a British court, as he puts it), was actually a crime perpetrated by Europe for which the Arabs have paid the price. He further adds that the Holocaust cannot justify the maltreatment and humiliation committed by contemporary Jews against the Palestinians. All these are themes appearing in the Arab Holocaust discourse and discussed in the book under review.

On the whole, *From Empathy to Denial* represents a formidable research effort. It is full of firmly based and useful information on a crucially important subject that was not adequately studied before. It is highly recommended for reading and further study.

NOTES

- 1. Cairo: Anglo-Egyptian Bookshop, 2006.
- Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998.



AND THEN THERE WERE NONE

La fin du judaisme en terre d'Islam (The End of Judaism in Muslim Lands), by Shmuel Trigano, Editions Denoel, 2009, 496 pp.

Reviewed by MICHELLE MAZEL

Well before the dawn of Islam, Jews lived in the expanse from the Arabian Peninsula to Persia, through Egypt and long-forgotten empires in what are today Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, and Iraq, and as far as North Africa. Sadly, all but a few thousand have been expelled, forced to leave their worldly goods behind, often happy to escape with their lives. How did it happen? It was to try and answer this question that Shmuel Trigano wrote and edited this book. Born in Algeria in 1948, Trigano, a professor of political sociology at Nanterre University in Paris and a prolific writer, has made Jewish studies his lifework.

The book appears to have been cobbled together too hastily. There is neither a table of contents nor a concluding chapter. Trigano sets down his goal in the lengthy introduction: it is not "to understand why that history—and the suffering of all the peoples it concerns—has been neglected, even occulted, but to pass judgment on the phenomenon itself and to understand the process that led to it" (9).

In Trigano's view, a process of exclusion of the Jews was carried out concurrently by a number of nations that are all Islamic though two of them, Turkey and

Jewish Political Studies Review

Iran, are not Arab. Legal, economic, and political measures against the Jews were aimed at isolating them within each national society. These measures included revocation of citizenship, discriminatory rules, arrests, plunder, and even pogroms. As Trigano puts it: "What we have here is a massive phenomenon, simultaneous, comparable in all its aspects...." He adds, however: "One cannot say, on the basis of the archives that can be accessed today, that there was a coordinated program of liquidations of the Jewish communities" (43).

Yet disappear they did, either because the Jews were forcibly expelled as in Egypt, Libya, Yemen, Iraq, and Syria, or because their lives were made so difficult that they left of their own volition from countries like Tunisia after it gained its independence, Turkey, Morocco, and Iran. Small communities still remain in these countries, living on sufferance and sometimes used for propaganda value as in Iran. These communities, however, have no future and could at any moment be targeted by the rising wave of Islamist extremism.

Trigano maintains that, with or without the establishment of Israel, Jewish communities in the lands of Islam were doomed; the persecution and discrimination currently directed at Christian communities show only too clearly what would have happened to the Jews had there been no Israel to offer them sanctuary and raise an outcry. This leads the author to a striking and rather contentious conclusion:

The process of exclusion to which they were subjected in the years 1950–1960 may have led to a bloodbath—one of the last, since, after the Christians, all non-Muslims would have been excluded from the Muslim-Arab world.... There would have been no state to put a limit to xenophobia. In fact, Arab-Muslim states can thank the state of Israel for having spared them from committing that which would have been beyond repair.

The main part of the book is devoted to chronicling the relentless assaults that put an end to the Jewish communities in the lands of Islam. Trigano enlisted the help of some of his colleagues from French and Israeli academic institutions. We are, however, told nothing about these colleagues beyond their names, such as their qualifications or titles. This is a pity because the ten studies devoted to Egypt, Iraq, Libya, Yemen, Algeria, Syria and Lebanon, Turkey, Morocco, Tunisia, and Iran are well written and appear solidly grounded in facts as well as supported by copious footnotes. More documents, collated among others by Bat Ye'or, are provided at the end of the volume.

For all its flaws, this book is a useful tool for the student of the history of these Jewish communities. Furthermore, Trigano's reflections, written three years ago, have a tragic resonance today as—under the impact of the so-called Arab Spring—Christian communities are being attacked and Christians are fleeing the Middle

East in droves. In March 2012 the Grand Mufti of Saudi Arabia issued a fatwa stating that it was "necessary to destroy all the churches in the Arabian Peninsula."

Will the world sit up and take notice? Otherwise, not too many years from now, Christian historians will write in pain and sorrow the story of the death of Christianity in Arab lands.



BEING HATED LESS

A High Price: The Triumphs and Failures of Israeli Counterterrorism, by Daniel Byman, Oxford University Press, 2011, 496 pp.

Reviewed by Justus Reid Weiner

"Israel has faced virtually every type of foe in the terrorist pantheon. As terrorists developed new and more gruesome techniques, Israel countered with hostage rescue missions by elite units, targeted killings of terrorist operatives, aggressive interrogation measures, administrative detention, and other controversial tactics...under the glare of the world media, and diplomatic spotlight." This book by Daniel Byman, a professor at Georgetown University and senior fellow at the Brookings Institution's Saban Center, concludes that Israeli counterterrorism strategies are essentially hopeless.

As constant attacks on Israeli civilians have forced Israel to refine its counterterrorism strategies, Byman's persistent theme is that the three components of the Israeli intelligence community (Aman, the military intelligence of the IDF; Mossad, responsible for overseas intelligence work; and Shin Bet, Israel's internal security service) are superb at tactics, but overall strategy—as orchestrated by the Israeli government—is virtually nonexistent. This supposed failure to formulate a grand strategy undermines steps directed at ending the conflict as a whole and bleakly implies that "the best Israel can hope for is to be hated less."

To navigate Israel's counterterrorism policy, Byman's book charts Arab/Palestinian violence against Jews and Israel's responses from 1920 up until 2011. Ranging from Israel's daring Entebbe Raid to the blundered assassination attempt on Hamas leader Khaled Mashaal, Byman describes generations of Israeli counterterrorism operations. Terrorist attacks against Israeli targets in the 1950s, primarily sponsored by Egypt and Jordan, engendered early Israeli retaliation policies. Byman notes that Moshe Dayan intended to "set a high price on our blood." However, Moshe Sharett, Israel's second prime minister, contended that "each [Israeli retaliatory] raid ignites afresh a sea of hatred." This narrative—that Israeli retribu-