Hillel Frisch

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**Education:**

B.A. Tel-Aviv University, General History.

M.I.A. Columbia University.

Ph.D. Political Science, the Hebrew University (with distinction).

**Teaching:**

1990-2000- Lecturer, Political Science Department, Hebrew University.

1999-2006 – Senior Lecturer, Department of Political Studies and Department of Middle East Studies, Bar-Ilan University.

2007-2011- Associate Professor, Department of Political Studies and Department of Middle East Studies, Bar-Ilan University.

2012 – Professor, Department of Political Studies and Department of Middle East Studies, Bar-Ilan University.

**Other professional pursuits:**

Senior Research Associate, the Begin-Sadat Center for Strategic Studies, Bar-Ilan University.

**List of Publications**

***Books (as author)***

*Israel’s Security and its Arab Citizens* (New York and London: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

*The Palestinian Military: Between Militias and Armies* (London: Routledge, 2008). 216 pp.

*Countdown to Statehood: Palestinian State Formation in the West Bank and Gaza* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1998). 212 pp.

Paul King, Daniel Elazar, Orli HaCohen and Hillel Frisch, *Project Renewal in Israel: Revitalization Through Partnership* (New York: University Press of America, 1987). 188 pp.

Shmuel Sandler and Hillel Frisch, *Israel, the Palestinians, and the West Bank: A Study in Intercommunal Conflict* (Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, 1984). 183 pp. (Winner of the Michael Landau Prize, 1986).

*Stagnation and Frontier: Arab and Jewish Industry in the West Bank* (Jerusalem: The West Bank Project, 1983). 90 pp.

**Edited books**

Hillel Frisch and Efraim Inbar (eds) *Islamic Radicalism and International Security: Challenges and Response* (London: Routledge, 2008). Also appeared in paperback edition 2009.

Shmuel Sandler, Manfred Gerstenfeld and Hillel Frisch (eds.) *Israel at the Polls* *-2009* (London: Routledge, 2010).

***Articles in refereed periodicals***

“Jordan and Hamas,” *Handbook on Jordan,* P.R. Kumaraswamy, ed., Palgrave Macmillan, 2019, pp. 311-323.

 “The Palestinian Military: One Military, Not Two, *Oxford Handbook of Military Studies* (forthcoming).

“Assessing Iranian Soft Power in the Arab World from Google Trends,” *The Journal for Interdisciplinary Middle Eastern Studies*, vol. 4 (Spring 2019), pp. 33-56.

 “Choosing the Right Strategy: Why the Palestinians Were More Successful in the First Intifada than in the Second?” *Contemporary Review of the Middle East* vol. 2, no. 3 (2015), pp. 176-191, doi:10.1177/23477989156032*76* [*http://cme.sagepub.com/content/2/3.toc*](http://cme.sagepub.com/content/2/3.toc)

Edited special issue on The Role of the Military in the Arab Tumult, *Journal of Strategic Studies***,** vol. 36, no. 2 (2013) including the Introduction.

### “The Egyptian Army and Egypt's ‘Spring’, *Journal of Strategic Studies*, vol. 36, no. 2 (2013), pp. 180-204.

### “The Demise of the PLO: Neither Diaspora nor Statehood,” *Political Science Quarterly*, vol. 127, no. 2 (Summer 2012), pp. 241–261.

**“**Why Monarchies Persist: Balancing between Internal and External Vulnerability,” *Review of International Affairs*, Volume 37, Issue 1 (2011), pp 167-184.

“Arab Nationalism and its Competitors: Why Islamists are State-Centric,” *Critical Review*, vol. 21, no. 1 (2010), pp. 1-17.

Hillel Frisch and Shmuel Sandler,  “The 2009 Knesset Elections: a Foreign Affairs Perspective,” *Israel Affairs*, vol. 16, no. 1, (Winter 2010), pp 1 – 13.

 “Strategic Change and Terrorist Movements: Lessons from Hamas,” *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, vol. 32, no. 12 (December 2009), pp. 1-18.

**“**The Death of the PLO,” *Middle Eastern Studies*, vol. 45, no. 2 (March 2009), pp. 243–261.

(The) Fence or Offense? Testing the Effectiveness of “The Fence” in Judea and Samaria,” *Democracy and Security*, vol. 3, no.1 (2007), pp. 1-19.

 Hillel Frisch and Menachem Hofnung, Power or Justice? Rule and Law in the Palestinian Authority," *Journal of Peace Research* vol. 44, no. 3 (May 2007), pp. 31-48.

 "Stability amidst Flux: The Arab Parties Come of Age in 2006," *Israel Affairs*, vol. 13, no. 2 (April 2007), pp. 368-383.

“Motivation or Capabilities? Israeli Counterterrorism against Palestinian Suicide-bombings and Violence,” *Journal of Strategic Studies*, vol. 29, no. 5(October 2006), pp. 843-869.

 “Has the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict become Islamic? Fatah, Islam and the Al-Aqsa Martyrs,” *Terrorism and Political Violence*, vol. 17, no. 2 (June 2005), pp. 1-20.

“Nationalizing a Universal Text: The Qur’an in Arafat’s Rhetoric,” *Middle Eastern Studies*, vol. 41, no. 3, (2005), pp. 321-336.

Hillel Frisch and Shmuel Sandler, “Religion, State, and the International System in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict,” *International Political Science Review*, vol. 25, no. 1 (2004), pp. 77-96.

“The Arab Vote in the 2003 Elections,” *Israel Affairs*, vol. 10, no. 4 (Summer 2004), pp. 130-145*.*

“Perceptions of Israel and the Peace Process in the Armies of Israel, Syria, Egypt and Jordan,” *Political Studies*, vol. 54 (Winter 2004), pp. 395-413*.*

"Do Better Fences Make Better Neighbors: Palestinian-Jordanian Relations since Oslo," *Middle East Journal*, vol.58, no.1 (Winter 2004), pp. 52-71.

“Israeli Arabs and the Arab World: From the Gulf War to the Israeli-Palestinian Confrontation,” *Middle Eastern Studies,* vol.31, no.4 (October 2003), pp. 99-120.

 “Comparing Palestinian Perspectives in the Palestinian Authority, Israel and Jordan on Jordanian-Israeli Relations,” *Israel Affairs*, vol. 9, no. 3 (Spring 2003), pp. 67-96.

 “Between Bullets and Ballots: Palestinians and Israeli Democracy,” *Review of International Affairs*, vol. 2, no. 3(Spring 2003), pp. 171-186.

“Debating Palestinian Strategy in the al-Aqsa Intifada,” *Terrorism and Political Violence*, vol. 15, no. 2 (Summer 2003), pp. 61-8 0.

 “Explaining Third World Security Structures,” *Journal of Strategic Studies*, vol. 25, no. 3 (September 2002), pp. 161-190.

 “Between Ethnicity and Nationalism: Comparing the Nakba Narratives amongst Arab Palestinians in Israel and under the Palestinian Authority,” *Israel Affairs*, vol. 9, nos. 1-2 (Autumn/Winter 2002), pp. 85-105.

“The Role of Religion in the Armies of Egypt, Syria and Jordan,” *Orient*, vol. 21, no. 1 (December 2002), pp. 207-224.

 "Fuzzy Nationalism: The Case of Jordan," *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, vol. 8, no. 4 (Winter 2002), pp. 86-103.

 “The Arab Vote in the 1999 Elections: The Bid for Leadership,” *Israel Affairs*, vol. 7, nos. 3-4 (Winter-Spring 2001), pp. 153-170. **B+** Also appeared in Ben Molov and Shmuel Sandler, eds., *Israel at the Polls 1999* (London: Frank Cass, 2001), pp. 153-70.

 “Nationalism in the Middle East,” *The Encyclopedia of Nationalism* (San Diego: Academic Press, 2001), pp. 485-505 (double-column).

 “The Arab Vote in the 1996 General Elections: The Radicalization of Politicization?,” *Israel Affairs*, vol. 4, no. 1 (Autumn, 1997), pp. 103-120. Also appeared in “The Arab Vote in the 1996 General Elections: The Radicalization of Politicization?,” in Shmuel Sandler and Daniel Elazar, eds., *Israel at the Polls 1996* (London: Frank Cass, 1998), pp. 103-120.

 “Absolutist or Neopatriarchal State-building? Customary Law, Extended Families, and the Palestinian Authority.” *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, vol. 29, no. 3 (Summer 1997), pp. 341-358.

Hillel Frisch and Menachem Hofnung, “International Aid and Palestinian State-Building,” *World Development*, vol. 25, no.8 (August, 1997), pp. 1243-1255 (double column).

“Ethnicity, Territorial Integrity, and Regional Order: Palestinian Identity in Jordan and Israel,” *Journal of Peace Research*, vol. 34, no. 3 (August 1997), pp. 257-269 (double column)

“State Ethnicization and the Crisis of Leadership Succession Among Israel’s Druze, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, vol. 20, no 2 (July 1997), pp. 580-593.

 “The PLO and the Palestinians in Israel: Politicization or Radicalization?” *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, vol. 2, no. 3 (Autumn 1996), pp. 446-464.

 “From Repression to Facilitation: The Effects of Israeli Policies on Palestinian Mobilization in the West Bank 1967-1987*,” Terrorism and Political Violence*, vol. 8, no. 1 (Spring 1996), pp. 1-21.

Territorializing a Universal Religion: The Evolution of Nationalist Symbols in Palestinian Fundamentalism,” *Canadian Review of Studies in Nationalism*, vol. 21, nos. 1-2 (1994), pp. 45-55.

“The Palestinian Movement: The Middle Command,” *Middle Eastern Studies*, vol. 29, no. 2 (April 1993), pp. 254-274. Also appeared in Ian S. Lustick, ed., *Arab-Israeli Relations*, vol. 4 (New York: Garland, 1994), pp. 88-109.

”The Druze Minority in the Israeli Military: Traditionalizing an Ethnic Policing Role,” *Armed Forces and Society*, vol. 20, no. 1 (Fall 1993), pp. 51-67.

“Between Diffusion and Territorial Consolidation in Rebellion: Striking at the Hard Core of the Intifada*,” Terrorism and Political Violence*, vol. 3, no. 4 (Winter 1991), pp. 39‑62.

***Non-Refereed Articles***

“What Makes Terrorists Tick,” *International Security*, vol. 33, no. 4 (Spring 2009), pp. 186-189. Reprinted in *Contending with Terrorism: Roots, Strategies, and Responses* Michael E. Brown Ed. *et al.* (Boston: MIT Press, 2010).

*Hamas: A Social Welfare Government or War Machine?*  (BESA, 2015 <http://besacenter.org/mideast-security-and-policy-studies/9483/>

*The ISIS Challenge in Syria: Implications for Israeli Security*  (BESA, May 8, 2016) <http://besacenter.org/mideast-security-and-policy-studies/isis-challenge-syria-implications-israeli-security/>

 “Plotting the Map of Pain of Hizballah and Hamas and the Strategy Required,” in Efraim Inbar (ed.), *Israel’s Small Wars*, Mideast Security and Policy Studies, No. 128, BESA Center for Strategic Studies, 28 February 2017, pp. 31-52 (Hebrew), <https://besacenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/02/MSPS-128web.pdf>

 Oshri Bartal and Hillel Frisch, *Are Lone Wolves Really Acting Alone? The Wave of Terror 2008-2015* (Hebrew) May 13, 2017 Mideast Security and Policy Studies, BESA Center for Strategic Studies, <https://besacenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/08/MSPS137_HE.pdf>

 *Israel, Hamas-Gaza and the Palestinian Authority: A Dense Triangle*, 10 August 2017 (Hebrew), Mideast Security and Policy Studies, BESA Center for Strategic Studies, <https://besacenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/08/MSPS137_HE.pdf>

**Reviewer for Refereed Journals**

*American Political Science Review*

*Armed Forces and Society*

*Comparative Political Studies*

*Comparative Politics*

*Conflict Quarterly*

*Democratization*

*Ethnic and Racial Studies*

*Israel Affairs*

*International Sociology*

*International Studies Quarterly*

*Israel Sociology*

*Journal of Peace Research*

*Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*

*Nations and Nationalism*

*Political Psychology*

*Terrorism and Political Violence*

**Courses Taught:**

Palestinian Collective Action in Comparative Perspective.

State Formation in the Middle East.

The Political Economy of the Middle East.

Israel’s Wars.

National Security Doctrine and Practice in States of the Middle East.

**Conferences and Papers in the past three years:**

1. “Escalation vs. Containment in the Three Rounds of the Israeli-Hamas Conflict,” Washington Institute for Near East Policy, June 26, 2019.
2. “Escalation vs. Containment in the Three Rounds of the Israeli-Hamas Conflict,” Middle East Forum, Philadelphia, June 24, 2019.
3. “Explaining the Expansion and Narrowing of Regional Conflicts: Israeli-Arab and the post-Arab Conflicts Compared,” International Studies Association, European Section, Belgrade, June 17, 2019. Panel Chair and paper presentation.
4. “Assessing Iranian Soft Power in the Arab World from Google Trends,” MERC conference, Ariel University, April 5, 2019.
5. “Explaining the Expansion and Narrowing of Regional Conflicts: Israeli-Arab and the post-Arab Conflicts Compared,” Israel Association for International Studies Annual Meeting, Open University, June 6, 2018.
6. “Explaining the Expansion and Narrowing of Regional Conflicts: Israeli-Arab and the post-Arab Conflicts Compared, “International Workshop on Nationalism and Conflict, Haifa University, May 30, 2018.
7. “Explaining the Expansion and Narrowing of Regional Conflicts: Israeli-Arab and the post-Arab Conflicts Compared, “Israel Political Science Association, Sapir College, April 5, 2018.
8. “Getting it Right: From Containing Hamas in Gaza to Escalating Offense,” War Studies Seminar at King’s College, London, May 10, 2018.