



BULLETIN

No. 47

SPRING 2008

The Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies

AT A GLANCE:

CENTER RANKED
AMONGST TOP
THINK TANKS.....



NEW
PERSPECTIVE
ON KING HUSSEIN
.....of JORDAN

DAYAN CENTER
NOW ON CIAO....

ciao



MARCIA ISRAEL
FELLOW NAMED
IN MAGHREB
.....Studies

NEW
Publication:
**CHALLENGES TO THE
COHESION OF THE
ARAB STATE.....**



TEL AVIV UNIVERSITY



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The Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies

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Mission Statement

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

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Director's Note



Prof. Eyal Zisser

The storms that shake the Middle East come and go, but they never leave this area of the world completely at peace. No sooner had the Second Lebanon War of 2006 ended than Lebanon found itself engaged in a bitter domestic power struggle over who will rule the country, a struggle that could endanger the state's very existence. In Iraq, one terrorist attack follows another. In Syria, prior to the September 2007 Israel Air Force attack in the north of the country, tensions were rising and many analysts were expecting an Israeli-Syrian confrontation imminently. Paradoxically, the attack led to a reduction in tensions. In the Palestinian arena events also moved from one tempest to another, from the November 2007 Annapolis peace conference to the escalation of the violent Israeli-Hamas confrontation in the Gaza Strip. These are just some of the elements of the ever-changing Middle East scene, not to mention the events taking place in Turkey, Iran, Egypt, and other states in the region, where serious shifts are occurring in both domestic and foreign relations arenas.

The Moshe Dayan Center promotes scholarship that contributes to a better understanding of the Middle East. This task was probably never so difficult as it is today, and the Center is committed to continuing its mission by promoting in-depth research, understanding, and analysis of what has transpired and is transpiring in this complex region.

Thus, alongside its ongoing research on the Israeli-Arab conflict, the Dayan Center marked the thirtieth anniversary of the historic visit to Jerusalem of Egyptian President Anwar Sadat. In addition to focusing on the latest developments in Lebanon, Syria and Iraq, the Moshe Dayan Center's researchers have looked into the historical roots of the Sunni-Shiite tension being felt throughout the region, as well as into the deep social and economic processes taking place in North Africa and the Persian Gulf.

The Center has always carried out the tasks it took upon itself commendably, and with the guidance and support of its International Board of Overseers, it intends to continue its work with even greater vigor in the coming years.

THE SADAT VISIT: THIRTY YEARS ON

True to its mission spanning both the contemporary and historical Middle East, the Moshe Dayan Center was the natural venue for an international conference marking the thirtieth anniversary of Egyptian President Anwar Sadat's November 1977 visit to Jerusalem.



Dr. Mira Tzoreff

Held on November 28-29, 2007, and organized by **Dr. Mira Tzoreff** of the Center, the conference commenced with a keynote address by former ambassador to Egypt **Prof. Emeritus Shimon Shamir** on Sadat's leadership qualities. According to Shamir, Sadat possessed the ability to make courageous decisions and change reality without hesitating to slaughter sacred cows. He maintained that Sadat's initiative wasn't a maneuver or a trick, as was suspected by both Egyptians and Israelis at the time, but aimed squarely at achieving a peace treaty with Israel.



Prof. Shamir (right) and H.E. Tarek El-Kouny



Prof. MENAHEM MILSON

Shamir's lecture was followed by a panel focusing on the diplomacy between the two countries. **Prof. Emeritus Menahem Milson** of the Hebrew University, who served as Sadat's Israeli-appointed aide during his visit to Jerusalem, presented a behind-the-scenes view of the preparations for the visit, and discussed the politically-charged visit of Sadat to Jerusalem's al-Aqsa Mosque. **Prof. Arye Naor** of Ben-Gurion University, who served as the secretary to Prime Minister Menachem Begin's government at the time of the visit, concentrated primarily on the changes Begin underwent from being considered "the father of Greater Israel" to his becoming the leading Israeli figure promoting the peace process.



Prof. ARYE NAOR (left) AND David SULTAN

Former Israeli ambassador to Cairo, **David Sultan**, described the evolution of Israeli and Egyptian public opinion in the face of hostility and disbelief, as well as the efforts of both governments to create the appropriate atmosphere for the signing of the agreement. The Egyptian Counselor to Israel, **H.E. Tarek El-Kouny**, shared his views concerning the complexity of Egyptian-Israeli peace and offered a general over-

H.E. SHALOM COHEN

view of what has been achieved and what should be achieved in the coming years. The last speaker of the panel was **H.E. Shalom Cohen**, the present Israeli ambassador to Egypt, who described the fragility of relations between the two countries and the steps taken during the last couple of years by both governments in order to improve these relations.



Prof. Eli Podeh

The second day of the conference began with a panel on Egyptian-Israeli peace in Egyptian public discourse. **Prof. Eli Podeh** and doctoral candidate **Shay Malki** of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem examined



Shay Malki

Egyptian intellectual thought between 1974 and 1977. They reached the conclusion that disillusionment from the Nasserist era led to several voices calling for peace, and these were heard by Sadat. **Dr. Yossi Amitai** of Ben-Gurion University discussed leftist opposition to the Camp David Accords. He maintained that they objected particularly to a separate Egyptian-Israeli peace, which seemed to leave the Palestinians to their own fate. **Prof. Yoram Meital**, head of the Chaim



Prof. Yoram Meital

Herzog Center for Middle Eastern Studies and Diplomacy at Ben-Gurion University, addressed contemporary Egyptian political polemics against peace with Israel. He argued that Sadat's peace initiative, beyond the external Egyptian-Israeli breakthrough, marked a significant and dramatic change in the Egyptian political and socio-cultural internal agenda, since peace was introduced as an integral part of Sadat's open door policy (*Infitah*), which in turn aimed at the stabilization of Egyptian society and economics.

The second panel focused on the way in which Egyptian-Israeli peace was reflected in the countries' mass



DAN MARGALIT



AHARON BARNEA

media. **Dan Margalit** of *Israel Today* daily and Channel 10 stated that the Israeli media was quite cautious—even at times suspicious—towards Sadat's real intentions. **Aharon Barnea** of Channel 2 focused on the way in which Sadat's visit brought about a revolution in Israeli broadcasting. **Dr. Mordechai Kedar** of Bar-Ilan University discussed the approach of the Egyptian press to Sadat's peace initiative. The Muslim Brotherhood issued the sharpest criticism of Sadat, whom they accused of selling out the Palestinians, while other opposition organs and the official press supported the initiative.



DR. MORDECHAI
KEDAR

The next panel of the day dealt with the socio-cultural aspects of the Egyptian-Israeli peace process. Journalist **Mona Eltahawy** shared the results of her research amongst young Egyptian bloggers. Similar to the finding of Kedar concerning the press of a generation ago, Eltahawy found that those who identified as Islamists or leftists were critical of Sadat's initiative, while others said that they admired Sadat for making such a courageous decision which was necessary at that time in



MONA ELTAHAWY

order to save Egypt from more wars and return the Sinai Peninsula. **Eyal Sagui-Bizawe** of the Hebrew University followed next with a discussion of humor and politics in the comedy film “The Embassy in the



EYAL SAGUI-BIZAWÉ

Building” (*al-Safara fi al-Imara*). Haifa University’s **Fatima Hatib** argued that Egyptian cinema was a major outlet for political views, and Egyptian filmmakers



FATIMA HATIB

were not shy about expressing their disapproval of Sadat’s peace initiative. The last speaker was **Prof. Oz Almog**, also of Haifa University. Almog viewed Israeli-Egyptian tension as essentially cultural in nature. While the Israeli elite educated the younger generations to support peace with Egypt, the Egyptian elite educated against it. That said, both elites inculcated stereotypes and cultivated prejudice.



Prof. OZ ALMOG

Arab attitudes towards Sadat’s initiative was the topic of the following panel. Dayan Center Senior Fellow **Dr. Yehudit Ronen** discussed Sudanese President Ja’far al-Numayri’s ambivalent position on the Sadat initiative. While he was supportive, as a result of internal Sudanese pressure he signed the November 1979



DR. YEHUDIT RONEN

declaration which condemned the Camp David Accords. The Center’s Senior Fellow **Prof. Joseph Kostiner** discussed Saudi Arabia’s policy of mediating between the Arab states. For Riyadh, mediation was both a means and an end, since such behavior was important for asserting its role in the region. **Dr.**



Prof. Joseph Kostiner

Menachem Klein of Bar-Ilan University concluded the panel with an analysis of the influence of the Camp David Accords on the Oslo Accords. Even though the PLO condemned Camp David, soon afterwards Chairman Yasser Arafat adopted his own version of Sadat's strategy.

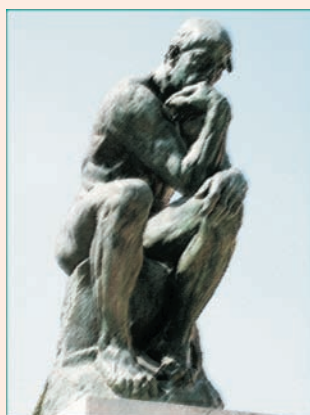
The conference's closing panel was entitled "Intellectuals Speak Peace." Regarding Egypt, **Prof. Emeritus Sasson Somekh** of Tel Aviv University, and former head of the Israeli Academic Center in Cairo, discussed the story of Sadat's "trial" before the Egyptian gods Isis and Osiris. In the story, a part of Naguib Mahfouz's novel *"In Front of the Throne"*

(*Amama al-'Arsh*), the gods credit Sadat with returning consciousness to the Egyptian nation. Somekh rejected the public impression that Egyptian intellectuals opposed peace and normalization, and elaborated a long list of prominent intellectuals who had expressed their support. Israeli writer **Sami Michael** made an appearance via pre-recorded interview. He argued that intellectuals on both sides should lead public opinion in their countries. Michael also dismissed the claim that peace between the two countries was not warm enough. He concluded with the remark that translation of Arabic literature into Hebrew and Hebrew literature into Arabic played a key role in reducing suspicion and ignorance.



Dr. Menachem Klein

MOSHE DAYAN CENTER CHOSEN AS ONE OF WORLD'S LEADING THINK TANKS



The Moshe Dayan Center has been selected as one of the leading five percent of think tanks worldwide. According to a recent study carried out by the prestigious Philadelphia-based Foreign Policy Research Institute's (FPRI) Think Tanks and Civil Societies Program, the Center was included in the list of the 228 leading think tanks out of the world's 5080 think tanks. It ranked in the top 18 of the 192 Middle Eastern think tanks, and in the top five Israeli think tanks. The study was carried out by Dr. James McGann, Senior Fellow at FPRI.

For more on the survey, go to www.fpri.org/thinktankssurvey.asp.

ANNUAL GEORGES A. KALLER LECTURE

Avi Shlaim: PURSUING HASHEMITE SURVIVAL DROVE KING HUSSEIN

On December 10, 2007, **Prof. Avi Shlaim** of St. Antony's College delivered the Annual George A. Kaller Lecture in memory of Amira Margalith on "King Hussein and Israel." Shlaim used the opportunity to present findings from his new book, *Lion of Jordan: The Life of King Hussein in War and Peace*.



Prof. Avi Shlaim

Shlaim suggested that King Hussein's overriding goal was the survival of the Hashemite dynasty in Jordan, and this drove all aspects of his foreign policy, including Jordan's secret talks with Israel between 1963 and 1994 (Hussein attended at least 41 of these meetings). Still, for many years these talks brought no agreement between Israel and Jordan. Moreover, for most of that period it was clear to the Jordanians that Israel was not willing to relinquish the West Bank. So why did Hussein continue to hold these talks? Shlaim suggested several explanations: the king was an eternal optimist who kept hoping that the Americans would lean on Israel to implement 242; the dialogue led to a state of de facto peace between the two countries; the contact enabled Hussein to remain a major player in the diplomacy surrounding the Arab-Israeli conflict; and as long as he was talking to the Israelis, it was not likely that the Israelis would attack him.



REMEMBERING MOSHE DAYAN



Aharon Barak, former President of the Supreme Court, addressed the annual gathering in memory of Moshe Dayan, held at the Center on November 12, 2007.

FORMER SUPREME COURT PRESIDENT AHARON BARAK

ANNUAL MEMORIAL LECTURE FOR FALLEN STUDENTS ISLAM IN EUROPE: A MEETING OR A CLASH OF CIVILIZATIONS?



November 11, 2007, Dayan Fellow **Dr. Uriya Shavit** delivered the annual lecture in memory of three Tel Aviv University students of Middle Eastern studies who fell in Israel's wars: **Avishai Ben Tzvi, Yehoshafat Netzer,** and **Ziv Balali.**



DR. URIYA SHAVIT

Shavit, who recently returned from conducting field research in Arab-Muslim mosques in Germany, contended that for the past decades, and especially since the 1980s, when the phenomenon of permanent, mass Muslim migration in Europe could no longer be ignored, Arab-Muslim religious scholars have sought to define the identity and duties of the emigrants. The scholars' consensus involved five points. First, a global religious-political Muslim nation (*umma*) exists, and Muslims are part of it regardless of their geographical location. Second, while living in a non-Muslim society is undesirable, it might be legal on an individual basis if the immigrant acts as a model Muslim. Third, it is the duty of the Muslim in the West to reaffirm his religious identity and to distance himself from anything contrary to Islam. Fourth, Muslims in the West must champion the cause of the Muslim nation in the political as well as the religious sphere. Fifth, the West suffers from a spiritual void, which resident Muslims must counter by spreading Islam.

Nevertheless, in detailing his field research, Shavit argued that the German state still exhibited strong assimilatory forces even among devout Arab Muslims. While devout Muslims may blast the West for its decadence and policies and declare their loyalty first and foremost to Islam, many are socially, economically and politically embedded within Germany. Moreover, even though the concept of Muslim unity is accepted in principle, it quite often succumbs to a fragmented reality, in which Muslim immigrants organize their communal activities according to their ethnic and linguistic backgrounds. In addition, political interpretations of Islam put forth by militant preachers and scholars are often utterly rejected.

ON THE CIAO LINE

[columbia international affairs online]

*Many of the Dayan Center's publications are now available on Columbia International Affairs Online – CIAO. CIAO, a project of Columbia University Press, is the most comprehensive source for theory and research in international affairs. It publishes a wide range of scholarship that includes working papers from university research institutes, occasional papers series from NGOs, foundation-funded research projects, proceedings from conferences, books, journals and policy briefs. The Dayan Center was the featured contributor in CIAO's **February Update**. To see the Dayan Center on CIAO, go to www.ciaonet.org.*

THE ANNUAL BERNARD LEWIS LECTURES

HISTORY'S PERIODIZATION AND MIDDLE EASTERN CHOICES

Bernard Lewis, Professor Emeritus, Princeton University, delivered two lectures which were co-sponsored with the **Mortimer and Raymond Sackler Institute of Advanced Studies**. The first, delivered on January 7, 2008, was entitled "The Periodization of History." Lewis noted that the writing of history in the Middle East has been a central concern for Muslims, who have viewed history as a record of implementing God's plan for mankind. Muslim historians classified history according to dynasties and capitals, and detailed their successes and failures in their writings. This extensive interest in history, however, does not include an interest in external history. Contemporary Muslim extremists, such as Usama Bin Ladin, continue this trend by viewing the past as an ongoing conflict between Islam and Christendom. They are certain that this struggle is now in its final, decisive, stage.

Prof. Lewis's second lecture, "Choices for the Middle East," delivered on January 21, expanded on the Muslims' perceived struggle between Islam and the West. Lewis identified several factors that define and

delimit present choices confronting the region. These include declining European influence, a growing American reluctance to become embroiled in regional affairs, and the emergence of new Asian-based influence. Internally, Middle Eastern countries continue to wrestle with the impact of oil-based economies, in addition to cultural and social challenges, such as the status of women. They also face rising Islamic militancy, and growing ethnic ferment among groups such as the Kurds in Northern Iraq and the Berbers in North Africa. All of these factors will undoubtedly greatly influence future regional developments.



PROF. BERNARD LEWIS



KEEPING UP TO DATE ON THE MIDDLE EAST

The Moshe Dayan Center's Middle East update, **Tel Aviv Notes**, recently covered such timely subjects as the assassination of Hizballah terrorist operative Imad Mughniyeh (written by Center Director **Prof. Eyal Zisser**), and the state of US-Saudi relations (Senior Fellow **Dr. Joshua Teitelbaum**). **Tel Aviv Notes** is edited by Marcia Israel Fellow **Dr. Bruce Maddy-Weitzman**. To subscribe, send email to dayancen@post.tau.ac.il.

Konrad Adenauer Program for Jewish-Arab Cooperation

BEN SASSON: NEED TO ACKNOWLEDGE COLLECTIVE RIGHTS OF ARAB MINORITY



August 29, 2007, **The Konrad Adenauer Program for Jewish-Arab Cooperation** held its annual lecture commemorating the 2003 publication of the Or Commission's recommendations for improving Jewish-Arab relations in Israel. The Program hosted **MK Prof. Menahem Ben Sasson**, Chairman of the Knesset Constitution, Law and Justice Committee, who delivered a lecture entitled: "The Arabs in Israel and Collective Rights in the Constitution."

Program Director **Dr. Elie Rekhess's** opening remarks related to the growing tension between Jews and Arabs in Israel. He suggested that the summer 2006 war in Lebanon and the Arab identification with Hizballah deepened the level of alienation between Jews and Arabs. He referred to public opinion surveys indicating, for example, that 55 percent of the Jews thought that the Arabs would never reach the same level of development as Jews, while 51 percent of the Arabs considered most of the Jews to be racists. Rekhess harshly criticized the stagnation in government policy toward the Arab sector.

In his lecture, Ben Sasson stated that the draft constitution, which was being formulated by the Constitution, Law and Justice Committee, would certainly deal with the collective rights of national minorities in Israel, adding that any future constitution should acknowledge collective rights for the Arab minority such as an autonomous educational system, particular holidays and special occasions, and recognizing Arabic as a second official language of the State of Israel. He noted that the Or Commission's report contributed to the understating of the core issues pertaining to the Arab minority in Israel.

The lecture was preceded by the awarding of the **Jalal Abu Toameh Mediation and Conflict Resolution Scholarship** to **Ms. Amal Azzam** and **Ms. Rula Khoury-Mansur**, both MA students at Tel Aviv University's Mediation and Conflict Resolution Program. The ceremony was held under the auspices of the **Abraham Fund Initiatives** in memory of the late **Jalal Abu Toameh**, former mayor of Baq'a al-Gharbiya and a well-known public figure who supported and enhanced Jewish-Arab coexistence in Israel.



MK PROFESSOR MENAHEM BEN-SASSON

CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN JEWISH-ARAB RELATIONS IN ISRAEL: THE TEST OF REALITY FOR THE FUTURE VISION DOCUMENTS



December 4, the Program, in cooperation with the **Walter Lebach Institute for Jewish-Arab Coexistence through Education**, held a conference devoted to an examination of what have come to be known as the "future vision documents" issued by the Arab community over the past years.

The first session presented a general overview of historical and legal aspects relating to the documents. **Dr. Raif Zreik** of the Van Leer Institute in Jerusalem highlighted several legal aspects. He emphasized that while the "Haifa Declaration" and the "Democratic Constitution" of Adalah presented a self-perception of the Arabs in Israel as indigenous Palestinian inhabitants in their homeland, at the same time, and for the first time, they recognized the Jewish majority's right to self-determination.

Dr. Elie Rekhess presented a historical overview of the identity of Israeli Arabs. The first period, from 1948 to 1967, was characterized by the process of “Israelization”; the second period, from 1967 to 1993, saw a “Palestinianization” of the community; the third period, from 1993 to 2000, was characterized by a “localization” of the national struggle; and the fourth period, from October 2000 to the present, culminated in the publication of the future vision documents.

The second session focused on the internal debate within Arab-Palestinian society in Israel. **Dr. Mary Totry** of Oranim College emphasized that the vision documents were formulated by Arab representatives as a response to several Jewish initiatives which tried to formulate a vision of the state of Israel as a Jewish state. She added that while these documents dealt with the national status of the Arabs in Israel, they also discussed social and cultural weaknesses of the Arab community, such as the killing of Arab women under the pretext of “family honor.”

Mr. Muhannad Mustafa, a PhD student from the University of Haifa, elaborated on the viewpoint of the Islamic Movement. He said that while the pragmatic (southern) faction of the movement adopted a more neutral stance toward the vision document formulated by the National Committee for the Heads of the Arab Local Authorities, denouncing only some procedural aspects, the radical (northern) faction of the movement rejected the document ideologically, since it implied a reconciliation between the national Palestinian and Jewish movements.

Prof. Ramzi Suleiman, also of the University of Haifa, who was involved in the formulation of the Haifa Declaration, explained its uniqueness when compared to the other documents. First, the Haifa Declaration professed a firmer linkage between the Palestinians in Israel and the general Palestinian cause. Second, it discussed more thoroughly some internal and social issues of the Arab community, such as the status of women. Third, it adopted a more positive stance toward the question of recognizing the right of the Jews to self-determination.



DR. AMAL JAMAL



DR. ELIE REKHESS

The third session discussed the debate between Jews and Arabs in Israel about the documents. **Prof. Nissim Calderon** of Ben Gurion University in the Negev said that one of the foremost responsibilities of the Jewish nation-state was to recognize and protect the civil rights of the Arab minority and abolish any expression of discrimination. However, he added that the Arab minority must acknowledge the Jewish national character of the state, instead of demanding one state for the Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza, and a “state for all its citizens” to replace Israel.

Dr. Amal Jamal, head of the Walter Lebach Institute, considered the future vision documents an effort by Israeli Arab intellectuals to extricate the Arab community from the situation of “double peripherality” and improve its status in light of the current political situation in the Israeli-Palestinian sphere. He suggested that these documents emphasized the particular interests of the Arabs in Israel, which derived from their unique position between their country, Israel, and their people, the Palestinians.

The event concluded with a panel discussion on the topic: “The Future Vision Documents: An Opportunity for Dialogue or Talking at Cross-Purposes?” The participants were **Prof. Haim Gans** of the Faculty of Law at Tel Aviv University, **Mr. Ja’far Farah**, Director of the Mossawa Advocacy Center for Arab Citizens in Israel, Dr. Elie Rekhess and Dr. Amal Jamal.

MOROCCO: NEW DIRECTIONS IN RESEARCH

The

center's Maghrib Working Group, supported by the **Marcia Israel Foundation**, held a workshop on "Morocco: New Directions in Research," on January 16, 2008. The opening lecture was delivered by **Prof. Susan G. Miller**, the director of the Moroccan Studies Program at Harvard University. Miller suggested new analytic tools for rewriting Moroccan history. Instead of asking the question: What was the impact of French colonization on Moroccan modernity, researchers should investigate the mutual inputs during the colonial era influencing France's and Morocco's modernization and that of the world at large.

Dr. Yehoshua Frenkel, Senior Lecturer at Haifa University, in his lecture, "The Relationship between Morocco, Arabia, Egypt, Jerusalem and Istanbul in the Eighteenth Century," uncovered a network of political alliances between Morocco and the eastern Islamic world through gift exchanges between Moroccan sultans and sharifs with other political leaders in the Islamic East.

Orit Yekutieli of Ben-Gurion University of the Negev spoke on "Thami al-Glawi and the Modern History of Morocco." She presented a reading of Moroccan history that avoided the dichotomous relationship between colonizer and colonized, examining cultural interaction instead.

Prof. Yaron Tsur, Chair of TAU's Department of Jewish Studies, discussed "The History of the Jews of North Africa: The Problem of Historiographical Enclaves." Muslim North African historian had "discovered" the history of North African Jewish com-



PROF. SUSAN G. MILLER

munities, as had Israeli historians. Yet both groups were hampered by a lack of the appropriate language skills — Israeli scholars know little Arabic, and North African scholars do not know Hebrew.

Dr. Maya Hauptman of Haifa University, in her lecture "Tahar Ben Jelloun: Combative Writing," reminded historians of the role of literature as a historical source. Literature penetrates societies more effectively than other disciplines that claim to know the truth about human beings and societal matters. This is illustrated by Tahar Ben Jelloun, whose writing reflects social change.

Samir Ben-Layashi, doctoral fellow at the Moshe Dayan Center, commented on the papers. He contended that it was time for Moroccan history to be written from a more global point of view, reversing the traditional dichotomies that have plagued Moroccan historiography.



Named Fellowships

BRUCE Maddy-WEITZMAN NAMED MARCIA ISRAEL FELLOW IN MAGHREB STUDIES



MARCIA ISRAEL

Senior Fellow **Dr. Bruce Maddy-Weitzman**, the Center's expert on North Africa, has been named the **Marcia Israel Fellow in Maghreb Studies**. Maddy-Weitzman is co-editor (with Fellow **Daniel Zissenwine**) of *The Maghrib in the New Century: Identity, Religion, and Politics* (University Press of Florida, 2007). Thanks to a generous gift from the **Marcia Israel Foundation**, the Center will now be able to carry out sorely needed research on this important region.

Marcia Israel was the pioneering retail visionary behind Judy's, a fashion institution from the moment its first tiny store opened in Los Angeles in 1948, until it was sold to a major public company. She had an intense interest in Morocco, its royal family, and Middle Eastern political issues. She served on the Board of Trustees of Morocco's Al Akhawayn University. According to **Jack Neinstein**, President of the Marcia Israel Foundation, "Marcia was the quintessential entrepreneur who achieved an extraordinary and inspirational level of success."



DR. BRUCE Maddy-WEITZMAN

PAUL Rivlin: SANDRA GLASS FELLOW IN MIDDLE EASTERN ECONOMICS



SANDRA GLASS

Sandra Glass, Producing Partner with **Park Lane Productions**, has created the **Sandra Glass Fellowship in Middle Eastern Economics**, held by Senior Fellow **Dr. Paul Rivlin**. Rivlin, an expert on the economies of Middle Eastern countries, is the author of *Arab Economies in the Twenty First Century* (Cambridge University Press, forthcoming). Sandra's kind gift will support Rivlin's research on critical economic developments in the Middle East.

Sandra Glass was the recipient of a 2004 Telly Award and was the executive producer of the film "The Last Full Measure" for The American Film Institute. She has been on the International Board of Overseers since 2003.



DR. PAUL Rivlin

Book Launch

JERUSALEM AND RABAT: THE UNTOLD STORY

Journalist Shmuel Segev's new book, *The Moroccan Connection*, published by Matar, was the centerpiece of a panel discussion hosted by the Center on February 11. The book treats the history of back-channel Israeli-Moroccan relations from the late 1940s to the present, including the story of the clandestine mass immigration of Moroccan Jewry to Israel. Chaired by former Mossad Director **Ephraim Halevy**, the discussion was opened by ex-foreign minister **David Levy**, who recounted his personal experience in Morocco as a youth imbued with Zionist ideals and Hebrew-language education, and his subsequent immigration to Beit Shean. **Sam Ben-Chetreet**, head of the World Federation of Moroccan Jewry, recounted his tortured, albeit ultimately successful efforts to locate the remains of the 44 victims of the *Egoz*, a boat carrying Moroccan Jewish immigrants which sank in 1961, and to have them reinterred in Israel 31 years later. **Yigal Palmor**, head of the Foreign Ministry's North African Department, elaborated on the current low-key status of Moroccan-Israeli relations, following the closing of diplomatic offices in October 2000 by the Moroccan government. Shmuel Segev concluded the evening, acknowledging that the story of Moroccan-Israeli relations and the immigration of Moroccan Jewry to Israel was not yet complete, but at least had now been brought out of the shadows.



(LEFT TO RIGHT) PROF. Eyal Zisser, Ephraim Halevy, David Levy, Sam Ben-Chetreet, Yigal Palmor, and Shmuel Segev)

Researchers' Forum

The

Moshe Dayan Center Researchers' Forum is where the Center faculty hears and assesses the latest research of fellows, associates, guests and graduate students.

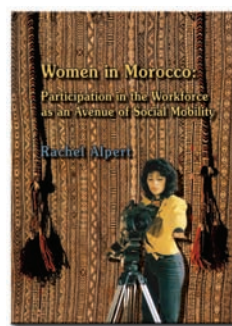
"THE US AND NORTH AFRICA"

On September 9, 2007, **Yahia H. Zoubir**, Professor of International Relations and International Management, EUROMED MARSEILLE, École de Management, France, addressed the Forum on US foreign policy in North Africa. He linked American concerns in the region to increased energy needs and the post- 9/11 interest in questions of Islamism, terrorism, and democratization. He also discussed US security policy in the Maghreb-Sahel region and how the US has sought to consolidate its military presence to fight Islamist terrorism and to assist the regimes in combating armed opposition.

New Publications

Female Social Mobility in Morocco

The Dayan Center has published **Rachel Alpert's** monograph, ***Women in Morocco: Participation in the Workforce as an Avenue of Social Mobility***. In this study, Alpert analyzes the evolving status of women in Morocco as exemplified by their accelerated entrance into the workforce in recent decades. By drawing upon and synthesizing, for the first time, a wide variety of anthropological, sociological, historical and economic sources and data, this study fills an important lacuna in the literature.



The Democracy Debate in the Middle East

Dr. Uriya Shavit's new book is an historical study of the Arab response to the idea of liberal democracy. Entitled ***The Wars of Democracy: The West and the Arabs from the Fall of Communism to the War in Iraq***, the study first traces the political and ideological debate concerning the relevance of liberal democracy to Arab societies from the early twentieth century until the fall of the Soviet empire. Shavit discusses the development of Arab intellectual thought from a point where it originally rejected liberal democracy and regarded the United States as a sinking superpower. He contends the debate enabled Arab regimes to survive, but also contributed to the rise of al-Qa'ida.



What is Happening to the Arab State?

The near-disintegration of Iraq and the resurgence of "primordial" loyalties have brought into question the viability of the Arab state. ***Challenges to the Cohesion of the Arab State***, a collaborative effort of Dayan Center researchers and colleagues from other institutions edited by **Prof. Asher Susser**, Center Director of External Affairs, focuses on the development of the Arab state and the present crisis in which it finds itself. The collection cuts a swath through the Middle East that is both broad and deep, examining the issue historically as well as state-by-state.



Comparing Turkey and Israel

The Süleyman Demirel Program for Contemporary Turkish Studies has published an anthology written by leading scholars that focuses on a comparative study of Turkey and Israel. ***Turkey and Israel: A Comparative Analysis*** explores the comparison through the following major issues: nationalism, secularism and nation building; the media revolution; Turkey and Israel in the Middle East; and the multifaceted relationship between Turkey, Israel, the United States and Europe. The book is edited by **Prof. Asher Susser**.



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