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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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## Conferences and Symposia

# LEBANON: FROM THE CIVIL WAR TO THE SECOND LEBANON WAR

On

March 2, 2009 the center marked the publication of a new book on recent Lebanese history, *Lebanon: Blood in the Cedars-From the Civil War to the Second Lebanon War* (published in Hebrew by Hakibbutz Hameuchad), written by the Center's Director, Prof. **Eyal Zisser**. The evening also honored the memory of Prof. Zisser's late father, Joseph Zisser, with the presentation of a memorial scholarship donated by the family to a graduate student in Middle Eastern history, Mr. **Idan Barir**.



MR. IDAN BARIR (left) AND THE ZISSER FAMILY

In his introductory greetings, Dr. **Uzi Rabi**, chair of the Department of Middle East and African History, highlighted Prof. Zisser's expertise in navigating and elucidating the complex

Lebanese political tableau, and presenting it to the general public. Prof. Eyal Zisser followed by discussing current events in southern Lebanon, in anticipation of the June 2009 presidential election. He underscored the transformation Lebanese society has witnessed in recent years, with the growing Shi'ite presence and influence.



LEFT TO RIGHT: MAJ.-GEN. AMOS GILAD, PROF. ASHER SUSSER, PROF. EYAL ZISSER AND PROF. ITAMAR RABINOVICH

region. He drew particular attention to the rise of Hizballah, which is heavily influenced, funded and trained by Iran. Gilad noted that the movement serves as an important proxy for Iran and Syria to acquire a strong regional position.

Prof. **Itamar Rabinovich** concluded the evening by commenting on the changes that have occurred in academic studies on Lebanon, which previously focused on diverse coalitions and alignments. He pointed to the disruption within the delicate equilibrium that previously united Lebanese society. Rabinovich concluded that the influence of new regional players, ranging from Iran to Turkey, along with Syria's continuing impact on Lebanon, suggests that events in Lebanon will continue to affect regional developments.



PROF. ITAMAR RABINOVICH

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# THE ARAB PEACE INITIATIVE: HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL PERSPECTIVES



Arab peace initiative, presented by the Arab League in 2002, continues to attract attention and spark debate over its contents among the Israeli public. The initiative was the focus of a symposium held at the center on April 26, 2009, in conjunction with the Konrad Adenauer Stiftung and the Peres Center for Peace.

The symposium's opening lecture was delivered by Prof. Emeritus **Shimon Shamir**, who discussed the initiative and questioned whether it constitutes a historic change in the region. He noted that the initiative was presented on behalf of all Arab states, and was directed at the Israeli government and public. The initiative raises the idea of normalization between Israel and Arab countries, offering a comprehensive peace treaty that would end the Arab-Israeli conflict. Most important, Shamir added, it suggests the possibility of reaching a solution to the Palestinian refugee question. Shamir emphasized the initiative's positive wording and its less demanding tone from Israel. He acknowledged that the document contains contradictory and vague phrases, but stressed that it could serve as a foundation for negotiations between Israel and Arab countries, and is a significant development in Arab-Israeli relations. Referring to Israeli criticism of the initiative, particularly concerning the Palestinian refugees, Shamir noted that



Prof. SHIMON SHAMIR



Prof. SHLOMO AVINERI

initiative's Arabic text does not include a direct reference to the refugees' right of return to their former homes, but is based on the 1948 U.N. resolution 194, which discussed the issue. The text does call for allowing those who wish to live in peace to return. Shamir noted that this may be considered a difficult proposition for Israel, but leaves room for negotiating other alternatives such as the resettlement of refugees in other Arab countries. Shamir concluded that the initiative marked the latest stage in a long process of developing an Arab consensus on the need for reaching a comprehensive peace with Israel, which in itself, he argued, is a process Israel should view as beneficial.

Hebrew University Prof. **Shlomo Avineri** followed by discussing Israel's position towards the initiative, which has veered between acceptance and rejection. Avineri also viewed the initiative as a breakthrough in the Arab position towards Israel, which he argued cannot be ignored. He referred, however, to several difficulties for Israel that appear in the initiative. The first is that the document does not call for negotiations with Israel, but demands that Israel accept various conditions, such as a complete withdrawal from all territories occupied since 1967 without negotiations. This Arab unwillingness to leave any room for negotiations with Israel has led successive Israeli governments to adopt a cautious approach



towards the initiative. As for the Palestinian refugees, Avineri contended that among Arab leaders and public figures, U.N. resolution 194 is tantamount to the right of return. While the initiative remains complex and problematic in various aspects, and leaves no room for considering Israeli positions, Avineri concluded by reiterating the initiative's achievement in breaking new ground for possible Arab-Israeli rapprochement.

The second part of the symposium was opened by Senior Fellow Prof. **Joseph Kostiner**, who analyzed the initiative's historic context. He noted that the initiative was introduced by Saudi Arabia in February 2002, as part of an ongoing Saudi effort to assume the role of a regional mediator, and utilize the kingdom's financial resources and diplomatic capabilities for broader causes. The Saudis, he added, are particularly motivated by the need to contain radical political currents in the Middle East, which feed off from the Arab-Israeli conflict. Another Saudi motive for promoting the initiative was an effort to improve the kingdom's image in the U.S.

Kostiner was followed by Prof. **Ilai Alon** of Tel Aviv University's Department of Philosophy, who analyzed the initiative's Arabic text. Alon outlined the text's positive language, and the direct approach of Arab countries towards Israel. The text, he noted, also emphasized the need to avoid further bloodshed.

Prof. **Asher Susser**, the Center's Director for External Affairs, concluded the evening with his own comments on the initiative. He underscored the initiative's historic significance, while also noting the problematic issues for Israel in the initiative, such as the Palestinian refugee question. Susser asserted that for Israel, in the Middle Eastern context of 2009, the initiative reinforces the idea of a two state solution, which is increasingly losing support among Palestinians.



Prof. Ilai Alon

## IN MEMORIAM: DANIEL DISHON

On June 7, 2009 the Center held a special study session in memory of **Daniel Dishon**, one of the founders and pillars of the original Shiloah Institute for Middle Eastern and African Studies, the precursor of the Dayan Center, who passed away earlier in the year. A native of Berlin, Daniel Dishon reached Israel in 1939, barely escaping the Nazi horrors, although his family was not as fortunate. He served as a senior researcher on Arab and Middle Eastern politics in the Shiloah Center for more than 20 years, until his retirement in 1985. As Editor of many of the volumes of the Center's flagship publications of those years, *Middle East Record* and *Middle East Contemporary Survey*, Dishon profoundly influenced a large group of scholars, demanding from them the same standards he required of himself: professionalism, thoroughness, and clarity of thought and expression. Personal modesty, courtesy and collegiality are also traits which come to mind when one recalls Daniel Dishon, and his passing marks the end of an era.



Senior Fellow Prof. **Itamar Rabinovich** delivered remarks on the occasion, recalling the praise expressed by then-Senator Joe Biden for Daniel Dishon, who had briefed him on the Middle East years earlier. Prof. Emeritus **Shimon Shamir**, the first Director of the Shiloah Institute, then delivered a lecture on "**Secularism and Secularization: A Conceptualization,**" which summed up the Center's year-long seminar on the subject.

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# Middle Eastern AND African Civil Wars in the 21st Century

**The** Center has recently initiated a new research project, focusing on civil wars in the Middle East and Africa in the 21st century. The project, coordinated by research associates Dr. **Irit Back** and Dr. **Daniel Zisenwine**, with the participation of other researchers from the Center and other institutions, seeks to illuminate features of intra-state conflicts that affect various countries throughout the region, and focus on the ways and means to end them. The project was formally launched at a conference held on March 19, 2009. In his opening remarks, the Center's Director, Prof. **Eyal Zisser**, noted the importance of devoting serious attention to a topic that remains a central facet of the contemporary Middle East. Dr. **Uzi Rabi**, chair of the Department of Middle Eastern and African History also stressed the need for further research of this topic in his greetings. Research associate Dr. Irit Back identified some of the key themes associated with the study of civil wars in the Middle East and Africa, such as the state's sovereignty, international humanitarian intervention, and post war reconstruction efforts.



Dr. Irit Back

The first part of the evening was devoted to theoretical approaches to civil wars. Prof. **Benjamin Neuberger** of the Open University



Prof. Benjamin Neuberger

of Israel delivered a lecture devoted to internal wars in Africa, which focused on their classification, reasons for their outbreak, and ways to end them. He explained why Africa is the setting for many such wars, which involve conflicts between various ethnic groups. Such conflicts, he noted, often lead to a high number of casualties and are difficult to end. Moreover, they also undermine the state's continued existence. Senior Fellow Prof. **Joseph Kostiner** spoke about the outcome of civil wars in the Middle East. He underscored the complexity of these conflicts, in which states often appear to be on the brink of collapse, and yet ultimately prevail. He contended that these states often demonstrate surprising resilience, which raises the possibility of different situations in such conflicts, ranging from stability to collapse. This reality, he observed, reflected the fact that most Middle Eastern countries are not the western model "nation-states", but are often comprised of coalitions between various groups. The breakdown of these coalitions, he concluded, was often the cause for the outbreak of civil wars.

The second part of the evening was devoted to specific case studies of civil wars throughout the region. Senior Fellow Prof. **Yehudit Ronen** spoke on "War and Peace in the Sudan: Between Hope and Despair".



She discussed the outbreak of civil wars in the Sudan at various junctures, the latest of which is in the western province of Darfur. Ronen emphasized how these conflicts were linked to an ongoing dispute within the country over the Sudanese state and society's identity. Dr. **Oren Barak** of the Hebrew University's Department of Political Science spoke about the civil war in Lebanon. He noted how at various points in Lebanon's internal struggles the state maintained its existence, which reflected a larger interest in the state's continued existence even among rival groups. Barak pointed to the need for further discussion of this and other questions, which will continue throughout the coming academic year.



DR. OREN BARAK



PROF. YEHUDIT RONEN

## NATIONALISM, SECULARISM, AND RELIGION IN THE MIDDLE EAST

**The**

Center's annual symposium was held on March 30, 2009, and focused on the relationship between nationalism, secularism, and religion in the Middle East. The theme, which was the subject of the center's seminar conducted throughout the 2008/9 academic year, reflects the Center's efforts to address broader, in-depth questions pertaining to developments in the Middle East at this annual event. The symposium was supported by the Konrad Adenauer Stiftung.

Prof. **Eyal Zisser**, the Center's Director, acknowledged in his greetings the topic's importance throughout the region, and noted that these issues frequently underpin events and changes across the Middle East. Prof. **Asher Susser**, the Center's

Director for External Affairs delivered the first lecture, and assessed the present status of non-religious oriented politics in the Middle East. He contended that the entire secularization process throughout the region was receding. This process, which may not necessarily lead to secularism as known in the west, involves questions concerning



PROF. EYAL ZISSER



Prof. ASHER SUSSER

Center for Iranian Studies discussed the ambiguity between Iranian nationalism and fealty to the Islamic revolution, which often accompanies Iran’s policy. He stressed that Iran’s policy in practice is not monolithic, but tends to incorporate often contradicting nationalist and religious elements, and strives to balance between the two. Dr. **Anat Lapidot-Firilla**, Senior Fellow at Jerusalem’s Van Leer Institute and director of its Mediterranean Unit probed the question of Turkey’s current orientation, in light of its secular republican tradition, outlined by Kemal Atatürk. She noted the changes that have occurred in Turkey’s government,



Raz ZIMMT

which have affected the traditional balance between the presidency, the civilian administration, and the military. Turkey’s new tradition-oriented elite views itself as a model of moral leadership for the Muslim world, and promotes a discourse that sharply contrasts with the country’s old secular-republican themes. Accordingly, this new paradigm affects Turkey’s positions in the region, and its attitude towards Israel.



Dr. ANAT LAPIDOT-FIRILLA

The conference’s next session focused on North Africa, a region which has been deeply affected by secularizing nationalist ideological currents and religious-oriented Islamist movements. Senior Fellow Prof. **Yehudit Ronen** analyzed the tense relations between nationalism and radical Islam in Libya. Ronen highlighted Libya’s leader Mu‘ammar al-Qadahhfi’s deft use of religious and nationalist themes since assuming power in 1969, and his

Dr. GIDEON GERA





reliance on religious symbols while promoting his revolutionary rhetoric and confronting radical Islamist opposition. Principal Research Fellow Emeritus Dr. **Gideon Gera** discussed the preparations for Algeria's presidential elections (April 9, 2009) and the country's current situation. He noted that while Algeria is in the midst of a rehabilitation process following a decade of an Islamist-Jihadist uprising, Algeria continues to suffer from a socio-economic crisis that generated the rise of radical Islam there. Although the Islamist rebellion was largely repressed, Islam remains a central facet of Algeria's identity, and widely affects its political culture. Research Associate Dr. **Daniel Zisenwine** explored the current debate in Morocco concerning religion and society. While Islam has always been the cornerstone of Morocco's political life, Morocco has also witnessed the rise of political and social forces which promote religion as a political ideology. Although Morocco never experienced a deep secularization process, Zisenwine said, its citizens have a complex attitude towards religion, leading a limited number to endorse Jihadist groups. Such positions underscore the sensitivity of religious-oriented themes in Morocco.

The symposium's afternoon session focused on the Middle East and the Fertile Crescent. Prof. **Eyal Zisser** discussed the relations between nationalism, secularization, and religion in Syria. Under the Ba'ath regime, Syria's political culture has espoused a secular orientation, reflecting the country's heterogeneous religious/ethnic composition, and Syria's rural sector, which has kept its distance from radical Islam. He noted that Syria's recent population growth and the migration from rural to urban areas paves the way for the emergence of a strong Islamist current.

Senior Fellow Prof. **Ofra Bengio** referred in her lecture to Iraq's "secularization project", which was promoted by the Ba'ath party and later by Saddam Husayn's regime. Although the



Prof. Ofra Bengio

regime initially repressed religious political activity, it later endorsed Islam as a binding ideological force. In the aftermath of the U.S.-led invasion to Iraq, Islam has emerged as the central feature of political life, underpinning a broader identity crisis which the country currently faces. The role of the Muslim Brotherhood in contemporary Egyptian politics was the subject of Research Fellow Dr. **Mira Tzoreff's** lecture. Tzoreff highlighted Egyptian president Husni Mubarak's concerns over the rise of the Muslim Brotherhood's appeal, and the threat it poses, in his opinion, to Egypt's political culture. This position is supported by many



Dr. Mira Tzoreff

Egyptian intellectuals, as well as the state-sponsored religious establishment. The Brotherhood, however, receives increasing support from the impoverished population and a frustrated younger generation in search of an improved material life and ideological direction. As Egypt's government faces a rising legitimacy crisis, Tzoreff argued that the Muslim Brotherhood will continue to command a presence in political life.

The symposium's concluding session was devoted to Saudi Arabia and the Persian Gulf. **Nahum Shiloh**, a doctoral candidate at Tel Aviv University analyzed the relationship



Nahum Shiloh





DR. ERAN SEGAL

secularizing role in traditional, conservative societies. He alluded to various developments that have affected the role of women in Gulf societies, including greater political involvement and participation. Segal contended that women's political activity presents new opportunities for women, who also face domestic opposition to such activities. This complexity will likely continue to overshadow developments in the region. Senior Fellow Prof. **Joseph Kostiner** addressed the question of former U.S. president Bush's democratization efforts, and recent political reforms in the Gulf. He noted that while no democratization process began in the Gulf, some changes have been discernable. These changes are based on traditional tribal practices, still prevalent in the Gulf, which legitimize them. This combination between traditional politics and new ideas is a fascinating development, whose outcome remains unclear.

between Islamic and non-Islamic banking services in the Gulf states. Noting that these states have experienced both growing political openness and rising religious extremism, Shiloh emphasized the impact of these developments on the banking system. The rise of an Islamist banking sector, which avoids any form of collecting interest (a practice prohibited by Islam), illustrates the tension between religious ideological tenets and modern developments. He argued that despite their increased presence, the Gulf states' financial interests prevail over these ideological-based financial institutions.

Dr. **Eran Segal** of the University of Haifa discussed the role of women in the Gulf states, and their modernizing,



Prof. JOSEPH KOSTINER

## ISRAEL AND THE MIDDLE EAST — AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

**The** center, in cooperation with the Center for Iranian Studies, the University Institute for Diplomacy and Regional Cooperation, the S. Daniel Abraham Center for International and Regional Studies, the French Friends of Tel Aviv University and the Louise and Dr. Nachum Barag Lectures on French Culture organized a two day conference on "Israel and the Middle East". The conference, conducted with the Paris-based CERI-Science Po-Middle East-Mediterranean Studies and the support of the French embassy in Israel, took place on 17-18 May, 2009.

H.E. AMBASSADOR JEAN-MICHEL CASA (left) AND MR. FRANÇOIS HEILBRONN





MR. HENRI GUAINO

**Mahdi Abdul Hadi**, chairman of the Palestinian Academic Society for the Study of International Affairs (PASSIA), Prof. **Jean-Pierre Filiu** of Sciences-Po, and Prof. **Eyal Zisser**, the Center's Director.

The opening session was held in the presence of H.E. Ambassador **Jean-Michel Casa**, French Ambassador to Israel, **Henri Guaino**, Special Adviser to French president Sarkozy and Mr. **François Heilbronn**, President of the French Friends of Tel Aviv University. Conference sessions and panels were devoted to questions concerning Israel's position in the Middle East, Israel and the Syrian-Lebanese equation, and a discussion of Israel's strategic environment. This discussion focused on the Iranian nuclear question and Israel's relations with Turkey and the Persian Gulf. Participants included Prof. **Alain Dieckhoff**, Senior Research Fellow at CERI-Sciences-Po, Prof. **Asher Susser**, the Center's Director for External Affairs,



MR. JEAN-PIERRE FILIU



PROF. STEFFEN HERTOQ

Other lectures were given by Prof. **Thérèse Delpech**, Director of Strategic Affairs at the Atomic Energy Commission and associate researcher at CERI, Prof. **David Menashri**, Director of Tel Aviv University's Center for Iranian Studies, Prof. **Steffen Hertog** of Sciences-Po, and Senior Fellow Prof. **Ofra Bengio**.

**Barnavi**, Prof. **Frédéric Charillon** of Sciences-Po, and Editor-in-Chief of "Le Monde", Mr. **Alain Frachon**. Senior Fellow Prof. **Itamar Rabinovich** and Prof. **Gilles Kepel** of Sciences-Po concluded with lectures on Israel, the Middle East, and the United States under President Obama.

The final session was devoted to Israel and the Great Powers, with presentations on Israel's relations with Europe given by Tel Aviv University Prof. Emeritus and former Israeli ambassador to France **Elie**



LEFT TO RIGHT: PROF. FRÉDÉRIC CHARILLON, ALAIN FRACHON AND PROF. ELIE BARNAVI



## Süleyman Demirel Program

# TURKEY'S ROLE IN THE CHANGING GLOBAL ENVIRONMENT



May 11, 2009, the Moshe Dayan Center's Süleyman Demirel Program for Contemporary Turkish Studies held its annual conference, dedicated to the memory of Prof. **Aryeh Shmuelewitz**, one of the Center's founders and an expert on Turkey and the Ottoman Empire. The conference's topic this year was "Turkey's Role in a Changing Global Environment".

In his opening remarks, Prof. **Eyal Zisser**, the Center's Director, highlighted the strong academic relations between Israel and Turkey, and the Demirel program's contribution to these ties. HE Ambassador **Namik Tan**, Turkey's ambassador to Israel, continued this theme in his greetings to conference participants. He discussed the strong strategic relationship between Turkey and Israel, and argued that these ties would help settle recent diplomatic strains that followed Israel's military operation in Gaza in late 2008. Ms. **Irit Lillian**, Director of the Western European Department at Israel's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, stressed the need to bolster Israel's ties with Turkey by encouraging civil society groups in both countries to cooperate with one another.



NAMIK TAN,  
AMBASSADOR OF TURKEY IN ISRAEL



PROF. EMRE GÖNENSAY (LEFT) AND PROF. EYAL ZISSER

Turkey's former Minister of Foreign Affairs, Prof. **Emre Gönensay**, who now teaches economics at Echeç University, spoke about the relations between Turkey and the European Union. He noted the difficulties Turkey faces in becoming a full member of the E.U.

Senior Fellow Dr. **Paul Rivlin** highlighted various aspects of Turkey's economy, one of the twenty largest economies in the world. Rivlin noted that Turkey's mixed economy, with private and public ownership, has weathered significant domestic political turbulence. He pointed to several challenges the Turkish economy will face in the near future, including a high foreign debt and an expanding population in need of employment. Mr. **Pars Kutay**, a former Turkish government official and head of the AB Consulting and Investment firm, presented various possibilities of exporting energy resources and water from Turkey to neighboring



MR. PARS KUTAY

countries, which could affect Turkey's regional position. Mr. **Dan Catarivas**, Director of foreign trade and international relations at the Israeli Manufacturer's Association, discussed aspects of Israel's economic relations with Turkey. He noted the diversified trade between the two countries, and expressed hope for an expansion of the financial cooperation between them.



MR. DAN CATARIVAS

The conference's afternoon session continued the discussion of Turkish-Israeli relations. Senior Fellow Prof. **Ofra Bengio** outlined the changing strategic map of the Middle East following the war in Iraq and its impact on Turkish-Israeli relations. She stressed that while the two countries do not have any outstanding bilateral disagreements, they have witnessed periods of tension generated by third parties.



MR. SINAN ÜLGEN

**Sinan Ülgen**, chairman of the Istanbul-based Center for Economics and Foreign Policy Studies, spoke about Turkey's new activism in the Middle East. Ülgen noted how Turkey's expanded trade in the region, its disappointment over Europe's unwillingness to accept Turkey as an E.U. member, and the rise of Islamist oriented political parties are the backdrop to its growing involvement in Middle Eastern politics.

The colloquium's final session focused on Turkey's regional and global challenges. Ambassador **Özdem Sanberk**, who served in various Turkish diplomatic positions, described Turkey's growing interest and involvement in Israeli-Palestinian negotiations. Turkish journalist and commentator **Semih İdiz** discussed Turkey's foreign policy, which he argued is caught between secularism and rising Islamic leanings. Dr. **Ersel Aydınli** of the Department of International Relations



AMBASSADOR ÖZDEM SANBERK

at Bilkent University in Ankara, assessed in his lecture the potential and risks Turkey faces in regional politics, questioning the notion of a unique "Turkish way" in regional diplomacy, while acknowledging the country's growing presence in regional developments.



LEFT TO RIGHT: DR. BRUCE MADDY-WEITZMAN, AMB. ÖZDEM SANBERK, MR. SEMİH İDİZ AND PROF. ERSEL AYDINLI



# Konrad Adenauer Program for Jewish-Arab Cooperation

## ARAB POLITICS IN ISRAEL IN THE AFTERMATH OF THE EIGHTEENTH KNESSET ELECTIONS



March 24, The Konrad Adenauer Program for Jewish-Arab Cooperation held a conference on the outcomes and consequences of the recent elections to the eighteenth Knesset (February 10, 2009) among Israel's Arab and Druze sectors.

The first session, chaired by Dr. **Ephraim Lavie**, acting director of the Konrad Adenauer Program, analyzed the results of the Knesset elections in the Arab and Druze sector.

**Arik Rudnitzky**, project manager of the Konrad Adenauer Program, analyzed the results of the Arab vote in the recent Knesset elections. He indicated that more than 80 percent of the Arab vote went to Arab parties, thus allowing all three Arab parties to pass the threshold and overcome the lowest turnout in the Arab sector since the first Knesset elections: 53.2%.

Dr. **Salim Brake** of the University of Haifa analyzed the Druze vote in the Knesset elections. He contended that although four members of the Druze community had been elected to the Knesset, the community lacks effective representation in the parliament, which has led to a declining voting rate among the Druze in recent elections.

Dr. **Mary Totry** of the Oranim Academic College lectured on "Arab Women in Israeli Politics: From Behind the Scenes to Center Stage." Totry argued that although an Arab woman, Hanin Zouabi, was elected for the first time as MK of an Arab party, the National Democratic Alliance, this did not constitute a historic change in the representation of Arab women in Israeli politics, who remain under-represented.

The second session, chaired by **Muhammad Darawshe**, co-director of the Abraham Fund Initiatives, discussed the question of Arab and Jewish relations in Israel politics. In his introductory remarks, Darawshe suggested that over the years, Israeli authorities did not seek to create a genuine dialogue with the Arab community's leadership, which is one of the reasons for the political indifference among Israel's Arab citizens today.

**Abir Kopty**, consultant to the Mossawa Advocacy Center for Arab citizens in Israel, discussed the status of Israel's political left following the growing support of the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality among Israeli Jews, and a decline in Arab votes for Jewish parties among Israeli Arabs. She contended that Israel's left wing parties should strive to promote a common vision that would represent broad interests of both Arab and Jewish citizens.

Dr. **Ilana Kaufman** of the Open University analyzed the contents and implications of the "Future Vision" documents, four position papers which were published between December 2006 and May 2007. She explained that these documents reflected the disappointment among Israeli Arabs with the Oslo accords, and express their growing intent on promoting their own affairs.

Dr. **Ilan Saban** of the University of Haifa's Faculty of Law analyzed Avigdor Lieberman's Yisrael Beitenu party's election platform from a legal point of view. Saban argued that the party's plan for an exchange between Israel and a future Palestinian state of populated territories, along with the demand to condition the vote of Arab citizens on an oath of allegiance to the Jewish state, threaten Israel's inter-communal relations and are a serious blow to the moral convictions concerning Arab-Jewish relations that underpin public life in Israel.



DR. EPHRAIM LAVIE

## PROF. URIEL DANN MEMORIAL LECTURE THE LIMITS OF THE ARAB HOLOCAUST DISCOURSE

**On**

April 19, 2009, the Center held its annual **memorial lecture** commemorating the late **Prof. Uriel Dann**, one of its leading scholars. This year's lecture, "The Limits of the Arab Holocaust Discourse" was delivered by Dr. **Esther Webman**, a Research Associate at the center. Webman discussed aspects of Holocaust representation in the Arab world through references in literary works, and highlighted major developments in the discourse since 1945. She showed how the Holocaust and Nazism permeated Arab public awareness as a metaphor and paradigm of evil, but not out of recognition of the uniqueness of the Jewish tragedy. Webman explained this reluctance and stressed that the Holocaust discourse was and still is influenced by the Arab-Israeli conflict, and



DR. ESTHER WEBMAN

evolves as another tool in the construction of the image of the enemy. Moreover, it is also an integral part of broader intellectual debates over other issues preoccupying the public and political agenda.



INBAL NISSIM-LOUVTON (RIGHT) RECEIVES THE SCHOLARSHIP FROM PROF. DANN'S DAUGHTER AND SON-IN-LAW, NAOMI MEIRI-DANN AND SHMUEL MEIRI

Prior to the lecture, **Inbal Nissim-Louvton**, a Tel Aviv University doctoral candidate, was awarded the **Prof. Uriel and Lora Dann Memorial Scholarship**. Ms. Nissim-Louvton is currently writing a dissertation on early 20th century identity and politics in Yemen.



## ANNUAL GEORGES A. KALLER LECTURE

### BEYOND TERROR AND MARTYRDOM: THE FUTURE OF THE MIDDLE EAST

**On**

May 19, 2009, Prof. **Gilles Kepel** of the Institut d'Études Politiques, Paris delivered the annual **Georges A. Kaller lecture**. The lecture, which has been given for over 25 years, also commemorated the memory of **Amira Margalith**, the Center's Assistant to the Director, who passed away in 2003. Prof. Kepel's latest book, *Beyond Terror and Martyrdom in the Middle East*, provided the title for his lecture. Kepel illuminated some of the region's current features, underscoring two narratives which have underpinned recent developments. He described the "grand narrative" of the U.S. led "war on terror" and its mirror



Prof. Gilles Kepel (left) and Prof. Eyal Zisser



narrative (crafted by al-Qaida) of conducting a holy war (Jihad) against the West through martyrdom. Noting that both narratives have failed, Kepel analyzed their emergence. The “war on terror”, he argued, was motivated by an American desire to punish those responsible for the 2001 attacks on the U.S., and to assert American supremacy. It was also seen by the U.S. as an opportunity to introduce democratic change to the region in a top-down fashion. The first attempt to do this followed the U.S.-led invasion of Iraq. Kepel noted the lack of an Iraqi civil society, which was vital for such an effort, and how sectarian and tribal interests undermined its implementation. These difficulties were further compounded by incidents of torture at American detention facilities in Iraq, which challenged the universal values the U.S. sought to promote.

Kepel described how the mirror narrative of martyrdom, promoted by radical Islamist groups, was influenced by a Shi‘ite political discourse, which had a more relaxed approach than Sunni Islam to self-inflicted actions against political and ideological foes. These included the U.S., Israel, and Arab regimes considered corrupt and illegitimate. Over time, these ideas gained popularity and became identified as a winning strategy that mobilized young Muslims across the region. Kepel contended that both narratives did not succeed in changing the political and social foundations of the Middle East. He concluded that Middle East faces the prospect of a still undetermined form of change with the decline of these ideological currents.



## ANNUAL STRELITZ MEMORIAL LECTURE THE EVOLUTION OF SYRIAN PRESIDENT BASHAR AL-ASSAD



year’s annual lecture in memory of **Joseph “Buddy” Sterlitz** was delivered on June 10, 2009 by Prof. **David Lesch**, professor of Middle East history and chair of the Department of History at Trinity University in San Antonio, Texas. Prof. Lesch’s research focuses on modern and contemporary Syrian politics. His most recent book, “*The New Lion of Damascus: Bashar al-Assad and Modern Syria*”, provided the backdrop to his lecture entitled “The Evolution of President Bashar al-Assad”.

Lesch noted that the general view of Syria’s president has evolved over the years. President Bashar al-Assad was initially considered by many world leaders, scholars, and commentators as incompetent, naïve, and largely unable to lead after assuming power in 2000, following the death of his father, Hafiz al-Assad. In the U.S., Syria was an easy target of criticism, particularly after the September 11, 2001 attacks in New York and Washington. From an American perspective, Syria was increasingly seen as a regional problem, accused of sponsoring terrorism in Lebanon and later in Iraq. Assad was largely unaware how he and his regime were becoming more of a target, and ended up being on the defensive, fearful for his rule. Assad assumed power in a threatening regional environment, affected by the Palestinian intifada, and the American-led invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq. Lesch

discussed the raised expectations of Bashar al-Assad, who was viewed in many western capitals as a pro-western, modernizing reformer. These expectations, Lesch argued, further complicated Bashar al-Assad’s early years in power. He underscored the difficulties involved in promoting change in Syria, and described an almost convulsive reaction to change that affects all levels of Syrian society.

Lesch highlighted how Assad used the crisis that underpinned his early years in power to consolidate power domestically, and how he has grown more comfortable in his position. Recent regional developments seem to have pulled Syria out its isolation, and the election of Barack Obama as U.S. president has been seen as an opportunity to explore and construct a positive American-Syrian dialogue, despite the many uncertainties surrounding Syria’s policies in the Middle East.



Prof. David Lesch ■

## Faculty News 2008-2009



Presentations to Moshe Dayan Center symposia and Center publications are covered in other sections and in earlier issues of the *Bulletin*. Many of the journal articles noted here are available on the Center's website at [dayan.tau.ac.il](http://dayan.tau.ac.il) (check under the individual researcher). Short pieces written for newspapers, **Tel Aviv Notes**, and other outlets are not listed here; check the Center website (click "Commentary") for ready access to many of these contributions.

**Irit Back** was a visiting professor at the Department of Anthropology at Texas State University in San Marcos, Texas in the fall of 2008. She was the recipient of two research grants, from the Open University of Israel and Tel Aviv University's Minerva Center for Human Rights. Her article on Sufis and Wahhabists in Senegal and Nigeria was published in the *Canadian Journal of African History* (2008).



**Samir Ben-Layashi** delivered a paper entitled "Jerusalem from a Muslim Perspective" at the Middle East Student Conference held at Tel Aviv University in August 2008. He also delivered a paper on "Colonial Medicine: The Invention of the Modern Moroccan Body, 1880-1962," at a conference organized by the European Association for the History of Medicine and Health (EAHMH; September 2009) in Heidelberg, Germany. He spoke on "Writing the Moroccan Body in the Colonial Era" at the annual meeting of the Middle East Studies Association of North America held in Washington DC in November 2008. Also in November 2008, Ben-Layashi spoke on "L'occidentalisation des coutumes juives du Maghreb à l'époque coloniale [The Westernization of Jewish Customs in the Maghrib in the Colonial Era]" at a conference on North African Jewry organized by La Société d'Histoire des Juifs de Tunisie at the Sorbonne, Paris. Throughout the year, Ben-Layashi conducted research at archives in France, Morocco, and the U.S. for his doctoral dissertation on *The Discourse and Praxis of Medicine, Hygiene, and Body in Modern Morocco, 1880-1962*. In September 2008 he published an article in *Ha'aretz* entitled "We All Shared One Dream," a travel account of a 2005 visit to his native Morocco, after a thirteen year absence.



**Ofra Bengio** published with Shmuel Regolant, *Mahmoud Darwish: Like Almond Flowers or Further* (Tel Aviv: Iton77 and Pitom, 2008, in Hebrew), which includes translated poems, an introduction and annotated comments. Her book on Turkish-Israeli relations was translated into Turkish and published under the title: *Türkiye İsrail: Hayalet İttifaktan Stratejik İşbirliğine* (Istanbul: Erguvan Yayınevi, 2009). She also translated into Hebrew a collection of poems by the Turkish poet Nazim Hikmet: *Blue-eyed Giant* (Tel Aviv: HaKibbutz Hameuhad, 2009), along with an introduction and annotation. Bengio published essays and articles on "Altercating Interests and Orientations between Israel and Turkey: A View from Israel," *Insight Turkey* (Spring 2009); "The Long Road to Democracy in Iraq," in Joshua Teitelbaum (ed.), *Political Liberalization in the Persian Gulf*, published by 2009; "Building Regional Peace: Iraq and the Kurds," *MERIA Journal*, September 2009; "Israel and the American Withdrawal from Iraq," *Ilaf*, 2 July 2008 (in Arabic); "The Roaring of the Angry Peshmergas," *Ha'aretz*, 25 September 2008; "Pitfalls of Instant Democracy," *Kayhan*, 16 December 2008 (in Persian); "The Muses Do not Remain Silent: A Love Story in the Service of Kurdish Nation-Building," *Gulan*, February 2009 (in Kurdish); "Gaza sours Israel-Turkey relations, Inside Story," *al-Jazeera*, 16 February 2009; "Miracles or Interests: What Keeps Turkish-Israeli Relations Going?," *bitterlemons-international.org*, 5 March 2009; with Sherko Kirmanj, "Elections in the Kurdistan Regional Government: A Model Democracy or Back to Factionalism?," *Hawlati*, 19 July 2009 (in Kurdish); "Ramifications of Iraq's Kurdish Elections," *The Jerusalem Report*, 31 August, 2009, p. 27. Bengio wrote "Review of David Sagiv's Arabic-Hebrew Hebrew-Arabic Dictionary," *Haaretz*, 5 May 2008. Bengio lectured on "Where is Turkey Going and Why?" at a panel discussion organized by the Global Research in International Affairs Center (GLORIA) in Herzliya in January 2009 and on "Building regional peace," in June, 2009 at the same venue. She also spoke in June on "Turkey's Changing Role," at a conference on "Strengthening the Forces of Moderation in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: The Role of the European Union after the Gaza War", organized by the Truman Institute (Jerusalem), in collaboration with the Clingendael Institute (The Hague).



**Joseph Kostiner** spoke on "Change and Stability. State, Religion and Politics in the Modern Middle East and North Africa" at a conference held at Jagiellonian University in May 2009. He lectured on "State Formation in the Gulf: A Comparative Perspective" at a conference on the Gulf States and Political Change in the 20th century held at Ben Gurion University in June 2009. His article, "Deutschland der Jongleur: Zur Versöhnung divergenter Strategien in der deutschen Nahostpolitik", was published in *Schriftenreihe der Gesellschaft für Deutschlandforschung*.



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**Ephraim Lavie** presented a strategic assessment of Israel-Palestinian negotiations at a conference organized by the Jerusalem Institute of Israel Studies in January 2009. Lavie published several articles in Hebrew, including “The Intelligence in the Palestinian Arena – A Critical Evaluation” in *Mabat Malam*, IICC – Israel Intelligence Heritage & Commemoration Center (December 2008). His chapter on “Intelligence challenges in the Palestinian Arena” appears in *Masterpiece – An Inside Look at Sixty Years of Israeli Intelligence* (edited by Amos Gilboa and Ephraim Lapid), published by the Israel Intelligence Heritage & Commemoration Center, and Yediot Ahronot/Sifrei Hemed. His article “Palestinian Duality: Territories, Governments, Agendas” appeared in the August 2009 edition of *Strategic Assessment*, published by the Institute for National Security Studies.



**Meir Litvak** was promoted to the rank of Associate Professor in August 2009. His book (co-authored with Esther Webman), *From Empathy to Denial: Arab Responses to the Holocaust*, was published by Hurst & Columbia University Press in 2009. Litvak also edited a volume entitled *Palestinian Collective Memory and National Identity*, published by Palgrave-McMillan, New York in 2009. The volume includes his article on “Constructing a National History: The Palestinian Case.” Litvak’s article, “More harmful than the Jews’: Anti-Shi’i Polemics in Modern Radical Sunni Discourse,” was published in *Le shi’isme imamite quarante ans après: Hommage à Etan Kohlberg*, edited by Muhammad Ali Amir-Moezzi, Meir M. Bar-Asher and Simon Hopkins (Paris, 2009). His chapter on “Democracy and Islam: The Clerical Debate in Contemporary Iran,” was published in *Political Liberalization in the Gulf*, edited by Joshua Teitelbaum (Columbia University Press). A Hebrew version was published as “The Rule of the Jurist’ and the Struggle for Democracy: The Religious Discourse in Iran,” in David Menashri and Liora Hendelman-Baavur (eds.), *Iran: Anatomy of Revolution*. Litvak reviewed Robert Satloff’s *Among the Righteous: Lost Stories from the Holocaust’s Long Reach into Arab Lands* in the May 2009 edition of *Shofar*, and Kamran Scot Aghaie’s *The Martyrs of Karbala: Shi’i Symbols and Rituals in Modern Iran*, in the *American Historical Review* (August, 2009). He also reviewed Daniel Tzadiq’s book, *Between Foreigners and Shi’is: Nineteenth Century Iran and its Jewish Minority* in *Middle Eastern Studies* (September 2009). Litvak lectured on “The Challenge of Radical Islam to the West” at the Polish Institute of International Affairs’ conference in Warsaw on “Security Challenges for Israel and Poland – Possibilities for Cooperation?” (March 2009). He spoke on “Arab Historiography of the Holocaust: Continuity and Change,” at the University of Haifa conference on “Three Generations Speak on the Holocaust” (April 2009); on “From Ghrabzedegi to the Decline of the West: A Changing Discourse in the Islamic Republic,” at Tel Aviv University’s Center for Iranian Studies’ conference on “The Iranian Revolution: Thirty Years After” (May 2009). Litvak also spoke on “Radical Islam and Violence: Text or Context,” at the Fifteenth World Congress of Jewish Studies, Jerusalem (August 2009).



**Bruce Maddy-Weitzman** published “Impervious to a Solution? The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict,” in *Towards Conflict Resolution Best Practice: Report of the 2008 Tswalu Dialogue, 8-11 May*, The Royal United Services Institute (RUSI); and “The Israel-Hamas War: A Preliminary Assessment,” *RUSI Journal*, February 2009. In November 2008 he organized the panel, “The Forbidden, The Permitted and the Contested: Aspects of Moroccan Culture and Politics,” sponsored by the American Institute for Maghribi Studies, at the Middle East Studies Association’s annual meeting, in Washington, D.C. As a participant in that panel, he delivered the paper “Revisiting Oufkir: The Makhzen, the Moroccan Left, and the Amazigh Movement.” He spoke on “Maghreb States: Morocco, Tunisia, Algeria,” at a conference on “Israel and the Arab States: Parallel Interests, Relations and Strategies,” co-sponsored by the Konrad Adenauer Stiftung and GLORIA Center in Jerusalem in June 2009. Later that month, he delivered a paper on “The Arab Perspective,” at a conference on “Strengthening the Forces of Moderation in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: The Role of the European Union after the Gaza War,” co-sponsored by the Truman Institute/Clingendael Institute at The Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Since April 2009, he has written a monthly column, “Mideast Monitor”, for *The Jerusalem Report*.



**David Menashri** participated in numerous international conferences and delivered public lectures in Israel and abroad. Among others he lectured at various universities and conferences in the USA, South Korea, Germany, the Netherlands, Greece, Australia, New Zealand and China. His new edited volume (together with Liora Hendelman-Bavour), *Iran: Anatomy of a Revolution*, was published in May in Hebrew.



**Yehudit Ronen** was promoted to the rank of Associate Professor in early 2009. Her book, *Qaddafi’s Libya in World Politics* was published by Lynne Rienner. She presented a paper entitled “Radical Islam and Turbulence in the Northeast Africa/Nile Valley Triangle” at a conference on “Religion, Politics, Society in the State: Israel in Comparative Perspective”

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at Bar-Ilan University in January 2009. She reviewed Ronald Bruce St. John's *Libya: From Colony to Independence in Middle Eastern Studies* (January 2009); Haggai Erlich's *Ethiopia – Christianity, Islam, Judaism in Ha'Mizrach He'Hadash* (Hebrew) and several other books, including Mahmoud Darwish's *Like Almond Flowers or Further in Iton 77* (Hebrew).

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**Paul Rivlin** lectured on "The Iranian Economy since the Revolution" at a conference on "The Iranian Revolution, 30 Years After," at Tel Aviv University in May 2009, organized by the university's Center for Iranian Studies. His book, *Arab Economies in the Twenty-First Century*, was published by Cambridge University Press in March 2009. The Jewish Policy Center published his article on "MENA and the International Financial Crisis," in its journal, *FOCUS*, Summer 2009.

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**Uriya Shavit** was appointed Director of Democracy Studies, at the Jerusalem Shalem's Center's Adelson Institute for Strategic Studies. His book, *The New Imagined Community: Global Media and the Construction of National and Muslim Identities of Migrants*, was published by Sussex in September 2009. Shavit published several articles over the past year, including "Sheikh Google: The Role of Advanced Media Technologies in Constructing the Identity of Muslim-Arab Germans," in Jose Brunner and Shai Lavi (eds.) *Tel Aviver Jahrbuch für Deutsch Geschichte 37: Juden und Muslime in Deutschland* (Munich: Wallstein Verlag); "Muslim Strategies to Convert Western Christians" (With Frederic Wiesenbach), *Middle East Quarterly* (Spring 2009), and "The Decline of the West in Muslim-Arab Scholarship," *Ha'Mizrach He'Hadash* (2009) (in Hebrew). Shavit spoke on "Professional and Amateur Sports in Contemporary Muslim Religious Edicts," at a conference on "Leisure Culture in Islamic Societies," organized by the Levtzion Centre for Islamic Studies at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in January 2009. In September 2009, Shavit spoke on "Global News for a Global Nation: Constructing the 'Ummah through Advanced Media Technologies," at a conference on "Islamic Resurgence in the Age of Globalization: Myth, Memory, Emotion," at the Norwegian University of Science and Technology in Trondheim, Norway.

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**Asher Susser** delivered a lecture on "Israel as the Democratic State of the Jewish People" at a conference on "Israel at Sixty at Oxford University" in November 2008. In January 2009 he spoke on "The Regional Ramifications of the War in Gaza" at Tel Aviv University's Institute for National Security Studies. Susser lectured on May on "Iran and the Arabs" at a conference on "Thirty Years to The Iranian Revolution," organized by Tel Aviv University's Center for Iranian Studies. Professor Susser published an article on "Partition and the Arab Palestinian Minority in Israel," in *Israel Studies* (Summer 2009) and reviewed Avi Shlaim's *Lion of Jordan: The Life of King Hussein in War and Peace* and Joseph Nevo's, *King Hussein and the Evolution of Jordan's Perception of a Political Settlement with Israel*, in *Middle Eastern Studies* (September 2008). He also reviewed Jacob Lassner's and S. Ilan Troen's *Jews and Muslims in the Arab World*, in *The Journal of Israeli History* (March 2009). In January 2009, Susser published "The War in Gaza – A View from Israel" on the website of the London-based Royal United Services Institute.

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**Joshua Teitelbaum** edited a collected volume *Political Liberalization in the Persian Gulf* (Columbia University Press, 2009). His study, *The Arab Peace Initiative: Primer and Prospects*, was published by the Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs in April. Teitelbaum spent the 2009 spring semester at Stanford University's Center on Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law (CDDRL) as the Richard and Rhoda Goldman Visiting Israeli Associate Professor. He was also the W. Glenn Campbell and Rita Ricardo-Campbell National Fellow at Stanford's Hoover Institution, and taught two courses in the Department of Political Science. In May, Teitelbaum spoke at the University of Pennsylvania on the "Obama Administration in the Middle East," and on "Zionism and the American Jewish community." Also in May, he addressed the annual AIPAC policy conference in Washington, DC., on the politics of Saudi Arabia. Teitelbaum spoke on the "Arab Peace Initiative" at Stanford's weekly CDDRL research seminar in June, and lectured on the Middle East at several Jewish community venues in the San Francisco Bay area. In July he spoke to the Jerusalem-based Shalem Center on his newly released edited book, *Political Liberalization in the Persian Gulf*. Teitelbaum is continuing his association with Stanford University. He was recently appointed Visiting Fellow at the Hoover Institution, and Visiting Scholar at CDDRL. In April, he was also appointed Principal Research Associate at the Global Research in International Affairs Center, Lauder School of Government, Diplomacy & Strategy, The Interdisciplinary Center, Herzliya.

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**Mira Tzoreff** spoke throughout the year at several public forums, including the Avshalom Institute, on "Women and Change in the Middle East," and on the "Challenges facing the Mubarak regime in Egypt."



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**Esther Webman** published *From Empathy to Denial: Arab Responses to the Holocaust* (Hurst & Columbia University Press, 2009) co-authored with Meir Litvak. She also published “The Limits of Holocaust Representation in the Arab World,” in *Re-examining the Holocaust through Literature*, edited by Aukje Kluge and Benn Williams, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009. Another article on “The Evolution of a Founding Myth – The Nakba and Its Fluctuating Meaning” was published in a volume edited by Meir Litvak, *Palestinian Collective Memory and National Identity* (Palgrave, 2009). Webman’s review of John Kelsay’s book, *Arguing the Just War of Islam*, appeared in *The Israel Journal of Foreign Affairs*. In April, Webman delivered a lecture on “Continuity and Change in the Arab Holocaust Discourse” at Yale University. She also received the Asher Cohen Prize for distinguished dissertation from the University of Haifa.



**Michael Winter** was appointed Visiting Researcher at the Harvard Center for Middle Eastern Studies, March-July, 2009. He published “The Closest Egyptian-Ethiopian Relationship: The Mamluk Sultanate,” in *Narrating the Nile: Politics, Cultures, Identities*, edited by Israel Gershoni and Meir Hatina, published by Lynne Rienner, 2008. His article “‘Ulama’ between State and Society in Pre-Modern Sunni Islam,” was published in *Guardians of Faith in Modern Times: ‘Ulama’ in the Middle East*, edited by Meir Hatina (Brill, 2009). Winter also wrote on “The Ottoman Legal Profession” in *Oxford International Encyclopedia of Legal History* (Oxford University Press, 2008). He reviewed Benjamin Lellouch’s book, *Les Ottomans en Égypte: Historiens et conquérants au XVIIe siècle*, for the *Mediterranean Historical Review* (June, 2008).



**Daniel Zisenwine**’s article on “‘Ulama’, Tribalism and the National Struggle in Morocco, 1944-1956,” was published in *Guardians of Faith in Modern Times: ‘Ulama’ in the Middle East*, edited by Meir Hatina (Brill, 2009). In September 2008, Zisenwine participated in the EuromeSCo quarterly seminar on Electoral Cooperation in the Euro-Mediterranean Area in Vienna, where he spoke on recent Moroccan election campaigns. In November, he served as a discussant on a panel devoted to “The Forbidden, The Permitted and the Contested: Aspects of Moroccan Culture and Politics,” at the annual meeting of the Middle East Studies Association of North America in Washington, DC. In March 2009 he presented a paper on Moroccan business elites at a workshop sponsored by the European University Institute in Florence, Italy. His paper on Tunisian-Israeli relations was part of a panel on Israel’s diplomatic relations with Arab countries at the Association for Israel Studies’ annual meeting, Be’er Sheva (June 2009).



**Eyal Zisser**’s book *Lebanon: Blood in the Cedars: From the Civil War to the Second Lebanon War* (in Hebrew) was published by Hakibbutz Hameuchad, Tel Aviv, 2009. His article “It’s a Long road to Peace with Syria” was published in *Strategic Assessment* (INSS, November 2008). He also published “The Mouse and the Lion: Syria – Between Passive and Active Resistance to Israel” in *Strategic Assessment* (June 2009). His article, “Syria’s Diplomatic Comeback: What Next?” was published in *Mediterranean Politics* (March 2009). He also contributed a chapter on “Hizballah in Lebanon: Between Teheran and Beirut, Between the Struggle with Israel, and the Struggle for Lebanon” to a collected volume edited by Barry Rubin, *Lebanon, Liberation, Conflict, and Crisis* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009). Zisser delivered a paper on “Israel and Syria – It’s a long road to Peace,” at the Middle East Studies Association of North America’s annual meeting in Washington D. C., in November 2008. In June he spoke on: “Hizballah – Three Years after the Second Lebanon War,” at a conference on the Second Lebanon war, organized by the Israel INSS.

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