

---

# Bulletin

NO. 57 | SPRING 2013

---

## AT A GLANCE

Ehud Barak highlights challenges and opportunities for Israel

The Moshe Dayan Center travels across the Globe

Bernard Lewis dedicates over 18,000 books to Tel Aviv University

Evaluating the Syrian Civil War





The Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies

# Bulletin

No. 57

SPRING 2013

## MISSION STATEMENT

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

### FOUNDERS

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

### INTERNATIONAL BOARD OF OVERSEERS

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

### BOARD OF GOVERNORS

Joseph Ciechanover (Chair)  
Shalom Abarbanel  
Uri Bar-Ner  
Mordechai Ben Porat  
Ronald Cohen  
Boleslav Goldman  
Joseph Klafter  
Martin Kramer  
Naphtali Lavie  
Itamar Rabinovich  
Moshe Raviv  
Oudi Recanati  
Aharon Shai  
Shimon Shamir  
Zalman Shoval  
Asher Susser  
Mordechai Tamarkin  
Shabtai Teveth  
Dan Tolkowsky  
Eyal Zisser

**DIRECTOR:** Uzi Rabi

**BULLETIN EDITORS:** Heidi Basch-Harod and Benjamin Rogers

**COPYEDITOR:** Teresa Harings

**DESIGN:** Elena Lesnick **COVER DESIGN:** Rami Moghadam

**PRODUCTION:** Tel-Aviv University Press

# LETTER FROM THE DIRECTOR

Dear Friends,

An examination of the history of revolutions reveals a particular pattern: as the balance of power is upturned, the euphoria of revolution often descends into a frantic search for the establishment of new norms and forms of governance. Tumult, confusion, and violence often accompany these restive periods of history. Currently in the Middle East, nations remaining in the throes of ongoing struggle experience this daunting reality as the status quo.



The chaos of regional events infused the start of the academic year with plenty of excitement, which we mirrored in our programming and events. At the Annual Moshe Dayan (z"l) Memorial Lecture, **Ehud Barak**, Israeli defense minister, spoke of the challenges and opportunities facing Israel. In November, the Center once again traveled to the United States to participate in the 46th Annual Meeting of the Middle Eastern Studies Association (MESA). In January, we celebrated the official dedication of the Bernard Lewis Library – Prof. Lewis' personal collection of 18,000 books and materials that he utilized during his prolific and illustrious academic career. This prestigious acquisition will serve as an invaluable resource for present and future scholars to properly analyze regional affairs. In March, we co-hosted a conference highlighting the art of Syrian rebels in which Syria experts Professors **Itamar Rabinovich** and **Eyal Zisser** delivered their poignant assessments of the ongoing civil war.

As Middle Eastern affairs continue to occupy the world's riveted attention, we at the Moshe Dayan Center are at the forefront, documenting and analyzing the events of today with the expertise of our knowledge of the past.

Thank you for your ongoing support of our work!

Best wishes,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'Uzi Rabi'.

Prof. Uzi Rabi



# AL-QA'IDA: BETWEEN SEPTEMBER 11<sup>TH</sup> AND THE ARAB SPRING

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

**T**HE events of the Arab Spring and the 2012 assassination of Osama Bin Ladin led some observers to believe that the influence and relevance of Al-Qa'ida would begin to wane, claimed Senior Research Fellow Dr. Esther Webman in her lecture, held on October 29, 2012. However, like other Islamic fundamentalist movements, the organization of Al-Qa'ida is a dynamic phenomenon and quickly adapts itself to circumstances beyond its control. Although the organization suffered a serious physical and moral blow with Bin Ladin's demise, its teachings and message still have widespread appeal among various Muslim groups.



DANI BEN ZVI (LEFT), PROF. UZI RABI AND DR. ESTHER WEBMAN



DR. ESTHER WEBMAN

In fact, the Arab Spring created favorable circumstances for Al-Qa'ida to regain its relevance. As dictators fell, in countries like Libya and Yemen, the instability of newly instated regimes and the lack of central control breathed life into Al-Qa'ida. This helped to facilitate the organization's infiltration into areas of the Middle East where it had not previously enjoyed a stronghold. Overall, the uncertainty left in the wake of the Arab Spring enabled the movement to increase its activities in failed states and ungoverned regions. Adapting to this new situation, Al-Qa'ida has begun to cooperate with local terrorist movements in order to garner support within the failing

states where it now operates. To that effect, instead of focusing on enemies in the West, for the time being Al-Qa'ida has begun to focus on opponents within the nation-states. Consequently, assessments that the Bin Ladin assassination caused the "final blow" to the organization were premature.



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

## 2012–2013 DAYAN CENTER SEMINAR: REASSESSING THE COHESION OF THE ARAB STATES

**I**N 2008, the Center published *Challenges to the Cohesion of the Arab States*, by Prof. Asher Susser, the Stanley and Ilene Gold Senior Fellow. The work presented an in-depth study exploring the largely artificial, colonial construct that characterizes the system by which the Middle East was divided into separate states in the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

The “Arab Spring” uprisings created a new reality in which the forces of political Islam, sectarianism, and tribalism have been considerably reinforced. These all pose even greater challenges to the cohesion of the Arab states. To address these timely developments, this year’s Moshe Dayan Center Seminar, “Reassessing the Cohesion of the Arab States,” brings together scholars and students to discuss and consider the “cohesion” issue in all its aspects.

With Prof. Susser and Center Director, Prof. **Uzi Rabi**, serving as co-chairs, the seminar convened for seven sessions during the fall semester. A variety of topics were explored and presented by our researchers, including a discussion on the “Decline of the Nation, Decline of the State”; the “Sunni-Shi’i Conflict Post-2003”; “The Kurdish Case”; “The Alawites and the Syrian State”; “The Copts in Egypt under Morsi”; “Defensive Monarchies”; “Saudi Arabia in the Past Decade”; “Sectarianism and Foreign Interference in Post-Saddam Iraq”; and “From ‘DeBa’athization’ to ‘Justice and Accountability’.” At the end of the year’s seminar, the presentations will be compiled into an edited volume, published by the Moshe Dayan Center.

## ISRAEL 2013: FUTURE CHALLENGES

### *Remarks Given by Israel’s Defense Minister Ehud Barak at the Annual Memorial Lecture for Gen. Moshe Dayan (z”l)*

**O**N November 11, 2012, Israel’s then-Minister of Defense **Ehud Barak** delivered the keynote remarks for the annual memorial lecture of General Moshe Dayan (z”l). Center Director, Prof. **Uzi Rabi**, set the tone for the evening’s lecture by giving an overview of a rapidly changing Middle East, and the diligent work of the Center and its researchers in keeping up with these developments.



PROF. UZI RABI





FORMER DEFENSE MINISTER EHUD BARAK

He also touched upon how the continuing Arab uprisings pose new challenges to Israel, and the need for Israel and its leaders to understand the new regional paradigms of this reality.

In the overflowing Bar Shira Auditorium of Tel Aviv University, Minister Barak shared with the audience his personal memories of Moshe Dayan and praised the Israeli leader's work ethic

and characteristics. In his speech, "Israel 2013: Future Challenges," Barak touched upon a number of ongoing regional developments of which Israel must remain aware and keep vigilant. These include the Iranian nuclear program, the regional Sunni-Shi'i rivalry, as well as the activities of the Kurds in Northern Iraq and Turkey. The new Egyptian regime led



FORMER DEFENSE MINISTER EHUD BARAK AND PROF. UZI RABI

by the Muslim Brotherhood's Mohammed Morsi as well as the tenuous security situation on the Sinai Peninsula also present formidable challenges to the state. Proximally, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and the issue of Hamas' rocket arsenal continue to burden the state on a day-to-day basis. Admitting that simple solutions to the myriad of issues facing Israel have yet to be found, Barak closed his remarks by paraphrasing a famous quote of Moshe Dayan: that Israel will defend itself as long as it must.



DAYAN CENTER STAFF

# ARAB POLITICS IN ISRAEL AND THE 19<sup>TH</sup> KNESSET ELECTIONS

## *A Conference of the Konrad Adenauer Program for Arab-Jewish Cooperation at the Moshe Dayan Center*

ON November 27, 2012, the Konrad Adenauer Program for Jewish-Arab Cooperation at the Moshe Dayan Center held a conference to discuss Arab politics in Israel ahead of the elections. The first session offered academic overviews and analyses of continuity and change within Arab politics in Israel, while the second session featured discussions by representatives from influential Arab political parties.

The past twenty years have witnessed increased distancing between the Jews and Arabs of Israel. In the 2009 elections, half of the Arab Israelis who could vote did not do so, a likely sign of their increased alienation from Israeli politics and perhaps also from the Arab parties meant to represent them. Dr. **Ilana Kaufman**, of the Open University of Israel, listed four factors that could change the relationship between potential voters and the Arab parties in the January elections: (1) the political freeze between the Palestinian Authority and Israel, as well as the recent operation in Gaza; (2) a trend in the 18<sup>th</sup> Kneset, led by right-wing Jewish parties, to delegitimize the citizenship status of Arabs in Israel; (3) the Israeli economic crisis, which has not been fully addressed by the government; and (4) the Arab Spring uprisings and their influence on Islamists in the Arab Israeli political arena.



LEFT TO RIGHT: DR. ILANA KAUFMAN, ARIK RUDNITZKY, NIDAL KHAMAISI, AND MR. MICHAEL MERTES



In 2009, the vast majority (82 percent) of the Arab electorate voted for one of three Arab political parties, who remain the three main Arab political parties today:

- The Democratic Front for Peace and Equality (Hadash), which promotes a secular communist agenda and a “two states for two peoples” solution, for which it advocates joint Arab-Jewish cooperation;
- the National Democratic Alliance (Balad), which promotes a secular, Palestinian nationalist agenda;
- and the joint party of the United Arab List and the Arab Movement for Change (Ra’am-Ta’al) led by the parliamentary faction of the Islamic Movement, which aspires towards an Islamic state (Caliphate) but pragmatically works to guarantee the rights of Muslims within Israel.

DR. ILANA KAUFMAN



ARIK RUDNITZKY

The January 2013 elections posed an ideological challenge to all three parties, as each had to contend with the definition of Israel as a Jewish state. Mr. **Arik Rudnitzky**, Program Manager of the Konrad Adenauer Program, detailed the positions and challenges of each of these three parties. Hadash, which has accepted the UN Partition Resolution of 1947 and calls for two states based on the 1967 borders, faces a decline in support among Arabs for the idea of “two states for two people,” as well as growing criticism from nationalists for their acceptance of the Partition Resolution. Balad’s platform calls for a “state of all its citizens” in which all citizens, regardless of ethnicity and religion, have the same rights but in which the cultural uniqueness of national groups is preserved. Finally, the Islamic Movement is divided into two factions: the southern faction, which participates in parliamentary elections, and the northern faction, which does not support such participation. The southern faction justifies its participation in religious terms, e.g. describing political participation as “civil jihad.” So far, the three parties have not managed to join forces due to their ideological differences.

Analyzing the repercussions of the Arab Spring uprisings on the Islamic movements in Israel, Dr. **Mohanad Mustafa**, of the College for Academic Studies at Or Yehuda and Derasat, The Arab Center for Law and Policy, noted that the Islamic Movement in Israel supported the uprisings in Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, and Syria, but less so in Bahrain due to the Shi’i element there. The Arab Spring had no direct effect on the political position of the southern Islamic Movement, which now justifies its participation in parliamentary elections by pointing to the example of Islamic movements in Arab states also participating in civil government elections. With the recent rise of a powerful salafi movement in Egypt, however, we have seen a concurrent increase in the salafi movement’s popularity within Arab society in Israel, which poses a challenge to the mainstream Islamic Movement.

Pointing out that in the November 2012 polls, only 36 percent of the Arab population of Israel said they would vote in the 2013 election, Dr. **Nohad Ali**, of the Western Galilee College and University of Haifa, reiterated the idea that the Arab public has little faith in Arab parties to effect real change in the Knesset and in their daily lives. The increasing strength of the Jewish Israeli Right as well as structural problems in Arab parties have caused them to feel that their representatives are irrelevant.

Adv. **Ayman Odeh**, Secretary General of Hadash, and Mr. **Mtanes Shihadeh**, Member of Balad and a researcher at Mada al-Carmel Institute of Haifa, provided an inside perspective of their respective party’s political platforms. Odeh stressed that Hadash is a completely secular party that continues to favor a two-state division of territory. He noted that despite the difficult environment of the current Knesset, Hadash has helped pass twenty laws in favor of the Arab community and blocked 93 of 97 proposed laws that would have “damaged the democratic processes in Israel.” Shihadeh pointed out that Balad wishes to make the state truly democratic for all people through one single state, a move that would change the character of Israel as a Jewish state, because “you cannot be both democratic and Jewish.” In practice, he claimed, this creates an apartheid state, in which, for example, Arab Israelis cannot live in certain places designated for Jewish Israelis.



ADV. AYMAN ODEH,  
SECRETARY GENERAL OF HADASH



Asked why they chose not to boycott Israeli elections, both Odeh and Shihadeh claimed that one reason was to keep the right wing from dominating the government. Shihadeh believed that if there were no Arab parties to vote for, Arabs would support “satellite parties” affiliated with Jewish-Zionist parties, and therefore their political strength would decline to what it had been in the 1950s and 60s. In conclusion, both Odeh and Shihadeh noted that the fate of the Palestinians in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank was a continuing concern among Arabs living in Israel. The elections, they said, were an instrument through which Arab politicians in Israel could address not only the everyday needs of the Arab public in Israel but the greater national demands of the Palestinian people.

## ISRAEL AND HAMAS IN THE NEW MIDDLE EAST

**A**s the clouds were just beginning to clear from Operation Pillar of Defense, on November 28, 2012, Prof. **Asher Susser**, the Stanley & Ilene Gold Senior Fellow, spoke about the impact and motivations of Israel’s most recent military campaign. Emphasizing that the “Arab Spring” is not “a battle between the forces of democracy and the forces of autocracy, but rather the forces of modernity and the forces of tradition,” Prof. Susser attributed the emboldened Hamas attacks against Israel to the Muslim Brotherhood’s rise to power in Egypt. Accordingly, Hamas believed that in this new Middle East, Israel’s legitimacy had been diminished and Hamas would be able to rewrite the rules of engagement. The barrage of rockets fired deep into Israeli territory was the manifestation of this analysis.



PROF. ASHER SUSSER

Israel’s response to the attacks was two-fold. The main objective was to retaliate in such a manner that Hamas would reconsider further actions against Israel in the future, and understand that the defensive capabilities of Israel had not been affected by the Brotherhood’s rule in Egypt. Operation Pillar of Defense’s other objective was to send a message to Iran: Should Israel attack Iran, Hamas, as Iran’s proxy, would not pose a military threat to Israel.

## THE MOSHE DAYAN CENTER PARTICIPATES IN THE ISRAEL BUSINESS CONFERENCE

**O**n December 9, 2012, the Dayan Center’s Economic Forum participated in the Israel Business Conference, hosted by the Israeli financial daily, Globes. Representing the Dayan Center on a panel titled “The Arab Markets and the Gulf,” were Senior Research Fellow Dr. **Paul Rivlin** and Research Fellow Mr. **Yitzhak Gal** (co-chairs of the Economic Forum), and Center Director, Prof. **Uzi Rabi**. The panel examined



MR. YITZHAK GAL



DR. PAUL RIVLIN

the subject from various angles, from Islamic banking to the legal aspects of doing business with Arab countries.

Additionally, Mr. Gal moderated a panel of distinguished speakers. **Miroslav (Mirek) Dusek**, Director for the Middle East and North Africa at the World Economic Forum, gave a review of Gulf states' markets. In his remarks he noted that a rising, young and educated society now focuses

on green energy and opportunities to work with countries that have hi-tech industries. **Ariel M. Ezrachi**, Solicitor at Meitar Liquornik Geva and Leshem Brandwin Law Offices, talked about the legal aspects of conducting business in the Gulf states. Lastly, **Yuval Yaakobi**, CEO of the Jordan Gateway Industrial Park, informed the audience of the park's operations and its exporting and marketing to Gulf states via free-trade zones in Jordan.



GLOBES PANEL PARTICIPANTS

# THE RISE AND DECLINE OF THE WARM PEACE WITH JORDAN

## Book Launch Event

ON December 13, 2012, the Dayan Center hosted an event marking the publication of Senior Fellow Prof. **Shimon Shamir's** latest book, *The Rise and Decline of the Warm Peace with Jordan* (Hebrew, HaKibbutz HaMeuchad, 2012). Center Director, Prof. **Uzi Rabi** delivered the opening speech, followed by remarks from **Efraim Halevy**, former Mossad Director and former Head of the Israeli National Security Council; **Eitan Haber**, prominent Israeli journalist and a long-time advisor to the late-Prime Minister Yitzhak; and Prof. **Asher Susser**, the Stanley and Ilene Gold Senior Research Fellow. Sharing their reflections on the current state and history of Israel's relations with Jordan, the speakers praised Prof. Shamir's meticulous contribution to the study of Israel-Jordan relations.



PROF. SHIMON SHAMIR



FORMER HEAD OF THE ISRAELI NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL, EFRAIM HALEVY

In *The Rise and Decline of the Warm Peace with Jordan*, Prof. Shamir, who also served as the Israeli ambassador to Egypt (1988–1990) and Jordan (1995–1997), addresses the widely debated issue of why Israel missed the opportunity to achieve a warm peace with the Hashemite Kingdom. Enriched by his own firsthand account of events as Israel's diplomatic representative in Jordan, the book provides insights into the characteristics of Jordan's policy towards Israel during King Hussein's rule (r. 1952–1999). In the aftermath of the



PROMINENT JOURNALIST EITAN HABER

“Arab Spring,” it also poses the important and relevant question: Could the deterioration in Israeli-Jordanian relations have been avoided?

## FUTURE OF THE MONARCHIES IN THE MIDDLE EAST

### *A Joint Conference with INSS*

On January 8, 2013, the Moshe Dayan Center and the Institute for National Security Studies (INSS) held a joint conference on the future of the monarchies in the Middle East. Center Director Prof. **Uzi Rabi** opened the conference by touching upon the resilience that Middle Eastern monarchical regimes have exhibited throughout the Arab Uprisings of the past few years. Representing the Dayan Center, Principal Research Fellow, Dr. **Bruce Maddy-Weitzman** and Prof. **Asher Susser**, the Stanley and Ilene Gold Senior Research Fellow, discussed both the general trends taking place in monarchies throughout the Middle East since the Arab Spring and, in particular, the current situations of the monarchies in Morocco, Jordan, and the Gulf States.





# THE INAUGURATION OF PROF. BERNARD LEWIS' PERSONAL COLLECTION

**FRIENDS**, family, and scholars gathered on January 20, 2012 to celebrate the inauguration of the *Professor Bernard Lewis Collection*, housed at the Sourasky Central Library at Tel Aviv University. Comprised of approximately 18,000 items, including rare books in multiple languages, journals, documents, and letters, the archive holds the personal collections of Prof. **Bernard Lewis**, acquired over the course of his distinguished career.



DR. BRUCE MADDY-WEITZMAN AND PROF. UZI RABI GREETING  
PROF. BERNARD LEWIS



PROF. ITAMAR RABINOVICH

former President of TAU, said that the importance of the collection lies in offering students access to specialized materials, encouraging them to engage with print in this digital age.

Since traveling to TAU for a conference in 1971, Prof. Lewis has visited the Dayan Center annually,

Beyond its contribution to the stature of the Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies, as a leader in Middle Eastern scholarship, Senior Research Fellow, Prof. **Itamar Rabinovich**, former Ambassador of Israel to the United States and



TAU PRESIDENT PROF. JOSEPH KLAFTER

offering a popular lecture series, mentoring students, and connecting with colleagues.

According to Rabinovich, TAU has been a second home to Prof. Lewis, who remained at the University even as Israel was being attacked by Saddam Hussein's missiles in 1991 — a show of deep commitment to the country and the university.



MA STUDENT DANA RAZ





PLAQUE HONORING BERNARD LEWIS

“I know he cherished his weeks at TAU and in Israel,” Rabinovich said at the ceremony. “Three generations of students have now benefitted from his wisdom, knowledge, warmth, and personal friendship.” Though never a student of Prof. Lewis himself, Rabinovich credited the



PROF. BERNARD LEWIS AND BUNTZIE ELLIS CHURCHILL

Princeton scholar for teaching him much of what he knows, and reflected on their 40-year friendship, which included “long conversations on the Middle East, Israel, and any subject under the sun.”



PROF. BERNARD LEWIS AND MOSHE DAYAN CENTER EXPERTS

## PARADOXES OF A COLD WAR SUFI WOMAN: SAMIHA AYVERDI BETWEEN ISLAM, TURKISH NATIONALISM, AND MODERNITY

ON February 21, 2013, at the annual memorial lecture of Prof. **Aryeh Shmuelevitz** (z"l), the Moshe Dayan Center welcomed Asst. Prof. **İlker Aytürk**, from the Political Science Department of Bilkent University in Ankara, Turkey. Presiding over the event, Prof. **Ehud Toledano**, the Tel Aviv University Chair for Ottoman Studies, and Senior Fellow, Prof. **Ofra Bengio** made heartfelt remarks remembering the beloved Prof. Aryeh Shmuelevitz and his academic contributions to the TAU Department of Middle Eastern and African History.

Speaking on the legacy of Samiha Ayverdi, a Turkish writer and Sufi mystic, Aytürk discussed Ayverdi's influence on Turkish politics and her conservative, nationalist ideology. He also spoke about the controversial confluence of identities that she embodied as a Sufi, a xenophobe and an alleged anti-Semite. She is remembered for her “Kubbealtı” Institution's influence on the synthesis of Turkish identity and Islam.



THE DAYAN CENTER PAYING TRIBUTE TO A PROF. SHMUELEVITZ



# SYRIA: AN UNCEASING REVOLUTION

On March 3, 2013, the Moshe Dayan Center hosted a symposium marking the publication of the Hebrew translation of *The Syrian Rebellion* (Hoover Institution Press, 2012), by Prof. Fouad Ajami, a Senior Fellow at Stanford University's Hoover Institution. In his remarks, Center Director, Prof. Uzi Rabi analyzed the interests of each party to Syria's ongoing civil war, including the minorities of Syria, taking into account the events of the Arab Spring. Senior Fellow Prof. Itamar Rabinovich concentrated his talk on the differences in the US policy approach in the cases of Syria and Libya. In any discussion on this topic,



PROF. EYAL ZISSER (LEFT) AND PROF. ITAMAR RABINOVICH

Rabinovich noted, it is important to examine that although Syria's geographic importance in the Middle East is undeniable, unlike the case of Libya, for the United States there is a lack of oil interests.



PROF. ITAMAR RABINOVICH (LEFT), PROF. UZI RABI AND PROF. SHIMON SHAMIR

Senior Fellow, Prof. Eyal Zisser, Dean of the Faculty of Humanities, spoke about the Israeli perception of the Assad regime prior to the uprisings. Despite the violence and devastation, he argued that it is too early for the Assad regime to collapse, and that is due to the fact that this civil war has turned into a war of attrition – endurance will be the key factor in achieving victory for all sides.



SYRIAN EXHIBITION PROUDLY ON DISPLAY



MOSHE DAYAN CENTER STAFF SELLING CENTER PUBLICATIONS

The evening also included the opportunity to view works from "The Syrian People Know Their Way: An Exhibition of the Syrian Uprising." The collected pieces of this exhibition were compiled into a book of the same title (eds. Drs. Yael Eylat van Essen and Dror K. Levi), and was the outcome of a joint venture of the Moshe Dayan Center and the Holon Institute of Technology.



# MOSHE DAYAN CENTER FORUMS

## *Forum on Kurdish Society, History and Culture*

**ON** December 17, 2012, the *Forum on Kurdish Society, History and Culture* hosted Dr. **Mirza Dinayyi**, Advisor to the Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG). In his remarks, Dr. Dinayyi informed the audience of the ongoing challenges faced by the KRG vis-à-vis the Iraqi government. Mainly, the issue of the disputed territories comprised of the cities of Kirkuk, Duz, Khanaqin, Mandli, Sinjar, Zammar and Sheikhan, continues to be the source of friction between the Kurdish, Erbil-based government and the Baghdad-based Government of Iraq. The rift between Baghdad and Erbil concerning oil resources in Kurdistan also remains a worrisome issue for the future of the two political entities. Additionally, Dinnayi led a discussion and analysis on the sectarian differences and perspectives among the Shi'i, Sunni, and Kurdish populations of Iraq and Kurdistan.

## *Maghreb Forum*

**ON** January 30, 2013, the *Maghreb Forum* convened for its first meeting in the 2012-13 academic year. Mr. **Abdellah Benhessi**, educator and social activist for the rights of residents of southern Morocco, gave a short lecture on "Amazigh Identity in Morocco Today." Graduate students as well as junior and senior researchers attended the forum and took the opportunity to ask questions and engage in a discussion with Mr. Benhessi. The topics addressed in the meeting included the history and institutionalization of the Berber identity movement; the difficulties in the standardization of the Tamazight language; and the implications of the Arab Spring for the movement and its connections with the Berber movements in Algeria and Libya as well as in the Diaspora.

# DAYAN CENTER EXPERTS ACROSS THE GLOBE

**PRINCIPAL** Research Fellow, Dr. **Bruce Maddy-Weitzman** attended the Brazilian Conference of Jewish Studies in December 2012. While in Rio de Janeiro, he was introduced to the rich history of Brazilian Jewry as well as the issues and dilemmas currently facing the community. Offering an analysis of Israel's strategic situation in the wake of the Arab Spring, Maddy-Weitzman's remarks were well received by his co-participants, students and the general audience. The Moshe Dayan Center looks forward to further developing its relations with the Brazilian Jewish and academic communities.

In January 2013, Senior Fellow, Prof. **Itamar Rabinovich** and Center Director, Prof. **Uzi Rabi** participated in the Germany-Israel Strategic Dialogue in Potsdam, Germany. German and Israeli participants discussed strategic changes in the region, including the rise of political Islam and the latest developments in the Israeli-Palestinian issue.

PROF. UZI RABI





On January 27, 2013, Research Fellow, Dr. **Mira Tzoreff** was a featured speaker at AFTAU's One-Day University in Santa Monica, California. In her presentation, "Who Are You, Egyptian President Morsi?" Tzoreff commented that before Morsi won Egypt's presidency in June 2012, he was virtually unknown in international circles. Recently, however, *Time* Magazine named him one of the most important politicians in the Middle East. She also offered insights about the Muslim Brotherhood.

In February 2013, Prof. **Uzi Rabi** travelled to Hungary by invitation of the Israeli Foreign Ministry, where he presented his paper, "Two years after the Arab Spring: A changing geopolitical environment in the Middle East," at the Center for EU Enlargement Studies, Central European University in Budapest. While in Hungary he was interviewed by several local media outlets.

## THE MOSHE DAYAN CENTER AT THE MIDDLE EAST STUDIES ASSOCIATION (MESA) 46<sup>TH</sup> ANNUAL MEETING

**FROM** November 17–21, 2012, Center Director, Prof. **Uzi Rabi**; Senior Fellow, Prof. **Eyal Zisser**, Dean of the TAU Faculty of Humanities; and Junior Researcher **Joyce van de Bildt** presented papers at the 46<sup>th</sup> MESA Annual Meeting in Denver, Colorado. Presenting his paper, entitled "Israel and Iran," Prof. Rabi participated in the panel "Israel: Two Years after the Arab Spring," sponsored by the Association for Israel Studies and organized by Prof. Robert O. Freedman.

Attending her first MESA Conference, van de Bildt presented her M.A. thesis on "King Mohammed VI's policy towards Moroccan citizens residing in Europe" on a panel entitled "Networks, Narratives, and Politics of Migration."

The Annual Reunion of the TAU Summer Workshop on Israel and the Middle East also took place during the MESA conference. This year Prof. Rabi, in his capacity as the academic director of the TAU Workshop, reunited with fifteen former participants for a dinner during which there was time to catch up and exchange views about current events in the Middle East. As of 2012, the TAU Workshop has hosted 140 participants with whom the Dayan Center continues to correspond and pursue joint academic activities such as conferences, student exchanges, and journal publications.

## THE MOSHE DAYAN CENTER'S ESTEEMED VISITING SCHOLARS AND INTERNS

**THIS** semester, the Dayan Center welcomed Visiting Scholar **Johannes Becke** and Center Intern **Adam Azoff**, whose contributions and presence greatly enhanced the cooperative learning atmosphere of the Center.

Johannes Becke is a visiting Minerva Fellow for the 2012–2013 academic year. Becke is working to finish his Ph.D. dissertation for his studies at the Freie Universität Berlin (supervised by Prof. **Markus Jachtenfuchs** and Senior Research Fellow, Prof. **Eyal Zisser**). In his dissertation, Becke establishes a comparative case study of the territorial expansion of post-colonial states in the Middle East, encompassing Israel's rule over territories conquered in 1967, Syria's control over Lebanon in the aftermath of the Lebanese civil war,



and Morocco's partial annexation of Western Sahara. After research trips to Israel, Lebanon, and Morocco, Becke presented initial results of his research at the 2012 Annual Conferences of the International Studies Association (ISA), the Association of Israel Studies (AIS), and the European Association of Israel Studies (EAIS). His article, "Towards A De-Occidental Perspective on Israel: The Case of The Occupation," will be published in the forthcoming issue of the *Journal of Israeli History* (Taylor & Francis).

Adam Azoff is a student in the M.A. Program in Security and Diplomacy Studies at TAU International. Over the fall semester, he has been editing and compiling potential book reviewers for the upcoming issue of

*Bustan: The Middle Book Review*, the co-publication of the Dayan Center and Brill Publications. Supervised by Dr. Harel Chorev, Adam conducted research examining the role of social media in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict and the formation of narrative ideologies.



JOHANNES BECKE HARD AT WORK

## NADI CINEMA: THE MOSHE DAYAN CENTER'S FILM CLUB

**I**n October 2012, the Moshe Dayan Center launched its new Middle Eastern Film Club, **Nadi Cinema**. Nadi Cinema brings together students and researchers to discuss politics, society, and culture from the perspective of Middle Eastern films. Each month, Nadi Cinema hosts a film screening and a discussion group led by an expert in Middle Eastern Studies. In the fall semester, we screened *The Yaacoubian Building* (Egypt), presented by Senior Fellow, Prof. **Shimon Shamir**; the Turkish feature film *Men on the Bridge*, presented by Junior Researcher **Duygu Atlas**; and the French animated-movie *Persepolis*, about the Iranian Revolution of 1979, presented by Dr. **Liora Hendelman-Baavur**, a research fellow at the Alliance Center for Iranian Studies (CIS).

## AN UPDATE FROM THE GLAZER MULTIMEDIA ROOM AT THE MOSHE DAYAN CENTER: EXPANDING THE FILM LIBRARY

**T**he Glazer Multimedia Room offers students and researchers a unique opportunity to explore Middle Eastern history through the lens of feature and documentary films, music, and broadcasts from the region. During the 2012–2013 academic year, the Moshe Dayan Center continued to expand its film collection and make it available to students and researchers for educational purposes. It acquired new movies including *In Tahrir Square* (USA); *La Source des Femmes* (France); and the Academy award-winning film, *A Separation* (Iran). Each month students of the MA Program in Middle Eastern Studies of TAU International are invited to events in our screening room. Among the movies screened to students during fall 2012 were *Live and Become* (France), *Desert Flower* (USA), and *Ajami* (Israel).

## NEW PUBLICATIONS



### *THE RISE AND DECLINE OF THE WARM PEACE WITH JORDAN*

Senior Fellow Prof. **Shimon Shamir**'s latest book, *The Rise and Decline of the Warm Peace with Jordan* (Hebrew, HaKibbutz HaMeuchad, 2012), focuses on the question of why and how Israel missed the opportunity to maintain a close relationship with Jordan following the 1994 peace agreement.



### *ISLAM IS OUR MESSAGE AND JIHAD IS OUR WAY – HASSAN AL-BANNA: A COLLECTION OF ESSAYS*

For the first time, a collection of the writings of Hassan al-Banna, Founder of the Muslim Brotherhood, has been edited and translated into Hebrew by Dr. **Efraim Barak**, of Bar-Ilan University. This is a publication of the Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies.



### *SYRIA: AN UNCEASING REVOLUTION*

The Moshe Dayan Center published the Hebrew translation of Prof. **Fouad Ajami**'s book, *The Syrian Rebellion* (Hoover Institution Press, 2012). In his book, Ajami gives a detailed historical perspective on the current rebellion in Syria. He focuses on the similarities and the differences between former dictator Hafez al-Assad and his son, Bashar, in handling challenges to the Assad Dynasty.



### *THE SYRIAN PEOPLE KNOW THEIR WAY: EXHIBITION CATALOGUE*

The Moshe Dayan Center and the Holon Institute of Technology published a powerful book in which they compiled vivid pieces of art depicting the horrors and frustrations of living within the Syrian Civil War (eds. Dr. **Dror K. Levi** and Dr. **Yael Eylat Van-Essen**).



PLEASE CONSIDER MAKING A VALUABLE CONTRIBUTION  
TO THE MOSHE DAYAN CENTER

## How Your Gift Can Help Us

With \$500 you can:

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

With \$5,000 you can:

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

With \$10,000 you can:

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

With \$30,000 you can:

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

With \$50,000 you can:

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

With \$72,000 you can:

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

With \$100,000 you can:

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

---

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

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

The Bulletin is distributed free of charge.