
Bulletin

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AT A GLANCE

Analyzing the Arab Uprisings through the lens of the social media revolution

International scholars evaluate the fortitude of the Jordanian and Moroccan monarchies in the post-Arab Spring Middle East

20 years since the signing of the Oslo Accords, where do we stand?

A look at Christian Zionism, the American electorate, and U.S. foreign policy toward Israel





The Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies

Bulletin

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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,

As you are aware, events in the region continue to move farther away from the direction of stability and security and more toward the unknown. In Egypt, the Muslim Brotherhood forfeited its chance of leadership with the abrupt termination of Mohammed Morsi's presidency by a military coup. With over 120,000 casualties in Syria and millions fleeing to neighboring states, significantly worsening the already troubled Jordanian and Iraqi economies, Bashar al-Assad's forces are making progress against his opponents. At the Dayan Center, our scholars continue to follow these developments and give their analyses to decision makers, media outlets, and to the interested public. In fact, from our humble offices at Tel Aviv University, our publications and experts are consulted by growing international circles across the globe.



In the spring and summer of 2013, the Dayan Center's publications and activities continued to reflect our commitment to understanding the present through in-depth study of the past. In our monthly publications, such as *Tel Aviv Notes* and *Iqtisadi*, we follow and analyze current events and trends in the region. Through our biannual book review, *Bustan: The Middle East Book Review*, we provide insightful critique and discussion of Middle East Studies discourse. In June, the 37th annual conference of the Middle East and Islamic Studies Association of Israel was held at Tel Aviv University, during which renowned Israeli scholars presented their latest research on subjects concerning the region, both historical and contemporary. Reflecting upon twenty years of intermittent peace negotiations between Israel and the Palestinians, on June 20th, we hosted a conference reviewing the successes and failures of the Oslo Accords, and the effect of the Oslo Process on Israeli and Palestinian societies. This conference proved particularly prescient in light of U.S. Secretary of State, John Kerry's invigorated efforts to renew negotiations between Israel and the Palestinians. In July, we welcomed a group of academics from five continents who were chosen to participate in the 8th Annual TAU Workshop on Israel and the Middle East that offers instructors of Middle East Studies a unique, balanced, and on-the-ground perspective about the history of the region's conflicts and contemporary challenges to Israel. I am also proud to mention that, this year, the Dayan Center welcomed the largest number of interns and visiting scholars in its history, and the applications to come and study with our experts, in our facilities continue to increase.

In this issue of the Bulletin, I hope you enjoy catching up on the several informative exchanges facilitated by the Center and the diverse groups of scholars and organizations that are working with us to generate deeper understanding of the politics, economics, culture, and history of the region. Your support makes all of this possible.

Best wishes,

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

Prof. Uzi Rabi



ETHNIC SPLITS IN THE MIDDLE EAST – A RENEWED LOOK

A Conference on the Sunni-Shi'a Division

On March 10, 2013, the Dayan Center held a conference exploring the many facets of the Sunni-Shi'a divide based on the recent works of Profs. Ofra Bengio and Meir Litvak, editors of *The Sunna and Shi'a in History: Division and Ecumenism in the Muslim Middle East* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2011); and *Tribalism, Sectarianism, and Nationalism in Iraq 1920-1958* (Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies, 2011, Hebrew), by Dr. Eli Amarilyo.

In her comments, Prof. Bengio focused on current events in Turkey vis-à-vis the Kurds. Specifically, Bengio claimed that Turkish efforts at rapprochement, including the legalization of Kurdish language classes in schools and renewed negotiations with PKK Founder Abdullah Öcalan stems from the changing and complex relationship between Turkey and Iraq. In large part due to Iraq's support of the Assad regime in Syria, over the past couple of years the two countries have been politically opposed. Yet, at the same time, Turkey supports the Iraqi-Kurdish independence movement and portrays this stance as a historical necessity. According to Bengio, Turkey's neo-Ottoman aspirations for regional hegemony include a Kurdish protectorate in Iraq, which will serve Turkey's interests.



PROF. OFRA BENGIO

Dr. Amarilyo examined the tribal dimension of Iraq's ethnic conflict, noting that the modernization process has harmed secular identity by bringing the political process and its attendant religious identifications to the forefront of daily reality. The Iraqi-Sunni political elite continues to promote the interests of its own members as it has in the past. However, in the current context of Iraq in which Shi'i Iraqis continue to play out politics of resentment and Kurdish Iraqis move toward autonomy, if not outright independence, Sunni Iraqis find themselves increasingly marginalized.



According to Prof. Litvak, over the past decade, the Sunni-Shi'i conflict has become the driving factor for the most extensive, bloody, and emotional conflicts in the Middle East. The conflict has manifested at an inter-state level under the prism of a Sunni-Shi'i religious war. On an ideological plane, this conflict fulminates two-fold: in a larger Sunni-Shi'i struggle, and a Shi'i-Salafi conflict. Additionally, added Litvak, inter-tribal and inter-ethnic clashes within Arab states also contribute to the many layers of the larger Sunni-Shi'i conflict.

PROF. MEIR LITVAK

THE REVOLUTION WITHIN THE REVOLUTION: THE MIDDLE EAST IN THE SPACE OF NEW MEDIA

A Symposium in Memory of Haim Gal z"l

On March 18, 2013, the Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies held an evening symposium in honor of **Haim Gal z"l**, the late-curator of the Dayan Center Arabic Press Archives. Prof. **Uzi Rabi** honored the memory of Mr. Gal by speaking to the international renown he brought to the Dayan Center for his leadership and curatorship of the Arabic Press Archives. Following Rabi's speech,



PROF. UZI RABI

Michael Barak, Gal's successor, paid tribute to his mentor, emphasizing Gal's dedication and his vision for the Arabic Press Archives.



MICHAEL BARAK

Addressing the topic of the evening, Dr. **Harel Chorev-Halewa** and Dr. **Liora Hendelman-Baavur**, of the Alliance Center for Iranian Studies at Tel Aviv University, delivered the evening's lectures. Chorev-Halewa's lecture, "The Death of a Mediator: The New Media and the Middle East," covered the current



DR. HAREL CHOREV-HALEWA



DR. LIORA HENDELMAN-BAAVUR

media revolution in the Middle East, stressing the deterioration of traditional media pundits in the region, and the power of new social media networks, such as Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube, as well as satellite television channels like *Al-Jazeera*, all of which challenge status quo and are no longer subdued by dictators. Hendelman-Baavur gave an analysis of the contents of political billboards in the streets of Tehran, which serve a political function more than advertising. To prove this point, she gave the historical example



of images depicting martyrdom, which promoted the government's agenda in the 1980s during the Iran-Iraq War. Presenting a more contemporary example, Hendelman-Baavur discussed the political agenda of graffiti that currently marks the walls of Tehran, communicating a strong anti-government message to Iran's political leaders.



THE GAL FAMILY

THE ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN PEACE PROCESS: THE NEXT STEP

ON April 4, 2013, the Moshe Dayan Center and the Tami Steinmetz Center for Peace Research co-hosted a conference titled, "The Israeli-Palestinian Peace Process – the Next Step," on the occasion of the publication of *Palestine – A State in the Making?* (eds. Yitzhak Gal and Ephraim Lavie). Lecturers included Former Israeli Minister of Justice, Dr. Yossi Beilin; Former Israeli Ambassador to Egypt and Jordan, Prof. Shimon Shamir, and Former Palestinian Deputy Minister of Economy, Saeb Bamia.

Among the many topics broached, the viability of the future Palestinian state was a major focus. As things stand, presently, the Palestinian economy is one of the poorest in the Arab world, which is only exacerbated by its dependency on Israel and international aid. But, according to Gal, under the right conditions, it could be a self-sustaining state. Even as efforts are being made to establish a de facto state by approaching international organizations, including the United Nations, the lack of territorial continuity is another daunting challenge to the future Palestine. Despite the challenges, the speakers reiterated the necessity of continuing to work toward a two-state solution, which requires vision, long-term planning, and optimism.



FILM AND HISTORY IN THE 20TH CENTURY MIDDLE EAST

ON April 28 and 29, 2013, Prof. Joel S. Gordon, from the Department of History at the University of Arkansas and director of the King Fahd Center for Middle East and Islamic Studies, delivered two lectures on the topic "Film and History in the 20th century Middle East." Prof. Israel Gershoni, of the Department of Middle Eastern and African History at Tel Aviv University, gave introductory remarks.

On the 28th, in Gordon's lecture, "Three Tales of Obsession: Cross-cutting Regional Classics and Borders," he compared three classic Middle Eastern movies: the Egyptian film *Bab al-Hadid* (Cairo Station), the

Iranian Film *The Cow*, and the Turkish film *Umut*. Drawing parallels between returning themes in these three movies, such as rural-urban tensions, post-colonialism, secularism, religion, and traditionalism, Prof. Gordon enlightened the audience about the similarities and differences in the three portrayals. Dr. **Mira Tzoreff** and Dr. **On Barak**, assistant professor in the Department of Middle Eastern and African History at Tel Aviv University, served as commentators during the session. Tzoreff suggested that the study of Middle Eastern film should not be isolated to those interested in the field, but should also be part of discourse on social issues, such as gender and sexuality, in order to be most useful to researchers of the Middle East.

In his second lecture titled “Youssef Chahine: Life as Cinema/Cinema as Life,” Gordon spoke about the life of the famous Egyptian film director Youssef Chahine (1926-2008), highlighting several of his most important works such as *Bab el-Hadid* (1958), *El Nasser Salah Ed-Din* (1963), *Al-Ard* (1968), the Alexandria trilogy, and his last movie *Heya Fawda...?* (2007). In his comments, Gordon pointed out recurring themes in Chahine’s movies and explained why some movies gained popularity in Egypt, others only worldwide, and vice versa. Barak pointed out that we should note the differentiation between national and international prestige when talking about world cinema, world movies, and world heritage.

Fetih 1453 – EXPLORING NEO-OTTOMANISM IN TURKEY

ON May 5, 2013, under the auspices of the Moshe Dayan Center, Prof. **Amy Singer**, of the Department of Middle Eastern and African History at Tel Aviv University, curated a screening and discussion of the 2012 Turkish blockbuster, *Fetih 1453 (Conquest 1453)*. *Fetih 1453* portrays Mehmet II’s (1451-81) conquest of Istanbul in 1453. According to Singer, the release of this movie and its glorification of Ottoman achievements is a riveting commentary on the shifting attitudes toward the Ottoman past in the Republic of Turkey from its founding in 1923 to today.

BETWEEN AFRICA AND THE MIDDLE EAST

ON May 13, 2013, the Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies and Tel Aviv University’s Faculty of Humanities organized a joint symposium to mark the publication of Prof. **Haggai Erlich**’s (of Tel Aviv University) new book: *Alliance and Alienation: Ethiopia and Israel in the Days of Haile Selassie* (Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies, 2013, Hebrew). Prof. **Eyal Zisser**, dean of the Faculty of Humanities, addressed the audience briefly on Israeli-Ethiopian relations and lauded the Dayan Center for its contributions to African Studies. Prof. **Shimon Shamir** also gave congratulatory remarks to Prof. Erlich for his scholarly achievement, and delivered a brief lecture on the core elements of Israeli-Ethiopian relations, stressing the historical importance and influence of Egypt on bilateral relations between Israel and Ethiopia.

Prof. **Israel Gershoni**, of the Department of Middle Eastern and African History at Tel



LEFT TO RIGHT: PROF. ISRAEL GERSHONI, PROF. SHIMON SHAMIR,
PROF. HAGAI ERLICH, PROF. EYAL ZISSER



Aviv University, delivered a lecture called, “Egyptian Nation’s Identities and the Nile.” In his remarks Gershoni underscored the historically strong relations between Sudan and Egypt. He also touched upon the Nile’s importance in Egyptian-Ethiopian relations and the pressure Egypt traditionally exerted on Ethiopia concerning its relationship with the State of Israel. Following Gershoni, Prof. Erlich briefly explained how he came to author an in-depth study of Israeli-Ethiopian relations and his dedicated interest to the history of Ethiopia itself. He also presented a broad overview of the contents of *Alliance and Alienation*, giving emphasis to the special relationship between the Israel Defense Forces and the Ethiopian Army. Erlich concluded the event with a slide show providing a visual depiction of the dimensions of Israeli-Ethiopian relations.

HOW DID THE MOROCCAN MONARCHY SURVIVE THE ARAB SPRING?

The Annual Georges A. Kaller Lecture in Memory of Amira Margalith z”l

ON May 27, 2013, Associate Professor **Richard Pennell**, the al-Tajir lecturer in Middle East and Islamic History at the University of Melbourne, delivered this year’s Georges A. Kaller Lecture in memory of Amira Margalith z”l. In his engaging and wide-ranging talk, Pennell addressed the question that has been on the minds of most scholars of Morocco since 2011: “How did the Moroccan monarchy survive the Arab Spring?”

After posing the question, Pennell immediately challenged its premise. He pointed out that governments do not just fall but are also overthrown, and suggested that we might look more closely at the people challenging the government rather than solely focusing on the actions of the regime. From this perspective, Pennell discussed the evolution of government policy since Morocco’s independence in 1956 while tying in personal narratives collected from Moroccan asylum seekers who fled their home country. In doing so, Pennell depicted an image of a country engaged in a delicate dance between the



ASSOCIATE PROFESOR RICHARD PENNELL

government’s calibrated autocracy and the people’s careful disobedience, one that conveyed a much greater complexity than the question “How did the Moroccan monarchy survive the Arab Spring?”

After outlining this structural framework Pennell used it to tell a condensed history of Morocco, focusing on the failure of the opposition to unify and the monarchy’s successful cooptation of its disparate elements. According to Pennell, modern Morocco’s first king, Mohammad V, established the pattern of fracturing and coopting elements of the opposition



DR. BRUCE MADDY-WEITZMAN

through his brief but seminal tenure as king. His son Hassan II, a less skilled politician, turned towards autocracy and, although the series of constitutions that he designed from 1962 maintained the formal shape of liberal parliamentary democracy with a multi-party system and a constitutionally guaranteed trade union movement, they increasingly centralized power into the king's hands. His more pedestrian form of oppression ossified the diverse theater of Moroccan politics into those willing to work with the regime and those unwilling. The deepening antagonism eventually led to widespread riots in 1981, during which "Hassan II realized that consolidating state institutions by co-option and repression was not enough: much more importance had to be given to the economy or the regime risked collapse." The Moroccan monarchy's realization that it could not fight opposition with force alone led to a trend of quick adaptation. This pattern would continue through the end of Hassan II rule: repression, social tension, adaptation, and cooptation.

Pennell rounded out his talk by illustrating how King Mohammad VI has continued his father and grandfather's technique of accommodating certain reformist groups who are willing to accept his authority. When protests in 2011 turned political, Mohammad VI quickly swung into action. He convened a Constitutional Reform committee whose members he selected and activated certain reforms that had been planned but left unrealized until the outbreak of the Arab Spring. Thus, as Pennell observed, political maneuvers that were under way before the advent of the Arab Spring crisis were made part of the "new" structure, revealing that the king remains much more than a ceremonial monarch of the state.

NORTH AFRICA AND THE ARAB SPRING, AN INTERIM ASSESSMENT:

An International Forum of the Dayan Center's Maghreb Forum

ON Tuesday May 28, 2013, ten scholars representing universities from around the world gathered at Tel Aviv University for a symposium entitled "North Africa and the Arab Spring, an Interim Assessment." The workshop, organized by Dr. **Bruce Maddy-Weitzman**, aimed to present a holistic picture of the region by examining North Africa across a multitude of perspectives and disciplines.

The first session of the workshop focused on the post-revolution states of Tunisia and Libya. In his prepared remarks, Dr. **Francesco Cavatorta**, of Dublin City University, examined the rise of Islamism since the Revolution. Secularism, explained Cavatorta, was imposed from above by the despotic Bin Ali regime, and so the emergence of Islamist voices in Tunisian politics was a natural consequence of the uprising. He also highlighted several crucial cleavages in Islamist politics—those between activists in exile or in Tunisia, between the urbanites and those from rural areas, and between the older and younger generation. Dr. **Daniel Zisenwine** discussed the continued quest for stability in Tunisia, the "repression gene," and fluctuations between entrenched authoritarianism and democratic change. Overall, over the last two years, Tunisia has witnessed an inclusive constitution drafting process, an expansion of civil liberties, and the development of a vibrant civil life.

Turning to Libya, Prof. **Yehudit Ronen**, of Bar-Ilan University, discussed the country's mounting struggles since it overthrew Muammar Qaddafi. Ronen



DR. DANIEL ZISENWINE



framed her remarks by illustrating two conceptions of power on a collision course in Libya: the power exercised through democratic election and the power wielded through tribal interests and global jihad. Indeed, democratic norms have been difficult to establish in Libya, which poses challenging questions to the logic behind Western intervention in the Libyan revolution.

After the realities of post-regime change, the workshop turned its attention to the non-revolutionary states of North Africa, namely, Morocco and Algeria. Grouping these regional rivals together based on their respective ability to maintain control, the session's scholars began deconstructing the similarities between the two regional powers. **Mansouria Mokhefi**, a scholar of Algerian descent and professor at the Institute for International Relations in Paris, led a discussion that centered on the differences between the two nations on both the national and international levels. Despite its copious gas exports for instance, Algeria has allowed all other components of its economy to lie fallow, creating at once a harmful dependency on high-energy prices and a freewheeling underground economy that is hardly regulated. Morocco, meanwhile, has diversified its economy and leveraged its natural resources and industries to increase trade. Mokhefi pointed to signs of structural instability that threaten the Algerian regime's long-term viability, including conflict between the President and the military, and the disenfranchisement of the poor. Morocco, on the other hand, has managed to contain and co-opt revolutionary demands. Consequently, Algeria is increasingly isolated while Morocco finds itself on the rise geopolitically.

Prof. **Gideon Gera** drew the workshop's attention back to the similarities between Morocco and Algeria. Both Moroccan and Algerian elites are losing their legitimacy to lead among restless and underemployed youth, claimed Gera. Both regimes depend on effective repression mechanisms and resource distribution in order to keep the lid on dissent and discontent.

Associate Professor **Richard Pennell**, the al-Tajir lecturer in Middle East and Islamic History at the University of Melbourne, argued that the Moroccan monarchy actually represents a tool for peaceful negotiation of conflicting interests and successful transfer of power. While the regime is certainly dictatorial, its survival depends on the successful cooperation with and cooptation of divergent political groups in Morocco. On the other hand, Pennell echoed a point made throughout the discussions on Algeria—that the regime is more and more disconnected from the people and apathetic to their desires. As that gap widens, the standoff between the regime and the people could explode. **Samir Ben Layashi** seconded Pennell's point about cooptation, but attributed the Moroccan monarchy's survival more to its effective repression. He reminded his audience that in Morocco, change always is enforced from the top-down, and forecasted that the constitutional changes would amount to nothing. Still, he argued, the Arab Spring brought a new political language to Morocco, with people beginning to openly discuss concepts like “constitutional monarchy” that were never dreamed about before.



EXPERTS DISCUSSING THE ARAB SPRING

The second portion of the conference examined the “social and economic dimensions” of the transforming region. Dr. **Doris Gray**, a scholar of North Africa's justice system and its treatment of and effects on women, delivered a fascinating lecture on the Bin Ali regime's imprisonment of women, the campaign undertaken after the revolution to recognize and rectify the wrongs committed, and the differences between secular and Islamic feminism. Under the Tunisian Islamist party, *Ennahda*, a transitional justice committee was set up and decided that women on the whole would receive 20 percent more in financial compensation than men. Praising these

developments, Gray emphasized that women's narratives must be included in the public record so that national memory, particularly as it relates to Bin Ali, is not distorted. Interestingly, Gray used the historical

record to challenge the impression that the dictator's secular government was more tolerant of women than the Islamists.

Turning from restorative justice to economics, Dr. **Paul Rivlin** gave a comprehensive summary of Arab state economics in general and North African states specifically. Understanding that the rule of the elite offered economic stability at the expense of inclusivity, Rivlin hoped that another way could emerge. But the Arab world faces a series of challenges that make broad economic development difficult: economic growth is weak while demographic growth is strong, the shortage of food which leads to importation, a lack of political stability, a dearth of policy guidelines in the case of new regimes, and the global recession. A rigorous and inventive private sector would be crucial to navigating these problems. But after decades of government intervention in economic life, the private sector in most North African countries remains anemic. Finally, Maddy-Weitzman gave a summary of the Amazigh Cultural Movement's developments and activities since the Arab Spring. The 2011 Moroccan constitution contained an article that, for the first time, enshrined Amazigh as an official national language, a long sought after goal of the movement. Yet since the article's passage, Amazigh have grown increasingly disillusioned by the regime's failure (or unwillingness) to execute its promises. The Movement, however, has focused much of its attention on condemning and combatting the rise of Islamists throughout the region, and it remains to be seen how the movement will balance its criticism of the regime with its support of the regime in its fight against Islamists.

THE MIDDLE EAST IN THE EYE OF THE STORM

A Symposium in Memory of Erga Segev z"l

ON June 4, 2013, the Moshe Dayan Center held a symposium in memory of **Erga Segev z"l**, an undergraduate student of the Department of Middle Eastern and African History. The evening started with an intimate gathering of family, friends, and instructors to dedicate the newly established Erga Segev Study Hall for researchers in the Moshe Dayan Library. Prof. **Uzi Rabi** and Prof. **Eyal Zisser** gave words of tribute to Segev, focusing on her diligence, persistence, and ambition. Friends of Segev, **Ina Shtramel** and **Gilad Shiloach**, shared moving memories of their departed friend's generous character and admirable scholarship.



INAUGURATION OF THE ERGA SEGEV STUDY ROOM



At the symposium Segev's parents, **Yoram** and **Nechama Segev**, received their daughter's diploma and a certificate of merit. Dr. **Mira Tzoreff** delivered a lecture focusing on youth in Egypt and the challenges they continue to face after the elation of their role in Mubarak's ouster and the beginning of the Arab Spring. Prof. Rabi spoke about the deepening religious and tribal rifts in the region that exacerbate the complications that have arisen in the aftermath of the Arab Uprisings.

NECHAMA SEGEV NEXT TO POEM BY NAZIR QABBANI



PROF. UZI RABI AND PROF. EYAL ZISSER (LEFT), SPEAKING
IN MEMORY OF ERGA

Rabi presented the recipients — Eldad Cohen, Moshe Marziano, Khaled Sheikh Ahmed, and Meital Kagan — with their awards.



YORAM SEGEV RECEIVING ERGA'S DIPLOMA AND CERTIFICATE

THE JORDANIAN KINGDOM IN THE EYE OF THE STORM

Annual Lecture in Memory of Prof. Uriel Dann z"l

THE annual lecture in memory of Prof. Uriel Dann z"l took place on June 6, 2013, and included personal memories of the beloved professor as well as celebrated his scholarly contributions to the field of Middle Eastern and African History. Prof. **Uzi Rabi** delivered words of tribute about Prof. Dann as a scholar, mentor, and colleague. Rabi also expressed his gratitude to the Meiri-Dann family for their continued support of Ph.D. candidates in the School of History at Tel Aviv University.

Dr. **Naomi Meiri**, daughter of Prof. Dann, recounted personal memories of her father and presented a slideshow of her parents' lives together. Dr. Meiri also awarded this year's Uriel Dann Memorial Scholarships to the recipients, Ph.D. candidates: Hadas Sofer-Shabtai, Hadas Mugrabi, and Joel Parker. On behalf of her fellow awardees, Hadas Sofer-Shabtai delivered a speech focusing on Prof. Dann's groundbreaking research that she utilizes in her study of sociological trends in Iraq of the mid-20th century.

Prof. **Asher Susser** was the keynote speaker of the evening and delivered a lecture titled "The Jordanian Kingdom in the Eye of the Storm." Also a student of the late-Prof. Dann, Susser shared his personal memories of his teacher and colleague, and then launched into a fascinating lecture on the Arab Uprisings' affects on Jordan. Due to the situation in Egypt and, especially, in Syria, Susser contended that Jordanians are less eager to start a rebellion against the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. He also argued that the most important factor in Jordan's future is the economy, and not the pace of political reforms. Finally, Susser commented that despite the many political factions opposed to the Hashemite Kingdom, the royal family continues to enjoy a measure stability that is, as of yet, undisturbed.



PROF. ASHER SUSER

THE 37TH ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF THE MIDDLE EAST AND ISLAMIC STUDIES ASSOCIATION OF ISRAEL (MEISAI)

THE 37th annual MEISAI Conference, co-hosted by the Department of Middle Eastern and African History and the Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies at Tel Aviv University, took place on June 6, 2013, and included lectures by distinguished scholars, movie screenings, and a musical performance. This year's conference was divided into four rounds. Dr. **Haggai Erlich**, of the Open University in Israel, hosted a discussion on "Colonialism, Islam, and Space in Africa: A New Look." Dr. **Mira Tzoreff** hosted a seminar on "Classical Terminology, Modern Usage: Ijtihad in the Twentieth Century." Dr. **Esther Webman** chaired a seminar exploring "Digital Innovations in Research on the Middle East and Islam." MEISAI, established in the fall of 1949 at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, is an independent, apolitical, non-profit association. The organization aims to stimulate interest, disseminate knowledge, promote research of the larger Middle East, and to cultivate cultural relations and amity among peoples of the region.

WOMEN'S VOICES NOW: WOMEN'S VOICES FROM THE MUSLIM WORLD

ON June 16, 2013, the Dayan Center participated in the Global Tour 2013 of **Women's Voices Now (WVN)**, a Los Angeles-based non-profit organization that seeks to empower all women living in Muslim-majority societies by providing platforms for free expression. At the afternoon symposium, two films from WVN's 2011 film festival, ***Women's Voices from the Muslim World: A Short-Film Festival***, were screened and accompanied with a lecture by **Samir Ben Layashi** titled, "Women's Bodies in Public and Private Spaces in Light of the Arab Spring." The two films screened, "You Can Dream: Stories of Moroccan Women Who Do" and "Thorns and Silk," focused on the successes of women



in Morocco and the West Bank, respectively, highlighting themes of persistence in the face of adversity and emphasizing the importance of education in first identifying and then achieving personal and communal goals. The lecture centered around the effect of the Arab Spring on perceptions of women's bodies in public and private spaces, focusing on Morocco and Egypt.

A lively discussion followed Ben Layashi's lecture that drew together several themes within the discourse of feminism and sexual revolution. He also identified how the discourse on women's rights, including in Muslim-majority societies, is often framed in terms of national or religious responsibility, and suggested that not until this connection was severed would there be a truly free space to discuss women's rights.



MODERN MYTHS OF MUSLIM ANTI-SEMITISM

ON June 17, 2013, Prof. **Mark Cohen**, of the Near Eastern Studies Department at Princeton University, delivered a lecture entitled “Modern Myths of Muslim anti-Semitism.” This was the culmination of Prof. Cohen’s visit to Tel Aviv University as a visiting Sackler fellow. During his stay, Cohen dedicated his time to meetings with researchers and young scholars studying Muslim-Jewish relations from the Moshe Dayan Center and the Faculty of Humanities.

20 YEARS SINCE THE OSLO ACCORDS – SUCCESS AND/OR FAILURE

Nearly two decades have passed since the signing of the Oslo Accords, yet Israel and the Palestinians are still without a comprehensive peace agreement. On June 20, 2013, the Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies along with the Tami Steinmetz Center for Peace Research, the S. Daniel Abraham Center for Strategic Dialogue, and the Heinrich Böll Stiftung organized a conference to evaluate the successes and failures of the Oslo Accords. The conference explored several aspects of the agreement, ranging from its inception, to political lessons learned, and the impact the Accords have had on both Israeli and Palestinian societies. Participants, including members of the Israeli Knesset and a former NATO military chairman, also discussed the implementation of the Accords within the context of international law, and brainstormed new ideas for a future solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

In the evaluation of the Oslo Accords, Prof. **Shimon Shamir** emphasized how the agreement diplomatically allowed Israel to forge new relations with the international community. Dr. **Ron Pundak**, co-chair of the Palestinian-Israeli Peace NGO Forum and former director of the Peres Center for Peace, expressed that a major success of the Oslo Accords was that for the first time, Israelis and Palestinians recognized each other’s mutual rights to the land. Similarly, in the panel on “The Impact of the Oslo Accords on Israeli and Palestinian Societies,” Dr. **Taisir Amre**, economic specialist for the Palestinian Authority, said that Oslo was successful in creating communication between the two societies and in breaking the Israeli taboo of not talking to Palestinians.

According to Dr. **Ephraim Sneh**, of the S. Daniel Abraham Center, Oslo was based on the simple idea of “If you give, you’ll get.” However, Sneh recounted the critical downfall of Oslo as early as 1995 with the assassination of then-Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin. Prof. **Asher Susser** pointed out a major flaw in the Oslo Accords: that the Israelis went to negotiate based on 1967, while the Palestinians went to negotiate based on 1948; and the significance of the difference between the two dates directly relates to the issue of land and the right of return of the Palestinian refugees.

Looking toward the future, Dr. **Ephraim Lavie**, director of the Tami Steinmetz Center, stressed that as painful as the price of a two-state solution may be, it will not be as painful as Israel becoming a bi-national state. Whereas Israeli MK **Tzipi Hotovely** stated that the process of creating a two-state solution has failed and that Israelis should not be afraid of the demographic challenges created by implementing a one-state

solution. Contrarily, Israeli MK **Isaac Herzog**, spoke to the point that Secretary of State John Kerry's efforts in the region have advanced the peace process in recent months, although something more is still needed to bring Netanyahu and Abu Mazen to the negotiating table.

Giving the perspective from the international community, General **Klaus Naumann**, former chairman of the North Atlantic Military Committee of NATO, said that the peace process in Israel remains in the national interest of the United States as well as the European countries, in that Israel is the only democratic state in the Middle East.



ISRAELI MK ISAAC HERZOG

CONTEMPORARY ISLAMIC THOUGHT IN ISRAEL

A Seminar of the Konrad-Adenauer Program for Arab-Jewish Cooperation at the Moshe Dayan Center

On July 4, 2013, the Konrad Adenauer Program for Jewish-Arab Cooperation held a research seminar on *Contemporary Islamic Thought in Israel*. The seminar discussed several key questions pertaining to the nature of Islamic thought in Israel: What organizations are currently contributing to the development of Islamic thought in Israel — members of the Islamic Movement, imams of local mosques, or qadis of shari'a courts? Does the *fiqh al-aqalliyyat al-muslimah* (Jurisprudence of Muslim Minorities) doctrine, originally developed for communities of Muslim emigrants to the West, also apply to the case of an indigenous Muslim minority? Moreover, is it valid to speak of "liberal Islam in a Jewish state"?



MR. ARIK RUDNITZKY AND IMAM OF THE MOSQUE OF RAHAT



DR. SAGI POLKA

Dr. **Sagi Polka**, of Ben Gurion University in the Negev, discussed the guidelines of the *wasatiyyah* doctrine developed by Sheikh Youssef al-Qaradawi. Polka noted that Qaradawi allowed Muslim citizens of non-Muslim states to participate in national elections as long as such participation proves beneficial for the Muslim community and as long as the non-Muslim regime respects the community's human and religious rights. However, Qaradawi rejects participation in Knesset elections because of the implied recognition of the State of Israel. Polka concluded that in Qaradawi's view, Muslim participation for Knesset elections is a unique exception to his *wasatiyyah* doctrine.



Dr. Mohanad Mustafa, of the University of Haifa and the College for Academic Studies in Or Yehuda, discussed the question of whether or not the Muslim minorities' doctrine is applicable to the case of the Muslims in Israel. He contended that, contrary to the case of Muslim minorities in non-Muslim majority countries, such as Western Europe where the doctrine aims to facilitate the integration of the Muslim minority in western societies, in Israel, such a process never took place due to the implied Muslim recognition of Israel as a Jewish and democratic state. Moreover, as opposed to the case of Muslim minorities in Europe, efforts to develop a coherent approach for the Muslim minority in Israel, eventually, did not contribute to a better integration of the Muslim citizens in mainstream Israeli society.



DR. MOHANAD MUSTAFA



QADI IYAD ZAHALKA

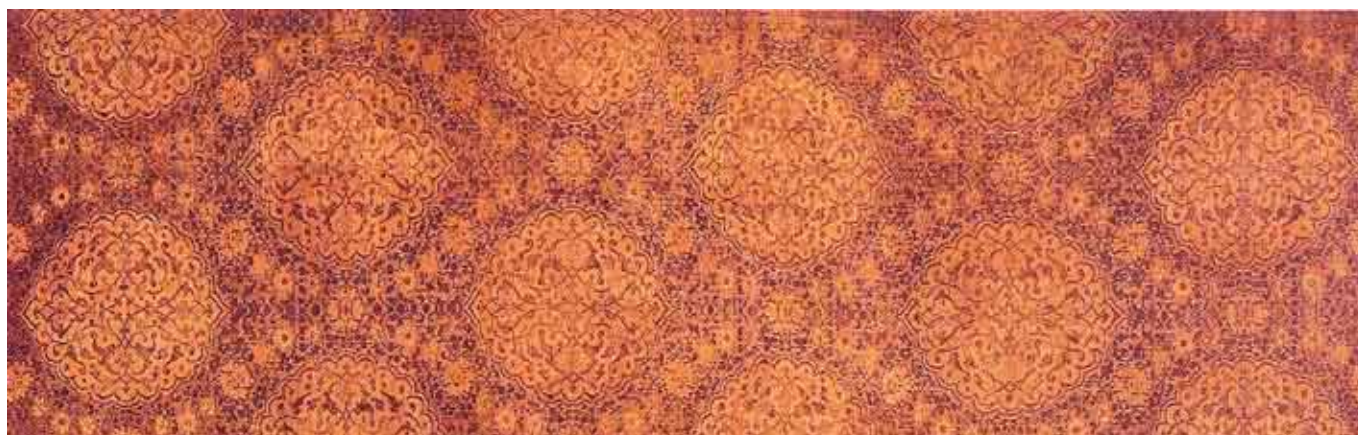
Qadi Iyad Zahalka, qadi of the Islamic Shari'a Court in Jerusalem, addressed the role of reformist Islamic thought in developing jurisprudence for Muslim minorities. Notwithstanding the historical and geopolitical differences between the case of the Muslim minorities in Europe and that of the Muslim community in Israel, Zahalka referred to several similarities that provide a joint basis for developing jurisprudence for Muslim minorities in both cases. He contended that in the two cases of Europe and

Israel, participation in national elections is justified on the basis of Muslim *maslaha*: serving the interest of the members of the Muslim community in defense of their lawful human and civil rights.

Prof. Ron Shacham, of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, commented on the lectures delivered in the seminar. **Arik Rudnitzky**, project manager of the Konrad Adenauer Program for Jewish-Arab Cooperation, served as moderator.



MS. PALINA KEDEM
(KONRAD ADENAUER STIFTUNG)



THE EIGHTH ANNUAL TAU WORKSHOP ON ISRAEL AND THE MIDDLE EAST

FROM July 7-18, 2013, the Moshe Dayan Center hosted the Eighth Annual TAU Workshop on Israel and the Middle East. The intensive 12-day academic workshop and travel program offers instructors of Middle East Studies a unique, balanced, and on-the-ground learning experience that focuses on the history of the Arab-Israeli conflict and contemporary issues related to Israel, the Palestinian territories, and the broader Middle East. Each year, a diverse group of Middle East Studies lecturers representing universities from around the world is selected to participate in the program on an invitation-only basis.



JERUSALEM

This year's workshop included participants from universities in Morocco, Turkey, India, Indonesia, Europe, Russia, China, Brazil, and the United States.

They gained insight and engaged in discussion with renowned historians, including Benny Morris, Mahmoud Yazbak, and Anita Shapira; political scientists Gabriel Ben-Dor and Khalil Shikaki; as well as foreign diplomats, journalists, mapping specialists, former intelligence officers of the IDF, and former senior officials involved in Israeli-Palestinian negotiations. In addition to participating in sessions led by top local scholars, participants visited key cities and sites that are relevant to the history of the Arab-Israeli conflict. The group traveled to Jewish and Muslim holy places, namely, the Western Wall and the Temple Mount, the security fence, the Golan Heights, Yad Vashem, Sderot, and Umm Al-Fahm.



PROF. BENNY MORRIS

The aspiration of the Workshop is to inspire scholars to advance their own research on the Arab-Israeli conflict and the region, and to create a more sophisticated learning experience for students at their home universities. They come away from the program with a deepened understanding of different perspectives on the conflict, with insights into contemporary issues related to Israel and the broader Middle East, and with personal connections to Israeli and Palestinian counterparts as well as to their fellow participants.

As of summer 2013, The **TAU Workshop** boasts more than 150 alumni and to have established a network of scholars around the globe with whom the Dayan Center continues to forge both personal and professional relationships.

Aside from the educational experience, the workshop serves as an academic platform for scholars to exchange views and pursue joint academic activities such as conferences, student exchanges, and journal publications. The Dayan Center has led the way for such joint ventures, by inviting Workshop alumni to contribute to ***Bustan: The Middle East Book Review***. Additionally, the Workshop has served as the conduit for cooperative agreements now existing between TAU and the Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences in Shanghai, China; and the ASAN Institute for Policy Studies in Seoul, South Korea. It has also spurred student group visits to Israel from several universities including Sweden's Lund University, North Carolina State University, and South Dakota University.



CHRISTIAN ZIONISM, THE ISRAEL LOBBY, AND THE HOLY LAND: HOW IDEOLOGY DIVIDES AMERICAN LIBERALS AND CONSERVATIVES OVER MIDDLE EAST POLICY

ON July 7, 2013, Dr. **Peter Hays Gries**' lecture, "Christian Zionism, the Israel Lobby, and the Holy Land: How Ideology Divides American Liberals and Conservatives Over Middle East Policy," explored American public opinion and foreign policy in regard to Israel. Gries, a professor in the Department of International and Area Studies at the University of Oklahoma, claimed that America's foreign policy relations with Israel are not dictated by a powerful lobby of Jewish Americans as Mearsheimer and Walt suggest, nor are they wholly reflective of American public opinion across the board as Mead claims. Rather, the US-Israel relationship is a function of the domestic American conservative-liberal divide, biblical literalism within the Republican Party, and the American electoral system.

Gries, a US-China relations expert, learned from a survey he conducted exploring Americans' attitudes towards foreign states that liberals tend to have more positive, "warmer" feelings toward other countries and international institutions. In contrast, conservatives tended to see foreign countries as a threat, or inferior to the United States. Even so, there are only two countries that conservatives feel more warmly about than do liberals: England, and, by a much wider margin, Israel. Gries proposes that a combination of social and religious factors is the source of these attitudes. Protestant Christian conservatives, particularly White Evangelicals, are more likely to take the Bible more literally, with some seeing Israel as the Holy Land which must belong entirely to the Jews in order for the Second Coming of Christ to occur. Others are trying to repent for past Christian antisemitism, or consider blessing and supporting Israel to be a source of religious salvation. Social dominance theory also plays a part in conservative attitudes towards Israel, identifying Jews as superior to Muslims or Arabs by way of belief in a social hierarchy.

Regarding the impact of American electoral politics, Gries argued that Republican political candidates are chosen by the most extreme five to ten percent of their party as a result of the primary system. This results in the election of politicians who are as extreme as their voters, who then promote hawkish foreign policy positions in an effort to maintain support among their constituents.

While some American conservatives view the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in biblical terms, American liberals tend instead to view it through the lens of the American Civil Rights movement. Beginning roughly with the Six-Day War, they have begun to see Israel as less of a David and more of a Goliath, with Palestinians replacing Israel as the new underdog. This led to the development of warmer feelings towards Palestinians and cooler feelings towards Israel among American liberals, fracturing the liberal electorate on questions of foreign policy. Gries concluded with a message to Israeli right-wing parties: even with a moderately liberal president, the American government is on Israel's side.



MOSHE DAYAN CENTER FORUMS

Forum on Kurdish Society, History and Culture

ON March 5, 2013, the *Forum on Kurdish Society, History and Culture* hosted **Jonathan Spyer**, a senior analyst of Middle Eastern Affairs at IDC Herzliya's GLORIA Center. Prof. **Ofra Bengio**, chair of the Forum, delivered opening remarks regarding the oft-overlooked situation of Syria's Kurdish population. In order to address this issue, in Spyer's lecture, titled "**Kurdistan Rising? An Eyewitness Account from the Kurdish Areas of Syria**," he shared his experiences as a journalist who has spent a considerable amount of time in northeastern Syria. Spyer discussed specific topics including Kurdish oil ambitions in the region, Kurdish militants and gender politics within the PKK, and the PKK's relationship with the Kurdish Democratic Union Party (PYD), the latter of which is operating in Syrian Kurdistan. He also gave a broad overview of the situation of the Kurds in Syria before and, now, during the Syrian civil war. He concluded his remarks by noting the uncertainty that lies ahead for the Kurds of Syria in the eventual aftermath of the ongoing conflict.

ON March 10, 2013, the Forum gathered for a session titled "**Tribalism and National Identity in Iraq**." Prof. Bengio discussed developments in Kurdish identity and how it has been affected by the changing political reality in Turkey. Dr. **Eli Amarilyo** explained his view that national identity in Iraq was formulated as a result of tribal tension. Prof. **Meir Litvak** delivered a short lecture on the Sunni-Shi'i conflict in tribal society of Iraq.

ON April 7, 2013, the Forum welcomed **Tülin Daloğlu**, a journalist and columnist for *Al-Monitor*, to its second meeting, titled "**Turkey's Dream, and the Kurds' Expectations: Can They Meet?**" Daloğlu's remarks focused on current Turkish foreign policy and the many players and factors involved. Specifically, she gave her analysis of the agenda and motivations of Turkey's Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu. According to Daloğlu, the foreign minister concentrates on making a historical connection between the old territories of the Ottoman Empire and modern Turkey, which is encapsulated by his Strategic Depth policy. She also critiqued former-PKK leader and icon, Abdullah Öcalan's "Democratic Civilization" program, and touched upon the current peace process in Turkey between the Turkish authorities and representatives of the Kurdish ethno-nationalist movement, known as the Imralı Process.

Joint Sessions of Club Turkey (Bimat Turkiya) and the Forum on Kurdish Society, History and Culture

UNDER the auspices of the Moshe Dayan Center, Club Turkey (*Bimat Turkiya*) and the Forum on Kurdish Society, History and Culture co-organized a number of important international guests to inform, debate, and discuss current events in Turkey, Turkish-Kurdish issues, and the Turkey-Israel relationship.

ON March 4, 2013, at the semester's first session, titled "**The Dynamics of Policy, Ideology, and Personality in Turkish Foreign Policy**," the Dayan Center welcomed **Burak Bekdil**, a leading columnist for *Hürriyet* and *Hürriyet Daily News* in Istanbul. In his remarks, Bekdil stated that for the first time in Turkish political history, Erdoğan's AKP government made the average Turk a part of the foreign policy-making process. By regularly measuring the pulse of the masses through opinion polls on various aspects of Turkish foreign policy, the AKP government imparted a sense of importance upon ordinary citizens, gaining the ruling party continued popular support. According to Bekdil, despite its hawkish stance on certain foreign policy issues as seen in its attitude towards Israel, Turkey's foreign policy can also be defined as pragmatic. Furthermore, the ruling AKP makes its foreign policy choices through the lens of religion. Both Prime Minister Erdoğan and Foreign



Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu's rhetoric reflects this phenomena. In addition, their ideas are shaped by memories of a nostalgic Ottoman past and on this basis, they set out to "correct the flow of history," and to "recreate Turks' past glory." One major oversight of the Turkish leaders and the AKP, said Bekdil, is that they think in terms of the Ottoman Empire's heterogeneous past and ignore the reality of nation-states. Bekdil shared his opinion that not much will change in the near future of Turkish foreign policy decisions, especially when Erdoğan is expected to become Turkey's first president.

In the second joint-meeting of the semester, Club Turkey and the Forum on Kurdish Society, History and Culture invited **Hugh Pope**, director of the International Crisis Group's Turkey/Cyprus Project to discuss "**Turkey, Syria, and the Kurds: The Blurring of a Middle Eastern Border.**" The conference took place on April 28, 2013, and was moderated by Prof. **Ofra Bengio** and Prof. **Ehud Toledano**, of Tel Aviv University. As a representative of the International Crisis Group, an independent, non-profit, non-governmental organization committed to preventing and resolving deadly conflict, Pope spoke mainly about the ongoing civil war in Syria, and Turkish foreign policy toward Damascus. Pope shared that the majority of the Turkish population disapproves of the Turkish government's Syria policy. Regardless of public opinion, however, the situation of Syria's Kurds who have sought refuge in northern Syria is causing the Turkish authorities a great deal of anxiety. Pope also divulged his observations on the current peace process that is taking place between the PKK and the Turkish government and the recently signed oil contracts between the Kurdish Regional Government and Turkey. Overall, Pope stated, Turkey's "neo-Ottomanist foreign policy" has proven to negatively affect its relations with the Arab states as well as with Israel.

On May 12, 2013, in a session titled "**Transformation of Domestic Alliances in Turkish Politics in 2013,**" Professor **Gökhan Bacık**, the director of the Middle East Strategic Research Center at Zirve University in Turkey, spoke about the changing political situation of Turkey. In particular, Bacık focused on the power struggle between the more liberal Kemalist Party and the leading Justice and Development Party (AKP).

On June 2, 2013, Club Turkey and the Forum on Kurdish Society, History and Culture welcomed Dr. **Hassan Mneimneh**, senior transatlantic fellow for MENA and the Islamic World from the German Marshall Fund of the United States, to discuss "**Iraq: The End of the Nation-State? The Stakes for Turkey and the Region.**" In his remarks, Mneimneh concentrated on the popular question in the discourse of the MENA region: Whether or not Turkey should be considered as a viable model for the Arab states? To address this point, Mneimneh gave a brief overview of the nation-state concept and democracy's development in the MENA region. He also discussed the relationship and the balance of power in the Iraq-Iran-Turkey triangle, and alluded to the fact that, in recent months, Turkey's foreign policy approach has played into Iraqi sectarian politics, greatly diminishing its prestige in the aforementioned triangle. Consequently, the Turkish government is trying to regain its footing.

In the final meeting of the semester held on June 9, 2013, the two platforms welcomed Prof. **Fuat Keyman**, director of the Istanbul Policy Center at Sabancı University. Prof. Keyman addressed the latest developments in the Gezi Park protests taking place in Istanbul. At this meeting, entitled "**Turkey: The Transformation-Democratization Paradox,**" Keyman also highlighted the notable differences between today's mobilized youth in Turkey and previous generations. Since 2002, Keyman claims Turkey has been in the midst of a significant transformation period, one outcome of which is the domination of the AKP and the implications therein. He also offered an analysis of the political environment following the latest elections and gave an update on the status of the constitutional commission charged with reforming Turkey's constitution. With regard to the future of the constitution, according to Keyman the ongoing peace process with the Kurds is of utmost importance for Turkey's future. He also noted that despite the Kurdish peace process and the measure of positive publicity it gains the Turkish prime minister, the Gezi Park protests may have severely damaged Erdoğan's presidential ambitions. Consequently, Keyman argued that the March 2014 local elections will be a crucial moment for Erdoğan and his presidency's fate.

FOLLOW US ON TWITTER!

THE Moshe Dayan Center is pleased to announce the creation of its official Twitter account. Follow [@DayanCenter](#) for links to important articles, Dayan Center publications, and special announcements.

DIWANIYYA UPDATE

Diwaniyya – Arabic for informal council – is the Dayan Center's audio podcast. Produced by **Shoshi Shmulovitz** and **Ben Silsbee**, Diwaniyya brings audiences thought-provoking conversations on Middle East culture, history, and politics. In recent episodes, **Ceng Sagnic**, a Kurdish language instructor at Tel Aviv University, discusses Kurdish identities, languages, and nationalisms. Prof. **Joel Gordon**, an expert on Egyptian cinematic history at the University of Arkansas, explores *Bab al-Hadid*, a classic Egyptian film about life in 1950s Cairo, and the life of the director, Youssef Chahine. **Duygu Atlas** analyzes the Gezi Park protests in Turkey and what the movement means for Turkish democracy. **Heidi Basch-Harod**, executive director of the NGO Women's Voices Now, explains why the right to self-expression is the first step on the path toward expanding women's rights in the Middle East. Read more and listen at www.diwaniyya.org.

NADI CINEMA: THE MOSHE DAYAN CENTER'S FILM CLUB

Nadi Cinema, the Middle East Film Club, brings together students and researchers for monthly film screenings and discussions. Nadi Cinema features poignant films exploring various issues in Middle Eastern and Muslim societies today. This spring, **Joyce van de Bildt** presented *Rabat*, a road trip film about second-generation Moroccan immigrants in the Netherlands. Dr. **Mira Tzoreff** presented *Terrorism and the Kebab*, an absurdist comedy about Egyptian bureaucracy. Diwaniyya Podcast Producer **Shoshi Shmulovitz** presented *Cairo 678*, which explores the scourge of sexual harassment in Egyptian society. **Samir Ben Layashi** presented *La Source des Femmes*, a film about North African village women who stand up for themselves using unconventional means. Ph.D. Candidate **Miriam Nissimov** presented *A Separation*, an Academy Award-winning family drama set in Iran.

Nadi Cinema events are free and open to the public.





MOSHE DAYAN CENTER INTERNS

In the latter half of the 2012-13 academic year, the Moshe Dayan Center hosted the largest number of interns to date. Our interns came from across the United States, Germany, France, Turkey, and Israel, and volunteered at the Center for a minimum of two months. This diligent and capable cohort of interns worked on a variety of topics: from examining the Syrian Civil War, to understanding Egypt's ongoing revolution, and participated in the editing process of Dayan Center publications.

Dayan Center interns also took the lead in transferring the hundreds of thousands of newspapers stored in the Arabic Press Archives into digital formats. Without their dedicated efforts, we would not be able to embark upon the important project of digitizing the Arabic Press Archives. To learn more about the Archives and the benefits of digitizing our collection, please contact Prof. **Uzi Rabi**.

On behalf of the Moshe Dayan Center, we extend our sincere gratitude to: **Adam Azoff** (Tel Aviv University), **Linda Dayan** (Bard College), **Zachary Fenster** (Middlebury University), **Berkay Gulen** (University of London), **Sabeeh Jameel** (New York University), **Matthias Kaspers** (Dresden University of Technology), **Joo Hyung Lee** (American University), **Taara Savage-el** (American University), **Mirella Seguin** (Tel Aviv University), **Nazzi Soroush** (Haverford College), **Philip Steinberg** (Colgate University), and **Myriam Messaoudi** (Pantheon-Sorbonne University).



OUR AMAZING SUMMER INTERNS

We would also like to acknowledge the continued generosity of Mr. **Kenneth Stein**, whose annual contribution to the Amira Margalith z"l Summer Internship Program at Tel Aviv University makes it possible for the Center to continue offering this prestigious and highly-competitive opportunity for young scholars of Middle Eastern Studies. As the Amira Margalith Summer Intern, Zachary Fenster was able to pursue his research tracking the relations between North African states and the Amazigh cultural movement together with Dr. **Bruce Maddy-Weitzman**.

VISITING SCHOLARS

DR. Iris Seri-Hersch is a postdoctoral fellow at the *Institut de Recherches et d'Etudes sur le Monde Arabe et Musulman (IREMAM)* in Aix-en-Provence, France. Since fall 2012, she has been affiliated with the Dayan Center as a visiting scholar and will continue in the coming academic year. Her current research aims to culminate in the writing of a social history of Jisr al-Zarqa (an Arab-Israeli coastal village) from a transnational perspective, using both written and oral sources. Her project is funded by a Swiss National Science Foundation grant.

Other subjects of Seri-Hersch's expertise include the history of modern Sudan, trans-imperial migrations, and education in Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. In her Ph.D. dissertation, she investigated the teaching of history in colonial and early postcolonial Sudan. In July 2013, Seri-Hersch published, "From One Sudan to Two Sudans: Dynamics of Partition and Unification from a Historical Perspective," *Tel Aviv Notes*, Vol. 7, No. 13.

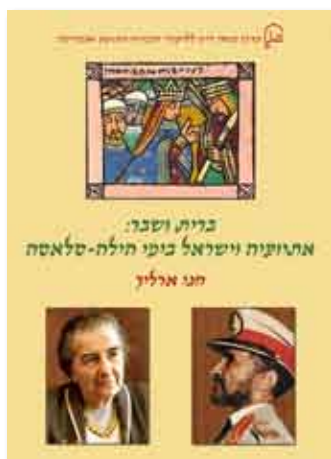
Ceyhun Cicekci, a Ph.D. candidate and research assistant at Canakkale Onsekiz Mart University in Turkey, was a visiting scholar at the Moshe Dayan Center from June through September 2013, which was made possible by the Süleyman Demirel Scholarship Program. At the Center he furthered his research on his doctoral dissertation, which deals with Turkish-Israeli relations in the ongoing period of the Justice and Development (AKP) Party's leadership of Turkey.

NEW PUBLICATIONS



PALESTINE: A STATE IN THE MAKING?

In this three-essay collection, Ephraim Lavie and Yitzhak Gal (eds.) present a comprehensive analysis of the developing plans for the construction of a Palestinian state. In consideration of the situation on the ground, *Palestine: A State in the Making?* (Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies and the Tami Steinmetz Center for Peace Research, 2012, Hebrew) examines issues of institution building, the economy, and geographical and municipal planning. Assessing the achievements of the Palestinians in light of the limitations and challenges facing their national aspirations, the book discusses the extent to which these limitations are a barrier to the advancement of Palestine as a viable political entity; and questions what the necessary conditions are for the consolidation and growth of a sustainable Palestinian economy.



ALLIANCE AND ALIENATION: ETHIOPIA AND ISRAEL IN THE DAYS OF HAILE SELASSIE

Israel invested in Ethiopia during the rule of Haile Selassie more so than in any other country in the world. In the context of David Ben-Gurion's vision calling for the establishment of an "alliance of the periphery" (to include both Turkey and Iran) in opposition to the united Arab world, Israel assisted the Emperor Selassie in a variety of areas, primarily those relating to security. According to the author, Prof. Haggai Erlich, Ethiopians put their trust in the Israelis, inviting them to assist in sensitive national affairs such as intelligence and the training of elite military units. However, seeds of failure were buried beneath the infrastructure of the alliance from the outset. *Alliance and Alienation: Ethiopia and Israel in the Days of Haile Selassie* (Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies, 2013, Hebrew) is based on an assortment of documents and testimony following the downward spiral of events that took place between Addis Ababa and Jerusalem up until the Yom Kippur War.



MAHMOUD DARWISH: POET OF THE PALESTINIAN ILIAD

In a clear and convincing work depicting the life of renowned Palestinian poet Mahmoud Darwish, Mona Abu Eid's *Mahmoud Darwish: Poet of the Palestinian Iliad* (Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies, 2013, Hebrew) presents the iconic poet's status and position in Palestinian politics and, most importantly, his creative works and cultural legacy. The author establishes a broad theoretical framework demonstrating her deep familiarity with the relevant scholarly discourse. Through Abu Eid's comparative approach to poets who filled a similar role as part of their respective national movements, her prolific knowledge and synthesis of the research provides for an engaging narrative of the legendary Darwish, his work, and his legacy.



RESEARCHERS' NEWS

Uzi Rabi's book chapter, "The Obama Administration's Middle East Policy: Changing Priorities," was published in the edited volume by Ji-Hyang Jang and Clement Henry, *The Arab Spring: Will it lead to democratic transitions?* (The ASAN Institute, 2012). His book chapter, "A Political Culture and Foreign Policy Shaped by a Moderate Religious View — the Case of the Sultanate of Oman," was published in Michaela Hoffmann-Ruf's edited volume, *The Ibadism of Oman, Its Overseas Development and its Perception Overseas*, Vol. 2 of a series titled *Studies in Ibadism and Oman*, edited by Abdarrahman Al Salimi and Heinz Gaube (Olms Hildesheim, 2013).

In August 2012, Rabi presented his paper, "Failed states in the Middle East: a renewed competition of primordial identities," at the Middle East Institute at the National University of Singapore. In November 2012, he delivered a paper at the annual conference of the Middle East Studies Association (MESA) in Denver, CO, titled "Iran and Israel: Two Years After The Arab Spring." In February 2013, Rabi gave his paper, "Two years after the Arab Spring: A changing geopolitical environment in the Middle East," as a panelist at the Center for EU Enlargement Studies at the Central European University, in Budapest, Hungary. He was also a discussant at the 13th Annual Herzliya Conference (March 2013) in the roundtable session titled "Long-term Middle East Scenarios."

Rabi contributed several analyses and interviews to Israeli and international newspapers and TV channels.

Duygu Atlas presented her paper, titled "Between Institutional Reform and Rising Nationalism: The State of Non-Muslim Minorities in Turkey," at the BRISMES Graduate Conference 2013 on *Minorities and Majorities: Between Marginality and Participation in the Middle East*. The conference was held at Oxford University on May 8-9, 2013.

Irit Back's article, "From the Colony to the Postcolony: Sufis and Wāḥābīs in Senegal and Nigeria," was published in an edited volume by E. Ann McDougall, *Engaging with a Legacy: Nehemia Levtzion, 1935-2003* (Routledge, 2013). On June 6, 2013, Back presented her paper, "On the Way to Mecca: British, French and Africans in the hajj Paths," at the Annual MEISAI Conference held at Tel Aviv University. She also authored, "From West Africa to Mecca: Colonial attitudes toward the hajj compared," which she presented at the Fifth European Conference on African Studies: *African Dynamics in a Multipolar World*, held in Lisbon, Portugal (June 26-29, 2013). She also published an article, "Iran and Nigeria: Friendship or Rivalry?" in *Iran Pulse*, No. 54 (January 14, 2013).

Ofra Bengio's book *The Kurds of Iraq: Building a State Within a State* was translated into Kurdish and published by Aras Publishers in the Kurdistan Regional Government (2013). Her article, "Will the Kurds get their way," was published in *The American Interest*, Vol. VIII, No. 2 (November-December 2012); her article, "The Kurdish challenge to the Turkish nation-state," was published in ORSAM (January 20, 2013); her article, "Ankara, Irbil, Baghdad: Relations fraught with dilemmas," was published in *Ortadoğu Etutleri* (summer 2013).

On November 14, 2012, Bengio presented her paper, "Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hide: AKP's ambiguities vis-à-vis the Kurds," at the Institute for National Security Studies conference on *Ten Years Since the Rise to Power of the Justice and Development Party in Turkey*. At the Ninth International European Turkey Civic Commission in Brussels (December 5-6, 2012), she delivered a speech, titled "The upheavals in the Middle East and their impact on the Kurds." On May 2, 2013, Bengio presented a paper, "Perspectives for the solution," at an international conference on *Democratization of the Middle East and the Kurdish Question*, organized by the Norwegian Peace Council (Norway), Kurdistan National Congress (KNK), Norwegian Peace Association, and the Nansen Peace Centre in Oslo, Norway. From June 12-14, 2013, Bengio attended the 12th METU Conference on International Relations, titled *Turkey and the World*, where she presented her paper, "Ankara, Irbil, Baghdad: Relations fraught with dilemmas," in Ankara, Turkey. On July 10, 2013, at the conference *Turkey Whereto?*, organized by the Begin Sadat Center, she delivered her paper, "The Kurdish issue in Turkish foreign policy."

Bengio contributed articles to *Hürriyet Daily News*, *Today's Zaman*, *The Jerusalem Post*, and *Haaretz*. She was interviewed by various media outlets, including *Özgur Politika*, *Awena* and *Lvin*.

Joyce van de Bildt delivered a paper on "King Mohammed VI's policy towards Moroccan citizens residing in Europe," in November 2012 at the Middle East Studies Association of North America's (MESA) annual meeting in Denver, CO.

Harel Chorev-Halewa's article, "The Spring of the Networked Nations: Social Media and the Arab Spring," was published in *The Levantine Review*, Vol. 1, No.2 (December 2012). On November 13, 2012, at the annual MESA Conference held in Denver, Colorado, Chorev-Halewa delivered a paper titled, "Networking Organization: A New Approach to Elite families in the Fertile Crescent."

Hay Eytan Cohen Yanarocak co-authored "Casting off the shackles of Libya's Arab-Middle Eastern foreign policy: a unique case of rapprochement with non-Arab Turkey (1970s–2011)," in *The Journal of North African Studies*, Vol. 18, No.3 (October 23, 2012). On March 10, 2013, Cohen Yanarocak presented his paper, "Great Depression: Neo Ottomanism vs. Zionism," at the Göztepe Kültür Festival in Istanbul, Turkey. On June 23, 2013, Cohen Yanarocak delivered a paper titled "Unrest in the network: From Tahrir Square to Taksim Square" at a conference organized by Tel Aviv University's Orange Internet Research Center.

Rachel Kantz Feder presented her paper, "Violence in Muhammad Baqir al-Sadr's Thought and Activism: Between Hagiography and Historiography," at a workshop on *Conceptions of Violence in Modern Shi'ism as part of The Legitimate and Illegitimate Violence in Islamic Thought Project*, organized by the Institute of Arab and Islamic Studies, University of Exeter (December 17, 2012).

On June 10, 2013, for her doctoral work, Feder was awarded the international Dan David Prize in the category of Ideas, Public Intellectuals, and Philosophers.

Brandon Friedman's review essay, "Arabian War Games: Cataclysmic Wars Redraw the Map of the Middle East," was published in *Comparative Strategy*, Vol. 32, No. 2 (2013). His review essay, "The Arab Gulf States: Balancing Regional Security and Domestic Political Changes," was published in *Bustan: The Middle East Book Review*, Vol. 4, No. 1 (2013).

Gideon Gera presented a paper titled, "Algeria - After 50 Years of Independence," at a conference on Algeria held at Bar-Ilan University, held on December 17, 2012. On January 17, 2013, he was interviewed on the instability of Libya by *Reshet Bet*, of the Israeli Broadcasting Company, and on January 20, 2013, by *Galei Tsahal*.

Meir Litvak's article, "The Hamas Movement: Muslim Brothers with a Palestinian Uniqueness," was published in the edited volume by M. Hatina and U. Kupferschmidt, *The Muslim Brothers: A Religious Vision in a Changing Reality* (Ha-Kibutz ha-Meuchad, 2012, Hebrew).

Litvak's review of Ilan Pappé's book, *The Rise and Fall of a Palestinian Dynasty: The Husaynis, 1700-1948* (University of California Press, 2010), was published in *Bustan: the Middle East Book Review*, Vol. 3, No. 1 (2012). His review on Rex Brynen, Pete W. Moore, Bassel F. Salloukh, and Marie-Joelle Zahar's book, *Beyond the Arab Spring: Authoritarianism & Democratization in the Middle East* (Lynn Rienner, 2012), was published in *The Israel Journal of Foreign Affairs* Vol. 7, No. 2 (2013).

Litvak presented a paper on "Martyrdom in Shi'i Islam," at a *Conference With God on Our Side: Holy War and Sacred Struggle in Judaism, Christianity and Islam*, organized by Tel Aviv University (June 2-4, 2013). He also presented a paper on "Nationalism and Islam in a Provincial Setting: Late Qajar Isfahan," at a conference on *Constructing Nationalism in Iran: From the Qajars to the Islamic Republic*, organized by the Alliance Center for Iranian Studies at Tel Aviv University, June 10-12, 2013.

Bruce Maddy-Weitzman's article, "Arabization and its Discontents: The Rise of the Amazigh Movement in North Africa," was published in the *Journal of the Middle East and Africa*, Vol. 3, No. 2, (June-December 2012). He also published "Historic Departure or Temporary Marriage? The Left and the Islamists in Tunisia," in *Dynamics of Asymmetric Conflict: Pathways toward terrorism and genocide*, Vol. 5, No. 3 (November 2012). His review of *Western Sahara, War Nationalism and Conflict Irresolution*, by Stephen Zunes and Jacob Mundy (Syracuse University Press, 2011), was published in *Middle East Quarterly*, Vol. 20, No. 2 (spring 2013). His review of *Forgotten Saints: History, Power, and Politics in the Making of Modern Morocco*, by Sahar Bazzaz (Harvard Center for Middle Eastern Studies, 2010), was published in *Mediterranean Historical Review*, Vol. 28, No. 1 (2013).

On November 7, 2012, he delivered a lecture, "Jordan and the Inter-Arab System: Strength in Weakness," at a University of Haifa colloquium in honor of Prof. Yosef Nevo. He lectured on "Israel and The Middle East in the wake of the Arab Spring," at the Sixth Brazilian Meeting of Jewish Studies, in Rio de Janeiro (December 4-7, 2012). On December 11, 2012, he delivered a talk on "North Africa's Berbers: The Genie is out of the Bottle," at the international workshop, *Governance of Ethnic Diversity in the Middle East at a time of Transition*, at the Truman Institute of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. On December 17, 2012, he lectured on "Algeria as a Regional Power: Vision and Reality," at a Bar-Ilan University colloquium marking the 50th anniversary of Algeria's independence. On January 8, 2013, he lectured on "Monarchies and the Arab Spring: The Case of Morocco," at an Institute for National Security Studies colloquium, *The Future of Monarchies in the Middle East*. On March 3, 2013, he delivered a paper, "The Amazigh Community in North Africa in the wake of the Arab Spring," at an international workshop, *Multiculturalism and minority rights in the Arab World*, at the Istituto di Studi Politici S. Pio V, Rome. On March 12, 2013, 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 May 21, 2013, he participated in a roundtable discussion on "Geostrategic Implications of Globalization and the Arab Spring," at the S. Daniel Abraham Center for Strategic Dialogue, Netanya Academic College.

Chelsi Mueller delivered her paper, "Nationalist Representations of the Persian Gulf under Reza Shah Pahlavi," at a three-day workshop, titled *Constructing Nationalism in Iran*, organized by the Alliance Center for Iranian Studies at Tel Aviv University (June 10-12, 2013).

Paul Rivlin lectured at the Konrad Adenauer Foundation (KAS) – International Institute for Counter-Terrorism (ICT) Expert Workshop on Governance, Security and Development in the Contemporary Middle East: Implications for Israel and the West on *What is Happening to the Economies of Arab States* held at the IDC in Herzliya, in October 2012.

In December 2012 he addressed the Globes Israel Business Conference in Tel Aviv on *Islamic Banking* and in March 2013 he gave two lectures on *The Oil Market and the Gulf* and *The Sunni World and the Shia Crescent* at the ISDS-Tel Aviv University Program in Rio de Janeiro.

In March 2013 the Britain Israel Communications & Research Centre BICOM published his memorandum: *Fallout: the Economic Cost to Britain of a Nuclear Iran*. In June, the Van Leer Institute in Jerusalem published his paper *Controversies: Reasons for slow economic growth in the Arab World: the continuing debate*. In July his chapter *The Economics of the Arab Spring* was published in Priya Singh and Kingshuk Chatterjee eds. *Interpreting the Arab Spring* (KW Publishers Pvt Ltd New Delhi).

Annie Tracy Samuel delivered papers at the annual conferences of the American Historical Association and the Association for the Study of the Middle East and Africa, at the Alliance Center's international conference on Iranian nationalism, and at Harvard and Tufts Universities.



Samuel's article, "The Open Door and U.S. Policy in Iraq after World War I," based on her master's thesis completed in 2008 at Tel Aviv University, was accepted for publication in *Diplomatic History*. Her article entitled "The Syrian Uprising: The View from Tehran," first published as an edition of *Tel Aviv Notes*, was also published as an article in *Muftah*, on the Belfer Center's *Power and Policy* blog, and as an edition of the Alliance Center's *Iran Pulse*. Samuel gave interviews to the *Huffington Post* and *Correio Brasileiro*, and recorded two podcasts for the Belfer Center's Defense and Intelligence Project.

Mira Tzoreff's article, "Young Egyptians Conquer the Urban Space of Tahrir- Graffiti as a Means for Crystalizing a Revolutionary Collective Memory," was published in *Historia*, No. 30 (July 2013).

On April 22, 2013, Tzoreff presented a paper entitled "Youngsters and youth as a unique category in studying Middle East and North African Societies," at a conference on *New Historiographical Directions in the Middle East*, organized by the Nehemia Levtzion Center for Islamic Studies at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. On May 19, 2013, Tzoreff presented her paper, "How should an Immigrant be remembered? After 50 years of Erasure May Ziadeh is belatedly remembered," at an interdisciplinary research seminar on *Immigrants and Their Shadows in Modern History* in the School of History at the University of Haifa. On June 20, 2013, at a conference titled *Anxious about Education* held in the Faculty of Law at Tel Aviv University, Tzoreff presented "Young Women and Men in Egypt coping with the Victory of the Muslim Brotherhood: Will the Arab Spring Turn into an Islamic Winter?"

Asher Susser visited China in September 2012 as part of an Israeli academic delegation and spoke at the Shanghai International Studies University (SISU) and Peking University on the "Arab Spring." In December 2012, he participated in a workshop at the Hebrew University also on the "Arab Spring." In early February 2013, Susser delivered a lecture at the Department of Politics and International Relations at Oxford University on "Israel and the Palestinians: Where do we go from here?" He also spoke at the House of Commons under the auspices of the Henry Jackson Society on "Paths to Peace: The Two-State Solution and Unilateral Action." Later in February, he took part in a conference at Brandeis University on *Zionism in the 21st Century* where he delivered a paper on "Israel's Place in a Changing Regional Order (1948-2013)." He also spoke at a Belfer Center Director's Lunch at the Kennedy School at Harvard University on "The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan: Will it Weather the Turbulence?"

In March 2013, Susser spoke at the Herzliya Conference in a roundtable session on "Short-Term Middle East Scenarios: Syria, Lebanon, Jordan." In April he participated in a panel discussion at the Sixth Annual International Conference of the Institute for National Security Studies (INSS) devoted to *Security Challenges of the 21st Century - Creative Ideas for Israel's Changing Strategic Environment*. In July and August 2013 he was a Visiting Research Associate at the Israel and Golda Koschitzky Center for Jewish Studies at York University, Toronto, Canada, and, in late August, he lectured at the U.S. Naval Academy on "The Arab Spring and its Impact on Israel's Place in the Middle East."

Susser published an essay on "Israel and Hamas in the New Middle East" in *Internationale Politik* (German) (January-February, 2013), and another article, "Is the Jordanian Monarchy in Danger?," in the *Middle East Brief* series of Brandeis University's Crown Center for Middle East Studies (April 2013). He also published a review of the late Isaiah Friedman's book on *British Pan-Arab Policy, 1915-1922; A Critical Appraisal* (Transaction Publishers, 2010) in the *Journal of Israeli History* (September 2012).

Esther Webman's article, "The Evolution of Arab Perceptions of the Holocaust," was published in *Perceptions of the Holocaust in Europe and Muslim Communities* (Springer, 2013), by Günther Jikeli and Joëlle Allouche-Benayoun (eds.). Her entry, "Antisemitism: Arab World," was published in the *Encyclopedia of Race and Racism*, Second Edition, (Gale Cengage Learning, 2013). Her paper on "Antisemitism in Arab countries in 2012," was published Dina Porat and Roni Stauber's *Antisemitism Worldwide, 2012 - General Analysis*. Her review of Mitchell D. Silber's book, *The Al Qaeda Factor: Plots against the West* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), was published in *The Israel Journal of Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 7, No. 2 (2013).

In addition to several public lectures, Webman participated in two workshops: one held at the University of Toronto on *The Trial of Adolph Eichmann: Retrospect and Prospect* (September 8-10, 2012), where she submitted a paper on "The Impact of the Eichmann Affair on Arab Holocaust Discourse"; and the 11th International Seminary for the Research of anti-Semitism (October 15-17, 2012), held in Warsaw, Poland, where she gave a short presentation on "Antisemitism and Islamophobia."

Daniel Zisenwine spent the academic year of 2012-2013 as the Schusterman Visiting Israeli professor at the United States Naval Academy in Annapolis, MD. He will continue to serve in that position in 2013-2014.

Eyal Zisser delivered a paper on "Israel and the Syrian Revolution," at the annual MESA (Middle East Studies Association of North America) Conference in Denver, CO (November 16-20, 2012).

His article on "The crisis in Syria - Threats and Opportunities for Israel," was published in Anat Kurz and Shlomo Brom's (eds.) *Strategic Survey for Israel 2012-2013* (Institute for National Security Studies, 2013). His article, "Can Assad's Syria Survive Revolution?," was published in the *Middle East Quarterly*, Vol. 20, No. 2 (spring 2013). His article on "Spring of Damascus: The Renewal Struggle for Syria," was published in *Hamizrach Hahadash*, Vol. 52 (2013). He also wrote a chapter on "The Middle East: Strategic and Military Balance of Power," in B. J. C. McKercher's (ed.) *Routledge Handbook of Diplomacy and Statecraft* (Routledge, 2012); and a chapter on "Israel and Syria in the aftermath of the second Lebanon War (2006-2009): between War and Peace," in Michael M. Laskier and Ronen Yitzhak's (eds.) *Security and Political Challenges Put to Test: Israel in the Arab and International Arenas* (Bar Ilan University Press, 2012, Hebrew); and a chapter on "Hizballah - Jihad without an end," in Yosef Kostiner's (ed.) *Jihad: Ideological Roots* (The Moshe Dayan Center, 2012, Hebrew). His review on Benjamin Thomas White's *The Emergence of Minorities in the Middle East: The Politics of Community in French Mandate Syria*, was published in *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 49, No. 4 (July 2013).

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