals, 2012.



[Access](#) via Google Books

“Within a relatively short compass Efraim Karsh has provided us with an analysis of the essentials of the theory of neutrality and its empirical practice in Europe during and since the Second World war... His admirable integration of theory and practice is well thought through... Dr. Karsh has rendered a splendid service in reminding us that neutrality is both a viable and valuable part of the repertoire of foreign policy strategies.”—AJR Groom, *International Affairs*

The Cautious Bear: Soviet Military Engagement in Middle East Wars in the Post-1967 Era. Boulder: Westview, 1985. 100 pp.



“A comparative examination of Soviet ‘involvement’ and ‘intervention’ in ten Middle East wars, to see whether Moscow’s moves fall into any clear or predictable pattern.”—William G. Hyland, *Foreign Affairs*

“[An] excellent book”—Mikhail Agursky, *Slavic Review*

“[A] sensible and insightful concise account of Soviet military engagement in the Middle East.... What distinguishes Karsh’s work is the methodological rigor and systematic analysis with which [his] propositions are established.”—S.N. MacFarlane, *Canadian-American Slavic Studies*

EDITED VOLUMES

15. *Conflict, Diplomacy and Society in Israeli-Lebanese Relations*. London, Routledge, 2009 (with Michael Kerr and Rory Miller). 156 pp.
14. *Israel at Sixty: Rethinking the Birth of the Jewish State*. London, Routledge, 2009 (with Rory Miller). 266 pp.
13. *Islamic Attitudes to Israel*. London, Routledge, 2008 (with P.R. Kumaraswamy). 200 pp.
12. *Israel, the Hashemites, and the Palestinians: The Fateful Triangle*. London: Routledge, 2003 (with P.R. Kumaraswamy). 221 pp. [Access](#) via Google Books.
11. *Israel: The First 100 Years. Vol. IV-Israel in the International Arena*. London: Routledge, 2004. 351 pp. [Access](#) via Google Books.
10. *Israel: The First 100 Years. Vol. III-Problems of Collective Identity*. London: Routledge, 2002. 261 pp.
9. *Israel: The First 100 Years. Vol. II-From War to Peace?* London: Routledge, 2000. 270 pp.
8. *Israel: The First 100 Years. Vol. I-From Community to State*. London, Routledge, 1999. 253 pp. [Access](#) via Google Books.
7. *In Search of Identity: Jewish Aspects in Israeli Culture*. London: Routledge, 1998 (with Dan Urian). 288 pp. [Access](#) via Google Books.
6. *From Rabin to Netanyahu: Israel's Troubled Agenda*. London: Routledge, 1997. 420 pp. [Access](#) via Google Books.
5. *Between War and Peace: Dilemmas of Israeli Security*. London: Routledge, 1996. 298 pp. [Access](#) via Google Books.
4. *Peace in the Middle East: The Challenge for Israel*. London: Routledge, 1995. 167 pp. [Access](#) via Google.
3. *Israel at the Crossroads*. London: British Academic Press, 1994 (with Gregory Mahler). 261 pp.
2. *Non-Conventional Weapons Proliferation in the Middle East: Tackling the Spread of Nuclear, Chemical, and Biological Capabilities*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993 (with Martin Navias and Philip Sabin). 300 pp.
1. *The Iran-Iraq War: Impact and Implications*. London & New York, Macmillan & St. Martin's Press, 1989. 303 pp.

MONOGRAPHS

7. "The Oslo Disaster," Bar-Ilan University, Begin-Sadat Center for Strategic Studies, 2016, Mideast Security and Policy Studies No. 123, 58 pp. [View](#)
6. "The Myth of Palestinian Centrality," Bar-Ilan University, Begin-Sadat Center for Strategic Studies, 2014, Mideast Security and Policy Studies No. 108, 42 pp. [View](#)
5. "Arab Imperialism; the Tragedy of the Middle East," Bar-Ilan University, Begin-Sadat Center for Strategic Studies, 2006, Mideast Security and Policy Studies No. 69. 34 pp. [Download](#) (PDF, full text)
4. "The Oslo War: Anatomy of Self-Delusion," Bar-Ilan University, The Begin-Sadat Center for Strategic Studies, 2003, Mideast Security and Policy Studies No. 55 (Hebrew). 48 pp. [Download](#) (PDF, full text)
3. "The Iran-Iraq War: A Military Analysis," London, The International Institute for Strategic Studies, 1987, Adelphi Papers, No. 220. 72 pp. Spanish edition: Ministerio de Defensa, 1988
2. *The Nation State as an International Actor*. Tel-Aviv: Open University Press, 1985 (with Emanuel Guttman, Hebrew). 75 pp.
1. "Soviet Arms Transfers to the Middle East during the 1970s," Tel-Aviv University, The Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies, 1983, JCSS Paper No. 22. 43 pp.

ARTICLES & BOOK CHAPTERS

118. "Why the Oslo Process Doomed Peace," *Middle East Quarterly*, Fall 2016, [View](#).
117. "Obama's Middle East Delusions," *Middle East Quarterly*, Winter 2016. [View](#)
116. "Obama and the Middle East: Illusions and Delusions," in Efraim Inbar (ed.), *US Foreign Policy and Global Standing in the 21st Century*, London, Routledge, 2016, pp. 181-97.
115. "Palestinian Leaders Don't want an Independent State," *Middle East Quarterly*, Summer 2014. [View](#)
114. "The Palestinians' Real Enemies," *Middle East Quarterly*, Spring 2014. [View](#)
113. "Ankara's Unacknowledged Genocide," *Middle East Quarterly*, Winter 2013, pp. 17-26. [View](#)
112. "Israel's Arabs: Deprived or Radicalized?" *Israel Affairs*, Vol. 19, No. 1 (Jan. 2013), pp. 1-19. [View](#)
111. "The War against the Jews," *Israel Affairs*, Vo. 18, No. 3 (July 2012), pp. 319-43. [View](#)
110. "Azzam's Genocidal Threat," *Middle East Quarterly*, Fall 2011, pp. 85-88 (with David Barnett). [View](#)

109. "How Many Palestinian Arab Refugees Were There?" *Israel Affairs*, Vol. 17, No. 2 (Apr. 2011), pp. 224-46. [View](#)
108. "The European Neutrals and the War," in Frank McDonough (ed.), *The Origins of the Second World War: An International Perspective*, London, Continuum, 2011, pp. 294-311.
107. "How the 'Sons of Iraq' Stabilized Postwar Iraq," *Middle East Quarterly*, Fall 2010, pp. 57-70 (with Mark Wilbanks). [View](#)
106. "Adrift in Arabia," *Journal of International Security Affairs*, Fall 2010, pp. 77-86. [View](#)
105. "What's Behind Western Condemnation of Israel's War against Hamas?" *Jerusalem Issue Brief*, Jan. 11, 2009. [View](#)
104. "The Middle East and the Cold War," in Madelon de Keizer en Ismee Tames (eds.), *Small Nations. Crisis and Confrontation in the 20th Century*, Amsterdam: Walburg Press, 2008, pp. 162-79.
103. "Muhammad: The Warrior Prophet," in Andrew Roberts (ed.), *The Great Commanders* London: Quercus Editions, 2008, pp. 244-51.
102. "Zionism and the Palestinians," *Israel Affairs*, Vol. 14, No. 3 (July 2008), pp. 355-73. [View](#)
101. "1948, Israel, and the Palestinians - The True Story," *Commentary*, May 2008, pp. 23-29 & "1948, Israel, and the Palestinians: Fully Annotated Text" (Web only). [View](#)
102. "The Diplomatic Dance with Hamas," *Jerusalem Issue Brief*, Apr. 30, 2008. [View](#)
103. "The 60-Year War for Israel's History," *inFocus*, Mar. 2008. [View](#)
98. "After Annapolis: What Chance for Agreement with Abbas and the PLO?" *Jerusalem Issue Brief*, Jan. 1, 2008. [View](#)
97. "Did Edward Said Really Speak Truth to Power?" *Middle East Quarterly*, Winter 2008, pp. 13-21 (with Rory Miller). [View](#)
96. "The Missing Piece: Islamic Imperialism," *Israel Affairs*, Vol. 13, No. 4 (Oct. 2007), pp. 797-805.
95. "Europe's Persecuted Muslims?" *Commentary*, Apr. 2007, pp. 49-53 (with Rory Miller). [View](#)
94. "Islam's Imperial Dreams," *Commentary*, Apr. 2006, pp. 37-41. [View](#)
93. "The Long Trail of Islamic Anti-Semitism," *Israel Affairs*, Vol. 12, No. 1 (Jan. 2006), pp. 1-12. [View](#)
92. "Columbia and the Academic Intifada," *Commentary*, July-Aug. 2005, pp. 27-32. [View](#)
91. "Resurrecting the Myth: Benny Morris, the Zionist Movement, and the 'Transfer' Idea," *Israel Affairs*, Vol. 11, No. 3 (July 2005), pp. 469-90. [View](#)

90. "European Misreading of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: Finnish Foreign Minister Tuomioja – A Case Study," *Jerusalem Issue Briefs*, July 2005. [View](#)
89. "Benny Morris and the Reign of Error, Revisited," *Middle East Quarterly*, Spring 2005, pp. 31-42. [View](#)
88. "Arafat Lives," *Commentary*, Jan. 2005, pp. 33-40. [View](#)
89. "Freya Stark in America: Orientalism, Anti-Semitism, and Political Propaganda," *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 39, No. 3 (July 2004), pp. 315-32 (with Rory Miller). [View](#)
86. "Arafat's Grand Strategy," *Middle East Quarterly*, Spring 2004, pp. 3-11. [View](#)
87. "Israel's Arabs v. Israel," *Commentary*, Dec. 2003, pp. 21-27. [View](#)
84. "Revisiting Israel's 'Original Sin'," *Commentary*, Sept. 2003, pp. 46-50. [View](#)
83. "Making Iraq Safe for Democracy," *Commentary*, Apr. 2003, pp. 22-29. [View](#)
82. "After the War: Reflections on Post Saddam Iraq," American Enterprise Institute, Mar. 3, 2003.
81. "Saddam and the Palestinians," *Commentary*, Dec. 2002, pp. 56-60. [View](#)
80. "The Middle East and the Gulf War: A Decade Later," in Andrew Bacevich & Efraim Inbar (eds.), *The Gulf War of 1991 Reconsidered*, London: Fran Cass, 2002, pp. 167-79.
79. "Reactive Imperialism: Britain, the Hashemites, and the Creation of Modern Iraq," *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, Vol. 30, No. 3 (Sept. 2002), pp. 55-70.
78. "What Occupation?" *Commentary*, July-Aug. 2002, pp. 46-51. [View](#)
77. "The Unbearable Lightness of my Critics," *Middle East Quarterly*, Summer 2002, pp. 63-75. [View](#)
76. "Israel's War," *Commentary*, Apr. 2002, pp. 23-28. [Access](#) via *Commentary* website.
75. "Nakbat Haifa: the Collapse and Dispersion of a Major Palestinian Community," *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 37, No. 4 (Oct. 2001), pp. 25-70. [View](#)
74. "Misunderstanding Arab Nationalism," *Middle East Quarterly*, Spring 2001, pp. 59-61. [View](#)
73. "The 'Great Arab Revolt' between Myth and Reality," *Zmanim*, Spring 2001, pp. 23-31 (with Inari Karsh; Hebrew).
72. "The Palestinians and the 'Right of Return,'" *Commentary*, May 2001, pp. 25-31. [View](#)

71. "Imperialism - Predatory or Preemptive?" in A. Klieman and A. Ben-Zvi (eds.), *Global Politics: Essays in Honor of David Vital*, London: Frank Cass, 2001, pp. 61-76.
70. "Intifada II: The Long Trail of Arab Anti-Semitism," *Commentary*, Dec. 2000, pp. 49-53. [Access](#) via *Commentary* website.
69. "Why the Middle East is so Volatile," *Middle East Quarterly*, Dec. 2000, pp. 13-22. [View](#)
68. "Were the Palestinians Expelled?" *Commentary*, July-Aug. 2000, pp. 29-34. [View](#)
67. "International Perspectives on National Missile Defense: Israel's Imperative," *Washington Quarterly*, Summer 2000, pp. 155-63. [View](#)
66. "Nuclear Weapons and the Post-Cold War Middle East: Business as Usual," in John Baylis and Robert O'Neill (eds.), *Alternative Nuclear Futures: The Role of Nuclear Weapons in the Post-Cold War Era*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999, pp. 87-100.
65. "The Collusion that Never Was: King Abdullah, the Zionist Movement, and the Partition of Palestine," *Journal of Contemporary History*, Oct. 1999, pp. 569-85. [View](#)
64. "Elie Kedourie: The Forgotten Iconoclast," *International History Review*, Vol. XXI, No. 3 (September 1999), pp. 704-13.
63. "Introduction," in Efraim Karsh (ed.), *Israel: The First 100 Years. Vol. I - From Community to State*, London: Frank Cass, 1999, pp. 1-9. [View](#)
62. "Benny Morris and the Reign of Error," *Middle East Quarterly*, Mar. 1999, pp. 15-28. [View](#)
61. "Introduction," in Dan Urian and Efraim Karsh (eds.), *In Search of Identity: Jewish Aspects in Israeli Culture*, London: Frank Cass, 1998, pp. 1-5. [View](#)
60. "'Falsifying the Record': Benny Morris, David Ben-Gurion, and the 'Transfer' Idea," *Israel Affairs*, Vol. 4, No. 2 (Winter 1997), pp. 47-71.
59. "Cold War, Post-Cold War: Does it Make a Difference for the Middle East?" *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 23, No. 3 (July 1997), pp. 271-91. [View](#)
58. "Myth in the Desert, or Not the Great Arab Revolt," *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 33, No. 2 (April 1997), pp. 267-312 (with Inari Karsh). [Access](#) via JStor.
57. "Israel," in Yezid Sayigh & Avi Shlaim (eds.), *The Cold War and the Middle East*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997, pp. 156-85.
56. "Fabricating Israeli History: The 'New Historians'," *Gesher*, Summer 1997, pp. 61-72 (Hebrew).
55. "Reflections on the Gulf Conflict," *Journal of Strategic Studies*, Vol. 19, No. 3 (September 1996), pp. 303-20.

54. "Rethinking the 1990-91 Gulf Conflict," *Diplomacy & Statecraft*, Vol. 7, No. 3 (November 1996), pp. 709-49.
53. "Reflections on Arab Nationalism," *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 32, No. 4 (October 1996), pp. 367-92 (with Inari Karsh).
52. "Historical Fictions," *Middle East Quarterly*, Sept. 1996, pp. 55-60. [View](#)
51. "Debating Israel's Early History," *Middle East Quarterly*, June 1996, pp. 19-29. [View](#)
50. "From Rabin to Netanyahu," *Israel Affairs*, Vol. 3, Nos. 3-4 (Spring-Summer 1996), pp. i-viii.
49. "Peace Despite Everything," *Israel Affairs*, Vol. 3, Nos. 3-4 (Spring-Summer 1996), pp. 139-57.
48. "Arms Control and the New International Environment," *Defense Analysis*, Vol. 12, No. 1 (Apr. 1996), pp. 33-52 (with Efraim Inbar and Shmuel Sandler). [View](#)
47. "Between War and Peace," *Israel Affairs*, Vol. II, No. 1 (Autumn 1995), pp. 1-10.
46. "Israeli Nuclear Weapons and Middle East Peace," *Israel Affairs*, Vol. II, No. 1 (Autumn 1995), pp. 75-92 (with Martin Navias). [View](#)
45. "Peace not Love: Toward a Comprehensive Arab-Israeli Settlement," *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 17, No. 2 (Spring 1994), pp. 143-56.
44. "A Cooperative Security Approach to Arab-Israeli Peace," *Survival*, Vol. 36, No. 1 (Spring 1994), pp. 114-25 (with Yezid Sayigh).
43. "The Middle East Peace Accord," *Brassey's Defence Yearbook, 1994*, London: Brassey's, 1994, pp. 216-28.
42. "Peace at Last," in E. Karsh and G. Mahler (eds.), *Israel at the Crossroads*, London & New York: British Academic Press & St. Martin's Press, 1994, pp. 29-48.
41. "Peace in the Middle East," *The Oxford International Review*, Vol. 5, No. 1 (Winter 1993), pp. 36-40.
40. "Giving Peace a Chance: the Israeli-Palestinian Accord," London: Institute of Jewish Affairs, *Research Reports*, Nov. 1993, 16 pages.
39. "Survival at All Costs: Saddam Hussein as a Crisis Manager," in G. Barzilai, A. Klieman, and G. Shidlo (eds.), *The Gulf Crisis and its Global Aftermath*, London: Routledge, 1993, pp. 51-67.
38. "A Road to an Arab-Israeli Peace?" *Brassey's Defence Yearbook, 1993*, London: 1993, pp. 315-35 (with Zuhair Diab).
37. "The Troubled Partnership: Moscow and Assad's Syria," in Margot Light (ed.) *Troubled Friendships: Moscow's Third World Ventures*, London: British Academic Press, 1993, pp. 140-66.

36. "Iran's Resurgent Ambitions," *Analysis*, London: Institute of Jewish Affairs, Feb. 1993.
35. "Rational Ruthlessness: Non-Conventional Escalation in the Iran-Iraq War," in E. Karsh, et. al. (eds.), *Non-Conventional Weapons Proliferation in the Middle East*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993, pp. 31-47.
34. "A Necessary Evil or the Best of All Worlds? German Arms Sales to the Middle East," in Shahram Chubin (ed.), *Germany in the Middle East: Patterns and Prospects*, London: Pinter, 1992, pp. 136-54.
33. "An Arab-Israeli Security Community: A Proposal," in Gerd Nonneman (ed.), *The Middle East and Europe: An Integrated Communities Approach*, London: Federal Trust for Education and Research, 1992, pp. 115-27.
32. "How Kuwait Was Won: Strategy in the Gulf War," *International Security*, Vol. 16, No. 2 (Fall 1991), pp. 5-42 (with Lawrence Freedman). [View](#)
31. "A Marriage of Convenience: Saddam Hussein and Islam," *The Jewish Quarterly*, Summer 1991, pp. 18-20.
30. "Why Saddam Hussein Invaded Kuwait," *Survival*, Jan./Feb. 1991, pp. 18-30 (with Inari Rautsi).
29. "Neutralization: The Key to an Arab-Israeli Peace," *Bulletin of Peace Proposals*, Vol. 22, No. 1 (1991), pp. 11-23.
28. "The Middle East," in Alex Pravda (ed.), *Yearbook of Soviet Foreign Relations, 1991 Edition*, London: I.B. Tauris, 1991, pp. 122-34.
27. "The Rise and Fall of Syria's Quest for Strategic Parity," *RUSI and Brassey's Yearbook 1991*. London: Brassey's, 1991, pp. 197-217.
26. "Iraqi Military Power and its Threat to Regional Stability," *Harvard International Review*, Winter 1990/91, pp. 12-16 (with Martin Navias).
25. "In Baghdad, Politics is a Lethal Game," *New York Times Magazine*, Sept. 30, 1990, pp. 38-42, 100. [View](#)
24. "Geopolitical Determinism: The Origins of the Iran-Iraq War," *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 44, No. 2 (Spring 1990), pp. 256-69.
23. "A Marriage of Convenience: The Soviet Union and Asad's Syria," *Jerusalem Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 11, No. 4 (Dec. 1989), pp. 1-26.
22. "Escalation in the Iran-Iraq War," *Survival*, May/June 1989, pp. 241-55 (with Philip Sabin).
21. "Military Lessons of the Iran-Iraq War," *Orbis*, Spring 1989, pp. 209-23.
20. "Regional Strategic Implications of the Iran-Iraq War," in Shlomo Gazit (ed.), *The Middle East Military Balance, 1988-89*, Jerusalem & Boulder: Jerusalem Post & Westview Press, 1989, pp. 100-14.

19. "From Revolutionary Zeal to Geopolitical Realism: The Islamic Republic and the Gulf," in Efraim Karsh (ed.), *The Iran-Iraq War: Impact and Implications*, London & New York: Macmillan & St. Martin's Press, 1989, pp. 26-42.
18. "Between War and Peace: European Neutrality," *The World Today*, Aug.-Sept. 1988, pp. 150-55.
17. "International Cooperation and Neutrality," *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 25, No. 1 (Mar. 1988), pp. 57-67. [View](#)
16. "Military Power and Foreign Policy Goals: The Iran-Iraq War Revisited," *International Affairs*, Winter 1987/8, pp. 83-95. [View](#)
15. "Peacetime Military Presence and Wartime Support: The Soviet Case," in Steven L. Spiegel, et. al. (eds.), *Soviet-American Competition in the Middle East*, Lexington: Lexington Books, 1987, pp. 145-58.
14. "The Iran-Iraq War at the Crossroads," *The World Today*, Oct. 1986, pp. 167-70 (with Ralph King).
13. "Finland: Adaptation and Conflict," *International Affairs*, Spring 1986, pp. 265-78. [View](#)
12. "Geographical Determinism: Finnish Neutrality Revisited," *Cooperation and Conflict*, Mar. 1986, pp. 43-57.
11. "Moscow and the Yom Kippur War: A Reappraisal," *Soviet-Jewish Affairs*, Vol. 16, No. 1 (1986), pp. 3-19.
10. "Influence Through Arms Supplies: The Soviet Experience in the Middle East," *Conflict Quarterly*, Winter 1986, pp. 45-56.
9. "Soviet-Israeli Relations: A New Phase?" *The World Today*, Dec. 1985, pp. 214-18.
8. "The Myth of 'Direct Soviet Intervention' in an Arab-Israeli War," *RUSI Journal*, Vol. 129, No. 3 (Sept. 1984), pp. 28-32.
7. "Soviet Arms for the Love of Allah," *US Naval Institute Proceedings*, Apr. 1984, pp. 44-51.
6. "Swedish Neutrality between Myth and Reality," *Crossroads*, Spring 1983, pp. 121-38.
5. "Patterns of Soviet Involvement in a Future Arab-Israeli War," *Soviet and Slavic Studies*, Vol. 5 Nos. 1-2 (1983), pp. 75-95.
4. "Soviet Military Involvement in the Middle East: The Syrian Case," *Maarachot*, Nos. 279-280 (May 1981), pp. 64-68 (Hebrew).
3. "Yugoslavia after Tito," *Skira Hodshit*, Vol. 27, No. 2 (February 1980), pp. 17-24 (Hebrew).
2. "Iran: Anatomy of a Revolution," *Maarachot*, No. 268 (April 1979), pp. 19-26 (Hebrew). [View](#)

1. "The Ogaden War," *Maarachot*, No. 265 (September 1978), pp. 16-22 (with Zvi Goldman, Hebrew). [View](#)

OP-EDS

87. "It is not the 'occupation'" *Jerusalem Post*, June 21, 2016. [View](#)
86. "Ein muslimisches Europa ist das Ziel," *Die Weltwoche*, No. 19 (May 2016), pp. 22-24 (three-page interview). [View](#)
85. "The Politicization of Middle Eastern Studies," *The American Interest*, Sept. 18, 2015 (with Asaf Romirowsky). [View](#)
84. "White House Delusions," *Jerusalem Post*, Feb. 17, 2015. [View](#)
83. "It's Anti-Semitism, Stupid," *Jerusalem Post*, Aug. 11, 2104. [View](#)
82. "Palestinian Suffering Used to Demonize Israel," *Jerusalem Post*, Jul. 21, 2014. [View](#)
81. "The Uses of Lydda," *Mosaic*, July 7, 2014. [View](#)
80. "Michael Oren Misunderstands the Obstacle to Peace," *Jerusalem Post*, Jan. 30, 2014. [View](#)
79. "Seven Pillars of Fiction," *Wall Street Journal*, August 9, 2013. [View](#)
78. "Academic: Israel-Arab Politicians Fomenting Extremism," *Jerusalem Post*, Jan. 9, 2013. [View](#)
77. "The Middle East's Real Apartheid," *Jerusalem Post*, Mar. 5, 2012. [View](#)
76. "Betraying Ben-Gurion," *Hudson New York*, Dec. 22, 2011. [View](#)
75. "Haaretz: The Paper for Thinking People?" *Hudson New York*, Dec. 16, 2011. [View](#)
74. "With Malicious Intentions," *Haaretz*, Dec. 5, 2011 (Hebrew). [View](#)
73. "Finnish Delusions," *Jerusalem Post*, Nov. 7, 2011. [View](#)
72. "The Revisionist History of Sari Nusseibeh," *Jerusalem Post*, Oct. 11, 2011. [View](#)
71. "There is No Palestinian State," *The Daily Beast*, Sept. 16, 2011. [View](#)
70. "Where is the Palestinian Ben-Gurion?" *Jerusalem Post*, Sept. 14, 2011. [View](#)
69. "Texts, Lies, and Videotape," *National Interest*, Aug. 10, 2011. [View](#)
68. "Land for War," *Wall Street Journal*, Aug. 5, 2011. [View](#)
67. "A Chameleon, Nevertheless," *American Thinker*, July 24, 2011. [View](#)
66. "Israel's Human Chameleon Strikes Again," *American Thinker*, July 10, 2011. [View](#)
65. "Reclaiming a Historical Truth," *Haaretz*, June 10, 2011. [View](#)

64. "Abbas's Fable," *Jerusalem Post*, May 20, 2011. [View](#)
63. "The Pinnacle of incompetence," *Jerusalem Post*, Mar. 23, 2011. [View](#)
62. "A Legacy of Violence," *Jerusalem Post*, Mar. 1, 2011. [View](#)
61. "Not Taking Yes for an Answer," *Jerusalem Post*, Aug. 24, 2010. [View](#)
60. "Shimon Peres versus the Brits," *Jerusalem Post*, Aug. 2, 2010. [View](#)
59. "The Palestinians, Alone," *New York Times*, Aug. 2, 2010. [View](#). Selected one of the day's Five Best Columns by *The Atlantic Wire*. [View](#)
58. "Who's Against a Two-State Solution?" *Jewish Ideas Daily*, July 20, 2010. [View](#)
57. "The Middle East That Could Have Been," *National Post*, May 14, 2010.
56. "Palestine's Tragedy," *Standpoint*, Apr. 2010. [View](#)
55. "Muslims Won't Play Together," *New York Times*, Feb. 27, 2010. [View](#)
54. "The Blair Project and EU-American Cooperation," *Daily Star*, June 29, 2007 (with Rory Miller). [View](#)
53. "Islam's War for World Mastery," *New York Sun*, May 18, 2007. [View](#)
52. "Amos Oz's Nostra Culpa," *Contentions* (*Commentary Magazine's* web site), May 16, 2007.
51. "Wir lassen uns einschuchtern," *Die Weltwoche*, No. 6 (Feb. 8, 2007), pp. 56-59 (three-page interview). [View](#)
50. "Why Are Arabs Upset by Saddam's Execution?" *The New Republic*, Jan. 3, 2007.
49. "Has Occupation Hurt the Israeli Army?" *The New Republic*, Sept. 9, 2006.
48. "Pan-Muslim Fiction," *New York Sun*, Aug. 29, 2006. [View](#)
47. "Tragedy and Promise," *New York Sun*, Aug. 7, 2006. [View](#)
46. "Blair's Consistent 'Constructive spirit' on the Middle East," *Irish Times*, July 26, 2006 (with Rory Miller).
45. "Opportunity Knocks," *New York Sun*, July 18, 2006 (with Rory Miller).
44. "Islam's Imperial Dreams," *Wall Street Journal*, Apr. 4, 2006.
43. "Inapt Anti-Israel Activists: Self-Defeat," *The New Republic*, Mar. 1, 2006 (with Rory Miller).
42. "Why Hamas's Victory Isn't Such a Bad Thing," *The New Republic*, Jan. 26, 2006.
41. "What Saddam Hussein Wants. Survival Skills," *The New Republic*, Jan. 24, 2006.

40. " Hamas ist wenigstens ehrlich," *Welt am Sonntag*, Jan. 22, 2006.
39. "Repeat Offenders," *The New Republic*, Oct. 31, 2005 (with Rory Miller).
38. "Who Ruined Gaza?" *National Post*, Sept. 16, 2005.
37. "We Are the World: Radical Islam's Imperialist Agenda," *The New Republic*, July 8, 2005.
36. "Why the French Vote was Good for Europe," *The New Republic*, June 1, 2005.
35. "Return Address," *The New Republic*, May 16, 2005.
34. "Group Dynamics," *The New Republic*, May 12, 2005 (with Rory Miller).
33. "College Coarse," *The New Republic*, Apr. 28, 2005.
32. "Juan Cole's Bad Blog," *The New Republic*, Apr. 25, 2005.
31. "Summit is a New Beginning, but Region Needs a New Ending," *The Scotsman*, Feb. 9, 2005 (with Rory Miller).
30. "Foreign to the Cause," *Jerusalem Post*, Dec. 5, 2003
29. "Should He Go?" *Los Angeles Times*, Sept. 21, 2003.
28. "Trojan Horse that Labor Led into Israel," *Jerusalem Post*, Sept. 16, 2003. [View](#)
27. "Euphemism for Annihilation," *Jerusalem Post*, Aug. 22, 2003.
26. "After Liberation: A Guide to Democracy," *Jerusalem Post*, Apr. 10, 2003.
25. "Conflict of Necessity," *Los Angeles Times*, Mar. 30, 2003.
24. "Iraq Demystified: A Primer on Politics, History," *Los Angeles Times*, Mar. 23, 2003.
23. "Clear-Cut Victory," *Jerusalem Post*, Mar. 11, 2002.
22. "A Trojan Horse?" *Boston Review*, Dec. 2001-Jan. 2002. [View](#)
21. "Don't Make Israel the First Casualty," *The Spectator*, Nov. 3, 2001, pp. 26-28.
20. "Who Started It?" *Daily Telegraph*, Apr. 17, 1998.
19. "Seeking a Strategic Aim for a Tactical Strike," *Jerusalem Post*, Feb. 18, 1998.
18. "A Stalin rather than a Hitler," *Der Spiegel*, No. 46/1997 (a two-page interview).
17. "What On Earth is Assad Up To?" *Jerusalem Post*, Sept. 20, 1996 (Hebrew version in *Haaretz*, Oct. 20, 1996).
16. "Cool and Calculating," *Der Spiegel*, No. 37/1996, p. 146 (a full-page interview).
15. "Insecurity Drives Hussein into a Minefield," *Newsday*, Oct. 17, 1994.

14. "Arafat's Skills as a Crafty Fox are Inadequate to the Tasks of Nationhood," *Los Angeles Times*, May 25, 1994.
13. "Syria Faces Moment of Truth," *Sunday Times*, Sept. 19, 1993.
12. "Pains of Peace Are Better than the Agony of War," *Sunday Times*, Sept. 12, 1993.
11. "Yitzhak Rabin: War Hero on a Mission to Win the Peace," *Sunday Times*, June 28, 1992.
10. "If Saddam Tries to Run," *Newsweek*, Mar. 18, 1991, p. 52 (back-page interview).
9. "Familiar Ring to Baghdad's Ominous Threats," *Times*, Jan. 31, 1991.
8. "Saddam Requires a Quick Ending," *Daily Telegraph*, Jan. 21, 1991.
7. "Why Hussein Hasn't Budged," *New York Times*, Jan. 20, 1991. [View](#)
6. "Options Narrow as Fears of Betrayal Weigh Heavily on Saddam," *Times*, Jan. 12, 1991.
5. "Why War Limited to Kuwait Would Play into Saddam's Hands," *Times*, Sept. 14, 1990.
4. "Myths about Hussein and Iraq," *New York Times*, Aug. 13, 1990 [Also published in *International Herald Tribune*, Aug. 15, as "Saddam Hussein Can Compromise When He Has To," and in *Die Zeit*, Aug. 15]. [View](#)
3. "The End of the Gulf War is in Our Best Interest," *Jerusalem Post*, Dec. 26, 1986.
2. "After April," *Maariv*, Jan. 13, 1982 (Hebrew).
1. "The PLO's Transformation into a Regular Army will Benefit Israel," *Maariv*, Dec. 23, 1981 (Hebrew).

MISCELLANEOUS

7. "Obama's Failed Middle East Policy," *Middle East Forum*, Aug. 24, 2010. [View](#)
6. "Saddam Hussein," *The Oxford Companion to Military History*, Oxford University Press, 2001, pp. 427-28.
5. "The Iran-Iraq War," *The Oxford Companion to Military History*, Oxford University Press, 2001, pp. 450-51.
4. "Saddam Hussein," *The Oxford Companion to American Military History*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.
3. "The Iran-Iraq War," *Encyclopedia of the Middle East*, New York: Macmillan, 1996, Vol. II, pp. 877-879.
2. "If Saddam Goes, Who Gets the Arms?" *Parliamentary Brief*, Vol. 4, No. 1 (October 1995), pp. 79-81.

1. "On the Causes of War," in L. Freedman (ed.), *War*, Oxford University Press, 1994, pp. 65-69.

MAJOR BOOK REVIEWS

9. "Holding the balance of power," *Times Literary Supplement*, June 24, 2016, p. 14 (review of Sean McMeakin, *The Ottoman Endgame*). [View](#)
8. "A Healthy Appetite," *Times Literary Supplement*, May 13, 2015, p. 7 (review of Eugene Rogan, *The Fall of the Ottomans*). [View](#)
7. "The Fight Over 1948'," *New York Sun*, May 1, 2008 (review of Benny Morris, *1948: A History of the First Arab-Israeli War*). [View](#)
6. "[Palestinian Two-Step](#)," *New York Sun*, May 2, 2007 (review of Sari Nusseibeh, *Once Upon a Country: A Palestinian Life*). [View](#)
5. "[The Iron Illusions of Rashid Khalidi](#)," *New York Sun*, Dec. 14, 2006 (review of Rashid Khalidi, *The Iron Cage: the Story of the Palestinian Struggle for Statehood*). [View](#)
4. Charles Tripp, *A History of Iraq*, reviewed in *Reviews in History*, Nov. 2002. [View](#)
3. "New Historians, New Denial," *Times Literary Supplement*, May 5, 2000, p. 27 (review of Benny Morris, *Righteous Victims: A History of the Zionist-Arab Conflict 1881-1999* & Avi Shlaim, *The Iron Wall: Israel and the Arab World since 1948*).
2. "An Incomplete Success," *New York Times Book Review*, Jan. 29, 1995, p. 11 (review of M. Gordon and B. Trainor, *The Generals' War*). [View](#)
1. "Ordeal in Kurdistan," *Times Literary Supplement*, 27 Aug. 1993, p. 23 (review of M.M. Gunter, *The Kurds of Iraq*; Middle East Watch, *The Anfal Campaign in Iraqi Kurdistan*; S. Francis & Andrew Crofts, *Nowhere to Hide*).

BOOK REVIEWS

72. Ali A. Allawi, *Faisal I of Iraq*, reviewed in *The Historian*, Summer 2016, pp. 310-11.
71. "The Weight of the World on Israel," *New York Sun*, Oct. 18, 2006 (review of David Mamet, *The Wicked Son*). [View](#)
70. "The Perfect Surrender," *New York Sun*, Sept. 25, 2006 (review of Karen Armstrong, *Muhammad: a Prophet for Our Time*). [View](#)
69. "Holding Islam Accountable," *New York Sun*, June 29, 2006 (review of Fouad Ajami, *The Foreigner's Gift*). [View](#)
68. "Beirut Bob," *Commentary*, Feb. 2006, pp. 63-66 (review of Robert Fisk, *The Great War for Civilization*). [View](#)
67. "Pure Pappé," *Middle East Quarterly*, Winter 2006, pp. 82-83 (review of Ilan Pappé, *A History of Modern Palestine*). [View](#)
66. Maan Abu Nowar, *The Jordanian-Israeli War 1948-1951*, reviewed in *Middle East Quarterly*, Winter 2004, pp. 84-95. [View](#)

65. Naseer Aruri (ed.), *Palestinian Refugees: the Right of Return*, reviewed in *Middle East Quarterly*, Fall 2003, pp. 88-89. [View](#)
64. Douglas Little, *American Orientalism: the United States and the Middle East since 1945*, reviewed in *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, Sept. 2003, pp. 167-69.
63. Kenneth Pollack, *Arabs at War*, reviewed in *Cold War History*, Summer 2004, pp. 144-45.
62. "Terrorism, the Growth Industry," *Sunday Telegraph*, Nov. 3, 2002 (review of Alan Dershowitz, *Why Terrorism Works*).
61. "The Making of Militant Islam," *Sunday Telegraph*, May 12, 2002 (review of Gilles Kepel, *Jihad*).
60. "Killers in White Coats," *Sunday Telegraph*, Mar. 10, 2002 (review of Robert Harris & Jeremy Paxman, *A Higher Form of Killing: the Secret History of Chemical and Biological Warfare*).
59. "How Holy is the Holy War?" *Sunday Telegraph*, Feb. 10, 2002 (review of Ahmad Rashid, *Jihad*).
58. Mordechai Sarig (ed.), *The Political and Social Philosophy of Ze'ev Jabotinsky*, reviewed in *Middle East Quarterly*, Spring 2001. [View](#)
57. Eugene Rogan & Avi Shlaim (eds.), *The War for Palestine*, reviewed in *Journal of Military History*, Oct. 2001, pp. 1158-60 & *Middle East Quarterly*, Winter, 2002, pp. 89-90. [View](#)
56. Tom Segev, *One Palestine: Complete*, reviewed in *Middle East Quarterly*, Summer 2001, pp. 90-91. [View](#)
55. Kenneth Stein, *Heroic Diplomacy: Sadat, Kissinger, Carter, Begin, and the Quest for Arab-Israeli Peace*, reviewed in *Canadian Journal of History*, Dec. 2001, pp. 616-17.
54. "Middle Eastern Misconceptions," *Sunday Telegraph*, July 8, 2001 (review of Anton La Guardia, *Holy Land, Unholy War: Israelis and Palestinians*).
53. M. Naim Turfan, *Rise of the Young Turks*, reviewed in *International History Review*, June 2001, pp. 439-40.
52. "Holy City, Unholy Mess," *Sunday Telegraph*, Mar. 18, 2001 (review of Bernard Wasserstein, *Divided Jerusalem*).
51. Bernard Wasserstein, *Divided Jerusalem*, reviewed in *International History Review*, Mar. 2002, pp. 53-55.
50. Avi Shlaim, *The Iron Wall: Israel and the Arab World since 1948*, reviewed in *Midstream*, April 2000, pp. 40-41 & in *Shofar*, Fall 2001, pp. 132-34. [View](#)
49. "When the Twain Meets," *Commentary*, June 2000, pp. 69-70 (review of Bernard Lewis, *The Multiple Identities of the Middle East & A Middle East Mosaic*).

48. Sasson Sofer, *Zionism and the Foundations of Israeli Diplomacy*, reviewed in *Political Studies and Middle East Quarterly*, Dec. 1999, p. 78.
47. Michael Karpin and Ina Friedman, *Murder in the Name of God: the Plot to Kill Yitzhak Rabin*, reviewed in *Middle East Quarterly*, Sept. 1999, p. 88. [View](#)
46. Neill Lochery, *The Israeli Labor Party in the Shadow of the Likud*, reviewed in *Middle East Quarterly*, Sept. 1999, pp. 86-87. [View](#)
45. Bernard Lewis, *The Multiple Identities of the Middle East*, reviewed in *Sunday Telegraph*, Feb. 28, 1999.
44. "Dead Men Tell No Tales," *Times Literary Supplement*, Apr. 24, 1998, p. 6 (review of Ahron Bregman and Jihan El-Tahri, *The Fifty Years War: Israel and the Arabs*).
43. Haggai Eshed, *Reuven Shiloah: the Man Behind the Mossad*, reviewed in *International History Review*, Sept. 1998, pp. 94-95.
42. "The Oldest Way," *Times Literary Supplement*, Feb. 27, 1998 (review of Michael Ignatieff, *The Warrior's Honor*).
41. David Goldberg, *To the Promised Land*, reviewed in *Middle East Quarterly*, June 1998, pp. 92-93. [View](#)
40. Zeev Sternhell, *The Founding Myths of Israel*, reviewed in *Middle East Quarterly*, June 1998, pp. 87-88. [View](#)
39. "The Birth of a Nation," *Sunday Telegraph*, Feb. 8, 1998 (review of Martin Gilbert, *Israel: A History*).
38. "No Deaf Ear Turned," *Times Literary Supplement*, Aug. 29, 1997, (review of Shabtai Tevet, *Ben-Gurion and the Holocaust*).
37. Rami Ginat, *The Soviet Union and Egypt*, reviewed in *Slavic Review*, Fall 1997, pp. 588-89.
36. "Military Solutions Are Not Enough," *Times Literary Supplement*, Mar. 7, 1997, p. 7 (review of Benjamin Netanyahu, *Fighting Terrorism*).
35. Anthony Cordesman & Abraham Wagner, *Lessons of Modern War*, reviewed in *International Affairs*, July 1997, pp. 602-03.
34. George & Douglas Ball, *The Passionate Attachment: America's Involvement with Israel*, reviewed in *Political Studies*, Sept. 1996, pp. 778-80.
33. Abraham Ben-Zvi, *The United States and Israel*, reviewed in *Political Studies*, Sept. 1996, pp. 778-80.
32. Benny Morris, *Israel's Border wars 1949-1956 & 1948 and After: Israel and the Palestinians*, reviewed in *Political Studies*, Sept. 1996, pp. 778-80.
31. M.R. al-Madfai, *Jordan, the United States and the Middle East Peace Process, 1974-1991*, reviewed in *Political Studies*, Sept. 1996, pp. 778-80.

30. Shaul Mishal and Reuben Aharoni (eds.), *Speaking Stones: Communiqués from the Intifada Underground*, reviewed in *Israel Affairs*, Winter 1995, pp. 211-12.
29. Robert Freedman (ed.), *Israel under Rabin*, reviewed in *Israel Affairs*, Winter 1995, pp. 213-14.
28. Efraim Inbar (ed.), *Regional Security Regimes: Israel and its Neighbors*, reviewed in *International Affairs*, Jan. 1996, p. 52.
27. Daniel Pipes (ed.), *Middle East Quarterly*, reviewed in *Times Literary Supplement*, Nov. 24, 1995.
26. Anthony Verrier (ed.), *Agents of Empire. Anglo-Zionist Intelligence Operations 1915-1919*, reviewed in *Jewish Chronicle*, Sept. 29, 1995, and *Israel Affairs*, Winter 1995, pp. 207-10.
25. Zvi Elpeleg, *The Grand Mufti of Jerusalem*, reviewed in *Shofar*, Spring 1996, pp. 170-72, and *Israel Affairs*, Summer 1995, pp. 157-59.
24. Anthony Cordesman, *After the Storm: The Changing Military Balance in the Middle East*, reviewed in *Journal of Conflict Studies*, Spring 1995, pp. 131-32.
23. Michael Mazarr, D.M. Snider, and J.A. Blackwell, *Desert Storm: The Gulf War and What We Learned*, reviewed in *Journal of Conflict Studies*, Spring 1995, pp. 131-32.
22. Amazia Baram & Barry Rubin (eds.), *Iraq's Road to War*, reviewed in *International Affairs*, Jan. 1995, pp. 190-91.
21. Michael Palmer, *Guardians of the Gulf: A History of America's Expanding Role in the Persian Gulf, 1833-1992*, reviewed in *Armed Forces & Society*, Vol. 20, No. 2, pp. 318-19.
20. H. Amirahmadi & N. Entessar (eds.), *Reconstruction and Regional Diplomacy in the Persian Gulf*, reviewed in *International Affairs*, July 1993, p. 67.
19. Yehuda Lukacs (ed.), *The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: A Documentary Record, 1967-1970*, reviewed in *International Affairs*, Apr. 1993, p. 390.
18. G.M. Burck and C.C. Flowerree, *International Handbook of Chemical Weapons Proliferation*, reviewed in *International Affairs*, Oct. 1992, p. 730.
17. G. Nonneman and A. Ehteshami, *War and Peace in the Gulf*, reviewed in *International Affairs*, Jan. 1992, p. 189.
16. "Unreliable Witness", *Times Literary Supplement*, Nov. 21, 1991 (review of Seymour Hersh, *The Samson Option*; also reviewed in *Survival*, Autumn 1992, pp. 138-39).
15. Galia Golan, *Soviet Policies in the Middle East: From World War II to Gorbachev*, reviewed in *The Slavonic Review*, Jan. 1992, pp. 181-82.
14. Christopher Joyner, *The Persian Gulf War*, reviewed in *Political Science Quarterly*, Fall 1991, pp. 531-32.
13. Pedro Ramet, *The Soviet-Syrian Relationship Since 1955: A Troubled Alliance*, reviewed in *Canadian-American Slavic Studies*, Vol. 25, No. 4 (1991), pp. 361-62.

12. E. Brun & J. Hersh, *Soviet-Third World Relations in a Capitalist World*, reviewed in *International Affairs*, Oct. 1991, pp. 821-22.
11. "Mosaic of the Mosque," *Times Educational Supplement*, May 31, 1991 (review of Albert Hourani, *A History of the Arab Peoples*).
10. Anthony Cordesman and Abraham Wagner, *The Lessons of Modern War, Vols. I-IV*, reviewed in *International Affairs*, Jan. 1992, pp. 151-52.
9. Zeev Maoz, *Paradoxes of War*, reviewed in *International Affairs*, Jan. 1992, pp. 151-52.
8. Fred Halliday, *Revolution and Foreign Policy: The Case of South Yemen 1967-1987*, reviewed in *International Affairs*, Jan. 1991, pp. 191-92.
7. "Gangster to Arab Hero," *Times Educational Supplement*, Feb. 1, 1991 (review of J. Bulloch & H. Morris, *Saddam's War*).
6. Uri Bialer, *Between East and West: Israel's Foreign Policy Orientations 1948-1956* & Aharon Klieman, *Israel in the World after Forty Years*, reviewed in *International Affairs*, Oct. 1990, pp. 834-36.
5. M. Ahrari (ed.), *The Gulf and International Security*, reviewed in *Arms Control*, May 1990, pp. 80-81.
4. A.T. Leonhard (ed.), *Neutrality: Changing Concepts and Practices* & Harto Hakovirta, *East-West Conflict and European Neutrality*, reviewed in *International Affairs*, Summer 1989, pp. 522-23.
3. Vojtech Mastny, *Helsinki, Human Rights and European Security*, reviewed in *Survival*, Nov.-Dec. 1987.
2. Amir Taheri, *Holy Terror*, reviewed in *Survival*, May-June 1987.
1. Martin Kramer (ed.), *Shi'ism, Resistance, and Revolution*, reviewed in *Survival*, May-June 1987.