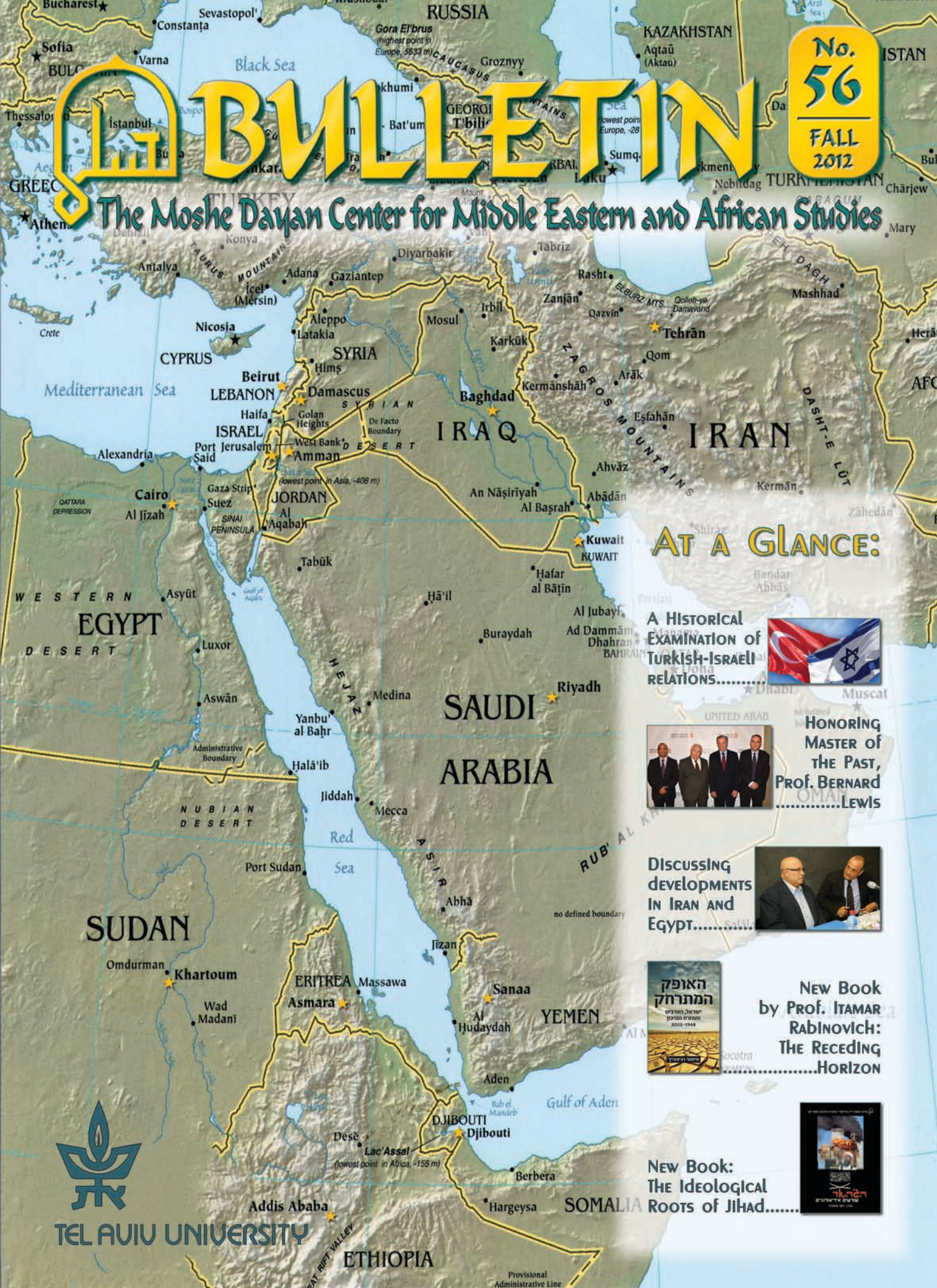


# BULLETIN

No. 56  
FALL 2012

The Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies



## AT A GLANCE:

A HISTORICAL EXAMINATION OF TURKISH-ISRAELI RELATIONS.....



HONORING MASTER OF THE PAST, PROF. BERNARD LEWIS

DISCUSSING DEVELOPMENTS IN IRAN AND EGYPT.....



NEW BOOK BY PROF. ITAMAR RABINOVICH: THE RECEDING HORIZON

NEW BOOK: THE IDEOLOGICAL ROOTS OF JIHAD.....



TEL AVIV UNIVERSITY



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No.  
**56**  
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The Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies

## MISSION STATEMENT

THE MOSHE DAYAN CENTER FOR MIDDLE EASTERN AND AFRICAN STUDIES SEEKS TO CONTRIBUTE BY RESEARCH, DOCUMENTATION, AND PUBLICATION TO THE STUDY AND UNDERSTANDING OF THE MODERN HISTORY AND CURRENT AFFAIRS OF THE MIDDLE EAST AND AFRICA. THE CENTER IS PART OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF HISTORICAL STUDIES IN THE LESTER AND SALLY ENTIN FACULTY OF HUMANITIES OF TEL AVIV UNIVERSITY. THE CENTER IS GOVERNED BY A BOARD OF GOVERNORS, ACTING ON THE ADVICE OF AN INTERNATIONAL BOARD OF OVERSEERS. IT IS ADMINISTERED BY AN ACADEMIC DIRECTOR.

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# Letter from the Director

Dear Friends of the Moshe Dayan Center,

As the Middle East continues to be characterized by tumult, conflict and change, the researchers of the Moshe Dayan Center have been at the forefront in producing timely, insightful scholarship that provides a framework for understanding these events. Journalists, political leaders and fellow scholars frequently turn to us to provide comments and analyses, which are featured and published in a variety of media, both in Israel and internationally. In addition to this, the Dayan Center hosted a number of events, conferences and seminars, and continued to produce our own publications such as Tel Aviv Notes, the Middle East News Brief, and Tsomet (Crossroads of the Middle East, in Hebrew). Through these activities, we continue to consolidate our position as Israel's Middle East research hub and increase our presence worldwide. None of this would be possible without your much valued support.



In this edition of the Bulletin, you will learn the details of the Center's many activities over the course of the spring semester and summer. The Dayan Center continues to expand its multimedia program, the cornerstone of which is ***Diwaniyya: The Dayan Center Podcast***. ***Diwaniyya*** has expanded its audience greatly, particularly in the Middle East; it featured its first episode in Arabic during the month of July. A number of books written by our researchers were published recently, all of which contribute unique insights to the Middle East, including a history of the Kurds in Iraq and an analysis of the ideological roots of jihad.

Of all the exciting events of the past months, the most important to me and to the Moshe Dayan Center was the gala event held in September to honor the distinguished and eminent historian of the Middle East, Professor Bernard Lewis. Prof. Lewis and the Moshe Dayan Center, as you are aware, have a very special relationship and one that is dear to us, and to the Middle Eastern Studies students of Tel Aviv University. It was a great privilege to participate in this event and honor the many contributions by this great historian and extraordinary man.

Over the past year, our researchers have travelled all over the globe to promote the work of the Moshe Dayan Center, particularly in the United States, Morocco, Turkey, Germany, Singapore, China, and South Korea. We have participated in several conferences and presented lectures. Through our travels we have been able to deepen and improve the academic and institutional ties of the Moshe Dayan Center abroad. I am particularly excited about new opportunities for cooperation in East Asia on top of our many other cooperations, including our recently acquired membership in EuroMeSCo (the Euro-Mediterranean Study Commission).

Next year's calendar is full of exciting events. Please follow all of our activities on our website, Facebook page, or Twitter. Thank you for your ongoing support of our work!

Best wishes,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'Uzi Rabi', written in a cursive style.

Prof. Uzi Rabi

# CELEBRATING THE “MASTER OF THE PAST,” THE DISTINGUISHED PROFESSOR BERNARD LEWIS

**On**

September 12, 2012, in an elegant ballroom in The Pierre, a New York City hotel, hundreds of guests gathered to celebrate “The Master of the Past,” Prof. **Bernard Lewis**, the Cleveland E. Dodge Professor of Near Eastern Studies Emeritus at Princeton University. Paying tribute to Lewis and his unparalleled contributions to the field of Middle Eastern Studies, **Henry Kissinger**, former Secretary of State, and Prof. **Fouad Ajami**, currently a Senior Fellow at Stanford University’s Hoover Institution, shared moving words about their 96 year-old friend and colleague. The gala event also served as an occasion to praise Lewis on the publication of his memoir, *Notes on a Century: Reflections of a Middle East Historian* (Viking, 2012), of which each guest received a signed copy at the end of the festivities.



Prof. BERNARD LEWIS ADDRESSES THE GATHERING



Prof. FOUAD AJAMI (CENTER) WITH Prof. UZI RABI AND Prof. ITAMAR RABINOVICH

Senior Fellow Prof. **Itamar Rabinovich** also delivered warm remarks on his friend, Prof. Lewis. He recognized the scholar’s unparalleled witticism and academic acumen, as well as his loyalty to Tel Aviv University and, more specifically, to the Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies. Recently, Prof. Lewis donated the entire contents of his personal library to the Dayan Center and the Tel Aviv University libraries so that upcoming scholars may learn from the materials he collected over the decades of his scholarship. This generous gift, while invaluable, only partially reflects his deep affection

for the students, professors and researchers at Tel Aviv University. For the past two years during his annual visits to the Center and Tel Aviv University, Prof. Lewis has made it a priority to meet with the students from the TAU International MA in Middle Eastern Studies (MAMES) Program. His commitment to and interest in the future of the field has inspired many of these young scholars to attempt to follow in his footsteps. At his request, the gala evening also served as a fundraiser for the Dayan Center, and an opportunity to showcase its increasingly renowned publications and multimedia projects.



Prof. UZI RABI (LEFT) AND Prof. EYAL ZISSER (RIGHT) SPEAK WITH Prof. LEWIS



Prof. BERNARD LEWIS (left) with FORMER U.S. SECRETARY OF STATE HENRY KISSINGER

A strong contingent from the Center was present at the event, including Prof. **Asher Susser**, the Stanley and Ilene Gold Senior Research Fellow; Senior Fellow Prof. **Eyal Zisser**, Dean of the Faculty of Humanities (Tel Aviv University); and Center Director, Prof. **Uzi Rabi**. Ms. **Jacqueline Simkin**, a member of the International Board of Overseers, also attended the event, as well as Dayan Center supporter, Dr. **David Becker**. A number of the Center's research assistants were also present, a testament to Lewis' and the Dayan Center's commitment to support the next generation of scholars in Middle East history. ■

## Lectures and Symposia

# BETWEEN ISRAEL AND PALESTINE: HISTORIC LESSONS IN NEGOTIATION

To celebrate the publication of ***Israel, Jordan and Palestine: The Two-State Imperative*** (University Press of New England, 2011), author Prof. **Asher Susser**, the Stanley and Ilene Gold Senior Research Fellow, gave an insightful lecture about the current state of Israeli-Palestinian negotiations.



In his remarks, Susser argued that negotiations are and will continue to generate unsatisfactory solutions to the conflict as long as they try to solve the problems created in 1967, without having closed the 1948 file. For Palestinians, the refugee issue and the right of return are paramount to all others. Recognizing Israel as a Jewish state implies giving up on the right of return entirely. Therefore, it is a moot point from which to proceed with negotiations. At the same time, the Palestinian side must recognize that claims based on UN Resolution 242, which mentioned neither Palestine nor Palestinians, are problematic. In 242, there is a reference to the right of refugees to return, *meaning both Jews and Arabs*, to their respective lands in a negotiated manner, and a return to the 1967 borders, stipulating the restoration of the West Bank to Jordanian sovereignty and the Gaza Strip to Egyptian sovereignty. In light of this, UN Resolution 242 should not be considered a precursor or guideline toward a two-state solution, but rather, merely a return to the pre-1967 status quo.

“How did we get to Oslo then?” asked Susser. Oslo created the idea of a two-state solution not based on anything but a decision that such a solution was the most viable and sensible one to end the conflict.

Yet it entirely ignored the fact that the Palestinians never accepted a Jewish state in the first place. Consequently, “offering” the Palestinians 95 percent of the West Bank, as was proposed by Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Olmert in his negotiations with Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas in 2008, was unacceptable. In the eyes of the Palestinians, they were forced to settle for just 23 percent of their homeland, and then asked to accept only 95 percent of that very diminished piece of land – without ever having agreed to partition in the first place.



Prof. ASHER SUSSER

As the past two decades show, negotiations to resolve this conflict, time and again, have deteriorated into a war of narratives. It is time to acknowledge that the logic of negotiations over the past 20 years, i.e. peace for territory, has clearly failed. How much longer will this method be applied without returns?

To Israel’s detriment, the solution to the conflict being put forth by the international community is a bi-national one, the one-state solution. This signals the end of the Jewish State as it is known today. For Israel to remain a Jewish state it will be necessary to think out of the box, beyond UN Resolution 242,



Prof. Uzi Rabi (Left) with Prof. ASHER SUSSER AND Prof. EYAL ZISSER

beyond Oslo. The status quo cannot be relied upon, as in fact there is no such thing. The situation changes every moment, particularly when demographics are considered and amidst an increasing campaign to delegitimize Israel internationally.

At this point, Israel needs to take the initiative and not rely on negotiations. If Israel cannot meet these new challenges in the coming years and find creative ways to engage with the Palestinians that are not reliant upon European or American leaders, the future of the Jewish state is, indeed, in jeopardy.

## RETIREMENT OF DAVID MENASHRI



March 20, 2012, the Moshe Dayan Center together with the Alliance Center for Iranian Studies (CIS) at Tel Aviv University held a symposium on Iran to celebrate Prof. **David Menashri**’s retirement. The event honored Prof. Menashri for his many academic contributions to Iranian studies and for establishing the CIS, the first research center in Israel dedicated to the study of Iran. University Rector Prof. **Aron Shai** and Senior Fellow Prof. **Eyal Zisser**, Dean of the Faculty of Humanities,



Prof. DAVID MENASHRI



Prof. ARON SHAI

the three main actors involved in any decision on the Iranian nuclear issue, and Prof. Litvak spoke on the ongoing struggle within the Iranian elite for influence and control of the regime.

Prof. Menashri closed the evening with a sincere and lighthearted speech on the lifelong professional relationship he has shared with Tel Aviv University. He completed his undergraduate and graduate studies at TAU, met his wife Gila in the Gilman Cafeteria, and spent his academic career at TAU. Over the years, he has made many friends and had many teachers. He thanked Senior Fellow Prof. **Shimon Shamir** for encouraging him to study Iran and for advising him that it would be an important country, as well as Senior Fellow Prof. **Itamar Rabinovich** and Prof. **Uriel Dann** z"l.



DR. LIORA HANDELMAN-BAAVUR

Center, Prof. Menashri has left an incredible legacy, which we know he will continue to contribute to even in his retirement. We wish him all the best.

Prof. DAVID MENASHRI (CENTER) WITH FORMER STUDENTS Prof. MEIR LITVAK (LEFT) AND Prof. UZI RABI (RIGHT)

opened the evening with brief congratulatory messages that expressed both their personal and professional gratitude to Prof. Menashri. Dr. **Liora Handelman-Baavur**, a research fellow at the CIS, spoke on behalf of Prof. Menashri's former students, of which she is one, and thanked him for his guidance, advice, influence, and passion for both his Israeli and international students.

Two of Prof. Menashri's former students, Center Director Prof. **Uzi Rabi** and CIS Director Prof. **Meir Litvak**, provided a brief analysis of current trends in Iran. Prof. Rabi addressed the Iran-Israel-U.S. triangle,



Prof. EYAL ZISSER

Prof. Menashri continues to advise several doctoral candidates in history and cherishes his role as their academic supervisor. He is also very proud of establishing the Alliance Center for Iranian Studies, the first of its kind in Israel, and of the standard of excellence it has achieved in its research on Iran. Together with his activities in the Moshe Dayan

Center, Prof. Menashri has left an incredible legacy, which we know he will continue to contribute to even in his retirement. We wish him all the best.



## URIEL DANN MEMORIAL LECTURE

On

April 23, 2012, the Center held its annual lecture in memory of the late Prof. **Uriel Dann**”l. Center Director Prof. **Uzi Rabi** opened the evening with brief remarks that paid tribute to Dann’s legacy. Prof. **Haggai Erlich**, Professor Emeritus at Tel Aviv University, shared several stories and some of his favorite memories of Prof. Dann. Following Prof. Erlich’s

remarks, the annual scholarship in memory of the late Prof. Dann and his wife Lora was presented to this year’s recipient, **Michael Barak**, a doctoral candidate in the Graduate School of Middle Eastern and African History.

Last year’s scholarship recipient, Center Research Fellow, Dr. **Harel Chorev**, delivered the evening’s main lecture. Chorev spoke on the al-Ja’abari family of Hebron, tracing the history of their community leadership on

Mount Hebron over the past 60 years. Interestingly, though this family began as humble

leaders in a small community, they have undergone a transformation and have become important leaders in the violent military wing of Hamas.

DR. HAREL CHOREV

MICHAEL BARAK (left) RECEIVES SCHOLARSHIP FROM PROF. DANN’S DAUGHTER AND SON-IN-LAW, NAOMI MEIRI-DANN AND SHMUEL MEIRI



PROF. HAGGAI ERLICH



## JOHN GANDEL SYMPOSIUM

On

June 12, 2012, during the annual Tel Aviv University Board of Governors Meeting, the annual **John Gandel Symposium** was held. Providing a venue for the analysis of the current events of the Middle East, this year’s symposium focused on recent developments in Iran and Egypt, and featured Center Director Prof. **Uzi Rabi**; Senior Fellow Prof. **Shimon Shamir**; and **Meir Dagan**, former Director of the Mossad, as speakers.

The barrier of fear among Arab populations has collapsed and a return to the status quo ante, in which Arab states are ruled by a single dictator, is impossible, argued Prof. Rabi. While it is too early to know exactly what shape the region will take in the long term, it is clear that Islamist parties



have gained the most in the short term. Furthermore, it is the first time in recent history where the three most important regional actors – Turkey, Egypt and Iran – are openly anti-western and anti-Israel in their strategic orientation.



Prof. Uzi Rabi (Right) and Former Head of the Mossad, Mr. Meir Dagan

of a nuclear weapon. Considering the internal crises and tensions confronting the rulers of the Islamic Republic, including domestic problems with ethnic minorities in Iran and religious disputes amongst the clerics, the nuclear scenario becomes even more complicated. As for the international community's role, including Israel, military intervention should remain the option of last resort, while increasing economic and political pressure on Iran through sanctions and covert actions should persist as the preferred course to dissuade Iran from obtaining a nuclear weapon.

Bringing the discussion back to the Arab Middle East, Shamir noted that the Arab uprisings, also known as the "Arab Spring," were viewed as a watershed moment in the region and generated a wave of optimism that a new era had begun in the Middle East. Yet, these upheavals have had several negative repercussions, including the fragmentation of states and the rise of Islamist forces, both radical and moderate, to fill the vacuum of power. In Egypt, a revolution sparked by Egyptian youth



Prof. Shimon Shamir



Prof. Uzi Rabi

Focusing on the Iranian nuclear program and the Iranian regime's motivations and regional objectives, Dagan remarked that the Iranian regime maintains its shrewdness and is aware of the potential consequences of its actions. The important question is whether or not they are willing to pay the price for the acquisition



Mr. Meir Dagan

overthrew the old regime, but brought to power two authoritarian groups: Islamists like the Muslim Brotherhood and the Egyptian military, particularly the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces (SCAF). The SCAF and Muslim Brotherhood cooperated in the beginning to promote stability and safeguard their interests, but this cooperative effort is one of convenience and necessity, and is likely to fracture. Developments in the coming months and years will reveal the new alignments and dynamics that will steer the region's course.

# THE RECEDING HORIZON

On

June 18, 2012, the Moshe Dayan Center, Tel Aviv University, and the Institute of National Security Studies (INSS) hosted an event celebrating the Hebrew release of Senior Fellow Prof. **Itamar Rabinovich**'s book, *The Lingering Conflict* (*HaOfek HaMitrachek: Yisrael, HaAravim v'HaMizrach HaTichon*). The discussion for the evening focused on the extent to which we can still talk about a peace process in the Arab-Israeli conflict.



As a peace negotiator for Israel, and as someone who served as the Israeli Ambassador to the United States, Rabinovich is one of the foremost researchers and historians of the Middle East, remarked Center Director Prof. **Uzi Rabi**. His contributions to Israel and Middle Eastern affairs is quite evident in Rabinovich's book, which provides the reader with a clear understanding of the dynamics of the region and the tumultuous relations between Arabs and Jews from the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century to the present day.



MEMBER OF KNESSET, MR. BENNY BEGIN

Arafat failed to confront Islamist groups further, claiming that, in fact, Arafat maintained his ties to these extremist groups and even concluded an agreement with Hamas regarding attacks on Israel. Concerning Annapolis in 2008, Begin believes that Abbas, who neither officially rejected nor accepted Olmert's proposals, refused the agreement through his silence. In his final analysis, the PLO was not the solution and Israel's adherence to this mistaken theory has made its pursuit of peace futile, as the core issue in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is the Palestinians' rejection of Israel's legitimacy to exist on any part of historic Palestine.

Lt. General (Res.) **Amnon Lipkin-Sachak** pointed out that, as Rabinovich states in his book's conclusion, the challenges that Israel faces are difficult but not insurmountable. Israel's history shows that time and

**Benny Begin**, Member of Knesset and Cabinet Member, spoke on the peace process that began in 1988, which included the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) for the first time. As a party in the peace negotiations at Oslo (1993), Camp David (2000), and Annapolis (2008), the PLO led Israel to wrongly assume that the organization wanted to be part of a resolution. Citing examples from Rabinovich's book, Begin addressed these peace "experiments" and the reasons for each failure. While he agreed with Rabinovich's assessments for the most part, he made two notable exceptions. First, with regard to the Oslo Accords, Begin took Rabinovich's conclusion that



LT. GENERAL (RES.) AMNON LIPKIN-SACHAK (Left) AND PROF. ITAMAR RABINOVICH

again, the country's leaders know when it is time to adopt bold policies that are not necessarily comfortable politically, but are crucial to the survival of the state. In these scenarios, political alignments are cast aside for the greater good of Israel as a whole.

Prof. **Itamar Rabinovich** expressed his intention for the book to be used by current students of the Middle East in their studies. The newest edition considers current regional developments and offers new methods of analysis when studying the region.



Prof. ITAMAR RABINOVICH



INSS DIRECTOR, GENERAL (RES.) AMOS YADLIN

The evening concluded with remarks from the director of the INSS, General (Res.) **Amos Yadlin**. Yadlin observed that, with respect to theories of political science and history, the individuals making the greatest impact are leaders, who may go against the lessons of history in the pursuit of their own aims. As an advisor to PM Olmert in 2008, he encouraged Olmert to put forward a proposal to Abbas, even though he doubted Abbas would sign it. For Yadlin, the importance of this gesture was to gain legitimacy so that if another war came, Israeli leaders could honestly tell the citizens of Israel that every effort had

been made to secure peace with the Palestinians. As in 2008, today the Palestinians are not in a place to sign an agreement even though Israelis want to see this happen. According to Yadlin, everyone knows that any agreement will follow, more or less, the Clinton parameters — promoting a two-state solution and Palestinian sovereignty over part of Jerusalem.

## Diwaniyya Update

In July 2012, **Diwaniyya** produced its first episode in Arabic, featuring Syrian Kurdish human rights activist **Kamal Sido**. Mr. Sido addressed the place of Syrian Kurds in the current uprising, as well as their struggle for civil and social rights in Syrian society.

As the popularity and reach of **Diwaniyya** continues to expand, our aim is to produce more episodes in Arabic and Turkish, in addition to our English episodes. This reflects our efforts to not only take advantage of the language expertise of the experts we interview but also our desire to bridge cultural divides by connecting with people in their own language, within the region.

Together with the **Diwaniyya** blog, which provides more context and information on the theme of each episode, the podcasts are reaching a growing audience in the Middle East. We encourage you to download the latest podcast on iTunes or on the **Diwaniyya** blog, where you will find photos, videos, music and original articles.

# DEMOCRACY, DEVELOPMENT, AND SECURITY IN EAST ASIA AND THE MIDDLE EAST

**On**

July 15, 2012, the Moshe Dayan Center hosted its first international conference with the ASAN Institute for Policy Studies from South Korea on “Democracy, Development, and Security in East Asia and the Middle East.” The conference was the third meeting between participants from the Moshe Dayan Center and the ASAN Institute in the past year. In November 2011, Center Director Prof. **Uzi Rabi** participated in the ASAN Middle East Conference in Seoul, South Korea, and spoke on democracy in the wake of the Arab uprisings. During April 2012, Prof. Rabi, Senior Research Fellow Dr. **Paul Rivlin**, and Research Fellow Dr. **Ephraim Lavie** were participants at the ASAN Conference on Leadership, where they discussed the peace process and geopolitical developments.



THE ASAN CONFERENCE

The July conference discussed regional and global impacts of recent developments in the Middle East and East Asia, as well as long-term trends in democracy, development and security in each region. In the first session on authoritarianism and democratic transition, Dr. **Mira Tzoreff** spoke about recently elected Egyptian President Muhammad Mursi. Senior Fellow Dr. **Esther Webman** addressed the challenges the Arab uprisings have presented to Islamist movements. In the second session, Dr. Rivlin presented a comparative analysis between the regional economic positions of Israel and South Korea, and Dr. **Yitzhak Gal** spoke on the economic power of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC). Prof. Rabi and Senior Fellow Prof. **Eyal Zisser** addressed nuclear proliferation in Iran and the regional security implications of the Syrian uprisings, respectively.

On each of these panels, participants from ASAN Institute and several Korean universities, including **Kim Jiyeon, Karl Friedhoff, Han Byung-Jin, Jang Ji-Hyang, Go Myung-Hyun, Bong Youngshik,** and **Peter Lee**, joined researchers from the Moshe Dayan Center. Each presented in their respective area of expertise as it related to East Asia and offered their comparative analysis of similarities and differences between East Asia and the Middle East. The Moshe Dayan Center is excited to continue deepening our relationship with the ASAN Institute.

**In**

July, a high level delegation of scholars from the Institute for International Strategic Studies (IISS) at the Central Communist Party School (CCPS) in Beijing visited the Moshe Dayan Center. Center Director Prof. **Uzi Rabi** gave a regional briefing on Syria and Iran, as well as how Israel views China’s actions in these two arenas to the five-member delegation, led by IISS Director General Prof. **Gong Li** and Vice Deputy Head Prof. **Zhou Tianyong**. We look forward to expanding our cooperation with Chinese academics and institutes.

# EGYPT IN THE EYE OF THE STORM



year and counting after the revolutions of the “Arab Spring,” a new geopolitical orientation has begun to coalesce. The new map of the Middle East has roughly divided into two camps: one centered on Iran, which includes Syria, Hizballah and Hamas, and one centered on the two Sunni Arab powers, Egypt and Saudi Arabia, which includes the Gulf monarchies. Although the monarchs have managed to survive – in Jordan, Morocco, and in the Gulf – they are confronted by an ongoing struggle for power, and are exerting great efforts to negotiate a working relationship with their citizen-subjects.

On July 29, 2012, the Moshe Dayan Center hosted an event to discuss current events in Egypt, a year after the fall of President Mubarak. Examining the political developments in Egypt is crucial to grasping the pulse of the region, as Egypt remains the barometer of the Arab Middle East, said Center Director Prof. **Uzi Rabi**. In order for the field of Middle Eastern studies to address some of the most dynamic regional changes since its division into nation-states at the end of World War I, scholars must adjust their teaching and research methods in order to better analyze and cope with these developments. Focusing on the current situation in Egypt is an important place to begin this process, as Egypt, despite the gap between its abilities and its needs and the formidable obstacles arising from this reality, remains a center of regional power that must be observed in this transitory phase.



Prof. Uzi Rabi

According to Senior Fellow Prof. **Shimon Shamir**, contrary to the consensus of international media, Egypt did not undergo a revolution in early 2011. Lacking coherent leadership, organization, and a clear agenda, the youth who led the demonstrations managed to oust Mubarak and return a feeling of self-respect to the Egyptian public, but not much more. In the aftermath of Mubarak’s fall and in the absence of a true revolution, a power vacuum resulted that was quickly occupied by groups who were, evidently, more prepared for the ouster.

Although Mubarak himself used the army to rise to power, over time the army came to disagree



Prof. Shimon Shamir

with him on two key issues: his intention to appoint his son, Gamal, as his successor and the threat that his economic policies posed to their interests. These two issues, together with the withdrawal of American support for Mubarak’s rule, caused the Egyptian army to act quickly. Fearing the loss of its control of 25-40 percent of the Egyptian market, the army decided its interest was to appear as the entity that would usher in a new era for Egypt. The youth who initiated the uprising, however, were not convinced of the army’s ability to effect change in the country and protested against the army, as vigorously as they had against Mubarak. Army abuse of female protesters in Tahrir

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Square only further enraged the public and led to a series of deadly clashes between Egyptian citizens and its army.

Shamir asserted that the army realized the opposition to its power would not dissipate without serious damage to its position and decided to identify a partner within the civilian population. The only group that was aptly organized was the Muslim Brotherhood. The army intended to use the Muslim Brotherhood to control the outraged and disappointed public, yet it failed to foresee that the Muslim Brotherhood would use this platform to usurp the army's leadership position. As the Muslim Brotherhood strengthens its foothold in Egypt, the army has continued to lose its supremacy. The outcome of the Muslim Brotherhood's rise to power is endangering Egypt's defense and its international relationships, and threatening to further damage an already crippled economy.

Research Fellow Dr. **Mira Tzoreff** argued that the Brotherhood hasn't been much more successful vis-à-vis the frustrated public. Many youth organizations, in fact, accuse the Muslim Brotherhood of putting a halt to revolutionary momentum and of pursuing only their own interests. On the other hand, those youth who continue to be dissatisfied seem to have gone into a coma following Mubarak's ouster – preferring to bask in post-revolutionary euphoria, rather than choosing leadership, formulating an agenda, and becoming meaningfully involved in politics. Moreover, the Muslim Brotherhood possesses years of political experience, organizational and financial abilities, and a clear agenda. After years of being an oppressed opposition movement, the Brotherhood has become the largest, most influential political party in Egypt. In view of Egypt's bellwether role in the Middle East, political movements similar to the Muslim Brotherhood will continue to successfully exert their influence throughout the countries that have experienced uprisings in the last two years.



DR. MIRA TZOREFF

## Konrad Adenauer Program for Jewish-Arab Cooperation

# NEGEV BEDOUIN SOCIETY IN A CHANGING REALITY

**For** more than a decade, state agencies in Israel have been working to legalize Bedouin settlement in the Negev and resolve one of the most controversial and emotionally-charged issues between the State and Bedouin society: the issue of ownership of the Negev lands. At the heart of this dispute are 45 Bedouin villages in the Negev that have not received official recognition as part of a municipality, nor basic state services. These locales have come to be known as “unrecognized villages.”

In 2004, the government established the Abu-Basma Regional Council, through which nine of these villages were awarded official recognition. In early 2009, the government approved the principles of the Goldberg Committee Report, whose recommendations to the government included the legalization of the Bedouin settlements in the Negev, and a proposal “to recognize the existing unrecognized villages to the greatest extent possible, and award them legal status.”

In 2011, the Prawer Committee, responsible for implementing the Goldberg Committee’s recommendations, proposed the relocation of 30,000 Bedouin residents of unrecognized villages to recognized Bedouin townships in the Negev, with compensation. This decision led to an alarmed and frustrated outcry among the Bedouins of the Negev who feel that, time and again, their commitment to the State of Israel – as soldiers, civil servants, and citizens of the country – is simply not reciprocated by the country to which they are loyal.



MICHAEL MERTES, DIRECTOR OF THE KONRAD-ADENAUER-STIFTUNG, ISRAEL

On March 28, 2012, to promote better understanding of the issues surrounding the Negev Bedouins, the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung and the Moshe Dayan Center’s Joint Program for Jewish-Arab Cooperation at Tel Aviv University organized a conference to discuss Negev Bedouin society, its evolving collective consciousness, and the ramifications of changes in its collective identity in relation to the State, and, finally, how Negev land and planning issues contribute to a process of identity formation. Academics from several of Israel’s most prestigious institutions of higher education and experts on the contentious issues surrounding Bedouin land and citizenship rights joined together with Mr. **Ehud Prawer**, of the Prime Minister’s Office and author of the Prawer Committee Report, to inform and debate these pressing concerns.

There are approximately 200,000 Bedouins in the Negev, of which 63 percent are under the age of 18. With a very high unemployment rate, the Bedouin have the lowest socioeconomic status in the country. Further exacerbating their daily lives, the unrecognized status of several villages means they lack electricity, running water, and fail to receive a number of other basic services they should receive as citizens of Israel. In addition to the fact that the Bedouins of the Negev struggle to have most of their basic needs met, as a minority within the Arab minority in Israel, Prof. **Aref Abu Rabia**, Ben

Gurion University, claims that the existential needs of the Bedouins are also complicated by the fact that they neither belong to the Arab states, nor to the Palestinians, nor to Jewish Israel. They do feel, however, they are citizens and residents of the Negev. Consequently, clan and tribal identities remain central to self-definition and the dealings of daily life. The bedouin society of the Negev is primarily a traditional one, struggling in its interaction with modernity, and one that has failed to crystallize – socially, culturally and economically – due to a number of internal and external causes.



Prof. AREF ABU RABIA

Amidst the day-to-day hardships and the ongoing search for a collective identity, a research study conducted by Mr. **Atef Abu Ajaj**, Ben Gurion University, shows that the Islamic Movement is on the rise among the Bedouins of the Negev. This phenomenon is taking place amongst the Bedouins of the Galilee, as well. Islamism, based on a promotion of Islam and its role in daily life, is something that increasingly ties the Negev Bedouins together with the Palestinians in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. Providing infrastructure and services that the State of Israel fails to deliver, Islamist leaders benefit from offering tangible services to the Bedouins (such as helping one unrecognized village install a water system), and have organized a successful propaganda campaign with slogans such as “The Negev is Not Alone,” which are winning the hearts and minds of the Bedouins in the south.



MR. ATEF ABU AJAJ



PROF. RUTH KARK

Parallel to the rise of an Islamist Bedouin identity, in the past twenty years a discourse on the indigenesness of the Bedouins has also formulated. Prof. **Ruth Kark**, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, attributes the development of the indigenous discourse to a group of Bedouin and Jewish scholars who define indigenous peoples as “first nation” communities who have been imposed upon by outsiders that have usurped their political sovereignty and the land upon which they formally enjoyed autonomy. For Kark, the indigenous discourse in the case of the Bedouin of Israel has been grasped for the purposes of political opportunism, and as a way to discredit Israel as a colonial, imperial,

and therefore illegitimate “settler state,” according to one definition. Consequently, while there is no argument that Bedouins – as citizens of Israel – must be treated as such, with all rights and duties afforded to them, the indigenous argument is employed for different reasons, which are not apt to improve relations between the State and the Bedouins.

Nevertheless, Dr. **Batya Roded**, Achva Academic College, contended that the Bedouin of the Negev do, in fact, meet some criteria that define a people as indigenous. She illustrated that the case of the Bedouins is quite similar to and resonates with the struggles of other indigenous peoples elsewhere in the world, such as Brazil, Australia and Canada. While this is an important factor that contributes to the heated discourse on the Negev Bedouins, Roded noted that the State of Israel simply does not accept the indigenous argument nor recognizes this status.



DR. BATYA RODED

While the issue of recognition has been deemed as paramount by a number of activists and policy makers as a remedy to the difficulties of the Bedouins, “recognition” and the granting of such a





Prof. HAIM SANDBERG

status to Bedouin villages is not a panacea for the challenges faced by these communities. Poverty, political disenfranchisement, and inequality will not be fixed by “recognizing” Bedouin villages and the plight of the people within them. Moreover, the fact of the matter is, land issues for all citizens of Israel are rather complicated. Prof. **Haim Sandberg**, The College of Management – Academic Studies, pointed out the legacy of land laws that the State of Israel continues to try and sift through – Ottoman, British Mandate, and Israeli law – all of which were established to pursue different and, sometimes, conflicting interests.

Yet, at the end of the day, the most pressing and important question to ask is: Are the Bedouins citizens of Israel, or not? For Dr. **Thabet Abu Ras**, director of the Negev branch of Adalah – the Legal Center for Arab Minority Rights in Israel, the crux of the matter is not about indigenous status or village recognition. Rather, it is about having equal opportunities to build, to settle, to live, and to enjoy the same rights as the Jewish citizens of Israel.



DR. THABET ABU RAS

Summarizing the conference and offering words from the government’s vantage point, Mr. **Ehud Praver**, of the Prime Minister’s Office, stated that the government tries to meet the challenging issues of the Negev in the spirit of compromise and with creativity and flexibility. It is a daunting task to develop land and people, despite the fact that the Negev development funds are often allocated much more



money than those proposed for any other parts of the country. The government is well aware of the identity issues prevalent among the Bedouins, the tension between tradition and modernity, and the unique rules that dictate relations between different clans within the Bedouin community of the Negev. While there are many obstacles to overcome, both internal and external, the government continues to seek solutions to competing claims for land and identity, he concluded.

MR. EHUD PRAVER



# CONTEMPORARY TURKISH-ISRAELI RELATIONS FROM A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE



May 3, 2012, the Süleyman Demirel Program for Contemporary Turkish Studies, the Moshe Dayan Center, and the Tel Aviv University Chair for Ottoman & Turkish Studies revived the Center's annual one-day colloquium on Turkish-Israeli relations. Featuring seven historians, economists and UN officials from Turkey, the Center, researchers and invited guest speakers sought to provide an international audience with a more-informed understanding of the current dynamic between these two important regional actors.



CONFERENCE PARTICIPANTS

The first panel, "Historical Insights," was chaired by Senior Research Fellow Prof. **Ofra Bengio**, and included a lecture given by Prof. **Recep Boztemur**, Middle East Technical University (Ankara), titled, "Historical Relations between Turks and Jews in the Late Ottoman Empire." Boztemur discussed the status of Jewish intellectuals and elites in the Ottoman-Jewish community, and their attitude toward socio-political changes that occurred in the Ottoman Empire's last years. Prof. **Mehmet Kalpaklı**, Chair of the Department of History and Director of the Ottoman Research Center at Bilkent University (Ankara), and Executive Board Member of the UNESCO Turkish National Commission, concentrated on the "Cultural Relations between Turkey and Israel from a Historical Perspective." Lastly, Prof. **Çağrı Erhan**, Ankara University (Ankara), analyzed 64 years of Turkish-Israeli relations. In his lecture, "Essential Motives behind the Rise and Fall of Turkish-Israeli Relations: Historical Assessment," Erhan emphasized Israel and Turkey's respective relations with Arab states and the Islamic Republic of Iran. Erhan also examined Israeli-Turkish relations in the aftermath of the 2010 Flotilla incident and compared the situation to previous bilateral crises between the two countries.



PROF. OFRA BENGIO

Prof. **Ehud R. Toledano**, Chair of Ottoman & Turkish Studies (Tel Aviv University), moderated the second panel: "Triangles of Changing Relations." In this panel, Assistant Prof. **Veysel Ayhan**, Abant İzzet Baysal University (Bolu), spoke about the potential domestic and regional effects of the crisis in Syria and its influence on security discourse in both Israel and Turkey. Dr. **Alexander Murinson**, University of London, gave a speech titled, "The Turkey-Israel-Azerbaijan Triangle," in which he focused on the history of this regional axis and how the current state of affairs has made Azerbaijan an important ally vis-à-

vis the possible confrontation with Iran, and in light of the Turkish-Israeli fallout. Prof. **Soli Özel**, Kadir Has University (Istanbul), whose articles and op-eds are featured in a wide variety of leading Turkish and global newspapers, gave a thought-provoking speech on the present state of “U.S.-Turkish-Israeli Relations.”



PROF. RECEP BOZTEMUR

Dr. **Anat Lapidot-Firilla**, Van Leer Institute (Jerusalem), chaired the third panel of the colloquium, titled, “Are Relations Beyond Repair?” To address this pressing question, Assistant Prof. **Özlem Tür**, Middle East Technical University (Ankara), focused on “Turkey and Israel in the 2000s – from Cooperation to Conflict,” analyzing the factors that led to the development of strained relations between Israel and Turkey. Continuing the conversation, Prof. **Gencer Özcan**, Bilgi University (Istanbul), elaborated upon the “Turkish Concept of and Discourse on Turkish-Israeli Relations.” Concluding the program, **Dan Katarivas**, Director of the Division of Foreign Trade and International Relations at the Manufacturers’ Association of Israel, and Director of International Relations at the Federation of Israeli Economic Organizations (FIEO), spoke about the economic dimension of bilateral relations between Israel and Turkey in his speech, titled “Economic Relations in the Shadow of a Political Crisis.”

The organizing committee for this colloquium included Prof. **Uzi Rabi**, Prof. **Ofra Bengio**, Prof. **Ehud Toledano**, and Center Research Assistant **Duygu Atlas**. ■

## TAU Workshop



July, the Moshe Dayan Center hosted the eighth annual “**TAU Workshop on Israel and the Middle East**,” an intensive 12-day academic workshop and travel program for academics that focuses on the history of the Arab-Israeli conflict and on contemporary issues related to Israel and the broader Middle East. Led by Center Director Prof. **Uzi Rabi**, 18 academics from institutions around the world came to Israel to listen and learn from some of the most exceptional Israeli and Palestinian scholars from institutions across Israel and the Palestinian Territories. In addition to listening to presentations and discussing the latest current issues and historical scholarship on the Middle East, participants also travel around Israel and the Palestinian Territories to visit important sites, cities and regions, facilitating a comprehensive view of the Arab-Israeli conflict and an in-depth understanding of this complex region.

Hailing from Princeton University, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), Harvard University, Colorado State University and Cornell University in the United States, as well as France’s Sorbonne, the London School of Economics (LSE), and the Shanghai International Studies University, the TAU Workshop has hosted more than 140 participants from around the globe in its eight years. The Workshop also provides an opportunity to establish a global network of scholars with which the Dayan Center is able to forge collaborative endeavors, including joint conferences and publications, student exchanges and visiting scholar programs. Several past participants have contributed to *Bustan: The Middle East Book Review*, the Moshe Dayan Center’s scholarly review journal, published by Brill, that features article-length comparative book reviews and traditional brief reviews. Most recently, the Workshop has also helped the Center establish cooperative agreements with the Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences and the ASAN Institute for Policy Studies. Additionally, a former participant is organizing an exchange program between TAU and Akhawayn University in Morocco.

# Moshe Dayan Center Forums

## THE FORUM ON KURDISH SOCIETY, HISTORY AND CULTURE

The **Forum on Kurdish Society, History and Culture** met twice during the spring semester. On April 2, 2012, four young Kurdish scholars and TAU graduate students held a debate on “Kurdish Nationalism in Turkey.” Visiting Scholar **Süleyman Şanlı**, a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Anthropology at Yeditepe University in Turkey, presented on “The Influence of Notables in the Emergence of Kurdish Nationalism.” **Ceng Sagnic**, a graduate student from Ben Gurion University and the Kurdish teacher for the Dayan Center’s Kurdish Studies Program, spoke about the “Resurrection of Kurdish Nationalism: PKK vs. AKP.” **Dünya Başol**, a Ph.D. candidate from Bar Ilan University, lectured on “The Impact of Religion on Kurdish Nationalism,” with a special focus on the Kurdish Alevi community in Turkey. Lastly, in “A Stockholm Syndrome: PKK as the Leviathan of Kurdish Nationalism,” Center Intern **Furkan Aksoy** discussed recent developments in Turkey regarding the Kurdish issue, mainly focusing on the democratic opening initiative of the ruling AKP.

On June 18, 2012, the forum met for a session on “The Kurds and the Syrian Revolt.” The speaker, Dr. **Kamal Sido**, from the Middle East Referee of the Society for Threatened Peoples (GfbV, Göttingen-Germany) and respondent, Dr. **Uri Hazan**, from the Research Center of the Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, spoke about the Kurdish minority in Syria, offering a history of this group, its characteristics, and an examination of their role in the latest developments in Syria.

## MAGHREB FORUM

The **Maghreb Forum** continued its activities during the spring 2012 semester, hosting two expert scholars in separate meetings. **Emanuela Trevisan Semi**, Professor of Modern Hebrew and Jewish Studies at Ca’ Foscari University (Venice, Italy), spoke on her recently published book: *Memoire et Representations des Juifs au Maroc: Les Voisins Absents de Meknes*. In her book, Trevisan Semi discusses the memory and representations of the Jewish community among the contemporary Muslim residents of Meknes, Morocco. Her work offers new perspectives on Muslim-Jewish relations in Morocco. In the second meeting of the semester, **Jessica Marglin**, a Ph.D. candidate in Near East Studies at Princeton University, gave a lecture entitled: “Mediterranean Forum Shopping: Jews and Consular Courts in Nineteenth-Century Morocco.”

## ECONOMIC FORUM

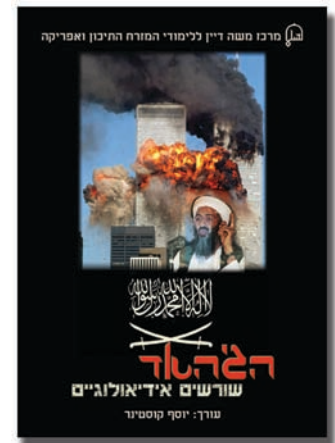
The Dayan Center’s **Economic Forum**, headed by Senior Research Fellow Dr. **Paul Rivlin** and Center Research Fellow **Yitzhak Gal**, convened three meetings during the spring semester. The sessions – exploring Israel’s economic relationship with Jordan, the Palestinian Authority, and Turkey – were covered by the Israeli economic newspaper, *Globes*. Regular attendees of the Economic Forum included prominent Israeli businesspeople, government officials, and senior representatives of Israeli NGOs.

## New Publications

*Nationalism, Secularism, and Religion in the Middle East* (Hebrew), edited by Research Fellow Dr. **Daniel Zisenwine**, was published by the Moshe Dayan Center in early 2012. The work investigates the complex relationship between religion and state in the Middle East, and analyzes the role of religion in the politics, society and economy of several regional states, including Syria, Libya, Egypt, and Iraq. The articles in this volume demonstrate how regimes have used religion to acquire legitimacy for their rule, as well as to foster a more cohesive national identity. Senior Fellows Profs. **Eyal Zisser** and **Ofra Bengio**, Research Fellow Dr. **Mira Tzoreff**, and Researcher Emeritus Prof. **Gideon Gera** contributed to this volume. It is accessible as a free download via the Moshe Dayan Center website, [www.dayan.org](http://www.dayan.org), in the Bookstore section.

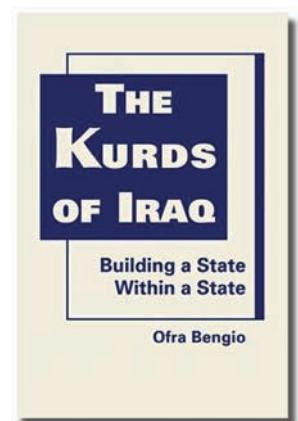


Senior Fellow Prof. **Joseph Kostiner**'s (z"l) edited volume, *The Ideological Roots of Jihad* (Hebrew), was published by the Moshe Dayan Center in July 2012. In addition to Kostiner's article on the ideology of *Al Qa'ida*, this edited volume features contributions from Center Director Prof. **Uzi Rabi**, Senior Fellows Profs. **Meir Litvak** and **Eyal Zisser**, and Researcher Emeritus Prof. **Gideon Gera**. The articles analyze how the concept of jihad, or holy war for God and Islam, has become a central component of the ideologies of radical Islamic movements around the world, and demonstrate the extent to which jihad, in the modern era, differs from traditional ideas of jihad in Islamic history. Showing the continuity and changes of the concept over time, and describing the role jihad plays in political and religious affairs today, these essays fill the gap in historical research on jihad doctrine through analysis of several of modern jihad's key theorists and Islamic movements.



## Faculty Publications

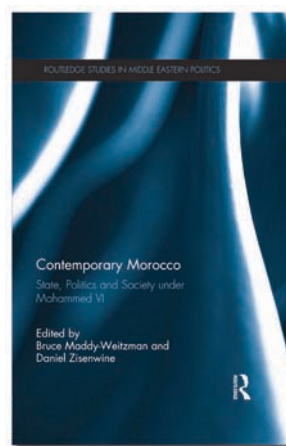
In *The Kurds of Iraq: Building a State within a State* (Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2012), Senior Fellow Prof. **Ofra Bengio** addresses the Kurds of Iraq and their relations with the Iraqi state from the establishment of the Ba'ath regime in 1968 to today. After suffering years of brutal oppression at the hands of the Iraqi state, many observers and Kurds themselves doubted whether a Kurdish entity would ever exist. With the fall of Saddam Hussein, such a self-governing entity was established. Through her meticulous research, Bengio documents the socioeconomic, political, and ideological transformations that occurred within Kurdish society over the past five decades that culminated in the creation of an autonomous Kurdish region in Iraq.



In June 2012, Senior Fellow Prof. **Itamar Rabinovich**'s *The Lingering Conflict: Israel, the Arabs and the Middle East, 1948-2011* (Brookings Institution Press, 2011) was published in Hebrew as *The Receding Horizon: Israel, the Arabs, and the Middle East, 1948-2012*, by Kinneret, Zmora-Bitan, Dvir Publishing House. The book, while based on Rabinovich's prior work, *Waging Peace*, is not merely a revision or updated version. Rather, it has been completely reworked and takes into account new events and new evidence. *Receding Horizon* focuses on the current regional reality in which the peace process is in decline and conflict is increasing. Prof. Rabinovich argues that one of the keys to understanding the complexity of the Arab-Israeli conflict is to understand it is not a single conflict, but one of several distinct and interrelated conflicts. In order to overcome the geopolitical and diplomatic challenges it faces, Israel must adopt bold, new policies to improve its regional position and promote the peace process.



At the end of August 2012, Routledge published *Contemporary Morocco: State, Politics and Society under Mohammed VI*, a volume edited by and featuring contributions from Principal Research Fellow Dr. **Bruce Maddy-Weitzman**, and Research Fellow Dr. **Daniel Zisenwine**. The articles compiled for this volume provide comprehensive, scholarly analyses of the political, social and cultural developments that have taken place in Morocco under the rule of King Mohammed VI. In doing so, these works highlight the multiple challenges – social, political, religious, and economic – facing the monarchical regime in Morocco and its ability to cope with these challenges and tensions.



Maddy-Weitzman's article focuses on the Amazigh movement and its relations with the Moroccan state, while Zisenwine's details Moroccan foreign policy under Mohammed VI. This volume also contains articles on Morocco's economy under Mohammed VI by Senior Fellow Dr. **Paul Rivlin**, and on Moroccan youth's aspirations for the future by Junior Research Fellow **Samir Ben-Layashi**.

## YOUNG RESEARCHERS AT THE CENTER

Many research assistants work at the Moshe Dayan Center and make important contributions to its publications and the day-to-day operations of the Center. In addition to their responsibilities to the Center, they also conduct research in their areas of interest and expertise. One of our research assistants, **Teresa Harings**, M.A. candidate, presented her original research on Islamic belief and religious authority among Somali migrants in Minnesota at Bilkent University's Historical Society in Ankara, Turkey; and at the Van Leer Institute in Jerusalem, where she spoke on identity conflicts within the Minnesotan Somali community.

This year's Amira Margalith Scholar was **Mehmet Mucahit Ekinci** from Diyarbakir, Turkey. Funded by the generous donation of Dr. **Kenneth Stein**, the scholarship enabled Mehmet to pursue research on Turkish-Israeli relations in the shadow of the Arab Spring together with Prof. **Ofra Bengio**. Thanks to Dr. Stein's continued support, young scholars such as Mehmet have the opportunity to come to the Dayan Center and work closely with one of our many experts every year.

Additionally, each summer the Dayan Center provides a unique chance for qualified individuals, both undergraduate and graduate students from around the world, to work with our world-renowned experts on a topic of their choice. This summer, the Center hosted the highest number of interns in its history, with participants coming from such acclaimed universities as Columbia University, University of Wisconsin, American University, and Turkish and German universities. Interns contributed to **Diwaniyya** and several other ongoing projects.

We are thrilled to see the increasing contribution of all these young scholars, not only to the Dayan Center, but also to the wider academic community.

**Irit Back's** article, "Sufism and Anti-Sufism in Nigeria and Senegal: Between Conflict and Dialogue," was published in *Religious Conversion, Sufism, Revival and Reform in Islam*, edited by Aaron Layish and published by the Van Leer Institute and Hakibbutz Hameuchad (2012).

Back presented her paper, "Nigeria-Saudi Arabia Relations: Continuity and Change," at a *Conference on the Persian Gulf and Africa: Reciprocal Relations*, organized by the Ezri Center for Iran and Persian Gulf Studies, Haifa University (5 June 2012). She also authored "From West Africa to Mecca: Colonial attitudes toward the hajj compared," which she presented at the workshop, *Migrations and Societies in Africa and the Middle East: A Long Term Perspective*, co-organized by the World History Center at the University of Pittsburgh, and the International Institute of Social History at Amsterdam, held in Rabat, Morocco (19-21 May 2012).

**Ofra Bengio's** *The Kurds of Iraq: Building a State within a State*, was published by Lynne Rienner Publishers (2012), and *The Sunna and Shi'a in History: Division and Ecumenism in the Muslim Middle East*, co-edited with Meir Litvak, was published by Palgrave MacMillan (2011). Her other academic publications included: "The Kurdish Problem in Turkey and Its Impact on Foreign Relations," *Turkish Studies* (December 2011); "Are Iraq and Turkey Models for Democratization?" *Middle East Quarterly* (Summer Issue, 2012); and "Quietists Turned Activists: the Shi'i Revolution in Iraq," in Ofra Bengio and Meir Litvak (eds.), *The Sunna and Shi'a in History: Division and Ecumenism in the Muslim Middle East*. Bengio also reviewed Andrew Arato's *Constitution Making Under Occupation: The Politics of Imposed Revolution in Iraq in Bustan: The Middle East Book Review*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (2011).

Bengio authored numerous op-ed articles in domestic and international media outlets. These included: "The Quiet Kurdish Spring," *The Jerusalem Post* (12 March 2012); "Will Barzani Declare Independence?" *The Jerusalem Post* (22 April 2012); "A chapter from 'Mount of Olives,' by Faleh Rifki Atay" (translated from Turkish), *Haaretz* (17 May 2012); and "We are playing into the hands of Erdoğan," *Mako* (7 September 2011).

Additionally, Bengio delivered a lecture titled, "EU, Turkey and the Neighborhood Workshop: Transatlantic Synergies in the Arab Spring," at the annual conference of the German Marshall Fund of the United States (26-28 October 2011), held in Istanbul, Turkey. At Bilgi University (Istanbul), she presented "New Regional Perspectives for the Kurds," in October 2011. For the Israel Business Conference held in December 2011, Bengio gave "A Discussion on the Educational Gaps between Turkey, Iran and Israel." At the INSS, she presented on "The Upheavals in the Middle East: One Year Later," on 26 January 2012. At the Free Berlin University (Berlin), she discussed "The Upheavals in the Middle East and their Impact on the Kurds" (23 May 2012). She also presented at a "Round Table Discussion on the Arab Spring," on 21 June 2012, at the Israeli Presidential Conference.

**Samir Ben-Layashi** delivered a paper titled, "The Body as a Signifier for Racialization in Academic Literature in Israel and in Arab Countries: A Comparative Approach," at a conference organized by the Graduate School for Historical Studies (Tel Aviv University), on *Racism in Modern Time Between Culture and Politics*.

Ben-Layashi was also invited by the International Federation of Moroccan Jews and the Municipality of Ashdod to participate in The Academic *Mimouna* Colloquia in Ashdod, Israel, held on 15 April 2012, where he delivered a paper titled, "Memories of a Happy Childhood in the *mellah* (Jewish quarter) in Meknes, Morocco." In May 2012, he gave a lecture on "The Arab Spring and Israel" at The Ramat HaSharon Rotary Club.

Ben-Layashi published "The Sunni-Shi'a Divide in Light of the Arab Spring," in *Ruah Mizrahit*, Vol. 2, Issue 14 (December 2011). *Walla News* published his op-ed article, "What is Supposed to Happen in Libya Once the Weapons Go Silent?" on 25 August 2011. He also reviewed Odile Moreau's edited volume, *Réforme de l'État et réformismes au Maghreb: XIXe – XXe siècles* (Paris: L'Harmattan – Institut de recherche sur le Maghreb contemporain, 2009), in *Mediterranean Historical Review*, Vol. 26, Issue 2 (2011).

**Harel Chorev** gave a lecture on "Changes in the Status of Elite Palestinian Families of the West Bank: The Network of the al-Masris," at the annual conference of the Middle East Studies Association (MESA) in Washington, D.C., December 2011. Chorev's article, "Power, Tradition and Challenge: The Resilience of the Elite Shi'ite Families of Lebanon," was accepted for publication in April 2012 by the *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*.

**Brandon Friedman** participated in the 2012 Herzliya Conference Round Table Session: *Strategy and Deterrence in the Arab and Muslim World*, at the Interdisciplinary Center (IDC) Herzliya on 1 February 2012, as a discussant on the issue of Saudi Arabia and a nuclear Middle East. In late February, Friedman delivered a public lecture entitled, "Muscle Flexing, Quiet Diplomacy, and Iran's Nuclear Program," at the Foreign Policy Research Institute (FPRI) in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

In January, the Jewish Policy Center in Washington D.C. published Friedman's article, "Qatar: Security Amid Instability," in the Winter 2011 issue of its journal, *inFocus Quarterly*. His essay, "The Battle for Bahrain: What One Uprising Meant for the Gulf States and Iran," was published in the March/April issue of *World Affairs*. Additionally, the Foreign Policy Research Institute published Brandon's e-note, "Iran in Israel's Strategic Calculus," in April 2012.

**Rachel Kantz Feder** gave a presentation at an international conference in Vienna, Austria, sponsored by The Woodrow Wilson School's Liechtenstein Institute on Self-Determination. The conference explored *The Role of Religion in International Development, Identity and Conflict*, and was part of Princeton University's *Program on Religion, Diplomacy and International Relations*. In June 2012, Kantz Feder delivered a lecture titled, "The Notion of Sacrifice in the Early Writings of Muhammad Baqir al-Sadr," at an international conference that convened in Jerusalem. The conference, *Sacrifice and Death in Modern Islam: History, Ethos and Politics*, was sponsored by Hebrew University's Institute for Advanced Studies and the Israel Science Foundation.

**Meir Litvak** published "The Hamas Movement: Muslim Brothers with a Palestinian Uniqueness," in M. Hatina and U. Kupferschmidt (eds.), *The Muslim Brothers: A Religious Vision in a Changing Reality* (HaKibbutz HaMeuchad 2012). His entry for "Karbala," in *Encyclopaedia Iranica* (Columbia University Press) was also published in 2012.

Litvak co-organized an international workshop with the Levtzion Center on Islamic Studies, on *Sacrifice and Death in Modern Islam: History, Ethos and Politics*, held in June 2012. At this conference, he presented a paper on "Martyrdom is Bliss: The Ideological Discourse of Martyrdom in Iran during the War with Iraq, 1981-1989." At a conference titled *The Middle East Unfolding: Dreams and Drama in the Early Twenty-First Century*, held at Otago University from 22-4 June, he presented his paper, "The Arab Upheaval: an Israeli Perspective." Litvak delivered a lecture on "Iranian Antisemitism and Holocaust Denial" at the Indiana University Institute for the Study of Contemporary Antisemitism; and spoke on "Anti-Semitism in the Muslim Middle East" at the *Yale Program for the Study of anti-Semitism*, both in February 2012. At Haifa University, he lectured on "The Shi'is of Iraq and the State: From the Ottomans to Saddam Husayn," in a conference titled *The State, the Mosque and Identity in the Middle East Past and Present*, which convened on 15 May 2012.

**Bruce Maddy-Weitzman** presented a paper, "Arabization and its Discontents: The Rise of the Amazigh Movement in North Africa," at the Association for the Study of the Middle East and Africa's annual conference, 3-5 November 2011, in Washington, D.C. He lectured on "The Arab Spring: Lessons and Implications" at the Malta Seminar on 11-14 November 2011, sponsored by the Mediterranean Academy of Diplomatic Studies (MEDAC), University of Malta. He was the keynote speaker in a Foreign Policy Research Institute colloquium, *Contemporary Challenges Facing North Africa*, on 30 November 2011, in Washington, D.C. He delivered a paper, "Abdelkrim and the Amazigh Movement: The Search for a Usable Past," at the Middle East Studies Association's annual conference, 1-4 December 2011, in Washington, D.C., and at the Israeli Association for Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies' annual conference, on 7 June 2012, at Bar-Ilan University. He lectured on "The Berber Factor in the Algerian Spring" at the colloquium, *A View of Algeria and its Jews: 50 Years Since Algerian Independence* (23 February 2012), at Yad Ben Zvi, Jerusalem. He spoke on "Middle Eastern Identities" at the *Lithuanian-Israeli Academic Roundtable: Middle Eastern & European Identities*, sponsored by the GLORIA Center, on 5 March 2012, at the Herzliya Interdisciplinary Center. He delivered a paper, "The Amazigh Spring Redux? Amazigh Movement and the Arab Spring," at the American Institute of Maghrib Studies' International Workshop, *Berber Societies: New Approaches to Space, Time and Social Processes* (28 June - 2 July 2012), in Tangier, Morocco. Throughout the year, he published a monthly "Mideast Monitor" column in *The Jerusalem Report*.

Maddy-Weitzman's co-edited book, *Contemporary Morocco: State, Politics and Society under Mohammed VI*, was published by Routledge in August 2012. It contained his chapter, "The Amazigh Factor: State-Movement Relations Under Muhammad VI." Other published articles included "Tunisia: The Next Phase," *Euromesco/IMED*



Brief, No. 19, November 2011; "Is Morocco Immune to Upheaval," *Middle East Quarterly*, Vol. 19, No. 1 (Winter 2012); "North Africa's Democratic Prospects," *Foreign Policy Research Institute*, December 2011; "The Arab Regional System and the Arab Spring," in *Change and Opportunities in the Emerging Mediterranean*, Stephen Calleya and Monica Wohlfield (eds.), published by the Mediterranean Academy of Diplomatic Studies (2012); "Abdelkrim: Whose Hero is He? The Politics of Contested Memory in Today's Morocco," in the *Brown Journal of World Affairs*, Vol. XVIII, Issue II (Spring/Summer 2012); and "The Arab League Comes Alive," *Middle East Quarterly*, Vol. 19, No. 3 (Summer 2012).

His review of *Algeria: Anger of the Dispossessed*, Martin Evans & John Phillips, (Yale University Press, 2007), appears in *The European Legacy: Toward New Paradigms, Journal of ISSEI*, Vol. 17, No. 2 (April 2012).

**Uzi Rabi's** co-edited volume, *The Gulf States: Between Iran and the West*, was published by the Moshe Dayan Center and the Institute for National Security Studies (INSS). His article (co-authored with Nugzar Ter-Oganov), "The Military of Qajar Iran: The Features of an Irregular Army from the Eighteenth Century to the Early Twentieth Century," appeared in Vol. 45, No.3 (2012) of *Iranian Studies*. He published a series of op-eds in the Israeli newspaper *Globes*, and wrote a book review for *Bustan: The Middle East Book Review*, Vol. 2, No. 2 (2012), discussing Mahboubeh F. Sadeghinia's book, *Security Arrangements in the Persian Gulf: With Special Reference to Iran's Foreign Policy*. Rabi's article, "Recent Developments in Israeli-Palestinian Relations and Palestinian Politics," was translated into Portuguese and was published in the Brazilian political magazine, *Política Externa*, Vol. 20, No. 3 (2011).

Rabi visited Brazil and Argentina in September 2011 where he was hosted by Friends of TAU-Argentina, and spoke to numerous groups of university students and Jewish congregations. At the International Institute for Counter-Terrorism's 11th International Conference at the Interdisciplinary Center (IDC) Herzliya, held in September 2011, Rabi delivered a presentation entitled, "Is Yemen a failed state?," as part of the workshop *The Middle East: Between Democracy and State Failure?* In November 2011, he was invited by the ASAN Institute of South Korea to serve as a speaker and a discussant at the ASAN Middle East Conference in Seoul, where he presented a paper on "U.S. Policy in the Middle East." In November-December, he traveled to the United States for the MESA Conference in Washington, D.C., where he delivered a paper called "Changing Geopolitical Circumstances of the Middle East," and where he attended the annual reunion for participants of the TAU Workshop. In February-March 2012, he again visited the United States as a speaker for the American Friends of TAU's annual One-Day University tour, which brought Rabi to universities in Los Angeles, Las Vegas, Miami and New York. At these events he spoke on "What surprises will the Arab Spring unleash?" In April, he was invited by the Jewish Federation of Chicago to speak at Aurora University and Northwestern University.

In April 2012, he organized a delegation of Dayan Center researchers for a panel on "The Future of the Middle East Peace Process (Israel-Palestine-Syria-Lebanon)" at the ASAN Institute. He also delivered a paper in the plenary session, *A New Era of Mass Politics? Leadership, Populism and Information*, during the same conference in Seoul. In June 2012, he delivered a lecture in California on "Iran, Israel and the West: Confrontation or Compromise?" at a number of speaking engagements. In July 2012, he attended and headed the two-week long, 8<sup>th</sup> Annual TAU Workshop on Israel and the Middle East. In August he was invited by the Singapore Ministry of Foreign Affairs to deliver a presentation at the Middle East Institute of the National University of Singapore, where he delivered his lecture, "Failed states in the Middle East: a renewed competition of primordial identities," and also spoke at the Diplomatic Academy on "Iran, Israel and the West: A Strange Encounter."

**Paul Rivlin** delivered a lecture titled "Oil and Politics in the Gulf" in May 2011 at the INSS-Dayan Center *Seminar on The Gulf States: Between Iran and the West*. In October 2011, at the joint workshop hosted by the G. Tsereteli Institute of Oriental Studies and the Dayan Center, held in Tblisi, Georgia, he spoke on "The Politics and Economics of the Arab Spring." In November 2011, Rivlin lectured on "The Reasons for Slow Economic Development in the Arab World" at the Van Leer Institute (Jerusalem). During February 2012, he gave a number of lectures including: "The West and Syria" and "The Economics of the Arab Spring," at the NATO International School of Azerbaijan, in Baku, Azerbaijan; "Israel and the Changing Middle East," at the US-Israel Bi-national Agricultural Research and Development Fund, held in Tel Aviv, and co-hosted by Stanford University and Tel Aviv University; and "The Economics of the Arab Spring" at the Malana Abul Kalam Azad Institute of Asian Studies (Kolkata, India). In April 2012, he gave a lecture titled "Economics and the Future of the Middle East Peace Process," at the ASAN Institute

for Policy Studies (Seoul, South Korea). In May 2012: Rivlin was invited to the Rotary Club, Pusan, where he discussed “The Development of Israeli Hi-Tech”; he spoke on the “Winners and Losers in the Middle East Economy,” at the Globes Capital Market Conference in Tel Aviv; and presented a paper on “The Economics of Peace between Israel, Syria and Lebanon” at the Peace Research Institute Frankfurt: *Academic Peace Orchestra Conference Track II Initiative*, which took place in Alghero, Sardinia.

Rivlin’s chapter titled “Morocco’s Economy under Mohammed the VI” was published in Bruce Maddy-Weitzman and Daniel Zisenwine’s co-edited volume, *Contemporary Morocco: State, Politics and Society under Mohammed VI* (Routledge, 2012). His article, “Oil and Politics in the Gulf,” was included in Uzi Rabi and Yoel Guzansky’s *The Gulf States, Between Iran and the West*, co-published by the INSS and the Moshe Dayan Center (February 2012). In May 2012, Rivlin’s chapter, “The Israeli Economy,” was published in Alan T. Levenson’s edited volume, *The Wiley-Blackwell History of Jews and Judaism*.

Rivlin reviewed Steffen Hertog’s book, *Princes, Brokers, and Bureaucrats*, in *Middle East Studies* (July 2011); and Evaleila Pesaran’s work, *Iran’s Struggle for Economic Independence: Reform and Counter-Reform in the Post-Revolutionary Era*, in *The Middle East Journal* (September 2011).

**Annie Tracy Samuel** was in residence at the Harvard Kennedy School as a fellow at the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, for the 2011-12 academic year. She participated in the International Security Program and in the Dubai Initiative. The latter, a joint project of the Kennedy School and the Dubai School of Government, concluded in December 2011. Tracy Samuel has been reappointed as a fellow in the Belfer Center’s International Security Program for the 2012-13 year. She received the Schusterman Israel Scholar Award, given by the American-Israeli Cooperative Enterprise, to support her research.

During the past year she gave a number of lectures, including two at the Harvard Kennedy School, one at Brandeis University, and one on behalf of Harvard’s Center for Middle Eastern Studies at a Boston-area high school.

Several of Tracy Samuel’s academic papers were published, including: “The Syrian Uprising: the View from Tehran,” first published as an edition of the Dayan Center’s *Tel Aviv Notes* (27 June 2012) and subsequently published in *Muftah* (9 July 2012), and *Power & Policy: The Belfer Center blog* (3 July 2012); “Perceptions and Narratives of Security: The Iranian Revolutionary Guards and the Iran-Iraq War,” published by the Harvard Kennedy School as an *International Security Discussion Paper* (May 2012); “Attacking Iran: Lessons from the Iran-Iraq War,” first published as a Dubai Initiative and Belfer Center Policy Brief (December 2011), and subsequently published in *Fair Observer* (as two parts, 28 July and 4 August 2012), *Muftah* (6 February 2012), and *Open Democracy* (2 February 2012); and a review of *Iran’s Foreign Policy: From Khatami to Ahmadinejad*, edited by Anoushiravan Ehteshami and Mahjoob Zweiri, which appeared in *Iranian Studies*, Vol. 45, No. 1 (January 2012).

Tracy Samuel had numerous articles published: “Why Negotiating with Iran is Israel’s Best Strategy,” *Global Post* (28 March 2012); “What Will Iran Do if it Gets a Nuclear Bomb?” in *The Atlantic* (22 February 2012); and “Going Rogue in Iran?” with Daniel L. Tavana, *CNN Global Public Square* (14 October 2011).

Tracy Samuel was interviewed by several publications, including the *Harvard Political Review* (20 March 2012), and Brazil’s *O Estado de Sao Paulo* (4 December 2011).

**Mira Tzoreff** presented “Old and New Political Forces in Post ‘Arab Spring’ Revolutionary Egypt,” at a conference held by the National University of Tbilisi, Georgia (24-27 October 2011). On 21 November 2011, the Yad Ben Zvi Institute commemorated three decades since the assassination of Egyptian President Anwar al-Sadat, where Tzoreff gave a lecture titled, “A President on the Shooter – Did the Bullets Reach both the Leader and the Vision?” On 22 November 2011, Tzoreff delivered her paper, “Women in the Arab Spring Revolutions: Is the Personal Really Political?” in a conference hosted by the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung on the topic of *Women in Israeli-Arab Society*, at Tel Aviv University. On 29 January 2012, she participated in a lecture series hosted by the Yad Ben Zvi Institute, where she presented on “The Youth Revolution in Egypt: From Euphoria to Sisyphean Political Activity.” In February 2012, Tzoreff was invited to a round table discussion on the *Arab Spring* at the annual Herzilya IDC Conference. On 13 March 2012, Tzoreff gave a lecture titled, “Young Egyptians Conquer the Urban Space of Tahrir: Graffiti as a Means for Crystallizing a Revolutionary Collective Memory,” at a conference organized by the University Institute for Diplomacy and Regional Cooperation, on the topic of *Revolutions in the City: The Role of Cities in Protests and Revolutions*. She also spoke twice before an audience of the Open University’s *Ascolot Program* on the

following subjects: "Egypt at a Crossroads: The End of Mubarak's Era" in January, and "The Muslim Brotherhood: A Fundamentalist or a Modernist Movement?" in March 2012. At an international workshop on *Sacrifice and Death in Modern Islam*, hosted by the Israeli Institute for Advanced Studies at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Tzoreff delivered a paper titled "The Hybrid Pharaonic-Islamic Shahid/a of the Egyptian 'Arab Spring' Revolution" (11-13 June). At a roundtable discussion at the Daniel Abraham Center for Strategic Dialogue, Netanya Academic Center, Tzoreff discussed "The Elections in Egypt – A Day After" (26 June). On July 10, at an international workshop hosted by the Rabin Center, Tzoreff presented a paper that addressed "Hamas, Islamic Brotherhood, and the Egyptian-Israeli Relationship."

**Asher Susser** participated in the international conference on *Future Trends and Challenges for the Middle East*, at Wilton Park, England, in January 2012. In May he lectured in Budapest at the Hungarian Institute of International Affairs on the "Arab Spring," and at Corvinus University on the Arab-Israeli conflict. In August and September, he was a Visiting Research Associate at the Israel and Golda Koschitzky Center for Jewish Studies at York University, Toronto.

Susser's latest book, *Israel, Jordan and Palestine; The Two-State Imperative*, was published by the University Press of New England (2012). He also published three articles: one on "Israel, Jordan and Palestine: Linked Fates, Hard Realities," in Jeffrey Herbst, Terence McNamee and Greg Mills (eds.), *On the Fault Line: Managing Tensions and Divisions within Societies* (Profile Books 2012); another on "Tradition and Modernity in the 'Arab Spring,'" in *Strategic Assessment*, Vol. 15, No. 1 (April 2012), and the third, "The 'Arab Spring': Competing Analytical Paradigms," in *Bustan: The Middle East Book Review*, vol. 3, no. 2 (Fall 2012).

**Esther Webman** was invited by the Hamburger Studienbibliothek organization in Hamburg, Germany, to give a talk titled "Arab Antisemitic Discourse – Importation, Internalization and Recycling" (23 November 2011). The following day she spoke in Berlin for Scholars for Peace in the Middle East (SPME) on "Continuity and Change in the Arab Holocaust Discourse." On Holocaust Memorial Day (April 2012), she appeared on two television programs and delivered lectures in two forums. Her article, "Discourses on Antisemitism and Islamophobia among Arabs and Muslims" was published in May, electronically, in *European Societies*. Her book review of Yitzhak Reiter's *War, Peace and International Relations in Islam: Muslim Scholars on Peace Accords with Israel* was published in *The Israel Journal of Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 6, No. 2 (2012).

**Hay Eytan Cohen Yanarocak**'s article, "Atatürk & Erdoğan: Islam's Impact on Turkish Nationalism," was published in the *International Review of Turkish Studies*, Vol. 1, Issue 2 (2011). He presented this research at the *Euro Mediterranean Forum for Young Researchers* in Istanbul, Turkey. Several domestic and international media outlets interviewed Yanarocak on political and diplomatic developments in Turkish-Israeli relations.

**Daniel Zisenwine** spoke on "New Perspectives on Moroccan Nationalism" at the annual meeting of the Middle East Studies Association (MESA) in Washington, D.C., in December 2011. In February, he spoke on Post-Colonial Algeria at a symposium organized by Jerusalem's Ben Zvi Institute. His article, "Reaffirming Tunisia's Exceptionalism," was published in the Winter 2011 Issue of The Jewish Policy Center's *inFocus Quarterly*. His article on "Mohammed VI and Moroccan Foreign Policy" was published in August 2012 in a volume he co-edited with Bruce Maddy-Weitzman, *Contemporary Morocco: State, Politics and Society under Mohammed VI* (Routledge, 2012).

**Eyal Zisser** delivered a paper on "Israel and the Arab Spring – The Syrian Case" at the Middle East Studies Association of North America (MESA) Annual Conference, in December 2011, held in Washington, D.C. In May 2012, he spoke on "Syria and the October War – the Missed Opportunity" at a conference titled *October 1973: The Politics, Diplomacy and Legacy of the Yom Kippur War*, organized by the University of Birmingham, and held in Brussels, Belgium. In September he spoke on "the Syrian Revolution" at a conference organized by the Dalarna University in Sweden.

His article on "The Renewal of the 'Struggle for Syria': The Rise and Fall of the Ba'th Party," was published in *Sharqiyya* (Fall 2011); and his piece, "The 'Struggle for Syria': Return to the Past?" appeared in *Mediterranean Politics*, Vol. 17, No.1 (2012). Additionally, his chapter entitled, "Rashid Rida: On the way to Syrian nationalism in the shade of Islam and Arabism," was published in Adel Beshara's (ed.) *The Origins of Syrian Nationalism: Histories, Pioneers and Identity* (Routledge, 2011).

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