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# Bulletin

NO. 60 | FALL 2014

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## AT A GLANCE

Building bridges through academic cooperation  
at the University of Madison-Wisconsin

The “Palestinization” and “Israelization” of the  
Arabs of Israel

Amidst war, the TAU Workshop sees its ninth  
year of success

Newly-released books analyzing the current  
situation in Syria, the Kurds, and Israel and its  
neighbors





The Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies

# Bulletin

No. 60

FALL 2014

## MISSION STATEMENT

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

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# LETTER FROM THE DIRECTOR

Dear Friends,

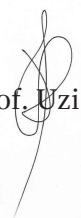
In the past six months we have witnessed the emergence of new challenges to the prospects for peace and stability in the Middle East. Spawned by the ongoing and bloody Syrian crisis, the Islamic State (IS) and other *takfiri* Sunni groups continue to carry out an aggressive campaign of conquest and justify their expansionist, brutal rule by co-opting motifs from early Islam. Their success, which positions IS to overturn the existing status quo of nearly a century, threatens the continued integrity of both Syria and Iraq, and the safety of minority groups residing in their sphere of control. In response to this threat, we see alliances formed, both new and unexpected, over suddenly converging interests. In this tense climate, longstanding enemies view each other as potential partners, resulting in collaboration between those who wish to preserve the status quo against those who seek its undoing. Here in Israel, the outbreak and the resolution of the 2014 Hamas-Israel conflict deeply reflects the new and sometimes paradoxical nature of current regional politics.



At the MDC, the second half of the 2013-2014 academic year remained productive and promising. I proudly report that the MDC became the beneficiary of an extremely generous gift from the Sincere Family, which will fund scholarships for qualified doctoral candidates as well as collaboration between the MDC and the University of Wisconsin-Madison. We bade a bittersweet farewell to Prof. **Asher Susser**, who will be a visiting professor at the University of Arizona in the coming semester, and whose retirement we celebrated in June. The MDC released two new books: the first dealing with nationalism in the Middle East, and the second grappling with the timely issue of the ongoing Syrian conflict. In July we launched an exciting new quarterly publication in collaboration with the Konrad Adenauer Stiftung titled, *Bayan*, which focuses on contemporary Arab affairs in Israel. Our forums continued to provide the platform for innovative and thought-provoking lectures delivered by guest speakers of international renown.

In closing, on behalf of my colleagues and myself, I wish to express our gratitude. The activities and research of the MDC would not be possible without the generous support of our friends, both in Israel and abroad. I invite you to keep in touch with us through Twitter, Facebook, and our website, [www.dayan.org](http://www.dayan.org).

Best wishes,

  
Prof. Uzi Rabi



## REMEMBERING PROF. YOSEF KOSTINER ז"ל

On March 11, 2014, the MDC community gathered to honor the memory of Prof. Yosef Kostiner ז"ל. A slideshow of photographs tracing Kostiner's career from student to esteemed scholar moved his colleagues, students, and family, who were present at the widely attended event. Kostiner's theories on tribal-state relations, particularly relevant today, were his gift to the field of Middle Eastern Studies. Scholars from Tel Aviv University and beyond, including Prof. Uzi Rabi, Dr. Joshua Teitelbaum, and Dr. Brandon Friedman spoke briefly to honor their mentor and



PROF. UZI RABI

his legacy. Each emphasized Prof. Kostiner's excellent research, his unique and meticulous work, and the kindness of his character.

At the memorial, Kostiner's dedicated students presented an edited volume, *The Persian Gulf and the Arab Peninsula: Societies and Nations in Transition* (Hebrew, Moshe Dayan Center, 2014), edited by Dr.



PROF. OFRA BENGIO

Shaul Yanai and Prof. Uzi Rabi. Contributing authors to this publication gave short remarks about Prof. Kostiner's posthumous influence on scholarly work focusing on the geopolitical and economic present and future of the Gulf States, and provided an overall picture of the current and changing realities of the region.



LEFT TO RIGHT: CHELSEA MUELLER, PROF. UZI RABI, AND RIKI KOSTINER

Graduate students continuing in Kostiner's field of research received scholarships in his name, allowing for a new generation to continue analyzing and exploring these important topics.



LEFT TO RIGHT: PROF. ELI PODEH AND DR. BRANDON FRIEDMAN

# THE DEBRA AND RICHARD SINCERE TEL AVIV UNIVERSITY PROJECT IN MIDDLE EASTERN STUDIES

**I**n May 2014, at the annual TAU Board of Governors' meeting, the MDC and Tel Aviv University inaugurated the **Debra and Richard Sincere Tel Aviv University Project in Middle Eastern Studies**. The generosity of the Sincere Family provides scholarships to qualified doctoral candidates at the MDC, and funds a joint academic agreement between the MDC and the Mosse/Weinstein Center for Jewish Studies at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. The academic agreement includes joint research seminars and conferences, faculty and student exchanges, and an effort to develop co-taught online courses. The first joint seminar, focusing on religion in the public sphere in the modern Middle East, took place in November 2014, followed by a second meeting in Madison during the spring of 2015.



LEFT TO RIGHT: RICHARD SINCERE,  
TAU VICE PRESIDENT PROF. RAANAN REIN, AND PROF. UZI RABI

During the ceremony Richard Sincere, an alumnus of TAU and the University of Wisconsin, expressed his joy at fulfilling one of his dreams: supporting two institutions that gave him wonderful experiences and excellent education. He stated, "As a 20-year-old college student I saw a building being donated and thought: I want to be able to do that...the point is — all of us can change the world."

In addition to helping young scholars, the gift reflects the Sincere Family's dedication to promoting cooperative endeavors between TAU and universities in the United States. The family hopes this project will serve as a model for other donors to follow.

## THE ARABS IN ISRAEL: A NEW NATIONAL AGENDA?

**SINCE** 1948, the Arabs in Israel have lived a difficult and dichotomous existence. Legally, they are individually equal to their Jewish neighbors, but nevertheless face discrimination, mistrust, and fear from the Jewish majority. Though defined by the state as "Arab Israelis," in the context of the ongoing conflict their self-identification as Palestinians adds an additional dimension of complexity. Further exacerbating the situation, Arabs in Israel lack effective communal representation, as their elected leadership often seems to defend its own individual interests at the expense of those it purports to represent.

Focusing on the events of the past twenty years, Arabs in Israel are at somewhat of a crossroads. On a rhetorical level and personal level, their collective identity is undergoing further "Palestinization." Yet, simultaneously, Arabs are increasingly integrating into the cultural framework of mainstream Israeli life, a process that has been termed "Israelization."



In order to further explore this dynamic, on May 1, 2014, the Konrad Adenauer Program for Jewish-Arab Cooperation at the Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies hosted a conference to discuss developments in the national agenda of the Arabs in Israel. Speaking on the subject were prominent experts, both Jewish and Arab. The conference also marked the retirement of **Michael Mertes**, who has served as the director of the Konrad Adenauer Stiftung in Israel for the last three years.

The first session, headed by Dr. **Itamar Radai**, academic director of the Konrad Adenauer Program, was devoted to the discussion of the complicated, multifaceted, and ever-changing national discourse of Arabs in Israel. A major component, asserted Prof. **As'ad Ghanem**, of the University of Haifa, is the perception that Arabs in Israel are in crisis, and that their socio-political leadership does not properly represent them. Ghanem argued that the central agenda espoused by political parties such as Hadash (The Democratic Front for Peace and Equality), and a prospective “two-state solution” is ultimately unacceptable because it does not solve the Palestinian problem within Israel



DR. AS'AD GHANEM (PHOTO BY ASSAF SHILO / ISRAEL SUN)

movements are all working to change the status quo, whether within existing parties or outside them, and are pushing for a single, bi-national state, which Ghanem believes is the only acceptable solution to the Israeli-Palestinian dispute. The road to peace with the Arab world leads through the Arabs in Israel, and Israel must make peace with them first, contended Ghanem. What is truly needed, he concluded, is a democratic country built on justice, not ethnicity and religion.

**Ghaida Rinawie-Zoabi**, of Injaz – the Center for Professional Arab Local Governance, agreed with the statement that the status quo is unsustainable. Like Ghanem, Rinawie-Zoabi shared that there needs to be a civil definition of citizenship without a religious or ethnic element. It is increasingly clear that no one is truly looking out for the interests of Arabs in Israel, claimed Rinawie-Zoabi. Given the unlikelihood that a political solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is forthcoming, Arabs in Israel have begun to understand that they need to be pro-active in changing the discourse by building platforms



LEFT TO RIGHT: ARIK RUDNITZKY, MICHAEL MERTES, AND DR. ITAMAR RADAI (PHOTO BY ASSAF SHILO / ISRAEL SUN)

proper. It does not take into account the internal displacement of Arabs in Israel, nor does it propose to solve the problem of the expropriation of their property. The continued definition of Israel as a “Jewish State,” according to Ghanem, is problematic. Should a Palestinian state become independent, Arabs in Israel will be consigned to “exile,” unable to take part in the civil life of their compatriots. Nevertheless, Ghanem identified the gradual weakening of this central agenda as evidenced by the results of local elections in Nazareth in late 2013. Moreover, the Northern Islamic Movement, some intellectuals, and youth



GHAIDA RINAWIE-ZOABI  
(PHOTO BY ASSAF SHILO / ISRAEL SUN)

for civil life and taking their destiny into their own hands. **Rinawie-Zoabi** argued that they must find creative solutions that will make it easier on the coming generations to cope with the contradictions inherent to being an Israeli citizen and also a Palestinian. Furthermore, the events of the “Arab Spring” have taught Arabs in Israel that they need not be deterred. Democratic, peaceful change is possible, and they can look their leaders in the eye and demand change. Indeed, the “Arab Spring” and the fall of two pro-Western dictators in Tunisia and Egypt has given hope to many Arab intellectuals in Israel, who believe that the rise of democracy might give support to anti-establishment forces there.

Yet, Dr. **Yusri Khaizran**, of the Truman Institute in Jerusalem and the Open University of Israel, fears that the escalation of the brutal civil war in Syria has greatly damaged Arab ideological unity, especially among Arab Christians as Christians are increasingly harassed in Syria, Egypt, and elsewhere. Arab Christians increasingly feel that their safety depends on strong central governments that can protect them against some of the more anarchic Islamist trends that have become part and parcel of the revolution in Syria. The fact that many Arab Muslims in Israel support that revolution has caused many Israeli Arab Christians to re-evaluate their own Arab identity. Christian recruitment to the IDF (Israeli Defense Forces) has increased sharply as part of rising calls for greater integration into Israeli society, and as a reflection of the belief that a strong Israeli state, though it be Jewish, is necessary for their protection.



DR. YUSRI KHAIZRAN  
(PHOTO BY ASSAF SHILO / ISRAEL SUN)

The issue of Israel's identity as a “Jewish State” has become critical, both in internal Arab discourse in Israel and in the context of ongoing negotiations between Israel and the Palestinian Authority. As noted by **Arik Rudnitzky**, project manager of the Konrad Adenauer Program for Jewish-Arab Cooperation, it is true that discrimination against Arab citizens is often materially and symbolically derived from the fact that Israel identifies itself as a Jewish-Zionist state. At the same time, however, Arab discourse is increasingly complicated regarding the legitimacy of Jewish self-determination in the area that was once Mandatory Palestine. The Haifa Declaration, for example, drafted by a group of Arab intellectuals,



LEFT TO RIGHT: DR. ITAMAR RADAI, DR. AS'AD GHANEM, GHAI DA RINAWIE-ZOABI, ARIK RUDNITZKY, AND DR. YUSRI KHAIZRAN

represents somewhat of a “retroactive recognition” of Jewish self-determination, but holds that such is valid so long as it does not come at the expense of the indigenous Arab minority. Nevertheless, there are others in Arab society, such as the nationalist camp, that argues the Jewish connection to the land is artificial and illegitimate. This faction believes that the indigenous people should not have to share the land with their colonizers. In general, the national discourse of Arabs in Israel is increasingly interested in understanding “who the Jewish majority is.” This does not mean, in any way, that the discourse accepts Zionism, but it is becoming more complex.

The second session discussed changes and proposed changes in national organizational patterns, which further impact communal organization and representation. Dr. **Ilana Kaufman**, of the Open University, considered the implications of the recent election threshold hike on Arab politics. The intention of the framers was to reduce the national Arab discourse within the Knesset. Yet, paradoxically, the law may result in greater Arab representation in the Knesset by forcing smaller Arab parties to create united lists,



which may increase turnout in the Arab sector. At the same time, however, parties oppose a law that may, in the end, increase their representation to as much as ten percent of the Knesset. Kaufman contended that although this would benefit political representation of Arabs in Israel, party leaders fear jeopardizing their positions of power by changing status quo. Another objection derives from the fact that Arab parties do not share the same platforms when it comes to such issues as the role of religion in society and the status of women. It may be difficult for voters to abandon the issues that are dear to them in favor of a “big-tent” party. Kaufman noted that there may also be a push for the boycott of elections, and a search for alternative frameworks of representation.

Dr. **Yousef Jabareen**, of the University of Haifa, Tel Hai College, and the Dirasat Center, believes that the potential rise in Arab parliamentary representation is a good thing. He stated, however, that to understand the political situation in the Arab sector today, one must first look back to the Oslo period of the 1990s. At that time, Arab parties were closer than ever before to the “table of government,” and their voices were crucial to the passage of the Oslo Accords. Yet, since then, the Right has recognized the political potential of the Arabs in Israel and, subsequently, initiated a program of de-legitimization. In the current government, de-legitimization is taking the form of emphasizing the dividing lines between various Arab sub-groups, recognizing Christians as distinct from Muslims who are distinct from Druze, and serve as an excuse for discrimination. The Right also makes the false claim that Arabs do not pay taxes so they should not receive services. The answer here, Dr. Jabareen explains, is the advancement of a discourse that recognizes the Arab minority as indigenous and which will push for a shared, civil citizenship with fair division of resources. Meanwhile, as an indigenous minority, there is an increasing call for self-determination in internal and local affairs - a concept that has precedence in other countries with recognized indigenous minorities.

Adv. **Samah Elkhatib-Ayoub**, of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, argued that the establishment of a representative body is, indeed, a necessity and the right of the Arabs in Israel as an indigenous minority in a state defined as Jewish and democratic. As such a minority they have the right to exercise autonomy, but there is no body that exists which will enable them to do so. Therefore, it is necessary to create a representative, voluntary entity that will defend both the political and cultural identity of Arabs, but also provide a mechanism for the creation of a civil space that she finds lacking. Filling this gap, she argued, will help with the protection of those minorities within the larger Arab minority and encourage equality between the Arab minority and the Jewish majority.

Dr. **Nohad Ali**, of Western Galilee College and University of Haifa, presented poll data that indicated vast support for Israeli recognition of an elected body as the Arab population’s representative in the government. He pointed out, however, that a voluntary body intended to serve a similar purpose already exists. He examined the Arab public’s position on the Supreme Follow-Up Committee, a voluntary political body meant to be the supreme authority of the Arab population in Israel. The SFUC is increasingly arising in discourse, and a majority of Arabs in Israel believe that the SFUC credibly represents their interests more than their current elected politicians do.

The conference concluded with a roundtable discussion led by Dr. **Elie Rekhess**, of Northwestern University, who identified two opposing streams within Arab societal discourse. The first is guided by elites (among them intellectuals and politicians) that call for an alternative to the “1948 paradigm.” It identifies the Arabs in Israel as an indigenous minority group, and rejects the notion of a “Jewish State” in favor of a bi-national one. Meanwhile, the second stream, composed of the emerging Arab middle class, juxtaposes their identity and ideology with their desire to better integrate into mainstream Israeli society. There is an increase in the number of Arabs represented in higher education, in the technology sectors, and other professions. There is also a decline in the number of Arabs in Israel who know Classical Arabic and an increasing integration of Hebrew into the Palestinian dialect. The question remains, however, whether the ideology of the first stream, or the pragmatism of the second, will emerge triumphant?

**Nazir Majalli**, author and journalist from Nazareth, agreed that there are great strides being taken in the Arab sector. For example, some of the most prestigious hospitals in Israel boast Arab department heads. Nevertheless, there are still serious problems, among them the 400 “price-tag” attacks suffered by the Arab community in the past year by Jewish extremists groups. Part of the problem is that Arabs in Israel do not view Jewish Israelis as partners, despite the fact that the vast majority of the latter group is not racist, claimed Majalli. Instead of advocating paths that discourage Jewish participation, Arabs in Israel need to do a better job at recruiting Jewish Israelis to become part of the solution. By the same token, Jewish Israelis do not invite the Arabs to integrate into society. **Jafar Farahm**, of Mossawa – the Advocacy Center for Arab Citizens in Israel, agreed with the belief that Arabs in Israel must integrate socially. An obstacle to this, however, is the fact that they are not allowed to express the pain of the Nakba, the traumatic collective memory of the loss of Palestine in 1948. Farahm believes both sides need to be able to discuss the Nakba; the Jews are not solely responsible for the Palestinian tragedy, and the ability of the Jews to come to terms with it will go a long way to “freeing” them from their self-created “ghetto.” On the point of Jewish recognition of the Nakba, **Ronni Shaked**, of the Truman Institute in Jerusalem, declared, as a Jew, he has no problem with the recognition of the Nakba and its role in Palestinian collective memory.

Shaked echoed Rekhes in pointing out that the Arabs in Israel increasingly behave like Jewish Israelis in almost every way. For example, there is an increasing gap between the Palestinian leadership and the ordinary Palestinian pharmacist or doctor working in Tel Aviv. According to Shaked, this gap is caused by the weakness of collective leadership. He recognized the need for the Jewish majority to embrace, rather than reject, the Arab minority, including their memories of Nakba, so that one day Jews and Arabs may build a single narrative together.

## COLLOQUIUM IN MEMORY OF ERGA SEGEV z”l

On May 19, 2014, the MDC hosted the annual colloquium in memory of **Erga Segev z”l**. Segev, a former student of the Department of Middle Eastern and African History at Tel Aviv University. Prof. **Uzi Rabi** presided over the event and Dr. **Mira Tzoreff** gave words of tribute. Following the memorial, scholarships were presented to outstanding young scholars.

Prof. **Eyal Zisser** was the keynote speaker and presented his new book, *Syria — Protest, Revolution, and Civil War*. The lecture delved into the development of the current Syrian crisis, beginning in December 2011, through the present day. According to Zisser, prior to the uprising in Syria, leaked *WikiLeaks* documents, in their official discussion of the economic hardships Syrians were suffering due to extensive drought, somewhat foretold of the current conflict. Yet, no one, including influential Syrian experts such as Patrick Seale, “connected the dots,” claimed Zisser.

Although the confined local protests of farmers in the periphery were essentially nonviolent, the regime’s harsh reaction converted the Syrian reality from protest, to revolt, to war. Gangs and combatants replaced peaceful protestors, and the regime recruited mercenaries from within and without the country in response. Jihadists continue



PROF. EYAL ZISSER



journeying to Syria to fight in the civil war. Three years of bloody civil war later, the dynamics have changed. The players and events are different. A conflict that began as a spontaneous Syrian national uprising of the masses is now a struggle over resources and for survival.

Zisser also noted that the sides fighting the war are dependent on regional and international forces. If Saudi Arabia would cease the flow of billions of dollars to the jihadists, or if Turkey or Jordan decided to close their borders with Syria, the war would be over in a few days. In the international arena, two important factors perpetuating the conflict are the U.S.'s effective silence, and the unequivocal support Russia grants Asad's regime in the form of weapons, money, and political support.

With regard to Israel and Syria, Zisser explained, if Asad wins retaking control of the country will not pose a problem to the dictator. The question is: If Asad does win – which Asad will Israel face? A leader that would be careful in keeping a quiet border with Israel, or a leader that would be a bolder, more confident version of himself?



LEFT TO RIGHT: JENNIFER POLIAKOV, PROF. EYAL ZISSER, DR. MIRA TZOREFF, PROF. UZI RABI

## PROF. ASHER SUSSER'S FAREWELL AND COMMEMORATIVE BOOK LAUNCH

ON June 8, 2014, the MDC staff and experts gathered together to celebrate Prof. Asher Susser on the occasion of his retirement. During the gathering, the MDC presented Susser with a copy of a book compiled in his honor, titled *Nationalism, Identity, and Politics* (Moshe Dayan Center, 2014). The book, with essays in both Hebrew and English, deals with the themes about which Susser has spent his career analyzing, teaching, and writing. In his thoughtful, insightful, and eloquent way, he has profoundly influenced generations of researchers and students, both in Israel and abroad.



PROF. UZI RABI, WITH HELP FROM RAZ SOFER, PRESENTS THE COMMEMORATIVE BOOK AND SLIDESHOW



LEFT TO RIGHT: PROF. ASHER SUSSER AND PROF. EYAL ZISSER

For the MDC, Prof. Susser was instrumental in enabling its survival during years of austerity and was vital in helping it to flourish. As its director from 1989-1995, and again from 2001-2007, Susser enabled the Center to reach new audiences and to expand its impact on scholarly discourse. Fortunately for the MDC, Prof. Susser will remain in his capacity as a Senior Research Fellow, and will continue to educate and inspire scholars and students.

## GATTEGNO SYMPOSIUM

**I**n life, **Isaac (Itzik) Gattegno** ז"ל was a lover of knowledge and a frequent host of gatherings in his home where issues concerning the Middle East were the main topic of conversation. On June 12, 2014, to honor the memory of a dear friend to the MDC, Gattegno's friends and family came together for a symposium. Prof. **Uzi Rabi** presented an analysis of the current situation in the Middle East three years after the "Arab Spring." Specifically, he addressed the current situation in Syria and Iraq, including the remarkable success of the Islamic State in taking over large swathes of territory.

Following Rabi's remarks, scholarships were awarded to master's student **Efrat Gilad** and doctoral candidate **Basem Ajweh**.

## THE EMERGENCE OF THE MODERN MIDDLE EAST

**DURING** spring 2014, the MDC offered a nine-week, globally accessible online course, entitled "The Emergence of the Modern Middle East," with instruction given by Prof. **Asher Susser** and **Duygu Atlas**. The course syllabus commenced with lectures outlining the fall of the Ottoman Empire, its legacy and impact on the region. Further topics included the creation of the Arab state system, Arab nationalism, Islamism, the Arab-Israeli conflict, and concluded with a comprehensive analysis of the "Arab Spring." The instructors reported consistent, high-level engagement from participants throughout the duration of the course.

"Emergence of the Modern Middle East" will be offered once again, at no cost, from March through May 2015. Registration details may be found at <https://www.coursera.org/course/modernmiddleeast>.

## DIWANIYYA: THE DAYAN CENTER PODCAST

**UNDER** the direction of **Samantha Sementilli**, in spring 2014 *Diwaniyya* produced two podcasts and posted a variety of articles on its blog. In the March episode of *Diwaniyya*, as a leading expert on Jordanian Bedouins, Dr. **Yoav Alon**, of Tel Aviv University, discussed the history of the Bedouins in the Middle East and their place in today's society, using Israel and Jordan as case studies. In June 2014, *Diwaniyya* featured a leading researcher of the Institute for National Security Studies (INSS), Dr. **Benedetta Berti**. Berti offered a unique analysis of the Syrian revolution from the angle of social movements, providing new insights to a popular contemporary topic.

Students from the International Master's Program in Middle Eastern Studies (MAMES) steadily contributed articles to the *Diwaniyya* blog. These articles explored a range of contemporary topics, personal interviews, and travel accounts, including: Qatar and the 2022 FIFA World Cup, Al Qaeda in Yemen, the gay rights movement in the Arab world, Egyptian revolutionaries, Turkish elections, and Arabic media in Israel.

Both the *Diwaniyya* podcast and its blog reach an ever-growing audience, both in the Middle East and throughout the world. We encourage you to download the latest podcast on iTunes or YouTube, and to visit the *Diwaniyya* blog ([www.diwaniyya.org](http://www.diwaniyya.org)) to view photos, videos, music, and original articles.



# MOSHE DAYAN CENTER FORUMS

## *Club Turkey*

**ON** March 10, 2014, visiting scholar, Prof. **Ahmet Kasım Han**, of Kadir Has University, delivered a lecture entitled, “**Gezi and Beyond: The Turkish Tug of War.**” Prof. **Ehud Toledano**, of Tel Aviv University’s Department of Middle Eastern and African History, moderated the session. During his lecture, Prof. Han focused on the dynamics and symbolism of the Gezi Park protests of 2013–2014. In this context, he analyzed the motivations behind the decisions made by then-Turkish Prime Minister Erdoğan and his advisors that raised concerns about excessive police violence against protesters as well as media censorship. Prof. Han also examined the Turkish corruption case, termed the “December 17th affair,” and the relationship between the Fethullah Gülen Movement and the Justice and Development Party (AKP).

**ON** March 27, 2014, Prof. Han delivered another lecture, “**Turkish and Israeli Relations: Between Stalemate and Breakthrough.**” In his remarks he discussed the contemporaneous ban on social media in Turkey, including Twitter and YouTube. Additionally, Prof. Han critically analyzed Turkish foreign policy and indicated the possibility of further deterioration in Israeli-Turkish bilateral relations.

**ON** May 26, 2014, the MDC and Club Turkey hosted Prof. **Gencer Özcan**, from Istanbul Bilgi University. With discussion moderated by Prof. **Ofra Bengio**, Özcan’s lecture, “**Turkey, the Kurds and the Crisis in Syria: The Hunted Hunter,**” offered a critical look at Turkish regional policies, both in regards to Syria as well as the domestic Kurdish Question. In order to highlight such policies’ failure, Özcan utilized the Turkish aphorism, “the hunted hunter,” and also touched upon recent developments in Israeli-Turkish relations.

## FORUM ON KURDISH SOCIETY, HISTORY AND CULTURE

### *Kurdistani Jews and their Muslim and Christian Neighbors: Mutual Relationships and Interactions*

**ON** May 12, 2014, the Forum on **Kurdish Society, History and Culture** hosted Prof. **Yona Sabar**, from the University of California in Los Angeles, for a lecture, entitled “**Kurdistani Jews and their Muslim and Christian Neighbors: Mutual Relationships and Interactions.**” The lecture analyzed the code of coexistence among the Jews of Kurdistan and non-Jewish Kurdistani communities from a historical perspective, expounding upon mutual relationships that influenced the cultures and languages of Kurdistan. Sabar is a Kurdistan-born Jewish scholar known for his numerous works on history, language, and culture of the Kurdistani Jews.

Sabar contends that the enduring coexistence of different linguistic and religious groups in Iraq’s mountainous Kurdistan region created hybrid cultures for each of these communities. In his analysis, samples of Jewish-Kurdish culture and language in modern Israel with equivalents from Kurdistan were used to shed light on such hybridity, which, to some extent, is still present among the Kurdistani Jewish community in Israel. A video of the ancient Jewish town of Zakho, taken by Sabar in 1991, was also shown in the lecture, in which he was seen reuniting with his Muslim and Christian neighbors before his immigration to Israel in the early 1950s.

## ***The Yezidis in the Eye of the ISIS Storm: A Personal Account***

**ON** September 11, 2014, the Forum hosted Dr. **Mirza Dinnayi**, a well-known Kurdish-Yezidi expert on Iraqi politics, to hear his lecture, titled “*The Yezidis in the Eye of the ISIS Storm: A Personal Account.*” Discussants at this meeting included Prof. **Ofra Bengio**, Dr. **Bruce Maddy-Weitzman**, Dr. **Brandon Friedman**, **Ceng Sagnic** and **Idan Barir**.

In the aftermath of the Islamic State of Iraq and Sham’s (ISIS) attacks on Yezidi regions of Iraq (where hundreds of thousands of Yezidis were displaced as a result), Dr. Dinnayi acted as head of the Kurdistan Regional Government’s (KRG) humanitarian aid efforts. Dinnayi shared his personal account of the humanitarian crisis with a particular focus on the KRG’s current warfare against ISIS. Dinnayi asserted that ISIS attacks on the Yezidis of Iraq are essentially a part of the continued campaign of intolerance towards non-Muslim communities in the region as a whole. Barir and Dinnayi emphasized that jihad-motivated attacks on Yezidis have given rise to a separate perception of identity among this minority group. Meaning, Yezidis have recently begun to voice their request for international protection in the regions they populate, as well as autonomy that would allow them to form local security units.

### ***Kurdish Lessons***

**THE** MDC is proud to offer its fourth semester of Kurdish language classes through its Kurdish Studies Program. **Ceng Sagnic** continues to teach beginner and advanced Kurmanji, the most widely spoken Kurdish dialect. This exciting opportunity is available to both Tel Aviv University students and members of the public who would like to learn a fascinating and increasingly relevant language in today’s dynamic Middle East.

KURDISH LANGUAGE STUDENTS, TOGETHER WITH THEIR  
INSTRUCTOR, CENG SAGNIC



## ***THE GLAZER MEDIA INITIATIVE AT THE MOSHE DAYAN CENTER***

**THE** recently renovated Glazer Media Initiative room at the MDC is a vibrant media center offering students and researchers the unique opportunity to explore Middle Eastern history through the lens of feature and documentary films, music, and broadcasts from the region. The MDC continuously works to expand its film collection and make it available to students and researchers for educational purposes. Recent acquisitions include *Wadjda* (2012), *The Gatekeepers* (2012), and *Bethlehem* (2013).



## THE MDC ABROAD

In March 2014, Prof. **Uzi Rabi** took part in a number of “One-Day University” events sponsored by the American Friends of Tel Aviv University. Rabi was among three TAU experts that addressed audiences in Los Angeles, Miami, and New York. His lecture, “Israel’s Middle East: A Changing Geopolitical Landscape,” an especially relevant topic in today’s tumultuous and sectarian Middle East, touched upon Israel’s position in the “eye of the storm” of its neighbors’ many conflicts.

While in New York, the *Huffington Post* interviewed Rabi on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. He fielded questions on Hamas and the Palestinian Authority’s unity agreement, the two-state solution, the Palestinian plan to bring their case to the United Nations, and America’s and Europe’s attempts to resolve the protracted conflict.

In May 2014, Rabi lectured at Columbia University’s Institute for the Study of Global Anti-semitism. His lecture addressed the changing relationship between Iran and Israel in light of recent regional and global developments.

## NADI CINEMA

**THE** MDC’s **Middle Eastern film club, Nadi Cinema**, brings together students and researchers to discuss politics, society, and culture from the perspective of Middle Eastern film.

On March 6, 2014, Dr. **Joel Parker** presented the Lebanese documentary *Beirut Diaries* (2006). Set against the turbulent background of the Lebanese civil war and the assassination of Prime Minister Rafik Hariri in February 2005, the film served Dr. Parker as a useful springboard from which to discuss the ongoing events in Lebanon and Syria today.

On April 24, 2014, the MDC proudly hosted Salim Fattal, director of the documentary, *The Jewish Community of Babylon*, and screened the first part, “A Land that Devours the Inhabitants Thereof,” of this fascinating and well-researched work. Dr. **Esther Webman** moderated discussion following the widely attended event that included graduate students as well as a larger public interested in the history of the Jews of Iraq.

On May 15, 2014, Michael Barak presented the film *Bab ‘Aziz: The Prince Who Contemplated His Soul* (2005). The film is a story of longing and belonging, dreams and faith, centered around the story of a blind dervish named Bab’aziz and his spirited granddaughter, Ishtar, who wander the desert in search of a great reunion of dervishes that takes place once every 30 years.

On June 19, 2014, Dr. **Bruce Maddy-Weitzman** presented the classic, *The Battle of Algiers* (1966). Maddy-Weitzman provided the public with a background of the Algerian War of Independence and also commented on the situation in Algeria after the Arab Spring.

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

**Summer 2014 Screenings**

June 19, 2014  
*The Battle of Algiers (Algeria)*  
The 1966 classic directed by Gillo Pontecorvo, depicting the Algerian War of Independence and the battle for independence.  
Presented by Dr. Bruce Maddy-Weitzman

July 17, 2014  
*The Green Wave (Iran)*  
The first screening of the Iranian animated film, depicting the 2010 Green Revolution in Iran that uses animation and narrated blog posts to tell the story of contemporary Iranian youth.  
Presented by Dr. Brandon Friedman

To RSVP email: [cinema@msonet.org](mailto:cinema@msonet.org)

The final screening of Nadi Cinema for the 2013-2014 academic year took place on July 17. Dr. **Brandon Friedman** concluded the summer program with the Iranian film, *The Green Wave* (2010), a documentary focusing on the 2010 Green Revolution in Iran that uses animation and narrated blog posts to tell the story of contemporary Iranian youth. The film sparked discussion among the students on the recent political changes in Iran and in the region.

Nadi Cinema screenings take place once a month on Wednesdays at 4pm in Gilman Building, room 133, and are free and open to the public.

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

**Spring 2014 Screenings**

March 6, 2014  
*Beirut Diaries (Lebanon)*  
Through the perspective of a young activist, the film depicts the aftermath of the assassination of Prime Minister Rafik Hariri in February 2005.  
Presented by Dr. Joel Parker

April 24, 2014  
*The Jewish Community of Babylon (Iraq)*  
Part 1  
A documentary on the Jewish community of Babylon, Iraq, and the history of the Jewish community in Iraq.  
Presented by Salim Fattal

May 15, 2014  
*Bab 'Aziz: The Prince Who Contemplated His Soul (Iran)*  
The story of a blind dervish named Bab'aziz and his spirited granddaughter, Ishtar, who wander the desert in search of a great reunion of dervishes that takes place once every 30 years.  
Presented by Michael Barak

To RSVP email: [cinema@msonet.org](mailto:cinema@msonet.org)

## BAYAN — A QUARTERLY ON ARABS IN ISRAEL

**I**n June 2014, the Konrad Adenauer Program for Jewish-Arab Cooperation at the Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies launched *Bayan* — a new quarterly on contemporary Arab affairs in Israel. *Bayan* is published simultaneously in Hebrew and English. Co-edited by Dr. **Itamar Radai**, academic director of the Konrad Adenauer Program for Jewish-Arab Cooperation, and Program Director **Arik Rudnitzky**, *Bayan*'s goal is to provide access to issues concerning Arab society, to which the general Israeli public is not typically exposed.

## TAU WORKSHOP ON ISRAEL AND THE MIDDLE EAST, JULY 6–17<sup>TH</sup>, 2014

**SUMMER 2014** saw to the successful carrying out of the Ninth Annual Tel Aviv University Workshop on Israel and the Middle East. An intensive 12-day academic workshop and travel program that focuses on the history of the Arab-Israeli conflict and contemporary issues related to Israel, the Palestinian territories, and the broader Middle East, the program offers instructors of Middle Eastern Studies a unique, balanced, and on-the-ground perspective about the history of the conflict and Israel's contemporary regional challenges. Coordinated by Prof. **Uzi Rabi**, a diverse group of Middle Eastern Studies lecturers from universities around the world participated in the program on an invitation-only basis. This year's workshop included participants from academic communities in Turkey, Iraq, Germany, Slovakia, Poland, the United Kingdom, Russia, China, Brazil, Australia, Indonesia, and the United States.



A BIRD-EYE'S VIEW OF THE TEMPLE MOUNT DURING THE WORKSHOP HELICOPTER TRIP OVER ISRAEL  
(PHOTO BY XUE QINGGUO)



SHABBAT EVE AT THE WESTERN WALL

Each year, the Workshop invites prominent Israeli and Palestinian scholars to present on historical and current issues related to Israel and the region. Among this year's presenters were senior researchers from the Moshe Dayan Center including, Prof. **Meir Litvak**, Prof. **Ofra Bengio**, Dr. **Bruce Maddy-Weitzman**, and Dr. **Esther Webman**. Other experts invited to share their expertise were political scientists, journalists, mapping specialists, former intelligence officers of the IDF and (former) senior officials that partook in, and continue to be a part of Israeli-Palestinian negotiations.



Complementing lectures and discussions, workshop participants visit cities and sites relevant to the history of the Arab-Israeli conflict, including Jewish and Muslim holy places such as the Western Wall and the Temple Mount, the security fence, the Golan Heights, Yad Vashem, and Umm Al-Fahm.

This year's Workshop coincided with the war between Hamas and Israel. Due to the heavy barrage of rockets hitting the south and center of Israel, the itinerary was modified on a daily basis. Under these circumstances, the workshop experience proved to be especially educational as discussion with Israeli scholars, journalists, and citizens allowed for the participants to gain firsthand experience of the tenuous atmosphere in which Israel often finds itself.



JERUSALEM FENCE-TOUR WITH LT. COL. (RES.) RON SCHATZBERG (ECONOMIC COOPERATION FOUNDATION) AND DR. RAMI NASRALLAH (INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND COOPERATION CENTER)

After nine years, the Workshop now boasts over 180 participants. Proudly, the MDC facilitates the global network of scholars that contributes to an academic platform for academics to exchange views and to pursue joint academic activities such as conferences, student exchanges, journal publications, and visiting scholar opportunities. To date, Workshop alumni have contributed to the MDC's *Bustan: The Middle East Book Review*; the Workshop has been the incubator for cooperative agreements between TAU and the Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences, and the Asan Institute for Policy Studies in Seoul, South Korea; and spurred group visits to Israel of students from Sweden's Lund University, North Carolina State University, and South Dakota University, among others.

## VISITING INTERNS AND SCHOLARS

In the spring and summer of 2014, the MDC welcomed a number of outstanding interns and visiting scholars from prestigious universities such as Yale, University of Michigan, George Washington University, Johns Hopkins University, Oxford, and the Sciences-Po, who contributed to publications, conducted research with individual experts at the MDC, and delivered exciting lectures to the MAMES students.

A major focus of the internship program this year was the role of China in the Middle East. The MDC hosted four Chinese speakers, including three students from Yale University, two of whom were stationed at the MDC while conducting groundbreaking research jointly for the MDC and SIGNAL (Sino-Israel Global Network & Academic Leadership). In addition, interns contributed to a wide variety of research foci ranging from the illegal ivory trade in the Horn of Africa with Dr. **Irit Back**, to economic research on Iran with Dr. **Paul Rivlin**.

Additionally, over the year visiting scholars gave lectures and authored articles for MDC e-publications. **Aaron Rock-Singer**, a Ph.D. candidate at Princeton University, wrote "Salafi Piety in Sadatist Egypt: The Quest to Map Public Space," which focused on public morality in Egypt. **David Labude**, from Germany, partook in research being carried out by the Konrad Adenauer Program regarding Jewish-Arab relations in Israel. In March, **Iris Seri-Hersch**, from Aix-Marseille University, delivered a lecture based on her research in Israel, entitled "Revisiting the Foundation of Jisr al-Zarqā': Kabbāra Land Conflicts and Politics of Sedentarization in Early Mandate Palestine." There were a number of other constructive encounters with visiting scholars and Ph.D. fellows, notably, the timely article by **Konstantinos Zarras**, from Greece, "Blurring the Borders of Conflict: ISIS between Iraq and Syria," published by the MDC in *Tel Aviv Notes*.

# NEW PUBLICATIONS

## *NATIONALISM, IDENTITY AND POLITICS: ISRAEL AND THE MIDDLE EAST*

*STUDIES IN HONOR OF PROF. ASHER SUSSE*

*Edited by Meir Litvak and Bruce Maddy-Weitzman*  
(English and Hebrew, Moshe Dayan Center, 2014)



Published on the occasion of his retirement and as a tribute to Prof. **Asher Susser**, distinguished scholar and gifted lecturer of modern Middle Eastern history at Tel Aviv University, *Nationalism, Identity and Politics: Israel and the Middle East* deals with the interactions between Israel and its neighbors, and examines the evolution of national identities and political orientations over the decades in the Middle East. This edited volume directly touches upon the themes of Susser's scholarly research. In the current climate of uncertainty and change, this volume provides valuable insight into the origins of the current dynamic between Israel and its neighbors.

## *SYRIA — PROTEST, REVOLUTION AND CIVIL WAR*

*By Eyal Zisser*

(Hebrew, Moshe Dayan Center, 2014)



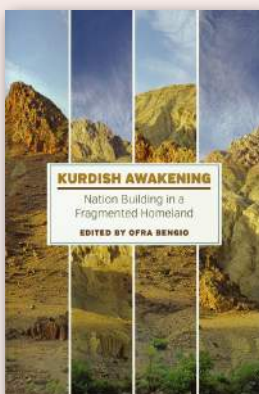
In March of 2011, the wave of protests and rebellions that first engulfed Tunisia and Egypt finally reached Syria. While initially limited to a few cities in the south, localized and limited protests by hungry peasants and rural Sunnis quickly evolved into a nation-wide popular uprising, a bloody civil war, and inspired yet another global call to *jihad*. Faced with a battle of survival, the Asad regime has surprised regional onlookers and analysts with its endurance.

This book provides a summary for the Hebrew reader to grasp the story of the Syrian revolution to the present day, its origins and roots, and its escalation from a limited protest into a civil war.

## *KURDISH AWAKENING: NATION BUILDING IN A FRAGMENTED HOMELAND*

*Edited by Ofra Bengio*

(University of Texas Press, 2014)



*Kurdish Awakening* examines key questions related to Kurdish nationalism and identity formation in Syria, Iraq, Iran, and Turkey. The world's largest stateless ethnic group, Kurds have steadily grown in importance as a political power in the Middle East, particularly in light of the "Arab Spring." As a result, Kurdish issues – political, cultural, an historical alike – have emerged as the subject of intense scholarly interest. This book provides fresh ways of understanding the historical and sociopolitical underpinnings of the ongoing Kurdish awakening and its already significant impact on the region.



## EXPERTS' NEWS

**Ofra Bengio's** book, *The Kurds of Iraq: Building a State within a State*, was translated into Arabic and published by Aras Publishers in the Kurdistan Regional Government (2014). Her article (with Bruce Maddy-Weitzman), "Mobilized diasporas: Kurdish and Berber movements in comparative perspective," was published in *Kurdish Studies* Vol.1, No.1, October 2013; her article, "The elephant in the room," was published in *The American Interest*, on December 12, 2013; her article, "Surprising ties between Israel and the Kurds," was published in *The Middle East Quarterly*, Summer 2014, Vol. 21, No.3; her article, "The Kurdish spring and its impact on the Middle East," was published in Mohammed M. A. Ahmed and Michael Gunter's (eds.) *The Kurdish Spring* (California: Mazda Publishers, 2013), pp.37-58; her article, "The Kurdish window of opportunity," was published in *Odyssey*, Vol. 23, April 2014; her article "Ankara, Erbil, Baghdad: Relations fraught with dilemmas," was published in David Romano and Mehmet Gurses' (eds.) *Conflict, Democratization and the Kurds in the Middle East: Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Syria* (New York: Palgrave, 2014); her article, "Meet the Kurds," appeared in *Tablet Magazine*, August 14, 2014; her reviews of Tawfiq al-Suyaydi's book, *My Memoirs: Half a Century of the History of Iraq*, and Joseph Sassoon's *Saddam Hussein's Ba`th Party: Inside an Authoritarian Regime* were published in *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 5.

Bengio participated in a conference on "The Kurdish new dynamics," held in Paris by IFRI, where she presented a paper, titled "Israel and the Kurds: Awkward relations." She presented her paper, "Iraq: From Republicanism to Republic of Fear," in a conference at Istanbul Bilgi University, on November 29, 2013, on the subject "Republican tradition in Western thought and Middle Eastern practices." She presented her paper, "The Jews of Iraq in a historical perspective," at a conference on "Dünyadaki Yahudi Göçleri, Osmanlı ve Türkiye Yahudileri" held at Kadir Has University from December 2-3, 2013. On December 16, 2013, she spoke at the INSS on "The PKK: From terrorist organization to a national movement." Bengio spoke at the Conference of Presidents of Major Jewish organizations held on February 18, 2014, on "The Sunni-Shi'i cold war: An Israeli perspective." On July 8, 2014 she delivered a talk, titled "Israel, Turkey and the Kurds: The revival of the Peripheral alliance?," in a conference organized by the Israel Turkey Business Council on "Turkey 2014 - Regional trends." On August 14, 2014, she delivered a lecture at the INSS titled, "Anatomy of a collapsing state: the case of Iraq."

Bengio contributed op/ed articles to *The Jerusalem Post*, *Al-Monitor*, *Forward*, *The American Interest*, *Haaretz*, and *Yediot Aharonot*. Various media outlets interviewed Bengio, including: *Al-Hurra*, *Awena*, *Basnews*, *Gulan*, and *Lvin*.

On March 19-20, 2014, **Harel Chorev** participated in the annual seminar, "Rethinking West Asia," of the Maulana Abul Kalam Azad Institute of Asian Studies in Kolkata, India, where

he delivered his paper, "Palestinians in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank: Geopolitical Dilemmas and Internal Challenges." In August 2014, Chorev and Uzi Rabi's article, "To Deter Hamas – Expect the Unexpected," was published in the *Huffington Post*. In September 2014, his article, "The Road to Operation Protective Edge: Gaps in Strategic Perceptions," was published in the *Israel Journal of Foreign Affairs*.

**Brandon Friedman's** article, "Saudi Outreach to Iran Represents a Shift in Tactics, not Objectives," was published in *World Politics in Review*, on June 6, 2014. At the June 2014 "Herzliya Conference: Israel and the Future of the Middle East," he delivered a short presentation on changing Saudi strategic perceptions at a session called, "Middle East Drivers: Micro." Also in June, Brandon delivered a paper to Tel Aviv University's Graduate School of History Research Forum in Honor of Zeev Rubin entitled, "Mohammad Reza Shah: Architect or Instrument of the Nixon Doctrine?" In March 2014, Brandon delivered a public lecture to Tel Aviv University's Alliance Center for Iranian Studies' Iran Forum titled, "Mohammad Reza Shah and Pax Iranica: Between Strategy and Nationalism in the Persian Gulf, 1968 to 1971." On February 19, 2014, Brandon participated, by video conference, in the The Foreign Policy Research Institute's (FPRI) panel discussion in Washington, D.C., "Gulf Competition for Dominance in the Middle East and Beyond," along with Amin Tarzi of the U.S. Marine Corps University, and Jakub Grygiel, of Johns Hopkins University (SAIS). FPRI also published Brandon's essay, "Alternatives to U.S. Hard Power: The Saudi Response to U.S. Tactics in the Middle East," in January 2014. In November 2013, Brandon participated in the 60th Pugwash Conference: "Dialogue, Disarmament, and Regional and Global Security," in Istanbul, Turkey. Friedman contributed an essay, titled "The Imperative of Saudi Reform: Conspiracy or Necessity?," to *Inglorious Revolutions: State Cohesion in the Middle East after the "Arab Spring,"* which he co-edited with Bruce Maddy-Weitzman.

**Meir Litvak's** book, in Hebrew, co-authored with Moshe Aharonov, *Iran: From a Persian Empire to an Islamic Revolution*, was published by the Open University of Israel. He also published "Charisma and Politics in the Evolution of Modern Shi'i Leadership," in D. Ephrat and M. Hatina's (eds.) *Commanding Knowledge: Religious Authority and Spiritual Power in Islam with Jewish Perspectives* (Salt Lake City: Utah University Press, 2014), pp. 206-224; "Iranian Antisemitism: Continuity and Change," in Ch. Small's (ed.) *Global Antisemitism: A Crisis of Modernity: Volume IV: Islamism and the Arab World* (New York: ISGAP, 2013), pp. 55-66; and "The Palestinian National Authority and Islam, 1994–2006," in A. Shapira's et al (eds.), *The Nation State and Religion: The Resurgence of Faith* (Sussex Academic Press and the Israeli Democracy Institute, 2013), Vol. II, pp. 57-73.

On October 24, 2013, Litvak lectured on "The Roots of Iran's Attitude towards Israel," at the INSS conference "Iran at a Crossroad," in Tel Aviv. In February 2014, he submitted a paper on "The Sunni-Shi'i Rift and the Arab Upheaval" at the "U.S.-China-Israel Trilateral Roundtable: Shared Interests in Promoting Stability and Coexistence in the Middle East,"



Brookings Institution and Israel Institute, Washington DC. In March 2014, he submitted a paper on “Popular Protests in Modern Iran: a Historical Perspective,” at the Hebrew University’s Mordechai Abir Conference: “Protest and Revolution in the Middle East.” In May 2014, he lectured on “Modern Iranian Antisemitism and Israel,” at the Vidal Sassoon International Center for the Study of Antisemitism (SICSA) conference, “Anti-Judaism, Antisemitism and the Delegitimization of Israel.” On June 5, 2014, he organized the Alliance Center’s panel on “Nationalism in Iran” at the Middle East and Islamic Studies Association of Israel’s annual conference and submitted a paper on nationalism and Islam in late-Qajar Isfahan.

**Bruce Maddy-Weitzman**’s co-authored article (with Ofra Bengio), “Mobilized Diasporas: Kurds and Berbers in Comparative Perspective,” was published in *Kurdish Studies*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (October 2013). His book chapter, “The Arab League and the Arab Uprisings,” appeared in *The Arab Spring and Arab Thaw: Unfinished Revolutions and the Quest for Democracy*, by John Davis, ed. (Surrey, UK: Ashgate, 2013). His essay, “Israel and The Middle East in the wake of the Arab Spring,” appeared in *Judaísmo E Cultura: Fronteiras Em Movimento*, by Helena Lewin (coordenação), (Rio de Janeiro: Imprimatur, 2013). His book chapter, “Narrating The Past, Serving the Present: The Berber Identity Movement and the Jewish Connection,” was published in *Nationalism, Identity and Politics: Israel and the Middle East, Studies in Honor of Prof. Asher Susser*, which he co-edited with Meir Litvak (Tel Aviv: The Moshe Dayan Center, 2014). His review of *Everyday Arab Identity*, by Christopher Phillips (London: Routledge, 2013), was published in *Bustan* (Vol. 5, 2014).

On October 11, 2013, he delivered a paper, “The Amazigh Factor in Contemporary Morocco,” as part of a panel on contemporary Morocco at the Middle East Studies Association Annual Conference, held in New Orleans, Louisiana. On April 1, 2014, he spoke at the International Training Seminar of the Geneva Center for Security Policy, on “The Israeli Perspective,” as part of a panel on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. On August 18, 2014, he delivered a paper, “The Amazigh Spring Redux? The Arab Spring and the Amazigh Movement,” as part of the panel “Les Amazighes Dans la Tourmente des ‘Printemps Arabes’. Enjeux et Perspectives des Revendications Berbères en Afrique du Nord,” at the WOCMES quadrennial conference, held in Ankara, Turkey.

In October 2013, the American Institute of Maghrib Studies awarded Maddy-Weitzman’s book, *The Berber Identity Movement and the Challenge to North African States* (University of Texas Press, 2011), with the “L. Carl Brown Book Prize” for outstanding new book in the field of North African Studies.

**Joel Daniel Parker**’s article, “Turning Perception into Reality: The Assad Regime and Syria’s Christian Minority,” was published in *Tel Aviv Notes*, Vol. 8, No. 12, June 26, 2014. In addition, his article “Victims of the Syrian Civil War Portrayed in Social Media: Children in the Eye of the Storm,” was published in *Beehive: Middle East Social Media*, Vol. 2, No. 3,

(March 2014). On March 6, 2014, he presented the film *Beirut Diaries*, for Nadi Cinema. He also published, "The Sounds of the Syrian Revolution: Music and Contested Identities," in *Beehive: Middle East Social Media*, Vol. 2, No. 1, (January 2014). He delivered a lecture for the Kurdish Forum along with Ceng Sagnic on December 30, regarding the background and context of the fighting between Kurds and jihadi rebel forces in northeastern Syria. He wrote an Op-Ed, entitled "How al-Qaida Split the Syrian Opposition," appearing in the *Jerusalem Post*, November 11, 2013.

In October 2013, **Uzi Rabi** presented his paper, entitled "Iran and Israel: Post 2013 Elections," at the annual conference of the Middle East Studies Association (MESA) in New Orleans, LA. In March 2014, he represented Tel Aviv University for AFTAU's "One-Day University" trip that brought him to Los Angeles, Miami, and New York, where he presented "Israel's Middle East: A Changing Geopolitical Landscape."

In 2014, Professor Rabi wrote and published the book, *Yemen: An Anatomy of a Failed State* and co-edited the volume, *The Persian Gulf and the Arabian Peninsula: States and Societies in Transition*.

Regularly sought as an expert by both the Israeli Knesset and the local and international media, during Operation Protective Edge Rabi was a fixture on Israeli television as an analyst. Additionally, Rabi appeared on a number of national and international news broadcasting programs in order to provide commentary on current events in the Middle East. Such programs included: Erev Chadash (Channel 1), London and Kirshenbaum (Channel 10), Reuters, Galey-Tzahal (IDF) Radio, Reshet Bet (radio), i24 News, Israeli noon news editions, Arab Television Channels, as well as various newspapers in the Arab world, the United States, and the United Kingdom.

**Itamar Radai's** book, *A Tale of Two Cities: The Palestinians in Jerusalem and Jaffa, 1947-1948* (Hebrew), is in print at the Moshe Dayan Center. He also published "Abd al-Qadir al-Husayni: a Palestinian Commander in the 1948 War," by Nir Mann and Itamar Radai (eds.); and *Jerusalem: Studies in the Struggle for Jerusalem at the War for Independence* (Jerusalem: Carmel, 2013, Hebrew). In the latter volume, he also annotated "War in the Old City: The Diaries of Constantin Mavrides, May 15 – December 30, 1948."

On October 11, 2013, he delivered a paper, "Palestinian Arab Jerusalem," at the annual meeting of the Middle East Studies Association of North America (MESA), in New Orleans, Louisiana. On March 4, 2014, he lectured on "The Rise and Fall of the Palestinian Arab Middle Class under the Mandate," at the Ben Gurion Institute Colloquium, Sede Boker. On May 1, 2014, Arik Rudnitzky and Radai co-organized the conference "The Arabs in Israel: A New National Agenda?" under the Konrad Adenauer Program for Jewish-Arab Cooperation. On May 19, 2014, he delivered a lecture, "The Palestinian National Identity of the Arab Minority in Israel," at the MDC Seminar. On May 27, 2014, he lectured on "Jewish-Arab Relations Under the Mandate" at the Department of Land of Israel Studies Colloquium, Bar-



Ilan University. On June 5, 2014, he delivered a paper on “The Palestinians since Sadat’s visit to the First Intifada, 1977-1987,” at the Middle East and Islamic Studies Association of Israel (MEISAI) annual meeting at Sapir College. On June 18, 2014, he delivered a paper on “A Bourgeois Society under Colonial Rule: The Palestinian Arab Middle Class under the Mandate,” at the British Society of Middle Eastern Studies (BRISMES) annual meeting, University of Sussex, UK. On June 25, 2014, Radai delivered a paper on “Palestinian Arab Jaffa in 1948” at the Association of Israel Studies (AIS) annual meeting, Ben Gurion Institute, Sede Boker. On June 29, 2014, he delivered a lecture on “The Palestinian National Identity of the Arab Minority in Israel” at the Weizmann Institute for the Study of Zionism and Israel Young Researchers Colloquium, Ein Harod.

In November 2013, **Paul Rivlin** lectured on Economic Developments in the Middle East at an international conference at the Center for Strategic Studies in Baku, Azerbaijan. In December 2013, he spoke on “Gas in the East Mediterranean” at the *Globes* International Business Conference in Tel Aviv. His chapter, “Israel,” was published in the *Handbook of Emerging Economies*, edited by Robert Looney and published by Routledge. The Milken Institute published his article, “Stuck: Why the Palestinian Economy Lags, and What Could be Done About it,” in September 2013. Rivlin co-authored *Exploring Economic Cooperation in the Middle East: A Catalyst for the Helsinki Conference*, published by the Peace Research Institute Frankfurt, for the Academic Peace Orchestra, in October 2013.

**Asher Susser** taught Tel Aviv University’s first MOOC (massive open online course) on the Middle East in the Fall Semester of 2013, through which he reached 30,000 students, worldwide. Prof. Susser and his teaching assistant, Duygu Atlas, a PhD candidate at TAU, delivered the nine-week course, “The Emergence of the Modern Middle East,” within the framework of an international consortium of universities known as Coursera.

In October 2013 he participated in a conference held by the TAU-based Institute for National Security Studies (INSS) on “Iran at a Crossroads,” where he lectured on “Iran, the Arab World and the Impact the Sunni-Shi’i Conflict.” In November 2013, he spoke on “Israel and the Palestinians” at Exeter College, Oxford, at a symposium on “Israel and the Changing Middle East: Today and Tomorrow.” In January 2014 he took part in an international conference on “The Role of Trust in Conflict Resolution” at TAU, under the joint auspices of the Tami Steinmetz Center for Peace Research and the S. Daniel Abraham Center for International and Regional Studies, where he spoke on “Historical Narratives and the Issue of Trust.” In June 2014, he gave two lectures at the Summer Institute for Israel Studies at Brandeis University on “Religion and Politics in the Middle East,” and on “Israel’s Place in the Middle East.” In July and August 2014, he was a visiting research associate at the Israel and Golda Koschitzky Center for Jewish Studies at York University, Toronto, and in August he was appointed as the Stein Professor for Israel Studies at the Center for Judaic Studies, at the University of Arizona in Tucson, for the Fall Semester of 2014.

His article on “Israel’s Place in a Changing Regional Order, 1948-2013,” was published in *Israel Studies*, Vol. 19, No. 2 (Summer 2014).

**Esther Webman** published several articles in books and journals. Her article, “Perceptions of the Holocaust in the Arab World: From Denial to Acknowledgement?,” was published in English and French in Abdelwahab Meddeb and Benjamin Stora’s (eds.) *A History of Jewish-Muslim Relations: From the Origins to the Present Day* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2013); and “The War and the Holocaust in the Egyptian Public Discourse, 1945-1947,” in Israel Gershoni’s (ed.) *Arab Responses to Fascism and Nazism: Attraction and Repulsion* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2014), pp. 243-270. Another article based on her presentation at a conference “Mixed and Confused - Egyptian Initial Responses to the Holocaust,” was published in *Lessons and Legacies XI: Expanding Perspective on the Holocaust in a Changing World*, edited by Hilary Earl and Karl Schleunes (North Western University Press, 2014), pp. 335-354. Webman contributed a chapter to the Festschrift in honor of Prof. Asher Susser on “The Study of Arab Antisemitism: Trends and Challenges,” in Hebrew, published by Moshe Dayan Center in 2014.

In addition, her article “Treading in Troubled Waters: Seeking the Roots of Muslim Antisemitism,” was published in *Bustan: The Middle East Book Review*, Vol. 4, No. 2 (2013), pp. 113-136; and “The Challenge of Assessing Arab/Muslim Antisemitism,” in *Yalkut Moreshet* (in Hebrew), Vol. 94 (2014), pp.153-177. She also published a review of Corry Guttschadt’s book, *Turkey, the Jews, and the Holocaust* (Cambridge UP, 2013), in the *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 46, No. 2 (May 2014), pp. 426-428; her lecture, “Israel, Antisemitism and the ‘Arab Spring,’” delivered at the Council of Foreign Affairs on March 27, 2014, was published in the *Israel Journal of Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 8, No. 2 (2014), pp. 57-62.

Webman attended three conferences. In December 2013, she presented a paper on “Patterns of Migration: The Experience of Jews from Arab Lands,” in Istanbul, at the conference “Jewish Migration from Turkey and the Ottoman Empire.” In May 2014, she participated in the international conference on “Anti-Judaism, Antisemitism, Delegitimizing Israel,” at the Hebrew University, and delivered a lecture on “The ‘Jew’ as a Metaphor for Evil in Arab Public Discourse.” In September 2014, she attended ESA RN 31 midterm conference on “Contemporary Antisemitism and Racism in the Shadow of the Holocaust,” and gave a paper on “Old and New in the Palestinian Holocaust Public Discourse.”

**Ronen Zeidel**’s article “Writing about the Other: Israel in Recent Iraqi Novels,” was published in *Arabica*, Vol. 60, No. 6 (2013). He also published “Gypsies and Society in Iraq: Between Marginality, Folklore and Romanticism,” *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 50, Issue 1 (2014). His article, “The Minorities in the Iraqi Novel: The Case of the Kurds,” (in Arabic and English) was published in Sa’ad Salloum’s (ed.) *Minorities in Iraq: Memory, Identity and Challenges* (Baghdad and Beirut: Masarat, 2013). In this collection he appears as an Israeli scholar



working in an Israeli university. Other articles published include: "An Alternative Model of Arab-Israeli Encounters," in Nimrod Goren and Jenia Yudkevich's (eds.) *Israel and the Arab Spring: Opportunities in Change* (Tel Aviv: Mitvim- The Israel Institute for Regional Foreign Policy and Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, 2013); "Between the Unknown Soldier monument and the Cemetery: Commemorating the Fallen soldiers in Iraq 1958-2010," in Paolo Branca and M. Demichelis' (eds.), *Popoli, Stati e Nazioni nel Mediterraneo e in Medio Oriente* (Milan: LeggereLeggere, 2013), pp.98-112. Radai authored "The Implications of the Iran-Iraq War" in *E-International Relations*, the world's leading website for students of international relations. His review of "Saddam Hussein's Ba'th Party," (Cambridge, CUP, 2012) by Joseph Sassoon, was published in *Bustan: A Middle East Book Review*, Vol. 4, No. 2 (2013). His review of "Reclaiming Iraq: The 1920 Revolution and the Founding of the Modern State," by Abbas Kadhim, was published in *Bustan* Vol. 5, No.1 (Spring 2014).

Currently, Zeidel's dedicated efforts to promote relations between Israeli and Iraqi intellectuals include the translation of the first Iraqi novel into Hebrew and assisting in bringing the Israeli film *Mafriah Hayonim* to cinema halls in Baghdad.

**Daniel Zisenwine** spent the 2013-2014 academic year as the Schusterman Visiting Israeli Professor at the United States Naval Academy in Annapolis, MD. In fall 2014, he is serving as a visiting professor at Georgetown University in Washington, DC.

**Eyal Zisser** delivered a paper on "Israel and the Syrian Revolution," at the MESA (Middle East Studies Association of North America) Annual Conference in New Orleans, Louisiana, October 10-13, 2013. In March 2014, he delivered a lecture series on "Israel and the New Middle East," at the Australian Centre for Jewish Civilisation at Monash University, Melbourne, Australia. He also delivered a lecture, entitled "On the Sidelines? The Civil War in Syria from regional and international perspectives," at the Heidelberg Center for American Studies, April 24, 2014. In May 2014 he spoke on the Syrian civil war at the Center for Israeli Studies at the National School of Political Science and Public Administration, and at the Faculty of Political Science, University of Bucharest, Romania.

His book, *Syria – Protest, Revolution. Civil War* (Hebrew), was published in May 2014 by the Moshe Dayan Center. His article, "Memoirs Do Not Deceive: Syrians Confront Fascism and Nazism – as Reflected in the Memoirs of Syrian Political Leaders and Intellectuals," was published in Israel Gershoni's (ed.) *Arab Responses to Fascism and Nazism* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2014). He also published the following articles: "The Deadlocked Syrian Crisis: The Fable of the Ants and the Elephant" in *Strategic Assessment*, Vol. 16, No. 2 (July 2013), pp. 35-46; "The Failure of U.S. Policy toward Damascus," *Middle East Quarterly*, Vol. 20, No. 3 (Fall 2013), pp. 21-42; "Alone at the Top: Bashar al-Assad and the Struggle for Syria," *Strategic Assessment*, Vol. 16, No. 3 (October 2013), pp. 57-65; "The Syrian Deadlock – Bashar al-Assad and Barak Obama's Moment of Truth," *e-International Relations*, September 15, 2013, pp. 1-3; "Frente Siria: el espejismo de octubre," *Desperta Ferro*, *Contemporanea* Vol. XXI, No. 3 (Junio 2014) pp. 30-38.

## JUNIOR RESEARCHERS

**Duygu Atlas** was the teaching assistant to Prof. Asher Susser in the course, “The Emergence of the Modern Middle East,” created for the online education platform Coursera.

**Heidi Basch-Harod** presented her paper, “Reclamation, Reconstruction, and Revolution: The Kurdish Women of Turkey (1980-2012),” on the panel “Scars of War,” at the 47<sup>th</sup> annual meeting of the Middle East Studies Association (MESA), held in New Orleans, Louisiana, from October 10-13, 2013. Her article, “Embracing shame: turning honour on its head,” was published in *OpenDemocracy.net* on February 14, 2014. She also published “The Kurdish Women in Turkey: Nation Building and the Struggle for Gender Parity,” in *The Kurds: Nation-Building in a Fragmented Homeland*, edited by Ofra Bengio, (Austin: University of Texas Press, November 2014).

**Joyce van de Bildt**’s book chapter, “Nasser nostalgia in post-Mubarak Egypt,” was published in the edited volume *Inglorious Revolutions: State and Cohesion in the Middle East after the Arab Spring*, edited by Bruce Maddy-Weitzman and Brandon Friedman (Tel Aviv: The Moshe Dayan Center, 2014). In September 2013, she delivered a paper, “Nostalgia and memory on Facebook: The Emergence of ‘Nasser’ Facebook pages in Egypt,” at the Graduate Summer School “Memory Unbound: Transcultural, Transgenerational, Transmedial, and Transdisciplinary Dynamics of Memory” in Ghent, Belgium. In November 2013, she delivered a talk on “Using Facebook as a Tool for Examining Collective Memory: The Emergence of ‘Nasser’ fan pages in Egypt” at the annual conference of the Association for the Study of the Middle East and Africa (ASMEA) in Washington, D.C. In June 2014, she delivered a paper, titled “Collective Memory and Nostalgia for ‘Abd al-Nasser in Post-Revolutionary Egypt: The Emergence of ‘Nasser’ Facebook pages,” at the annual conference of the Middle East & Islamic Studies Association in Israel (MEISAI) at Sapir College, Ashkelon, Israel. In August 2014, she delivered a paper “Documenting the 25 January Revolution: Online Memory Initiatives and the Challenge to State-Controlled Information in Post-Revolutionary Egypt,” at the Graduate Summer School “Media of Memory” in Stockholm, Sweden.

Van de Bildt was the recipient of the 2014 Dan David Prize Scholarship for Young Researchers in the field of History and Memory Studies. She also received a 2014 ASMEA research grant, which is awarded in support of scholarly work concerned with Middle Eastern and African Studies.

**Rachel Kantz Feder**’s article, “Fatima’s Revolutionary Image in Fadak fi al-Ta’rikh: The Inception of Muhammad Baqir al-Sadr’s Intellectual and Political Activism,” was published in the *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, Special Issue: Intellectuals in the Modern Middle East, Vol. 41, No. 1 (2014). She also published “The Evolution of National Identity



and the Constitution-Drafting Process in the Kurdistan-Iraq Region,” in *The Kurds: Nation-Building in a Fragmented Homeland*, edited by Ofra Bengio (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2014). On July 7, 2014, Joel Wing interviewed Kantz Feder for the renowned blog, *Musings on Iraq*, about Ayatollah Sistani’s fatwa calling for the defense of Iraq against the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria. An article based on this interview, “A Call to Arms: What Lies beneath Sistani’s Potent Fatwa,” was published in *OpenDemocracy.net* on July 10, 2014. Her article, “The ‘Civil State’ in Political Discourse after the Arab Spring,” was published in *Tel Aviv Notes*, Vol. 8, No. 6, May 26, 2014.

**Chelsi Mueller** delivered a paper, “Nationalist Representations of the Persian Gulf under Reza Shah Pahlavi,” on June 5, 2014, at the annual meeting of the Middle East & Islamic Studies Association of Israel (MESAI).

**Arik Rudnitzky**’s article, “The Contemporary Historiographical Debate in Israel on Government Policies on Arabs in Israel During the Military Administration Period (1948–1966),” was published in *Israel Studies*, Volume 19, Number 1 (Spring 2014). On May 1, 2014, he delivered a lecture, “The Arab Minority’s Discourse on the ‘Jewish State’,” at a conference organized by the Konrad Adenauer Program for Jewish-Arab Cooperation at Tel Aviv University.

**Ceng Sagnic** appeared regularly in Iraqi, Kurdish, Syrian, and Turkish media, providing expert commentary contextualizing the conflict between the Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG), Iraq, Syria, and the Islamic State of Iraq and Sham (ISIS). In November 2014, he delivered a speech on ISIS-related regional crisis in a NATO workshop held in Jerusalem.

On November 4-5, 2013 **Hay Eytan Cohen Yanarocak** presented his paper, “Dynamics of Turkish Foreign Policy – Israel & EU,” to European Parliament members in a closed session at Tel Aviv University. On November 14, 2013, he attended a closed forum, “Turkey-Israel Relations and the Strategic Situation,” at the S. Daniel Abraham Center for Strategic Dialogue, Netanya Academic College, and shared his paper, “Current Dynamics of Turkey’s Syria Foreign Policy.” On December 3-4, 2013, he participated in an international conference, titled “Migration of Jews around the world — Jews of Ottoman Empire and Turkey,” held at Kadir Has University of Istanbul, where he presented his paper, “Jews of Turkey 1923-1948: Between Turkification and Self-Awareness.” On May 4, 2014, Yanarocak was invited by the Jewish Community of Turkey to give his paper, “Identity Crisis: Being a Jew, Israeli and Turkish.” On August 26, 2014 he delivered a lecture, titled “Erdoğan’s Turkey,” at the University of Haifa.

## EXPERTS

- Prof. Uzi Rabi, *Director, Senior Research Fellow*
- Dr. Irit Back, *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, *the Marcia Israel 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
- Michael Barak
- Heidi Basch-Harod
- Joyce van de Bildt
- Rachel Kantz Feder
- Chelsi Mueller
- Arik Rudnitzky
- Ceng Sagnic
- Annie Tracy Samuel
- Hadas Sofer
- Hay Eytan Cohen Yanarocak
- Carl Yonker

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

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