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The Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies

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PALESTINIAN COLLECTIVE MEMORY AND NATIONAL IDENTITY

The Moshe Dayan Center organized an evening symposium on February 22 marking the publication of a collected volume on Palestinian Collective Memory and National Identity, edited by Senior Fellow Prof. **Meir Litvak** and published by Palgrave/Macmillan. The evening was organized in cooperation with the university's Tami Steinmetz Center for Peace Research. In his introductory remarks, the Center's director, Prof. **Eyal Zisser**, noted the topic's importance, along with the Center's ongoing interest in Palestinian history, politics, and society. **The symposium's first session** included lectures by Prof. Litvak, who spoke on "The Construction of the Past in Palestinian National Memory", Research Associate Dr. **Esther Webman** who underscored the importance of the *Nakba* (catastrophe) in promoting the Palestinian cause, and Prof. **Mahmoud Ghanaim** of Tel Aviv University's department of Arabic and Islamic Studies, who spoke about the search for identity in Palestinian literature published in Israel.

Palestinian Collective Memory and National Identity

Edited by Meir Litvak



The second session focused on the impact of Palestinian national memory on the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Dr. **Mahmoud Yazbek** of the University of Haifa's department of Middle East History discussed the dilemma of Palestinian-Israelis, who find themselves caught in a struggle between their state and their people. Dr. **Ephraim Lavie** of the Tami Steinmetz Center for Peace Research and the Dayan Center delivered the concluding lecture on the impact of the Palestinian national narrative on Palestinian positions towards Israel.

MIDDLE EAST REBELLIONS AND REVOLUTIONS

The Moshe Dayan Center convened an evening colloquium on March 4, 2010 devoted to "Rebellions and Revolutions in the Middle East". This topic was one of the themes discussed in last year's annual Moshe Dayan Seminar. In his opening remarks, the Center's director Prof. **Eyal Zisser** recalled how the idea of obtaining political and social change in the region through violent uprisings and military-led *coups d'états* was seen as a natural component of political life in the region. Many questions related to these events, however, remain unsolved, and warrant a closer look at their historical context and present day relevance, which was the background to organizing the evening.

Referring to the colloquium's starting point of early 20th century Arab revolts, Senior Research Fellow Prof. **Joseph Kostiner** (ז"ל) revisited the famous 1916-1918 Arab Revolt, questioning whether the event was a national uprising, a local occurrence amplified by "Lawrence of Arabia" or a tribal revolt. Kostiner recalled the background to the alliance between the British and the Hashemite family of the Hijaz during World War I, which sought to rid itself of Ottoman dominance. The "Arab Revolt", as it became known, began in June 1916, and reached its climax in October 1918, with the take-over of Damascus. Kostiner noted the need to understand the revolt in a different, unconventional way. It cannot be categorized as a full fledged national uprising, as nationalism was a relatively unknown idea at the time. Still the revolt,

though small in the number of active participants, did contain nationalist goals. Although T.E. Lawrence was personally involved in the events, the revolt reflected British interests. It was also in many ways a tribal revolt, seeking to take advantage of war-time instability. The revolt as a revolt, he concluded, was successful. It was less successful in laying the infrastructure for a future Arab state. In that sense, the revolt was similar to later revolutions in the Middle East, which found it difficult to move beyond the revolutionary stage and create stable governmental institutions.

The colloquium's second panel was devoted to North Africa. Senior Research Fellow Prof. **Yehudit Ronen**'s lecture topic was "Libya Between Coup d'etat and Revolution: A Balance of Achievements and Failures".



Prof. YEHUDIT RONEN

She underscored the discourse in the existing literature on revolutions and rebellions, which addresses the differences between mere changes in leadership and the outcome of sweeping social and political revolutions. Libya's military take over in 1969 not only put an end to monarchical rule, but also established new political, economic, and social structures. Libya's leader Qaddafi has sought to expand the contours of his revolution, adding and discarding diverse ideologies ranging from socialism to a new emphasis on Islam. For Libya and its leader, the concept of a "revolution" is strongly associated with Qaddafi's forty years in power.

Principal Research Fellow Emeritus Dr. **Gideon Gera** appraised the successes and disappointments which have characterized independent Algeria. Gera emphasized the determination of Algerians to gain their independence and end over 100 years of French colonial rule, and the unexpected shifts in Algerian public life since the country's independence in 1962.

He noted the disappointments many Algerians had regarding the country's economic difficulties, along with its perceived corrupt political establishment. This in turn led many Algerians to embrace the Islamist movement. While the Islamist threat has been largely neutralized, many Algerians remain uncertain about their own national identity, as memories of the revolutionary era fade away.

Another session was devoted to revolutions which carried a strong regional impact. Prof. Emeritus **Shimon Shamir** looked back on the 1952 Egyptian revolution, which ended monarchical rule and transformed the country into a republic. Shamir contended that although at face value the 1952 events were merely a military-led coup d'etat, the revolution under Gamal 'Abd al-Nasser's leadership became the model for other Arab revolutions. Egypt's revolution inspired similar armed revolts in Iraq, Syria, Yemen and Libya. Nasser saw his revolution as a progressive, forward-looking force, and accordingly viewed opponents as reactionaries. Some of the themes Nasser advocated – such as Arab unity, the decline of the west, the emergence of the "3rd World" as an alternative to the world superpowers, state-capitalism, and the revolutionary idea – all these did not live up to their expectations. But Nasser's revolution was successful in seizing a historical moment, a "moment of enthusiasm", and sought to carry that spirit into the future.

Senior Fellow Prof. **Itamar Rabinovich** outlined the changes in Syria under the Ba'ath party, noting the trajectory from a revolutionary regime to a dynastic republic. Rabinovich stressed the Syrian Ba'ath party's ideologies, but also its difficulties in implementing its ideals after assuming power. Syria, once viewed as a weak state internally, is in a much stronger position today. Rabinovich concluded that over the years, Syria's leaders transformed Syria into a regional superpower, partially as a result of the Ba'ath revolutionary rhetoric. Without any visible foes, its leaders would find it increasingly difficult to cling to power.



Prof. SHIMON SHAMIR

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Prof. Itamar Rabinovich

about the Palestinian shift from revolutionary to established politics. Lavie contended that Palestinian politics veer from revolutionary, far reaching aspirations to more realistic, pragmatic goals. This duality continues to underpin developments within Palestinian groups. It has left the Fatah movement confused and perplexed about its future role, and affected its ability to maintain its complete control over Palestinian society as it confronts its political and ideological rival, Hamas.

Senior Fellow Prof. **Meir Litvak** assessed the impact of Islamist revolutionary politics across the region, noting that the fears of an Islamist tidal wave that would sweep across the region had not materialized. Litvak argued that the Iranian-Shi'ite revolutionary model was not compatible with most of the Sunni Middle Eastern countries, and thus had a lesser regional impact. Arab governments successfully repressed the Islamist threat, while many radical movements antagonized broad swaths of the population. Many Islamist groups were fearful of directly confronting ruling regimes, while more moderate religious-oriented groups gained traction in Arab Muslim societies. These factors have weakened the Islamist appeal, although given the region's prevailing social, economic, and cultural difficulties, the potential for radicalism remains intact.



Prof. David Menashri

THE MOSHE DAYAN CENTER SEMINAR

The

Center's seminar on revolutions and civil wars in the Middle East continued throughout the spring semester of 2010. The seminar offered an opportunity to the Center's fellows, associates, visiting scholars and graduate students to discuss the impact of important revolutions and civil wars and assess their impact on the contemporary Middle East. Speakers in the spring semester included Prof. **Ra'anana Rein** of Tel Aviv University's History Department, who offered a comparative perspective on the impact of history and memory in the case of the

Spanish civil war. Center Director Prof. **Eyal Zisser** spoke about the renewed internal struggle in Lebanon, and Senior Fellow Prof. **Yehudit Ronen** discussed the civil war in Sudan. Other speakers included Senior Fellow Dr. **Bruce Maddy-Weitzman**, who discussed the ongoing conflict in the Western Sahara region. Dr. **Liora Handelman-Ba'avur** of the university's Center for Iranian Studies lectured on the impact of the Iranian Revolution on recent events in Iran, and Research Fellow Dr. **Uriya Shavit** spoke about ideological approaches of radical Salafi movements to civil wars and revolutions.

ARAB RESPONSES TO THE HOLOCAUST

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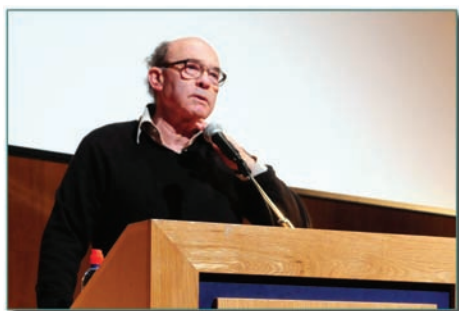
Moshe Dayan Center and the Stephen Roth Institute held an evening session on April 12, 2010, launching the book by Senior Fellow Prof.

Meir Litvak and Research Associate Dr. **Esther Webman**, *From Empathy to Denial: Arab Responses to the Holocaust* (Columbia University Press). Prof. (Emeritus) **Yehoshua Porath** of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, along with Prof. **Israel Gershoni** of Tel Aviv University's department of Middle Eastern and African history, and Prof. Meir Litvak participated in a panel, chaired by Dr. Webman, which addressed various aspects of Arab antisemitism.



Prof. MEIR LITVAK

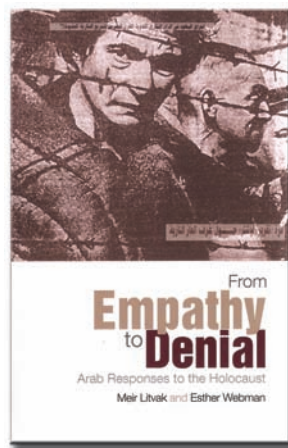
In his presentation, Prof. Porath maintained that while anti-Jewish themes existed in traditional Muslim discourse, antisemitism has been a modern phenomenon, very much in response to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. The now popular *hadith* (tradition) that predicts the destruction of the Jews on Judgement Day played a minor role during the British Mandate period, and assumed greater importance only since the 1970s. Prof. Gershoni referred more specifically to Litvak and Webman's book. While praising the work, he expressed disagreement with the authors re-



Prof. YEHOSHUA PORATH

garding the spread and impact of antisemitic ideas in the contemporary Arab world, which he views as less widespread than represented in the text.

Litvak analyzed the nature of modern Islamist antisemitism as a modern ideology which combines traditional Islamic motifs with western ideas, such as the blood libel and the Protocols of the Elders of Zion. Unlike the state-sponsored Arab antisemitism up to 1967, he argued that Islamist anti-Semitism, which is openly genocidal — calling for the elimination of the Jews all over the world —



Dr. ESTHER WEBMAN

comes from below and reflects the anger and frustrations of many Muslims over the crisis of Islam in the modern age.



Prof. ISRAEL GERSHONI

ISRAEL, SYRIA, AND LEBANON — HISTORY AND REALITY



relations between Israel, Syria, and Lebanon were the focus of an evening symposium convened on May 10, 2010. The symposium honored the center's director, Prof. **Eyal Zisser**, on his appointment as Dean of Tel Aviv University's Faculty of Humanities.



Prof. Eyal Zisser

Senior Fellow Prof. **Itamar Rabinovich**, the incumbent of the Yonah and Dina Ettinger Chair in the Contemporary History of the Middle East, delivered the opening lecture. Rabinovich paid tribute to Ms. Ettinger, who attended the symposium, highlighting the Ettinger family's contributions to Tel Aviv University. In his lecture, Rabinovich offered a historic perspective on Israel's "Lebanese Dilemma". He recalled a common theme in Israel's Middle Eastern policy in the 1950s and 1960s, which argued that Lebanon, seen as a moderate state, would be the second Arab country to sign a peace treaty with Israel. This did not materialize, as Lebanon slid from being a stable state with a functioning political order to a failed state, mired in civil war and internal conflicts between its diverse religious and ethnic groups. In the 1970s, Lebanon was affected by Syria's emergence as a strong regional force and by the impact of the Islamic revolution in Iran, which inspired the country's Shi'ite population. Israel's attempts to influence internal developments in Lebanon during the Lebanese wars of 1982 and 2006 did not alter its geo-political situation with its northern neighbor. Israel's "Lebanese Dilemma" is even sharper today than in the past, as it grapples with Lebanon's existence as a failed state, along with the rising impact and military capabilities of Hizballah, which serves as a proxy for Iran. Rabinovich concluded by arguing that Israel should face this dilemma through diplomatic and not military means.

The second lecture was delivered by the Center's Director, Prof. **Eyal Zisser**. Zisser spoke about Syria's conflict with Israel in historic perspective. Zisser raised a number of questions concerning Syria's interest in peace with Israel, which have been the topic of discussion among observers and commentators —

mainly, whether Syria is truly committed to reaching a peace treaty with Israel. Zisser presented various statements on Israel given by Syria's president Bashar al-Asad, which express his belief that despite Israel's military prowess, it is unable to obtain any of its strategic goals. Although such rhetoric does not necessarily reflect an unwillingness among Syria's leadership to negotiate with Israel, it does reflect a more negative mindset that could make any future Syrian-Israeli peace talks all the more difficult.

Major-General (res.) **Amos Gilad**, head of the Israeli-Ministry of Defense's Diplomatic-Security Bureau, offered his view of Israel's relations with Syria and Lebanon. Gilad analyzed Syrian president Asad's sense of weakness, and his efforts to bolster Syria's regional role. He highlighted Hizballah's increased strength in Lebanon, which has led Syria to solidify its ties with Hizballah and with Iran, as part of Syria's quest for regional hegemony. Gilad concluded that this reality adds many uncertainties for Israel, which will be forced to navigate between these new forces and alliances.



Maj.-General Amos Gilad

EGYPT AT THE CROSSROADS: WHERE FROM AND WHERE TO?



June 3, 2010 the Center organized a symposium devoted to contemporary Egypt. Several panels and diverse speakers discussed various aspects of Egypt's political, social, and cultural situation, underscoring Egypt's pivotal position in the Middle East and the importance of Egyptian-Israeli relations.

The first panel was devoted to Egypt's opposition parties. Dr. **Zvi Barel**, Senior Analyst on Arab Affairs for *Ha'aretz* and a lecturer at Sapir College, spoke about the Egyptian opposition's demands from the government. Barel noted the difficulty in defining the opposition's demands, which range from political protest to calls for modest reforms or a more radical quest for change. He outlined the realms of the opposition's protest-economic discontent, disapproval of the country's leadership, outrage at rampant corruption, opposition to the government's policy towards Israel and the overall deterioration of Egypt's regional position. Barel contended that the opposition's activities have been bolstered by the ability to use new arenas for political discourse, particularly the internet. The emergence of the Kifaya ("enough") movement in 2005 represented a new stage in Egyptian politics, by establishing an organizational framework that confronted the authorities, and by spawning sister movements that expanded the political arena. Barel questioned the opposition's ability to represent a broad, collective will or remain restricted to an elite discourse. He concluded by emphasizing the fact that opposition forces in Egypt are able to raise questions concerning political reforms, which in itself is a significant shift in Egyptian public life.



DR. ZVI BAREL



DR. MIRA TZOREFF

Research Associate Dr. **Mira Tzoreff** discussed the changes in the leadership of Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood, which has veered from more moderate to radical approaches. She presented the changes in the Brotherhood's leadership following the resignation of its senior spiritual guide in July 2009. The Brotherhood's new

elected leader faces mounting internal pressure from more moderate ranks within the movement, which are interested in adopting a less militant approach towards the ruling regime. These internal disputes are likely to be evident in the future, as Egypt inevitably experiences a change of leadership.

Ksenia Svetlova, a graduate student at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, highlighted emerging popular Islamist preachers in contemporary Egypt. These preachers stress the need for "internal Jihad" among individuals, in contrast to the broader focus of groups like



KSENIA SVETLOVA

the Muslim Brotherhood, which emphasize the need to introduce social reforms. Preachers such as 'Amr Khaled, who comes from a more affluent, educated background, have become immensely popular among young, middle class Egyptians, who are inspired by his call for individual actions as a way of creating religious revival. The Egyptian authorities, concerned that such calls may distance young, secular Egyptians (viewed as the regime's backbone) from the state, have sought to silence these new voices as much as possible.

The second panel, chaired by Prof. **Uzi Rabi**, was devoted to Egypt's involvement in the internal Arab and international arenas. The center's director, Prof. **Eyal Zisser**, spoke about the relations between Syria and Egypt, which he described as a love-hate relationship. Zisser noted the negative memories many Egyptians have of their involvement with Syria, such as the 1967 Six Day War, which Egyptians view as a Syrian-instigated event. Syria, on the other hand, views Egypt's peace treaty with Israel as an affront to Syrian interests. Ultimately, Syria was forced to accept the idea of Egyptian-Israeli peace, but continues to express to a more radical, defiant mindset towards Israel and the West. The ascension of Syrian president Bashar al-Asad, following his father's death in 1999, added a new element to the chilled relations between the two countries. The young Syrian president represents a new generation, and does not seem to have fostered close ties with Egyptian president Mubarak. Under these circumstances, the prospects for warm bilateral relations between Egypt and Syria remain dim.



Prof. Elie Podeh

Prof. **Uzi Rabi** spoke about the relations between Egypt and Iran, and the regional role both countries have played. Under president Nasser, Egypt displayed a hostile attitude towards Iran, emphasizing Pan-Arabism and Arab ethnicity and dismissing the Iranian Shah as a reactionary figure. Seeking to secure its own regional position, Egypt is concerned with growing Iranian influence in Iraq, and more closer to home, in neighboring Sudan. For its part, since the Islamic Revolution in Iran, Teheran views Egypt as a failed, corrupt western lackey.

Prof. **Elie Podeh** of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem addressed the question of whether Egypt can still be viewed as the leading Arab state. Podeh underscored the assumption among many observers and commentators that Egypt has an important role in Arab politics. He noted, however, the difference between *leading* and *dominating*. Over the years, Egypt has maintained its leading role, but is not-and historically never was-in a position to dominate Arab politics.

The question of American views and approaches to Egypt was raised by Prof. **Arnon Gutfeld**, of Tel Aviv University's history department. Gutfeld highlighted the neo-conservative ideological stance towards radical Islam, which fueled former U.S. president George W. Bush's approach to Egypt, considered an important regional ally. Under president Obama, the U.S. has adopted a less ideological approach, favoring the advancement of American interests above all.

The symposium's afternoon session, chaired by Prof. **Ehud Toledano**, University Chair for Ottoman Studies and the Department of Middle East and African History at Tel Aviv University, was devoted to the relations between Egyptian intellectual, religious, and artistic circles, and the Mubarak regime. Dr. **Rafi Sagiv** of Ashkelon Academic College spoke about the support as well as criticism Egyptian intellectuals have displayed towards the Mubarak regime. Mubarak, unlike his predecessors Nasser and Sadat, placed less emphasis on ideology, and avoided confrontations with intellectuals. Many Egyptian figures were less critical of Mubarak, while others in recent years have been more vocal in their



Dr. Rafi Sagiv



DR. SHMUEL BACHAR

attacks on Egypt's numerous maladies, ranging from corruption and government ineptitude to deteriorating civil liberties and violations of human rights.

This theme was further expanded by Dr. **Shmuel Bachar** of the Lauder School of Government at the Interdisciplinary Center in Herzliya. Bachar discussed the Egyptian film "The President's Cook" (2008), which presented a fictitious Egyptian president and his personal chef. While the film adheres to the Egyptian film industry's laudatory approach to the country's leadership, it criticizes the corruption of the Egyptian bureaucracy, and the growing indifference of the ruling class towards the masses.

Dr. **Mary Totry** of Oranim College discussed the expanding cyberspace usage in Egypt, which has

recorded exponential growth since its modest beginnings in the early 1990s. The internet and other online forums have become a virtual opposition to the regime, offering organizational opportunities that did not previously exist. She noted that although this is an important development for Egyptian politics and society, some have questioned the internet's broader impact on a society with high illiteracy rates and limited access to computer technology.

Ophir Winter of Tel Aviv University introduced the audience to the reactions among Egypt's senior religious clerics, who are appointed by the government, to U.S. president Obama's speech in Cairo (2009), aimed at repairing relations between the U.S. and Muslims. The speech, in which the American president emphasized the need to foster dialogue with the Muslim world,



Ophir Winter

was enthusiastically received by the Egyptian government. This was further amplified by clerics such as Shyakh al-Tantawi of Cairo's Al-Azhar religious institution. Tantawi praised the speech as "brave and objective", while regime opponents such as the Muslim Brotherhood criticized the speech as another example of the relations between Egypt and the U.S., which they oppose. Winter concluded by questioning to what extent these reactions reflected the opinions of each side.

The symposium's closing lecture was delivered by Prof. Emeritus **Shimon Shamir**, who offered an assessment of Egyptian president Mubarak's thirty-year rule. Shamir emphasized the stability Mubarak had brought to Egypt following the tumultuous eras of his predecessors, Nasser and Sadat. Other characteristics of Mubarak's rule are pragmatism and moderation, in contrast to the radical approaches of his opponents. Shamir concluded by noting that as Mubarak reaches the end of his rule, Egypt's socio-economic challenges await his successors. ■



DR. MARY TOTRY



ISRAEL-TURKEY: WHERE AND HOW DO WE CONTINUE FROM HERE?



June 14, the Moshe Dayan Center, in conjunction with Tel Aviv University's Department of Middle Eastern and African History convened an evening symposium devoted to the recent deterioration of Israel's relations with Turkey in the aftermath of the Turkish flotilla to Gaza. The evening was moderated by Prof. **Ehud Toledano**, of Tel Aviv University's University Chair for Ottoman Studies and the Department of Middle East and African History, and included a diverse panel of speakers.



Prof. EHUD TOLEDANO

Senior Fellow Prof. **Ofra Bengio** of the Dayan Center was the first speaker. Bengio emphasized that the current crisis was the outcome of a strategic Turkish shift, in which Turkey has allied itself with some of Israel's staunch enemies, such as Iran. She contended that the shift had little to do with Israel, and was a result of Turkish internal developments. This is largely a reflection of the growing importance of religion in Turkish society—a slow, gradual process she likened to a quiet revolution. The strong political position of the ruling AKP party, with its Islamist orientation, is also an outcome of this new reality. Bengio noted that Turkish officials and the intelligentsia see no problem in maintaining relations with Israel while pursuing an alliance with other countries. Bengio asserted that the crisis was exacerbated by Israeli tactical mistakes, such as the public admonishment of the Turkish ambassador to Israel by Israel's deputy foreign minister earlier this year, which was seen in Turkey as an affront to Turkish national pride.



Prof. OFRA BENGIO

Bengio argued that the current crisis differs from previous Turkish-Israeli tensions, which often involved third parties and were not a genuine bilateral affair. She also referred to Turkish prime minister Erdoğan's strong attacks on Israel, which have injected an Islamist, anti-Semitic shade to the debate. Turkey has reaped diplomatic and public dividends from the crisis, and enhanced its position as a leading force in regional affairs. But Bengio noted that the AKP party may be at its peak, with Kurdish support of the party waning, and an economic downturn which has affected the Turkish economy. These developments suggest that not all is lost in Israeli-Turkish relations, and that while Turkey's change is strategic, things can still be done to avert reaching a point of no return.

Mr. **Dan Catarivas**, Director of Foreign Trade and International Relations at the Israeli Manufacturer's Association, devoted his remarks to the Turkish economy and to Israel's economic relations with Turkey. He outlined a number of the Turkish economy's features, noting that it is the 17th largest economy in the world. As in the diplomatic sphere, Turkey's new economic orientation, with rising exports to the Middle East and North Africa, has been discernable for several years, and has been an outcome of the obstacles Turkey has faced in its efforts to join the European Union. Nevertheless, Turkish businessmen, including Islamist-oriented entrepreneurs, are still keen on promoting trade with Europe. Turkey's economic and trade reality is therefore more complex than it initially appears.

As for Israeli-Turkish trade, Catarivas surveyed the numerous bilateral agreements between the two countries in a wide range of areas, including a free trade agreement signed between Israel and Turkey in 1996. In 2008, the level of trade between the two countries was over 3 billion USD. Catarivas emphasized that even as the crisis brewed in recent months, economic relations continue to expand, including military equipment sales.

Looking ahead, Catarivas assessed that if political ties between Israel and Turkey continue to deteriorate, efforts should be made to separate politics from economics. He mentioned that multi-lateral organizations in which both countries are members, such as the World Trade Organization and the OECD, could also play a role in maintaining economic ties. Although politics obviously have an impact, Catarivas concluded that not all is lost in Israel's economic ties with Turkey.



MR. DAN CATARIVAS

Dr. **Anat Lapidot-Firilla**, Academic Director of the Mediterranean Neighbors Research Project at Jerusalem's Van Leer Institute and a lecturer at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, discussed Turkey's demands from regional and international players. She described Turkey's foreign policy as oscillating from global ambitions to a sense of alienation from international systems. Turkey seeks to expand its regional and international role, which clashes with the country's "provincial" reality, as a country somewhat on the periphery of important developments in the international arena. While the Ottoman Empire in the early 20th century was a provincial empire, Turkey at the outset of the 21st century is an "imperial province". Lapidot-Firilla emphasized the Turkish elite's new demand to recognize the contribution of Muslim civilization to world culture, and to be viewed as the legitimate representative of Muslim countries. According to this viewpoint, Erdoğan and his party's right to represent the Muslim world is based on their democratic rise to power, through free elections.

These sentiments, she argued, have made their way into Turkish foreign policy, which is ambitious, idealistic, and based on a conservative religious ethic. Turkey's foreign policy doctrine seeks to create influence zones in the Balkans and central Asia, as well as in the Middle East. This goal is based on a strategic assumption that the Turkish republic should not be defended from within its borders but rather from these influence zones. Turkey's demands for recognition, on a more practical level, include the desire to supervise, assist, and promote solutions to a host of regional questions. This line of thought underpins much of Turkey's foreign policy at the moment. Lapidot-Firilla concluded that this is a deep-rooted process, which began in the 1990s, and was further advanced by prime minister Erdoğan and Turkey's foreign minister Davutoğlu.



PROF. UZI RABI

Prof. **Uzi Rabi**, chair of the Department of Middle East and African History, spoke on "Turkey, Iran, and the Arab World: A New Equation". Rabi analyzed how Arab countries view Turkey's recent demands of Israel as well as the new role Turkey has assumed in regional politics. He noted that Ankara's emergence was initially seen in many moderate Arab capitals as a positive development, a counterweight to Iran's threatening position. Recent developments, Rabi contended, have affected this perception, at least as reflected in the Arab media. Arab countries have begun to see similarities between Turkey and Iran. Turkish prime minister Erdoğan's embrace by Arab masses has been troublesome to Arab leaders, who are wary of the growing popularity of this (non-Arab) leader. Turkey seems to be replacing Iran, at the Arabs' expense. Rabi distinguished between Turkey's acceptance by the

Arab street and the skepticism, suspicion, and rejection that characterizes the reaction of Arab regimes, particularly those considered “moderate”. One can observe concern over the possible emergence of a trio that would include Turkey, Syria, and Iran. Such a trio would dash the hopes for creating a moderate alliance which would include Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and Syria, along with Turkey.

In Iran, the reaction to Turkey’s recent steps has been more ambivalent. Iran views Turkey as a country similar to itself, but has concluded that Turkey seems to have better cards that improve its diplomatic position — a stronger economy and an extensive diplomatic network. Turkey seems ready to replace Iran’s role in promoting the Palestinian cause, and has been far more successful in pursuing its efforts. Rabi noted that there had been no mass demonstrations in Iran following the flotilla events. While the Iranian regime may be fearful of staging mass rallies in the aftermath of last year’s anti-regime demonstrations, Iran’s leaders seems perplexed about Turkey’s role. This in turn may lead Iran to seek to break the status quo in the region in an effort to bolster its regional position.

Prof. **Dror Ze’evi** of Ben Gurion University’s Department of Middle Eastern Studies also focused on Iran’s impact on Turkey in his presentation, entitled “Is Turkey Heading in Iran’s Direction?”. He noted that this question is rather irrelevant, given the tremendous economic, political, and religious differences between Turkey and Iran, for example, between Turkey’s democratic political system and Iran’s regime, and between the Sunni and Shi’i views of politics and government. Ze’evi noted that while Iran’s Islamic revolutionaries had no role model to observe and emulate during the revolution, Turkey can look at Iran and not be overly impressed with what it sees.

The more urgent question, according to Ze’evi, is whether Turkey is becoming an Islamist state, i.e., a state in which Islam is a key political principle that fashions political structures. He emphasized that Turkey’s democratic fundamentals are well grounded in the country’s body politic, and that there is no real evidence of declarations made by the ruling AKP party leaders about transforming Turkey into a religious state. There have also been few actions of the Turkish government in this direction, particularly in enacting domestic legislative changes. Although in the private sphere there is growing religiosity, it is difficult to reach any conclusions about the intentions of Turkey’s current leaders in this regard. Even if Turkey will be a more religious country, Ze’evi concluded, the outcome will be more “Turkish” than Iranian.

Prof. **Ehud Toledano** concluded the evening by offering remarks on what can be done to possibly end the current crisis in Israeli-Turkish relations. At the outset of his remarks he contended that the relations between the two countries were far more symmetrical than they appear to many in Israel. The basis of these ties must be mutual, without any form of wavering or self-deprecation on Israel’s part. He reflected on the timidity of Israeli leaders and policymakers in their approach to Turkey, and Arab countries such as Egypt and Jordan. This approach often leads to a self-fulfilling prophecy in Israel’s relations with these countries. On the Turkish side, Toledano noted, there seems to be no sensitivity whatsoever towards relations with Israel. But despite Turkish prime minister Erdoğan’s rhetoric against Israel, no concrete actions that could undermine bilateral relations between the two countries have been taken by Turkey, suggesting that the Turkish government still realizes that these ties are strategic and important to Turkey.

Toledano underscored the differences between Turkey and Egypt, where the public arena remains largely hostile towards Israel. Turkey, in contrast to Egypt, has an elite that remains committed to ties with Israel. He called on Israel not to abandon the Turkish public sphere, despite the current difficulties. The dialogue between various groups in both societies should continue, and not remain restricted to the official level. Israeli leaders must not shy away from reacting to Erdoğan’s rhetoric, because their silence damages Israel’s image as a powerful state, which is held by influential groups in Turkey. Whether such an approach would change the Turkish prime minister’s policies is irrelevant, Toledano stressed, noting that these are long term processes. He also assessed that so long as the AKP party remains in power in Turkey, a significant change in Turkey’s relations with Israel is unlikely.



Multi-Culturalism AND Nationality in Mixed Cities: The Reality AND THE RESPONSE



February 11, 2010, the Konrad Adenauer Program for Jewish-Arab Cooperation, together with the Tami Steinmetz Center for Peace Research and the Gevim Group, held a workshop on **“Multi-culturalism and Nationality in Mixed Cities: The Reality and the Response”** for professionals and academics.

Dr. **Ephraim Lavie**, director of the Tami Steinmetz Center for Peace Research and acting director of the Konrad Adenauer Program for Jewish-Arab Cooperation, served as chairperson of the workshop and gave the opening remarks on mixed cities in Israel.

The first session presented the theme of multi-culturalism in mixed cities from a theoretical perspective.

Dr. **Ravit Goldhaber** of Ben Gurion University of the Negev discussed the concept of multi-culturalism and its importance to Arab and Jewish coexistence in Israel in general, and in mixed cities in particular. She offered some examples of multi-culturalism in everyday life in the mixed city of Jaffa.

Prof. **Rassem Khamaisi** of the University of Haifa discussed the implications of separation and integration on Arab life at the national level and at the regional and local levels in mixed cities. In his view, only recognition, accessibility and participation of Israeli Arab citizens at the national level can lead to a change in those situations where the Arabs are excluded from certain everyday life conditions that Jewish citizens experience in mixed cities.

Prof. **Itzhak Schnell** of Tel Aviv University described the government's policy in mixed cities, which has pushed the Arab minority to the geographical and social margins of Israeli society. He then gave several examples of this excluding national policy in the mixed city of Jaffa.

The chairperson of the second session was Dr. **David Shimoni**, a mediator and senior team member of the Gevim Group. He noted the perspectives of governmental authorities regarding the relations between Arabs and Jews in mixed cities.

Mr. **Baruch Sugarman**, the director of community services at the Ministry of Welfare and Social Services, spoke about the need to develop “culture-adopted services”. Among several examples he mentioned how language can be used in official publications in order to reflect the cultural meaning behind the words

Mr. **Yaakov Goaz (Gez)**, head of “Metzila” — Community and Crime Prevention at the Ministry of Internal Security, described his work as “prevention through education.” He said that each mixed city has its own ways of coping with conflicts in order to manage tensions and dissolve them.

Mr. **Ali Elkrenawi**, supervisor of the Bedouin department at the Ministry of Education, gave the examples of two schools in the Negev, in the city of Rahat and the town of Kseifa, that adopted special multicultural educational programs for the Bedouin population, developed by the Ministry of Education.

The third session was devoted to the presentation of the reality of everyday life in mixed cities from the point of view of Jewish and Arab civil activists.

Ms. **Faten Elzinaty**, resident of the mixed city of Lod and a community dialogue coordinator and mediator of the Gevim Group, served as chairperson.

Mr. **Aharon Atias**, General Director of the Lod Torah *Garin* (Torah-inspired community outreach group),



focused on the responsibility of the Arabs and Jews in Lod to solve disputes amongst themselves through dialogue, while Ms. **Maha Al-Nakib**, secretary of the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality at the Lod office, shared her thoughts about Lod's multi-cultural society, in which a Jewish mono-cultural policy threatens her own Arab identity.

Former director of the Community Mediation and Dialogue Center in Lod, Ms. **Orit Yulezry**, described the difficulties of mediating different cultures which live in the shadow of a national conflict, and the attempts to serve the community under these conditions in a professional way. Mr. **Mohammad Abu Aliwa**, a Deputy Qadi and director of Hama'ayan ("The Spring") College in Lod, accused the municipality of not adopting a multi-cultural public policy, while neglecting the Arab population and the issue of coexistence between Arabs and Jews.

The session was concluded with a summary by Mr. **Omri Gefen**, chairman of the Gevim Group, who suggested that development of a model for solving multicultural conflicts in mixed cities is needed. In order to reach this goal, he called for further meetings of this workshop. ■

Muslim Minorities in Non-Muslim Majority Countries: The Islamic Movement in Israel as a Test Case



March 18, 2010, the Konrad Adenauer Program for Jewish-Arab Cooperation held a conference on "Muslim Minorities in Non-Muslim Majority Countries: The Islamic Movement in Israel as a Test Case" at the Nahum Goldmann Diaspora Museum, Tel Aviv University.

In recent years, the status of Muslim minorities in western countries has become a key issue on the global agenda. The growth of large Muslim communities in these countries has highlighted debates relating to living a Muslim lifestyle (based on Islamic laws) under non-Muslim rule, subject to secular-western state legislation. The goal of the conference was to introduce an analytical framework that can be applied to a comparative study of Muslim minorities all over the world (in Europe in particular), including Muslims in Israel, who have special status as a minority group in their own homeland.

The first session discussed the question of Islamic identity among Muslim communities, mainly in Europe and the U.S. The chairperson was Dr. **Leah Kinberg** of Tel Aviv University, who described briefly the main dilemma that European societies have been facing during the last three decades: whether civil rights values can be transformed into policies of supervision and restraint over the Muslim communities.

Dr. **Uriya Shavit** of Tel Aviv University outlined the main features for a methodological comparative examination of the structuring of Islamic identity in Europe and Israel. His main analytical tool was the concept of "double marginality", in which an individual's Muslim origin constitutes an obstacle, preventing him from becoming a full member of the society while at the same time he is still conceived as a marginal part of the Muslim nation.

Dr. **Sagi Polka** of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem described how Sheikh Yousef Al-Qaradawi's religious decisions (*fatwas*) shape Muslim identity in western societies. Sheikh Al-Qaradawi's fatwas guide Muslims on how to keep their Muslim identity in non-Muslim cultures, how to integrate without having to assimilate and how to solve the conflict between the civil law of the non-Islamic country and the *Shari'a* (Islamic law).



DR. URIYA SHAVIT

Dr. **Harold Rhode**, a retired expert from the American Department of Defense, led the session's discussion. In his opinion, Muslims aim to bring territories and countries all over the world under Muslim rule. They seek to imploy *da'wa* (Islamic missionary work) to fulfill this aim.

The second session focused on dilemmas pertaining to Islamic identity in Israel. Dr. **Ephraim Lavie** of Tel Aviv University chaired this session. Dr. **Nimrod Luz** of the Western Galilee Academic College described how



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the Islamic movement struggles over the use of holy sites. He said that in order to bring back believers to the fold and

to create and reinforce religious nationalist identity the Islamic movement grants holy Islamic sites in Israel additional religiously symbolic meanings.

Dr. **Elie Rekhess** of Tel Aviv University and Northwestern University presented the process of Islamizing Arab identity in Israel led by the Islamic movement in its formative years, between its inception in 1972 and the split in its ranks on the eve of the 1996 Knesset elections. He concluded that the Islamization process was both pragmatic and versatile, successfully employing several ways to structure the Islamic identity of the Israeli Arabs activist policy: *da'wa* (missionary activities), organized protection of Islamic religious sites, and establishment of structured institutions and organizations all over the country.

Mr. **Ibrahim al-Quran** of Ben Gurion University in the Negev described the rising national-Islamic consciousness of Negev Bedouin. He contended that despite the fact the Bedouin society lacks national-religious ideology, the crisis within the Bedouin leadership in the early 1980's opened the

door for the Islamic movement to enter and influence Bedouin religious identity. Al-Quran said that the Islamic movement used the land dispute between the governmental authorities and the Bedouins in order to reinforce the Islamic aspect in their identity.

The third session, chaired by Prof. **Ilai Alon** of Tel Aviv University, discussed the legislative Islamic dimension.

Mr. **Shammai Fishman** of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem discussed the link between *Fiqh al-Aqalliyat* (Muslim minority jurisprudence) and the gates of *Ijtihad* in Sheikh Taha Jabir al-Alwani's writings. Fishman noted that contrary to the common understanding that the gates of *Ijtihad* were locked in the tenth century, Sheikh Taha Jabir al-Alwani permits the use of reason to further religious rule, which may assist Muslims in harmonizing their Islamic beliefs with the civil law of their non-Islamic countries.

Dr. **Ashraf Abu Zarka** of the University of Haifa described the position of the Islamic movement in Israel vis-à-vis *Fiqh al-Aqalliyat*. He claimed that the Islamic movement serves its own political and economic interests and therefore neglects the general interests of the Muslim community in Israel. This was evident from certain decisions that reinforce the economic power of the movement; its encouragement of only those religious commandments, that benefit the Islamic movement; and its limiting of the use of Islamic sites for the requirements of the movement in order to reinforce its political hegemony.



DR. SAQI POLKA



DR. NIMROD LUZ

Qadi Iyad Zahalka of the Shari'a Court in Haifa described the Muslim community in Israel's position regarding Shari'a jurisprudence. He distinguished between three groups in the Muslim community in Israel: The Islamic movement, Arab political parties, and feminist movements. He said that the first two groups traditionally support the Shari'a law implemented by Shari'a courts, while feminist groups supported the Israeli law until 2003. He concluded that since then, when educated Qadis (judges) who are experts both in the Shari'a law and in Israeli law began to be appointed, the Islamic judicial institutions gained back their stature and feminist movements preferred to turn to them again.



DR. ASHRAF ABU ZARKA

The fourth session, headed by Dr. **Elie Rekhess**, discussed the national and political dimension represented by the Islamic Movement in Israel.

Mr. **Mohanad Mustafa** of the University of Haifa described the Islamic movement's political participation in Israel. His main argument was that the Islamic movement uses a "discourse of difference": The goal of the Islamic movement in Israel is to build an independent Arab society, which does not rely necessarily on the budget of the State. Mustafa concluded that this "discourse of difference" enlarges the socio-political distance between the state and its Muslim community.



QADI IYAD ZAHALKA

Dr. **Mordechai Kedar** of Bar-Ilan University contended that the Islamic movement in Israel has three basic tenets: physical rejection of the foreign conquerer; cultural rejection of the foreign conquerer; and the application of Islamic law (Shari'a). In order to implement their ideology, the Islamic movement adopted a political Islamic platform, which according to Kedar is vehemently anti-establishment. Kedar concluded that the Islamic movement perceived the rebirth of the Israeli-Jewish state and its capital Jerusalem as a threat to the existence of Islam. Thus the fear is theological rather than territorial or nationalistic.

RESEARCH WORKSHOP ON MOROCCO



January 19, 2010 the first session of the "Morocco Workshop", which brings together graduate students from all Israeli universities working on Morocco, convened at the Center. Senior Research Fellow Dr. **Bruce Maddy-Weitzman** and Prof. **Yaron Tsur** of Tel Aviv University's department of Jewish History moderated the workshop. Students from various disciplines presented their work, which was then critiqued by participants.

Orit Yekutieli of Ben-Gurion University presented her research on *Handicrafts and Artisans in the Medina of Fez during the French Protectorate 1912–1956*; **Almog Behar** of Tel Aviv University spoke on *Moroccan Khazanim (cantors) in Israel*; **Dalit Atrakchi** from Bar-Ilan University gave a presentation on *Women in Contemporary Moroccan Political Life*; **Benny Nuriely** spoke on *Medical Management during the Moroccan Jewish Immigration to Israel 1948–1956*; **Isaak Gershun** presented his work on *The Process of Modernization among the Jewish Community of Tangier during the first half of the Twentieth Century*; **David Biton** from Bar-Ilan University, presented his work on the *Reforms in Moroccan Rabbinic Pleas under the French Protectorate in Morocco, 1912–1956*; and **Samir Ben-Layashi** spoke on *Medical and Hygienic Discourse and Practices in Morocco, 1880–1962*.

THE DEVELOPMENT PLAN FOR THE ARAB AND DRUZE SECTOR: NEW APPROACH IN GOVERNMENT POLICY?

"The Development Plan for the Arab and Druze Sector: A New Approach in Government Policy?" was the topic of a conference organized by the Konrad Adenauer Program on June 15, 2010.

The first session discussed practical and perceptual barriers on the path of development of Arab and Druze communities in Israel. Ms. **Anna Hazan**, former Director of the Section for Local Development at the Ministry of Interior, chaired the session. In her opening remarks she noted that one of the major barriers facing local municipalities in Israel is centralization, which implies that each local municipality must receive dozens of permits from the government in order to function.

Prof. **Aziz Haidar** of Jerusalem's Van Leer Institute and the Hebrew University's Truman Institute called for an urgent and comprehensive reform in the relations between the State and the Arab and Druze local authorities. He pointed to government's discriminatory policy in land allocation to Arab communities, asserting that the new government development plan, in its current format, does not meet the budgetary demands of the Arab sector.

Attorney **Sawsan Zaher** of Adalah, the Legal Center for Arab Minority Rights, noted that only four out of 553 communities included in the government's national priority list were Arab.

Dr. **Nahum Ben Elia**, who serves as an advisor on municipal policy and research fellow at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, discussed several perceptual barriers related to the implementation of the government development plan. He warned against creating high expectations regarding the ability of the plan to meet the demands of the Arab settlements and solve their financial problems. He called upon Arab citizens to adopt a more realistic view and accept greater responsibility in their municipal matters.

The second session focused on the government's development plan and the civic society response. The session began with a presentation by Mr. **Aiman Saif** of the Prime Minister's office, who presented the main features of the five-year development plan. He said that 800 million NIS will be allocated to thirteen Arab and Druze communities over the course of the next five years in order to enhance economic development. He admitted that the plan would probably not meet all of the demands, in terms of infrastructure, transportation and job opportunities, but he still considered it to be a positive measure on behalf of the State authorities.

Ms. **Michal Belikof** of Sikkuy, the association for the Advancement of Civic Equality in Israel, discussed the development plan from a comparative point of view. She said that during the last two decades, state authorities became more aware of the Arab sector's financial needs and launched several development plans, the most famous of which was the four billion NIS plan launched in November 2000. She then referred to the current plan, noting that the plan laid for the first time the foundations for strategic development. However, she argued that the adoption of this plan by the government does not imply a new approach in policy toward the Arab sector.

Mr. **Jafar Farah**, Director of the Mossawa Advocacy Center for Arab Citizens in Israel, touched upon several characteristics of the current government policy which overshadow the five-year development plan's positive aspects. According to Farah, the institutionalized discrimination in budgets allocation, racist statements of right-wing Knesset members, and the general sense of delegitimization of the Arab citizens following incidents between Israel and the Palestinians all contribute to the rising tension in the region. He called upon state authorities to take advantage of the Arab sector's human resources.



PROF. URIEL DANN MEMORIAL LECTURE

ISRAEL AND THE MAGHRIB: PAST LEGACIES AND FUTURE CHALLENGES

The Center's annual lecture in memory of the late Prof. **Uriel Dann** was held on May 3, 2010. Prof. Dann, who died in 1992, was one of the Center's founders and a leading scholar in modern Middle Eastern history, who specialized in the history of Iraq and Jordan. Prof. Emeritus **Shimon Shamir** spoke about Prof. Dann's life, recalling his interest in Jordanian and Iraqi political history, and his intellectual curiosity regarding larger themes in world history. Shamir noted how Prof. Dann pursued his curiosity by taking the unusual step of obtaining a second doctoral degree in early modern English history at Oxford University. Dann, he concluded, was not only an Israeli professor who taught at Tel Aviv University's Department of Middle Eastern and African History for 25 years, but also a respected member of the wider academic world. The second part of the evening was devoted to the presentation of a scholarship in memory of Prof. Uriel and Lora Dann to a graduate student in Middle Eastern history. This year's recipient was **Brandon Friedman**, whose doctoral dissertation focuses on the United Arab Emirates.



BRANDON FRIEDMAN (left) AND THE DANN-MEIRI FAMILY

The memorial lecture was given by Dr. **Daniel Zisenwine**, a research fellow at the Center. Dr. Zisenwine spoke on "Israel and the Maghrib: Past Legacies and Future Challenges". Zisenwine outlined the history of Israel's relations with the three central North African countries of Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia.

He noted that while these countries were largely removed from the Arab-Israeli conflict, and technically not at war with the Jewish state, they were also not in a state of peace with Israel. Over time, however, Israel established informal ties with Morocco and Tunisia. These relations were fueled, among other factors, by the interests of Morocco's King Hassan and Tunisia's president Bourguiba in playing a greater role in regional politics. They were also motivated by the interest in their native countries of many former Moroccan and Tunisian Jews who immigrated to Israel. By the mid-1990s, Morocco and Tunisia established low level diplomatic relations with Israel, which were severed in October 2000, following the outbreak of the second Intifada. Zisenwine concluded his lecture by expressing



DR. DANIEL ZISENWINE

hope for a renewal of these ties, and for more sensitivity on the Israeli side for domestic North African considerations, which was at times lacking in the past.



BRANDON FRIEDMAN AND DR. UZI RABI WHO CHAIRED THE MEMORIAL EVENING

LITVAK AND WEBMAN'S "FROM EMPATHY TO DENIAL" WINS 2010 WASHINGTON INSTITUTE BOOK PRIZE

From Empathy to Denial: Arab Responses to the Holocaust, by Senior Fellow Prof. **Meir Litvak** and Research Associate Dr. **Esther Webman**, has won the prestigious Gold Prize in The Washington Institute for Near East Policy's 2010 Book Prize competition. This sweeping account, based largely on Arab public commentary and other Arabic-language sources, covers six decades of postwar history and documents how, after the establishment of the State of Israel, Arab attitudes toward the Holocaust influenced — and were shaped by — broader anti-Zionist sentiment.



The Washington Institute Book Prize, now in its third year, was established to highlight new nonfiction books on the Middle East and is among the world's most lucrative literary awards. Winners were chosen by a three-person jury: *Washington Post* editorial board member Jackson Diehl, *Weekly Standard* editor William Kristol, and distinguished historian Walter Laqueur. The Jury commended the book for its "definitive expose of a deeply held prejudice obscured by politics and partisanship. Through painstaking sifting of Arabic sources, the authors carefully measure the psychological barriers that block Arab comprehension of the Holocaust's significance for Israel, Jewry, and the world. In so doing, Meir Litvak and Esther Webman tell a neglected story behind the persistence of the Arab-Israeli conflict."

Faculty News 2009-2010

Irit Bak delivered a paper on "AMIS and the Darfur Conflict: Sudanese Responses to the African Union Intervention" at a conference on "Sudan's Elections and the Referendum: Choices, Last Chances, A Time for Change?" at Purdue University, Indiana, in May 2010. That same month, she lectured on "The Responsibility to Protect from a Gender Perspective: Darfur as a Test Case" at a conference on Gender, Peace and Security: Local Interpretations of International Norms at The Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Bak was the recipient of a research grant on the African Union and the Darfur Crisis from the Open University of Israel. Her article, "From the Colony to the Postcolony: Sufis and Wahhabists in Senegal and Nigeria," was published in the *Canadian Journal of African History*.



Ofra Bengio delivered a paper (with Bruce Maddy-Weitzman) on "Mobilizing the Diaspora: Kurdish and Berber Movements in Comparative Perspective" at the Middle East Studies Association of North America (MESA)'s annual meeting in Boston, in November 2009. She spoke on "Kurdish Historiography: Ethnic vs. State Narrative" at an international conference on Iraq Today: Between Unity and Disintegration, organized by the Hebrew University of Jerusalem's Truman Institute in March 2010. In September 2010, Bengio lectured on "Turkey and the Kurdish problem" at the World Summit on Counter-Terrorism, organized by the Interdisciplinary Center in Herzliya. That same month, she was also interviewed by the *Turkish Economic and Social Research — Ekopolitik*. A second edition of Bengio's book *The Turkish-Israeli Relationship: Changing Ties of Middle Eastern Outsiders* was published in 2009 by Palgrave/Macmillan. Her article on "Iraq's New Political Elites: A Dream Come True?" was published in the December 2009 issue of *MERIA — Middle East Review of International Affairs*. Another article, entitled "Babylon versus Zion: Changing Iraqi Perceptions of Israel," appeared in

the January 2010 issue of *Ortadoğu Etütleri* (Turkish). She contributed articles on Turkish-Israeli relations to *Ha'aretz* in January and June, and published an article on "Turkey's Quiet Revolution and Its Impact on Israel" in the *Israel Journal of Foreign Affairs*.



Samir Ben-Layashi delivered a paper on *The Discourse and Praxis of Medicine, Hygiene, and Body in Colonial Morocco*, at the Middle East Studies Association of North America (MESA)'s annual meeting in Boston in November 2009. In December he spoke on *Public Health and Private Health in Morocco* at the Tel Aviv Sourasky Medical Center's Ichilov hospital during a workshop on Medicine, Culture, and Society, organized by Ichilov Hospital and Tel Aviv University's Faculty of Medicine. In January 2010 Ben-Layashi was invited by Ben-Gurion University to comment on a documentary film, by Sami Shalom-Chetrit, *Azi Ya Yima*, (Come Here, My Mother) that treats the question of the first generation of Moroccan Jewish migrants, their absorption in Israel, and their relationships with the Israeli born second generation. Also in January, Ben-Layashi participated in the Transcontinental Seminar on Social and Cultural History Writing, held at Switzerland's Zurich University, and included students from Zurich University, UCLA, and Tel Aviv University. At this seminar Ben-Layashi delivered a paper titled *From Healing Practices to Medical Practices: A Transition from Precolonial to Colonial Morocco*. In March 2010, he commented on Dr. Miri Shefer's paper on "Miniatures in Ottoman Medical Illustrated Manuscripts" at The Zeev Rubin Forum, organized by the Graduate School of Historical Studies of the Tel Aviv University. Ben-Layashi's article (co-authored with Bruce Maddy-Weitzman), "Myth, History, and *Realpolitik*: Morocco and its Jewish Community," was published in the March 2010 issue of *The Journal of Modern Jewish Studies*. The article was also published as a chapter in *Muslim Attitudes to Jews and Israel: The Ambivalences of Rejection, Antagonism, Tolerance and Cooperation*, edited by Moshe Ma'oz and published by Sussex Academic Press.



Meir Litvak organized a joint conference on "Shi'ism: Theology, Law and Culture" on behalf of the Center for Iranian Studies at Tel Aviv University and the Hebrew University's Nehemia Levtzion Center (June 2010), where he presented a paper on "The Freedom Debate in Iran: from Khomeini to Khatami." He delivered a paper, "Iranian anti-Semitism: Continuities and Changes," at a conference on "Global Antisemitism: A Crisis of Modernity" held by the Yale Initiative for the Interdisciplinary Study of Antisemitism in August 2010. Litvak is a second year recipient of a research grant from the Israel Science Foundation for his on-going research on "Isfahan and Mashhad: From Reza Shah to Mossaddeq, 1921-1953." He also participated in a simulation exercise organized by Tel Aviv University, "The Middle East: A Strategic-Operative Game of Roles", where he played the role of Iran's president Ahmadinejad (May 2010). Litvak's article on "Martyrdom is Life': Jihad and Martyrdom in the Ideology of Hamas" appeared in *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*. His book, *From Empathy to Denial: Arab Responses to the Holocaust*, co-authored with Esther Webman, was the recipient of the Washington Institute for Near East Policy's book prize for 2010.



Bruce Maddy-Weitzman delivered a paper, together with Ofra Bengio, entitled "Mobilizing the Diaspora: Kurdish and Berber Movements in Comparative Perspective," at the Middle East Studies Association of North America (MESA)'s annual meeting in Boston, in November 2009. He also delivered a paper entitled "The Amazigh Factor: Muhammad VI and the Amazigh (Berber) Culture Movement", at the third World Congress of Middle East Studies (WOCMES), held in Barcelona in July 2010. Maddy-Weitzman's article, "The Limits and Potential of Israel-Maghreb Relations", appeared in the July 2010 *IPRIS Maghreb Review*. His article, "Arabs vs. the Abdullah Plan", appeared in the summer 2010 issue of *Middle East Quarterly*. A Hebrew-language version was published by Tel Aviv University in Ephraim Lavie (ed.), *Israel and The Arab Peace Initiative* (Tel Aviv University 2010). His article (co-authored with Samir Ben-Layashi), "Myth, History and *Realpolitik*: Morocco and its Jewish Community," appeared in the March 2010 issue of the *Journal of Modern Jewish Studies*, and in *Muslim Attitudes to Jews and Israel: The Ambivalences of Rejection, Antagonism, Tolerance and Cooperation*, edited by Moshe Ma'oz and published by Sussex Academic Press. Maddy-Weitzman's article, "The Arab Perspective," appeared in *Strengthening the Forces of Moderation in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: The Role of the European Union after the Gaza War*, published on-line by The Clingendael Institute (The Hague) and the Hebrew University of Jerusalem's Truman Institute (The Hebrew University, Jerusalem). Maddy-Weitzman also published "Israel-Maghreb Relations: Realities and Possibilities," in the September 2009 edition of *MERIA Journal*. His reviews of *The Foreign Policies of Arab States: The Challenge of Globalization*, Bahgat Korany and Ali E. Hillal Dessouki (eds.), (Cairo, New York: The American University in Cairo Press, 2008), and *Restoring the Balance: A Middle East Strategy for the Next President*, The Saban Center at Brookings and the Council on Foreign Relations (Washington D.C.: Brookings Institute Press, 2008), appeared in the May 2010 issue of *Middle Eastern Studies*. Throughout the year, he published a monthly "Mideast Monitor" column in *The Jerusalem Report*.



Paul Rivlin analyzed the relationship between power, economics and social classes in Iran since the 2009 elections in a lecture entitled *Iran's Social Contract*, at the Iran Center, Stanford University in January 2010. In February, he gave three lectures at the Naval Postgraduate College, Naval War College, in Monterey, California, on Economic Developments in Egypt; Economic Growth in the Middle East; and Recent Developments in the Iranian Economy. He published a paper on the Middle East and the international financial crisis in the Jewish Policy Center's *Infocus* journal as well as reviews of Michael Dumper, *The Future of for the Palestinian Refugees* and David A. Wesley, *State Practices and Zionist Images in Shofar*, An Interdisciplinary Journal of Jewish Studies. His reviews of Anoushiravan Ehteshami & Steven Weight (eds.), *Reform in the Middle East Monarchies*; Christopher M. Davidson, *Abu Dhabi: Oil and Beyond*; and Serder Sayan Ed. *Economic Performance in the Middle East and North Africa* were published in *Middle East Studies*.

Yehudit Ronen spoke on "Immigration from Africa and the Middle East to Europe: A Globalization of a Humanitarian Crisis" at a symposium entitled *The Middle East in the Mirror of Cinema* held at Tel Aviv University in April 2010. Throughout the year, Ronen participated in a series of round-tables which took place at the Institute of Policy and Strategy at Herzliya's Interdisciplinary Center, which dealt with issues relating to "The Dawn of the Poly-Nuclear Middle East: Implications for Deterrence," discussing the Libyan case. Ronen's article on "The 40th Anniversary of the Qadhafi Regime: Moments of Great Political Contentment," was published in the September 2009 issue of the South African *International Institute for Islamic Studies*. An article on "Second Thoughts: Qadhafi and his Nuclear Program," appeared in the March 2010 issue of the same journal. Ronen's review of Maurice M. Roumani, *The Jews of Libya: Coexistence, Persecution, Resettlement* was published in the November 2009 issue of *Middle Eastern Studies*. She reviewed M.W. Daly, *Darfur's Sorrow: A History of Destruction and Genocide* in the January 2010 issue of the same journal. Ronen reviewed Yahia H. Zoubir and Haizam Amirah-Fernández (eds.), *North Africa: Politics, Region, and the Limits of Transformation* in the Spring 2010 issue of *Middle East Quarterly*. She contributed numerous reviews in Hebrew of recent Israeli literature to *Iton* 77.



Uriya Shavit participated in a number of international conferences and workshops, including "Collective Identities in the Global Sphere" at Jerusalem's Van Leer Institute in November 2009). Shavit's book, *The New Imagined Community: Advanced Media Technologies and the Construction of National and Muslim Identities of Migrants* (Sussex Academic Press), was published in November 2009. His article "Is Shura a Muslim Form of Democracy? Roots and Systemization of a Polemic" was published in the May 2010 issue of *Middle Eastern Studies*. He wrote the entries on Husni Mubarak and Gamal Mubarak for Oxford University's *Dictionary of African Biography*.



Asher Susser spent the 2009-10 academic year on Sabbatical at the Crown Center for Middle East Studies at Brandeis University as the Senior Fellow on the Myra and Robert Kraft Chair in Arab Politics. In August 2009 he spoke at a Crown Center Symposium on *What's Up in the Middle East?*, where he discussed the prospects of the Israeli-Palestinian peace process. In October he participated in another Crown Center symposium on *Middle East Politics: Present and Future* where he addressed "Regional Dimensions: The Middle East in Context." In February 2010 Prof Susser lectured on "Fault Lines — Israel, Jordan, Palestine," at an international conference on *Promoting State-Building, Managing Fault Lines*, held in Jerusalem jointly by the South African-based Brenthurst Foundation and the Jerusalem office of the Konrad Adenauer Stiftung. He also participated in the follow up conference held at Tswalu in South Africa in May. In February he delivered a lecture on "Israel, Iran, and the Arabs: The Middle East of the 21st Century," in the Shaol Pozez Memorial Lectureship, under the auspices of the Arizona Center for Judaic Studies of the University of Arizona in Tucson. In March Susser participated in the AIPAC Policy Conference in Washington DC in a panel on "Shifting Sands: The Evolving Leadership and Landscape in the Middle East." He delivered the Third Annual Professor William Prusoff Honorary Lecture, at The Yale Initiative for the Interdisciplinary Study of Antisemitism at Yale University, on "Israel, Jordan and Palestine: One State, Two States or Three?" in April. That same month, Susser presented a paper entitled "In Nasser's Shadow — Jordan, Israel, and the US" at an international conference at Northwestern University on *The Middle East in the 1950s — Historical Perspectives: Israel, the Arab World, and the Great Powers*. In June he delivered two lectures at Brandeis University's Summer Institute for Israel Studies on "Israel's Place in the Middle East" and on "Religion and State in the Middle East." Professor Susser published a monograph on *The Rise of Hamas and the Crisis of Secularism in the Arab World*, in the Essay Series of the Crown Center for Middle East Studies and reviews in scholarly journals on George Gilder's *The Israel Test*, Rich Cohen's *Israel is Real*, and on Curtis Ryan's *Inter-Arab Alliances: Regime Security and Jordanian Foreign Policy*.



Joshua Teitelbaum spent the spring of 2010 at Stanford University, where he is Visiting Fellow and participant in the Working Group on Islam and the New World Order at the Hoover Institution. Also at Stanford, he participated in a May conference on "Political Reform in the Arab World: Problems and Prospects," held by the Center on Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law, where he is Visiting Scholar. In April 2010 he interviewed Israeli student candidates for the Olive Tree Program, which brings Palestinian and Israeli students together at City University, London. He spoke on modern Saudi Arabia" at the AIPAC conference in Washington, DC, in May. Teitelbaum's book on *Saudi Arabia and the New Strategic Landscape* was published by Stanford University's Hoover Press in spring 2010. He also published "The Shiites of Saudi Arabia in the 2010 issue of *Current Trends in Islamist Ideology*. His review of Daniel Gordis' *Saving Israel: How the Jewish People Can Win a War that May Never End* was published on the website of Scholars for Peace in the Middle East. In the wake of the Turkish flotilla incident at the end of May, he wrote an op-ed examining the historical context of Turkish involvement in the *Guardian*.



Mira Tzoreff participated in a conference at the Western Galilee College on Peace Processes in the Middle East (March 2010), where she lectured on "Mubarak and the Egyptian-Israeli Peace Agreement — Continuity or Change?". In May, she delivered a paper at Israel's Middle East and Islamic Studies Association's annual meeting at Ben Gurion University in Be'er Sheva on "From the Personal to the Collective- The Biography of May Ziadeh as a Reflection of the Attitude of Egyptian Society of her time towards 'Others' and Strangers." Tzoreff delivered a number of lectures at various institutions throughout the year. In November 2009 she spoke at Yad Ben Zvi on "Egypt during the Mubarak Era: Between Liberalism and Islamic Fundamentalism". She delivered three lectures at the Israel Liberal College on "From the Heat of Autocracy to the Breeze of Democracy — What Do Liberals in the Middle East Dream Of?" (November 2009); Mubarak's Regime: Domestic Crises, External Challenges" (February 2010); "A Gender Revolution in the Middle East: Egypt, Saudi Arabia and the Palestinian Authority as Test Cases" (March 2010). Tzoreff also spoke in March at the Avshalom Institute on the Liberal Discourse in the Middle East. In April, she lectured at Eyal College on Egypt from Gamal 'Abd al-Nasr to Husni Mubarak.

That same month, Tzoreff spoke at a department seminar for graduate students at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem on the collective memory issue in Egypt today under the title: "We remember Namely We Exist: The Egyptian Forum 'Women and Memory' as an Alternative to the Hegemonic Collective Memory".



Esther Webman was appointed head of the Zeev Vered Desk for the Study of Tolerance and Intolerance, at Tel Aviv University's Stephen Roth Institute for the Study of Contemporary Antisemitism and Racism, inaugurated in December 2009. In September 2009, Dr. Webman participated in the ESA convention in Lisbon and delivered a paper on "The Impact of the Arab/Islamic Discourse on Antisemitism on the International Perceptions of Islamophobia and Racism." In April 2010, she gave a lecture on "The Arab Reactions to the Eichmann's Affair," in a panel marking fifty years to Eichmann's abduction, organized by the Stephen Roth Institute. In May she spoke in Amsterdam on "Arab Antisemitic Discourse – Importation, Internalization and Recycling" at a conference organized by the University of Amsterdam. Later that month, she participated at a Tel Aviv University workshop on Arab Responses to Fascism and Nazism 1933-1945: Reappraisals and New Directions, and lectured on "The War and the Holocaust in the Egyptian Public Discourse, 1945-1947." In June she was invited to Paris for a colloquium on the Muslims and the Holocaust, where she lectured on "Perceptions of the Holocaust in Arab Countries." Webman's article, "The Image of the Jew/Zionist/Israeli in the Arab World," was published in *Muslim Attitudes to Jews and Israel: The Ambivalences of Rejection, Antagonism, Tolerance and Cooperation*, edited by Moshe Ma'oz and published by Sussex Academic Press. Her review of Philip Salzman's book *Culture and Conflict in the Middle East* was published in the *Israel Journal of Foreign Affairs*. Her book, *From Empathy to Denial: Arab Responses to the Holocaust*, co-authored with Meir Litvak, was the recipient of the Washington Institute for Near East Policy's book prize for 2010.



Michael Winter was a Visiting Researcher at Harvard's Center for Middle East Studies from June to August 2010, where he researched connections between Turkish and Arab 'ulama from the 16th to 18th centuries. In September 2009, he participated at an international conference held at Tokyo University devoted to Sada/Ashraf (the Prophet's descendants) and delivered a paper on "The Ashraf and Naqib al-Ashraf in Ottoman Egypt and Syria: A Comparative Analysis". During the same visit in Tokyo, Winter lectured in a workshop at Sophia University on Sufism in Ottoman Egypt: Religious and Social Aspects. Winter chaired a panel on social and cultural aspects of 'ulama in the later Middle Ages at the third World Congress of Middle East Studies (WOCMES), held in Barcelona in July 2010, and delivered a paper entitled "'Ulama of Damascus and Ottoman 'Ulama during the late Mamluk and Early Ottoman Periods: Relations, Comparisons and Influences."



Daniel Zisenwine spoke on "Towards a Transformed Political System?: Moroccan Politics under Mohammed VI" at the third World Congress of Middle East Studies (WOCMES), held in Barcelona in July 2010. His book, *The Emergence of Moroccan Nationalist Politics: The Rise of the Independence Party and the Struggle against Colonialism after World War II* was published by I.B. Tauris in September 2010. Zisenwine reviewed *The Jews of Tunisia: Heritage, History, Literature*, edited by Ephraim Hazan and Haim Saadon in the 2010 issue of *Hamizrah Hehadash* (Hebrew).



Eyal Zisser delivered a paper on "Israel, Iran and the Arab World" at the Middle East Studies Association of North America (MESA)'s annual meeting in Boston, in November 2009. In May 2010 he spoke on "Memoirs Do Not Deceive: Syrians Consider the Fascist and Nazi Options – As Reflected in the Memoirs of Syrian Political Leaders and Intellectuals" at an international conference on "Arab Responses to Fascism and Nazism, 1933-1945: Reappraisals and New Directions" at Tel Aviv University. In September he spoke on "Lebanon's Regional Role" at a conference on "Lebanon: Strategic and Military Perspectives," organized by the Department of Political Science at the University of Copenhagen and the Institute for Strategy at the Royal Danish Defense College in Copenhagen. He spoke on "Syria's Politics and Economy" at a conference on "Bashar al-Asad's First Decade – A Period of Transition for Syria?" organized by Lund University, Sweden in October 2010. Zisser's article "The Israeli-Syrian-Lebanese Triangle – The Renewed Struggle over Lebanon" was published in the October 2009 issue of the *Israel Affairs* journal.

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