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EDUCATION

1982 Ph.D. University of Michigan (History)
1978 A.M.L.S. University of Michigan (Library Science)
1974 A.M. Harvard University (Middle East Studies)
1970 A.B. Princeton University (Near Eastern Studies) magna cum laude,
 Phi Beta Kappa
1969 Center for Arabic Study Abroad, American University in Cairo

PROFESSIONAL POSITIONS

2008- Donald J. McLachlan Professor of History, Stanford University
2006-08 Director of Middle East Studies and Professor of History, American
 University in Cairo
1996-2008 Professor, Department of History, Stanford University
2004-05 Visiting Research Fellow, American University in Cairo; Visiting
 Researcher, al-Ahram Center for Political and Strategic Studies
Fall 2001 Sultan Visiting Professor of Middle East Studies, University of
 California, Berkeley
1995-99 Director, Program in Modern Thought and Literature, Stanford
 University
1990-96 Associate Professor, Department of History, Stanford University
Fall 1989 Senior Associate Member, St. Antony's College (Oxford)
1983-90 Assistant Professor, Department of History, Stanford University
1982 Lecturer, Center for Near Eastern and North African Studies,
 University of Michigan
1982-83 Instructor, Division of Social Sciences, Henry Ford Community
 College
1979-83 Assistant Librarian, Near East Division, Graduate Library, University
 of Michigan

FELLOWSHIPS, GRANTS AND AWARDS

VPUE Faculty Grant for Undergraduate Research, 2010-11
Hewlett Faculty Research Grant, 2010
Palestinian American Research Center Research Grant, 2010
Ford Foundation, grant for a monthly interdisciplinary seminar and an
international workshop on "Islamists and Democrats," Middle East Studies
Center, AUC, 2006-08 (\$75,000)
Fellow, Center for Arabic Study Abroad, AUC, fall 2004
Stanford University Knight Journalism Fellows, Favorite Professor Award, 2004
Graduate Service Recognition Award, 2004
Hewlett Faculty Research Grant, 2003
Distinguished Visiting Professor, Department of History, AUC, December 2002
Mellon Foundation Sawyer Seminar grant, Stanford University, 2002-04 (\$110,000)
Fellow, Stanford Humanities Center, 1987-88; 1999-2000

University of California Humanities Research Institute Fellowship, 2000 (declined)
Hewlett Faculty Research Grant, 1997
Social Science Research Council Advanced Research Grant, 1994
Fulbright Research Grant, 1992-93
Dean's Award for Distinguished Teaching, 1990
National Endowment for the Humanities Summer Stipend, 1987
Fellow, American Research Center in Egypt, 1986
Pew Foundation Grant, 1985, 1987
National Endowment for the Humanities Travel to Collections Grant, 1984, 1988
Fellow, Fulbright-Hays Doctoral Dissertation Abroad Program, 1980-81

PUBLICATIONS

Books (9)

Social Movements, Mobilization, and Contestation in the Middle East and North Africa (Stanford University Press, 2011); co-edited with Frédéric Vairel; 2nd ed. 2013.

First edition includes: "The Middle East and North Africa Beyond Classical Social Movement Theory," and "Afterword" (with Frédéric Vairel) and "A Workers' Social Movement on the Margin of the Global Neoliberal Order, Egypt 2004-2009."
Second edition includes: "The Middle East and North Africa Beyond Classical Social Movement Theory" (revised) and "A Workers' Social Movement on the Margin of the Global Neoliberal Order, Egypt 2004-2012" (with Marie Duboc).

[*The Struggle for Worker Rights in Egypt*](#) (Washington, DC: Solidarity Center, 2010); Arabic edition: (Cairo, 2010).

First award for a non-periodical publication by a national or international entity from International Labor Communications Association, 2011.

The Struggle for Sovereignty: Palestine and Israel, 1993-2005 (Stanford University Press, 2006); co-edited with Rebecca L. Stein.

Workers and Peasants in the Modern Middle East (Cambridge University Press, 2001).

The Dispersion of Egyptian Jewry: Culture, Politics, and the Formation of a Modern Diaspora (University of California Press, 1998); paperback edition: American University in Cairo Press, 2005; Hebrew translation: *Pzurat yehudei mitzrayim* (Tel Aviv: Resling, 2007); Arabic translation: *Shatat yahud misr* (Cairo: Dar al-Shorouk, 2007).

Political Islam: Essays from Middle East Report (University of California Press, 1996); co-edited with Joe Stork. Includes "On the Modernity, Historical Specificity and International Context of Political Islam," (with Joe Stork).

Was the Red Flag Flying There? Marxist Politics and the Arab-Israeli Conflict in Egypt and Israel, 1948-1965 (University of California Press, 1990); Arabic translation: *al-'Alam al-ahmar: hal kana yurafirif hunak? al-siyasat al-markisiyya wa'l-niza' al-'arabi al-isra'ili* (Cairo: Dar al-Thaqafa al-Jadida, 1996).

Intifada: The Palestinian Uprising Against Israeli Occupation (South End Press, 1989); co-edited with Zachary Lockman. Includes "From Land Day to Equality Day," (earlier version in *Middle East Report*, no. 150 (January-February 1988).

Workers on the Nile: Nationalism, Communism, Islam and the Egyptian Working Class, 1882-1954 (Princeton University Press, 1987); co-authored with Zachary Lockman. 2nd edition: (American University in Cairo Press, 1998). Arabic translation: *al-'Ummal wa'l-haraka al-siyasiyya fi misr: al-wataniyya, al-shuyu'iyya, al-islamiyya*, 2 vols. (Cairo: Markaz al-Buhuth al-'Arabiyya, 2 vols. 1992, 1996).

Articles in Peer Reviewed Journals (26)

"Les ouvriers et les soulèvements arabes de 2011," *Le Mouvement Social* no. 245 (2014).

"Mixing, Separation, and Violence in Urban Spaces and the Rural Frontier in Palestine," *Arab Studies Journal* 21 (no. 1, Spring 2013):10-43.

"Workers and Egypt's January 25th Revolution," *International Labor and Working Class History* 80 (no. 1, 2011):189-96.

"Workers' Protest in Egypt: Neo-Liberalism and Class Struggle in the 21st Century," *Social Movement Studies* 8 (no. 4, Nov. 2009):449-454.

"Le Marxisme égyptien (1936-52): nationalisme, anti-impérialisme et réforme sociale," *Cahiers d'histoire: revue d'histoire critique*, no. 105/106 (July-Dec. 2008):129-43.

"Essor et déclin du paradigme marxiste/nationaliste de gauche dans Le Moyen-Orient Arabe," *Cahiers d'histoire: revue d'histoire critique*, no. 104 (avril-juin 2008):169-88.

"Forgetfulness for Memory: The Limits of the New Israeli History," *Journal of Palestine Studies* 35 (no. 2, winter 2005):6-23.

"Political Islam and the New Global Economy: The Political Economy of an Egyptian Social Movement," *The New Centennial Review* 5 (no. 1, spring 2005):111-39.

"The Israelization of American Middle East Policy Discourse," *Social Text* 21 (no. 2, summer 2003):125-39

["Is Terrorism a Useful Term in Understanding the Middle East and the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict?"](#) *Radical History Review* no. 85 (winter 2003):12-23.

"Anti-Zionism, Anti-Semitism, and the Jewish Community in Egypt, 1939 to the Present," *Hagar: International Social Science Review* 3 (no. 1, 2002):51-66.

"The Jewish Business Elite in Twentieth Century Egypt: Pillars of the National Economy or Compradors?" *Bulletin of the Royal Institute for Inter-Faith Studies* 1 (no. 2, Autumn 1999):113-38.

"Political Economy and Public Culture in a State of Constant Conflict: 50 Years of Jewish Statehood," *Jewish Social Studies* 4 (no. 3, 1998):96-141.

- “Nazis and Spies: Representations of Israeli Espionage and Terrorism in Egypt,” *Jewish Social Studies* 2 (no. 3, 1996):54-84.
- “Egyptian Jewish Identities: Communitarianisms, Nationalisms, Nostalgias,” *Stanford Humanities Review* 5 (no. 1, 1995):92-119; reprinted in *Goshen: Bulletin des juifs d’Égypte en Israël* no. 16 (January 2000):14-22.
- “The Holocaust and the Politics of Memory” (review essay) *Radical History Review* no. 60 (Fall 1994):217-23.
- “Writing Class: Workers and Modern Egyptian Colloquial Poetry (*Zajal*),” *Poetics Today* 15 (no. 2, Summer 1994):191-215.
- “Exile and Political Activism: The Egyptian-Jewish Communist Emigrés in Paris, 1950-1959” *Diaspora* 2 (no. 1, 1992):73-94.
- “Knowing Your Enemy, Knowing Your Ally: The Arabists of Hashomer Hatza‘ir (MAPAM),” *Social Text* no. 28 (July 1991):100-21; Hebrew translation in ‘*Aravim ve-yehudim be-tekufat ha-mandat: mabat hadash ‘al ha-mehkar ha-histori*, Ilan Pappé, ed., (Givat Haviva: Center for Peace Research, 1995):179-201
- “Class, Ethnicity, Gender, National Conflict, and the Formation of Israeli Society” (review essay) *Radical History Review*, no. 51 (Fall 1991):114-23.
- “Labor, Capital and the State in Nasserist Egypt, 1952-1961,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 21 (no. 1, 1989):71-90.
- “Israel at Forty: The Political Economy/Political Culture of Constant Conflict,” *Arab Studies Quarterly* 10 (no. 3, 1988):433-56.
- “The Communist Movement and Nationalist Political Discourse in Nasirist Egypt,” *Middle East Journal* 41 (no. 4, 1987):568-84.
- “Class and Politics in Middle Eastern Societies: A Review Article,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 28 (no. 3, 1986):552-57.

Book Chapters (27)

- “Egyptian Workers in the Liberal Age and Beyond,” in *Transformations of Modern Arabic Thought*, Jens Hanssen and Max Weiss eds. (Cambridge University Press, forthcoming).
- “Les transformations de la question sociale en Égypte : mouvement ouvrier, luttes syndicales et processus révolutionnaire,” in *Soulèvements populaires et recompositions politiques dans le monde arabe*, Michel Camau and Frédéric Vairel (eds.) with Marie Duboc (Presses de l’Université de Montréal, forthcoming).
- “Jews as Native Iraqis,” Introduction to Nissim Rejwan, *To Live in Two Worlds: Baghdad–Jerusalem, 1924–2008* (University Press of America, 2013), xv-xix. Original longer version: Foreword to Nissim Rejwan, *The Last Jews in Baghdad* (University of Texas Press, 2004), xi-xxii.

- “Strikes in Egypt Spread from Center of Gravity,” with Hossam el-Hamalawy, in David McMurray and Amanda Ufheil-Somers (eds.), *The Arab Revolts: Dispatches on Militant Democracy in the Middle East* (Indiana University Press, 2013), 83-99.
- “The Working Class and the Popular Movement in Egypt,” in Jeannie Sowers (ed.), *The Journey to Tahrir: Revolution, Protest and Social Change in Egypt, 1999-2011* (Verso, 2012), 92-106.
- “Soziale Bewegungen und der »Arabische Frühling«: Rolle der ägyptischen Arbeiterbewegung” in Asiye Öztürk (ed.), *Arabische Zeitenwende. Aufstand und Revolution in der arabischen Welt* (Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 2012), 76-85.
- “North American Colleges and Universities and BDS,” in Audrea Lim (ed.), *The Case for Sanctions Against Israel* (Verso, 2012), 61-75.
- “The Struggle for Worker Rights in Egypt,” in Immanuel Ness, Amy Offner, and Chris Sturr (eds.), *Real World Labor* (Boston: Dollars and Sense, 2011).
- “Knowing the Other: Arabs, Islam, and the Western Cultural Tradition,” in Hazel Rose Markus and Paula M. L. Moya (eds.), *Doing Race: 21 Essays for the 21st Century* (Norton Press, 2010), 199-215.
- “Egyptian Textile Workers: From Craft Artisans Facing European Competition to Proletarians Contending with the State,” in Lex Heerma van Voss, et al, (eds.), *The Ashgate Companion to the History of Textile Workers, 1650-2000*, (Ashgate Press, 2010), 172-97.
- “Egyptian Workers from Arab Socialism to the Neo-Liberal Economic Order,” in Rabab El-Mahdi and Philip Marfleet (eds.), *Egypt: The Moment of Change*, Zed Press, 2009), 68-86.
- “Neo-Liberal Structural Adjustment, Political Participation and Political de-Mobilization in Egypt,” in Laura Guazzone and Daniela Pioppi (eds.), *The Arab State and Neo-Liberal Globalization: The Restructuring of State Power in the Middle East* (Ithaca Press, 2009), 19-46.
- “The Egyptian Workers Movement in 2007,” in Hadjar Aouardji and H el ene Legeay (eds.), *Chroniques  gyptiennes/ Egyptian Chronicles 2007* (Cairo: CEDEJ, 2008), 219-40.
- “The New McCarthyism: Policing Thought about the Middle East” in *Academic Freedom after 9/11*, Beshara Doumani, ed., (Zone Press, 2006), 237-66; earlier version in *Race & Class* 46 (no. 1, July-September 2004):101-15.
- “Imposed Normalization and Cultural Transgression: Cultural Politics in Egypt and Israel since the 1979 Peace Treaty,” in John Bunzl (ed.) *In God's Name? Islam, Judaism and the Political Role of Religions in the Middle East* (Florida Universities Press, 2004), 137-55.
- “The Karaites in Modern Egypt,” in Meira Polliack (ed.), *Karaite Judaism: A Guide to its History and Literary Sources* (Brill Press, 2003), 417-30.

- “The United States-Israeli Alliance,” in Tony Kushner and Alisa Solomon (eds.) *Wrestling with Zion: Progressive Jewish American Responses to the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict* (Grove Atlantic Press, 2003), 41-50.
- “Late Capitalism and the Reformation of the Working Classes in the Middle East” in *Histories of the Modern Middle East: New Directions*, Israel Gershoni, Hakan Erdem, and Ursula Wökek eds., (Lynne Rienner Press, 2002).
- “Society and Economy, 1923-1952,” in *The Cambridge History of Egypt*, M.W. Daly ed., (Cambridge University Press, 1998) 2:309-33.
- “Arms Transfers, the New Structure of U.S. Hegemony, and Prospects for Democratic Development in the Gulf,” in *War and its Consequences: Lessons from the Persian Gulf Conflict*, John O'Loughlin, Thomas Meyer, and Edward S. Greenberg, eds. (HarperCollins, 1994):87-104; partial German translation in *Inamo: Berichte & Analysen zu Politik und Gesellschaft des Nahen und Mittleren Ostens* 2 (Winter 1996):8-11.
- “Will the Real Egyptian Working Class Please Stand Up?” in *Workers and Working Classes in the Middle East: Struggles, Histories, Historiographies*, Zachary Lockman, ed. (State University of New York Press, 1994), 247-70.
- “New History, New Politics: A Revisionist Historical View,” in *The Struggle for Peace: Israelis and Palestinians*, Elizabeth W. Fernea and Mary E. Hocking, eds. (University of Texas Press, 1992), 80-86.
- “Remapping the West: Teaching the Middle East in World and Western Civilization Courses,” in *Perspectives on Teaching Innovations: World and Global History* (American Historical Association, 1999):55-62 earlier version in *AHA Perspectives*, December 1992.
- “1919: Labor Upsurge and National Revolution,” chapter from *Workers on the Nile*, in *The Modern Middle East: A Reader*, Albert Hourani, Philip Khoury and Mary Wilson, eds. (I.B. Tauris, 1992; University of California Press, 1994):395-428.
- “Islam, Marxism, and the Shubra al-Khaymah Textile Workers: Muslim Brothers and Communists in the Egyptian Trade Union Movement,” in *Islam, Politics, and Social Movements*, Edmund Burke, III and Ira M. Lapidus, eds. (University of California Press, 1988):207-27.
- “Israel: The Political Economy of a Garrison State and its Future,” in *The Next Arab Decade: Alternative Futures*, Hisham Sharabi, ed. (Westview & Mansell, 1988):241-54; Arabic translation: *al-Mustaqbal al-'Arabi*, no. 91 (Sept. 1986) and *al-'Aqd al-'arabi al-qadim: al-mustaqbalat al-badila* (Georgetown University Center for Contemporary Arab Studies & Arab Unity Studies Center, 1986).
- “Islamic Responses to the Penetration of Capitalism in the Middle East,” in *The Islamic Impulse*, Barbara Stowasser, ed. (Georgetown University Center for Contemporary Arab Studies & Croom Helm, 1986), 87-105.

Other Articles (27)

- “Civil Society, NGO's and Egypt's 2011 Popular Uprising,” *South Atlantic Quarterly* (forthcoming).

“From Urban Cosmopolitanism to ‘Mixed Cities’ to Ethnic Purity,” *Jadal Electronic Magazine*, no. 18, Mada al-Carmel Arab Center for Applied Social Research, Fall 2013.

“Intellectuals, Socialists, Capitalists and Bi-Nationalism in Mandate Palestine,” *AJS Perspectives*, Fall 2013.

“Les ouvriers égyptiens et le 25 janvier: contexte historique d’un mouvement social,” *Cahiers de l’Orient* no. 108 (Winter, 2012):97-114.

“[The Left, the Jews and Defenders of Israel: A Review Essay](#),” *Middle East Report Online*, August, 2012.

“Egyptian Workers and January 25th: A Social Movement in Historical Context,” *Social Research* 79 (no. 2, Summer 2012):323-48.

“[The Rise of Egypt’s Workers](#),” Carnegie Papers, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace,” June 2012 (Arabic version: “Su‘ud ‘ummal misr”).

“The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict and the Arab Awakening,” *Palestine-Israel Journal* 18 (no. 1, 2012):52-60.

“[A Decade of the Neo-McCarthyite Assault on Middle East Studies](#),” *Journal of Religion, Conflict, and Peace* 4 (no.1, Fall 2010).

“The New Global Economy and the Political Economy of Islamic Social Movements,” *Wujhat Nazr* (Cairo), Dec. 2008, 20-25 (in Arabic).

“A New Economic Era: Gauging the Winners and Losers,” *Wujhat Nazr* (Cairo), July 2008, 4-8 (in Arabic).

“Egyptian Textile Workers in the Transition to a Neo-Liberal Order,” *The Chronicles* 1 (no. 3, Jan.-Mar. 2006):16-18.

“[Middle East Studies after September 11: Presidential Address to the Annual Meeting of the Middle East Studies Association of North America](#),” *MESA Bulletin* 37 (no. 1, Summer 2003):2-18

“The Working Class and Peasantry in the Middle East: From Economic Nationalism to Neoliberalism,” *Middle East Report* no. 210 (Spring 1999):18-22.

“Palestine and Israel: Perils of a Neoliberal, Repressive, Pax Americana,” *Social Justice* 25 (no. 4, 1998):20-39.

“The Israeli Peace Movement” (review essay), *Middle East Report* no. 205 (Oct.-Dec. 1997):45-46.

“I am Jewish because I am Egyptian. I am Egyptian because I am Jewish.” (interview with Jacques Hassoun), *MERIP Newsletter* (Winter 1997):2-3.

“The Palestinian-Israeli Conflict after Oslo” (review essay), *Middle East Report* no. 201 (Oct.-Dec. 1996):45-47.

- “Law, Ideology, and Social Change in Israel: Response to Roselle Tekiner,” *Contention* 4 (no. 2, Winter 1995):175-81.
- “Becoming a Jew without Borders,” *Stanford Humanities Review* 3 (no. 1, 1993):137-42.
- “Jawanib min al-muqawama al-madaniyya al-misriyya: Markaz Ibn Khaldun” [Aspects of civil resistance in Egypt, translation of a review article from *Middle East Report* No. 179], *al-Mujtama‘ al-madani* no. 13 (January 1993):42-43.
- “Money, Media and Strategic Consensus: The Washington Institute for Near East Policy,” *Middle East Report*, no. 180 (January-February 1993):10-15; Arabic translation in *Ru‘a mughayyira* no. 1 (Feb. 1997):30-38.
- “Yanayir 1977: al-tabaqa al-‘amila wa'l-yasar al-misri” [January 1977: The Working Class and the Egyptian Left], in *Ishkaliyyat al-takwin al-ijtima‘i wa'l-fikriyyat al-sha‘biyya fi misr: buhuth wa-munaqashat al-nadwa al-muhdah ila Ahmad Sadiq Sa‘d, 3-5 mayu 1990* (Nicosia: Dar Ibal, 1992):305-16.
- “Airpower Redux,” *The Stanford Historian*, no. 15 (July 1991):12-15.
- [“Palestine for Beginners,” *Middle East Report*, no. 154 \(September-October 1988\); co-authored with Lisa Hajjar, expanded version in *Intifada*; revised and updated as “Palestine, Israel, and the Arab-Israeli Conflict: A Primer.”](#)
- “al-Tabaqa al-‘amila wa'l-sira‘ al-tabaqi fi misr, 1952-1961” [The Working Class and the Class Struggle in Egypt] *Qadaya Fikriyya*, no. 5 (May 1987).
- “Private Capital in Israel,” *MERIP Middle East Report*, no. 142 (Sept.-Oct. 1986):35-38.
- “Formation of the Egyptian Working Class,” *MERIP Reports*, no. 94 (Feb.1981):14-23.
- “The Palestine Communist Party, 1919-1948,” *MERIP Reports*, no. 55 (Mar. 1977):3-16.

Encyclopedia Articles (7)

- “Labour, Labour Movements and Strikes (Ottoman Empire/Middle East),” *1914-1918 Online: International Encyclopedia of the First World War*, (forthcoming).
- “Communism,” *Encyclopedia of Islam Three*, (Brill Online, forthcoming)
- “The Karaites of Modern Egypt,” in Norman Stillman, ed. *Encyclopedia of Jews in the Islamic World* (Brill 2010) Vol. 3, 108-13.
- “Anti-Semitism: The Middle East, North Africa, and Central Asia,” in Peter N. Stearns, eds., *Oxford Encyclopedia of the Modern World: 1750 to the Present* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).
- “Gamal Abdel Nasser” and “Nasserism” in *Oxford Companion to Politics of the World* (Oxford University Press, 1993):612-14.

“Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood Movement” and “Egyptian Revolts (1880-1919)” in *The Encyclopedia of Political Revolutions* (Congressional Quarterly Books, 1998):149-51.

“Egypt,” *Colliers Encyclopedia* vol. 8 (1987):636-39, 641B-52.

JOURNALISM AND ANALYSIS OF CURRENT EVENTS

“What Comes Next: Unlikely, unrealistic, or unimaginable?” Mondoweiss, Oct. 14, 2013 <http://mondoweiss.net/2013/10/unlikely-unrealistic-unimaginable.html>

“[Egyptian Workers After June 30](#),” *Middle East Report Online*, Aug. 23, 2013; translated and updated Italian version: “I lavoratori egiziani dopo il colpo di stato del 30 giugno,” *Micromega*, October 2013.

“[Egypt’s New Interim Government is Not a Leftist Coalition](#),” interview with Giuseppe Acconcia, Open Democracy, July 29, 2013.

“[Was there a January 25 Revolution?](#)” Jadaliyya.com, Jan. 25, 2013.

“[Workers, Trade Unions, and Egypt’s Political Future](#),” *Middle East Report Online*, Jan. 18, 2013

“[All Unionized and Nowhere to Go](#),” *Sada*, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Jan. 8, 2013; Arabic version: “[al-Niqabat al-‘ummaliyya al-misriyya ba’d al-dustur al-jadid](#),” reprinted in *The Daily Star* (Beirut) and *Daily News Egypt*, Jan. 18, 2013

“[The First Intifada and the Non-emergence of a Palestinian State](#),” Mondoweiss, Dec. 13, 2012

“[In Search of a New Political Language](#),” *Egypt Independent*, June 27, 2012.

“[A Revolution Is Not a Marketing Campaign](#),” Middle East Research and Information Project Blog, June 18, 2012

“[Beinart’s Boycott](#),” Middle East Research and Information Project Blog, Mar. 19, 2012

“[BDS in the News](#),” Middle East Research and Information Project Blog, Feb. 23, 2012

“[Arms sales to Bahrain under the scanner](#),” Al Jazeera.net, Nov. 3, 2011.

“[Palestina, Israel y Egipto tras la ‘Primavera Árabe’](#)” *Afkar/Ideas* 31, October 2011.

“[Arab Spring – Chief Consequence](#),” *Global Brief*, Oct. 19, 2011.

“The Middle East’s Working-Class Revolutions?” *The Nation*, Sept. 12, 2011.

“[The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict and the Arab Awakening](#),” *Middle East Report Online*, Aug. 1, 2011.

[“Jewish Voice for Peace and UN Recognition of Palestinian Statehood,”](#) Jewish Voice for Peace, July 30, 2011.

[“What have workers gained from Egypt’s January 25 Revolution?”](#) The Middle East Channel, ForeignPolicy.com, July 20, 2011; Hebrew version at [Alternative Information Center](#)

[“Revolution and Repression in Suez,”](#) Jadaliyya, July 12, 2011.

[“Egypt: The Struggle Continues,”](#) Jadaliyya, July 2, 2011.

[“The voice is Obama’s; the hands are Bush’s,”](#) www.bitterlemons-international.org, June 9, 2011.

[“After the Revolution,”](#) roundtable with *Stanford Magazine*, May 2011, 56-64.

[“Fatah-Hamas Reconciliation and Palestinian-Israeli Peace,”](#) Jewish Voice for Peace, May 11, 2011.

[“Egypt’s Workers Rise Up,”](#) *The Nation*, Mar. 7, 2011.

[“Historian Joel Beinin on the Egyptian Labor Crisis,”](#) *The Human Experience*, February 2011.

[“Egypt at the tipping point?”](#) The Middle East Channel, ForeignPolicy.com, Jan. 31, 2011; Hebrew version, “Mitzrayim be-nekudat ha-al chazor?” *Hagada Hasmolit*, Feb. 1, 2011.

[“Whose side is Obama on anyway?”](#) with Mitchell Zimmerman, *Salon.com*, Jan. 30, 2011.

[“How did the U.S. get in bed with Mubarak?”](#) interview with Justin Elliott, *Salon.com*, Jan. 29, 2011.

[“A Day in the Wilderness of Judea,”](#) *Jadaliyya*, Dec. 26, 2010.

[“The Problem is the Israeli Occupation: al-Nabi Saleh,”](#) *Jadaliyya*, Dec. 20, 2010.

[“Contesting Past and Present at Silwan,”](#) *Middle East Report Online*, Sept. 17, 2010.

[“Egyptian Workers Demand a Living Wage,”](#) The Middle East Channel, ForeignPolicy.com, May 12, 2010.

[“Confronting Settlement Expansion in East Jerusalem,”](#) *Middle East Report Online*, Feb. 14, 2010

[“Building a Different Middle East,”](#) *The Nation*, Jan. 15, 2010

[“Rachel Corrie in Palestine...and in San Francisco”](#) *Middle East Report Online*, August 2009; Arabic version in *Wujhat Nazr* (Cairo), Nov. 2009.

“If not now, when?” *Retort*, Jan. 18, 2009

“President Obama and the Future of Israel and Palestine” *JVP News*, Fall 2008

[“Three Months in the Wilderness,”](#) *MR Zine*, Oct. 22, 2008

[“The Heart Wants to Hope, But the Brain Cannot,”](#) *MR Zine*, Sept. 22, 2008.

[“Palestine and Israel: What's Iran Got to Do with It?”](#) *MR Zine*, July 22, 2008.

[“A Tale of Two Cities: Istanbul and Sharm al-Sheikh,”](#) *JVP News*, May 24, 2008.

“L’Egypte des ventres vides,” *Le Monde Diplomatique*, May 2008; English version: “Undermining Mubarak” (also in Middle East Online and Aljazeera Magazine).

[“Preparing for War with Iran?”](#) *Jewish Voice for Peace E-Newsletter*, May 2008.

[“Underbelly of Egypt’s Neoliberal Agenda,”](#) *Middle East Report Online*, April 5, 2007.

[“Unpleasant Anniversaries,”](#) *Jewish Peace News*, Mar. 25, 2008.

[“It’s the Empire, Stupid,”](#) *Jewish Peace News*, Feb. 20, 2008.

[“The People of the Gaza Strip Challenge Sham Peace Process,”](#) *Informed Comment*, Jan. 24, 2008.

[“Letter from Tuwani,”](#) *Middle East Report* no. 244 (Fall 2007)

[“The Militancy of Mahalla al-Kubra,”](#) *Middle East Report Online*, Sept. 29, 2007

[“Strikes in Egypt Spread from Center of Gravity,”](#) with Hossam el-Hamalawy, *Middle East Report Online*, May 9, 2007.

[“Egyptian Textile Workers Confront the New Economic Order,”](#) with Hossam el-Hamalawy, *Middle East Report Online*, Mar. 25, 2007

[“Wasting Time in the Middle East,”](#) *TomPaine.com*, Feb. 23, 2007

[“Silencing Critics Not Way to Middle East Peace,”](#) *San Francisco Chronicle*, Feb. 4, 2007

[“The 2006 Lebanon War and the Israeli Peace Forces,”](#) *Wilberforce Quarterly* 1 (no. 2, Fall 2006) and *al-Adab* (July-Sept. 2006) (in Arabic)

[“Deflating Middle East Extremism,”](#) *TomPaine.com*, Aug. 10, 2006

[“Lives of Struggle and Commitment to Social Justice,”](#) *The Chronicles: Economic and Business History Research Center of The American University in Cairo* 2 (no. 1, July-Sept. 2006:39-41).

[“When Doves Cry,”](#) review of *Scars of War, Wounds of Peace: The Israeli-Arab Tragedy* by Shlomo Ben-Ami and *The Accidental Empire: Israel and the Birth of the Settlements, 1967–1977* by Gershom Gorenberg, *The Nation*, Apr. 17, 2006.

[“The Conflict after Israel's Elections,”](#) *The San Diego Union-Tribune*, Mar. 27, 2006

["Why Hamas Won, and Why Negotiations Must Continue,"](#) *San Francisco Chronicle*, Feb. 8, 2006

["Did Israel Lead the US into the War on Iraq?"](#) December 2005, *Jewish Voice for Peace*, with Mitchell Plitnick and Cecilie Surasky

["Popular Social Movements and the Future of Egyptian Politics,"](#) Mar. 10, 2005, *Middle East Report on Line*

"Imperial Lament," a review of: Niall Ferguson's *Colossus: The Price of America's Empire*, July 26, 2004 *Middle East Report on Line*

"The US Congress Defies the World Court on Israel's Separation Barrier," July 20, 2004 www.juancole.com

["Acts of Refusal: An Interview with Rela Mazali,"](#) *Middle East Report* (no. 231, Summer 2004):22-25.

["No More Tears: Benny Morris and the Road Back from Liberal Zionism,"](#) *Middle East Report* no. 240 (Spring 2004):38-45

"The Greater Middle East and Prospects for Arab-American Dialogue and its Obstacles" (in Arabic) *al-Adab* 52 (no. 5-6, May-June 2004): 31-43.

["The Good War,"](#) a review essay of: *The Yom Kippur War: The Epic Encounter that Transformed the Middle East* by Abraham Rabinovich and *The Eve of Destruction: The Untold Story of the Yom Kippur War* by Howard Blum, *The Nation*, May 31, 2004.

["Thought Control for Middle East Studies,"](#) History News Network, Mar. 30, 2004 reprinted at Alternet.org, [Common Dreams.org](http://CommonDreams.org), Axisoflogic.com, and *Asia Times* (Singapore), Apr. 3, 2004

["Sharon's Unilateral Steps,"](#) *Middle East Report Online*, Dec. 31, 2003

"Iraq Today," interview with *Stanford Journal of International Relations* 5 (no. 1, Fall 2003):57-58

"Wise Words on Deaf Ears," *Index on Censorship* 32 (no. 3, July 2003):51-59

"Un 'think tank' au service du Likoud," *Le Monde Diplomatique*, July 2003 (French, English, German, and Spanish editions)

["Pro-Israel Hawks and the Second Gulf War,"](#) *Middle East Report Online*, Apr. 6, 2003; reprinted in Kenneth Brown (ed.), *L'Irak de la crise au chaos*, (Paris: Ibis Press, 2004), 126-30

["Israeli Election Campaign Avoids the Issues,"](#) *Middle East Report Online*, Jan. 14, 2003

"Neo-Conservatives in the U.S. Threaten Academic Freedom," *ISIM Newsletter* (Jan. 2003)

["Who's Watching the Watchers?"](#) History News Network, Sept. 30, 2002.

"Letter from the President," *MESA Newsletter* 24 (No. 2, May 2002).

["Another Bloody Passover," AlterNet, Mar. 27, 2002](#)

"An Obligation to Question Prevailing Wisdom," *Los Angeles Times*, Dec. 30, 2001 (syndicated).

["The Reasons for Hate,"](#) *Stanford Daily*, Oct. 2, 2001; *Jordan Times*, Oct. 23, 2001

"Late Capitalist Crisis, Middle East Oil, and Political Islam," *Between the Lines* 1 (no. 6, April 2001): 25-32

["Camp David II,"](#) *Middle East Report Online*, July 26, 2000; reprinted in *Peacework*, September 2000

["Israel's Cabinet Crisis and the Political Economy of Peace,"](#) *Middle East Report Online*, June 19, 2000

["The Oslo Process-Back on Track?"](#) *Middle East Report Online*, Oct. 7, 1999; Arabic version in *al-Safir* (Beirut), Oct. 13, 1999

["Assessing Israel's New Government,"](#) *Middle East Report Online*, July 10, 1999

["Interpreting Israel's 1999 Election Campaign,"](#) *Middle East Report Online*, Apr. 16, 1999

["The Demise of the Oslo Process,"](#) *Middle East Report Online*, Mar. 11, 1999

"Don't Ignore World Opinion," *Stanford Daily*, Mar. 11, 1998

"Albright's Approach Is Misguided," *Stanford Daily*, September 24, 1997

"What Happened to the 'Peace Process'?" *Peaceworks* (October 1996):1-3

"Liberated Ramallah," *MERIP Newsletter* (Spring 1996):3-4

"Israel, Post-Occupation," *Mediterraneans* no. 6 (Summer/Fall 1994):226-30

"Will There Be Peace After the Handshake?" *Found Object* no. 3 (Spring 1994):75-80

"Palestinian State Offers Best Chance for Lasting Peace," *San Jose Mercury News*, Sept. 19, 1993

"The Clinton Administration and the Palestinian-Israeli Peace Process," (Palestinian Centre for Peace & Democracy: Published Lecture Series No. 1, Feb. 1993):1-18

"Peace, Peace, and There is No Peace," *City Lights Review* no. 5 (1992):222-27

"U.S.-Israeli Conflict: Is it Real?" *Palestine Focus* no. 49/50 (Summer 1992):5-6

"The Arab States Face the Peace Conference," *Peaceworks* (November 1991):8-10

"Expertise and the Media in the Gulf War," *Radical Historians Newsletter* no. 63-64 (May 1991):1, 9

"Origins of the Gulf War," (unedited text of a lecture at the University of Wisconsin, Nov. 30, 1990) *Open Magazine Pamphlet Series*, no. 3 (February 1991)

"For What Reason is the United States in the Persian Gulf?" *Stanford Daily*, October 8, 1990

"Who Controls Oil Prices: "Reason for War?" *Peaceworks* (September 1990)

"America in the Gulf: Sheiks Rattle and Roll," *LA Weekly* (Aug. 31-Sept. 6, 1990)

"Making Sense of the Middle East," *Stanford Magazine*, Part I (Spring 1986):26-31; Part II (Summer 1986):20-27

"Camp David's Leftist Opponents Win Court Victory," *Guardian*, June 11, 1986 (Ben Rose)

"Achille Lauro Spotlights Mubarak's Many Woes," *Guardian*, Feb. 5, 1986

"Israeli Strategy in the 'Peace Process,'" *Mideast Monitor*, December 1985

"Marching Toward Civil War," *MERIP Reports*, no. 137 (October-December 1985):3-6

"The Cold Peace," *MERIP Reports*, no. 129 (January 1985):3-9

"Criticism and Defeat: Introduction to George Hawi," *MERIP Reports*, no. 118 (October 1983):16-18

"Sadat Foes Denounce Camp David," *Guardian*, Apr. 1, 1981 (Ben Rose)

"Sadat to Muzzle Press?" Mar. 19, 1981 (Ben Rose)

"Sadat's Facade is Crumbling," *In These Times*, February 4-10, 1981 (Ben Rose)

"Sadat's Economic Plan under Fire," *Guardian*, Jan. 7, 1981 (Ben Rose)

"Challenge from Israel's Military," *MERIP Reports*, no. 92 (Nov.-Dec. 1980):6-9

"Sadat Throttles His Critics as Economy Worsens," *Guardian*, Oct. 29, 1980 (Ben Rose)

"Sadat Consolidates Power," *Guardian*, May 28, 1980 (James Buxton)

"Internal Opposition Shakes Sadat's Regime," *Guardian*, April 16, 1980 (J.B.)

"New Cold War No Antidote for Spiritual Crisis," *The Michigan Daily*, Jan. 31, 1980

"Egypt's Islamic Movement Grows," *Guardian*, Jan. 16, 1980 (J.B.)

"Sadat's Open Door: A Blind Alley," *Guardian*, Jan. 9, 1980 (J.B. & Z.L.)

"Menachem Begin's Inflexibility," *Michigan Daily*, Oct. 24, 1978

"Likud's New Economic Policy," *MERIP Reports*, no. 65 (March 1978):15-19

Book Reviews in:

American Historical Review, Arab Studies Quarterly, Canadian Review of Studies in Nationalism, The European Legacy: Journal of the History of European Ideas, H-Levant, Holy Land Studies, International Journal of Comparative Religion, International Journal of Islamic and Arabic Studies, International Journal of Middle East Studies, Journal of Developing Areas, Journal of Islamic Studies, Journal of Palestine Studies, Journal of the American Oriental Society, Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt, Labour/Travail, Middle East Journal, MESA Bulletin, Middle East Report, The Nation, Radical History Review, San Francisco Chronicle, Shofar, al-Waqa'i' al-tarikhiyya

From 1988 to 1995, thirty-one installments of a review essay column, "Editor's Bookshelf," appeared in *Middle East Report*.

PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES

Chair, Roger Owen Book Award Committee, MES, 2013
Fellowship Committee, Palestinian American Research Center, 2009
Fellowship Committee, American Research Center in Egypt, 1992; chair, 2006
International Advisory Council, World Congress for Middle Eastern Studies, 2006-
President, Middle East Studies Association of North America (MESA), 2001-02
Board of Directors, MESA, 1993-96, 2000-03
Selection Committee, Center for Arabic Study Abroad, 2004-05
Board of Directors, Middle East Research and Information Project (MERIP), 1987-
88, 1991-97
Chair, MESA Nominations Committee, 1992
Nominations Committee, American Historical Association, Pacific Coast Branch,
1990-92
MESA Program Committee, 1984 Annual Meeting
Member: AHA, ARCE, MESA, PARC

EDITORIAL ACTIVITIES

International Labor and Working Class History, Consulting Editor 2010-11, Editorial
Committee, 2012-
Stanford Studies in Middle Eastern and Islamic Societies and Cultures, Editor,
2004-
Middle East Report, Editorial Committee, 1981-97, 2003-06 (Chair 1987; Reviews
Editor, 1988-95); Contributing Editor, 1999-2003, 2007-
Jama'a: Interdisciplinary Journal for the Study of the Middle East, Editorial Board,
2008-
Cairo Papers in Social Science, Editorial Board, 2006-08
H-Mideast-Politics, Advisory Board, 2005-
Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt, Advisory Board, 1990-2001

Referee for: *Citizenship Studies, Comparative Studies in Society and History, International Journal of Middle East Studies, Journal of Cold War Studies, Middle East Journal, Middle East Journal of Culture and Communications, Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, AUC Press, Cambridge University Press, Columbia University Press, Princeton University Press, Stanford University Press, State University of New York Press, University of California Press,

University of Texas Press, John T. and Catherine MacArthur Foundation, Australian Research Council, and others

CONFERENCES and WORKSHOPS ORGANIZED

- Co-Director, (with Frédéric Vairel), Workshop on “Social Movements in the Middle East and North Africa: Shouldn’t we go a step further?” 10th Mediterranean Research Meeting, Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, European University Institute, Montecatini Terme, Italy, Mar. 25-28, 2009
- Co-organizer (with ‘Amr al-Shobaki), “Islamists and Democrats,” American University in Cairo, Mar. 14-16, 2008
- Coordinator, Mellon Foundation Sawyer Seminar on Comparative Settler Colonialism, Stanford University, 2002-04
- Co-organizer (with Ahmad Dallal), “Islam and Globalization, Islam and Localization,” Stanford University, Apr. 19, 2003
- Coordinator, California Middle East Social and Cultural History Association, 1999-2004
- Co-organizer (with Paul Lubeck), “Globalization, Political Islam, and Urban Social Movements,” University of California, Berkeley, Mar. 6-8, 1998

CONFERENCE PAPERS

- “Civil Society, Social Movements, and the Arab Uprisings of 2011,” conference on Civic Participation and Citizenship: New Spaces of Civil Society Activism in the Arab World, The Asfari Institute for Civil Society and Citizenship, American University in Beirut, May 23-24, 2013.
- “Young Arab Intellectuals, the Arab Offices, and the Partition of Palestine,” workshop on “Partitions: Towards Transnational History of Twentieth Century Territorial Separatism,” Stanford University, April 18-19, 2013
- “Egyptian Workers in the Liberal Age and Beyond,” Princeton University, conference on “Arabic Thought beyond the Liberal Age: New Directions in Middle East Intellectual History,” Oct. 4-6, 2012.
- “What have workers gained from Egypt’s January 25 “revolution”? Georgetown University, Center for Contemporary Arab Studies Annual Symposium, Mar. 22-23, 2012; Center for Middle Eastern Studies, Lund University, Sweden, Conference on “Arab Uprisings: Contesting Narratives, Locating Power,” April 26-28, 2012.
- “Workers and the Egyptian Revolution: The Prehistory,” Table Ronde sur l’Egypte, Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Science Sociales, Paris, Jan. 12, 2012.
- “Workers and Egypt’s January 25th Uprising/Revolution: Shifting the Discussion from ‘Autocracy/Democracy’ to Political Economy and Equity,” workshop on Teaching the Middle East after the Tunisian and Egyptian Revolutions: Beyond Orientalism, Islamophobia, and Neoliberalism, George Mason University, May 13-14, 2011.
- “Workers and Egypt’s January 25th Uprising/Revolution” Historical Materialism Conference, New School University, New York, May 6-8, 2011.

- “Politics and the Study of Egyptian Jews,” workshop on Muslims and Jews Together: Seeing from Without; Seeing from Within, University of California, Berkeley, April 28-30, 2010
- “Egyptian Workers, 2004-08: A New Kind of Social Movement on the Margins of the Neo-Liberal Order?” 10th Mediterranean Research Meeting, Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, European University Institute, Montecatini Terme, Italy, Mar. 25-28, 2009
- “Neo-Liberal Structural Adjustment, Political Participation and Political Mobilization in Egypt,” workshop on “Dynamics of Change in the Arab World: Globalization and the Re-structuring of State Power,” The International Affairs Institute, Rome and The Swedish Institute of International Affairs, Stockholm; Rome, Feb. 23-24, 2007; Stockholm Sept. 12, 2008
- “Rethinking Arab Resistance,” *Cairo Papers in Social Science* Thirtieth Anniversary Symposium on 30 Years of Political and Social Protest in Egypt, American University in Cairo, Apr. 21, 2007.
- “Non-Traditional Historical Sources,” round-table discussion at conference on “Art and History,” Cairo University and the Higher Council for Culture, Cairo, Feb. 28, 2007 (in Arabic)
- “Imperial Projects and the Politics of Knowledge: “Knowledge” and Magical Beliefs about the Contemporary Middle East,” Stanford Humanities Center Conference and Reunion on Knowledge and Belief, Oct. 14-15, 2005
- “Egyptian Textile Workers: From Craft Artisans Facing European Competition to Proletarians Contending with the State,” conference on Comparative History of Textile Workers, International Institute for Social History, Amsterdam, Nov. 11-13, 2004
- “Political Islam and the New Global Economy: The Political Economy of Islamist Social Movements in Egypt and Turkey,” conference on French and US Approaches to Understanding Islam, France-Stanford Center for Interdisciplinary Studies, Sept. 12-14, 2004
- “The Rise, Decline, and Resurrection of Middle East Area Studies: Imperial Projects and the Production of Knowledge,” Conference on Creative Destruction: Area Knowledge and the New Geographies of Empire, City University of New York Graduate Center, Apr. 15-17, 2004
- “Benny Morris, “The New Israeli History, and the Limits of the Zionist Peace Movement,” Fourth Mediterranean Social and Political Research Meeting, European University Institute, Florence and Montecatini Terme, Mar. 19-23, 2003
- “Is There a Crisis in Middle East Academic Publishing?” introduction to special session at the annual meeting of the Middle East Studies Association, Washington, DC, Nov. 23-26, 2002
- “The Rise and Decline of the Left Nationalist/Marxist Historical Paradigm in the Arab Middle East,” workshop on Twentieth Century Historians and Historiography of the Middle East, Boğaziçi University, May 23-26, 2002
- “The New Neo-liberal Order, Urban Workers, and the Islamic Current in Egypt,” conference on Globalization, State Capacity, and Islamic Movements, Center for

Global and Regional Studies, University of California at Santa Cruz, Mar. 7-10, 2002

"The New History and the Israeli Peace Movement: Limits of Historical Method and Politics," Workshop on the New History and Israeli Public Culture, University of California, Santa Barbara, Feb. 2, 2002

"Imposed Normalization and Cultural Transgression: Cultural Politics in Egypt and Israel since the 1979 Peace Treaty," Conference on Islam, Judaism, and the Political Role of Religions in the Middle East, Austrian Institute for International Affairs, Vienna, Nov. 27-29, 2000

"Anti-Zionism, Anti-Semitism, and the Jewish Community in Egypt, 1939 to the Present," conference on "The Formation of Prejudice and Stereotypes in the Arab-Israeli Conflict," Center for Research on Antisemitism, Technical University Berlin, Sept. 6-8, 2000

"Late Capitalist Crisis, Middle East Oil, and Political Islam," California Middle East Social and Cultural History Association," UC Berkeley, Apr. 22, 2000

"Egypt and Israel Since the 1979 Peace Treaty: Cultural Politics in a Regime of Imposed Normalization," Workshop on Rethinking Muslims and Jews: Interdisciplinary Perspectives, National Resource Center on the Middle East, The Jewish Studies Initiative, and the Center for Contemporary Arab Studies, Georgetown University, Feb. 25, 2000

"Peasants, Workers, and the Pedagogical Project of Egyptian Nationalist Modernity," International Workshop on Modernity in the Middle East: History and Discourse, Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, June 2, 1999

"Subaltern Experiences and Discourses of Modernity in Egypt," Empires and Cultures Workshop, Stanford University, May 15, 1999

"The Egyptian Nation and National Economic Development: A View from the Textile Mill Floor," Conference on Nation and Cultural Perceptions of Identity, UCLA, Mar. 5-6, 1999

"Late Capitalism and the Reformation of the Working Class and the Peasantry in the Middle East," Annual Meeting of the Middle East Studies Association, Chicago, December 3-6, 1998 and Conference on New Approaches to the Study of Ottoman and Arab Societies, Boğaziçi University, May 27-30, 1999

"The Islamic Current in the Egyptian Trade Union Movement," Conference on Globalization, Political Islam, and Urban Social Movements, University of California, Berkeley, Mar. 6-8, 1998

"The Jewish Business Elite in Twentieth Century Egypt: Pillars of the National Economy or Compradors?" Conference on Muslim Arab Civilization: The Non-Muslim Dimensions, Royal Institute for Inter-Faith Studies, Amman, Jordan, Aug. 16-19, 1997 and International Conference on the Jews in Modern Egypt, International Association of Jews from Egypt and Columbia University Middle East Institute, Columbia University, Dec. 3-4, 1997

"Peace after the Handshake: A Neoliberal, Repressive Palestinian-Israeli Peace in the Shadow of Uncontested U.S. Regional Hegemony," Workshop on Peacemaking and Conflict Resolution at Home and Abroad, University of California, Santa Cruz, Center for Global, International, and Regional Studies, Feb. 27-28, 1997

- "Egyptian Jewish Identities: Communalisms, Nationalisms, Nostalgias," Workshop on Rethinking Nationalism in the Arab World, University of Colorado, Boulder, Sept. 21-24, 1994
- "Egyptian Jewry between Two Homelands," Conference on Jewish Nationalism in the Lands of Islam, Weizmann Institute for Research on Zionism, Tel Aviv University and Herzl Institute for Studies of Zionism, Haifa University, July 1-2, 1993
- "Arms Transfers, Prospects for Democratic Development, and the New Structure of U.S. Hegemony in the Gulf," Conference on Long Term Consequences of the War in the Persian Gulf, University of Colorado, Boulder, Oct. 8-11, 1992
- "The Working Class in Modern Egyptian Zajal," Workshop on the Transmission of Culture in Arab and Islamic Societies, Tel Aviv University and Van Leer Jerusalem Institute, Dec. 1991
- "Non-Citizen Palestinian Labor in the Israeli Economy," Conference on Global Economies, Local Ethnicities: Culture and the Crisis of the National, Stanford University, Nov. 7-9, 1991
- "Exile and Political Activism: The Egyptian-Jewish Communist Emigrés in Paris," Annual Meeting, Middle East Studies Association, Washington, D.C., Nov. 1991
- "Will the Real Egyptian Working Class Please Stand Up?" Workshop on Middle Eastern Labor and Working Class History: Concepts and Approaches, Harvard University, April 11-12, 1990
- "Communists against the Working Class? The Communist Intelligentsia and Working Class Opposition in Nasserist Egypt," UC Conference on Comparative Labor History, University of California, Santa Cruz, April 22, 1989
- "The Arabists of Hashomer Hatza'ir (MAPAM): Power/Knowledge and Left Zionist Politics," Annual Meeting of the Middle East Studies Association, Los Angeles, Nov. 1988
- "Why Doesn't the United States Promote a Peaceful Resolution of the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict?" Frank Church Conference on Public Policy, Boise State University, Boise IA, Sept. 1988
- "Israeli Strategy in the 'Peace Process' in Historical Perspective," Annual Convention of the Association of Arab-American University Graduates, Chicago, IL, Nov. 1985
- "Israel: The Political Economy of a Garrison State and its Future," Annual Symposium, Georgetown University Center for Contemporary Arab Studies, April 1985
- "State Formation, 'Socialism' and the Working Class in Egypt and Algeria," Annual Meeting of the Middle East Studies Association, San Francisco, CA, Nov. 1984
- "Islamic Responses to the Penetration of Capitalism in the Middle East," Annual Symposium, Georgetown University Center for Contemporary Arab Studies, April 1983
- "The Post-War Communist Movement in Egypt: Notes Toward a Preliminary Assessment," Annual Meeting of the American Research Center in Egypt, Ann Arbor, MI, April 1983
- "Nationalism, Marxism and the Shubra al-Khayma Textile Workers," Annual Meeting of the Middle East Studies Association, Seattle, WA, Nov. 1981

SELECTED INVITED LECTURES

- “Workers and the Arab Uprisings of 2011,” University of Michigan, Rackham Centennial Lecture, Oct. 18, 2012; American University of Beirut, Mar. 18, 2013.
- “Where does democracy come from? Popular Movements, Civil Society, and Parliaments in Egypt,” Stice Lectureship, University of Washington, Mar. 5-9, 2012.
- “Whither the Egyptian Revolution?” UCLA, Center for Social Theory and Comparative History, Feb. 13, 2012.
- “The Popular Uprising and Parliamentary Elections in Egypt,” Cambridge Forum, Cambridge, MA, Jan. 23, 2012.
- “Workers and the Arab Uprisings: Shifting the Discussion from Social Media and Autocracy/Democracy to Political Economy and Equity,” Kylan Jones-Huffman lecture, George Washington University, Jan. 19, 2012.
- “Was there a Revolution in Egypt?” Mada al-Carmel Arab Center for Applied Social Research, Haifa, July 27, 2011
- “On the Revolution in Egypt,” UCLA, Feb. 15, 2011, UC, Santa Cruz, Feb. 23, 2011
- “Neoliberal Economic Restructuring and the Struggle for Worker Rights in Egypt,” George Mason University, Oct. 25, 2010
- “Social Movements, the New Internationalism, and the Struggle against Israel’s Separation Barrier in the West Bank,” Georgetown University, Oct. 22, 2010
- “Workers’ Rights and the Neoliberal Order in Egypt,” Cornell University Law School, Mar. 16, 2010.
- “Process without Peace: Why is there no Palestinian-Israeli Peace after Twenty Years of ‘Peace Process’?” Brown University, April 30, 2009.
- “Egyptian Workers, 2004-08: A Social Movement on the Margin of the Global Neo-Liberal Economic Order,” New York University, Nov. 10, 2008.
- “The New Global Economy and the Political Economy of Islamic Social Movements,” University of Oslo, Sept. 15, 2008
- “United States Policy in the Middle East,” Egypt, Foreign Ministry, Diplomatic Studies Institute, May 27, 2008.
- “The Working Class, Democracy, and the Transition to the Neo-Liberal Economic Order in Egypt,” Netherlands-Flemish Institute in Cairo, Mar. 6, 2008; University of California, Berkeley, Oct. 2, 2008.
- “Researching Subaltern Subjects in Modern Egypt,” Center for Middle East and North African Studies, University of Michigan, Apr. 7, 2006; Central European University, November 27, 2006.

- “The New Global Economy and the Political Economy of Islamic Social Movements,” American University in Cairo, Oct. 19, 2004; Dutch Flemish Institute in Cairo, Dec. 2, 2004; Al-Qattan Foundation, Ramallah, Jan. 16, 2005; “Center for Arab and Middle East Studies, American University in Beirut, May 17, 2006.
- “Egyptian Textile Workers: From Craft Artisans Facing European Competition to Proletarians Contending with the State,” Yale University, Nov. 17, 2005.
- “The United Nations, the United States, and Democracy in the Middle East,” keynote address to the Cairo International Model United Nations, American University in Cairo, March 8, 2005.
- “The Rise, Decline, and Resurrection of Middle East Area Studies: Imperial Projects and the Production of Knowledge,” American University in Cairo, Dean’s Seminar, Feb. 18, 2005.
- “The Cultural and Political Debate over U.S. Middle East Policy,” al-Ahram Center for Political and Strategic Studies,” Cairo, Dec. 27, 2003.
- “The Bush Doctrine and the Failure of U.S. Policy in Iraq,” American University in Cairo, Dec. 16, 2003, Commonwealth Club (San Francisco), Feb. 11, 2004.
- “Scholars, Neo-Conservative Pundits, and U.S. Middle East Policy,” Indiana University, Apr. 28, 2003
- “On Orientalism,” University of Pennsylvania, Mar. 31, 2003
- “The Rise and Decline of the Left Nationalist/Marxist Historical Paradigm in the Arab Middle East,” American University in Cairo, Dec. 18, 2002.
- “Why the United States Supports Israel in the Arab-Israeli Conflict,” American University in Cairo, Dec. 18, 2002.
- “Israeli-Palestinian Peace – What’s Iraq got to do with it?” Pomona College, Oct. 31, 2002.
- “Why the Oslo ‘Peace Process’ Failed,” University of Arkansas, March 11, 2002; Duke University, Sept. 18, 2002.
- “Israel and Palestine: The Search for Justice and Security,” University of California, Santa Cruz, Jan. 28, 2002.
- “Behind the Headlines: Historical Scope of American Involvement in the Middle East and West Asia,” Oregon State University, Oct. 28, 2001.
- “What Happened to the Peace Process?” San Diego State University, Glickman-Galinson Symposium on Modern Israel, May 6, 2001.
- “Gamal Abdel Nasser,” 20th Century Lives Series, Stanford University, Department of History, April 2001
- “Late Capitalist Crisis, Middle East Oil, and Political Islam,” Birzeit University, Mar. 28, 2001.

- “Imposed Normalization and Cultural Transgression: Cultural Politics in Egypt and Israel since the 1979 Peace Treaty,” Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, Mar. 27, 2001.
- “Peasants Workers, and the Pedagogical Project of Egyptian Nationalist Modernity,” Tel Aviv University, Mar. 22, 2001, University of California, Berkeley, Oct. 11, 2001, American University of Cairo, Dec. 16, 2002.
- “History and Cultural Studies: Egyptian Jews Between Two Homelands,” Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Mar. 21, 2001.
- “The New Intifada and the Oslo Process: What Went Wrong?” University of Oregon, Nov. 13, 2000.
- “The Dispersion of Egyptian Jewry,” Miller Committee Lecture, University of Illinois, Mar. 29, 2000.
- “The Oslo Process and U.S. Policy in the Middle East,” Hebron University, Nov. 28, 1999.
- “What Happened to the Oslo Process?” University of Oregon, May 8, 1999.
- "The Dispersion of Egyptian Jewry," University of California, Santa Cruz, May 19, 1998.
- "The Death of the Middle East Peace Process and the Threat of War with Iraq," University of California, Santa Cruz, Feb. 26, 1998.
- "Late Capitalism and the Reformation of the Working Class and the Peasantry in the Middle East," Brown University, Jan. 30, 1998.
- "The Politics of Culture in Egypt," University of Chicago, July 25, 1997.
- "Is There an Arab-Israeli Peace Process?" Commonwealth Club, San Francisco, Oct. 16, 1995
- "Political Islam: What is it? Where is it headed? How should we view it?" Hiram College, Oct. 30, 1995
- "Marxism and Modernity in the Middle East," Van Leer Jerusalem Institute, Apr. 22, 1994.
- "The Clinton Administration and the Palestinian-Israeli Peace Process," Foreign Ministry of Egypt, Institute for Diplomatic Studies, Cairo, May 25, 1993.
- "Exile and Identity: The Formation of the Egyptian Jewish Diaspora," Cultural Studies Forum, Tel Aviv University, Mar. 28, 1993.
- “The Clinton Administration and the Palestinian-Israeli Peace Process,” Palestinian Centre for Peace and Democracy, Ramallah, Feb. 6, 1993.
- “The Jews of Egypt, 1948-1957: Between Egyptianism and Zionism,” University of Denver, Apr. 13, 1992.

“Origins of the Gulf War,” University of Wisconsin, Nov. 30, 1990.

PUBLIC TALKS (some, multiple appearances)

Alliance for Arab-Israeli Peace (Palo Alto), American Friends Service Committee (Berkeley), Association of Arab-American University Graduates, Bay Area Global Education Project, Bay Area Socially Responsible Professionals (San Francisco), Beyond War (Palo Alto), Black Oak Books (Berkeley), CAFÉ Club (San Francisco), Cairo Democrats, Coalition of Women for Peace (Tel Aviv), Community United Church of Christ (San Carlos), Commonwealth Club (San Francisco), Congregation Shir Ami (Castro Valley), Concord-Lawrence Peace Pilgrimage 1989, Covenant Presbyterian Church (Palo Alto), The Fellowship Forum (Palo Alto), First Baptist Church of Palo Alto, First Presbyterian Church of Palo Alto, First Unitarian Church of San Jose, California State University at Fresno, Global Education Marin, Global Options (San Francisco), Ha-Gada ha-Smalit (Tel Aviv), The Independent Institute (Oakland, CA), Institute for Labor Education (Berkeley), Intoto (Palo Alto), Jewish Socialist Group (London), Jewish Voice for Peace (San Francisco, Berkeley, San Jose, Portland, Chicago), Kedem Congregation (Palo Alto), Ivri-Nasawi (Berkeley and Los Angeles), Kepplers's Bookstore (Menlo Park, CA), Lafayette-Orinda Presbyterian Church, La Pena Cultural Center (Berkeley), Left Forum (Jerusalem, Tel Aviv), Livermore Valley Peace Committee, Lowell High School (San Francisco), Marin Center for Peace and Justice, Mendocino Coast Jewish Community, Middle East Children's Alliance, Mill Valley Community Center, Middle East Peace Project (Sacramento), Mill Valley Committee to Understand the Crisis, Montclair Presbyterian Church, Monterey Bay World Affairs Council, Morning Forum of Los Altos, Mountain View High School, National Lawyers Guild (San Francisco), New College (San Francisco), New Jewish Agenda and Ecumenical Peace Council of Santa Clara County (Presbyterian Church of Sunnyvale), Palestine Aid Society (San Francisco), Palestine Solidarity Committee (San Francisco, several), Palo Alto High School, Peninsula Jewish Community Center (Belmont), Peninsula Peace and Justice Center, Petaluma Peace Group, Pleasanton Presbyterian Church, Princeton Alumni Club (San Francisco), Printer's Inc. Bookstore (Palo Alto), Redwood City Unitarian Church, Rotary Club (Palo Alto, Redwood City, Woodside), San Francisco Bar Association Human Rights Committee, San Francisco Chronicle editorial staff, St. Luke's Episcopal Church (Long Beach), San Jose Democratic Club, San Jose Unitarian Universalist Church, San Mateo Peace Action, Sons in Retirement (Palo Alto), St. Jude's Episcopal Church (Cupertino, CA), Stanford Alumni Club (Denver, Fresno, Houston, Los Angeles, Oakland, San Francisco), Temple Emanu-El (San Francisco), U.S. Peace Council (Palo Alto), West Marin Alliance, West Side Jewish Community Center (Los Angeles), World Affairs Council of Northern California

PRESS, RADIO, AND TELEVISION INTERVIEWS (some, multiple appearances)

ABC radio (USA), ABC radio (Australia), Agence France Presse, *Agora Gazeta* (Warsaw), *al-Akhbar* (Cairo), *al-'Alam al-Yawm*, *al-Ahram*, *Al-Ahram Weekly*, *Al Hamishmar* (Tel Aviv), *AUC Today*, *al-Badil* (Cairo) Al-Jazeera TV (Arabic and English), Associated Press, *AUC Today*, Australian Public Radio, BBC radio, *Cairo Times*, CCTV (China), CFRO radio (Vancouver, Canada), *Chronicle of Higher Education*, CKLN radio (Toronto), *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, CNBC radio (Singapore), La Croix (Paris), *Daily Californian*, *Daily Star* (Cairo), *Davar* (Tel Aviv), *Der Tagesspiegel* (Berlin), *Egypt Today* (Cairo), France 24, German Radio ARD, German TV ARD, *The Guardian* (UK), *In These Times*, *al-Ittihad* (Haifa), *al-Idha'a wa'l-Televizyon* (Cairo), Islamonline.com (Cairo), KALW radio (San Francisco), KALX radio (Berkeley), KBOO radio (Portland), KCBS radio (CBS, San Francisco), KCSB

(Santa Barbara), KDVS radio (Davis), KFAX radio (Fremont), KFJC radio (Los Altos Hills), KGIL radio, KGIO radio (Los Angeles), KGO TV and radio (San Francisco), KICU TV (San Jose), KNTV (San Jose), KNXT TV (Fresno), KKUP radio (Cupertino), KPFA radio (Berkeley), KPFB radio (Los Angeles), KPIX TV (CBS, San Francisco), KQED radio (San Francisco), KRON TV (San Francisco), KSFR (Santa Fe), KTVU TV (Oakland), KUSP radio (Santa Cruz), KVEN radio (Ventura County), *La Tribune* (Paris), *Marin Independent Journal*, *Minneapolis Star-Tribune*, Minnesota Public Radio Network, *al-Misri al-Yawm* (Cairo), *The National* (Dubai), National Public Radio, NBC TV Bay Area, *New York Times*, Nile TV (Cairo), *Northern California Jewish Bulletin*, *Oakland Tribune*, Oregon Public Broadcasting, Pacifica Radio Network, *Palestine Focus*, *Peninsula Times-Tribune*, Politis (Paris), Radio Australia, Radio China International, Radio France International, Radio Israel (Arabic service), Resonance FM (London), Reuters, Russia Today, *Sacramento Bee*, *San Francisco Chronicle*, *San Francisco Examiner*, *San Francisco Weekly*, *San Jose Mercury News*, *San Mateo County Times*, *Saudi Gazette*, *Sawt al-Balad*, (Nazareth), Singapore Radio, Skye TV News (UK), South African Radio Network, *Sud-Deutsche Zeitung*, *Tiempo* (Tel Aviv), *Toledo Blade*, *Village Voice*, *al-Wafd*, *Wall Street Journal*, *Washington Observer*, *al-Watan* (Cairo), WBAI radio (New York), WBEZ radio (Chicago), WBUR radio (Boston), WCBN radio (Ann Arbor), WILL radio (Urbana), WJR radio (Detroit), WNUR radio (Evanston), WORT radio (Madison), Wisconsin public radio network, WRKO radio (Boston), WTIQ radio (New Orleans), WZBC (Boston), *Zu Haderekh* (Tel Aviv).

TEACHING AND SERVICE

Courses Currently Taught at Stanford University

The Formation of the Contemporary Middle East (undergraduate lecture)
 The American Empire in the Middle East since the Cold War (freshman seminar)
 Modern Egypt (undergraduate/graduate colloquium)
 Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict (undergraduate/graduate colloquium)
 Economic and Social History of the Modern Middle East (graduate colloquium)
 Research Seminar in the Modern Middle East (graduate seminar)

Ph.D. Theses Supervised at Stanford University

Brandon Wolfe-Hunnicut, "The End of the Concessionary Regime: Oil and American Power in Iraq, 1958-1972" (2011)
 Marwan Hanania, "From Colony to Capital: A Socio-Economic and Political History of Amman, 1878-1958" (2011)
 Jennifer Derr, "The Geography of Authority: Environmental Infrastructure, Cash Crop Agriculture, and Property Relations in Southern Egypt, 1868-1931" (2009)
 Brant Downes, "The Making of the Modern Ottoman Waterfront: Salonica and Beirut in the Late Nineteenth Century," (2007)
 Max Weiss, "Institutionalizing Sectarianism: Law, Religious Culture, and the Remaking of Shi'ī Lebanon, 1920-1947," (2007) – Malcolm H. Kerr Dissertation Prize in Social Sciences, Middle East Studies Association, 2007.
 Toby Jones, "The Dogma of Development: Technopolitics and the Making of Modern Saudi Arabia, 1950-80," (2007).
 Shira Robinson, "Occupied Citizens in a Liberal State: Palestinians under Military Rule and the Colonial Formation of Israeli Society, 1948-1966," (2006) – Ben Halpern Biennial Dissertation Award, 2004-2005, Association for Israel Studies.
 Michelle Campos, "Between "beloved Ottomania" and "the land of Israel" in the Jewish Yishuv in Palestine, 1903-1914," (2005).
 Nancy Reynolds, "Commodity Communities: Interweavings of Market Cultures, Consumption Practices, and Social Power in Egypt, 1907-1961," (2003)

Robert Blecher, "The Medicalization of Sovereignty: Medicine, Public Health and Political Authority in Syria, 1861-1936," (2002).

Ph.D. Theses Supervised at Other Universities

Marie Duboc, "Contester sans organisations: Stratégies de mobilisation, question social et espace de visibilité dans les grèves de l'industrie textile égyptienne, 2004-2010," École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Paris (2012)

MA Theses Supervised at The American University in Cairo

Catherine Baylin, "Quakers in Palestine, 1868-1945" (2010)

Kristen Alff, "The Kurds and Nationalism: The Curtailment of Minority Rights in British Mandate Iraq, 1921-1932" (2008)

Sahra Gemeinder, "Arab Economic Penetration, the Media and Egyptian Society and Culture" (2008)

Marisa Jones, "Holocaust Education in Egyptian Schools" (2008)

Francesca Ricciardone, "Gendering Worker Contestation in Egypt" (2008)

Shuang Wen, "From Brothers to Partners: The Evolution of China's Foreign Policy towards the Middle East, 1949-2007" (2008)

Participation in Interdepartmental Programs at Stanford University

Islamic Studies Faculty Advisory Committee, 2003-06, 2008-12

Jewish Studies, Faculty Advisory Committee, 1988-06, 2008-

Modern Thought and Literature, Committee in Charge, 1993-99, 2000-01

Feminist Studies Program Committee, 1995-98

Selected Other University Service at Stanford University

Coordinator, Geballe Research Workshop on Ethnic Minorities, Religious Communities, Rights, and Democracy in the Modern Middle East and Central Asia, 2011-14

Phi Beta Kappa Faculty Council, 2013-14

Chair, Dept. of History Middle East Search Committee, 2008-09, 2010-11

Coordinator, Worlds of Islam, Freshman Humanities sequence, 2005-07

Director of Graduate Study, Dept. of History, 2002-04, 2005-06

Chair, Dept. of History Graduate Admissions Committee, 2000-02, 2012-14

Chair, Dept. of History Modern Islamic History Search Committee, 1998-99

Organizer, Dept. of History, Curriculum in Empires and Cultures Pedagogical Workshop, Sept. 14-18, 1998

Coordinator, Workshop on Empires and Cultures, 1995-97, 1999-2001, 2002-03;
co-organizer, annual symposia of May 31, 1996, June 7, 1997, May 20, 2000

Dept. of History, Graduate Admissions Committee, 1996-97, 1998-99

Resident Fellow, Potter House, 1995-99

Dept. of History, Undergraduate Study Committee, 1990-91

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