



Bulletin

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AT A GLANCE

The MDC's Origins: Reflecting on the Past 50 Years

Arab Politics in Israel

Unraveling Regional Order and the Islamic State

A Focus on Africa



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MISSION STATEMENT

The Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies seeks to contribute by research, documentation, and publication to the study and understanding of the modern history and current affairs of the Middle East and Africa. The Center is part of the Graduate School of Historical Studies in the Lester and Sally Entin Faculty of Humanities of Tel Aviv University. The Center is governed by a Board of Governors, acting on the advice of an International Board of Overseers. It is administered by an academic director.

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LETTER FROM THE DIRECTOR

Dear Friends,

Half a century ago, Egyptian President Gamal 'Abd al-Nasser captivated the Middle East with his charisma and the unifying rhetoric of pan-Arab nationalism. Nearly 50 years later, regional boundaries, mapped out by the British and French powers in the aftermath of World War I, are being erased. Sectarian conflicts, tribal loyalties, and ruthless jihadist groups only serve to accelerate the demise of failed and failing states.

2015 also marked the 50th anniversary of the Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies. Over the years, our researchers have witnessed and analyzed numerous monumental regional events. We have seen the rise and fall of the Arab state system; historic peace treaties with Egypt and Jordan; the 1979 Islamic revolution of Iran; and the ascendance of radical Islamism (both Sunni and Shi'i). In the late-20th century and into the 21st century, after the outbreak of two Palestinian intifadas, two wars in Lebanon, and the 2011 "Arab Spring," our work now also focuses upon the deleterious effects of the Islamic State on regional stability.



In Spring 2015 the MDC entered into new partnerships with universities and institutions from around the world; launched an Africa Research Program under Dr. **Irit Back**, with a focus on sub-Saharan Africa; and hosted several symposia and forums, including a new forum dedicated to the phenomenon of the Islamic State. Our Library received recognition as one of the top libraries in Israel. The Tel Aviv University Workshop concluded its tenth successful year in hosting university professors from around the world in order to inform and educate about the daily dilemmas and complexities Israel confronts. Our scholars continued to be fixtures in both the Israeli and international media and have published extensively, both through the MDC and through renowned outlets abroad. Our prestigious visiting scholars and internship program brought promising young individuals from around the world to the Center where they played an important part in our research and programming.

At milestones such as these, I am reminded that our work is only possible with the support of our friends and partners from around the world. On behalf of the Moshe Dayan Center and myself, I invite you to join us for another 50 years of understanding and analyzing our dynamic region.

Best wishes,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Uzi Rabi'. The signature is stylized and somewhat cursive.

Prof. Uzi Rabi



FEATURES

The Origins of the Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies

ALTHOUGH the Moshe Dayan for Middle Eastern and African Studies received its current name in 1983, the MDC's history at Tel Aviv University (TAU) began on February 1, 1966, with the establishment of its' predecessor, the Shiloah Institute for Middle East and African Studies. The Shiloah Institute originated as the Reuven Shiloah Research Center, founded in 1959 as a non-profit association located in the Israeli Directorate of Military Intelligence and was sponsored by the Israeli Oriental Society. Upon its incorporation into Tel Aviv University, the Shiloah Center dissolved and its researchers and collections became part of the newly founded Shiloah Institute.



MOSSAD DIRECTOR REUVEN SHILOAH

The Visionaries

THE driving force behind the Shiloah Center's creation and operation in the early years was Yitzhak Oron. During his tenure at the Research Department of the Intelligence Corps, Oron developed a well-earned reputation for thorough research. Then-Intelligence Chief Yehoshofat Harkabi lent his support to the initiative, as did Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion. The objective of the Shiloah Center was to conduct

research on contemporary regional issues to which the intelligence apparatus was not able to devote time, and to fill a gap in Israeli academic discourse at the time. The ultimate vision was of a research center based on the model of the British Chatham House: Royal Institute for International Affairs. In the same year as the Center's founding, Reuven Shiloah, the founder of Israel's Mossad intelligence service, passed away. As one of the key architects of Israeli strategy in the Middle East it was deemed fitting to name the new Center after him.



PRIME MINISTER DAVID BEN-GURION MEETS WITH MEMBERS OF THE REUVEN SHILOAH INSTITUTE, INCLUDING PROF. SHIMON SHAMIR

With the hope of eventually relocating to an Israeli academic institution, Oron assembled a team of researchers and began to operate out of three rooms located in the Ministry of Defense's Kirya complex in Tel Aviv. After an unsuccessful proposal to the Hebrew University of Jerusalem to adopt the Shiloah Center, six years later Tel Aviv University agreed to do so provided that it convert into an institute based on an academic model. At the same time, Tel Aviv University established its Department of Middle



GENERAL MOSHE DAYAN ADDRESSES MEMBERS OF THE REUVEN SHILOAH INSTITUTE AS PART OF THE TEL AVIV UNIVERSITY INSTITUTE OF PEACE

Eastern and African History and formulated a pioneering structure that smoothly facilitated the Shiloah Center's incorporation into the academic framework. Operating alongside a conventional history department, the renamed Shiloah Institute became an added feature to the study of the Middle East and Africa at TAU. Working in synergy, faculty and students affiliated with the Department and the Institute acquired the capability to contextualize regional events and trends as they occurred, but with a deep understanding of the region's history.

In 1966, Prof. **Shimon Shamir** transferred from Hebrew University to serve as the Institute's first director and to ensure that the historic and contemporary approaches to the research continued

to inform each other. Over his seven years of leadership, Shamir was instrumental in developing the Institute's operations and activities. Working together with Shamir, two researchers joined from Oron's original staff: Prof. **Uriel Dann**, the foremost scholar of the Hashemite Kingdoms of Iraq and Jordan; and Prof. **Ariel Shmuelevitz**, who advanced Ottoman and Turkish Studies in the Institute and the Department. Quickly, the Institute became a center where newly awarded doctoral students, from both within Israel and the world, carried out their research on the region.



PRIME MINISTER YITZHAK RABIN SPEAKS AT THE MDC, WHILE THEN-DIRECTOR, PROF. ASHER SUSSER LOOKS ON, 1995

Contributions to the field of Middle Eastern Studies

ONE of the first publications of the Shiloah Institute was an inherited project from the Shiloah Center, the *Middle East Record*. This annual publication documented regional events with a focus on political affairs. Providing readers with objective research, the publication received only excellent reviews and ran for two years (1960-1) before being absorbed into the Shiloah Institute, where it continued to be published from 1967 through 1970. In 1976, the *Middle East Record* became the *Middle East Contemporary Survey* (MECS), and saw 24 volumes go to print with the final edition published in 2000.

Over the last half-century, the Moshe Dayan Center has published valuable works contributing to the understanding of the Middle East and Africa. Several projects have also been in collaboration with top academic institutions of the United States and the United Kingdom. The intent of all Moshe Dayan Center publications continues to be a contribution, by research and documentation, to the expansion of the knowledge and understanding of the region's societal issues and to provide valuable research to all of TAU's academic departments.

The MDC's publications provide the Israeli public with a profound understanding of the country's positioning within the Middle East and how regional events affect Israel. In a welcoming environment for scholars to glean information from primary sources as well as to discuss and debate the findings of their work, the MDC continues to facilitate unique opportunities for the understanding of one of the world's most dynamic regions. From the MDC's on-site Arabic Press Archives and research library, to its regular meetings, seminars, and forums, and its prolific online and print publications, the Moshe Dayan Center has carried on the legacy of its visionary founders.





SYMPOSIA AND CONFERENCES

The MDC 50th Anniversary Symposium on Iraq, Syria, and the Islamic State: Current State of Affairs and Future Directions

ON June 10, 2015, the Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies held a symposium in celebration of its 50th anniversary. In attendance were professors and students from throughout Israel, current and former members of the diplomatic corps, as well as interested members of the public. In order to accommodate audience overflow, the symposium was simultaneously broadcast on the Internet and in an additional auditorium.

Prof. **Eyal Zisser**, former director of the MDC, opened the proceedings. He reflected on the tremendous change that the Middle East has undergone over the last half century, stating that 50 years ago a similar event might have focused on Gamal 'Abd al-Nasser and the sweeping reach of pan-Arab nationalism. He also acknowledged the MDC's vital role in tracking and explaining the complicated region over the years, not only as an academic institution, but also in service of Israeli society as a whole.

Following his remarks, Prof. **Ofra Bengio** spoke about the prevalent nostalgia for the Middle East of 50 years prior. "Then, there were clear borders and what we believed to be a clear order. Today, everything is in flux and we have discovered that what seemed to be certain is no longer so," stated Bengio.

Prof. **Uzi Rabi** addressed the Islamic State's impact on the geopolitics of the region. Causing tectonic changes in the region, the IS has seen to the essential disintegration of Syria and Iraq into its sectarian factions. These events, commented Rabi, "remind us of the need to understand the Middle East at the most basic and human level." According to Rabi, despite the current reality in which the IS has all but eliminated the border between Syria and Iraq, it is important to note that the Islamic State originated as an Iraqi movement. The fact that the IS controls areas of Syria is actually an "historic accident," and the objective of the group today is still Baghdad. Thus, argued Prof. **Amatzia Baram**, head of the Center for Iraq Studies at the University of Haifa, the question of which group – Sunni or Shi'i – will ultimately control the city is a central component of the current sectarian conflict in Iraq. "Iraqi Sunnis are becoming more and more 'Sunni', while Iraqi Shi'a are becoming more and more 'Shi'i'," stated Baram.



MDC DIRECTOR, PROF. UZI RABI DELIVERS HIS PRESENTATION.
FROM LEFT TO RIGHT: PROF. UZI RABI, PROF. OFRA BENGIO,
PROF. AMATZIA BARAM, INSS SENIOR RESEARCH FELLOW
YORAM SCHWEITZER

In understanding the IS, however, it is also necessary to define the Islamic State correctly, argued **Yoram Schweitzer**, head of the Program on Terrorism and Low-Intensity Conflict at the Institute for National Security Studies (INSS). The IS must be viewed as a state, he argued. In order to highlight the unique character of the IS, Schweitzer's lecture revolved around comparisons between al-Qaeda and the Islamic State. Schweitzer explained that the two organizations were born out of different circumstances. Additionally, while various territories have hosted al-Qaeda from time to time, it has not attempted to rule as the Islamic State is doing.

Contemporary, smaller Islamic organizations, such as Ansar Beit al-Maqdis in the Sinai, are being presented with the choice of whether to ally with al-Qaeda or the IS. Ansar Beit al-Maqdis, like many other organizations once allied with al-Qaeda, have now sworn allegiance to the IS. “But we cannot dismiss al-Qaeda so quickly; it, after all, has survived for 27 years, whereas the Islamic State in its current incarnation is only about a year old,” said Schweitzer. The current advantage held by the IS, though, is that it projects strength and a feeling that it is unstoppable. In contrast, al-Qaeda often exhibits weakness.

The second session of the symposium examined the particular situation of Iraq from the perspective of its three main, rivaling players. **Rachel Kantz-Feder**, a member of the MDC Iraq and Islamic State Forum, discussed the role of Iraq’s Shi’i leadership in the battle against the IS, and the role that Iran plays in the internal Shi’i polemics within Iraq. Dr. **Ronen Zeidel**, head of the Iraq and IS Forum, discussed the complicated position that Iraq’s Sunnis find themselves in: Often trapped between the “hammer” of the Islamic State and the “anvil” of the Shi’i-led Iraqi government and its allied Shi’i militias, both of whom represent a threat albeit for different reasons. Lastly, Prof. **Ofra Bengio** spoke about the particular place of the Kurdistan Regional Government – at the front lines fighting against the Islamic State, but also finding itself at odds with the central government in Baghdad on a variety of issues.



RACHEL KANTZ-FEDER DELIVERS HER PRESENTATION

The third and final session discussed the current situation in Syria and Libya. Ambassador **Ya’akov Rosen**, a veteran diplomat and researcher in Israel’s Foreign Ministry, aimed to answer the question of “who are the Syrian rebels?” He noted that in Syria there is a vast difference between the opposition and the rebels. The opposition, by and large, resides overseas with little to no connection between themselves and the rebel groups. Indeed, one of the problems facing the rebels is that there is not one central bloc. Instead, there are many disparate groups, ranging from small organizations with an Islamist ideology, to the well-established Jabhat al-Nusra and the Islamic State. By and large, little if any of Syria’s minorities are represented by these factions. While Syria’s more affluent families may indeed oppose Assad, they typically do so from outside of Syria. Instead, most of the Sunni rebels descend from poor labor migrants, who typically subscribe to a Sunni Islamic ideology and who suffered economically under both Hafez and Bashar al-Assad.

Dr. **Joel D. Parker** presented a bird’s-eye view of the current Syrian map. He emphasized the now blurred borders between Syria and its neighbors, both due to the actions of the Islamic State as well as the unprecedented displacement of Syrian refugees. He identified a number of hot spots in the current Syrian civil war, ranging from Latakia in the north to the Golan in the South, and gave insights into the status of the conflict in each place, respectively.

The final speaker was Prof. **Yehudit Ronen**, of the Political Science Department at Bar-Ilan University. She discussed the phenomenon of the Islamic State in Libya and noted that it was not coincidental that



ATTENDEES OF THE 50TH ANNIVERSARY SYMPOSIUM



the organization emerged from the port city of Derna. Known for years as a jihadist stronghold, fighters from this city were dispatched to Afghanistan, Iraq, and Syria. It is an important location, not only because it is on the Egyptian border and thus a strategic threat to that country, but also because it is located near Benghazi – the second largest and most important Libyan city. The IS was able to enjoy successes in that area primarily because of its ability to form alliances with local jihadist groups and tribal militias. Ronen reminded the audience that the IS has been officially present in Libya only since 2014, but has gradually taken more and more territory. Part of its success has also been due to the fact that Libya is essentially divided into two states with two governments who are each subsidizing the continuance of the civil war. What is important to note is that, unlike in Syria, the IS of Libya is almost entirely composed of locals as opposed to foreign volunteers. Following Prof. Ronen’s remarks, a spirited question and answer session with the audience commenced.

Gallipoli, 1915 and Beyond: A Symposium Commemorating 10 Years Since the Passing of Prof. Aryeh Shmuelevitz

IN 1966, Prof. Aryeh Shmuelevitz and Prof. Shimon Shamir were instrumental in the Reuven Shiloah Institute’s integration into Tel Aviv University. As a co-founder of the Shiloah Institute, Shmuelevitz served a long and distinguished career as a scholar and instructor in Ottoman and contemporary Turkish history. Each year the MDC holds a commemorative event to reflect upon Shmuelevitz’s contribution to the field and to honor his memory.

On April 12, 2015, the Moshe Dayan Center, together with the Department of Middle Eastern and African History at Tel Aviv University, hosted a symposium on the collective memory of the 1915 Battle of Gallipoli. The symposium marked the ten-year anniversary of the passing



PROF. SHIMON SHAMIR DELIVERS REMARKS



PROF. MIRI SHEFER-MOSSENSOHN, HEAD OF THE DEPARTMENT OF MIDDLE EASTERN AND AFRICAN HISTORY AT TEL AVIV UNIVERSITY

of Prof. Aryeh Shmuelevitz. Chaired by Prof. **Miri Shefer-Mossensohn**, head of the Department of Middle Eastern and African History, Prof. Shamir opened with personal memories of his departed colleague. Following these remarks, Prof. **Mehmet Kalpaklı** and Prof. **Selver Buldanlıoğlu Şahin**, both of Bilkent University in Ankara, Turkey, each delivered lectures. Prof. Kalpaklı’s lecture, entitled “Reflections of Gallipoli in Turkish Literature,” recounted the June 1915 invitation extended by the Ottoman government to a group of 30 intellectuals to visit the Gallipoli battlefields. On the day of departure, only 18 individuals appeared – among them were painters, writers, and journalists, as well as one composer and one filmmaker. Of the 12-day trip, only seven included visits to the battlefield, while the rest were spent travelling. They viewed the tomb of Süleyman Shah, and other historically

significant sites. The participants wore military uniforms and badges on their left arm. Contrary to expectations, upon return to Istanbul the artistic output from this excursion was negligible.

Indeed, despite the government's attempt to generate collective memory propaganda on the pivotal battle, in the years immediately following the Gallipoli campaign the participants of the journey did not publish, paint, or tell their impressions. Rumors about the visit spread: That the participants were picked for their nationalistic and pan-Turkish convictions, and that the government paid them exorbitant salaries for the trip. Kalpaklı suggested that one of the reasons

for the dearth of works resulting from the visit to Gallipoli, however, might have been the intellectuals' incapacity to describe the destruction and misery that they witnessed. Concluding, Kalpaklı quoted Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, who said about Gallipoli that, "the heroes who shed their blood now rest in peace in the soil of friendly country."



PROF. MEHMET KALPAKLI, BILKENT UNIVERSITY



PROF. SELVER BULDANLIOĞLU ŞAHIN, BILKENT UNIVERSITY

itself, stands as a symbol of collective identity and the development of national identity. Every year young people from Australia, Turkey, and New Zealand organize rehearsals, memorial services, and meetings in Çanakkale.

Currently, 150,000 individuals with Turkish roots reside in Australia, continued Prof. Şahin. The population growth occurred after 1967 when Turkey and Australia signed a migration agreement. With this reality in mind, Şahin suggested that Gallipoli should be taken beyond rehearsed commemorations and become an opportunity for reflecting on comprehensive partnerships in culture, business, and politics. Recognizing the evolution of history between then and now offers the opportunity to formulate a model that can be transferred to different countries for the purpose of bringing people together.

Prof. Şahin presented the second lecture, "Beyond Gallipoli: Commemorating the Past to Celebrating the Future." Applying a future-oriented approach, Şahin opened by explaining the current peace and partnership between Turkey, New Zealand, and Australia, the latter two of which were the instigators at Gallipoli. According to her, the Australian soldiers who died at Gallipoli came to battle without knowing for what they were fighting. For all three countries involved in the confrontation at Gallipoli, claimed Şahin, the campaign played a pivotal role in their respective national awakenings and identity formations. Each year, the Battle of Gallipoli is commemorated in Turkey on March 18, and in Australia on April 25. The site at Çanakkale,





Colloquium on the Islamic State (IS) in Memory of Erga Segev z”l

ON May 19, 2015, at the annual event commemorating the life of TAU student **Erga Segev**, the Moshe Dayan Center hosted a colloquium on the impact of the Islamic State (IS) in the region. Prof. **Miri Shefer-Mossensohn**, head of the Department of Middle Eastern and African History at Tel Aviv University, chaired the colloquium and recounted fond memories of her former student. As a way to honor his daughter’s legacy and love of learning, Adv. **Yoram Segev** once again awarded this year’s recipients with the Erga Segev Memorial Scholarship.

In his capacity as director of the Middle East Network Analysis Desk (MENAD), Dr. **Harel Chorev** remarked that the Islamic State, while presenting itself as a “traditional” force, is in fact extremely modern in nature. It is the product of Islamic Salafi reformism that began in the 19th century. Moreover, the IS is an early and effective proponent of modern technology, and its decentralized framework is a direct reflection of 21st century globalization.



ADV. YORAM SEGEV PRESENTS A SCHOLARSHIP IN MEMORY OF HIS DAUGHTER ERGA SEGEV

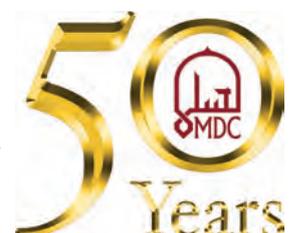
Although the Islamic State operates a wide network of independent local media outlets in Iraq, Syria, Sinai, and North Africa, the organization carefully supervises media disseminated in its name. The regular release of gruesome videos communicates to the world and potential recruits that the organization is strong. More importantly, these strategic propaganda tactics also convey that the IS is not only adept at actual violence, but is also capable of waging psychological warfare. Using the Internet to recruit and activate followers abroad, the Islamic State is able to broadcast its message in a viral manner that is unprecedented for such terrorist organizations. Governments have found it difficult to track down and block IS-affiliated accounts, though they have had greater success with rival Islamist groups.



MDC DIRECTOR, PROF. UZI RABI

and their affiliates with vigor. Meanwhile, Iranian propaganda has painted the organization as the creation of an Israeli-American conspiracy. This is somewhat ironic, Rabi stated, given that the United States and Israel both feature prominently in IS propaganda as collaborators with Iran.

Following Dr. Chorev’s speech, Prof. **Uzi Rabi** spoke about the way that the emergence of the Islamic State, particularly its doctrine of “breaking the borders,” has changed regional geopolitics. The IS claims that the current borders between Middle Eastern countries are illegitimate, and has effectively eliminated the internationally recognized territorial demarcation between Syria and Iraq. It has launched a war against heterodox groups such as the Yazidis, Kurds, Shi’a, and Druze, but has not limited its struggle to them. Indeed, Saudi Arabia and other Islamist groups, such as al-Qaeda and Hamas, are equally illegitimate in the eyes of the organization and it has pursued a struggle against these organizations



THE KONRAD ADENAUER PROGRAM FOR JEWISH-ARAB COOPERATION

AT THE MOSHE DAYAN CENTER FOR MIDDLE EASTERN AND AFRICAN STUDIES

Arab Politics in Israel and the 20th Knesset Elections

On March 10, 2015, the Konrad Adenauer Program (KAP) for Jewish-Arab Cooperation at the Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies, together with Tel Aviv University, hosted a conference on “Arab Politics in Israel and the 20th Knesset Elections.” The conference featured the findings of KAP’s survey on potential voting patterns of Arab citizens of Israel in the 20th Knesset elections. Guests included interested members of the TAU academic community, representatives of several diplomatic missions in Israel, students, and political activists.

Dr. Michael Borchard, director of the Konrad Adenauer Stiftung in Israel, gave the preliminary remarks. He noted that the success of a democracy is judged by the way that the majority treats minority groups. Thus, the role of Arabs in the Knesset elections is a central issue. Ironically, he acknowledged, the attempted marginalization of Arab political parties has instead caused them to join together consequently making them stronger than ever. With that said, Borchard predicted these parties will face difficulties in maintaining such unity following the elections, but argued that a united front is necessary, nevertheless.

Opening the first session, Dr. Itamar Radai, KAP academic director, presented the findings of a February 2015 KAP survey of 500 potential Arab voters (aged 18 and above). The survey was carried out in Arabic, by telephone, four weeks before the elections, and examined a number of factors. According to the interviewed sample, 64.7 percent of Arab voters in Israel were expected to participate; this represented the highest percentage of Arab-voter turnout in more than a decade.



FROM LEFT TO RIGHT: DR. ITAMAR RADAI, KAP ACADEMIC DIRECTOR, DR. MICHAEL BORCHARD, DIRECTOR OF KAS IN ISRAEL, AND MK AHMED TIBI.

PHOTO BY ASSAF SHILOH, ISRAEL SUN



DR. MICHAEL BORCHARD, DIRECTOR OF KAS IN ISRAEL.

PHOTO BY ASSAF SHILOH, ISRAEL SUN

Moreover, the overwhelming majority of the voters would cast a ballot for the Joint List. Respondents expressed the importance of exercising the right to vote granted to them as citizens of Israel, and their decision to do so was positively influenced by the creation of the Joint List.

The Joint List found favor among 68.3 percent of the surveyed participants. According to its supporters, the Joint List would be transformative and would make the Knesset an arena that could effect positive change on behalf of the Arab public. Despite ideological differences, survey respondents expressed an unequivocal desire



for the continued unity of the parties. A large majority surveyed also expressed a belief that the most important issues facing the Arab public today pertain to internal affairs of the Arab society in Israel, such as: unemployment, violence, women's issues, and education, as well as government policy towards the country's Arab minority and other civil status issues. Thus, perhaps contrary to the belief of many Jewish Israelis, resolution of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is not thought to be of paramount importance.

In response, Dr. Borchard noted that the survey results were quite compatible with the existing international research on voting behavior. Voter abstention takes place primarily for personal rather than ideological reasons. Moreover, voters typically support unity over polarization, and will reward those parties at the ballot box that they feel will address their personal needs. It is for this reason that the formation of the Joint List has had a huge impact on the survey results. Yet one must be cautious not to underestimate the pluralism of the Arab sector; the Joint List is in reality a type of "Knesset within the Knesset," and represents a wide spectrum of ideological beliefs, ranging from Communism (secularism) to Islamism (religion).

MK, Dr. **Ahmad Tibi**, leader of the Arab Movement for Change (Ta'al) Party and a member of the Joint List, gave the keynote address. Dr. Tibi shared that the current election cycle is truly historic for a number of reasons. Chief among these is the fact that the four component parties – Hadash (Democratic Front for Peace and Equality), Balad (National Democratic Assembly), Ta'al (Arab Movement for Change), and the parliamentary faction of the Islamic Movement – have responded to the overwhelming desire of their public for unity, despite their own particular ideological agendas. Though the Joint List is not a political party, it nevertheless has a clear and organized platform.



MK AHMED TIBI, OF THE JOINT LIST.
PHOTO BY ASSAF SHILOH, ISRAEL SUN

Despite the misconception expressed in mainstream Israeli media, Dr. Tibi asserted that 85 percent of the activities carried out by Arab MKs focus on internal, social, and sometimes even universal issues affecting the Israeli public-at-large. Interestingly, Dr. Tibi contended that Arab and Haredi (ultra-orthodox) MKs have often been the most effective parliamentarians; he personally has sponsored 12 successful bills since gaining office in 1999. Concluding his remarks, Tibi emphasized the importance of voter turnout. While the Joint List cannot join the government under current conditions, in exchange for greater government responsiveness to issues important to the Arab sector it sees itself as actively supporting the formation of a left-wing government from outside the coalition.

Following his remarks, Dr. Tibi responded to questions from the audience. When asked about his message to the Jewish public he stated that the fight against racism and discrimination should be a joint mission; it is not merely an Arab concern. On the whole Tibi's tone was conciliatory, he recommended that Israeli society work together to find a common denominator that will allow resolution to issues relevant to all citizens of Israel.

The third session, "Arab Politics in Anticipation of the Elections," took the form of an academic roundtable. **Arik Rudnitzky**, KAP program manager, facilitated this portion of the program. The first speaker, Dr. **Mary Totry**, of Oranim Academic College, posed the topic of, "whether or not the 2015 elections truly represent a turning point in Arab politics." The previous election cycle of 2013, Totry shared, reflected two salient trends: a steady decline in the percentage of Arab citizens voting for Zionist parties, and a steady decline in Arab voter turnout. She argued that the official figures given for the latter did not reflect reality, however, and claimed there was widespread vote-falsification. The Israeli political establishment, though aware of this, did nothing to stop it because it has a vested interest in low Arab representation in the Knesset. Nevertheless, she believes that voter fraud would not be an issue in the

2015 elections. Moreover, Dr. Totry predicted that the 2015 elections may indeed represent a turning point if three conditions are fulfilled. First, the actual voting percentage of Arabs must increase. Second, the discourse among Arab parliamentarians must change; they must be careful of appearing provocative in the Israeli media. Lastly, the Jewish public and their parties must cut back on incendiary language and search for common ground.

Rudnitzky broached a number of still unanswered questions. “What is most important is not the results of the elections themselves,” said Rudnitzky, “but what happens subsequently.” As long as the Joint List exists, there will be positive momentum. The question, therefore, is in which direction such momentum will be exploited? Will there be further integration into Israel’s political system through Knesset elections, or a reorganization of the Arab minority’s Supreme Follow-Up Committee as an alternative national framework? “We are also seeing what can be termed a “localization” of the national struggle,” said Rudnitzky. Discourse focuses on specific issues that affect the daily lives of the average Arab voter, not necessarily the larger political and national struggle of the Palestinian people-at-large for a Palestinian state. Overall, current Arab political discourse encourages increasing self-esteem and self-perception as a cohesive group with genuine political power. To that effect, the Joint List views itself as a viable alternative to the current status quo. In this, it has the potential to be truly historic.



ARIK RUDNITZKY, PROGRAM MANAGER OF THE KONRAD ADENAUER PROGRAM AT THE MDC.

PHOTO BY ASSAF SHILOH, *ISRAEL SUN*

The final speaker, Prof. **Aziz Haidar**, of the Van-Leer Institute in Jerusalem, remarked that since at least the early 2000s civil activity has increased in the Arab sector at the expense of political activity.

The formation of the Joint List, however, has brought about several important developments. In the Joint List’s platform, Haidar identified a focus on the “discourse of 1967,” namely the notion of “two states for two people,” and an essential retreat from demands for national autonomy within Israel. Meanwhile, there



CONFERENCE ATTENDEES.

PHOTO BY ASSAF SHILOH, *ISRAEL SUN*

is a renewed emphasis on citizenship and changing the rules of the game from within the Israeli political system. Nevertheless, certain problems still exist and the current feeling of security and self-confidence will not be enough for the Joint List to overcome those challenges. For example, the Joint List has not succeeded in bridging the significant ideological differences between the parties, they have only been put aside. Without raising the electoral threshold the merger would never have happened; it was dictated from without and was not a natural development from within. Beyond the ideological problems, it also faces the issue of abstention from voting, which is caused not only by organized boycotts, but also from political apathy.





NEW ENDEAVORS

The Middle East Network Analysis Desk

A successful and timely addition to the MDC's research, the Middle East Network Analysis Desk (MENAD) studies Middle East and North Africa networks both online (Twitter, Facebook, Tumblr, and Instagram) and off (networks of families, elites, and terror groups). Utilizing advanced technological tools that allow for the visualization and examination of sentiments in the MENA region, MENAD analyzes patterns, developments, rises and declines in opinions, reactions, and trends. With this information the understanding of current events in the region reaches far beyond official media and taps into true public discourse.

MENAD research is published in a variety of multimedia platforms. *Beehive*, a monthly publication released in both Hebrew and English, co-edited by **Hadas Sofer-Shabtai** and Dr. **Harel Chorev**, provides explanations and analysis for events and trends moving the Arabic-, Turkish-, and Farsi-speaking worlds on social networking sites. In order to provide various perspectives within the discourse of major current events, MENAD researchers comb through local articles, social media posts, trending hashtags, and other sources directly from the Internet users within these countries, rather than state-sanctioned media.

The Middle East-themed weekly radio show "Marha-beit" with Gal Berger, and broadcast on Israel's Reshet Bet, regularly features Chorev who brings these themes and discussions to a greater audience within Israel. In 2015, such topics included the Iran-U.S. nuclear agreement and the June 2015 Turkish elections.

The members of the Middle East Network Analysis Desk have diverse research questions of their own, all of which work around the central theme of networking. Chorev uses the methodology of network analysis to study the integration and disintegration of Palestinian society from the mid-19th century through 1948. Dr. **Raz Zimmt** examines how social media reflects the growing gap between the Iranian people and the country's regime, and how the Iranian public will react to the success or failure of the nuclear deal with the United States. Dr. **Michael Barak** looks to the Egyptian Azmiyya Sufi movement's use of social media to counter radicalism. **Hay Eytan Cohen-Yanarocak** studies how different players in Turkish politics organize online by using hashtags and campaigns to drive the political conversation. **Nachum Shiloh** determines how social networks can be used in lieu of archives, access to which are limited in the Arab world; he also uses social networks to research opposition groups in the GCC states.

The IS sub-desk is the newest addition to the Middle East Network Analysis Desk. Coordinated by **Linda Dayan**, the IS sub-desk researchers study the online behavior of IS members and their supporters, including their conversations, publications, media, recruitment habits, reactions to international discourse about them, and the way they present the realities of life in their territories. The sub-desk keeps track of the varied technologies the IS uses to hide their identities, to protect information from hackers, and to reach wider audiences. It also provides particularly rewarding research opportunities for interns, many of whom are comfortable navigating the social media platforms and technologies that the IS employs.

Since the outbreak of the Arab Uprisings the world has turned to social networks to understand how the Middle East functions from the bottom-up. Revolutions and protests from Tunisia, to Egypt, and to Iran have been coordinated on Twitter and Facebook, and the growing role of online networks requires researchers to stay one step ahead. The researchers at the Moshe Dayan Center's Middle East Network Analysis Desk understand the importance of listening to these local voices in real time, and their analysis is invaluable vis-à-vis a changing Middle East.

The Africa Research Program

In Spring 2015, the MDC founded the Africa Research Program (ARP). The goals of the ARP include meeting increasing interest in the study of Africa, and developing and expanding academic research on topics related to Africa and its peoples. Headed by Dr. **Irit Back**, the ARP will also examine the role of Africa in the global sphere. Scholars affiliated with the Program disseminate their research through the MDC's newest online publication, *Ifriqiya*.

Ifriqiya is published in Hebrew and English on a monthly basis. The publication provides both historical and contemporary analyses on various aspects of African history, culture, religion, politics, and economics. Thus far, contributors have written upon a number of topics. Israeli Ambassador to Egypt, H.E. **Haim Koren**, authored a piece on the history and challenges of South Sudan; Intelligence Analyst **Olga Bogoard** wrote on the phenomenon of Islamic terrorism in Mali; Scholar and Journalist **Tracey Greenstein** explored the roots of the civil war currently raging in Central African Republic; and Dr. **Conrad Rein** examined the European Union-African Union relationship.

The Africa Research Program also hosts a forum for periodic academic discussion, and addresses current cultural and humanitarian events taking place in Africa. In the spring semester, the ARP hosted a movie screening and discussion exposing the rampant trafficking of refugees through the Sinai Peninsula. To better assist those from the Ethiopian community in Israel, the Program also hosted a workshop for medical students that instructed them in basic Amharic language and Ethiopian culture.



PARTICIPANTS IN "MOVING TO THE RHYTHM," AN EVENT HOSTED BY THE AFRICA RESEARCH PROGRAM

THE MDC ABROAD

THE MDC IN PHILADELPHIA AND NEW YORK

From April 20-22, 2015, Prof. **Uzi Rabi** delivered lectures and presentations to several institutions and groups throughout Philadelphia and New York. On this particular speaking tour, coordinated by the American Friends of Tel Aviv University (AFTAU), Rabi focused upon the Islamic State and its significance in current regional affairs, and the changing political alignments of the Middle East.

On April 20, Rabi spoke at the home of Israeli Consul-General **Yaron** and **Tami Sideman**. Consul-General Sideman serves as the diplomatic representative for the Mid-Atlantic Region of the United States. There, Prof. Rabi addressed the Iran nuclear talks and the growing threat of the Islamic State.



MDC DIRECTOR, PROF. UZI RABI (LEFT) AND H.E. YARON SIDEMAN, CONSUL-GENERAL OF ISRAEL TO THE UNITED STATES, MID-ATLANTIC REGION



On April 21, Prof. Rabi addressed an audience at the World Affairs Council (WAC) in Philadelphia, which was hosted by WAC President **Craig Snyder** and former-WAC President **Buntzie Churchill**.

The visit continued onto various offices with leadership and interest in the current situation faced by the Middle East. A visit to the law offices of Cozen & O'Connor, hosted by Founder and Chairman **Stephen Cozen**, afforded the opportunity for Rabi to meet with Cozen who is a renowned leader and philanthropist both within and without the Jewish world. Cozen's law firm recently gained recognition for its representation of the victims of 9/11 in a lawsuit against the Saudi Arabian government.



CRAIG SNYDER, PRESIDENT AND CEO OF THE WORLD AFFAIRS COUNCIL OF PHILADELPHIA, AND PROF. UZI RABI (RIGHT)



FROM LEFT TO RIGHT: JON GURKHOFF, NATIONAL CHAIRMAN OF THE AMERICAN FRIENDS OF TEL AVIV UNIVERSITY, PROF. UZI RABI, AND RICHARD EDLIN, TREASURER OF THE CARNEGIE COUNCIL

Arranged by Carnegie Council President **Joel Rosenthal**, a meeting with the Carnegie Council for Ethics in International Affairs in New York City also took place. Rabi also delivered lectures at PNC Wealth Management, and at Dorsey and Whitney LLP.

The MDC extends its gratitude to the generous and hospitable hosts that welcomed the MDC director on this particular trip. Through these invaluable interactions abroad, the Center forges new friendships with people and organizations from around the world that are committed to expanding their knowledge of our dynamic region.

MDC FORUMS

IRAQ AND ISLAMIC STATE FORUM

UNDER the leadership of Dr. **Ronen Zeidel**, in the 2014-15 academic year the MDC established a new forum dedicated to the study of Iraq, Syria, and the Islamic State (IS). The Forum takes an integrative, socio-political, and strategic approach to examining the ethnic strife between Arabs and Kurds, and the religious tension between Sunnis, Shi'is, and Yezidis. In this setting, interested scholars discuss often overlooked or commonly misunderstood details that offer insight to the future of the Iraqi and Syrian states.

In addition to topical discussions at monthly meetings, forum members gave lectures throughout the year. In March 2015, **Aymenn al-Tamimi**, the Shillman-Ginsburg fellow of the Middle East Forum, described his experiences in northern rebel-held Syria. Via Skype, the Forum virtually hosted Iraqi intellectual **Fanar Haddad**, who answered questions on contemporary sectarianism in Iraq. In June 2015, the Forum organized a symposium in honor of the MDC's 50th Anniversary entitled, "Iraq, Syria, and the Islamic State: the Situation and the Future."



AYMENN JAWAD A-TAMIMI, OF THE MIDDLE EAST FORUM, PRESENTS TO THE IRAQ FORUM

Ending the year on a bittersweet note members agreed that given the current situation, research and discussion will continue to focus on the Islamic State as a central component of regional problems. Forum members will be keeping their eyes on the uncertain future facing Iraq, Syria, and also Lebanon.

FORUM ON KURDISH SOCIETY, HISTORY AND CULTURE

As in previous years, Spring 2015 was an active semester for the Forum on Kurdish Society, History, and Culture. The Forum hosted both closed and open sessions, all of which served to illuminate the contemporary status of the Kurdistan Region in light of the extreme challenges it faces.

On February 25, 2015, the Forum hosted volunteer aid workers **Jessica** and **Jordan Danchik**, who gave lectures about their personal experiences in the Kurdistan Autonomous Region. They emphasized Iraq's ongoing state of severe turmoil, which continues to contribute to a general lack of organization and interferes with the ability of aid workers to perform their work. Jessica Danchik also discussed the status of women in the Kurdistan Region and her personal experience as a foreign, female aid worker.



JESSICA AND JORDAN DANCHIK PRESENT TO THE KURDISH FORUM, FEBRUARY 25, 2015

On May 5, 2015, Dr. **Nahro Zagros**, vice president of Soran University in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq, delivered a lecture on the potential of a future independent Kurdistan.

On June 7, 2015, the Kurdish Forum hosted **Edwin Shuker**, vice president of the European Jewish Congress. Shuker's remarks focused on current political and military developments in Iraq and the Kurdistan Region, both entities' relations with the Western world, as well as future prospects for Kurdish-Israeli relations.



PROF. OFRA BENGIO, HEAD OF KURDISH STUDIES PROGRAM AT THE MDC

Visit www.dayan.org to learn more about the Kurdish Studies Program at the MDC. Directed by Prof. **Ofra Bengio** and coordinated by **Ceng Sagnic**, the Program is one of the most comprehensive of its kind.

CLUB TURKEY

DURING the spring 2015 semester, Club Turkey hosted several events and speakers who provided a valuable Turkish perspective to the historic elections held on June 7, 2015.

On May 31, 2015, Turkish journalist **Kadri Gürsel** analyzed the June elections, gave insights into the Kurdish position in Turkey, and spoke about possible foreign policy implications if the AKP, or the opposition, were to gain a majority in Parliament.

On June 27, 2015, visiting scholar, Dr. **Ahmet Kasım Han**, of Istanbul's Kadir Has University, provided his analysis of the post-election period. He noted the myriad potential coalition calculations and the impact that each might have on Turkish foreign policy. Dr. Han also discussed Turkey's operations against both the Islamic State and the Kurdish PKK.



MDC PUBLIC PROGRAMS

DIWANIYYA: THE DAYAN CENTER PODCAST

In June 2015, Dr. **Michael Barak**, a researcher on the MDC's Middle East Network Analysis Desk (MENAD) and for the Institute for Counter-Terrorism at the IDC-Herzliya, spoke about jihadist groups' employment of social media, and the ways that the Islamic State has dramatically increased the sophistication of its use.

In August 2015, *Diwaniyya* Intern **Ryan Peisner** contributed a blog article analyzing the difficulties currently facing the social-democratic CHP party in Turkey.

To listen to previous episodes and to read the informative blog articles of *Diwaniyya*, visit www.dayan.org.

NADI CINEMA

THE MDC's Middle Eastern film club, **Nadi Cinema**, organized four film screenings in the spring semester. Each month, Nadi Cinema brings together students and researchers to discuss politics, society, and culture from the perspective of film.

On March 22, 2015, Nadi Cinema screened the Turkish feature film **120** (Turkey, 2008). The film is based on the true story of 120 children who perished in 1915 while carrying ammunition for the Ottoman Battle of Sarikamish against the Russians during World War I. Marking the centennial anniversary of the battle, **Duygu Atlas** presented this popular Turkish film.

On April 19, 2015, Nadi Cinema invited Dr. **Yoav Alon**, from the Department of Middle Eastern and African Studies at TAU, to discuss the Jordanian film **Captain Abu Raed** (2008). A captivating film telling the moving story of an old man who brightens the lives of the poverty-struck children of his neighborhood, Alon gave the historical context for the harsh reality faced by the children whose pilot-helmet wearing storyteller wove imaginative stories that gave them hope and escape.

On June 7, 2015, Prof. **Uzi Rabi** introduced the film **Wadjda** (Germany, 2012). The first feature film entirely shot in Saudi Arabia, and the first directed by a Saudi woman, **Wadjda** tells the remarkable story of an enterprising young Saudi girl who signs up for her school's Qur'an recitation competition as a way to raise the remaining funds she needs to buy the green bicycle that has captured her interest.

On July 7, 2015, Nadi Cinema featured the film **Where do we go now?** (France, 2011). A film by Lebanese director Nadine Labaki, this humorous and touching movie tells the story of a group of Lebanese women who try to ease religious tensions between Christians and Muslims in their village. Dr. **Joel D. Parker** provided the background to the film, spoke on the role of women in Middle Eastern societies, and placed it in the context of historical religious tensions in Lebanon.



ACADEMIC EXCHANGES

TENTH ANNUAL TEL AVIV UNIVERSITY WORKSHOP ON ISRAEL AND THE MIDDLE EAST

The Tenth Annual Tel Aviv University Workshop on Israel and the Middle East took place from July 12-23, 2015. The intensive 12-day academic workshop and travel program focuses on the history of the Arab-Israeli conflict and on contemporary issues related to Israel, the Palestinian territories, and the broader Middle East. It aims to offer instructors of Middle Eastern Studies a unique, balanced, and on-the-ground perspective about the history of the conflict and Israel's contemporary regional challenges. MDC Director, Prof. **Uzi Rabi**, coordinates the academic program each year.



MK MICHAEL OREN, FORMER ISRAELI AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES, AND PROF. UZI RABI



DR. NIR BOMS AND PROF. UZI RABI MEET WITH DRUZE REPRESENTATIVES ON THE GOLAN HEIGHTS

A varied group of lecturers from universities around the world participated in this year's workshop on an invitation-only basis. Attendees included faculty from institutions in the United States, Brazil, the United Kingdom, Canada, China, Indonesia, Turkey, the Netherlands, Germany, Czech Republic, India, South Africa, Morocco, and Iraq.

Featuring many of the most outstanding Israeli and Palestinian

scholars in the region, among this year's presenters from the MDC were Prof. **Meir Litvak**, Prof. **Eyal Zisser**, and Dr. **Esther Webman**. In addition to academic scholars, the workshop included political scientists, journalists, mapping specialists, former intelligence officers of the IDF, and senior officials who participated in Israeli-Palestinian negotiations.



PARTICIPANTS IN THE TAU WORKSHOP MEET WITH UN PEACEKEEPERS ON THE GOLAN HEIGHTS

During the workshop, lectures are supplemented with visits to



BRIG. GEN. (RES.) MOSHE ELAD (LEFT), PROF. GABRIEL BEN-DOR, BRIG. GEN. (RES.) YOSSİ KUPERWASSER (RIGHT)

key cities and sites, relevant to the history of the Arab-Israeli conflict. These sites included: Jewish and Muslim holy places, such as the Western Wall and the Temple Mount, the security fence, the Golan Heights, Yad Vashem, and Umm Al-Fahm.

This year the workshop introduced a new element: a simulation exercise held at the University of Haifa. The exercise granted the opportunity for participants to incorporate insights gained during the workshop into a "real" decision-making process. Every player received a role corresponding to an individual decision maker in Israeli society or politics, and was asked to respond to a developing scenario that revolved around a series of escalations on Israel's northern and southern borders.



Participants were assigned to the roles of Israeli politicians, military and civilian leadership, and the media. A select group of Israeli experts was present to coach the participants in these roles, including Brig. Gen. (res.) **Yossi Kuperwasser**, Brig. Gen. (res.) **Moshe Elad**, and Prof. **Gabriel Ben-Dor**.

After a decade, the MDC is proud to have hosted nearly 200 workshop participants. Through the vehicle of the Workshop, the MDC has established a global network of scholars with whom to forge both personal and professional relationships. Serving as an academic platform for scholars around the world, the Workshop continues to be an incubator for numerous cooperative agreements between TAU and several international institutions.

INTERNS AND VISITING SCHOLARS IN SPRING 2015

A number of interns generously contributed to the work of MDC in the spring semester. In fact, the new bureau, focusing on the Islamic State and jihadi social media, was inspired by an article written by **Linda Dayan**, recipient of the Steinhardt-Israel Institute Scholarship, and published in *Beehive*.

Inbal Ben-Yehuda and **Jocelynn Ramiah**, young scholars of Africa, helped with research and editing for our weekly Middle East News Brief (MENB). Their contributions added fresh analysis on developments in Saharan and Sub-Saharan Africa. **Rex Barton**, **Kimron Flicker**, and **Jacob McLane** also researched articles for MENB, as well as other in-house publications.

This year's AMSITAU recipient, **Laura Brantley**, participated in research for a forthcoming *Beehive* edition as well as editing a soon-to-be-published book project of Dr. **Paul Rivlin**.

In late spring, **Dan Lammendola** joined the Center to translate Arabic sources that help to better understand the nuances of rival jihadi ideologies among Syrian rebel factions.

A number of distinguished visiting scholars made their way through the MDC during Spring 2015. Prof. **Wang Xingiang** and Ph.D. Candidate **Yu Xiaodong** came from Northwest University in China to visit the MDC. Prof. Xingiang and Xiaodong met with Prof. **Eyal Zisser** to discuss Syria, and to utilize the internationally renowned MDC Library.

Dr. **Matthieu Cimino**, visiting from Paris, wrote a salient article on the situation of the Druze in Suweida, Syria, for *Tel Aviv Notes*.

INTERN TESTIMONIALS – 2014-2015

After 50 years of excellence in research, the MDC has evolved into an international hub known for historical as well as contemporary analysis of a changing region. There is no better way to exhibit this fact than by spotlighting the testimonials of students who come to the Center from around the world to enhance their studies of the Middle East and Africa. Looking ahead to the next 50 years, our doors remain open and we welcome the next generation of scholars who will benefit from the facilities and materials we maintain on the Tel Aviv University campus.

“The internship at the Moshe Dayan Center has been a very rewarding and formative experience. I have been able to utilize my skills in Arabic translation for relevant research and also learned a great deal about the conflict in Syria and Iraq in particular. This summer I focused on researching the formation, ideology, and goals of Jabhat al-Nusra, a Syrian rebel group, drawing from both English and Arabic sources. I’m also attempting to write an article on the subject under the direction of Dr. Joel Parker. I’m even considering returning for a year-long position after I graduate from Kent State this coming May.”

– Daniel Lammendola, Kent State University

“My favorite part of the internship has been the level of responsibility. I have supervisors and team projects, but I am free to research what interests me, and can prepare my own work for publication within the center at my own discretion if I put in the hours. Hard work and diligence here is rewarded. The Center has also helped focus my interests on terrorism, and will hopefully help to get me a great job after I graduate in the policy-making sphere, whether it is with another think tank or the U.S. government. The Moshe Dayan Center is preparing me very well for a career in research.”

– Ty Joplin, Haverford College

*“I am fortunate enough to be able to say that this is my second stint at the Dayan Center in three years. I spent July 2013 as a **Bustan** intern, editing the book review publication under the direction of Dr. Brandon Friedman, and I’ve returned for the year as the Steinhardt-Israel Institute intern for 2014-2015. I’ve had so many opportunities here that I could not have had anywhere else, from the freedom to delve into my own research projects to participating in the Kurdish Forum. My work has become more challenging and engaging as I’ve moved forward, and even though I’m an intern, the people at the MDC have made me feel like I’m part of the team. Everyone, from the professors to the research assistants, is excited and enthusiastic about their field and sharing their knowledge. It’s really incredible to be surrounded by people who love what they do, and I’m very privileged to have been able to work with and learn from them for so long.”*

– Linda Dayan, Steinhart-Israel Institute intern, 2014-2015

“The MDC allowed me to apply and expand on the material that I have learned in the classroom. I was able to research topics that interest me while having daily access to the comprehensive library, fellow researchers, and leading scholars. These resources are not available at my institution in the United States, so interning at the MDC is an incredible blessing and opportunity. Most importantly, this internship prepares me for graduate programs by sharpening my research skills, teaching me how to collaborate with faculty members and peers, and developing my writing. This preparation will make me a competitive candidate for further education, which is integral to obtaining my goal of one day working at a research center like the MDC.”

– Jake McLain, Simpson College

“While working at the Moshe Dayan Center as a research intern I had the freedom to research my specific area of interest and simultaneously work on projects pertaining to the Middle East at large. The MDC provided me with the guidance, resources, and encouragement to vastly increase my area knowledge and skills in conducting research. Moving forward in my academic career I will have a large advantage over my peers from having had the opportunity to intensively research the Middle East every day for half of my summer. The knowledge I gained while at the Moshe Dayan Center was enlightening and transformative to my understanding of the Middle East, and for this I am very thankful to all of those at the MDC who made this internship possible.”

– Hailey Webster, Wellesley College

ANNOUNCEMENTS

The MDC is proud to report that, as a result of our upgrade efforts, the MDC library ranks in the top 10 of Israel’s national catalogue system. Congratulations to our hardworking library staff and all who contributed to this success!

MDC NEWSLETTERS



Tel Aviv Notes is the Moshe Dayan Center's bi-monthly analytical update on current affairs and regional developments in the Middle East. It is distributed regularly on the 10th and 26th of each month. On occasion, as breaking news emerges from the region, research fellows provide special editions of Tel Aviv Notes to keep our subscribers updated on unfolding events. It is edited by Prof. Bruce Maddy-Weitzman and Dr. Brandon Friedman.



Middle East Crossroads is the Moshe Dayan Center's Hebrew-language analytical publication on current developments and critical regional trends. Published monthly, it is edited by Dr. Mira Tzoreff.



Bayan is the quarterly publication of the Konrad Adenauer Program for Jewish-Arab Cooperation at the Moshe Dayan Center. The goal of Bayan is to enrich the knowledge of the general public about issues that involve Arab society within Israel, and to act as a platform for original research. Bayan is edited by Dr. Itamar Radai and Arik Rudnitzky, and is published simultaneously in Hebrew and English.



Beehive is a product of the Doron Halpern Middle East Network Analysis Desk (MENAD), which studies noteworthy trends on Arab, Turkish, and Iranian social media. Beehive positions these trends within a broader context and provides an up-to-date perspective on issues that are being actively discussed by the people of the region. Advanced tools allow the Center's researchers to focus only on discussions that are significant in terms of their duration as well as the number of participants. It is edited by Dr. Harel Chorev-Halewa, Smadar Shaul, and Natasha Spreadborough.



Ifriqiya is published alternately in Hebrew and English, on a monthly basis. It provides both a historical and contemporary analysis on various issues, and covers topics relating to African history, cultures, religions, politics, economics, and more. It is edited by Dr. Irit Back, the Head of Africa Studies at the MDC.



Iqtisadi: Middle East Economy is a monthly publication which provides readers with an economic analysis of the Middle East, its key players, and events affecting its marketplaces and societies. Iqtisadi is published once a month in both English and Hebrew, and edited by Dr. Paul Rivlin, Yitzhak Gal, Dr. Brandon Friedman, and Moran Levanoni.

EXPERTS

- Prof. Uzi Rabi, *Director, Senior Research Fellow*
- Dr. Irit Back, *Research Fellow*
- Dr. Michael Barak, *Research Fellow*
- Prof. Ofra Bengio, *Senior Research Fellow*
- Dr. Nir Boms, *Research Fellow*
- Dr. Harel Chorev-Halewa, *Research Fellow*
- Dr. Brandon Friedman, *Research Fellow*
- Mr. Yitzhak Gal, *Research Fellow*
- Prof. Motti Golani, *Senior Research Fellow*
- Dr. Ephraim Lavie, *Research Fellow*
- Prof. Meir Litvak, *Senior Research Fellow*
- Prof. Bruce Maddy-Weitzman, *Senior Research Fellow*
- Prof. David Menashri, *Senior Research Fellow*
- Dr. Joel Parker, *Research Fellow*
- Prof. Itamar Rabinovich, *Senior Research Fellow*
- Dr. Itamar Radai, *Research Fellow*
- Dr. Paul Rivlin, *Senior Research Fellow*
- Prof. Shimon Shamir, *Senior Research Fellow*
- Prof. Asher Susser, *Stanley and Ilene Gold Research Fellow*
- Dr. Inbal Tal, *Research Fellow*
- Dr. Mira Tzoreff, *Research Fellow*
- Dr. Esther Webman, *Senior Research Fellow*
- Dr. Ronen Zeidel, *Research Fellow*
- Dr. Daniel Zisenwine, *Research Fellow*
- Prof. Eyal Zisser, *Senior Research Fellow*

JUNIOR RESEARCHERS

- Basem Ajweh
- Duygu Atlas
- Heidi Basch-Harod
- Joyce van de Bildt
- Hay Eytan Cohen Yanarocak
- Adam Hoffman
- Rachel Kantz Feder
- Ben Mendales
- Arik Rudnitzky
- Ceng Sagnic
- Smadar Shaul
- Carl Yonker

RESEARCH ASSISTANTS

- Inbal Ben-Yehuda
- Sarah Jacobs
- Gilad Shiloach

RESEARCHERS EMERITI

- Dr. Gideon Gera
- Dr. Martin Kramer
- Dr. Elie Rekhess
- Prof. Mordechai Tamarkin

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- Help keep our resources and libraries up to date, so that our researchers and students can continue to produce research at the cutting edge of their field.

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- Fund a one year doctoral fellowship and provide invaluable help to a young academic starting out in his/her professional career.

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