
Bulletin

NO. 61 | SPRING 2015

AT A GLANCE

Being Palestinian and Being Israeli

Enduring Instability Troubles Egypt

Remembering the Legacy of Moshe Dayan

The Looming Threat of the Islamic State





The Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies

Bulletin

No. 61

SPRING 2015

MISSION STATEMENT

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

FOUNDERS

S. Daniel Abraham
Mordechai Ben Porat
Charles Bronfman
Joseph Ciechanover
Lester Crown
Michel Fribourg
Bernard Gitter
Guilford Glazer
Kemal Gyröz
Haim Israeli
Ludwig Jesselson
Elie Kedourie
Senator E. Leo Kolber
Naphtali Lavie
Bernard Lewis
Moshe Many
Herman Merkin
Harvey M. Meyerhof
Itamar Rabinovich
Raphael Recanati
Baron Edmond de Rothschild
Zalman Shoval
Shabtai Teveth
Dan Tolkowsky
Joy Ungerleider-Mayerson
The Hon. Cyrus Vance

INTERNATIONAL BOARD OF OVERSEERS

Lester Pollack (Chair)
Joel Mandel (Vice Chair)
Gaby Brill
John Bussel
Alexander Gertner
Ted Ginsberg
Diane Glazer
Guilford Glazer
Stanley Gold
Harvey Rothenberg
Tamar Rudich
Alan Schwartz
Mark and Christina Siegel
Jacqueline Simkin
Amos Sochaczewski
Eta Somekh
Michael Sorkin
Alan Topchik
Edwin Wulfsohn

BOARD OF GOVERNORS

Joseph Ciechanover (Chair)
Shalom Abarbanel
Uri Bar-Ner
Mordechai Ben Porat
Joseph Klafter
Martin Kramer
Itamar Rabinovich
Moshe Raviv
Aharon Shai
Shimon Shamir
Zalman Shoval
Asher Susser
Mordechai Tamarkin
Dan Tolkowsky
Eyal Zisser

DIRECTOR: Uzi Rabi

BULLETIN EDITOR: Heidi Basch-Harod **ASSISTANT EDITOR:** Ben Mendales

DESIGN: Elena Kuznetsov **COVER DESIGN:** Rami Moghadam

PRODUCTION: Tel-Aviv University Press

LETTER FROM THE DIRECTOR

Dear Friends,


I write to you at a time when the Middle East continues to tumble through an era of regional turmoil and unrest. Although inconceivable just a decade ago, Syria, Iraq, and Libya, to name a few, are quickly joining Yemen as emblematic of the failed Middle Eastern state. Compounding the troubles of the region, the Sunni-Shi'i conflict is unprecedentedly profound. While the Islamic State continues its brutal campaign in Libya, the Sinai, Tunisia, Iraq, and Syria, against the backdrop of ongoing nuclear talks with the P5+1, Iran is enjoying an unusual amount of power. Indeed, it can be said that Iran's proxies control four Arab capitals: Baghdad, San'a, Damascus, and Beirut, and threaten the stability of the heretofore quiescent Israeli-held Golan Heights. It is clear now, perhaps more than ever, that in order to understand and track the tumultuous changes in the region, the groundbreaking analytical work performed by the MDC is critical for decision-makers and laypeople alike.



Here at the MDC, the first semester of the 2014-2015 academic year was one of productive collaboration with our friends throughout the world. In October and November, MDC researchers attended the ASMEA and MESA conferences, both held in Washington, D.C. Also in November, we hosted the inaugural colloquium of our partnership with the Mosse/Weinstein Center for Jewish Studies at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, and were the guests of the UK Living Legacy Mission founded by TAU Governor Geoffrey Simmonds. We celebrated the launch of a new book, *Inglorious Revolutions*, which consists of a collection of essays examining state cohesion in the Middle East in the wake of the "Arab Spring." Meanwhile, our forums continued to attract leading scholars and practitioners, and provided platforms for thought-provoking discussion.

Our work at the MDC is truly a team effort; it would not be possible without your generous friendship and support. We invite you to keep in touch through Twitter, Facebook, and our website, www.dayan.org.

Best wishes,


 Prof. Uzi Rabi

AFTAU / CFTAU TRIP

In September 2014, Prof. **Uzi Rabi** and **Carl Yonker** embarked on a three-week trip to the United States and Canada for a series of lectures and meetings with friends of the MDC. Arranged with the help of American Friends of Tel Aviv University (AFTAU), the first stop was Los Angeles, where Rabi delivered three lectures on the current state of affairs in the Middle East, and Israel's efforts to cope with new strategic challenges vis-à-vis the upheavals of the "Arab Spring" and the rise of the Islamic State. The first lecture was a luncheon at the Hillcrest Country Club, organized by the Women's Committee and **Rita Spiegel**. This event was followed by lectures at the UCLA Faculty Club, and at the home of Howard and Sonya Waldow, who graciously hosted this private event.



PROF. UZI RABI DELIVERS AN ADDRESS AT ADATH ISRAEL CONGREGATION, TORONTO, CANADA

From Los Angeles, Rabi and Yonker traveled to Toronto where the Canadian Friends of Tel Aviv University (CFTAU) organized a roundtable discussion at the University of Toronto's Anne Tanenbaum Centre for Jewish Studies. CFTAU also planned a large community event at the Adath Israel Congregation. Attended by over 300 people the audience heard from Rabi and the Consul General of Israel, **DJ Schneeweiss**, on the region and Israel.

Following the visit to Toronto, the trip continued on to Ottawa and Montreal. In Ottawa, Israel's Ambassador to Canada, the Honorable **Rafael Barak**, hosted Prof. Rabi in his home. The Israeli Embassy in Ottawa also organized a speaking event at the University of Ottawa. In Montreal, Rabi and Yonker spoke to a group of young Jewish professionals. The final event on the circuit was a private talk held at the home of **Joe and Erin Battat**. The entire journey served as an excellent opportunity for the MDC to become reacquainted with its Canadian audience. We look forward to future trips to the United States and to Canada.

“BEING PALESTINIAN, BEING ISRAELI: REFLECTIONS ON THE EVENTS OF THE PAST SUMMER”

THE summer of 2014 was an especially difficult one for Jewish-Arab relations in Israel. Beginning with the June 12 kidnapping and brutal murder of three Jewish teenagers, Gil-ad Shaer, Naftali Fraenkel, and Eyal Yifrah, events quickly escalated. The disappearance of the boys aroused feelings of horror throughout Israeli-Jewish society, reaching a shocking climax when Mohammed Abu-Khedeir, a Palestinian youth from Shu'afat, was brutally murdered in an apparent revenge attack. Young Arabs in Israel took to the streets in protest and the police arrested many on suspicion of rioting. Meanwhile, the discourse in Israel among Jewish Israelis revived an old canard: Arabs were once again painted as a fifth column, while openly

racist commentary abounded on social media. The outbreak of Operation Protective Edge and its bloody consequences for Jews and Arabs, alike, only further exacerbated the existing polemic.

Against this backdrop, the **Konrad Adenauer Stiftung** sponsored a one-day intensive workshop for Arab and Jewish students studying a variety of disciplines. Held on August 12, 2014, the workshop featured seminar papers that critically examined the reality of Jewish-Arab relations in Israel today, and the complexity of Arab identity in Israel. In participating, the students were able to help fulfill the mission of KAS in two ways. First, the students conducted studies that will hopefully add more complexity and nuance to academic discourse and, ideally, to the public discourse on Arab-Jewish relations as well. But beyond this, the students' participation showed there is also coexistence in Israel.

On September 29, 2014, the Konrad Adenauer Program for Jewish-Arab Cooperation at Tel Aviv University and the MDC hosted an event, titled "Being Palestinian, Being Israeli: Reflections on the events of the past summer." Held in the Hall of Justice Auditorium at Tel Aviv University, scholarships were awarded to workshop participants and a keynote address was given by **Zuheir Bahlul**, a respected journalist and thoughtful commentator on the difficulties, complications, and contradictions inherent to Arab identities and realities in Israel.

Prof. **Uzi Rabi** opened the gathering with high praise for the KAS' work and expressed appreciation for a decade of collaboration with the MDC. Rabi, however, saved special recognition for the workshop participants, who he touted as the "real heroes" of the evening. The workshop and the associated scholarship are both critical components in the encouragement of young students, both Jewish and Arab, to continue in their academic careers to further Arab-Jewish dialogue and cooperation in Israel, said Rabi. After his remarks, **Palina Kedem**, project manager of university projects, German-Israeli Relations, and Jewish-Arab cooperation for KAS, spoke about the meaning of the workshop for the organization.



PROF. UZI RABI DELIVERS
OPENING REMARKS



PALINA KEDEM

KAS, after all, is not merely a fund; it is a foundation that aims to create a joint dialogue between Jews and Arabs on subjects that are important to them, and to translate such ideals into reality. Speaking for the scholarship recipients was **Ze'ev Levin**, who acknowledged the personal impact that the workshop had on him and outlined the way in which each research project shared a common nexus despite differences in disciplinary foci.



REPRESENTING THE SCHOLARSHIP RECIPIENTS,
ZE'EV LEVIN GREETES THE ASSEMBLED GUESTS

Following the award of scholarships, **Arik Rudnitzky**, project manager for the Konrad Adenauer Program for Jewish-Arab Cooperation at Tel Aviv University, opened the panel discussion. Rudnitzky noted that the subject of Jewish-Arab relations in Israel is more relevant than ever. In the month following the end of hostilities in Gaza, the atmosphere remained charged with feelings of mutual hostility, threats, racism, and incitement. Both traditional and new media are prime arenas for the



ARIK RUDNITZKY

dissemination of such messages. Meanwhile, members of the so-called “moderate stream” of Arab intellectuals in Israel – among them Mira Awad, Mohammad Darashe, Sayed Kashua, and Zuheir Bahlul – directly appealed to the Jewish public in an effort to express the complexity of their feelings. Arab citizens of Israel are expected to demonstrate almost an almost superhuman patience, despite pervasive attitudes held by the Jewish minority that they are at best an annoyance and at worse a disloyal fifth column. With that, Rudnitzky introduced Zuheir Bahlul.

Bahlul began by acknowledging October 3, 2014, as the first time in 30 years that the Jewish Yom Kippur and the Muslim Eid al-Adha coincided. In many respects, Bahlul continued, Israel is one of the most multi-cultural countries in the world and has the potential to serve as an enlightened model of pluralism. Looking at its relationship to the Arab minority, though, Israel is currently not living up to its potential. While the older generation of Arabs in mixed cities expressed self-discipline on Jewish holidays like Yom Kippur, refraining from driving or cooking aromatic foods in those locales, the younger generation is increasingly

questioning the example of their elders. Why, they ask, should they respect Yom Kippur, while Jewish-Israelis disrespect Ramadan?

The unfortunate fact is that the Jewish majority wishes to be hegemonic, said Bahlul. Their elected leaders encourage this behavior and negate the legitimacy of Arab identity. This has been the reality since the founding of the state, yet Jewish Israelis are consistently surprised when conflicts emerge. Though the overwhelming majority of Arabs in Israel have never done anything to harm the security of the state, they are nevertheless judged by the exceptional cases.



ZUHEIR B AHLUL DELIVERS A KEYNOTE ADDRESS

According to Bahlul, the segregation of the educational system in Israel shares much of the blame for the state of relations between the two communities. Bahlul sent his daughter to a Jewish school because Israel has truly become a center of educational excellence, and he wished for her to reap the benefits of this reality. Yet, what Israeli Jew has ever sent his or her child to an Arab school? It simply doesn’t happen. Intellectuals have historically been the antagonists in the inter-communal conflict. Yet, especially in the wake of the “Arab Spring,” Arab intellectuals are internalizing the fact that the larger Arab world is unable to provide a balance of power against Israeli hegemony. Therefore, they are beginning to realize the necessity of coexistence, dialogue, and cooperation. Yet the Jewish majority does not accept this and views the Arab community as a foreign object in the body polity, much as the rest of the Middle East views Israel as such.



DR. ITAMAR RADAI

Responding to Bahlul’s remarks were Dr. **Itamar Radai**, academic director for KAP, and Arik Rudnitzky. Radai expressed his belief that the crisis in Jewish-Arab relations needs to be addressed at the highest levels. The government must create mechanisms that will establish true equality among all citizens, that will fight racism, and that will encourage

coexistence in schools. Such coexistence must include the reinforcement and teaching of Arabic.

For Rudnitzky, the crucial aspect of the summer's events was the fact that more Arab citizens protested the murder of Mohammad Abu-Khedir than the war in Gaza. In essence, "price-tag" attacks on the Arab community within Israel have become more salient than those that occur outside. Meanwhile, public leaders within the Arab community took steps to prevent violence and injury to relations between Jews and Arabs.



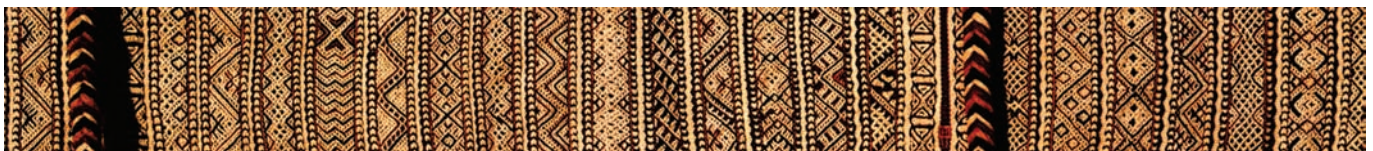
LEFT TO RIGHT: ARIK RUDNITZKY, ZUHEIR BAHLUL, DR. ITAMAR RADAI, AND PALINA KEDEM

Concluding the evening was a spirited, though brief, question and answer session. In response to a member of the audience who noted the fact that Bahlul is a renowned sports journalist, Bahlul noted that Israeli soccer is in many ways a microcosm of majority-minority relations in Israel-at-large. Though there are expressions of racism, there is also wide integration. In that sense, it can serve as an example for coexistence and mutual harmony.

FOREIGN MINISTER OF THE TURKISH REPUBLIC OF NORTHERN CYPRUS VISITS

On November 4, 2014, the Turkish Embassy in Tel Aviv and the MDC hosted the Foreign Minister of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC), **Özdil Nami**. Prof. **Ehud Toledano**, of Tel Aviv University, moderated the discussions, while **Hay Eytan Cohen Yanarocak** and **Duygu Atlas** represented the MDC. Also participating in discussions were two former Israeli diplomats to Turkey, Ambassadors **Eli Shaked** and **Alon Liel**.

The discussions opened with an optimistic view for the possibility of a future unification of Cyprus. As long as an imbalance of power is not created by a Greek monopoly over natural gas, such resources can serve to promote peace on the island. Furthermore, it was expressed that the TRNC is capable of playing a key role in potential reconciliation between Turkey and Israel. This can only occur, stated participants, if the TRNC abandons its view of a potential Cyprus-Egypt-Israel alliance as being, necessarily, against Turkey. The natural gas pipeline between Israel and Turkey was cited as a potential mechanism for reconciliation as well; it may create interdependence between the two states, Western countries, and international corporations, which will provide all sides with a vested interest for continued good relations.



MDC AND THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN, MADISON, LAUNCH JOINT FIVE-YEAR PROGRAM

On November 9–10, 2014, the MDC and the Mosse/Weinstein Center for Jewish Studies at the University of Wisconsin, Madison (CJS), launched the joint five-year program made possible by the leadership and vision of TAU Governor **Richard Sincere** and **Debra Sincere**. The program supports academic cooperation, joint conferences, publications, and scholarly exchange programs in the fields of Jewish, Israel, and Middle East Studies. The specific research focus of the collaborative efforts will be “The Role of Religion in the Public Sphere – the Contemporary Middle East.”

Dr. **Esther Webman** and Prof. **Simone Schweber**, of the University of Wisconsin, delivered the opening remarks for the inaugural conference. Also attending were **Amos Elad**, TAU vice president of resources and development, AFTAU CEO **Gail Reiss**, and Prof. **Uzi Rabi**. The first round of presentations included talks on women in the Arab Spring revolution, and the Internet as a platform for public expression, the latter of which promises to provide a “playground”



LEFT TO RIGHT: PROF. UZI RABI, DUYGU ATLAS, DR. ESTHER WEBMAN, TAU GOVERNOR RICHARD SINCERE, PROF. SIMONE SCHWEBER, DR. ANNA PARATSKAYA, PROF. CHAD GOLDBERG, DR. TERYL DOBBS, CARL YONKER, AND JOYCE VAN DE BILDT



DR. ESTHER WEBMAN PRESENTS TO THE ASSEMBLED MDC AND CJS DELEGATIONS

“This robust multi-year program wouldn’t have been possible without the vision and generosity of Debra and Richard Sincere. It represents a major vote of confidence in the Dayan Center and reinforces the standing of TAU as a major global center of expertise in the field of Middle East studies,” added Rabi.

Prof. Schweber, head of the Wisconsin delegation, shared in the enthusiasm, particularly emphasizing the partnership and its ability to build bridges despite different geographic locations and academic demographics. In his comments during the evening, Sincere said that he and Debra believe in investing in projects that can “make a difference, and established this program out of a belief that pooling the resources of both institutions will result in innovative research and projects that can help change the world.”

for developing cutting-edge research in the field. Moreover, the TAU component, inaugurated as the Debra and Richard Sincere Tel Aviv University Project in Middle Eastern Studies, will offer young doctoral candidates generous scholarships to enable them to complete their studies.

The evening concluded with praise from all involved parties. Vice President Elad stated his pride in TAU’s international agreements with many top universities, and that the MDC-Wisconsin program promises to uphold this tradition.



DUYGU ATLAS

UK LIVING LEGACY MISSION

On November 7, 2014, the Tel Aviv University Living Legacy Mission hosted members of the MDC for an annual dinner held at the Hilton Hotel in Tel Aviv. The TAU Living Legacy Mission, based in the United Kingdom and founded by Tel Aviv University Governor **Geoffrey Simmonds**, attracts British citizens 60 years of age or older who wish to support Tel Aviv University. Their generous gifts make possible the invaluable research coming out of TAU in areas that are personally meaningful to the contributors.

Following the Shabbat candle lighting ceremony and dinner, Prof. **Uzi Rabi** discussed current developments in the Middle East, with a special emphasis on the MDC's work in furthering an understanding of the complicated and fascinating region.

“EGYPT UNDER AL-SISI: LESSONS OF THE PAST AND CHALLENGES OF THE FUTURE”

*Annual Lecture in Memory of Avishai Ben Zvi,
Yehoshafat Netzer, and Ziv Balali*

THE annual lecture in memory of **Avishai Ben Zvi z”l**, **Yehoshafat Nezer z”l**, and **Ziv Balali z”l** took place on December 1, 2014. Prof. **Uzi Rabi** opened the event by emphasizing the living memory of the fallen soldiers. For Rabi, the annual memorial lecture is a time when he remembers his student, Ziv Balali, who perished in a battle during the Second Lebanon War. Dani Ben-Zvi, the brother of Avishai Ben Zvi, also shared memories of his brother. Ben-Zvi z”l was asked by Prof. **Itamar Rabinovich** and Prof. **Shimon Shamir** to join the Moshe Dayan Center as a researcher in the 1960s. The young soldier met his untimely demise in the Yom Kippur War after 18 days of heavy fighting, two days before the ceasefire, and eight months before his wedding date. Forty-one years after the loss of these young Israelis, the MDC continues to honor their memories.

Dr. **Mira Tzoreff** delivered the keynote speech, “Egypt Under al-Sisi: Lessons of the Past and Challenges of the Future.” Recalling the events of the Egyptian revolution of 2011 and emphasizing the unified voice for Mubarak’s ouster that then emerged from Egyptian society, shortly thereafter, the factions that supported the revolution began to reveal different aims. Ever since, Egypt has struggled to reconcile diverging visions for the future of the country. Reflecting upon the short-lived Morsi Presidency and the al-Sisi-led military intervention of July 3, 2013, that removed Morsi from power, Tzoreff outlined the complexity of post-revolutionary Egyptian politics.

According to Tzoreff, ‘Abd al-Fattah al-Sisi’s move was welcomed by most Egyptians who perceived that he “saved” Egypt from theocracy and acted on behalf of the



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

people in an effort to defeat the enemies of the January 25 Revolution. For the Egyptian public, it was easy to relate to al-Sisi and to welcome him as Egypt's new leader; his patriotism, his rank in the army, and his origins from a respectable Cairo family contributed to this sentiment, explained Tzoreff. In al-Sisi, the Egyptians viewed a new Gamal 'Abd al-Nasser – a strong, charismatic leader with extensive army experience. Moreover, his zero-tolerance approach toward the Muslim Brotherhood, supported by the argument that the Brothers threaten the unity and stability of the nation, also reminded the public of Nasser. Although a compromise between the regime and the Muslim Brotherhood will not come any time soon, the Brotherhood, in its long history of suppression, has demonstrated its resilience and determination to stay true to its ideology and will continue to do so. In the name of the people, al-Sisi employs absolute power. However, Tzoreff noted that one of the effects of this tactic is that, currently, all opposition groups in Egypt who are critical of the regime are easily accused of being either disloyal or not patriotic, or even terrorists.



DR. MIRA TZOREFF, ALONGSIDE PROF. UZI RABI, DELIVERING THE LECTURE AT THE MDC MEMORIAL EVENT FOR FALLEN SOLDIERS

Though opposition from anti-military groups and the Muslim Brotherhood is quite evident these days, there are also many Egyptians who approve of al-Sisi's policy and welcome his reforms. In fact, his popularity is immense. This can be illustrated by the fact that when al-Sisi announced a reduction in subsidies, it did not infuriate the people as it did when Anwar al-Sadat made the same move in 1977. Back then, it led to countrywide street protests, known as "the bread riots." Al-Sisi's move, however, was welcomed in Egypt even though it resulted in raising the prices of bread, fuel, electricity, and gas. Tzoreff made the claim that the people believe in al-Sisi and trust him to be the new leader that will improve Egypt's situation.

Al-Sisi's leadership and policy decisions that are reminiscent of Gamal 'Abd al-Nasser enhances his popularity, too. To that effect, his ambitious four-billion dollar economic project to expand the Suez Canal makes the people nostalgic for Nasser, who nationalized the Suez Canal in 1956. Although under Nasser nationalization of the Canal had, at its base, the goal of establishing independence, al-Sisi's initiative is a nod to the collective memory of Nasser who also employed the rhetoric that only "Egyptian hands" would be involved in the Suez project: engineers, technicians, etc. Overall, al-Sisi policy course focuses on putting Egypt first, rehabilitating the country's economy, and addressing its instability.

Al-Sisi has also given attention to other socio-economic problems in Egypt, such as the marriage crisis and unemployment among the youth. Reportedly, his nationalist discourse, in which he speaks to the youth of Egypt as if they are his own children, appeals to this generation. But, as Tzoreff mentioned, it should not be forgotten that al-Sisi's rhetoric is partly motivated by a concern to prevent the youth from uprising against his regime in the public square and on university campuses as well.

Unfortunately for al-Sisi, terror attacks in the Sinai have intensified, dealing a significant blow to tourism and causing unemployment to skyrocket. From this reality, though, Tzoreff claimed that the Egyptian leader realizes a need to invest in the development of the Sinai for the purpose of winning over the neglected Bedouin population, and in order to turn hostile Sinai residents into allies of the regime in the war on terror.

Tzoreff concluded by saying that, aside from the confidence of the people in al-Sisi, "the Sisi-meter is ticking," just as it did for Mohamed Morsi. The continuation of al-Sisi's current popularity is not at all guaranteed, and his charisma will not be enough for him to survive. Drawing from cartoons available on social media sites hosted by revolutionary groups, the revolutionaries are fed up with al-Sisi's repressive policies. If he wants to stay in power, warned Tzoreff, Al-Sisi will have to deliver in the economic and security realms and, importantly, enhance the freedoms of the opposition.

SYMPOSIUM IN HONOR OF GEN. MOSHE DAYAN z"l

On December 14, 2014, the MDC hosted a symposium in honor of Moshe Dayan z"l. At this year's gathering, titled "Israel and the Middle East," members of the Dayan family, including his widow, **Ruth Dayan**, and his children **Yael** and **Rachel**, were joined by trustees of the MDC and the Friends of Moshe Dayan charitable organization, as well as students of Tel Aviv University and members of the public. Prof. **Uzi Rabi** opened the event with remarks on Moshe Dayan's enduring legacy.



PROF. UZI RABI. PHOTO COURTESY OF ISRAEL SUN



DR. MORDECHAI BAR-ON, OF TEL AVIV UNIVERSITY.
PHOTO COURTESY OF ISRAEL SUN

Dr. **Mordechai Bar-On**, of Tel Aviv University, who recently published a biography on the life and times of Moshe Dayan, addressed criticism directed at Dayan in recent years, and sought to properly contextualize it. He noted, of all the central figures in Israel's history, Dayan's complex beliefs made him particularly interesting. Despite Dayan's assertion that Israel should not be divided, he nevertheless opposed measures that would interfere with the Arabs' right to live in peace.

The second speaker was Ambassador **Zalman Shoval**. Dr. Shoval was a member of Dayan's party, Telem, and served as the Israeli ambassador to the United States. Currently a member of the MDC Board of Trustees, Shoval reflected upon the complicated beliefs of Dayan, who opposed a Palestinian state at the same time as being against the annexation of the territories captured in 1967. He also noted that Dayan was uncomfortable with the personality cult that had arisen around him, and was not a proponent of streets, roads, or houses being named after him following his death.



AMBASSADOR ZALMAN SHOVAL.
PHOTO COURTESY OF ISRAEL SUN



PROF. UZI ARAD, OF IDC-HERZLIYA.
PHOTO COURTESY OF ISRAEL SUN

Prof. **Uzi Arad**, of the IDC Herzliya, delivered the evening's keynote speech, "Israel and the Middle East." Arad noted that Dayan was a pivotal figure over much of Israel's history and played a decisive role in the wars of 1948, 1956, 1967, and 1973. An understanding of Dayan's life and worldview is therefore critical to understanding both Israel's history and its present reality. Moreover, the pressing issues of Dayan's time, for example Gaza, remain extremely relevant today.

Although public discourse treats Gaza as a nuisance it has been one of the primary policy challenges facing Israel, “especially following the country’s disengagement in 2005,” stated Arad. Since then, it has served as the stage for multiple conflicts: in 2009, 2012, and 2014. In 2010 following the Mavi Marmara incident, which directly and negatively impacted Turkish-Israeli relations, Gaza became a major focus of international approbation against Israel.



RUTH DAYAN, WIFE OF GEN. MOSHE DAYAN z”l.
PHOTO COURTESY OF ISRAEL SUN

Arad also discussed the role of deterrence as a strategy in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in Dayan’s time. He was a prime architect of the retaliation operations that Israel conducted against Palestinian militant groups in the 1950s.

While the objective of such operations is often remembered as one of deterrence, this was not the case, claimed Arad. Rather, these operations were punishment meted out with domestic political purposes for Israel; these acts allowed the government to show that they were doing something in the face of terror.

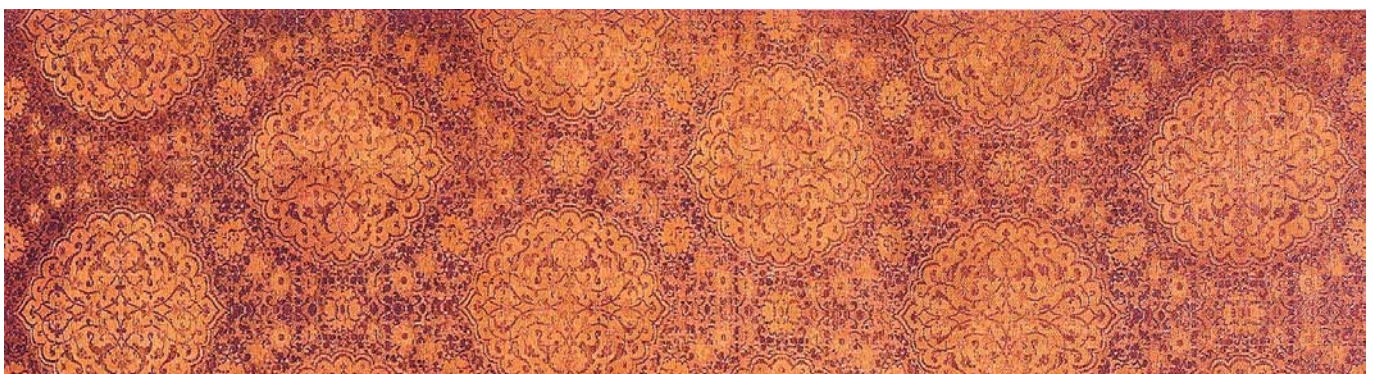
The current situation in Gaza presents a continued need for, and usage of deterrence on the part of the Israeli government. But, in order to carry out this strategy it is necessary to have an entity to deter. Arad posited that, to an extent, Israel has made a decision to preserve Hamas’s control of Gaza despite it being an enemy, as it fulfills the role of something to deter. Yet the strategic concept of deterrence is problematic in that it requires the infliction of destruction that, in turn, raises the specter of international criticism and sanctions against Israel.



Yael DAYAN, MOSHE DAYAN’S DAUGHTER.
PHOTO COURTESY OF ISRAEL SUN

“The unstable situation in Gaza cannot be ignored over the long term,” emphasized Arad. Gaza is unstable for a variety of reasons, some of which are internal and some of which are caused by Israel. Therefore, Arad recommended that Israel must be careful not to complete “half the job.” No matter what, Israel pays the full price and is unable to reap the rewards. It is better and more efficient to deal with a problem completely, as opposed to allowing it to compound itself. Regional alignments, multilateralism versus unilateralism, and regionalism in general, are also issues that are as relevant today as they were in Dayan’s time. Moreover, the Islamic State and the aftermath of the “Arab Spring” have presented new challenges to Israel.

Arad concluded by speculating how Dayan might deal with today’s issues. Despite his occasional missteps, what is clear is that there is no one on the scene today with Dayan’s diplomatic approach, his pragmatism, and his sophistication.



MOSHE DAYAN CENTER FORUMS

Economic Forum

THE MDC's *Economic Forum* convened on January 1, 2015, for a discussion on "Trade with and through Jordan." The speakers were **Haim Assarf**, of the Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, who served in Amman; **Yuval Yaacobi**, managing director of the Israeli-Jordanian Shaar HaYarden Industrial Area; and **Amir Assi**, an Israeli businessman who developed the pilgrimage route to Mecca for Israelis who wish to undertake the Hajj. **Yitzhak Gal** chaired the Forum and took the opportunity to speak about the potential of the Gulf market for Israel.



YITZHAK GAL DELIVERS A PRESENTATION TO THE
MDC ECONOMIC FORUM

The speakers discussed the difficulties of conducting trade with and through Jordan given political hostility there and in Saudi Arabia, and security restrictions that prevent many Jordanian businessmen from visiting Israel. Despite these problems the potential for increasing trade with and through Jordan, and with the Gulf exists, but will need more encouragement and assistance from governments. Among the participants and speakers, there was optimism that U.S. commercial and political encouragement could help trade develop in the future.

Club Turkey:

"The New Turkey: Erdoğan's First 100 days as President"

ON December 28, 2014, *Club Turkey* hosted Prof. **Louis Fishman**, of Brooklyn College, City University of New York, to speak about the first 100 days of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan as Turkey's president. Prof. Fishman is a scholar of modern Turkey and late-Ottoman history, and spent 2013 on research leave in Istanbul. Presiding over the event was Prof. **Ehud Toledano**, TAU chair for Ottoman and Turkish studies.

Fishman briefly touched upon his personal connection with Israel and Turkey, and then spoke about Turkish domestic politics. He began with events in Gezi Park during May 2013 and continued up to Erdoğan's presidential election in 2014. According to Prof. Fishman, the Gezi Park protests had the potential to lead to real change in Turkey. Ultimately, however, the way Erdoğan dealt with the events of the Gezi episode dashed any hope of reform. Increasing government repression and censorship of Turkish social media is also a source of concern, as is the corruption case of 2013, which, all together reflects a rising and worrisome concentration of power in the Turkish government.



PROF. LOUIS FISHMAN,
OF BROOKLYN COLLEGE, CUNY

In his conclusion, Prof. Fishman sounded a note of cautious optimism regarding Turkish-Israeli relations. He said that there is a greater chance of success if the Israeli government will take proactive steps to ameliorate the problem.

FORUM ON KURDISH SOCIETY, HISTORY AND CULTURE:

Kurdistan's War of Independence Against the Islamic State – An Eyewitness Testimony

On January 25, 2015, the MDC's Forum on Kurdish Society, History and Culture hosted Israel's prominent journalist and documentary filmmaker, **Itai Anghel**, who delivered a lecture on his recent visit to Iraq and Syria's Kurdish-inhabited regions. Based on interviews that he conducted, Anghel expounded upon the different Kurdish militant movements' and Iraqi Kurdistan's ongoing warfare



LEFT TO RIGHT: ITAI ANGHEL AND PROF. OFRA BENGIO

opinion that the Kurds' ongoing war, particularly in Sinjar, reflect their aspiration for independence in the four countries in which they live. Anghel's lecture also focused upon the women fighters in



LEFT TO RIGHT: CENG SAGNIC AND PROF. OFRA BENGIO



PROF. OFRA BENGIO OPENS THE KURDISH FORUM

against the Islamic State. In this well-attended session, Anghel screened footage that he took in Iraq and Syria. In his comments he asserted the



ATTENDEES OF THE KURDISH FORUM LISTEN TO ITAI ANGHEL LECTURE ON KURDS IN IRAQ AND SYRIA

Kurdistan, and he offered an historical explanation of the Kurds' war against successive regimes in Turkey, Iraq, and Syria.

“SEARCHING FOR BALANCE IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND AFRICA”

Annual Conference of the Association for the Study of Middle East and Africa

A sizable delegation from the MDC attended the seventh *annual Association for the Study of Middle East and Africa* (ASMEA) Conference, held in Washington, D.C. from October 30–November 1. The MDC’s very own senior researcher, Prof. Meir Litvak, delivered the conference’s keynote address,

“Rouhani’s Iran: How Real is the Change?” For MDC experts and researchers, the conference provided many opportunities for fruitful collaboration between international scholars at the vanguard of a variety of interrelated disciplines.

On October 31, Dr. Irit Back presented her paper, “From West Africa to Mecca and Jerusalem: The Tijāniyya on the Hajj Routes.”

On November 1, the MDC proudly presented a panel of its own, called “Contested Issues in the Wake of the ‘Arab Spring.’” Dr. Bruce Maddy-Weitzman served as the moderator for this panel.



PROF. MEIR LITVAK



DR. BRUCE MADDY-WEITZMAN

Dr. Brandon Friedman opened the panel and presented his paper, “Energy and International Order: Putin’s Russia in the Post-Saddam Middle East.” Following Friedman’s presentation, Dr. Esther Webman spoke

about antisemitism in the Arab world in her paper, “The ‘Jew’ as a Metaphor for Evil in Arab Public Discourse.” Joyce van de Bildt and Carl Yonker each presented papers, as well. Van de Bildt addressed the battle between narratives in post-Mubarak Egypt with her paper, “The Quest for Legitimacy in Post-Revolutionary Egypt: Propaganda and Controlling Narratives;” Yonker delivered his work, “Defending the Faithful: The Religio-Ideological Discourse of Iraqi Shi’i Militias fighting in Syria and Iraq.”



DR. BRANDON FRIEDMAN



JOYCE VAN DE BILD T

In subsequent panels, Prof. **Ofra Bengio** contributed her extensive knowledge of Kurdish and women's issues with her paper, entitled "The Kurdish Women's Revolution."

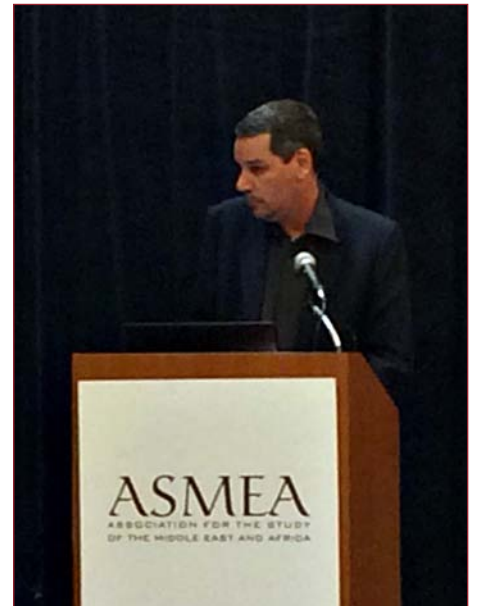


PROF. OFRA BENGIO



DR. JOEL PARKER

In his paper, "ISIS' Sunni Revolution in Iraq," Dr. **Ronen Zeidel** spoke about Sunni militancy, and Dr. **Joel D. Parker** spoke about "The Rashid 'Ali al-Kaylani Revolt and Syrian Youth: An Insider's Account."



DR. RONEN ZEIDEL



CARL YONKER AND ELENA KUZNETSOV-LESNICK AT THE MDC BOOK TABLE

MIDDLE EAST STUDIES ASSOCIATION

In mid-November 2014 for the fourth year in a row the MDC attended the annual meeting of the *Middle East Studies Association* (MESA), held in Washington, D.C. On the panel, "Israel, the United States and a Changing Middle East," sponsored by the Association for Israel Studies, Prof. **Uzi Rabi** spoke on Iran and Israel following the 2013 election of Iranian President Hassan Rouhani. Prof. **Eyal Zisser** presented on Israeli relations with the Arab World given developments in Egypt, Syria, and Lebanon. Dr. **Harel Chorev** shared his unique research on social networks in British Mandatory Palestinian society on the panel, "Palestinian Identities: Then and Now."

Dr. **Bruce Maddy-Weitzman**, a world leading expert on minorities in the Maghreb, presented on the topic of the Amazigh movement in Morocco for the panel organized by William Lawrence of George Washington University, "Human (In)Security in the Maghreb: Power, Governance, and the Limits of Democratization." The panel focused its discussion on the rapid changes affecting the Maghreb, particularly since the overthrow of Qaddafi in Libya. Dr. **Joel D. Parker** revealed new research on the roles of YouTube videos in the Syrian Uprising of 2011 for a panel, entitled "Spring Confronts Winter: the Publics and Counterpublics



LIBRARIAN MARION GLIKSBERG REPRESENTING THE MDC IN THE MESA EXHIBITION HALL

of the Arab and Iranian Uprisings.” Dr. **Annie Tracy Samuel** presented on “Islam and Nationalism in the Iran-Iraq War.” Several former visiting scholars to the MDC gave riveting papers, such as **Zoe LeBlanc**, a Ph.D. candidate at Vanderbilt University, and **Johannes Becke**, who organized a fascinating panel on “Israel Studies in the Arab World.”

As in previous years, the *Annual Tel Aviv University Workshop on Israel and the Middle East* (TAU Workshop), in conjunction with the MDC, hosted its workshop reunion dinner at the annual MESA conference. The reunion dinner serves as a yearly opportunity for workshop alumni and Israeli scholars to reconnect, to discuss research, and to explore the possibilities of future professional collaboration. **Marion Gliksberg** and **Parker** were stationed at the MDC booth, where MDC books and publications were showcased to increase the outreach of the MDC and Tel Aviv University at MESA.

NADI CINEMA

NADI CINEMA, the Moshe Dayan Center’s **Middle Eastern Film Club**, organized three film screenings in the fall semester. Nadi Cinema brings together students and researchers to discuss politics, society, and culture from the perspective of Middle Eastern film. Every month, Nadi Cinema features a film screening and a discussion group led by an expert in Middle Eastern Studies.

ON November 20, 2014, Nadi Cinema screened the documentary *Jews and Muslims: Intimate Strangers* (2013, France). Following the viewing, a panel discussion was held featuring keynote speaker Prof. **Mark Cohen**, currently a visiting professor at New York University in Abu Dhabi and an expert on the relations between Muslims and Jews in history; Prof. **Yaron Tsur**, of the Department of Jewish History at Tel Aviv University; and Dr. **Esther Webman**.

IN cooperation with the non-governmental organization Women’s Voices Now, the second meeting of Nadi Cinema took place on December 11, 2014, for a screening of the documentary *Honor Diaries* (2014, United States). The film, co-produced by **Heidi Basch-Harod**, features nine women’s rights advocates who engage in a dialogue about gender inequality in Muslim-majority societies. **Raheel Raza**, who is featured in the documentary, shared with the audience about her work as a Muslim women’s rights activist.



Joining her for a panel discussion were her husband, **Sohail Raza**, and **Duygu Atlas**.

IN January 2015, Nadi Cinema hosted Adv. **Gonen Ben-Itzhak** for a discussion of the movie *Bethlehem* (2013, Israel). Ben-Itzhak, a lawyer and security consultant, spoke to a group of approximately 100 Israeli and international students about his years serving as a Shin Bet officer, and answered questions about the complexities of his work and the situations that ensued during his time with the Israeli security bureau.

LEFT TO RIGHT: RAHEEL RAZA, AUTHOR OF *THEIR JIHAD...NOT MY JIHAD*, AND DUYGU ATLAS

DIWANIYYA

UNDER the supervision of Diwaniyya Producer **Samantha Sementilli**, *Diwaniyya* produced three podcasts and released a variety of articles. Released in February 2015, the first podcast featured **Linda Dayan** and her growing expertise on the Islamic State's use of social media to recruit members. *Diwaniyya* Interns **Stephen Barton** and **Natan Pakman** produced the second and third episodes in which they interviewed two Dayan Center experts, **Dr. Michael Barak** and **Dr. Brandon Friedman**. Barak discussed the broad use of social networking sites by Islamic extremists and Friedman elaborated on the Iranian nuclear talks.

Accompanying each of the podcast episodes, a steady contribution of articles to the *Diwaniyya* blog explored a variety of topics, often involving personal interviews and travel. Some of the topics discussed included: European mujahedeen, European Muslim antisemitism, and the Lebanese Druze. A special article on female photography in the Middle East featured an interview with **Dilan Boyzel**, Turkey's up-and-coming female photographer.

Both the *Diwaniyya* podcast and its blog continue to reach a growing audience. Throughout fall 2014, there was an unprecedented amount of new followers from the Arab world. We encourage you to visit the *Diwaniyya* blog (www.diwaniyya.org), where you will find photos, videos, music, and original articles.

INTERNS AND VISITING SCHOLARS

OVER the 2014–2015 academic year, the MDC internship program welcomed a number of students and visiting scholars from Europe, China, the Americas, and the Middle East.

Under the guidance of Dr. **Paul Rivlin**, Dan Poniachik from Santiago, Chile, authored an issue of *Iqtisadi* on the Middle East economy, in which he analyzed issues facing the Jordanian economy today. Other interns provided ongoing support to the MDC's Twitter project, digitizing the Arabic Press Archives, and writing original articles based on academic research for the *Diwaniyya* blog. In addition, Dr. **Itamar Radai** organized several projects with interns regarding the Palestinian-Arab population in Israel. Linda Dayan wrote an innovative article on new social media techniques used by supporters of the Islamic State for *Beehive*, our Middle East social media publication.

Visiting scholars and Ph.D. fellows came this year from Cornell University, Vanderbilt University, Sciences-Po Paris, and Shanghai International Studies University. Aside from utilizing the Arabic Press Archives, these up-and-coming scholars contributed to debates and enriched the academic offerings of the MDC. **Shu Meng**, who is writing her dissertation work on China's role in the Middle East, is a journalist for China's leading English language newspaper, *The Global Times*. After completing his dissertation, traveling extensively in the region, and earning a reputation as a leading French scholar on relations between Israel, Syria, and Lebanon, Dr. **Matthieu Cimino**, a visiting Ph.D. candidate to the MDC in 2011, returned to lecture the International MAMES students on the inside workings of Hizballah.

As always, the MDC thanks and congratulates the research and participation of its visiting scholars and interns, and looks forward to further cooperation with those planning to join the MDC in coming months from India, China, Europe, and the United States.

EXPERTS

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

JUNIOR RESEARCHERS

- Basem Ajweh
- Duygu Atlas
- Heidi Basch-Harod
- Joyce van de Bildt
- Rachel Kantz Feder
- Chelsi Mueller
- Arik Rudnitzky
- Ceng Sagnic
- Hadas Sofer
- Hay Eytan Cohen Yanarocak
- Carl Yonker

RESEARCHERS EMERITI

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

RESEARCH ASSISTANTS

- Gal Buyanover
- Linda Dayan
- Moran Levanoni
- Ben Mendales
- Samantha Sementilli
- Jordan Sokolic

STAFF

- Ariel Avraham, *Assistant Librarian*
- Hila Barel, *MDC Secretary*
- Rakefet Cohen, *Information Specialist*
- Zahava Eliezer, *Secretary*
- Marion Gliksberg, *Head Librarian*
- Elena Kuznetsov, *Director of Publications*
- Roslyn Loon, *Librarian Assistant*
- Michael Reshef, *Archivist*
- Efrat Shulman-Arad, *Adv., Operations Coordinator*
- Dahna Varona, *Marketing and Financial Coordinator*

PLEASE CONSIDER MAKING A VALUABLE CONTRIBUTION
TO THE MOSHE DAYAN CENTER

How Your Gift Can Help Us

With \$500 you can:

- Provide a stipend to research interns from all over the world who will promote academic and social exchange with Tel Aviv University and Israeli society.

With \$5,000 you can:

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

With \$10,000 you can:

- Help Israeli and international students who are facing financial difficulty complete their graduate studies in Middle Eastern and African History.

With \$30,000 you can:

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

With \$50,000 you can:

- Fund publications and translations of our research, making these materials available to an international audience.

With \$72,000 you can:

- Sponsor the Moshe Dayan Center Podcast. A monthly slice of Middle Eastern culture, politics and history — reaching thousands of interested listeners.

With \$100,000 you can:

- Host a prestigious international academic at the Dayan Center for one year, benefiting students and deepening connections with international and Israeli academia.
- Support 3 post-doctoral fellows, who will contribute to our ground-breaking research and program of events.

Your donation to the Moshe Dayan Center is tax deductible and can be made via the American Friends of TAU. For more information please contact: info@aftau.org

The Moshe Dayan Center Bulletin is published twice a year by the Center. To receive the Bulletin regularly or to request a change of address, please contact the Moshe Dayan Center, Tel Aviv University, Ramat Aviv 6997801, Israel; telephone: (972)3-640-9100; fax: (972)3-641-5802; e-mail: dayancen@post.tau.ac.il website: www.dayan.org

The Bulletin is distributed free of charge.