
Bulletin

NO. 63 | 2015–2016

AT A GLANCE

Women's Activism in the Islamic Movement

Arab Minority Relations to the Jewish State

Analyzing Terrorism through the Lens of
Social Media



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ABOUT THE MOSHE DAYAN CENTER

The Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies (MDC) is a non-partisan, interdisciplinary research center at Tel Aviv University, and is Israel's oldest and most experienced research center of its kind. The Center is independently funded through individual and institutional donations and endowments.

MISSION STATEMENT

To serve Israeli and international practitioners, policymakers, and scholars by providing accurate, timely analysis of the contemporary Middle Eastern and Africa; to contribute positively to the public discourse surrounding issues of critical importance to Israel and the region; to forge partnerships with leading international research centers and thought leaders; to seek mutual understanding, cooperation, and goodwill between Israel and its neighbors, and to be an incubator of excellence for future generations of scholars.

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LETTER FROM THE DIRECTOR

Dear Friends,

The 2015-2016 academic year was a productive one for the Moshe Dayan Center, but a troubling one for the region as a whole. Starting with Syria, claiming the lives of hundreds of thousands, the conflict continues to perpetuate the greatest humanitarian catastrophe of the 21st century. Iran and Russia's intervention may have altered the course of the war in Syria, but the P5+1 nuclear agreement with Iran may yet encourage future adventurism in Syria, Yemen, Lebanon, and Iraq. Looking at the current status of the Islamic State, true it has suffered some setbacks in the region, but increasingly audacious attacks across the globe indicate the organization's persistence. With an eye on Turkey, only time will tell the long-term effects of the attempted coup during July 2016 on the country's foreign and domestic policies.



As for Israel, in the fall of 2016 we continued to face a troubling outbreak of violence on a scale not seen since the end of the Second Intifada. A spate of attacks throughout the country and in the West Bank threatened the delicate balance of relations between Israel's Arab and Jewish communities. Of course these events impacted the personal security of all of Israel's citizens.

Against this backdrop, in the 2015-16 academic year the MDC continued to pursue an ambitious program of research and events. In December 2015, we inaugurated the **Doron Halpern Middle East Network Analysis Desk**, tasked with the investigation of trends and developments in social media networks of the region. The Konrad Adenauer Program for Jewish-Arab Cooperation celebrated its 20th year of activity at the MDC with a symposium comparing the experience of minority groups in Israel and Germany. Our scholars appeared prolifically in international and Israeli news outlets, and published extensively in prestigious international journals as well as in our eight analytical periodicals, which you can peruse on our renovated website. In June 2016, we launched two programs: the **Egypt Forum**, under the leadership of Prof. **Shimon Shamir** and Dr. **Mira Tzoreff**; and the **Program for the Study of Jews in Arab Lands**. Several visiting scholars and interns joined us from around the world to engage in the dynamic research of which we are so proud. As in previous years, we signed promising cooperative agreements with regional and international organizations and institutions.

On a more somber note, the MDC mourns the loss of the Chairman of the MDC International Board of Governors and a great friend to the Center, **Lester Pollack**. Our most heartfelt sympathies go to **Geri Pollack** and the entire **Pollack Family**. Lester exemplified the leadership and support the MDC relies upon to continue its invaluable contributions to the field of Middle Eastern and African Studies in Israel and abroad.

With warmest regards,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be 'Uzi Rabi', written over a light blue horizontal line.

Prof. Uzi Rabi



SYMPOSIA AND CONFERENCES

The Online Revolution of Arab Society in Israel — A Memorial Lecture in Honor of Erga Segev

On June 27, 2016, the MDC, together with the Department of Middle Eastern and African History at Tel Aviv University, gathered to pay annual tribute to **Erga Segev**. Segev was a student of the Department who died tragically while travelling in the Far East. Prof. **Uzi Rabi** delivered opening remarks, where he shared memories of Erga and her dedication to learning. Following this, Adv. **Yoram Segev**, Erga's father, presented scholarships to outstanding BA, MA, and doctoral candidates **Eline Rosenhart**, **Chelsi Mueller**, **Li Caspi**, and **Sadon Danielle Sapir**. Following the award of scholarships, **Arik Rudnitzky** delivered the memorial lecture.

Over the past decade, there have been dramatic changes in Arab society within Israel. One of the reasons why this has occurred is the "online revolution," whereby the weight of the younger generations and their impact on the Arab sector's public discourse has increased proportionally with Internet usage rates. During this period, the rate of Internet usage in the Arab sector increased over three-fold: from 23 percent in 2004, to 71 percent in 2012.



ADV. YORAM SEGEV AWARDS A SCHOLARSHIP TO
M.A. CANDIDATE ELINE ROSENHART

The most impressive rate of increased usage is among young people aged 18-29, who represent more than a third of the adult Arab population in Israel. Data collected in a 2012 study show that 97 percent of individuals within this age group use the Internet daily, 82 percent use the Internet as their prime information and news source, and three out of four use Facebook daily. In order to understand the influence of the virtual sphere on the worldview of the younger generations, it is sufficient to note that in a 2012 survey conducted within Arab society in Israel, 77 percent of respondents affirmed that Facebook is perceived as a channel that leads to the breakdown of societal boundaries and traditional norms.



SCHOLARSHIP RECIPIENTS
(FROM LEFT TO RIGHT): DR. CHELSI MUELLER,
ELINE ROSENHART, AND LI CASPI.
NOT PICTURED: SADON DANIELLE SAPIR

The phenomenon of Internet usage among minority groups worldwide is a subject which has garnered increasing attention from the media and researchers alike. Two major conclusions emerge from the scholarly literature dealing with the effect of Internet usage among minorities and disadvantaged groups. First, the Internet is an especially powerful tool for mobilizing minorities as it enables minorities to cope with marginalization, both political and social. Second, in the case of the Arab minority in Israel, Internet use enables the various parts of the Palestinian people, who are often geographically separated, to unite together in one virtual arena.

In the past, national mobilization of the Arab minority in Israel took place in different places – gatherings in private homes and coffeehouses, mass demonstrations, national events, and political conferences. Today, the main field of mobilization has shifted to Facebook pages and other online social networks. This new generation, the Facebook and smartphone generation, are the youngest individuals within Arab society and are classified as the fourth generation after the Nakba.

Also known as the post-Oslo generation, born in the 1990s during the years following the signing of the Accords between Israel and the Palestinian Liberation Organization, they came of age following the events of October 2000 that severely damaged relations between Jews and Arabs in Israel. Members of this generation are in a rebellious mood and challenge the existing political and societal structures. For example, in response to attempts by the state apparatus to emphasize the Jewish character of Israel, they do not hesitate to emphasize their Palestinian national identity in spontaneous demonstrations organized through Facebook and Twitter. The younger generation also challenges its own political and religious leadership. A cohort gaining a somewhat impudent reputation is eager to take to the streets in protest, even if their political leadership prefers to organize quieter popular demonstrations.



ARIK RUDNITZKY, KAP PROGRAM MANAGER



ERGA SEGEV, Z"l

However, the real revolution is taking place in their stance toward Palestinian leadership in the West Bank. Within the Arab society of Israel, the younger generation represents a challenge toward both their leadership and to the state; a dynamic made more complex by the increasing capabilities of their smartphones. Following the 1974 Rabat Conference, the PLO was recognized as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. The post-Oslo generation argues that the PLO no longer represents them and that their connection with their Palestinian brethren in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip does not necessarily flow through the PLO. These youth are making their protest heard through an organization called al-Hirak al-Shababi (The Youth Movement), an online movement that derives its power from social media platforms.

Iran, ISIS, and the Middle East – The Unsolved Equation

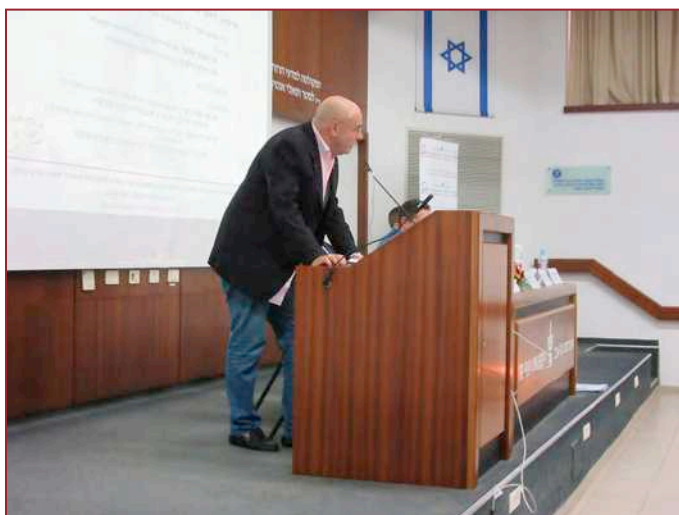
Within the framework of the new Doron Halpern Middle East Analysis Desk (MENAD), on May 31, 2016, the MDC hosted a symposium entitled, "Iran, ISIS, and the Middle East – The Unsolved Equation." In attendance were members of the MDC and TAU communities, the interested public, **Doron Halpern**, program sponsor, and **Amos Elad**, vice president for Resource Development at Tel Aviv University.

The symposium's opening included a series of remarks on the relevance of MENAD and acknowledging the generosity of the program's benefactor, Doron Halpern. Prof. **Uzi Rabi** emphasized the necessity of



the program for understanding the Middle East of the 21st century. Halpern's sponsorship also provides scholarships for students of the Middle East at the B.A., M.A., and Doctoral levels. At this particular symposium, Rabi, Elad, and Halpern presented scholarships to a number of outstanding students.

Giving the first lecture of the symposium, Prof. Rabi posited that the Western understanding of the nation-state and nationality are not applicable to the Middle East. Understanding the current crisis with ISIS thus requires an awareness of these misconceptions. According to Rabi, the rise of ISIS is due to the disintegration of particular nation-states in the region. State borders drawn under the Sykes-Picot agreement, such as Iraq and Syria (as opposed to the historically well-established civilizations of Egypt and Iran), have either already collapsed or are in the process of a rapid devolution. To illustrate this point, Rabi presented a map of ISIS-controlled areas in Syria and Iraq that demonstrated states governments' loss of authority over their own alleged nations. Even after a century, the artificial creations of Syria and Iraq never managed to foster a sense of national unity. In order to understand the current state of the Middle East Rabi advised that scholars should be monitoring religious and ethnic demographics instead of defunct national identities.



PROGRAM BENEFACTOR **DORON HALPERN** DELIVERS OPENING REMARKS

To that effect, ISIS understands the flimsiness of national identity in Iraq and Syria and thus its battle cry is "*kasr al hudud*" (the breaking of borders). On an ideological level, ISIS views diverse religious and national actors as enemies who respect the western constructs of nation-states and their borders, which are antithetical to Islam. Although ISIS masterfully uses modern tools to spread its message, such as social media platforms, the organization exhibits a medieval mindset.

Overall, the rise of ISIS has been largely devastating to the Middle East. However, at least one regional actor has benefited from it – Iran. Iran, or Persia, has existed continuously for thousands of years in the same geographic region, which explains why this nation-state is not experiencing the national disintegration of its neighbors. Although ISIS is damaging Iranian allies, as of yet, it poses no existential threat to the Shi'i or Alawite powers of Iran, Syria, and Bahrain. In fact, the rise of ISIS has allowed Iran to shield itself from many of its regional rivals. Prior to ISIS, Iran was the primary enemy of the Middle Eastern Sunni powers, but is now seen as the lesser evil and, perhaps, even a partner in the common struggle against ISIS.



MDC DIRECTOR **PROF. UZI RABI** GIVES HIS LECTURE

Israel's situation is a peculiar one. Historically, Israel has been the primary enemy for most Arab states and has become accustomed to being a primary target. The powers in the Middle East are still ardently opposed to Israel, but with the dissolution of nation-states and the rise of ISIS, every major actor has an existential threat that far exceeds the danger posed by Israel. As such, Israel is now enemy number two for everybody, but enemy number one for nobody, said Rabi. With no easy solution to the current chaos in the Middle East, the path to end the current crisis will likely be gradual and difficult.

Dr. **Raz Zimmt** addressed the topic of “Getting to Know Iran Through Social Media.” Although Iran is largely isolated and inscrutable to outsiders, observing and understanding Iranian social media offers a unique glimpse into the opinions and attitudes prevalent throughout Iran. To illustrate his point, Zimmt recalled the 2000-01 survey launched by then-President Khatemi. The survey asked Iranian citizens whether they would approve of talks with the United States with results overwhelmingly in favor of negotiations. This was clearly not the result that the government wanted and the survey center was shut down immediately thereafter; there has since been no independent survey center in Iran. Now, however, Khamenei approves of talks with the West, having given the green light to the Nuclear deal with the United States. By comparing the Iranian reaction to the 2001 survey with the Iranian position today, it is clear that something shifted within Iran during the interim. This event indicates that public opinion may have some importance or predictive power within Iran, and through social media it may be possible to assess public opinion even in the absence of formal surveys.



DOCTORAL CANDIDATE **ABD AL-KADAR KANNANEH**
IS AWARDED A SCHOLARSHIP

There are, however, critics of the use of Iranian social media as an indicator of what is actually happening in Iran. This thought camp makes three primary arguments: That Iran blocks social media networks; that social media is only useful as a political tool; and that social media only represents a small segment of the Iranian population. Zimmt responded to these arguments, explaining why none of them are powerful enough objections to negate the benefits of studying social media. In response to the first argument, that Iran blocks social media networks, Zimmt noted that there are numerous ways to get around these blocks. For instance, 60 percent of citizens in Tehran use satellites to watch foreign television and the plurality of Iranian youth use social media. The second objection, stating that social media is only used and of use when riots or protests break out, is false. The majority of social media in Iran is not used for political ends. Zimmt acknowledged that the third argument, that social media represents only the relatively western and liberal populace in Northern Tehran, is the strongest argument against trusting Iranian social media as demonstrative of the country's public opinion. However, the massive numbers of Facebook and Instagram users in Iran demonstrate that social media is not just limited to the westernized middle class.

Through social media, one gets the impression that the populace is not as supportive of hardliner policies as Khamenei would like the world to believe. Zimmt told the story of Masih Alinejad, an Iranian journalist and women's rights activist who was exiled from Iran and started a Facebook movement to protest against the policy of compulsory hijabs. She called on Iranian women to photograph themselves in public without a veil. Within a few weeks her page garnered over half a million likes and thousands of photos of Iranian women without veils. Nor is Alinejad the only person using social media to fight against Iran's harsh modesty code. An Iranian app, Gershad, warns users of nearby Iranian modesty police to help women avoid admonishment for improper attire.

Zimmt concluded by pointing out the paranoia that, as a result of the Iranian nuclear deal, Western companies may begin infiltrating Iran, spreading social media usage, and facilitating a culture shift. The government fears that this culture shift could culminate in regime change and is thus likely to fight back against it. Monitoring Iranian social media may give insight into how well founded these fears are.





Spreading the Movement's Message: Women's Activism in the Islamic Movement in Israel

ON March 3, 2016, the Konrad Adenauer Program for Jewish-Arab Cooperation (KAP) together with the Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies (MDC) hosted a book launch on the occasion of the publication of Dr. **Inbal Tal's** book, *Spreading the Movement's Message: Women's Activism in the Islamic Movement in Israel*. In his opening remarks, Prof. **Uzi Rabi** thanked the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung in Israel and its director, Dr. **Michael Borchard**, for the long-standing cooperation with the MDC, and for his help in bringing this book into publication. Prof. Rabi also thanked Dr. Tal for her unique contribution to the discourse.

The symposium included leading scholars in the history of Islam and the Palestinian national movement. The first speaker, Prof. **Uri Kupferschmidt**, of the Department of Middle Eastern Studies at the University of Haifa, served as Dr. Tal's advisor and is a prominent expert on socio-political movements in the Arab world, including the Muslim Brotherhood and women's movements. He praised Inbal's work for answering a lacuna in the field of the implementation of *Shari'a* (Muslim law) in the State of Israel, and the Islamic movement's contribution to filling the void in this regard. As a social and religious phenomenon, the Islamic movement will remain of interest in the field



FROM LEFT TO RIGHT: PROF. URI KUPFERSCHMIDT, PROF. ASAD GHANEM, DR. MIRA TZOREFF, AND PROF. RUTH RODED

for decades to come and so will the book.



PROF. RUTH RODED

Prof. **Ruth Roded**, of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, contributed to the conversation inspired by the book in her discussion of religious rulings rendered by women in Egypt. She focused on Egyptian feminists who employ religious rulings (*fatwas*) that accept the traditions of the Prophet Mohammad (*hadith*) in order to challenge male hegemony in society. Roded termed this approach “negotiating the content”. This method does not aim to cast doubt on the content itself — unlike other Egyptian feminists that do undermine the scriptures — but instead interprets the content to serve feminist objectives.

Prof. **As'ad Ghanem**, of the University of Haifa, remarked on several contributions of Dr. Tal's study. First, he spoke about the detailed and historical overview that it provides about current developments within the Islamic Movement of Israel. Second, he claims the book contributes to the understanding of Arab politics in Israel and, more broadly, contributes to an understanding of the politics of majority-minority relations. However, Prof. Ghanem also suggested adding a comparative dimension between political Islam in Israel and political Islam in the Palestinian territories, which would examine the religious conduct of the Islamic movement in Israel versus that of Hamas and the Palestinian Islamic Jihad. Ghanem claimed that political Islam as a whole is undergoing a process of moderation, and the issue of women's status is one example of this development, not only in Israel or Palestine but also throughout the Arab world.

Dr. **Mira Tzoreff** classified the book as yet another layer to a new approach of writing history that seeks to integrate “his-story” and “her-story”. Tzoreff briefly reviewed the history of feminist movements in the

Middle East during the 20th century. She focused on Zaynab al-Ghazali, who in the 1930s founded a feminist branch of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt. Al-Ghazali took Aa'isha bint Abu Bakr, the Prophet's wife, as an original Islamic model as opposed to a Western female icon for her theorization. Therefore, al-Ghazali introduced a new phase of evolution, as opposed to revolution, in Islam. Hence, a two-way process took place: The Islamization of feminism and the feminization of Islam, which led to the formation of a new Islamist woman — a hybrid woman — as defined by Dr. Tzoreff.



DR. INBAL TAL

Dr. Tal ended the symposium by thanking the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung and the Moshe Dayan Center for their efforts in publishing her book.

Yitzhak Oron Memorial Symposium

ON January 17, 2016, the MDC held a symposium in memory of **Yitzhak Oron**, founder of the Center's predecessor, to honor his extraordinary contributions to Israel, his fields of study, and the MDC. Distinguished guests from the Foreign Ministry, MDC staff members, Tel Aviv University students, as well as friends and family of Oron were present at this event. Prof. **Uzi Rabi** gave the opening remarks.

Prof. **Shimon Shamir** reflected on Oron's vast contributions as one of the foremost experts on the study of the Arab world and society in Israel. He praised Oron's publications and research, including *The Middle East Record*, *Middle East Contemporary Survey*, and his personal journal on Egypt, which was widely used by government officials. Shamir ended his remarks by commending Oron's positive outlook on the possibility of peace between Egypt and Israel after the 1973 War.

The second speaker was Dr. **Gideon Gera**, MDC principal researcher emeritus and a retired IDF colonel. Gera described Oron's career beginnings at Kibbutz Berot Yitzhak, where he first met Arabs from Gaza working the fields. Oron utilized his knowledge from those interactions in his work with Aman (Military Intelligence), Mossad, the Foreign Ministry, and as advisor to the intelligence subcommittee of the Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee in the Knesset. Gera emphasized that these experiences helped to shape Oron's abilities and approach as a researcher.

Yechiel Kimchi, a former student of Oron, spoke fondly of the time they worked together. Kimchi characterized Oron as both a teacher and a friend. Oron's hope for peace between Arabs and Israelis stemmed partially from his ability to see the humanity in people from all strata of society.

The fourth speaker, **Zvi Mazel**, served as the Israeli ambassador to Egypt, Romania, and Sweden, and is currently a fellow at the Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs. Mazel spoke extensively on Oron's method of immersing himself in his research so as to truly understand the subject at hand. He also spoke of Oron's crucial contributions to the agricultural industry through his studies in Israel and Egypt. Through a joint agricultural Israeli-Egyptian venture during the late 1980s and 1990s, Oron was responsible for the revival of the struggling agricultural sector in Egypt, which is almost completely self-sufficient today.

Oron's family members also spoke, sharing emotion-laden words and memories about him with the audience. **Yehudit Oron** spoke on behalf of one of Oron's former colleagues, reading a heartfelt letter that described the academic and professional integrity, intellectual honesty, dignity, and respect of Oron toward his colleagues, students, and work. **Aryeh Oron**, the son of Yitzhak Oron, spoke about their loving



father-son relationship, while noting the challenges caused by his father's frequent, unavoidable absences.

Shlomo Gazit, a former major general and head of the Military Intelligence Directorate, delivered the keynote address of the evening. Gazit praised Oron's deep commitment to his work, open-mindedness, and ability to think creatively, both as an officer and an academic, which made him not only an exceptional intelligence officer and diplomat, but also a great man. He credited Oron with creating the research unit within Aman that delved into the military, political, and economic circumstances of Israel's neighbors. Gazit concluded that it is not only with regard to military conflicts that Oron's strategic, balanced thinking is absolutely necessary, but also for finding a diplomatic solution to such seemingly intractable conflicts. Reflecting on recent events, Gazit urged that the current Israeli diplomatic and military approaches to the Arab-Israeli and Palestinian-Israeli conflicts must change in order to reach a viable solution for all parties.



MAJ. GEN. (RES.) SHLOMO GAZIT

THE ARAB MINORITY AND THE “JEWISH STATE”: A REVIVED NATIONAL DISCOURSE

The Annual Symposium in Memory of Avishai Ben Zvi, Yehoshafat Netzer, and Ziv Balali

ON December 20, 2015, the Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies held a symposium honoring the memory of three former students who fell in Israel's wars. Avishai Ben Zvi and Yehoshafat Netzer were both killed in the 1973 Yom Kippur War; and Ziv Balali fell in the Second Lebanon War (2006), shortly after having completed his graduate studies.

Prof. **Uzi Rabi** provided opening remarks in which he offered personal recollections of Balali and condolences to the bereaved families. Following his remarks, **Arik Rudnitzky**, project manager of the Konrad Adenauer Program for Jewish-Arab Cooperation, gave his keynote address, “The Arab Minority and the ‘Jewish State’: A Revived National Discourse.”

Beginning with the signing of the Oslo Accords between Israel and the Palestinians in 1993, the Arab national discourse in Israel underwent a dramatic transformation, characterized by a reduced emphasis on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and an increased focus on the civil-national status of Israel's Arab citizens. One of the more salient expressions of this claim is the definition of Israel as a “Jewish State,” despite the fact that Arabs have lived as citizens in a country defined as “Jewish and democratic” since 1948. Popular opinion surveys that examine the self-identification of Arabs in Israel also express this shift.

By the mid-1990s, when the peace process between Israel and the Palestinians was at its peak and the Arab public struggled for civil equality, the level of identification with Israel's definition as a “Jewish and democratic state” was at 90 percent. Today, however, the solidification of Palestinian-Arab identity occurs at the expense of the Israeli one; the result of this being the crystallization of a new consciousness. Arabs in Israel no longer see themselves as a weak minority that must appeal for equality to the Jewish majority. Instead, they are now aware of their own power and see themselves as an indigenous minority entitled to the rights they now demand.

It is customary to explain the above change through the discourse of Arab political and intellectual elites. Arab intellectuals outline alternatives to the “Jewish and democratic” model. Offering proposals for autonomy in the

educational system, for example; for Israel to become a “state of all its citizens”; and even proposals for a binational state, which would significantly change the nature of Israel. In contrast to the above explanations by elites, two processes underway in Arab society over the last decade explain this sea change.

Firstly, over the last 20 years a massive increase in Arab civil society organizations (CSOs) occurred, with numbers tripling from 1,000 to 3,000 between 1998-2007. Civil society helps to strengthen the national consciousness of the minority that it represents. Therefore, studies of CSOs point to two conclusions: Minorities that suffer from discrimination as a result of their religious, ethnic, or national background attempt to act through CSOs as a means of overcoming such disadvantages; and there is a direct correlation between a strong civil society and national mobilization.



MR. ARIK RUDNITZKY, KAP PROGRAM MANAGER

PHOTO BY: ASSAF SHILO / ISRAEL SUN

When examining this phenomenon in depth, it is possible to see that registered NGOs of the Arab civil sector are most frequently active in one of three categories: culture (31 percent), education and research (19 percent), and social services (15 percent). These divisions are not random; organizations active in the first two fields operate various projects which aim to strengthen the national identity of the Arab minority. For example, the Arab Culture Association, founded in Nazareth in 1998; and Mada al-Carmel: the Arab Center for Applied Social Research, founded in Haifa in 2000. Both centers conduct projects dealing with questions of national identity, culture, language, historical studies of the Palestinians in Israel, and especially the memory of the Nakba. They are instrumental in cultivating national identity among the younger generations of Arab society.

The second process is demonstrated by the rise of a new generation in Arab society, which may be termed the “post-Oslo generation.” Born in the late 1980s and early 1990s, this generation came of age during the period following the signing of the Oslo Accords and their subsequent collapse. This generation has voiced its criticism of state institutions, of local Arab leadership, and even of the Palestinian Authority’s leadership. During the past few years, and especially under the influence of the events of the Arab Uprisings, this generation has argued that the connection between Arab Israelis and the Palestinian national movement no longer runs exclusively through the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO). Their criticism is a reaction to the PLO’s failure to consider Arab Israelis as a part of the Palestinian problem during the Oslo Accords, which created an artificial separation between Palestinian citizens of Israel and the Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

The post-Oslo generation derives its power from the virtual arena. Over the last decade, an online revolution of sorts has broken out in Arab society. The influence of the younger generation, aged 18-29, on the public discourse within Arab society has increased parallel to increasing Internet use in general. Over the last decade, the rate of Internet connection in Arab households has increased over threefold, from 23 percent in 2004, to 71 percent in 2012. Data from a 2012 survey indicate that 97 percent of young Arabs use the Internet daily, while 74 percent use Facebook daily. This is the background against which an amorphous organization by the name of Hirak al-Shababi (Movement of the Youth) has emerged. This organization first made headlines following the events of the Arab Spring, and draws its power from the activities of Arab youth on social media networks.



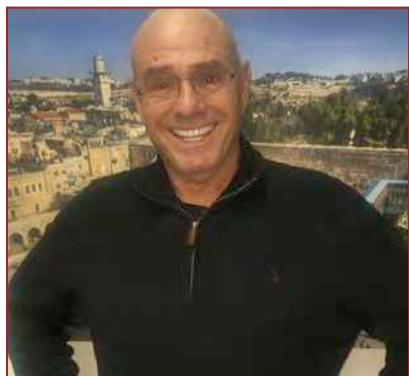
MEMORIAL TO AVISHAI BEN ZVI, YEHOSHAFAT NETZER,
AND ZIV BALALI



Young Arabs' self-perception is quickly evolving along with the development of their historical narrative. This narrative places the 1948 Nakba as the moment when the history of the Arab minority in Israel began. Henceforth, history will be told from their perspective. The Arab Israeli minority is now proactively taking the initiative to forge their path and assert their role in Israel and the region. Arab Israelis are organized, cohesive, and share a clear vision that stands in stark contrast to the social and political chaos in the West Bank and Gaza Strip as well as in the Palestinian Diaspora.

The Inauguration of the Doron Halpern Middle East Network Analysis Desk

ON December 3, 2015, the MDC held a symposium inaugurating the Doron Halpern Middle Eastern Network Analysis Desk (MENAD). At this event, Tel Aviv University students and staff as well as members of the public enjoyed a presentation on research that MENAD conducted during the past two and a half years. Since its establishment, MENAD's research has centered on Islamic State (IS) activities and discourse on social networking sites.

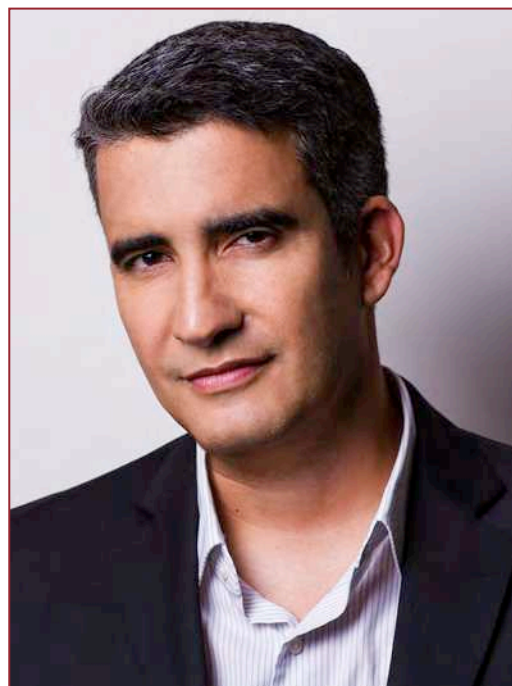


MR. DORON HALPERN,
THE PROGRAM SPONSOR

In opening remarks, both Prof. **Uzi Rabi** and Vice-Rector of TAU, Prof. **Eyal Zisser**, recognized the great advancement of the desk over its short existence. **Doron Halpern**, the program's sponsor, then remarked on the importance of MENAD's research and its contribution to achieving Israel's peace and security.

After opening remarks, Rabi introduced the Head of MENAD, Dr. **Harel Chorev**. Speaking to the significance of social networking sites and their effect on modes of communication between different elements of society, Chorev focused on how these networks bring people together and eliminate traditional intermediaries (e.g. governmental players), yet remain disorganized. Relating these points to the main subject of the symposium, Chorev observed that the IS uses social media networks to bring people together under common ideas, which carries less risk than on-the-ground recruiting. He also noted that the disorganized nature of social networking sites used by the IS makes it more difficult to contain the group's online activity, but at the same time contributes to a lack of cohesion among its supporters and its discourse, which ultimately leads to a weaker network.

Following Dr. Chorev's remarks, **Hadas Sofer** further elaborated on IS online activity. She did so by taking a closer look at IS discourse on social networking sites such as Twitter and Facebook. Sofer explained her observations on the shared historical narrative, common language, and different symbols that the IS uses to further enhance its form of an imagined community on social networking sites. According to her, the Islamic State is able to form an "imagined community" based on its discourse on religious nationality, which allows the entity to grow stronger in numbers every day.



DR. HAREL CHOREV, HEAD OF THE
DORON HALPERN MIDDLE EAST NETWORK
ANALYSIS DESK

Ali Salem, the Egyptian Intellectual, Playwright, and Journalist: Man of Truth, Freedom, and Peace

On November 16, 2015, the MDC held an event, titled “Ali Salem, the Egyptian Intellectual, Playwright, and Journalist: Man of Truth, Freedom, and Peace,” in memory of the late Ali Salem. Organized by Dr. **Mira Tzoreff**, the event included a series of lectures and discussions on the Egyptian-Israeli political relationship as well as on domestic issues for Egyptian intellectuals such as Ali Salem. He was well known for his road trip across Israel in the 1990s, which he characterized not as “a love trip, but a serious attempt to get rid of hate.” To remember and honor Salem’s life, lectures revolved around topics that were thematic throughout his professional life. Salem passed away on September 22, 2015.



FROM LEFT TO RIGHT: PROF. SHIMON SHAMIR, AYELET YIHIEV, ELI AMIR, AND IDAN BARIR

Prof. **Uzi Rabi** delivered opening remarks about Salem’s personal and professional merits. As a man who had the “pulse of the Egyptian people,” Salem was able to understand Egyptian sentiment on a variety of issues, including Israel, but he was also willing to question the status quo when necessary. A man who actively sought knowledge and explored unpopular beliefs, Salem deepened the Egyptian-Israeli relationship and created a strong model for intellectuals attempting to approach deeply emotion-laden conflicts.

Prof. **Shimon Shamir**, MDC senior researcher, former MDC director, and former Israeli ambassador to Egypt, spoke about his personal interactions with Salem in Israel. According to Shamir, Salem had a particular sense of kinship with Mizrachi Jews, and held the belief that Israel and its neighboring states should enjoy a close, neighborly relationship. He emphasized that Salem was certainly not an apologist for Israel, but believed Israel’s flaws were not enough to justify hostility and violence between it and other states in the region.

Dr. **Yossi Amitai**, director of the Israeli Academic Center in Cairo, was the second speaker. He focused on the polemic in Egyptian society over the dynamics of the Israeli-Egyptian relationship after the 1982 peace treaty. Some Egyptians argue unequivocally against Egyptian normalization with Israel, while others argue absolutely in favor of normalized relations. Of course, many others are more moderate, arguing for normalization given the meeting of certain conditions. Amitai acknowledged that this view is susceptible to shifting social, economic, and political conditions. In the context of this political climate, Salem faced pressure to cut ties with Israel, but he remained strongly steadfast in his commitment to intellectual interaction and cooperation. He was a true intellectual, a man who stood true to his beliefs, regardless of whether or not they were popular.



DR. YOSHI AMITAI DELIVERS HIS LECTURE



In Dr. Tzoreff's remarks, she examined the difference between "mobilized intellectuals" and "involved intellectuals." Heikel was presented as an example of a "mobilized intellectual," someone who expresses



DR. MIRA TZOREFF DELIVERS HER LECTURE

beliefs in a manner that serves the regime's interests. Salem was the opposite, he was an "involved intellectual" who was completely independent, saw himself as serving society as a whole, and removed from sectarian party politics. By remaining independent and insisting on speaking the truth, especially when it ran counter to what the government or the public wanted to hear, Salem exemplified the best traits an intellectual ought to strive toward.

Led by Prof. Shamir, the event concluded with a roundtable discussion between author **Eli Amir**; **Ayelet Yihiev**, who served in the Foreign Ministry Research Department; and **Idan Barir**, a doctoral candidate at The Zvi Yavetz School of Historical Studies at Tel Aviv University.

A fitting tribute to Salem, the distinguished individuals who spoke maintain hope for current and future generations of intellectuals who will work to facilitate open and true communication, studies, and research into the critical issues in the Middle East and of the time.

Moshe Dayan Memorial Symposium: Israel and the Challenges of the Present Time

ON November 4, 2015, in honor of the late-Gen. Moshe Dayan the MDC hosted "Israel and the Challenges of the Present Time." Attendees of the symposium included members of the Dayan family and friends, MDC researchers, Tel Aviv University students, and members of the public. Prof. **Uzi Rabi** opened the gathering with remarks on the MDC's 50th anniversary as well as Moshe Dayan's enduring legacy.

Former Israeli Ambassador to the United States and current member of the MDC Board of Trustees, **Zalman Shoval**, was the first guest speaker.



AMBASSADOR ZALMAN SHOVAL SHARES PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS OF MOSHE DAYAN. PHOTO BY: ASSAF SHILO / ISRAEL SUN

As a personal friend and colleague of Dayan, Shoval spoke to Dayan's more complicated views on regional politics and gave his personal reflections on Dayan's domestic and regional political legacy. Shoval shared Dayan's love of history, which made him an exceptional diplomat and a highly skilled statesman. Landmark events, such as the Camp David Accords in which Dayan demonstrated his true mastery of diplomacy



PROF. UZI RABI. PHOTO BY: ASSAF SHILO / ISRAEL SUN

by enabling everyone at the negotiating table to feel accommodated, is but one example. Shoval also noted that Dayan strongly believed that Israel must only negotiate from a position of power in order to formulate just and long-lasting solutions to conflict.

Keynote speaker, **Efraim Halevi**, who served as director of the Mossad from 1998 to 2002, offered his insights into Israel's current situation in the region. He highlighted two significant events from 2015 he believes will have long-lasting effects on both the region and the wider international community. The first was the London conference between the United States, Russia, Saudi Arabia, and Iran on developments in Syria. Halevi described Israel as the "present absentee" to this fruitless meeting and noted the troubling nature of Israel's absence from the conference. The second event of import discussed by Halevi was the Russian plane crash in the Sinai Peninsula on October 31, 2015, shortly after its departure from Egypt's Sharm el-Sheikh International Airport. The relative silence on the part of the involved parties, especially Russian President Vladimir Putin, cast great suspicion on the alleged accident for Halevi.



FORMER MOSSAD HEAD **EFRAIM HALEVI** DELIVERS THE KEYNOTE ADDRESS. PHOTO BY: ASSAF SHILO / ISRAEL SUN

Halevi also shared personal anecdotes from his days working with Dayan. Halevi recounted a meeting he attended in the days following The Six-Day War. At the time, Dayan was serving as the Israeli minister of defense. For Halevi, a poignant moment was Dayan's response to questions posed by a group of young IDF officers. One of the officers asked Dayan about the military's future responsibilities with respect to the conquered territories. Dayan responded that the military's duty was to protect and to ensure normalcy for the citizens of the state and the country's sovereignty. Reflecting on this statement, Halevi asserted that the position of power described by Dayan is no longer the case for the state of Israel.

In Halevi's view, Israel no longer determines its future with the strength the country did following the 1967 War. The last five wars fought by Israel have not ended with decisive victories for either Israel or the Palestinians. The ongoing clashes with Hamas, in which the situation of the Gaza Strip becomes more volatile, is the best example of this new reality. To handle these conflicts more effectively, Halevi posited that Israel must clearly state its objectives and avoid rash actions that are counterproductive to those objectives.

Toward the end of his address, Halevi remarked on three of Israel's most daunting challenges that will



TAU STUDENTS, FACULTY, AND MEMBERS OF THE PUBLIC ATTEND THE SYMPOSIUM. PHOTO BY: ASSAF SHILO / ISRAEL SUN

continue to test the country. The first being the Palestinian question, which must be approached from a position of strength; the second concern is over Iran's growing influence in the region; and the third issue is the Israeli-American relationship. For Halevi, the Israeli-American alliance is critical for both states as they try to address regional and global conflicts, and build a stronger future. In light of Israel's difficult position in the region, Halevi urged that Israel consider the possibility of creating new relationships with old regional enemies because they may serve as new friends in an ever-changing Middle East.



THE KONRAD ADENAUER PROGRAM FOR JEWISH-ARAB COOPERATION

AT THE MOSHE DAYAN CENTER FOR MIDDLE EASTERN AND AFRICAN STUDIES

Minority Leadership in Democratic Nations: The Case of Israel and Germany

ON October 29, 2015, the Konrad Adenauer Program for Jewish-Arab Cooperation (KAP) at the Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies hosted a conference on “Minority Leadership in Democratic Nations: The Case of Israel and Germany.” The objective of the conference was to compare and contrast the experience of the Turkish Muslim minority in Germany with the Arab minority in Israel. To that end, KAP was honored to host representatives from the young leadership of both communities, members of the German diplomatic delegation in Israel, interested members of the TAU community, and the public at large.

Prof. **Uzi Rabi** opened the conference with remarks on the significant timing of the occasion. In 2015, Israel and Germany celebrated 50 years of cooperation and friendship, which would not have been possible without the foresight and leadership of Konrad Adenauer. The same year also marked 20 successful years of the program at TAU that bears his name. Rabi took the opportunity to thank KAS Director in Israel, Dr. **Michael Borchard**, and KAS Project Manager **Palina Kedem**, as well as the program staff of the Konrad Adenauer Program, Dr. **Itamar Radai** and **Arik Rudnitzky**, for their continuous efforts to further the partnership between the KAS and MDC.

Monika Iwersen, deputy head of mission of the Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany, followed Prof. Rabi and emphasized the conference’s timely nature, as both Israel and Germany are currently facing similar challenges in regards to the integration of their minority populations. The present round of violence in Israel is placing great pressure on the existing joint frameworks for cooperation between the Jewish and Arab citizens of Israel. This presents a particular challenge to civil society leaders from both communities, who are especially in need of continued support in carrying out the mission of building a shared society in Israel. Meanwhile, Germany is facing its own new challenges of integration as a result of the mass influx of refugees, which will affect older models of integration policy as well as the domestic political climate.

Prof. **Uriya Shavit**, of Tel Aviv University, chaired the first session, “Leadership and the Challenge of Integration,” which discussed how researchers have historically divided Arabs in Israel along generational lines. Dr. **Itamar Radai** spoke about the oldest generation, comprised of those who experienced the Nakba of 1948, who also lived under the military government that followed. A traditionalist generation in outlook, it often did not seek confrontation with the government or with the majority. Their children, on the other hand, came of age in the 1960s and 1970s and strongly identified as Palestinian. They, unlike their elders, had no compunctions about demanding their rights – both civil and national. This generation, characterized as



FROM LEFT TO RIGHT: DR. ITAMAR RADAI, ESRA KUCUK, PROF. URIYA SHAVIT, GHaida RINAWI-ZOABI, AND YUNUS EMRE.

PHOTO BY: YA'AKOV SA'AR / ISRAEL SUN

the Arab “youth generation,” is in reality the generation that long since assumed the mantle of leadership from the previous one.

The newest generation, commonly referred to as “Generation Y,” has developed multiple overlapping identities. It strongly identifies as Palestinian and as Arab, but also has an increasingly significant Israeli civil identity. This cohort is often well connected with social media outlets, such as Facebook, which are utilized as powerful tools for protest, mobilization, and the dissemination of information. At the same time, there have been significant changes within the community leadership itself. Young individuals who have expressed a commitment to Jewish- Arab coexistence and equality now head the unified Arab party in the Knesset, the Joint List, and the extra-parliamentary Supreme Follow-Up Committee.

The second speaker of the panel was **Esra Kucuk**, head of the Young Islam Conference in Germany, which aims to combat prejudice against German Muslims; to institutionalize dialogue platforms between the minority and the majority; and to train young minority leaders to serve as community emissaries. Interestingly, Germany only recently began to shape a comprehensive policy that will deal with immigration and the integration of immigrants into the larger body politic. Presently in Germany, there is an atmosphere that is at once welcoming and hostile to the Muslim minority. On a theoretical basis, the majority supports the emergence of a multicultural society, but in practice German society is less supportive of such a dynamic. Nevertheless, over the last 15 years, there have been many reforms aimed toward integrating immigrants into German society. This process has sparked the genesis of sometimes violent, populist groups who oppose the emergence of a so-called visible Muslim minority. While they have not, as of yet, enjoyed much electoral success, the fact that their appeal has grown is certainly cause for concern. There is, therefore, an urgent need to truly come to terms with the changing nature of German society.

Ghaida Rinawi-Zoabi, of the Injaz Professional Center for Arab Local Councils in Israel, was the third speaker of the panel. She sought to address the fact that often it is the extra-parliamentary, unofficial leadership that is most important when it comes to national minorities. In Israel, the Supreme Follow-Up Committee is the most veteran body of this sort for the Arab minority. It has served to express the hopes and frustrations of Arabs in Israel, but it has weakened in recent years due to the perception of its leadership as unresponsive to Palestinians’ needs. For example, traditionally power holders selected the chairman long before the actual election. This group has proven itself to be out of touch with the needs of the Arab public, which echoes the unresponsiveness of local Arab authorities during the 2006 Lebanon War. Rinawi-Zoabi noted that in both circumstances the younger generation of Arabs demanded greater transparency and openness. This, in turn, led to significant change. In the case of the Supreme Follow-Up Committee, Mohammed Barakeh was legitimately elected as chairman. Meanwhile, a new generation of local leaders has emerged, which helped to ensure that the 2014 protests over the Gaza conflict remained peaceful.



GHAIDA RINAWI-ZOABI, EXECUTIVE
DIRECTOR OF INJAZ.

PHOTO BY: YA'AKOV SA'AR / ISRAEL SUN

The new generation of Arab Israelis wants to exert their influence as full and equal citizens of the state. Rather than being perceived as “part of the problem,” they are now being recognized as potential partners in eventually reaching a solution. Arab Israelis are an amalgam of both of their identities, and are thus perfectly poised to serve as a bridge between Israel and its Arab neighbors.

Yunus Emre, the president of Network Integration for the CDU Rhineland-Palatinate, concluded the first session. He argued that the issue of minority leadership is one of the most critical for democracies as there is a pressing need for newcomers to be welcomed and to have equal opportunities in society. Emre



recognized that Germany wishes to be a liberal and open society, but it must also realize that such a society is heterogeneous. Fears that the new Muslim community might import foreign values and become radicalized must be faced. Emre's solution is to promote the political participation of newcomers. Currently, those from immigrant backgrounds are not proportionately represented in local, state, and federal politics. A healthy democracy must be representative and respond to the needs of all sectors. Fortunately, according to Emre, the younger generation is eager to become involved.



FROM LEFT TO RIGHT: **ARIK RUDNITZKY**, KAP PROGRAM MANAGER; **MONIKA IVERSEN**, DEPUTY HEAD OF MISSION FOR THE EMBASSY OF THE FRG; AND **DR. MICHAEL BORCHARD**, KAS DIRECTOR IN ISRAEL.

PHOTO BY: YA'AKOV SA'AR / ISRAEL SUN

The second session, chaired by Dr. **Michael Borchard**, explored “The Future of Leadership and Equality, the Future of the Minority.” Dr. Borchard remarked that the influx of refugees into Germany represents a challenge similar to that of reunification in 1990. Meanwhile, the lack of systemic integration policy was driven by the mistaken belief that so-called guest workers would ultimately leave. In both the Israeli and German contexts, there is no full equality without full participation. In Israel, Borchard noted the creation of the Joint List, which has done much to enhance the Arab political voice in Israel.

Honey Deihimi, head of the Department of Integration at the Federal Chancellery in Germany, opened the panel. Deihimi is herself of immigrant background and is the first such individual to hold her current post. She believes that those with diverse backgrounds can play several important roles within government. The first is that of a positive example and a role model, both for other members of the immigrant community as well as toward the host country at large. The second is to provide input toward positive change within larger structures. The question is whether this is something that young leaders from immigrant backgrounds would want? After all, model minorities face constant scrutiny; the failures and successes of individuals become representative of those of the entire minority population. Nevertheless, she believes that there is a need for capacity building for leaders from diverse backgrounds and that positive discrimination is a necessary tool for ensuring that talented individuals are able to achieve equal opportunities in government and elsewhere.

The final speaker, Member of Knesset, Dr. **Yousef Jabareen**, was recently elected to Israel's parliament as a member of the Joint List. Prior to his entry into politics, Jabareen served extensively in academia as a jurist. He regretted that during his short time in the Knesset he had rarely been given the chance to speak on issues that concern the wider Israeli public. Instead, he most often discusses issues relevant only to the Arab minority. The question of multiple overlapping identities has been present for him since the beginning of his career, and has ultimately enabled him to promote dialogue between ostensibly opposite groups. Dr. Jabareen noted that, in Israel, the Arab minority — as a native minority — is different than the majority on almost all levels. These differences include linguistic, religious, and cultural elements that represent the basis for the larger conflict.

According to Jabareen, the Arab public has realized that it needs to be unified, both in the Knesset and through strong extra-parliamentary community leadership. Therefore, the Joint List represents both an act of leadership in its creation as well as responsiveness to the demands of the Arab public. Facing several fundamental difficulties, Arab Israelis exist in continuous conflict with the state, rendering it difficult for Arab parliamentarians to distinguish between issues that concern civil equality and national issues. In the realm of civil equality there are many arenas where Arabs and Jews are not truly equal citizens.

NEW ENDEAVORS

Launch of the Program for the Study of Jews in Arab Lands

On June 22, 2016, the MDC officially launched the Program for the Study of Jews from Arab Lands. Ofer Alon, the program's generous sponsor and visionary, attended the event together with members of his family. Prof. Uzi Rabi greeted guests and thanked the program facilitators, Dr. Esti Webman and MDC Librarian Marion Gliksberg, for their hard work and dedication.

The event opened with the official launch of the newly dedicated reading room for the program. Marion Gliksberg described the wealth of materials available to visitors, including archival and academic materials, alongside literature and audio-visual sources. The academic component of the new program, led by Dr. Esti Webman, was officially launched as well. The program will support masters' students and doctoral candidates who are writing their dissertations about Jews of the Arab lands, and will ultimately create a course or courses to be taught within the framework of TAU's several degree programs.



MDC LIBRARIAN MARION GLIKSBERG DEMONSTRATES USE OF THE MDC DATABASE TO LOCATE MATERIALS



FROM LEFT TO RIGHT: MDC LIBRARIAN MARION GLIKSBERG, PROF. UZI RABI, DR. ESTI WEBMAN, AND PROGRAM BENEFACTOR OFER ALON

Instruction and research on the subject, whether within the framework of Middle Eastern Studies departments or Jewish History departments, have not received the priority and attention in the academy that they deserve. There is a vast deficiency in the gathering and preservation of materials and primary sources, and of their study. In light of this she emphasized that one of the main goals of the program is to enhance scholarly interest in the topic, to promote the possibilities of research within this field, and to encourage young students and researchers to engage in it.

Dr. Webman delivered opening remarks which touched upon three central subjects: the status of present scholarship in the field; the objectives of the new program; and a brief overview of the history of Libyan Jewry as preparation for the screening of the documentary *A Matter of Time: The Jews of North Africa in World War II* (USA, 2002). She noted the increased academic and public interest in the subject of Middle Eastern and African Jewry, but argued that the current state of affairs still begs improvement.



PROGRAM ACADEMIC SUPERVISOR DR. ESTI WEBMAN DELIVERS HER PRESENTATION



Following Dr. Webman's remarks, guests were treated to a screening of *A Matter of Time: The Jews of North Africa in World War II*, provided through the generosity of the Yad Ben Tzvi Institute for the Study of Jewish Communities in the East. Following the film, **Yossi Sukari**, author of *Benghazi–Bergen Belsen*, and **Dr. Irit Abramsky**, of Yad Vashem, were invited to respond.

Sukari discussed the experience of Libyan Jewry in the Holocaust, including his own family's survival and the difficulty that they had processing their experiences upon arrival to Israel. Growing up, Sukari often faced disbelief from teachers and classmates that his family, not of European origin, nevertheless survived the Holocaust. Dr. Abramsky was able to expand upon efforts by Holocaust educators to inform the public about the fact that Libyan Jewry suffered significantly and that this experience should be acknowledged and remembered.



YOSSEI SUKARI, AUTHOR OF *BENGHAZI BERGEN-BELSEN*, TOGETHER WITH PROF. UZI RABI AND DR. ESTI WEBMAN

Egypt's Current Challenges

ON June 8, 2016, the MDC launched the Egypt Forum under the leadership and expertise of Prof. **Shimon Shamir** and Dr. **Mira Tzoreff**. To mark the occasion, the MDC hosted a conference addressing the growing national and international challenges facing Israel's southern neighbor.

In his opening remarks, Prof. **Uzi Rabi** expounded upon the necessity of an interdisciplinary approach in order to best understand the rapidly changing Middle East. Regarding Egypt, historical phenomena such as the trajectory of the Muslim Brotherhood, youth activity on Facebook, and revolutions around the region will help us understand the country's direction placed within a conflict-ridden region. As such, the newest forum coordinated by the Moshe Dayan Center will be centered around two discussion topics: the fluctuations in relations between Israel and Egypt through a retrospective lens of the past few decades; and socio-political and economic changes within Egypt since the Arab Uprisings.

Amb. **Yitzhak Levanon**, Israel's ambassador to Egypt from 2009-2011, was invited to share his firsthand experience in Cairo of the January 2011 Revolution centered in Tahrir Square. He explained that, initially, the Israeli Embassy in Cairo was surprised at the rapid escalation of the uprising among civilians. Prior to January 2011, all signs indicated that the Mubarak regime was strong and the economy seemed to be flourishing. In retrospect, however, there were a few warning signs. Mainly, Mubarak was tired after 30 years of rule. While discussions about his possible successor raised some controversy, the former leader refused to discuss his replacement in public. Demonstrations did occur prior to 2011 but they were relatively contained. Additionally, in December 2010, the public viewed the elections for the Egyptian People's Assembly (*majlis a-shaab*) as rigged. Mubarak's public support for these elections made



FORMER ISRAELI AMBASSADOR TO EGYPT, YITZHAK LEVANON

many Egyptians feel that the system would never change. This led, in turn, to the organization on social media of the January 25 demonstrations. Following the million-Egyptian march as well as other protests throughout Egypt, Israeli Embassy staff recognized that these demonstrations were different. Again, in hindsight, Levanon believes that the diplomatic corps in Cairo did not understand the depth of these activities because they were prevented from making personal connections with lower-ranking government officials who might have provided insight into the realities of internal Egyptian politics.

Dr. Mira Tzoreff reviewed the two-year term of President 'Abd al-Fattah al-Sisi. She noted that his leadership started out strong and was well received



TAU STUDENTS, FACULTY, AND MEMBERS OF THE PUBLIC ATTEND
"EGYPT'S CURRENT CHALLENGES"



DR. MIRA TZOREFF PRESENTS HER LECTURE

Prof. Shamir concluded the evening by speaking of his experience as head of the Israeli Academic Center in Cairo, which he founded in 1982, and of his recently published book on the subject. This center regularly brought Israeli students together with Egyptian students for the purpose of learning Hebrew Studies. In time, friendships and productive relationships developed; classes were taught with the objective of linking both Israeli and Egyptian cultures as well as Islam and Judaism. After so many years of impasse, through dialogue, Egyptians and Israelis learned from one another in an environment free from demonization and harmful stereotypes. The MDC hopes that the Egypt Forum might also facilitate such invaluable opportunities for scholars of Egypt to come together in dialogue and debate.

but then quickly went awry. Alongside a sustained campaign against his political enemies, primarily the Muslim Brotherhood, he set out to initiate eight major infrastructure projects. The public hoped for al-Sisi's ability to democratically rule, but he behaves as an autocrat, much like his predecessors. His crackdowns on freedom of the press, assembly, and speech — together with his interference in the Student Union elections — led to the alienation of many of the country's youth. He faced additional opposition for his signing off on the transfer of the Tiran and Sanafir Islands to Saudi Arabia. It remains to be seen whether or not al-Sisi will succeed by using despotic means to address the complicated challenges that Egypt faces. And if Egypt will at all enjoy the brighter future for which so many of its citizens demonstrated.



PROF. SHIMON SHAMIR SPEAKS ABOUT HIS EXPERIENCE AS HEAD
OF THE ISRAELI ACADEMIC CENTER IN CAIRO



MENA Region Visiting Fellows Program

In the 2015-2016 academic year, the MDC launched the MENA Regional Fellowship. The Program's aim is to build productive and enduring scholarly relationships with individuals and institutions throughout the region. Annually hosting two scholars from the region, the Program will give preference to past TAU Workshop participants. Acceptance into the MENA Region Visiting Fellows Program includes a three-month stay in Israel and being matched with a MDC researcher or researchers with shared areas of study. Fellows take part in relevant researchers' forums and other Center activities during their residence; receive full access to the MDC's research facilities, including the award-winning MDC Library and the Arabic Press Archives; and receive a grant to defray housing, transportation, and research costs.

In 2016, the Center welcomed its first fellow under the program, Dr. **Abdelilah Bousaria**, who carried out a joint research project with Prof. **Bruce Maddy-Weitzman**. Dr. Bousaria recently returned to Morocco after many years in North America where he held the position of assistant professor at the University of Montana.

THE MDC ABROAD

For Better or Worse?: Historical Trends in the Middle East and Africa The Eighth Annual Conference of the Association for the Middle East and Africa (ASMEA)

FROM October 29-31, 2015, a large delegation of MDC experts and researchers presented papers on a range of salient topics at the Eighth Annual ASMEA conference, held each year in Washington D.C.

- *Elite Families Organizations in the Fertile Crescent: A New Analysis*, by **Dr. Harel Chorev**
- *IGAD, Sudan, and South Sudan: Achievements and Setbacks of Regional Mediation*, by **Dr. Irit Back**
- *Institutionalization of Pan-Kurdish Discourse in the 20th Century: The Kurdish Republic of 1946*, by **Ceng Sagnic**
- *Kurdish Nationalism in the Cauldron of War*, by **Dr. Brandon Friedman**
- *The Fate of Syria's Notables in Cold War Syria: The Case of the Atassi Family*, by **Dr. Joel Parker**
- *The Kurdish Women of Rojava: Building a Nation Amidst the Chaos of War*, by **Heidi Basch-Harod**
- *The Missing Maghreb: The Kingdom of Morocco as a Pivotal State in the Middle East a Case Study of Morocco's Relations with the Islamic Republic of Iran*, by **Dr. Annie Tracy Samuel**
- *Turkish Staatsvolk vs. Kurdish Identity: Denial of the Kurds in the Turkish School Textbooks*, by **Hay Eytan Cohen Yanarocak**
- *What Made Iraq a Failed State?*, by **Prof. Ofra Bengio**



PROF. OFRA BENGIO

MDC FORUMS

Forum on Kurdish Society, History and Culture

THE Kurdish Studies Program of the MDC held various panel discussions and seminars in 2015-2016 as part of its Forum on Kurdish Society, History and Culture. These sessions featured prominent political, media, and academic figures from regional countries, the United States, and Israel.

The United States and the Kurds: Dancing on a Tightrope

ON July 10, 2016, Dr. **Bayar Dosky**, from the American University of Kurdistan (AUK), delivered a lecture on the contemporary dynamics of U.S.-Kurdish relations in Iraq and Syria. Prof. Ofra Bengio moderated the session in which Dosky focused on the evolving relationship between Kurds and the United States. The Kurdish forces in Syria and Iraq have become a leading faction in the war against radical Islamist organizations. Most significantly, the Kurds receive direct military support from the U.S.-led international coalition despite the central Iraqi government's opposition.

Iraq's Conundrum in the Post-Saddam Era

ON April 13, 2016, **Hamed Alshrifi**, a former Iraqi diplomat, researcher, and head of the Liberal Muslims Organization, spoke at a panel discussion session with Prof. Ofra Bengio. In the presentation, Alshrifi focused on his personal experience as a diplomat in the aftermath of the fall of the Saddam regime in 2003. He touched upon sectarian tensions that challenge the current bureaucratic and political apparatuses of the Iraqi state as well as the impasse between the central Iraqi government and the semi-autonomous Kurdistan Region.

The Kurdistan Regional Government: Current Challenges, the Shengal Offensive and Politics Today

ON January 25, 2016, Dr. **Seth J. Frantzman**, op-ed editor at the *Jerusalem Post*, delivered a lecture based on his recent travels to northern Iraq to cover ongoing offensives against ISIS. Dr. Frantzman's speech particularly focused on the military situation in Erbil and the Yezidi-Kurdish enclave of Sinjar (Shengal), with videos and photographs from the frontlines.

Frantzman asserted that the Kurdistan Regional Government's (KRG) war against ISIS resembles the frontlines of World War I. Kurdish Peshmerga fighters are fighting with decades' old weapons along hundreds of kilometers of defensive lines, in trenches. His photos emphasized his call for the immediate need of expanded military assistance by the U.S.-led international coalition. Frantzman concluded his speech with a brief overview of the political situation in the Kurdistan Region and the impact of the war on domestic politics there.



Kurdistan in Iran and its Impact on the Security of Israel

ON July 12, 2015, Dr. **Parwez Rahim Qader**, lecturer at Salahaddin University in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq, spoke on the contemporary political situation in Iranian Kurdistan and its possible ramifications for the security of Israel. Coordinator of the Kurdish Studies Program, **Ceng Sagnic**, simultaneously translated Qader's remarks from Kurdish to English.

In his speech, Dr. Rahim analyzed Kurdish political and militant movements in Iran and their relations with Kurds of other countries. He focused on the Kurdistan Region of Iraq, common perspectives among Kurds of Iran on Israel, as well as the impact of Kurdish militancy against Iran on the security of Israel. Dr. Rahim concluded that Kurds of Iran are an effective force against Iran's expansionism and therefore have shared interests with Israel.

Kurdistan Independence: The Future of the Region after ISIS

ON May 5, 2015, the Vice President of Soran University in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq, Dr. **Nahro Zagros**, spoke at the Forum on Kurdish Society, History, and Culture. Dr. Zagros addressed possible future scenarios for the Kurdistan Region once the war against the radical Islamic organization ISIS comes to an end. Dr. Zagros emphasized that the Kurdistan Region of Iraq entered a new stage in its development while facing the existential threats posed by ISIS, in the absence of military assistance from the central Iraqi government. Both Dr. Zagros and Prof. **Ofra Bengio** asserted that, following the eventual defeat of ISIS, the map of territorial control in northern Iraq will change but not to the status quo ante bellum.

The PKK's Changing Role in the Middle East

ON April 14, 2015, the Kurdish Studies Program hosted **Aliza Marcus**, an internationally recognized expert on the PKK (Kurdistan Workers' Party) and the Kurdish question in Turkey. The seminar focused on the PKK's changing role in the region vis-à-vis the war in Syria and escalating tensions between the organization and Turkey.

In her speech, Marcus expounded upon the PKK's adaptation to the newly emerging circumstances in the regional context. The case of Kurds in Syria during the ongoing civil war and its repercussions for the PKK-Turkey relations constituted the main points of the seminar.



THE MIDDLE EAST IN A CRISIS OF ORIENTATIONS – COMMUNITIES, SOCIETY, RELIGION, AND STATE

EACH year the MDC holds a bimonthly Researchers' Seminar in which senior experts present their analysis of contemporary regional developments. MA and doctoral candidates also participate in this valuable opportunity to interact with distinguished scholars in the field. The 2015-2016 topic focused upon *"The Middle East in a Crisis of Orientations — Communities, Society, Religion, and State."*

The first seminar meeting included Prof. **Shimon Shamir's** lecture, "The Middle East in a Crisis of Identities, New Research Paradigm?" In subsequent weeks, Head of the Doron Halpern Middle East Network Analysis Desk at the MDC, Dr. **Harel Chorev**, presented his perspective on social networks and the building of the Islamic State's "imagined community." Former Director of the MDC and current Dean of Humanities at Tel Aviv University, Prof. **Eyal Zisser**, covered the identity dilemmas in the Syrian arena, and was followed by Dr. **Joel Parker**, who questioned the relevance of the Syrian civilian opposition-in-exile.

Moving toward Egypt and North Africa, Dr. **Mira Tzoreff**, whose work focuses on the socio-cultural history of modern Egypt, offered an analysis of post-revolution, contemporary Egyptian identity. Prof. **Bruce Maddy-Weitzman** examined Morocco at the crossroads between Arabism and Berberism (the North African ethnic identity struggle of the Berbers). Dr. **Irit Back**, whose research examines Islam and politics in post-colonial Africa, discussed the South Sudanese divide between ethnicity and nationalism.

From the Islamic State to al-Qaeda, Dr. **Esti Webman** compared the two actors through ideology and action, whereas Dr. **Ronen Zeidel** focused on larger identity formation directed by the Islamic State.

Shifting attention onto the Arabian Peninsula, in the second semester Dr. **Brandon Friedman** presented on the social construct of national identity in Saudi Arabia from tribalism to Wahhabism. Dr. **Elisheva Machlis** dissected the Shi'i struggle in Bahrain.

The Iranian segment of this year's seminars began with the Director of the Alliance Center for Iranian Studies, Prof. **Meir Litvak**, who presented his observations on Iran as an example of nationalism's success. Following Prof. Litvak, Dr. **Raz Zimmt** discussed the relationship between the Islamic Republic and the ongoing youth crisis there.

With her lecture on the evolution of the Kurdish party in Turkey and the influence of the Kurdish HDP on the political scene, **Duygu Atlas** introduced pressing political and cultural issues currently facing Turkey. **Hay Eytan Cohen Yanarocak** continued this topic's coverage with his analysis of Diyanet, the Presidency of Religious Affairs in Turkey, and its development from 1994-2004.

Prof. **Ofra Bengio** evaluated whether or not Kurdish identity in Iraq translated into a Kurdish-Iraqi identity. **Rachel Kantz-Feder** discussed post-2003 Iraqi national identity in the wake of the American invasion.

Finishing a comprehensive examination of the region, Dr. **Inbal Tal** and Dr. **Itamar Radai** discussed the continued challenges facing the Palestinians. Tal focused on Palestinian identity, religion, and gender with reference to the Islamic Movement in Israel. Radai delivered a detailed presentation on the identity of Arabs in Israel in the 21st century and the influential factors of religion, nationalism, and communism.

The MDC's economy experts, **Yitzhak Gal** and Dr. **Paul Rivlin**, spoke about Saudi Arabia as an economic power facing the threats of Sunni radicalism and Shi'i Iran, and a discussion of overall economic trends in the Middle East in recent years.

Prof. **Asher Susser** closed the 2015-16 Researchers' Seminar with an address on "new-old" identities in the Middle East. In his remarks, Susser sought to bring clarity to the ever-shifting realities of the geopolitics in Middle East. At the year's end, the MDC's researchers succeeded in presenting an analytical understanding of the forces altering both the sociopolitical and geographic landscape of the modern Middle East.



MDC PUBLIC PROGRAMS

Nadi Cinema

NADI CINEMA, the Moshe Dayan Center's **Middle Eastern Film Club**, organized six film screenings in 2015-2016. Nadi Cinema brings together students and researchers to discuss politics, society, and culture from the perspective of films from and about the Middle East.

ON October 29, 2015, Nadi Cinema screened the documentary *Tehran has No More Pomegranates* (Iran, 2006). Dr. **Miriam Nissimov**, of the Alliance Center for Iranian Studies at Tel Aviv University, introduced the film, which tells the story of Tehran from the middle of 19th century to the early 21st century. The work chronicles the city's social and political transformations as it grew from a small village to a modern and sprawling metropolis.

ON November 26, 2015, audience members viewed the Israeli film *God's Neighbors* (2012). The narrative feature follows three young men of the Breslov Hasidic community — Avi, Kobi, and Yaniv — who designate themselves to supervise codes of modesty with impunity. **Paul Liptz**, a lecturer in the Department of Middle Eastern and African History at Tel Aviv University, and an expert on Israeli history and society facilitated the screening and discussion.

ON December 17, 2015, Prof. **Uzi Rabi** presented *Farewell Baghdad* (2014). An Israeli film based on a novel by Eli Amir tells the story of 16-year-old Kabi and his family who face an uncertain future as Jews living in Baghdad during the 1950s. Transformed from a studious youngster, Kabi becomes one of the central activists in the Zionist underground that orchestrates the immigration of Iraqi Jews to Israel.

The Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies

Nadi Cinema

Middle Eastern Film Club

Join us for a film screening and discussion!
Thursdays, 5pm – 7:30pm, Gilman Building, Room 133
Refreshments will be served

Spring 2016 Screenings

March 10, 2016
"The Water Diviner" (Australia/Turkey, 2015)
An Australian man travels to Turkey after the battle of Gallipoli to try and locate his three missing sons.
Presented by Joyce van de Bildt

April 7, 2016
"Desert Flower" (Germany, 2009)
This biographical film follows the journey of the Somali woman Waris Dirie from a nomadic pastoralist background to a new life and career in the West as a fashion model and activist against female genital mutilation.
Presented by Dr. Irit Bak

May 5, 2016
"Little Black Fish: Being Children in the Southeast" (Turkey, 2015)
Documentary: First-hand accounts of 11 Kurdish children who grew up in southeastern Turkey in the heat of war.
Presented by Duygu Atlas

To RSVP email mamestucord@post.tau.ac.il

The Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies

Nadi Cinema

Middle Eastern Film Club

Join us for a film screening and discussion!
Thursdays, 4pm – 7pm, Gilman Building, Room 133
Refreshments will be served

Fall 2015 Screenings

October 29, 2015
Tehran has no more Pomegranates (Iran)
This is the story of Tehran from the Qajar time (middle of 19th century) to today. The film chronicles Tehran's social and political transformations as it grows from a small village to a huge, modern, and polluted metropolis.
Presented by Dr. Miriam Nissimov

November 26, 2015
God's Neighbors (Israel)
The film follows Avi, Kobi and Yaniv, three young men who belong to the Breslov Hasidic community and place themselves in charge of supervising the codes of modesty, without hesitating to use violence. When Miri moves into the neighborhood, Avi is torn between his feelings for her and the codes of the gang.
Presented by Paul Liptz

December 17, 2015
Farewell Baghdad (Israel)
The film, based on a novel by Eli Amir, tells the story of 16 year old Kabi and his family, who face an uncertain future as Jews living in Baghdad in the 1950s. Transformed from a studious lad, Kabi becomes one of the central activists in the Zionist underground enabling the immigration of the Jews of Iraq to Israel.
Presented by Prof. Uzi Rabi
To RSVP email mamestucord@post.tau.ac.il

ON March 10, 2016, **Joyce van de Bildt** facilitated a discussion on *The Water Diviner* (Australia, 2014), about an Australian man who travels to Turkey following World War I in an effort to locate his three missing sons.

ON April 7, 2016, Dr. **Irit Back** presented *Desert Flower* (Sweden, 2011), a film based on the true story of Waris Dirie, a young Somali woman who left her nomadic pastoralist life to live in England where she pursued a career as a fashion model and became one of the first activists to speak out against female genital mutilation.

THE final gathering of Nadi Cinema for the 2015-16 academic year took place on May 5, 2016. **Duygu Atlas** presented *Little Black Fish: Being Children in the Southeast* (Turkey, 2015), a film featuring firsthand accounts of 11 Kurdish children growing up amidst war in southeastern Turkey.

ACADEMIC EXCHANGES

The 11th Annual Tel Aviv University Workshop on Israel and the Middle East

THE Tel Aviv University Workshop on Israel and the Middle East took place from July 10-21, 2016. Participants of the 11th annual workshop included early to mid-career university faculty members from the United States, Europe, South America, Asia, and the Middle East, all of whom teach courses dealing with the Arab-Israeli conflict. Feedback from the participants reflected the program's effectiveness in achieving the workshop's main goal: To foster a more nuanced and balanced understanding of the Arab-Israeli conflict. In an academic climate where demonizing language is rampant, the workshop seeks to encourage the construction of courses that treat Israel in a fair and objective manner.



THE CAPSTONE SIMULATION GAME OF THE 2017 WORKSHOP

Coordinated by Prof. **Uzi Rabi**, the academic portion of the program covered the history of the Arab-Israeli conflict and contemporary issues related to Israel and Israel's position in the Middle East. Organized both chronologically and thematically, the workshop included more than 60 Israeli and Palestinian presenters hailing from Israel's finest academic and research institutions as well as NGOs, think tanks, the government, and the Israeli Defense Forces. During the workshop, each participant met with one or more Israeli colleagues who shared similar research interests with the aim of fostering academic cooperation and collegial relationships.



PROF. UZI RABI AND PROF. DAVID MENASHRI

The program concluded with a simulation exercise to engage participants in the dilemmas and range of considerations that regularly confront Israel's leadership and society. An opportunity to experience Israel's decision-making processes while faced with the realities of the contemporary Middle East, attendees received hands on experience of conflict containment and resolution in Israel. At the very end of the workshop, each participant received a collection of teaching tools to take with them to their respective institutions. Including a recommended reading list with the latest in research and analysis from the best scholars in Israel, these materials provide resources for scholars to build syllabi and course curriculum.



DR. HAY EYTAN COHEN YANAROC AK OF THE MDC
LEADS A DISCUSSION WITH PARTICIPANTS



To date the TAU Workshop has hosted almost 200 participants. Aside from the educational experience, the workshop serves as an academic platform for scholars around the world to exchange views and pursue joint academic activities such as conferences, student exchanges, journal publications, and visiting scholar opportunities. Over the course of a decade the Workshop has successfully established a global network of scholars who continue to work together in creating more informed coursework for students interested in the Arab-Israeli conflict.

The Jordanian Center for Israel Studies, Student Delegation

In August 2015, the MDC developed a program of cooperation with the Center for Israel Studies (CIS) in Amman, Jordan, directed by Dr. **Abdullah Sawalha**. Among other activities, this program includes reciprocal student and faculty exchanges. From May 1-8, 2016, the MDC hosted the first delegation of students to Israel for an intensive travel and lecture program.

Composed of five individuals, the student delegation agreed to challenge their pre-conceived notions of Israel's character and composition. Aside from cultural exchange and firsthand experience of the country, a primary aim of the program was to debunk the accusation of Israel being an apartheid state. Programming was therefore designed to show Israel as the multifaceted, multicultural democracy that it is. The five main themes of the workshop — Israeli society, Jewish History and Perspectives, Israel as an Innovation Hub, Israel and the World, and Jerusalem in Muslim and Jewish Thought — sought to illustrate the complex reality of the state. In order to show the diversity of the country, the program included visits to Haifa and other parts of Northern Israel, Tel Aviv-Jaffa, and Jerusalem.

Israeli society curriculum dispelled harmful stereotypes held by many in the Arab world regarding Israel. Topics covered were majority-minority relations and co-existence in mixed cities, alongside glimpses at unique institutions such as Kibbutz Ein HaShofet. Participants met with young leaders from a variety of backgrounds, including minority members of the civil and diplomatic services, and sat in an M.A. class at Tel Aviv University. The program demonstrated the freedom of worship enjoyed in Israel by all citizens through visits with the Baha'i, Ahmedi, and Druze communities, and showed that the Israeli government itself invests in the preservation of mosques in Jaffa and elsewhere. Planned and impromptu encounters with young Israelis from all backgrounds enhanced this theme.

The working assumption of the program was that the participants would have little to no knowledge of Jewish culture, history, and perspective, which proved to be accurate. During the program it became evident that the students had never learned about the historical Jewish connection to Israel, or the Holocaust. To educate them in these arenas, the students visited the Diaspora Museum, Yad VaShem, the Western Wall, and the Jewish Quarter of Jerusalem. Students were also hosted at a Shabbat evening meal. While open to dialogue, controversial topics such as the Jewish right of return to Israel were difficult to facilitate. Nevertheless, the experience did manage to provide a window into the psyche of the "other."

While the students were unfamiliar with the Jewish people's historical connection to the land of Israel, they were knowledgeable about the country's reputation as a "start-up nation." The delegation visited an agricultural innovation center in Emek HaMayanot where they were able to witness the development of low-cost, low-energy organic greenhouse systems and pest control. In Tel Aviv, they visited the StarTAU incubator at Tel Aviv University for a lecture on start-up initiatives that specifically benefit the Arab sector in Israel. These visits helped to emphasize how Israel's innovation can benefit the region at large and potentially serve as a bridge between peoples.

Israel's domestic politics and its place within the larger region was also an important component. The Foreign Ministry in Jerusalem and the Ministry for Regional Cooperation met with the delegation where

students had the opportunity to interface with senior Arabic-speaking officials from both offices. Additionally, the delegation visited the Knesset in Jerusalem and spoke with MK **Ksenia Svetlova** of the Zionist Union.

The last thematic element was Jerusalem in Jewish and Muslim traditions. This was also the most politically and emotionally charged of all the subjects tackled during the trip. Alongside the opportunity to pray at the al-Aqsa Mosque, participants spoke with a rabbi at the Western Wall complex, and toured the Jewish, Muslim, and Armenian Quarters of the Old City.



DR. ABDULLAH SAWALHA OF THE CIS AND
MK KSENIA SVETLOVA

Accompanying the group throughout the program were two Israeli graduate students with fluent Arabic language skills. With this shared language, personal connections were made almost immediately and the Israeli students were able to participate fully in informal discussions held in vernacular Arabic. Additional Israelis, both Jewish and non-Jewish, were invited to join from time to time as well.

The inaugural delegation was an important first step in this cooperative venture. Future initiatives underway include the translation of Hebrew scholarly works into Arabic, joint research projects, and future student and faculty exchanges. The joint initiative between the CIS and the MDC marks a concrete step toward the creation of a warm peace between Israel and Jordan.

Revolutions, Religion, and the Politics of Negotiating Space

FROM August 31 to September 1, 2015, the MDC and the Mosse/Weinstein Center for Jewish Studies at the University of Wisconsin, Madison (CJS) convened for their first joint-public academic conference, entitled “Revolutions, Religion, and the Politics of Negotiating Space.” Held in Madison, the conference was part of an ongoing program of cooperation between the two centers initiated by AFTAU National Chairman **Richard Sincere** and his wife, **Debra Sincere**.

Following opening remarks given by Richard Sincere, Prof. **Simone Schweber**, director of the Mosse/Weinstein Center for Jewish Studies; Prof. **Greg Downey**, associate dean of the University of Wisconsin-Madison; and Prof. **Uzi Rabi** greeted the assembled guests.



AFTAU CHAIRMAN **RICHARD SINCERE**
PHOTO BY: KESHA WEBER / UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

Joyce van de Bildt, doctoral candidate in the School of History at Tel Aviv University, delivered the first lecture, entitled “Contested Memory in the Public Sphere.” Specifically focusing on works written by members of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood, van de Bildt discussed the contribution to public debate of memoirs written by opposition groups. Notably, these works present personal narratives that oppose the state narrative.



Dr. **Esther Webman** co-led a panel that included her presentation, “Rethinking the Role of Religion in Arab Antisemitic Discourses.” As head of the Zeev Vered Desk for Tolerance and Intolerance in the Middle East and her studies of Arab discourse analysis and Arab anti-Semitism, Dr. Webman’s presentation advocated for a reassessment of the role of religion in Arab anti-Semitic discourses. She cited her extensive examination of caricatures, statements, newspaper articles, social media, and television programs during the Second Intifada, as well as subsequent crises including the Arab Spring and Operation Protective Edge.



FROM LEFT TO RIGHT: DUYGU ATLAS, DR. ESTI WEBMAN, JOYCE VAN DE BILD, AND DR. MIRA TZOREFF

Dr. **Mira Tzoreff** pioneered the second day of the conference with her lecture on “The Hybrid



MS. DUYGU ATLAS

Women of the Arab Spring Revolutions: Islamization of Feminism Feminization of Islam.” Tzoreff’s research focuses on the socio-cultural history of modern Egypt, women, politics, and gender relations in Arab and Muslim societies; and youth in the Middle East. Her lecture outlined misconceptions about both secular and religious women in Arab and Islamic societies. Tzoreff claimed that the history of women’s movements in the Middle East proves that, despite popular beliefs to the contrary, the leaders of social and gender-oriented struggles in the late 19th century were religious, self-empowered women. These are the women Tzoreff identifies as religious feminists who counter the claim that only secular women can be active and effective feminists.

Duygu Atlas, a doctoral candidate in the School of History at Tel Aviv University, led the conference’s final panel. Her lecture focused on the “Disappearance of Non-Muslim Minorities from the Public Sphere in Turkey: The Case of Turkish Jews.” Atlas’ research, based on cultural history, contemporary politics, and minorities within Turkey, assessed the impact of changing governmental policies towards non-Muslim minorities in Turkey. She argued that the country’s policies against its non-Muslim citizens were similar under its secularist and Islamist rulers.

Visiting Scholars

As in previous years, the MDC welcomed visiting scholars from various international institutions. Among these individuals was **Zaha Kheir**, from the Complutense University of Madrid (UCM), Spain. Now pursuing her Ph.D. at St. Anthony’s College of Oxford University, Kheir’s dissertation explores state and nation-building policies in Israel and Lebanon during the mandate and early statehood periods. During her year at the MDC, she contributed to Center publications as well as pursued her own individual research in the MDC Library and Arabic Press Archives.

MDC Interns

EACH year, dozens of bachelor's students and recent graduates coming from some of the leading academic institutions in the world apply for the opportunity to conduct research under the direction of MDC scholars. This academic experience results in lasting relationships between the students and the MDC, Tel Aviv University, and institutions of higher learning abroad. Students enjoy the invaluable experience of working at an active research center and access to primary source materials such as those in the Arabic Press Archives, which are unavailable anywhere else in the world.



MDC INTERNS KAYLA WOLD, NATASHA SPREADBOROUGH, GIL MELILI, JACLYN SHAW, JOSHUA KIM, AND ELIYAHU KAMISHER WITH PROF. UZI RABI AND BEN MENDALES

Joining us in the 2015-16 academic year were Israel Institute Intern **Eliyahu Kamisher**; the Amira Margalith Scholarship recipient, **Natasha Spreadborough**; **Jaclyn Shaw**, **Cara Liebman**, **Michelle Haragos**, **Ilan Heilbronn**, **Mia Berman**, **Mary McAullife**, **Daniella Raz**, **Meital Sapir**, **Michael Schwartz**, **Andy Helfant**, **Sarah Kaster**, **Zachary Lemonides**, **Ni Gihua**, and **Ruti Zwick**. Returning interns were **Inbal Ben-Yehuda**, **Gil Melili**, **Kimron Flicker**, and **Yoni Maher**. Interns assist with MDC event programming, editing, managing MDC social media outlets, and research for the weekly disseminated *Middle East News Brief*. Additionally, **Eliyahu Kamisher**, **Natasha Spreadborough**, and **Andy Helfant** conducted original research published in *Iqtisadi*, *Diwaniyya*, and *Beehive*.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

Bruce Maddy-Weitzman Appointed Professor

THE MDC congratulates **Bruce Maddy-Weitzman** on his appointment to the academic rank of Professor.

Prof. Maddy-Weitzman received his Ph.D. from Tel Aviv University in 1988. Since then, he has served as a research fellow at the MDC specializing in contemporary Middle Eastern history, inter-Arab relations, and the modern Maghrib (North Africa). He continues to teach in the Department of Middle Eastern and African History at Tel Aviv University, and is an associate scholar at the Foreign Policy Research Institute in Philadelphia, PA.

In Maddy-Weitzman's lengthy and distinguished academic career he has published several works that have made unique contributions to the field. Rowman & Littlefield published his most recent book, *A Century of Arab Politics: From the Arab Revolt to the Arab Spring*, in 2016. Notably,



PROF. BRUCE MADDY-WEITZMAN

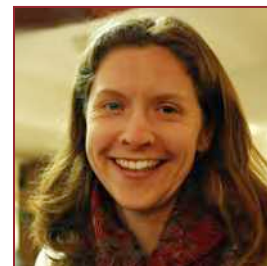


in October 2013, the American Institute for Maghrib Studies awarded the L. Carl Brown Book Prize to Prof. Maddy-Weitzman's work, *The Berber Identity Movement and the Challenge to North African States* (University of Texas Press, 2011), a prize that recognizes outstanding new books in the field of North African Studies.

Chelsi Mueller and Nachum Shiloah Awarded Doctorates

THE MDC congratulates **Chelsi Mueller** and **Nachum Shiloah** on the completion of their doctoral studies.

Dr. Mueller's dissertation, entitled "The Persian Gulf between the Two World Wars: Iran, Britain and the Arab Shaykhdoms, 1919-1939," investigates Arab-Iranian relations in the Persian Gulf during the period between the two world wars.



DR. CHELSI MUELLER



DR. NACHUM SHILOAH

Dr. Shiloah's dissertation, entitled "Emerging Elites and Social Changes – The Formation of the Third Saudi State (1901-1953)," argues that the survival and development of the nascent Saudi state was dependent upon the concomitant evolution of notable groups and the social constellations within it.

Bustan: Middle East Book Review now Published with Pennsylvania State University Press

BUSTAN: Middle East Book Review of the Moshe Dayan Center is now a joint venture with Pennsylvania State University Press. First published in 2010, *Bustan* is a journal dedicated to review. Each issue typically includes at least three long-form essays that review new literature. These

essays explore broad themes or issues on a particular topic that go beyond the content of the books under review. The journal also includes 10 to 15 short traditional book reviews, as well as review articles in translation. *Bustan* strives to review works in a range of languages, but the journal's content is published in English.

Moving forward, all editions of *Bustan* will be accessible via the digital libraries of scholarly publications, JSTOR and Project MUSE. Increased accessibility to *Bustan* will further facilitate regional and international academic exchange on the critical reviews included in each volume.



NEW PUBLICATIONS

SPREADING THE MOVEMENT'S MESSAGE: WOMEN'S ACTIVISM IN THE ISLAMIC MOVEMENT IN ISRAEL

By Inbal Tal

(Hebrew, Tel Aviv: Moshe Dayan Center, 2016)



Spreading the Movement's Message: Women's Activism in the Islamic Movement in Israel documents groundbreaking research into the extensive involvement of women in institutions and organizations affiliated with the Islamic Movement in Israel. The book, based on the author's doctoral thesis, opens a window on the little-known world of the female members in the Movement's ranks, and offers a rare glimpse into their ideological worldview, formative experiences, and prevalent and emerging frames of mind.

The book offers an extensive review of the activities carried out by women's non-profit organizations identified with the Islamic Movement's southern and northern factions, and women's roles in the formal and informal educational institutions affiliated with the Movement. The book also examines the integration of women in the municipal political arena, the media, and the *Shari'a* institutions identified with the Movement, and describes the Islamic Movement's recruitment patterns. Including an initial social profile of the Movement's female leaders, the work also traces the position of its male leaders on women's inclusion in the Movement, and analyzes the impact of this trend on the Movement's present and future character. These issues have become all the more salient in view of the increasing academic interest in Israel's Islamic Movement as a political and social phenomenon, and in view of the growing impact of public discourse in Israel's Arab sector. The findings presented in this book shed light on the Movement's actions and patterns, most of which are typically concealed from public sight as a result of the Movement's ideological policy of separatism, and provides readers with a comprehensive picture of the Movement's current policies and its female membership.

Dr. **Inbal Tal** completed her studies at the University of Haifa in 2011 and is currently a research fellow at the Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies at Tel Aviv University. Her research interests include the Islamic Movement in Israel, Islamic feminism, social networks, and modern Islamic movements.

NEW PUBLICATIONS

PALESTINIANS IN JERUSALEM AND JAFFA, 1948: A TALE OF TWO CITIES

By Itamar Radai

(English and Hebrew, Oxon: Routledge and Tel Aviv: Moshe Dayan Center, 2015)



Between November 1947 and May 1948, war between the Palestinian Arab community and the Jewish community encompassed Palestine, with Jerusalem and Jaffa becoming focal points in the conflict due to their centrality, size, and symbolic importance. *Palestinians in Jerusalem and Jaffa, 1948* examines Palestinian Arab society, institutions, and fighters in Jerusalem and Jaffa during the conflict. With extensive use of Arabic sources and an inquiry from the Palestinian vantage point, it is one of the first books in English that deals with the Palestinian Arabs at this crucial and tragic moment in their history. It examines the causes of the social collapse of the Palestinian Arab communities in Jerusalem and Jaffa during the 1948 inter-communal war, and the impact of this collapse on the military defeat. This book reveals that the most important internal factors to the Palestinian defeat were the social changes that took place in Arab society during the British Mandate,

namely internal migration from rural areas to the cities, the shift from agriculture to wage labor, and the rise of the urban middle class.

By looking beyond the well-established external factors, this study uncovers how modernity led to a breakdown within Palestinian Arab society, widening social fissures without producing effective institutions, and thus alienating social classes both from each other and from the leadership. With careful examination of a range of sources and informed analysis of Palestinian social history, *Palestinians in Jerusalem and Jaffa, 1948* is a key resource for students and scholars interested in the modern Middle East, Palestinian Studies, the Arab-Israeli conflict, and Israel Studies.

Dr. **Itamar Radai** is the Director of the Konrad Adenauer Program for Jewish-Arab Cooperation at the Moshe Dayan Center.

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*
- Dr. Rachel Kantz-Feder, *Research Fellow*
- Prof. Meir Litvak, *Senior Research Fellow*
- Prof. Bruce Maddy-Weitzman, *Senior Research Fellow*
- Prof. David Menashri, *Senior Research Fellow*
- Dr. Chelsi Mueller, *Research Fellow*
- Dr. Joel Parker, *Research Fellow*
- Prof. Itamar Rabinovich, *Senior Research Fellow*
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- Prof. Shimon Shamir, *Senior Research Fellow*
- Prof. Asher Susser, *Senior Research Fellow*
- Dr. Inbal Tal, *Research Fellow*
- Dr. Mira Tzoreff, *Research Fellow*
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- Prof. Eyal Zisser, *Senior Research Fellow*

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- Sponsor an international conference, bringing together scholars and practitioners from around the world.

With \$60,000 you can:

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With \$100,000 you can:

- Support the operations of our research desks for one year.
- Support the operations of the award-winning MDC Library and Arabic Press Archives for one year.
- Support the operations of our MDC Arabic Press Archives for one year.program of events.

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