

BULLETIN

No. 55
SPRING 2012

The Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies

AT A GLANCE:

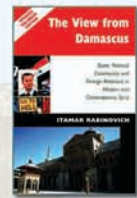
Joseph CIECHANOVER
ELECTED AS THE
NEW BOARD OF
GOVERNORS
CHAIR.....



U.S. AMBASSADOR
DANIEL SHAPIRO
visits THE
Moshe Dayan
.....CENTER



TRADITION AND
MODERNITY
IN THE
"Arab Spring"...



ASSESSING SYRIAN
Politics AND
.....Diplomacy



TEL AVIV UNIVERSITY

ETHIOPIA



BULLETIN

The Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies



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

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PRODUCTION: A.R.T. OFFSET SERVICES, LTD.

Letter from the Director

Dear Friends of the Moshe Dayan Center,

With the start of the academic year in the fall of 2011, the Center hosted a number of events, seminars, and other opportunities to inform our community, near and far, of the ongoing developments in the Middle East. Through our multimedia tools, like *Diwaniyya: The Dayan Center Podcast*, we have continued to expand our outreach to the far corners of the globe. In the pages of Bulletin No. 55, you will have the opportunity to learn about these activities in detail.



I am very pleased to report that at the 45th annual conference of the Middle Eastern Studies Association (MESA), which took place in Washington D.C., in December 2011, the Moshe Dayan Center had a booth for the first time in several years. In addition to our researchers, who presented on a number of panels, we were able to network and share information with similar institutes and individuals who gathered together from throughout the world.

In case you haven't noticed, at long last the Moshe Dayan Center has launched its new website. We hope that you will take the time to explore the new site and, especially, benefit from the search engine that will make finding previous publications a simple and efficient endeavor. We know the new website will only make our work more accessible to an even larger audience of Middle Eastern scholars and interested parties.

As always, thank you for your ongoing support and for your interest in our work at the Dayan Center.

Best wishes,

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

Prof. Uzi Rabi
Director

U.S. AmbASSADOR AT THE DAYAN CENTER



March 26, H.E. U.S. Ambassador **Daniel Shapiro** began his first official visit to Tel Aviv University with a tour of the Moshe Dayan Center. Accompanied by Center Director Prof. **Uzi Rabi**, Ambassador Shapiro toured the Guilford and Diane Glazer Multi-Media Room, where Research Assistants **Duygu Atlas** and **Ben Silsbee** demonstrated the Center's monitoring of television broadcasts from throughout the Middle East, as well as acquainted the Ambassador with *Diwaniyya: The Dayan Center Podcast*, and other multi-media projects. In the Moshe Dayan Center Research Library, Center Research Assistant **Heidi Basch-Harod** and **Hadas Sofer-Shabtai**, Tel Aviv University Ph.D. Candidate in Middle Eastern History, talked about the library archive collections. At the end of the tour, Center Archivist **Michael Barak** welcomed Ambassador Shapiro to the center's Arabic



Prof. Uzi Rabi (left), H.E. Amb. Daniel Shapiro and Ben Silsbee (right) in the Glazer Multi-Media Room (photo by Matty Stern, US Embassy, Tel Aviv)



H.E. Amb. Daniel Shapiro and Heidi Basch-Harod at the Moshe Dayan Center Research Library (photo by Matty Stern, US Embassy, Tel Aviv)

Following the Ambassador's tour, Prof. Uzi Rabi moderated a discussion between the Ambassador, his staff, and Dayan Center Experts. Ambassador Shapiro gave a brief presentation on U.S. Foreign Policy in the



Photo by Matty Stern, US Embassy, Tel Aviv



Prof. Uzi Rabi (right), H.E. Amb. Daniel Shapiro and Michael Barak (left) in the Arabic Press Archive (photo by Matty Stern, US Embassy, Tel Aviv)

Middle East vis-à-vis the "Arab Spring" uprisings and U.S.-Israel relations. Senior Fellows Profs. **Asher Susser**, **Meir Litvak**, **Eyal Zisser**, and Dr. **Bruce Maddy-Weitzman**, responded to the questions posed by the Ambassador with regard to the implications of the "Arab Spring" on the region-at-large, Iran, the future of Bashar al-Assad's regime in Syria, and the rise of Islamism throughout the region.



JOSEPH CIECHANOVER ELECTED CHAIR OF THE CENTER'S BOARD OF GOVERNORS



Center's Board of Governors elected **Joseph Ciechanover** as the new board chair during its meeting on February 21, 2012. Ciechanover replaces the late Haim Israeli, who passed away last June. Ciechanover, who has held many senior administrative government and business positions, including former Director-General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, has been involved with the Center for many years as a member of the Board of Governors. Born in Haifa, Ciechanover studied Education and Law at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in the 1950s, and later obtained a graduate degree in Law at the University of California, Berkeley. He continued his studies at the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York, and received a Ph.D. in Philosophy and Jewish Studies at Boston University.



Along with his studies, Ciechanover became involved in high level public and economic affairs, serving as legal counsel to the Israeli Ministry of Agriculture and in various positions within the Ministry of Defense. During his tenure as Director-General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (1977–1980), Ciechanover served under Foreign Minister Moshe Dayan, and participated in Israeli-Egyptian peace negotiations. More recently, Ciechanover served as Israel's representative to the United Nations' Inquiry of the Gaza-bound flotilla incident (2010). He also serves on boards of several other foundations, such as the Israeli Hillel Foundation.

Conferences and Symposia

"THE POSITION OF ISLAM AND JUDAISM ON THE STATUS OF THE ARAB MINORITY IN ISRAEL," AND THE ARAB AND JEWISH TEL AVIV UNIVERSITY STUDENT SCHOLARSHIP AWARD CEREMONY



Members of the public, faculty and students of Tel Aviv University gathered on September 20, 2011, for a special evening on interfaith dialogue.

Center Director Prof. **Uzi Rabi**, director of the Konrad Adenauer Program for Jewish-Arab Cooperation, praised in his opening remarks the ongoing contribution that the Program makes to Israeli society-at-large and to the Tel Aviv University campus. He also took the opportunity to introduce Mr. Michael Mertes, the new director of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung in Israel.



Prof. Uzi Rabi (left) and Qadi Iyad Zahalka

Rabbi Benjamin Lehman, of Har Etzyon Yeshiva, spoke on “Jewish and Zionist Obligations to Israel’s Arab Minority”; Qadi Iyad Zahalka, qadi of the Shari’a Court in Haifa, touched on “The Practice of *Fiqh al-Aqaliyyat* [Islamic Doctrine for Muslim Minorities] in the Current Reality of the Muslim Community in Israel.” Rabbi Lehman opened the session by mentioning the commonly held assumption that religion – in the case of Israel, Judaism and Islam – promotes a viewpoint and practice that is antagonistic toward Jewish and Arab cooperation. He argued that exactly the opposite is true. Both religious traditions value debate and discussion and deal with issues that arise in each society in accordance with the guidance provided by each tradition.

In his comments regarding *Fiqh al-Aqaliyyat*, Qadi Zahalka stated that not much has been written on the subject with regard to Israel. Whereas there are volumes by Islamic scholars, such as Sheikh Yousef al-Qaradawi in Qatar, and Sheikh Taha Jabir al-Alawani in the United States, regarding the conduct of Muslims in non-Muslim countries, the political and ideological underpinnings of the Israeli case have made it a very touchy subject. Primarily though, *Fiqh al-Aqaliyyat* is a body of law made to assist Muslims in acclimating and incorporating Muslim identity, lifestyle and religious practice in non-Muslim societies. It is a method by which Muslims can develop a dynamic relationship with the society in which they choose to live, outside the Muslim world, without having to give up their religious convictions.



Michael Mertes,
Director of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, Israel

The evening also marked the third “Arab and Jewish Tel Aviv University Student Scholarship Award Ceremony,” of the Konrad Adenauer Program. Nine students received scholarships for their participation in a summer workshop titled, “Narratives in Conflict: Can they be resolved?,” and for the papers they authored on a variety of issues pertaining to the 2011 workshop’s theme.



Jad Qa’adan, TAU student of psychology

Representing the recipients of the scholarships, Jad Qa’adan, a psychology student reflected on the powerful experience he had in the summer workshop. Qa’adan stated that the persistent barriers that disconnect Jews and Arabs within Israel are challenging, making the need to foster pluralism and overcoming the conflict crucial to a brighter future for everyone.

TRADITION AND MODERNITY IN THE “ARAB SPRING”

The

annual lecture in memory of **Avishai Ben Zvi**, **Yehoshafat Netzer** and **Ziv Balali**, fallen soldiers in Israel's wars, was held on November 9, 2011. The memorial evening traditionally marks the beginning of the Center's activities at the outset of the academic year. Stanley & Ilene Gold Senior Fellow Prof. **Asher Susser** spoke about “Tradition and Modernity in the Arab Spring.” Prof. Susser argued that references to the “Arab Spring” as a “social network revolution” disregards broader historical and cultural transitions that have been occurring in the Middle East over the past two centuries. He viewed the recent upheavals as another episode in the crisis of secularism in the Arab world, compounded by the global economic crisis. The once-nearly omnipotent West now appears weak and is no longer a source of inspiration for the Middle East. The secular ideology of Pan-Arabism, as well, has also lost its appeal, and many Arab societies are witnessing a return to tribalism, sectarianism and political Islam.



STANLEY & ILENE GOLD SENIOR FELLOW,
PROF. ASHER SUSSER



LEFT TO RIGHT: ILANA GREENBERG, PROF. ASHER SUSSER,
PROF. UZI RABI AND BEN-ZVI FAMILY

Susser highlighted three deficiencies which underpin the social and economic crises of the Arab world: a lack of political freedom, lack of education, and a lack of gender equality. High unemployment is another serious problem across the region. Susser contended that the new regimes in Tunisia, Egypt, and Libya will not have quick solutions for these issues, and that protests might erupt again.

Susser observed that the revolutions in Egypt and Tunisia lacked a clear ideology. That ideological vacuum has served both the Islamists and the military rulers in Egypt. Looking ahead to the future of the “Arab Spring”, Susser noted that much would depend

on whether Islam and democracy can coexist. While many believe this to be impossible, Susser argued that the Islamist parties' willingness to compromise with liberal values, such as the freedom of and from religion, and equality between all citizens would determine the possibility of an Islamist-democratic outcome.

Susser concluded by noting that while the Arab uprisings are now paving the way towards more pluralist societies, political Islam and tribal loyalties will continue to play a central role in Middle East politics.



ASSESSING SYRIA'S "ARAB SPRING" AND SYRIA'S RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES



Center marked the release of two recent books on Syria, written by Major-General (res.) **Uri Saguy** and Senior Fellow Prof. **Itamar Rabinovich** with a special symposium held on November 15, 2011. Saguy's book, published in Hebrew, entitled "The Frozen Hand", focuses on Israeli-Syrian peace talks. Rabinovich's book "The View from Damascus", published in 2009, was reissued in an updated and enlarged edition. The symposium focused on recent developments in Syria, along with historic trends which have characterized Syrian diplomacy for the past few decades.



Prof. ITAMAR RABINOVICH (left),
MAJOR-GENERAL (RES.) URI SAGUY AND DOV EICHENWALD
(EDITOR-IN-CHIEF, YEDIOTH SARIM)

Senior Fellow Prof. **Eyal Zisser** spoke about Damascus' "Arab Spring". He referred to the process as a "return to the past," in which the Syrian state collapses into separate elements and returns to instability. Zisser noted that unlike the upheavals in Tunisia and Egypt, the demonstrations in Syria are led by the lower classes and those on the periphery of society. He pointed out that the ruling Ba'th Party came into power with the backing of the now-protesting peripheries, and is rapidly losing their support. Syria's large ethnic groups, however, are not participating in the protests, as they see no alternative to Bashar al-Asad's rule. While the regime's collapse does not seem to be imminent, the scope of the demonstrations is increasing and Asad's international status is deteriorating.

Prof. Rabinovich's lecture, on "The United States, Israel and Syria," summarized the history of the United States' relationship with Syria from the 1970s and the attempts to revive the Israeli-Syrian peace process. Over the years, American efforts at mediating between the two sides failed to bring about the desired results. The change in American policy during George W. Bush's administration led to a standstill, while the American government chose to focus on other regions of the Middle East.

Rabinovich noted that the recent demonstrations against Asad's regime pose a dilemma for the Americans, as it is unclear who will replace him. However, the fear of a political vacuum has been increasingly replaced with the understanding that Syria is an arena of struggle between Iran and its adversaries, and that Asad's downfall could be beneficial to American interests in the region.

Rabinovich estimated that the United States will continue to impose light sanctions against Syria but will not initiate a military intervention. Nonetheless, Rabinovich believes Asad's regime will not survive, as it is losing its legitimacy and is unlikely to gain it back.

Major General (res.) Uri Saguy spoke about his recently published book on Israeli-Syrian peace negotiations, and stated that for Israel the inability to reach a settlement with Syria is a serious strategic failure. During rounds of peace talks between the two countries in the 1990s, Israel was willing to retreat to the 1967 borders, given the guarantee that the matters of security, water, borders and normalization would be resolved. However, then-Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin feared that such an agreement would not be approved by the Israeli public, and the talks ultimately faltered.

WOMEN IN ARAB SOCIETY IN ISRAEL: INITIATING A CHANGE OR GOING AGAINST THE GRAIN?

Nearly a year after the start of the Arab uprisings that have swept the Middle East, it is impossible to ignore the seminal role that women in the region have played and are still playing in these unfolding events. In Tunisia, Egypt, Yemen, Morocco, Bahrain and Libya, women have been active in political and civil society actions against regimes for which patience has run out. Significantly, throughout the Middle East and including the Arab community of Israel, it appears that women are in the midst of their very own silent revolution.

Providing an academic and substantive understanding of the current status of Arab women in Israel and the political, social, cultural and economic developments therein, on November 22, 2011, The Konrad Adenauer Program for Jewish-Arab Cooperation held a conference at Tel Aviv University titled: "Women in Arab Society in Israel: Initiating a Change or Going Against the Grain?"

WOMEN IN ARAB SOCIETY: A COMPARATIVE VIEW

Customarily, the Middle East and its various societies are labeled as conservative, traditional, patriarchal and tribal. In such communities the woman question is often controversial, sensitive and can lead to intra-communal conflict, said Former Knesset Member **Nadia Hilou**. But despite these longstanding challenges to the advancement of women, there is no question that Arab women in Israel are influencing and being influenced by Israeli, Arab and global society. As a result, the forces that are trying to hold women back are being challenged by an increasingly mobilized female population that has access to political recourse and is well on its way to fulfilling untapped potential. In fact, specifically in Israel, the Social Justice Movement that began during summer 2011 provided a perfect platform for all the Israeli women to demand social justice that can only be truly realized by the guarantee of equal rights for both men and women. Furthermore, as Israel recently became a member-state of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), women's claim to equality bears even more weight in political discourse when they demand that the state meet and maintain the terms of its international agreements.



FORMER MK NADIA HILOU

In light of the Arab uprisings, more and more women in the Middle East are taking part in the politicization of their personal lives and negotiating the extent of their political involvement. The activism of civil society, as witnessed in Cairo's Tahrir Square, saw women of all walks of life – religious and secular – showing up and using the power of numbers to make change. Regardless of whether or not a more conservative Egypt is on the horizon, women in Egypt and throughout the region are using new media, such as Facebook



DR. MIRA TZOREFF

economic and cultural issues of their own societies increases the legitimacy of these studies, as well as raises awareness about ongoing efforts, for example to decrease violence against women and polygamy. Dr. **Taghreed Yahia-Younis** of Tel Aviv University, stated that trends in research discourse on Palestinian-Arab women in Israel are especially indicative of this development. Palestinian-Arab women professionals and academics are formulating the questions that direct the discourse on women in this community and use a multidisciplinary approach that incorporates anthropology, epistemology and history in the production of this canon of works.

and Twitter, to maintain their presence in the evolving political discourse, said Research Fellow Dr. **Mira Tzoreff**. This virtual world in which political activism is formulated and then materializes in the real world has thus far ensured that women voices are not silenced.

In addition to new media technology that breaks down barriers to communication, increasingly women of the Middle East are producing academic work using the women of their communities as the subjects of their research. The fact that women in the Palestinian-Arab community of Israel are examining the political, social,



DR. TAGHREED YAHIA-YOUNIS

ARAB WOMEN IN ISRAEL AS AGENTS OF SOCIAL CHANGE:

Women's activism in the Arab-Palestinian community of Israel is not only taking place at the theoretical/academic level, however. Since the 1980s, women-led organizations that advocate for the advancement of women have flourished throughout the country. There are two categories of these philanthropic, non-governmental organizations, said Dr. **Mary Totry** of the University of Haifa. These groups are either



DR. MARY TOTRY

feminist in their political philosophy and sprung up in the 1980s and 1990s, or they support the local population by providing services that the state fails to deliver. In both cases, influential Arab-Palestinian women in Israel organize at the local level with the goal of making state-wide change through policy reform. A look at two case studies of women in the Bedouin and Druze communities allows for a concrete understanding of the increasing agency that Arab women exercise in Israel.

Ben Gurion University's Dr. **Sarab Abu-Rabia-Queeder**'s extensive research on the Bedouin women

of the Negev indicates that despite a 20-year period in which women had no access to formal education, since the 1980s women in these communities have become agents of change, taking personal and political matters into their own hands. Of course, there are differences in the activism of these women based on the extent of their religiosity or secularism. Moreover, in the Bedouin community the politics of tribalism pose another set of challenges to the Arab women of the Negev. Nevertheless, Bedouin women are using the resources at their disposal to create economic opportunities for themselves, and even creating a discourse on “Islamic Feminism” that seeks to fight patriarchy by engaging and re-interpreting Islamic texts that have been used to repress women.

In the last 15 years, the research of Dr. **Naomi Weiner-Levy** shows that young Druze women in Northern Israel are slowly revolutionizing their communities by pursuing higher education. Notably, the Druze clergy has not stymied this development, but rather adapted to this growing trend. Perhaps the most fascinating observation about the women of the Druze community is the keen awareness young women who leave in pursuit of higher education have of their responsibility to future female

generations. Generally speaking, similar to the Bedouin community, the Druze community represents a collective society and mindset. This means that while young women may leave home to gain an education and, hypothetically, advance their own economic or professional status, they see themselves as role models that will influence whether or not the community will continue to make space for an increasing public role for its women.

Whether or not the “Arab Spring” revolutions will devolve into a metaphorical winter, the experience that women throughout the Middle East have and are gaining from these events is something that no one can take away. In Israel among the communities of Arab women, we are

witnessing a process that is in motion and there is no question that the political is personal and the personal is also political, stated **Nabila Espanioly**,



DR. NAOMI WEINER-LEVY

director of the Al-Tufula Center in Nazareth. Although Arab women of Israel continue to struggle against patriarchy, tribalism, discrimination and violence, they are active members of society who are contributing and directing the discourse about them and formulating the methods by which to promote their advancement.



DR. SARAB ABU-RABIA-QUEDER



Nabila Espanioly



Middle Eastern Studies Association (MESA) ANNUAL MEETING

At the 2011 annual meeting of the Middle Eastern Studies Association of North America (MESA), held in Washington D.C., December 1-4, the Moshe Dayan Center sponsored a booth to expand our outreach in the international community of Middle Eastern Studies scholars. Also representing the Moshe Dayan Center and Tel Aviv University, several of our researchers participated on various panels, including: Research Fellows Drs. **Harel Chorev**, **Ephraim Lavie** and **Daniel Zisenwine**; Principal Research Fellow Dr. **Bruce Maddy-Weitzman**; and Center Director Prof. **Uzi Rabi**.

A panel titled, "State and Tribe in the Middle East: In Memory of Joseph Kostiner," was organized by Dr. **Yoav Alon** of Tel Aviv University. During the opening remarks of the panel, Prof. **Uzi Rabi** offered words of tribute to Senior Research Fellow Prof. **Joseph Kostiner** z"l. Center Research Assistant **Brian Albert** read the paper of Tel Aviv University's Prof. Emmanuel Marx, who was unable to attend the conference.



CENTER RESEARCH ASSISTANT BRIAN ALBERT IN THE
EXHIBITION HALL AT THE MESA CONFERENCE

CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES OF DEMOCRACY: REGIONAL AND GLOBAL PERSPECTIVES



December 13 and 14, 2011, The Moshe Dayan Center, in cooperation with Academic Exchange Israel, hosted its first international seminar on "The Causes and Consequences of Democracy: Regional and Global Perspectives." Academic Exchange (AE) hosts educational missions to Israel for American scholars in the fields of Political Science, International Relations, International Law, International Economic Development, Modern History, and Middle-East Studies. In doing so, the organization seeks to deepen understanding of Israel within the American academic community.

Senior Fellows Profs. **Ofra Bengio**, **Meir Litvak**, and Stanley & Ilene Gold Senior Fellow Prof. **Asher Susser**, along with Principal Research Fellow Dr. **Bruce Maddy-Weitzman**, represented the Dayan Center in a series of panels. Dr. **Matti Steinberg**, of the University of Haifa, was the fifth Israeli participant. Using case studies from the Middle East, our researchers discussed challenges to democratization and the competing influences for power that are present in the region today.



LEFT TO RIGHT: CHARLES KUPCHAN, MEIR LITVAK, JESSICA WEEKS, STEPHAN HAGGARD, LISA BLAYDES, OFRA BENGIO, MICHAEL TOMZ, MATTI STEINBERG, BRUCE MADDY-WEITZMAN

On the American side, Profs. **Charles Kupchan**, of Georgetown University; **Stephan Haggard**, of UC Davis; **Lisa Blaydes**, and **Michael Tomz**, of Stanford University, and **Jessica Weeks**, of Cornell University; were the AE Israel delegates. Each presenter offered a political science oriented analysis on the obstacles to international peace, the challenges of regime change, and exploring alternatives to the Western-driven agenda for democracy in the global community.

The seminar provided a unique opportunity for Center researchers and academics from abroad to become acquainted with one another and to understand the issues at hand from a variety of perspectives. The Moshe Dayan Center looks forward to many more exchanges with AE Israel in the coming years. ■

TWO STATES WITHIN IN A COMMON HOMELAND: A DIFFERENT WAY OF THINKING ABOUT THE TWO-STATE SOLUTION



January 12, 2012, the Moshe Dayan Center and the Tami Steinmetz Center for Peace Research co-hosted an evening discussion called, "Two States Within a Common Homeland: A Different Way of Thinking About the Two-State Solution."

Dr. **Jerome A. Segal**, of the University of Maryland, delivered the evening's lecture, followed by a moderated discussion with Prof. **Asher Susser**, Stanley & Ilene Gold Senior Fellow, and Prof. **Yitzhak Schnell**, of Tel Aviv University's Department of Geography.

Dr. Segal's main argument was based upon the need for mutual recognition of competing national narratives in the case of the Israelis and the Palestinians. Each side must give validity to the others' experience of the past and recognize each others' claim to the same territory, which would be helpful for a comprehensive understanding and eventually a peace agreement between the people of Israel and Palestine. Validating differing narratives, Dr. Segal claimed, is the first step to fostering coexistence and equality. Generating an idea of shared space would also encourage Israelis and Palestinians to venture into the physical territory of the other, and facilitate a process of re-humanization between these adversarial parties.

Profs. Susser and Schnell responded to Dr. Segal's suggestions as demanding of the most painful compromises from both sides, neither of which are ready to do so. Susser argued that the suggestion of a merger between Israel and Palestine would be akin to proposing the same arrangement for Finland and Norway, e.g. somewhat irrelevant. After a series of negotiated compromises peace may be possible to some extent, but ideological peace seems unrealistic and unnecessary. ■

Lectures

ANNUAL GEORGES A. KALLER LECTURE “THE ECONOMIC CRISIS IN THE ARAB WORLD”

Senior Fellow Dr. **Paul Rivlin** delivered the annual Georges A. Kaller Lecture on January 16, 2012. The event, which honors the memory of Amira Margalith z”l, the center’s late senior administrator, was chaired by Principal Research Fellow Dr. **Bruce Maddy-Weitzman**.

Rivlin’s lecture, “The Economic Crisis in the Arab World,” discussed the economic contributing factors to the Arab Spring, which he attributes, in large part, to the economic underdevelopment of the Middle East. The roots of this economic situation go back decades, however, and can be traced to the 1940s and 50s when democratic, market-based governments in Arab states, like Egypt, Iraq and Syria, gave way to nationalist military juntas implementing redistributionist policies. At that point, industries such as oil and the operations of the Suez Canal were nationalized; at the same time there were government investments in school and healthcare, too. Most people found employment in the public sector, yet there was an underdeveloped “tradable goods” sector in these economies as well.

In the 1980s, when oil prices fell, government expenditures on social programs shrank. The repercussions of this included increased foreign debt, inflation, reduced investment in social services and fewer job opportunities in the public sector. Globalization trends also meant the replacement of cheap migrant laborers from outside the region with Arab migrant workers. By the time governments tried economic reform and privatization, they avoided political reform and a culture of crony capitalism emerged as a result.

Rivlin concluded by pointing out that the Middle East is the region that receives the most foreign aid in the world. Yet, it is lagging in industrialization and is still manipulated by unstable oil prices, making it an economically volatile region as a whole.

MOSHE DAYAN MEMORIAL EVENING

Major General (res.) Amos Gilad delivered the annual memorial lecture in memory of Moshe Dayan, which was held at the Center on November 14, 2011.

MAJOR GENERAL (RES.) AMOS GILAD (left),
PROF. UZI RABI AND MR. ZALMAN SHOVAL



Seminars

THE MOSHE DAYAN CENTER SEMINAR

The

topic of this year's annual Moshe Dayan Center Seminar is "The Arab Spring". The seminar, which brings together the Center's fellows, associates, visiting scholars, and graduate students, takes a close look at the recent uprisings across the region, and seeks to draft a new research agenda for analyzing these events and their impact. The seminar is coordinated

by Center Director Prof. **Uzi Rabi** and Research Fellow Dr. **Mira Tzoreff**.

Throughout the fall semester of 2011, six lectures were given. The first was an introduction to the topic, presented by the seminar's coordinators. Stanley & Ilene Gold Senior Fellow Prof. **Asher Susser** followed with an in-depth look at contemporary ideological currents in the Middle East, which are connected to deep rooted traditional political and social structures. These structures, Susser asserted, have underpinned many of the developments associated with the "Arab Spring". Senior Fellow Dr. **Paul Rivlin** outlined the economic aspects of the recent upheavals and revolutions in his lecture, while Research Fellow Dr. **Harel Chorev** discussed the role of social media in these events. The semester winded down with two lectures on Egypt and Morocco, presented by Research Fellow Dr. **Mira Tzoreff** and Principal Research Fellow Dr. **Bruce Maddy-Weitzman**. The seminar will continue to meet throughout the spring semester of 2012.



DR. PAUL RIVLIN

Forum Updates

MAGHREB FORUM

The Center's **Maghreb Forum** held two sessions throughout the fall semester, bringing together faculty and graduate students from universities across Israel who focus on North Africa in their research. The first meeting, held on December 28, 2011, included a lecture by **Ayelet Levy**, a TAU graduate now working at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Center for Political Research. Levy spoke about the concept of "Civil Society" in North Africa. The second session, on February 16, 2012, hosted **Maguy Kakon**, a Moroccan Jewish civil rights activist, who outlined recent political and social developments in Morocco.

FORUM ON KURDISH SOCIETY, HISTORY AND CULTURE

The **Forum on Kurdish Society, History and Culture** met twice during the fall semester. On January 2, 2012, Senior Fellow Dr. **Paul Rivlin** gave a presentation titled, "The Economics and Politics of the Kurdish Struggle for Independence," in which he highlighted the issues that statelessness presents for the Kurds in economic terms. In the second meeting of the Forum Senior Fellow Prof. **Eyal Zisser** outlined the history of the Kurdish population in Syria in his presentation, "Kurds in Syria at the Crossroads". Zisser emphasized that during past uprisings the Kurds kept a low profile. He contended that the Kurdish position in Syria today is shaped by a tendency to wait and see which course the Kurdish struggle in other parts of the Middle East will take.

Throughout the semester, as part of the **Forum**, the Dayan Center offered a language course in the Kurmanji dialect of Kurdish taught by **Ceng Sagnic**, a graduate student at Ben-Gurion University. The class met every week and will continue in the spring semester.

Due to the growing interest in the topic of the Kurds, the Moshe Dayan Center has launched the **Kurdish Studies Program**, which aims to foster an in-depth understanding on, and research of Kurdish-related issues. The head of the program is Senior Fellow Prof. **Ofra Bengio**. The program coordinator is Center Research Assistant **Duygu Atlas**. The Program will comprise of Kurdish language lessons, a course on general Kurdish history, internships at the Moshe Dayan Center for students with a particular research project in mind on Kurdish issues, an annual conference, and a forthcoming volume of research with contributions from forum participants, as well as international scholars, edited by Prof. Ofra Bengio.

"Club Turkey"

On January 8, 2012, **Club Turkey: the Dayan Center Forum on Turkish Politics**, hosted Prof. **Henri Barkey**, the Bernard L. and Bertha F. Cohen Professor at Lehigh University, in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. Prof. **Ehud Toledano**, Tel Aviv University Chair for Ottoman Studies and the Department of Middle Eastern and African History, and Senior Fellow Prof. **Ofra Bengio** introduced Prof. Barkey, who gave a presentation titled, "Assessing Erdogan and the AKP: Successes, Challenges and Its Future." In his remarks, Barkey evaluated the status of Turkey's leading political faction, the Justice and Development Party (AKP), by examining five key domestic issues in Turkey today: the economy, civil and military rights, the Kurdish Question, foreign policy, and democracy and reform. With Erdogan's intentions for the Turkish political system still unclear, his hold on power has not yet become complete. Turkey remains a hybrid system of government that is not quite a developed democracy; that reality somewhat restrains Erdogan, as well as empowers him to make decisions that previous leaders did not make. Whether or not Erdogan can deliver on his promise to solve the Kurdish Question and to reform the Constitution are the two major factors that will determine the longevity of his party's rule and his position in office.

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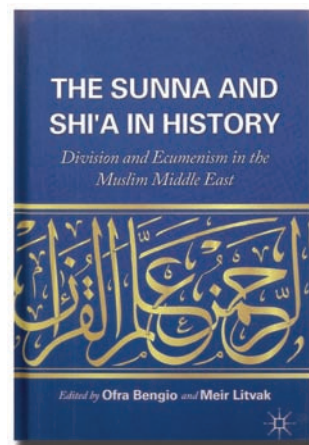
Faculty Publications

Since 1921, the Zionist movement, the Hashemites, and Palestinian nationalists have been vying for regional control. In *Israel, Jordan, & Palestine: The Two-State Imperative* (Brandeis University Press, 2011), Stanley & Ilene Gold Senior Research Fellow, Prof. **Asher Susser**, analyzes the evolution of the one- and two-state options and explores why a two-state solution has failed to materialize. He provides an in-depth analysis of Jordan's positions and presents an updated discussion of the two-state imperative through the initiatives of Israel and the Palestinian Authority. Susser argues that Israelis, Palestinians, and Jordanians have cohesive, collective identities that violently collide with each other. Because of these entrenched differences, a single-state solution cannot be achieved.



The Sunna and Shi'a in History: Division and Ecumenism in the Muslim Middle East, edited by Senior Fellows Profs. **Ofra Bengio** and **Meir Litvak**, was published by Palgrave MacMillan in late 2011. The edited volume focuses on the significant transformations that Sunni-Shi'i relations have undergone in recent decades.

The 1979 Islamic revolution in Iran had a major spill-over effect on the entire Middle East, and the 2003 war in Iraq transformed the Shi'is into the dominant force in Iraq. The emergence of Iran as a regional power following Saddam Husayn's removal, along with the weakness of the Arab state system, raised the specter of the "Shi'i Crescent," threatening Sunni-Arab domination in the region. The present volume demonstrates the complexity of Sunni-Shi'i relations by analyzing political, ideological, and social encounters between the two communities from early Islamic history to the present. While analyzing specific case studies in various Middle Eastern regions, the book provides a panoramic picture ranging from hostility to efforts of cooperation and ecumenism.



In February 2012, a collection of articles, under the collective title of *The Gulf States: Between Iran and the West* (Hebrew), was co-published by the Moshe Dayan Center and Institute for National Strategic Studies (INSS). Co-edited by Center Director Prof. **Uzi Rabi** and INSS Research Fellow **Yoel Guzansky**, this work is dedicated to the memory of Senior Fellow Prof. **Joseph Kostiner** z"l. The work explores the relationships between the Gulf States and the United States, Iran and Israel, and discusses the issues of oil, security, and the Arab Peace Initiative (API).

Among the questions addressed in this collection of eight articles are: Why has the "Arab Spring" bypassed the Gulf States (apart from Bahrain)? How do the societies in the Gulf States differ from other societies in the Middle East? What guides U.S. policy in the Persian Gulf? What are the geopolitical implications of U.S. withdrawal from Iraq? What dynamics underlie the sensitive relations between Iran and the Gulf states? How do the Sunni-Shi'a and Arab-Persian interactions impact these relations? And, will civilian nuclear programs be developed in the Gulf?



Senior Fellows Prof. **Meir Litvak** and Dr. **Paul Rivlin** also contributed to this work. It is accessible via the Moshe Dayan Center website, www.dayan.org, in the [Bookstore](#) section.



Prof. BERNARD LEWIS AT THE MOSHE DAYAN CENTER



January 3, 2012, Prof. **Bernard Lewis**, Professor Emeritus of Middle East Studies at Princeton University, and Center Director Prof. **Uzi Rabi** joined the young researchers of the Moshe Dayan Center in a discussion about the academic study of the Middle East. They focused on the challenges and responsibilities that future scholars of this discipline will have to take into consideration when analyzing the changing face of the region.



Prof. BERNARD LEWIS, CENTER DIRECTOR Prof. UZI RABI, ILANA GREENBERG, AND THE DAYAN CENTER RESEARCH ASSISTANTS



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