



BULLETIN

No.
46
FALL
2007

The Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies

AT A GLANCE:

INTERNATIONAL
CONFERENCE:
SUNNI-SH'I
RELATIONS.....



COMPARING
TURKEY AND
ISRAEL

JIMMY CARTER:
TRUTH OR FICTION?
FORMER CARTER
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HAMAS - SOCIAL
ORIGINS



TEL AVIV UNIVERSITY



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The Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies

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ZISSER APPOINTED NEW HEAD OF DAYAN CENTER



The Dayan Center's Board of Governors unanimously chose Prof. **Eyal Zisser**, Senior Fellow and Chair of the Department of Middle Eastern and African History, as the new director of the Center at a July meeting. The appointment is for three years and went into effect in September. Zisser, an authority on modern Syria and the author, most recently, of *Commanding Syria: Bashar al-Asad and the First Years in Power*, will continue to serve concurrently as department chair. He succeeds Prof. **Asher Susser**, who will assume the position of Director of External Affairs and remain involved in managing liaison with the International Board of Overseers, as well as related external issues.

Symposia

INTERNATIONAL WORKSHOP

LOOKING BACK AT THE PRESENT: THE SUNNI-SHI'I DIVIDE IN HISTORY

On

June 4-5, the Dayan Center convened a workshop on the "Sunni-Shi'i Divide in History," in cooperation with the Center for Iranian Studies. The workshop was a scholarly response to the rise in the importance of Shi'ism in the past few years, seemingly at the expense of the Sunni world. Bringing to bear the best scholarly expertise of both Centers, as well as that of guests from abroad, the workshop took a broad historical perspective, from the early Islamic period to the present.

Prof. **Jacob Lassner** of Northwestern University opened the first session, which focused on the early Islamic period, by addressing the topic of "Activism, Quietism and Rebellion among the Early 'Alids and the house of 'Abbas." He argued that Umayyad and 'Abbasid history provided two time-tested models for current-day Shi'is and Sunnis to follow: the path of armed revolt with all the uncertainties that it entails, and the path of accommodation and pragmatism. In the House of 'Ali, Husayn represents the first approach and Hasan the second.



LEFT TO RIGHT: DR. NIMROD HURVITZ AND PROF. JACOB LASSNER

Ben Gurion University's Dr. **Nimrod Hurvitz** spoke about the relations between Hanbalis and the Shi'a during the 'Abbasid period. He maintained that the anti-Shi'i violence of the fourth century of the Hijra in the streets of Baghdad, was heavily influenced by Sunni fears of the total disintegration of the social order in view of the mounting Qarmati challenge in southern Iraq, and the urge to reaffirm Sunni domination.

Dr. **Deborah Tor** of Bar Ilan University addressed Sunni-Shi'i relations during the Seljuk era (eleventh-twelfth century). According to Tor, the Sunnis engaged in ongoing attempts to reassert their authority after power fell to the Shi'is in the tenth century. When the Shi'is were willing to accept their inferior status, civic order was preserved, but when they refused, sectarian violence broke out.

Dr. **Sabina Schmidtke's** (Free University of Berlin) discussion of Mahmud bin 'Ali bin Mahmud al-Himmasi al-Razi's (d.1347) commentary on Nasir al-Din al-Tusi's *Qawa'id al 'Aqa'id* completed the first session. Al-Tusi, who lived in the thirteenth century, composed a number of works aimed at dissociating himself from the Isma'ili doctrine. Basing himself on al-Tusi, al-Razi describes in minute detail the doctrinal view and arguments of the various theological groups and trends in an elaboration that goes further than al-Tusi himself.

The second session was devoted to the Ottoman period. Dayan Center and Center for Iranian Studies Senior Fellow Dr. **Meir Litvak** examined the relationship between Shi'i and Sunni 'ulama in eighteenth and nineteenth century Iraq. Litvak addressed two themes: the concerted effort of the Shi'i 'ulama to convert the tribes of southern Iraq to Shi'ism, and encounters between Shi'i and Sunni 'ulama, which demonstrated the Shi'is' social inferiority and fear of *takfir* by the Sunni majority.



DR. MEIR LITVAK

Dr. **Ismail Safa Ustun** of Marmara University talked about the Ottomans' "hopeless" struggle to contain the spread of Shi'ism in the nineteenth century province of Baghdad. Ustun commented that it was towards the end of the eighteenth century and early nineteenth century that Shi'ism started to spread in the province. He argued that since the Ottoman authorities considered the Shi'ii advance to be Iranian-inspired, they viewed it as a strategic threat. Yet, the counter efforts they considered were too meager and disorganized to have any effect on the conversion process.



DR. ISMAIL SAFA USTUN

The third session was devoted to the competing trends of ecumenism and ideological rivalry in the modern period. The eleventh century Cordoban scholar, Ibn Hazm, was the focus of Dr. **Kamila Adang's** (Tel Aviv University) lecture. Ibn Hazm's polemics against Shi'ism can be found mainly in one work, *Kitab al-Fisal*. He was chiefly concerned with the refutation of all kinds of Shi'i extremist sects, but did not leave out mainstream Twelver Shi'ism, which he attacked vigorously. Modern Shi'i scholars have refuted the work of Ibn Hazm.

Senior Fellow Prof. **David Menashri**, Director of the Center for Iranian Studies, examined Ayatollah Khomeyni's approach to ecumenism. He argued that Khomeyni had changed his views over time, although he eventually settled on a view informed by Iranian nationalism, which favored a focus on Shi'ism rather than supra-national pan-Islamic ideologies.

Dr. **Meir Hatina** of the Hebrew University lectured on “Sunni Perceptions of the Iranian Revolution: the Syrian Muslim Brotherhood and the Palestinian Islamic Jihad.” Hatina maintained that initially, the Iranian revolution evoked advocates for ecumenism and co-existence in the Sunni discourse, but this soon made way for polemical voices that highlighted the sectarian aspects of the revolution.



DR. RAINER BRUNNER

Freiburg University's Dr. **Rainer Brunner** spoke on “The Shi'is in Egypt between *Taqrib* and Oppression.” Brunner explained that in the last ten years Egyptian policy towards Shi'ism has been characterized by a double strategy. While on the one hand al-Azhar has joined in the growing ecumenical chorus in order to try and regain some of its former standing, on the other hand the government considers the Shi'is a security risk and has dealt with them accordingly.

Dr. **Sagi Polka** of Ben Gurion University spoke about “Islamic Ecumenism: Yusuf al-Qaradawi's Principles of *Taqrib al-Madhahib*.” Polka analyzed the “centrist” stream in Islam, known as *wasatiyya*, which is led by al-Qaradawi. Being the principal religious scholar in Sunni Islam, like the Pope in Christianity, al-Qaradawi sought to position himself on the rapprochement issue as a representative of the Sunna vis-à-vis the Shi'a. Accordingly, in 2005 he published his “Declaration of Principles,” in which he listed ten principles that should guide Sunni-Shi'i dialogue.

Dr. **Guido Steinberg**, Senior Research Associate at the German Institute for International and Security Affairs discussed “The Wahhabiya and Shi'ism, 1744/45 to 2007.” Steinberg maintained that the history of the Wahhabiya demonstrated that a deep hatred of Shi'ism was present already in the eighteenth century. And while Wahhabi anti-Shi'i convictions remained until the present day, Saudi rulers have dealt with the Shi'is in a pragmatic manner, allowing them to operate within narrow limits which, if transgressed, would provoke resistance by the Wahhabi establishment and its followers.

Senior Fellow Prof. **Joseph Kostiner** compared two of the most important thinkers of Islamic radicalism: the Shi'i Ayatollah Khomeyni, and the Sunni, Sayyid Qutb. Kostiner's thesis was that Khomeyni aimed to establish an Islamic state, but instead Iran developed into a state run by a government with Islamic leanings. Qutb, on the other hand, envisaged an anarchist utopia that could not be fulfilled.

The fourth session took an in-depth look at the Sunni-Shi'i divide in Iraq. Senior Fellow Prof. **Ofra Bengio** lectured on “Quietists Turned Activists: The Shi'i Revolution in Iraq.” She argued that even though there had been no revolution in the true sense of the word – as in Iran – the results of the 2003 war were nonetheless revolutionary in the sense that political Islam came to reign in Iraq and that the Shi'is ascended to power for the first time since the establishment of modern Iraq.

Prof. **Amatzia Baram** of Haifa University discussed “Extremism and Ecumenical Tendencies in Iraqi Shi'ism,” by examining three Shi'i leaders, Muhammad Taqi Shirazi of Karbala (d. 1919), Muhammad Baqir al-Sadr (executed 1981) and Muqtada Sadr. Baram suggested that amongst Shi'i leaders ecumenism had always accompanied political radicalism, while moderate leaders had rarely tried to build any ecumenical bridges between Sunnis and Shi'is in Iraq.



DR. GUIDO STEINBERG

Dr. **Noga Efrati** of the Hebrew University and Haifa University spoke on the conflict over attempts to annul Iraq's personal status law in 2003. She maintained that despite efforts of the western media to present the controversy over the law as stemming from the oppressive nature of gender perceptions held by Shi'i clerics, in fact gender relations were not the main object of the debate. Instead, the debate focused on the conflicting views of Sunni secularists vs. Sunni and Shi'i clerics.

The fifth session focused on accommodation and confrontation in Lebanon and Turkey. Prof. **Richard Norton** of Boston University discussed "Hizballah and the Shi'is in Lebanon: Assessing Hezbollah as an Islamist Exemplar." Norton argued that by staying in Lebanon, Israel had radicalized the Shi'i



DR. DEBORAH TOR (left) AND DR. NOGA EFRATI



PROF. RICHARD NORTON

Ottoman authorities as well as by the Turkish Republic. The Alevis could neither practice their religion nor carry out cultural activities. However, with time, the Sunni approach to the Alevis changed, as did their own self-perception.

Prof. **Eyal Zisser**, Senior Fellow and Chair, Department of Middle Eastern and African History, developed a comparison between the ruling 'Alawis in Syria and the Shi'is in Lebanon. Both groups started as minorities. The 'Alawis were a marginal community which made its way into the very center of power in Syria. Lebanon's Shi'is were already making the argument that they should be in full control of Lebanon, although their approach to empowerment was quite different from the 'Alawis in Syria.

community and forced people who were sitting on the fence to support Hizballah. This thrust Hizballah forward and facilitated its success in broadening its base and achieving legitimacy.

Ankara University University's Prof. **Bedriye Poyraz** turned the workshop's attention to Turkey in her lecture, "From Equality Politics to Identity Politics: Alevis in Turkey." Poyraz maintained that Alevism had always been considered a constant problem by the



PROF. BEDRIYE POYRAZ



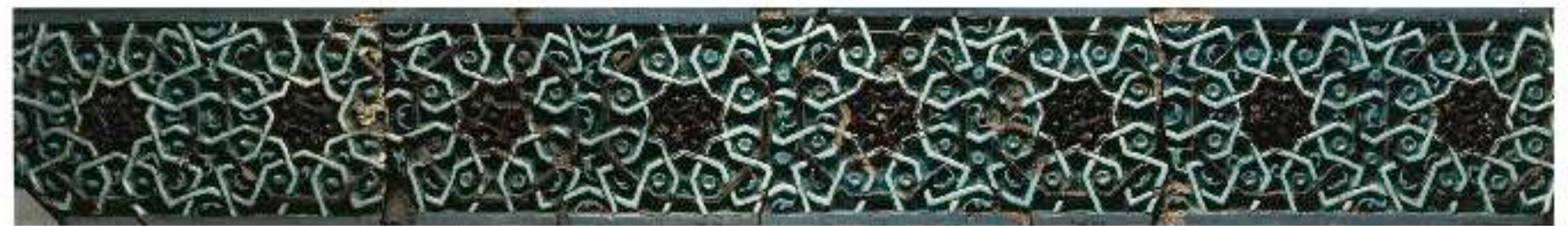
Dr. **Uzi Rabi** of the Center for Iranian Studies opened the final session, whose topic was "The Shi'i Crescent Reconsidered." Rabi argued that the Arab states felt surrounded by growing Shi'i power which extended in a crescent from Iran at the head of the Persian Gulf through Bahrain, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Iraq and Lebanon. This threat had pushed the region into a kind of cold war, one that was being fought on various battle grounds, between proxies of Teheran and parties supported by the moderate Arab bloc.

DR. UZI RABI



Dr. **Zeev Maghen** of Bar Ilan University completed the final session of the workshop with a presentation entitled "Unity or Truth? Current Iranian Attitudes to the Sunni-Shi'i Divide." Maghen said that Shi'is envision themselves on the one hand as the "Way, the Truth and the Light" – eminently worthy of leading the Muslim world. On the other hand, Shi'is believe that they are a weak and barely-tolerated minority whose separateness threatens to be their undoing. The Iranian appeal to ecumenism was aimed at improving the standing of persecuted Shi'is in general and the isolated Islamic republic in particular.

DR. ZEEV MAGHEN



A Festschrift for Shamir

Colloquium Focuses on Work of Veteran Professor



March 11, the Dayan Center, the Department of Middle Eastern and African History and the Center for Iranian Studies held a colloquium on "Religion and the State in the Middle East" to celebrate the launch of Senior Fellow Prof. **David Menashri's** edited *festschrift* in honor of Prof. **Shimon Shamir** upon his retirement (covered in *Bulletin* No. 45).



The colloquium was held in two sessions. The first session, entitled "The Ideological Underpinnings of Middle East Regimes," was opened by Senior Fellow Prof. **Ofra Bengio**, who spoke on the search for identity in post-Ba'athist Iraq. Prof. Menashri spoke on the role of the mullahs in Iran in the light of post-revolutionary critiques, while Prof. **David Kushnir** of Haifa University discussed ethnicity and civil patriotism in Turkey. Senior Fellow and Chair of the Department of Middle Eastern and African History, Prof. **Eyal Zisser**, analyzed ideology in Ba'athist Syria.

Prof.
DAVID MENASHRI

Prof.
SHIMON SHAMIR





Prof. David Kushnir

"Collective Identity and Attitudes towards Israel" was the focus of the second session. Center Director Prof. **Asher Susser** discussed "Palestinian Identity, Peace and the End of the Conflict." Dr. **Reuven Aharoni** of Beit Berl College analyzed identity politics among Israeli Arabs and their attitude towards the state of Israel. Prof. **Eli Podeh**, chair of the Hebrew University's Department of Islamic and Middle Eastern Studies, spoke on the way in which Egyptian self-expression developed with respect to relations with Israel, and TAU University President and Senior Fellow Prof. **Itamar Rabinovich** discussed the relationship between Syrian identity and negotiations with Israel. Prof. Shamir gave the day's concluding remarks.



Prof. Eli Podeh

SUNNIS AND Shi'is: A REVERSAL of HISTORY?



March 20, the Center held a day-long colloquium on an item of intense international interest: the "Shi'i ascendancy." The Shi'i victories in the Iraqi election of 2005, Hizballah's performance in its war against Israel in 2006, and Iran's rush toward nuclear weapons have all contributed to a perception that the balance of power in the Islamic world may be undergoing an historic shift.

Dr. **Martin Kramer**, former Center Director and currently Senior Fellow at the Shalem Center, opened the proceedings with a discussion of the various elements which underpinned the Sunni-Shi'i division. The current expression of the split derives from the breakdown of the Arab state order, which has been fundamentally, if unspokenly, Sunni. Iran provides a geopolitical and cultural focus for the Shi'is, creating new challenges for the Sunni Arab states and compelling Israel to side with the existing Arab order.

The first session of the colloquium was devoted to broad trends in Sunni-Shi'i relations. Dr. **Mati Steinberg** of the Inter-Disciplinary Center, Herzliya, spoke on: "The Internal Clash of Civilizations: The Shi'is, Iran and Hizballah through the Eyes of the Global Jihad." Al-Qa'ida and its sympathizers are guided by an extreme radical Sunni ideology, which views the Shi'is as "rejectionists" (*rafida*), and thus worthy of punishment. Nonetheless, pragmatic thinking was not absent, as demonstrated by Ayman al-Zawahiri, Bin Laden's deputy, and his upbraiding of jihadist Abu Mus'ab al-Zarqawi, for attacking Iraqi Shi'is and their shrines, instead of concentrating on the "head of the snake," the United States.



DR. MATI STEINBERG

Dayan Center and Center for Iranian Studies Senior Fellow Dr. **Meir Litvak**, spoke on the anti-Shi'i polemics within radical Sunni Islam. Like all radical movements, this one also viewed the world in Manichean terms. The Shi'is are considered the enemy within, and even more dangerous than the Jews and the Christians. In recent years, there has been an outpouring of anti-Shi'i polemics from radical Sunnis, with accusations of betrayal reaching a peak in 2003 with the American occupation of Iraq.



DR. SAGI POLKA

Dr. **Sagi Polka** of Ben-Gurion University lectured on efforts to bring the Sunnis and Shi'is schools of thought closer together, marked in particular by a 1959 *fatwa* by the Shaykh of al-Azhar University, Mahmud Shaltut, declaring that the Twelver Shi'is could legitimately serve Allah according to the Shari'a, just like the four Sunni schools of Sunni jurisprudence. By contrast, during the second Lebanon war, an important Saudi shaykh issued a strongly worded *fatwa* against Hizballah and the Shi'is. In response, Qatar-based Shaykh Yusuf al-Qaradawi re-emphasized the earlier attempts at Sunni-Shi'i cooperation, while calling on Shi'i 'ulama to end their own anti-Sunni polemics.

Dayan Center Doctoral Fellow **Samir Ben Layashi** concluded the first session of the colloquium, talking about myths and realities regarding the Sunni and Shi'i communities, and emphasizing the political nature of much of the rhetoric and stereotypes held towards one another. He maintained that the Shi'i opposition in Arab countries today was political, not religious or ethnic in nature.

The second session of the colloquium focused specifically on the Fertile Crescent. Prof. **Ofra Bengio**, Senior Fellow, discussed the Sunni-Shi'i divide in Iraq, both past and present. The hanging of Iraqi President Saddam Husayn in late 2006 marked the end of both the Ba'th era and hundreds of years of Sunni hegemony in the territory of today's Iraq. However, neither the Shi'is nor the Sunnis have the power to achieve a decisive outcome in the current struggle over Iraq's future, she stressed.

Prof. **Eyal Zisser**, Center Senior Fellow and Chair, Department of Middle Eastern and African History, spoke on the Syrian 'Alawi community and the Lebanese Shi'is. He stated that the Lebanese Shi'is were on the path towards being more "Shi'i" and Iran-oriented, and less "Lebanese." Syrian 'Alawis in recent decades have been undergoing two processes, Islamization and Shi'itization, the latter with Iran's encouragement, even though the regime under President Bashar al-Asad remains firmly secular and Arab in orientation.

Dayan Center Senior Fellow and Director, Center for Iranian Studies, Prof. **David Menashri**, concluded the session by speaking about the internal Shi'i critique of Iran's "Rule by Supreme Jurist" regime. Today, Iran is ruled by religious politicians, not by theologians, and is the scene of severe ideological battles over fundamental questions regarding the relationship between religion and state, and Islam and democracy.

The final session was devoted to reactions by other Arab states to Sunni-Shi'i tensions. Dr. **Uzi Rabi**, Senior Lecturer in the Department of Middle Eastern and African History and Deputy Head of the S. Daniel Abraham Center for International and Regional Studies, focused on the responses of the pragmatic Arab camp – Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and Jordan. In recent months, these states have acted to coordinate their positions in light of what is perceived as a growing Iranian-Shi'i threat to their interests. In stressing this threat, they are clearly seeking to increase their abilities to deal with domestic opposition groups.



SAMIR BEN LAYASHI



DR. JOSHUA TEITELBAUM

Dr. **Joshua Teitelbaum**, Dayan Center Senior Fellow, concluded the colloquium with an examination of the relationship between the Saudi Arabian state and its Shi'i minority. Since the fall of Saddam Husayn's regime in 2003, the Saudi leadership has looked at the Shi'i ascendancy with great concern. Meanwhile, the Saudi Shi'i minority (10-15% of the population), always suspect, viewed the advancement of their co-religionists elsewhere with pride, and hope that this will improve their situation at home. Yet due to pressure from Wahhabi fundamentalists to support Iraqi Sunnis, the regime was unlikely to do much for its Shi'i minority. ■

FROM Tokyo TO Tel Aviv



June 6, under the auspices of the Embassy of Japan in Israel, the Center held a colloquium on "Japan and the Middle East," in association with the Japan Center for International Exchange and the Japan Foundation.

The Japanese Ambassador to Israel, H. E. **Yoshinori Katori** and Senior Fellow Prof. **Eyal Zisser** opened the conference, both emphasizing the importance of Israeli-Japanese dialogue for a better understanding of the Middle East and the role Japan can play in the region.

Among the participants were Prof. **Masayuki Yamauchi** of the University of Tokyo who spoke on "From Japan's Sixty Post-War Years to the Near Future: Reconfiguring Relations with the Middle East and Asia"; Prof. **Shinichi Kitaoka** of the University of Tokyo, who spoke on "The Changing East Asian Security Environment and Japanese Policy"; and H. E. Ms. **Atsuko Toyama**, President of the New National Theater in Tokyo and former Minister of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology, who spoke on "Education in Japan – Development and the Current Situation." Center Director Prof. **Asher Susser** spoke on "Israel's Place in the Middle East."

The Middle East Forum is a meeting place for distinguished figures from academe, government, business and diplomacy, who share an interest in Middle Eastern affairs. Membership is by invitation. The Forum meets over lunch at the University's "Green House," to hear a presentation and deliberate on a topical issue. Discussion takes place in a frank and open atmosphere, and is not for attribution. Prof. **Itamar Rabinovich**, a former Center director, ambassador, and President of Tel Aviv University, moderates the Middle East Forum.

- On March 25, Amb. Prof. **Daniel C. Kurtzer**, S. Daniel Abraham Visiting Professor in Middle East Policy Studies at the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, Princeton University, addressed the Forum on "Syria, Israel, and the United States: Is Damascus Ready for Peace?"

Süleyman Demirel Program

COMPARING TURKEY AND ISRAEL

The

annual conference of the **Süleyman Demirel Program for Contemporary Turkish Studies** in memory of Prof. **Aryeh Shmuelelevitz** took place at the Center on April 30, focusing on a comparative study of Turkey and Israel. The conference addressed the comparison through the following major issues: nationalism, secularism and nation building; the media revolution; Turkey and Israel in the Middle East; and Turkey and Israel, between the United States and Europe.

The proceedings were opened by H.E. **Namık Tan**, Ambassador of Turkey in Israel, who observed that Turkish-Israeli relations derived their strength from the historical friendship of the Turkish and Jewish peoples. In addition, democracy and secular state structures, the free market orientation of their economies, and other shared values, provided the two countries with ample ground for diversifying and deepening their bilateral cooperation. He was followed by the Rector of Bilkent University in Ankara, Prof. **Ali Dođramacı**, who delivered a general overview on "Turkey, Israel and Regional Development." He stressed that the Turks, who were on good terms with both sides, could serve to promote peace and understanding between Israelis and Palestinians and thus also enhance regional development.



Prof. Ali DOĐRAMACI

In the session devoted to "Nationalism, Secularism and Nation Building," Dr. **Soner Çađaptay** of the Washington Institute spoke on "The Roles of Religion, Ethnicity and Language in the Defining of Turkishness." He maintained that Turkish nationalism was multi-faceted: religion played a key role, as did language, territory and voluntarism. But the Ottoman state tradition and historical legacy probably played the most important role of all, he affirmed. Prof. **Yosef Gorni** of Tel Aviv University delivered a lecture on "Ben Gurion as Nation Builder." He dwelt on the centrality of Ben Gurion's concept of *mamlakhtiyut* (statism) in the building of a new and different form of Jewish nation. By this he meant the construction of an organized and disciplined democratic society, led by a political party, the Histadrut (Labor Federation), the Zionist movement, and last but not least the state itself.



NAMIK TAN,
AMBASSADOR OF TURKEY IN ISRAEL

Prof. **Sultan Tepe** of the University of Illinois, Chicago, spoke on "Popular or Populist: The Politics of Islam in Today's Turkey." She noted that a close reading of Turkey's political-economic history indicated that it was the inability of the political system to accommodate clashing interests and the disparate positions in the economic sector that lay beneath Turkey's political crisis. Prof. **Eliezer Don-Yehiya** of Bar Ilan University discussed "The Decline of Civil Religion in Israel." He argued that there had been significant changes in the Israeli system of values and



DR. SONER ÇAĐAPTAY (left) AND PROF. ELIEZER DON-YEHIYA



Prof. SULTAN TEPE

influence of this new machinery. It was, therefore, the behavior of the media, more than any other single factor that would decide the critical outcomes of Israeli domestic politics. Dr. **Orhan Tekelioğlu** of Izmir Economic University discussed the "Politico-Cultural Outcomes of the Privatization of Turkish TV." He observed that Turkish TV, after more than a decade of privatization, had become more mature and had reached a point where the audiovisual media were gradually assuming the role of the print media in shaping the contours of the social discourse.

symbols. These, however, did not yet signify the emergence of a new form of civil religion, but simply the marked decline in the status of the various existing forms of civil religion.

The next session was devoted to the media revolution. Prof. **Yoram Peri** of Tel Aviv University spoke on the "Evolution of Israel's Media-Centered Democracy." He argued that following the media revolution politics had lost its autonomy and had fallen under the



Prof. YOSEF GORNI



(LEFT TO RIGHT) Prof. YORAM PERI, Prof. OFRA BENGIO, Prof. MELIHA ALTUNIŞIK

former Arab hegemonic powers, noting the rising influence in the region of the non-Arab states of Iran, Turkey and Israel.

In the final session, Prof. **Kemal Kirişçi** of Boğaziçi University discussed "Turkey's Place in Europe." He observed that whether Turkey became a member of the European Union or not depended mainly on Turkey itself. At the end of the day, it was the will of the candidate that was going to drive the process of accession. But it would also depend on whether the Europeans were to see themselves, as some did, as a clearly Christian club. There was, of course, no way in which Turkey would stand a chance of becoming a member of such a union. Tel Aviv University President and Senior Fellow, Prof. **Itamar Rabinovich**, spoke on "Israel: Between the United States and Europe." He

The following two sessions shifted the focus from domestic to foreign affairs. Prof. **Meliha Altunışık** of Middle East Technical University in Ankara spoke on "Debating the Middle East: Contending Perspectives in Turkish Foreign Policy." She elaborated on three schools of thought in Turkish foreign policy – the realist, the liberal and the constructivist, noting their divergences and convergences. Yet despite these different approaches, she observed, Turkey was gravitating towards a greater involvement in Middle Eastern affairs. Prof. **Asher Susser**, Director of the Center, spoke on "Arabs and Non-Arabs: Israel in the Middle East." He dwelt on the decline of the



Prof. KEMAL KIRIŞÇI



observed that a close Turkish-Israeli relationship, a better relationship between Turkey and the United States add at least a better atmosphere in Turkish-European relations could help to form a Middle East in which the non-Arab secular powers – Turkey and Israel – would play a stabilizing role.

The conference was organized with the support of the US Embassy in Tel Aviv.

DR. ORHAN TEKELIOĞLU

WELCOME BACK AND FAREWELL

In June, the Center welcomed back Senior Fellow Prof. **Itamar Rabinovich**, upon completion of his tenure as President of Tel Aviv University. Rabinovich, who was the first head of the Moshe Dayan Center and was instrumental in its founding, is completing a book of fifteen essays on modern Syria – *The View from Damascus* – to be published in the Spring. A new edition of his co-edited (with Jehuda Reinharz) book, *Israel in the Middle East*, will be published this fall. In the next few years, Rabinovich will be dividing his time between the Center and academic appointments at Harvard, New York University, and the Brookings Institution.



RABINOVICH RETURNS...

In July, the Center bid farewell to Senior Fellow Prof. **Asher Susser**, who retired as Director of the Center after serving his second, six-year tenure. Susser, who is being succeeded by Senior Fellow Prof. **Eyal Zisser**, will spend the new academic year on sabbatical at Brandeis University where he intends to research a book on Israel, Jordan, and the Palestinians. Susser will continue to hold a leadership role in the Center as Director of External Affairs. At the farewell toast, Center Administrative Assistant **Ilana Greenberg** presented Susser with a picture she painted in his honor.



...SUSSEER TO SABBATICAL



PAINTING SCHOLARSHIP – ILANA GREENBERG

KEN STEIN ON PRESIDENT CARTER'S CONTROVERSIAL BOOK



April 25, **Kenneth Stein**, professor of contemporary Middle Eastern history, political science, and Israeli studies at Emory University, delivered a lecture on "The Carter Book: Undermining Historical Truth and Israeli Prerogative." Stein, who worked closely with President Jimmy Carter at the Carter Center (Stein was the first director of the Center and later a fellow for Middle East affairs), resigned from the Carter Center in response to the publication of Carter's recent book, *Palestine: Peace Not Apartheid*.

Drawing on his expertise as an historian of the modern Middle East and as one who had worked closely with the ex-president, Stein argued that the book was replete with errors, and that Carter deliberately undermined historical facts for political reasons. In Stein's words "Carter is a man who wants to see a deal done. He wants to be the voice for the Palestinians. History does not give the negotiator agility; it can be a restraining force when someone is constrained or held back by facts. [Carter] changes the meaning of 242, insisting that it mandates Israeli withdrawal and that Begin consented to it; he also misquotes UN resolution 338; he misquotes the Camp David Accords and he falsely recollects detail of his

meeting with President Hafiz Assad where I was present."

Finally, Stein also dealt with the possible influence of Carter's book on processes of reconciliation between Israel and the Palestinians. According to Stein the book would not bring progress, but rather a possible retreat. There was a good chance that it could be read as an academic volume, when in fact it enhanced a one-sided (Palestinian) narrative. The fact that it was written by a former president of the United State might also lend support to "those in the Arab world or elsewhere who say 'Why do we have to negotiate with the Israelis? The international community will force the Israelis to withdraw from the territories anyway'."



PROF. KENNETH STEIN REBUTS PRES. CARTER

AMIR TAHERI ON MIDDLE EASTERN UNCERTAINTIES

Amir Taheri, a prominent commentator on Middle Eastern affairs who regularly contributes to the Arab and Western media, delivered a lecture entitled "The Middle East: Are Prospects for Peace Realistic?" on April 17. Taheri, an Iranian-born journalist who resides in Europe and frequently travels throughout the region, presented an overview of current developments in the Middle East, while identifying several broad trends that might indicate the region's future direction.

Taheri contended that the region is currently in a state of disequilibrium, as the post cold war status quo, which prevailed for almost a decade, has been shattered. He outlined the situation in several countries, which carried broader strategic implications. Iraq, for example, was experiencing a dangerous moment in its political his-



JOURNALIST AMIR TAHERI

tory, following the US-led invasion, and lacked domestic stability. Syria's ruling regime was weak and largely disconnected with its people. The oil rich Gulf states

were struggling with the need to find a place within a changing regional system, while increasingly playing a part in the global economy. Iran was facing an internal conflict, between the “state” and the “revolution.” Its ideological energies were aimed against Israel as part of Iran’s quest to unite Arabs behind a Shi’i regime, and catapult Iran to a leadership role.

Taheri assessed that the struggle between a radical, Islamist orientation, and emerging democracy-oriented forces was at the root of all of these domestic developments across the region. He expressed confidence that the Middle East had sufficient forces to pave the way to a brighter future, despite the current uncertainties.

KURTZER: PEACE AS A MEANS TO AN END

The annual **George Kaller Memorial Lecture** was delivered on March 25 by Amb. Prof. **Daniel Kurtzer**, former US ambassador to both Israel and Egypt, and currently S. Daniel Abraham Visiting Professor in Middle East Policy Studies at the Woodrow Wilson School at Princeton. Kurtzer’s topic was: “The New – But Not Improved – Middle East.” In a clear and systematic analysis, he examined the major characteristics of the region, and offered prospective models for its development.

Kurtzer detected five enduring factors which characterized the Middle East – “an area of endemic problems that seem impervious to change.” First is that the region is still at odds with the idea of globalization: aside from oil and gas, it produces almost nothing that the rest of the world needs. Second was that this massive gas and oil wealth has not been used to build an alternative economy, except in some of the Gulf states. Third was the Middle East’s cautious approach to democracy and the lack of ongoing commitment to the creation of a democratic culture. Fourth was that the area had given rise to most of the world’s terrorism, and that there was not enough debate within Muslim societies about it. Fifth has been the persistence of



AMB. PROF. DANIEL KURTZER

regional conflict: the Arab-Israeli conflict, the Sudan, Algeria, Yemen, and Iraq.

Yet Kurtzer’s assessment was not entirely pessimistic. Asserting that the Middle East was not entirely static, he offered trajectories for possible development, the most promising of which, he argued, was the active search for peace not as an end in itself, but as a means to an end. “We need to make a transition from high sounding rhetoric, from threats, from the substitution of statements for diplomacy and get back down to the hard work of meeting with people and ironing out differences,” he concluded.

FILLING THE SYRIAN VACUUM ZISSER ON IRAN AND SAUDI ARABIA IN LEBANON

The **Uriel Dann Memorial Lecture** was delivered by Center Senior Fellow Prof. **Eyal Zisser** on June 11. Zisser’s topic: “Between Riyadh and Teheran: Iranian and Saudi Involvement in Lebanon.” Zisser noted that Iranian and Saudi Arabian intervention in Lebanon had become increasingly evident, to the point where it seemed as if these two states had taken over the role previously reserved for Syria.

At the same time, Zisser emphasized that Iran and Saudi Arabia have had interests in Lebanon for many years.

Iran’s links with the Shi’i community in the Bika’ Valley and in southern Lebanon were at least five hundred years old, dating back to the rise of the Safavid dynasty in Iran. These links became stronger than ever in the wake of the 1979 Islamic revolution in Iran and with the support Iran gave to the establishment of Hizballah. Regarding Saudi Arabia, since the late 1920s the Saudi royal family has insisted on the importance of Lebanon and acted to gain a foothold there. The Saudis pursue their interests mainly with the assistance of the important and influential notable Sunni families in Lebanon.

During the 1970s and 1980s Syria blocked Riyadh and Teheran from pursuing their interests in Lebanon. However, the events of recent years – especially the expulsion of Syrian forces from Lebanon in March 2005 following the assassination of Prime Minister Rafiq al-Hariri – changed the picture completely. Hariri had been a protégé of the Saudis. With the departure of the Syrians, Iran and Saudi Arabia set out to fill the vacuum.

Iran continues its support for Hizballah, which seeks to take over Lebanon, while Saudi Arabia supports the Hariri family, which leads the anti-Syrian camp. However, despite their conflict of interests over the long-term, at the present Iran and Saudi Arabia have an interest in promoting calm and stability in order to gather their forces for what is to come. Teheran and Riyadh are therefore working to achieve a compromise which will make it possible to bring to an end the bitter

political crisis that has plagued that country for the past year, and to put off their mutual confrontation to some time in the distant future.

The **Uriel and Lora Dann Memorial Scholarship** was awarded to PhD candidate Joshua Aker for his research on Jews in the Ottoman Empire.



JOSHUA AKER RECEIVES THE SCHOLARSHIP FROM DR. NAOMI MEIRI-DANN AND DAUGHTER TAMAR, AND PROF. EYAL ZISSER

New Publications

The Green Revolution Michael Milstein

The Green Revolution: A Social Profile of Hamas, a new book in Hebrew by **Michael Milstein**, marks a major contribution to the literature on this important Palestinian movement. For the first time, Milstein delves deeply into the social origins of the Hamas leadership. He examines the leaders' social, economic, regional and cultural backgrounds and how these factors contributed to their coalescing into a cohesive elite which has turned the entire Palestinian political system on its head.



During the second semester the Dayan Center's **Konrad Adenauer Program for Jewish-Arab Cooperation (KAPJAC)**, directed by Dr. **Elie Rekhess**, issued three publications:

- "The Future Vision of the Palestinian Arabs in Israel", an analysis of the "Future Vision" document published by leading figures in Israeli Arab society
- "Opinion Survey of Arabs in Israel"
- "Israel's Arab Minority and the Elections to the Seventeenth Knesset"

All **KAPJAC** publications may be downloaded from the Program's site at www.dayan.org/kapjac.

Researchers' Forum

The

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

"FROM BAGHDAD TO JERUSALEM: ISRAEL, THE UNITED STATES, AND THE WAR IN IRAQ"

On March 12, Dr. **Dov Waxman** of Baruch College, New York, addressed the Forum on Israel's role in the US decision to invade Iraq. He discussed the widespread claim (made, for instance, by John Mearsheimer and Stephen Walt in their controversial attack on the "Israel lobby") that neo-conservative policymakers in the Bush Administration, the pro-Israel lobby in the United States, and Israel's government all worked together to push the United States to go to war with Iraq for the sake of Israel's security. Challenging this view, Waxman argued that although Israel was a consideration for the neo-conservatives, it was not their primary concern; and that while American Jewish organizations and the Israeli government did largely support the Iraq war, they did not actively lobby for it. He concluded his talk by noting the damaging effects of the Iraq war for Israel's security.



"Risk Groups in Exposure to Terror: The Case of Israel's Citizens"

On March 26, Prof. **Ephraim Yuchtman-Ya'ar** of the TAU Department of Sociology spoke on the social stratification of terror victims in Israel. He maintained that the risk of becoming a terror victim was socially structured – marginalized groups in Israel's society (e.g. Arabs, residents of poor neighborhoods, women, elderly and children) were more secluded from terror attacks than dominant social groups. He attributed this pattern to the type of terror – selective vs. unselective – to which the Israeli civilian population has been exposed. Palestinian terror attacks were mainly perpetrated in public spaces in Jewish urban centers. Although this strategy of terror was essentially unselective, members of social groups who were less present in such spaces were less likely to become terror victims.



"HAMAS IN POWER"

On May 21, Dr. **Menahem Klein** (Political Studies, Bar Ilan University) discussed developments in the Palestinian Authority since Hamas won the parliamentary elections in January 2006. Since it entered the political arena, argued Klein, Hamas has demonstrated a willingness to change its positions on fundamental issues and even to take public stands which contradict its charter. This was a pragmatic move, however, and did not mean that Hamas had become a force of moderation. It had not revoked its charter, and its leaders continued to speak the language of fanaticism. Klein also noted that the political struggle between Hamas and Fath demonstrated how domestic divisions in each of the two had led to both the escalation of their conflict and to the establishment of the national unity government.

Faculty News 2006-2007



resentations 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 (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.

Ofra Bengio spoke on "Positive or Negative Domino Effect? The Case of Iraq" at a July 2006 conference on "Democratization of the Broader Middle East: Israeli, European and US Assessments," held by TAU's Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies. In March 2007 she delivered a lecture on "The Kurdish Phoenix: Nation-Building in a Failed Nation-State" to an international conference on Iraq held at Haifa University. Bengio traveled to Ankara in June, where she gave a talk on the Sunni-Shi'i divide in Iraq at Middle East Technical University. She participated in an international conference on the future of the Middle East held at Bar-Ilan University in June, where she lectured on "The New Iraq: Towards Disintegration or Confederation?". Her essay, "Exporting Democracy: What Have We Learned from Iraq?" was published in the Spring 2007 issue of *Dissent*.



Joseph Kostiner discussed Israel's position in the Middle East after the Second Lebanon war during an October 2006 presentation at the Fern Universität in Hagen, Germany. In January 2007 he was the guest of the German-Israel Society for a talk on Israel and the Arab world held near Bonn. In February he spoke on the strategic situation in the Middle East at an event sponsored by the Konrad Adenauer Foundation for NATO reserve officers in Bonn.



Ephraim Lavie was appointed director of the Tami Steinmetz Center for Peace Research in March 2007. In May he lectured on "Collective Identity and Palestinian Perspectives on the Conflict" at a Steinmetz Center conference on the psychological dimensions of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.



Meir Litvak lectured on "Holocaust Denial Iranian Style: The Ideological and Political Dimensions," at the Center for Iranian Studies conference on "Iran: The Emerging Challenge in Multiple Perspectives," convened in Los Angeles in March 2007. He edited *Middle Eastern Societies and the West: Accommodation or Clash of Civilizations?*, published by the Dayan Center in 2007. His article, "The Islamic Republic of Iran and the Holocaust: Anti-Zionism and anti-Semitism," was published in Jeffrey Herf (ed.), *Anti-Semitism and Anti-Zionism in Historical Perspective* (London: Routledge, 2007).



Bruce Maddy-Weitzman's co-edited book (with Daniel Zisewine), *The Maghrib in the New Century: Identity, Religion, and Politics* was published by University Press of Florida. It contains his chapter, "Berber/Amazigh Memory Work." His article, "Maghrib Scenarios," appeared in the *Middle East Review of International Affairs*, September 2006. His chapter, "Islamism, Moroccan-Style: The Ideas of Sheikh Yassine," appeared in Barry Rubin (ed.), *Political Islam* (New York: Routledge, 2007). His book review of *Hamas: A Beginner's Guide*, by Khaled Hroub, appeared in *Ha'aretz* (English edition), January 5, 2007. He delivered a paper, "Modernity, Ethnicity and Nationalism in Morocco and Algeria: Two Faces of the Berber Experience," at the annual conference of the Middle East Studies Association of North America in Boston in November 2006. Maddy-Weitzman participated in a closed-door "experts meeting" on "Elements for a Breakthrough in the Western Sahara Conflict," sponsored by the Toledo International Centre for Peace (CITpax) and African en Canarias – Espacios para el Dialogo, in collaboration with Centro De Estudios Politicos Y Constitucionales (CEPC), held in Madrid in July 2007.



Amos Nadan delivered several lectures dealing with findings from his new book, *The Palestinian Peasant Economy under the Mandate, 1922-47: A Story of Colonial Bungling*, including a presentation at the June annual conference of the Association for Israel Studies, held at the Open University in Ra'anana. His current research concerns the economic interaction between Israel and Palestinians. On June 28 he discussed his analysis and findings during a presentation to the Economic Cooperation Foundation. He co-edited (with Michel Abitbol) an anthology of the work of Prof. Nehemia Levtzion, *Islam in Africa and the Middle East: Studies on Conversion and Renewal* (Variorum-Ashgate, 2007), and also wrote the introduction. His article, "Merchants and Peasants in the Nazareth Region" was published in the January 2007 issue of *Journal of Peasant Studies*. Nadan also edited four publications in the Hebrew University series, *Perspectives on Middle East Socioeconomic Issues*.



Itamar Rabinovich stepped down as President of Tel Aviv University in May 2007 upon the conclusion of his eight-year term and has returned to the Moshe Dayan Center.



Elie Rekhess participated in a symposium organized in Paris by the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs in September 2006 on relations between the Mediterranean, the Gulf and Europe. On November 12, 2006, he gave a lecture on "Recent Trends in Jewish-Arab Relations in Israel" to the National Board of Hadassah at the Chicago Town Hall. Rekhess spoke on "The Status of Arab Citizens in Israel" at the London Symposium on the Opportunities and Challenges Facing Israel as a Vibrant Democracy, convened in March 2007 by the Pears Foundation. On March 26, he discussed "The Arabs in Israel and the Future Vision Documents" at the Tauber Institute, Brandeis University. Rekhess lectured on "Approaches to Arab-Israeli Relations" at a symposium organized by Northwestern University on "The University and the Near East in the Twentieth

Century," held in mid-May. He co-edited, together with Arik Rudnitzky, the updated entry on "The Arab Population in Israel," published by the *Encyclopedia Judaica* in late 2006.



Paul Rivlin presented a paper on "Israel and Jordan: Lessons from their Development, 1950-2006" at the The Brenthurst Program-Konrad Adenauer Stiftung Conference on Globalisation and Economic Development Success: Policy Options for Africa, convened in Cairo in November 2006. His publications included "Iran's Energy Vulnerability," published in the *Middle East Review of International Affairs*, December 2006, and a chapter on "Globalization, High Tech and Socio-economic Inequality," published in *The Middle East and Globalization* (Institute of West Asian and African Studies, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences). He reviewed M. Riad el-Ghonemy's *Egypt in the Twenty-First Century* in the Winter 2007 issue of *Middle East Journal*. In June 2007, he lectured on economic and military aspects of Arab technology at TAU's Defense Studies Program Seminar on Science, Technology and Security. Rivlin briefed several foreign visitors during the year, including: Sadashi Fukuda, Director General and Jun Saito Researcher, IDE-Jetro, Institute of Developing Economies, Japan; Liu Jian, Chief Editor and Liu Tong, Senior Editor, *The Economic Observer*, Beijing; Shintaro Yoshimura, of the Faculty of Integrated Arts and Sciences, Hiroshima University, and Byoung-Jin Han, First Secretary, Korean Embassy, Israel.



Yehudit Ronen lectured on Egypt and the Nile Valley at a conference on "Egypt: Twenty-five years since the Sadat Assassination," sponsored by the Begin-Sadat Center for Strategic Studies, and held in Jerusalem in October 2006. She also delivered a lecture on "Migratory Waves across the Mediterranean Sea: Effects on Libyan State and Society," at an international conference on "Old and New Migration in the Mediterranean Region: Tripoli as a Mirage," convened at the University of Macerata, Italy, in November 2006. In June she spoke on "The Oscillations in Qadhafi's Position towards Jews of Libyan Origin" at an international conference on the *aliya* of Libyan Jewry, held at Bar-Ilan University. Ronen published "Between the Mahdiyya and the Muslim Brotherhood: Continuity and Change in Islamic Radicalism in Sudan," in *Journal of North African Studies*, March 2007, and "The HIV/AIDS Tragedy and the Bulgarian Medics' Affair: A Window on State and Society in Libya," in the May 2007 issue of *Middle Eastern Studies*. Her article "Ethiopia's Involvement in the Sudanese Civil War: Was it as Significant as Khartoum Claimed?" appeared in *Northeast African Studies*, May 2007. She reviewed Asne Seierstad, *The Bookseller of Kabul*, in the December 2006 issue of *Iton* 77, and Mukhtar Mai, *HaMehulelet* in the February 2007 issue of that journal.



Asher Susser appeared on a panel with Dr. Ghassan al-Khatib of the Palestinian Authority on the Israeli-Palestinian situation at the Finnish Institute of International Affairs in October 2006. He also briefed the Middle East section of the Finnish Foreign Ministry and lectured at the Institute for Asian and African Studies at the University of Helsinki. In Copenhagen he briefed the Middle East section of the Danish Foreign Ministry and delivered a lecture at the Center for Contemporary Middle East Studies of the University of Southern Denmark in Odense. In January 2007, Susser lectured on the Middle East in Montreal at the University of Montreal and Concordia University. In February, he delivered a lecture on "The New Middle East: Israel, Iran and the Arab World" at the LBJ School of Public Affairs, University of Texas at Austin. He also spoke at the University College Dublin and briefed the Middle East section of the Irish Foreign Ministry and a number of Irish parliamentarians. In London he spoke at the Royal Institute of International Affairs (Chatham House) and briefed officials at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office. In early May he participated in the Tswalu Dialogue in South Africa, an annual event organized by the Brenthurst Foundation in conjunction with the African Union and a number of internationally renowned research centers from different parts of the world (London, Washington, Singapore) including the Moshe Dayan Center. Later in May, Susser addressed the Irish Command and Staff College at Curragh. In June, he addressed the Swedish Defense Research Agency in Stockholm and also met with various representatives of the Swedish Foreign Ministry, academia, media and parliamentarians. He published "Israel, The Arabs and Palestine: Facing Crucial Decisions," in the inaugural issue of *Israeli Journal of Foreign Affairs* (October 2006).



Joshua Teitelbaum spoke several times during the first semester on intellectual trends on American campuses to students in the pre-collegiate program at Midreshet Lindenbaum in Jerusalem. He also participated in the year-long workshop on radical Islamic ideology organized by the Interdisciplinary Center Herzliya's Institute for Policy and Strategy and the Institute-sponsored Herzliya Conference in January 2007. In October 2006 he spoke on "Israel's Strategic Situation after the Second Lebanon War" at San Francisco State University. During the second semester he was on leave at Stanford University, where he was Schusterman Visiting Associate Professor in the Department of Political Science, and the Center on Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law (CDDRL), of the Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies. While at Stanford, Teitelbaum taught one course on Palestinian nationalism and the Arab-Israeli conflict, and another, with CDDRL Director Prof. Michael McFaul, on dictatorship and democracy in the Middle East. At CDDRL he gave a seminar lecture on "Tribalism and the Saudi State." For the Stanford community, he gave a course on Zionism at Stanford Hillel, and spoke widely at synagogues and other venues in the San Francisco Bay Area. In April 2007 he spoke on "Delegitimizing Israel" to the board of the American-Israel Public Affairs Committee in Seattle, and in May he returned to Seattle to lecture on Saudi Arabia and Israel at the University of Washington's Jackson School of International Studies. In July he spoke on the historical background of the Arab-Israeli conflict to the Diller Teen Fellows Summer Seminar of the Nesiya Institute. The *Encyclopaedia Britannica* published his entry, "Saudi Arabia," in late 2006. Authors of previous entries included historian and Saudi advisor Harry St. John Bridger Philby.



Esther Webman participated in a conference held in Budapest in early November 2006 on "Sixty Years After – Conflicting Tendencies," chairing the session on Islamic anti-Semitism. Three weeks later she gave a lecture about the Arab perspective

on European efforts to combat anti-Semitism at an expert meeting on anti-Semitism convened by the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe in Berlin. In February 2007, she took part in the Global Forum for Combating Anti-Semitism organized by the Foreign Ministry in Jerusalem. In March she lectured at the annual convention of the World Union of Progressive Judaism on anti-Semitic manifestations in the wake of the Second Lebanon War, and on the perceptions of the Holocaust in the Arab world at Yad Jabotinski. On May 15 she spoke on Arab anti-Semitism at a conference organized by the Tel Aviv Workshop for Science, Technology and Security held at TAU. On April 19 she hosted a delegation of Turkish journalists brought to Israel by the American Jewish Committee's Project Interchange.



Michael Winter chaired the panel on "Medicine and Society in the Middle East" and was discussant at the annual meeting of the Middle East Studies Association of North America held in Boston in November 2007. During the second semester he was Visiting Scholar at the Islamic Legal Studies Program at Harvard Law School, where he researched the status and functions of the *qadis* in Mamluk and Ottoman Damascus. His *Society and Religion in Early Ottoman Egypt: Studies in the Writings of 'Abd al-Wahhab al-Sha'rani* (Transaction Publishers) was reissued in paperback in 2007. Winter co-edited two books: *Turkey: The Ottoman Past and the Republican Present; Studies in Memory of Professor Aryeh Shmuelevitz*, published in 2007 by the Dayan Center and the Department of Middle Eastern and African History. Winter contributed an article to that volume on the cultural relations between Ottoman Cairo and Istanbul. The second book was *The Encounter of Crusaders and Muslims in Palestine as Reflected in Arsuf, Sayyiduna 'Ali and Other Coastal Sites* (Tel Aviv: Hakibbutz HaMeuchad, 2007). He published two entries in *Historians of the Ottoman Empire*, Harvard University online project, at www.ottomanhistorians.com: Ibn Iyas, Muhammad b. Ahmad; and al-Ghazzi, Najmuddin Muhammad b. Muhammad. His article, "Struggling with a Complex Legacy: Egyptian Modernists on the Historical Caliphate," appeared in David Menashri (ed.), *Religion and State in the Middle East; Studies in Honor of Professor Shimon Shamir* (Dayan Center and Hakibbutz HaMeuchad, Tel Aviv, 2006). He also published "Ottoman Qadis in Damascus during the 16th-18th Centuries," in Ron Shaham (ed.) *Law, Custom, and Statute in the Muslim World: Studies in Honor of Professor Aharon Layish* (Leiden: Brill, 2007.)



Daniel Zisenwine co-edited (with Bruce Maddy-Weitzman) *The Maghrib in the New Century: Identity, Religion, and Politics*, published by University Press of Florida. The anthology also included his article, "From Hasan II to Muhammad VI: Plus Ça Change?" He reviewed Michael Laskier's *Israel and the Maghreb: From Statehood to Oslo* in the September 2006 issue of *Journal of Israeli History*. Zisenwine delivered a paper entitled "Emerging Forms of Political Expression: Moroccan Campaign Slogans and Election Propaganda," at the annual conference of the Middle East Studies Association of North America, held in Boston in November 2006.



Eyal Zisser delivered a paper on "Israel and the Arab World after the Lebanon War" at the annual conference of the Middle East Studies Association of North America, held in Boston in November 2006. Also in November he spoke on "The Arab World following the War in Lebanon" at a conference on "The Second Lebanon War and its Aftermath," held by the Begin-Sadat Center for Strategic Studies, Bar Ilan University, and delivered a paper on "Why Didn't Syria Join the War?" at a conference on the Suez Campaign held at Haifa University's Herzl Institute for Research on Zionism. In December he lectured on "Syria, Lebanon and Hizballah: Toward a Next Round?" at a Haifa University Conference on the Second Lebanon War. In January 2007 he discussed possible Syrian intentions at a conference on "After Lebanon: A New Middle East?" convened by the GLORIA Center at the IDC, Herzliya. In April he spoke on "Iran, Alawite Syria and Hizballah: Who is Calling the Shots?" at a conference on "Iran, Hizballah and Hamas: Money, Martyrdom and the Mahdi," held by the Hebrew University. In May he spoke on "Syria's Jewish Community under the Asad Regime" at a conference on "Syrian Jewry: History, Identity and Heritage," organized by Bar Ilan University. In June he spoke on "The Future of Syria" at an international conference on "The Future of the Middle East" held by the Begin-Sadat Center for Strategic Studies, Bar Ilan University. He also delivered a paper on "Israel and Syria – between War and Peace," at the Association of Israel Studies' annual meeting held at the Open University, Ra'anana, in June. Later that month he also spoke on "Syria's Dilemma: Between Washington and Tehran," at Middle East Technical University, Ankara. His book *Commanding Syria: Bashar al-Asad and the First Years in Power* was published by I. B. Tauris in October 2006. His article "Political Trends in the Middle East: Implications for Israel," was published in the October 2006 issue of *Israel Affairs*. He also published "Bashar al-Asad's Gamble" in *Middle East Quarterly*, Fall 2006.

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