



BULLETIN

No.
45
SPRING
2007

The Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies

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 SCHOOL OF HISTORY 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.

FOUNDERS

S. DANIEL ABRAHAM
MORDECHAI BEN PORAT
CHARLES BRONFMAN
JOSEPH CIECHANOVER
LESTER CROWN
MICHEL FRIBOURG
BERNARD GITTER
GUILFORD GLAZER
KEMAL GÜRÜZ
HAIM ISRAELI
LUDWIG JESSELSON
ELIE KEDOURIE
SENATOR E. LEO KOLBER
NAPHTALI LAVIE
BERNARD LEWIS
MOSHE MANY
HERMAN MERKIN
HARVEY M. MEYERHOF
ITAMAR RABINOVICH
RAPHAEL RECANATI
BARON EDMOND DE ROTHSCHILD
ZALMAN SHOVAL
SHABTAI TEVETH
DAN TOLKOWSKY
JOY UNGERLEIDER-MAYERSON
THE HON. CYRUS VANCE

INTERNATIONAL BOARD of OVERSEERS

LESTER POLLACK (CHAIR)
JOEL MANDEL (VICE CHAIR)
JACQUELINE SIMKIN (VICE CHAIR)
MARC ABRAMOWITZ
Gaby Brill
JOHN BUSSEL
JERI B. COHEN
IAN FISHER
CYNTHIA FRIEDMAN
ALEXANDER GERTNER
ROBERT GILBERT
SANDRA GLASS
DIANE AND GUILFORD GLAZER
STANLEY GOLD
GWEN MARGOLIS
PAUL MILLER
MARGARET NEWBORG
HARVEY E. ROTHENBERG
RICHARD SACKLER
ALAN SCHWARTZ
ARTHUR SCHECHTER
CHRISTINA AND MARK SIEGEL
RUTH SINGER
AMOS SOCHACZEWSKI
MICHAEL SORKIN
MARK TANENBAUM
ALAN TOPCHIK
EDWIN WULFSOHN
RICHARD ZINN

BOARD of GOVERNORS

HAIM ISRAELI (CHAIR)
SHALOM ABARBANEL
URI BAR-NER
MORDECHAI BEN PORAT
SHLOMO BIDERMAN
JOSEPH CIECHANOVER
RONALD COHEN
ZVI ELPELEG
BOLESлав GOLDMAN
MARTIN KRAMER
NAPHTALI LAVIE
DANY LEVIATAN
ITAMAR RABINOVICH
MOSHE RAVIV
OUDI RECANATI
SHIMON SHAMIR
ZALMAN SHOVAL
ASHER SUSSER
MORDECHAI TAMARKIN
SHABTAI TEVETH
DAN TOLKOWSKY

DIRECTOR: ASHER SUSSER

BULLETIN EDITOR: JOSHUA TEITELBAUM
DESIGN: ELENA LESNICK
PRODUCTION: A.R.T. OFFSET SERVICES, LTD.

LEBANON: Old Wine, New Bottles?

With

the dust from last summer's war in Lebanon barely settled, on January 2, 2007 the Moshe Dayan Center held a one-day colloquium entitled "The Crisis in Lebanon: The Alignment of Internal, Regional and International Forces." The proceedings were opened by Prof. **Eyal Zisser**, Chairman of Tel Aviv University's Department of Middle Eastern and African History and Dayan Center Senior Fellow. Civil strife, he noted, has been a not-infrequent occurrence during the thousand year history of Lebanon as a distinct territorial and social unit. The current confrontation was likely to be resolved by a typical Lebanese compromise, in which each party emerged somewhat satisfied, without really dealing with the underlying problem. The question remained, when would the Shiite community, led by Hizballah or others, demand the leading role in Lebanon, and what would be the response of Lebanon's other communal groups?



Prof. Eyal Zisser

Ehud Yaari, the Arab affairs correspondent for Israeli Channel Two TV, emphasized the fragility of the Lebanese fabric, and the fact that Lebanon has ceased to function as a state. A key element in this breakdown was the alliance between the Maronite General Michel Aoun and Hizballah. Another aspect of the new situation was the unprecedented level of tension between



Ehud Yaari

the Sunni and Shiite communities. The trend towards the breakdown of the Lebanese state ran parallel to the breakdown of order in both Gaza and Iraq, and reflected the decline of the modern Arab state, and of Arabism as a working ideology. It was being replaced, stressed Ya'ari, especially in Islamist quarters, by the doctrine of *muqawwama* or "resistance," i.e., ongoing warfare, in order to deny victory to the stronger side, whether American or Israeli.

Prof. **Itamar Rabinovich**, President of Tel Aviv University, concluded the proceedings by analyzing the



Prof. Itamar Rabinovich

wider context of the crisis. In this regard, Hizballah must be understood as a proxy for Syria and Iran, while Israel, at least at the outbreak of the war, was viewed benignly by those countries in the region and beyond who feared Iran's regional ascent. Unlike in 1982, when the underlying conception of Israel's war was mistaken, in summer 2006 the problem was not the conception but the implementation, namely the failure to deliver a lethal blow to the Hizballah-Iran-

Syria axis, which might have decisively altered the regional balance of power. At this point, however, the regional implications of the breakdown in Iraq are more important than the dynamics in Lebanon. If the US were to withdraw from Iraq without leaving some semblance of order, the ensuing chaos could generate a full-scale regional and international crisis, Rabinovich maintained.

RELIGION, NATIONALISM, AND MINORITIES IN EUROPE

Senior Fellow Prof. **Mordechai Tamarkin** was honored on January 15, 2007 at a symposium on religion, nationalism, and minorities in Europe. Prof. **Hedva Ben Yisrael**, from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, spoke on "Religion and Nationalism: Allies or Rivals?" She examined the link between religion and nationalism, emphasizing that it was no longer axiomatic that nationalism everywhere equaled secularization. In many cases the religious identity which bound the nation remained part of the national identity even in secular nation-states. Nationalism was an all-encompassing ideology which demanded total dedication and sacrifice, often leading clerical establishments to oppose it as a dangerous rival. Even when nationalism banned religion, as in the French Revolution, it borrowed its symbols and strategies for emotional



Prof. HEDVA BEN YISRAEL



(LEFT TO RIGHT) Prof. ITAMAR RABINOVICH
AND Prof. MORDECHAI TAMARKIN

effect. Nowadays, however, in the West, nationalism has become moderate and is consciously separated from religion. Where nationalism is still extreme and violent it seems to be fired by religion.

Prof. **Benjamin Neuberger**, of the Open University, spoke on "Protecting Minorities in Democracies," rejecting the definition of democracy as "majority rule." Majorities often supported tyrannies, and the concept of majority was vague and differed from country to country. Democracy was best defined as a regime which protected minorities and basic freedoms. Neuberger stated that there were two different approaches to the protection of minorities: In the "classical" liberal approach individual rights were stressed, while the "new" liberal approach emphasizes the protection of minorities as collective entities.



PROF. BENJAMIN NEUBERGER

Dayan Senior Fellow and Bar-Ilan University Senior Lecturer Dr. **Yehudit Ronen** discussed the issue of African immigration to Europe. She analyzed the political, economic, religious and cultural dimensions of the phenomenon, stressing that it was changing the human mosaic in Africa itself, in the transit countries, and in Europe.



DR. YEHUDIT RONEN

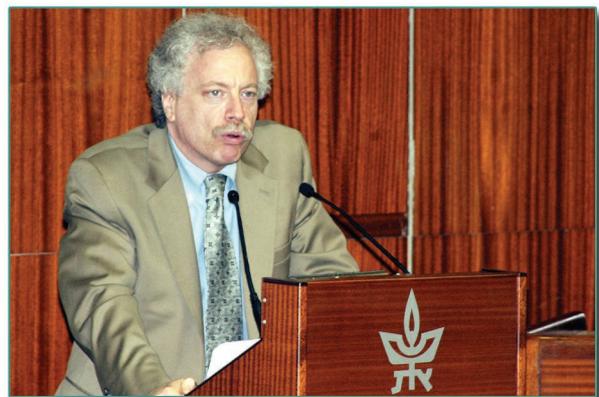
Lectures

THE PALESTINIAN NATIONAL AUTHORITY: FROM HOPE TO DESPAIR

Prof. **Nathan Brown** of George Washington University delivered the annual **Joseph (Buddy) Strelitz Memorial Lecture** on December 25, 2006. He said that the government of the Palestinian National Authority (PNA) could claim neither solvency nor sovereignty; it was constructed as part of a peace process that was completely deadlocked and large parts of it were governed by a movement, Hamas, which denied the legitimacy of the process that led to its birth. Conversely, Palestinian identity, which emerged in the absence of state institutions, was alive and vibrant.

Turning to the institutions that formed the PNA, Prof. Brown noted that some of them were the legacy of the previous governments that ruled its territory – from the Ottomans to the Israelis. Others, primarily the PLO, were created by the Palestinian factions and

brought to the PNA after 1994, while still others were the creation of Palestinian society within the West



PROF. NATHAN BROWN

Bank and Gaza Strip. Of those established by the PNA itself, the most impressive was the Palestinian Legislative Council.

Professor Brown spoke of three visions that guided the establishment of the PNA. The first was Palestine as a sovereign state according to which the Palestinians sought to interpret the Oslo Accords in ways that made the restrictions on their sovereignty irrelevant and worked to push the Oslo Accords to and even past their limits.

The second vision was to shape Palestine as a normal Arab state that is a semi-authoritarian state, in which most powers are vested in the presidency. Consequent-

ly, officials drafted restrictions on the press, on civil organizations and on the formation of political parties.

The third vision was the construction of Palestine as a democratic liberal state different from the rest of the Arab world. Unsuccessful, this vision made great gains in the 2003 constitutional amendments that were introduced following strong external pressures on then PNA Chairman Yasser Arafat. While Hamas was voted into office through democratic elections and employed democratic rhetoric, and could claim to represent the reformist vision domestically, it remained alienated from much of the machinery of the government and its foreign policy makes the prospects of the PNA unclear.

SEVEN Pillars of Wisdom – in HEBREW

On December 3, 2006, the Dayan Center and the Ministry of Defense Publishers sponsored an evening dedicated to the issuing of the Hebrew translation of T.E. Lawrence's classic, *Seven Pillars of Wisdom*. The work was translated by **Nina Patael** and **David Barkov**.



(LEFT TO RIGHT) PUBLISHER YA'AKOV HAVAKUK AND DR. JOSHUA TEITELBAUM

Following opening remarks by **Ya'akov Havakuk** of the Ministry of Defense Publishers, **Ya'akov Rozen**, Israel's ambassador to Jordan, spoke of his passion for collecting books about Lawrence. He related how he had amassed his collection of over seven-hundred items, and amused the crowd with the story of tracking down a copy of a book on Lawrence published in Yiddish.



AMBASSADOR YA'AKOV ROZEN AND T.E. LAWRENCE — in Yiddish

Senior Fellow (Emeritus) Dr. **Gideon Gera** discussed his research on Lawrence as an intelligence agent.



DR. GIDEON GERA

Lawrence was a “generalist” intelligence officer. He was well-versed in the new technologies of aerial photography and SIGINT. His analyses were cogent and well-written. His deep knowledge of the Arabs and their language served the British well.

Senior Fellow Dr. **Joshua Teitelbaum** spoke on Lawrence’s advocacy of the Foreign Office’s position, which favored Sharif Husayn bin ‘Ali, over that of the India Office, which supported the aspirations of Husayn’s rival for primacy in the Arabian Peninsula, Ibn Saud. The Foreign Office supported Husayn’s Caliphal aspirations, although as a spiritual and not a temporal office, but Husayn kept up his ambitions until the very end.



Dr. Uzi Rabi

Dr. **Uzi Rabi**, Senior Lecturer in the Department of Middle Eastern and African History, spoke on “Lawrence of Arabia – Myth and Reality.” According to Rabi, Lawrence’s real accomplishments as scholar, archaeologist, army officer and author were well-established in the historical record. But the popular image of Lawrence as “Uncrowned King of Arabia” and the leader of the Arab Revolt as personified by Peter O’Toole in the epic movie “Lawrence of Arabia” was at least partially illusory. The legend of Lawrence of Arabia seems to be primarily an American creation, concocted by journalist and adventurer Lowell Thomas, and sustained to the present by a group of Lawrence aficionados.

THE ANNUAL BERNARD LEWIS LECTURES

Princeton Prof. (Emeritus) **Bernard Lewis** gave two lectures during the first semester. His visit was co-sponsored with the **Mortimer and Raymond Sackler Institute of Advanced Studies**. In his first lecture, entitled “Orthodoxy and Heresy in Middle East Religions” and delivered on January 8, 2007, Lewis spoke about Judaism, Islam, Christianity and the influence of religion in Iran. The encounter between the Jews and Iran in the Babylonian exile changed Judaism and gave it a messianism that it lacked before the exile. It was from post-exilic Judaism that Christianity and later Islam developed. The concept of heresy had its origins in Manichaeism, named after the Iranian Zoroastrian heretic Mani. He then used the concepts of orthodoxy and heresy to examine the



Prof. BERNARD LEWIS

splits in Christianity and Islam and to compare them.

In the second lecture, given on January 25, Lewis discussed “Islam, the West and the Jews,” examining the relationship between Christianity and Islam since the latter’s founding. He noted that there were conflicts in the Arab phase of Islam and later in the Ottoman phase. The third phase is now taking place and the battleground is both in the Middle East and in Europe, where millions of Muslims now live. He expressed doubt about the will-

ingness of Europe to stand up to Islamic fundamentalism. Jews traditionally fared better under Islam than under Christianity, but the introduction of modern anti-Semitism into the Middle East, combined with anti-Zionism, has worsened relations significantly.

THE WAR IN LEBANON: NEW MILESTONE FOR ARABS IN ISRAEL

Senior Fellow Dr. **Elie Rekhess**, director of the **Konrad Adenauer Program for Jewish-Arab Cooperation**, delivered the annual memorial lecture for the three fallen students of the Department of Middle Eastern and African History, **Yehoshafat Netzer**, **Avishai Ben Tzvi**, who fell in the Yom Kippur War, and **Ziv Balali**, who fell in the Lebanon War of summer 2006.

Rekhess discussed the implications of the last war in Lebanon for the national and civic identities of Israeli Arabs. He said that one could no longer use anachronistic definitions, which were used by the State since the late 1940s, and thus avoid the recognition of the Arab population as a national minority in the making. Official recognition of the Arab population's national identity did not contradict the nature of Israel as a national homeland of the Jewish people, nor did it reject the Jewish people's right to self determination. He pointed out that the State of Israel had already granted some collective rights to its Arab citizens, such as the recognition of Arabic as a second official language and the right to a separate religious law system.



Dr. Elie Rekhess

Rekhess analyzed the implications of the recent Lebanon war on Jewish-Arab relations. He noted that for the first time in Israel's history, the war created a sense of a shared destiny between Jews and Arabs even in the blood toll: out of thirty-nine civilians killed during the war, eighteen were Arabs. Rekhess concluded his lecture by calling for Jewish-Arab dialogue, leading to mutual recognition of each group's right to national existence, based on mutual understanding and trust.

REMEMBERING MOSHE DAYAN



Maj. Gen. (ret.) Giora Eiland

Maj. Gen. (ret.) **Giora Eiland**, former head of the National Security Council, addressed the annual gathering in memory of Moshe Dayan, held at the Center on November 20, 2006.

JUDGE HASHIM KHATIB:

THREE YEARS TO THE OR REPORT – NOTHING HAS CHANGED

The Konrad Adenauer Program for Jewish-Arab Cooperation held its annual “Or Report Lecture” on September 11. This was the Adenauer Program’s third assessment of the implementation of the Commission’s findings, which were offered following its investigations into the rioting and ensuing death of members of the Arab community in October 2000. This year, the Program hosted Nazareth District Court Judge Hashim Khatib, a member of the Or Commission.

Khatib discussed governmental policy towards the Arab sector, analyzing the extent of implementation of the Or Commission’s recommendations. He noted that three years after the publication of the Commission’s findings and six years after the October 2000 events, governmental policy towards the Arab citizens in Israel remained unchanged, and was still characterized by discrimination and deprivation of the country’s Arab citizens.

Judge Khatib added that the Commission’s report did not bring about mutual trust between Jews and Arabs in Israel, and that the gap between the two communities had become even wider. He noted with regret that the notion of “transfer” of Israeli Arab communities to the Palestinian Authority had become a seemingly legitimate point of view, held not only by the general public, but even among prominent political and media figures.

Khatib expressed his deep concern, saying that events similar to those of October 2000, or even harsher, could recur. His conclusion was that “the writing which preceded the October events is still on the wall, and in much brighter and bolder letters.”



JUDGE HASHIM KHATIB



Dr. **Elie Rekhess**, Director of the Dayan Center’s **Konrad Adenauer Program for Jewish-Arab Cooperation (KAPJAC)**, briefed Democratic US Presidential primary candidate Senator **Barack Obama** (Illinois) during a visit to the Arab village of Fasuta. For the latest on KAPJAC, visit its website at dayan.tau.ac.il/kapjac.

DR. ELIE REKHESS WITH SEN. BARACK OBAMA

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.

ALGERIA: BOUTEFLIKA'S "DEMOCRATIC AUTHORITARIANISM"

On October 30, 2006, Dr. **Geoff Porter**, Middle East and Africa analyst for the Eurasia Group, spoke on Algerian President Abdelaziz Bouteflika's consolidation of political power. While Algeria has transcended the struggle between the state and Islamist forces that devastated the country in the 1990s and has seemingly managed to steer itself out of a military junta and restore an elected government, it also appeared that Bouteflika was intent on using the institutions of the state to consolidate political power. His methods could be described as "democratic authoritarianism": through his manipulation of democratic institutions, the press, and the religious establishment, Bouteflika maintained the veneer of a democratic political process, but simultaneously circumscribed the ability of these groups to pose meaningful challenges to his rule and his policies.



ECONOMIC INTEGRATION? ISRAEL AND THE PALESTINIANS

On December 4, Center Post-Doctoral Fellow Dr. **Amos Nadan** presented aspects of his research on economic interaction between Israel and the Palestinians. Nadan looked at the economic integration between the two sides with respect to conflict analysis and management, as well as peace-keeping. His research question was therefore not "how to instigate higher economic growth?", but rather "how to induce more tranquility by economic measures?" Nadan demonstrated the utility of the "social cubism" model, which integrated economic and non-economic factors for peace building. This was accomplished via the analysis of interaction in the labor market, trade, investment, and through different ideological perceptions.



THE WAR ON TERRORISM: A MISTAKEN APPROACH

Dr. **Adam Garfinkle**, editor of *The American Interest* magazine, addressed the Forum on January 1, 2007 on the topic of "The Bush Administration's Freedom Agenda and the War on Terror: A Category Error." Dr. Garfinkle, a former Dayan Center fellow (1992-93), described his appraisal of the administration's "freedom agenda" as it evolved during the first Bush term from his position on the Policy Planning Bureau of the US State Department, where he served as Speechwriter to Secretary Colin Powell. Summarizing an internal memo he wrote just after President Bush's November 2003 National Endowment for Democracy speech advocating a "forward strategy for freedom" in the Muslim world, Garfinkle related his skepticism concerning the administration's basic understanding of contemporary mass-casualty Islamist terrorism and his doubts about the wisdom of the "freedom agenda" as a means for dealing with it. He pointed to what were then his predictions about what would happen if American policy pressed democratic elections prematurely on societies without democrats. He noted that his arguments were unavailing.



A LETTER FROM MOROCCO

Moroccan-born doctoral candidate **Samir Ben Layashi** spoke January 22 on his impressions of a visit to Morocco just after the 2006 Lebanon war. He noted that the war seemed far away, and disturbed neither the tourist business nor the flow of day-to-day life. He argued that Morocco's Islamist Party of Justice and Development may hold the key to democracy in the country. Expected to obtain the largest number of votes in the 2007 parliamentary elections, the party will become a major player in the new government, he maintained. The threat to a democratic transition is not that the party is too radical, but that it may allow itself to be co-opted by the monarch as all other parties have been.

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL RESEARCH FORUM

The **Social and Cultural Research Forum** is sponsored by the Center and the University's Department of Middle Eastern and African History, and organized by Profs. **Ehud Toledano** and Center Senior Fellow **Joseph Kostiner**. The forum held three meetings during the Fall semester. Prof. Kostiner spoke on November 23, 2006, on "The Formation of States in Tribal Societies following World War One." On December 28, Dr. **Dror Ze'evi** of Ben Gurion University discussed "Was There Ever Sex? The Disappearance of Sexual Discourse in the Middle East." On January 25, 2007, Dr. **Hagai Ram** of Ben Gurion University spoke on "What Are They Really Saying? Multivocality in Official Iranian Texts after 1979."

THE AMIRA MARGALITH SUMMER RESEARCH INTERNSHIP



On August 28, 2006, Prof. **Kenneth Stein** of Emory University was honored for establishing the **Amira Margalith Summer Research Internship**. The Internship expresses Prof. Stein's long-standing connection to the Dayan Center and his deep appreciation for Amira's service to the Center as its administrator for over two decades.

(LEFT TO RIGHT) PROF. ASHER SUSSER, MINDA LEE ARROW, PROF. KENNETH STEIN, AND MAYA MARGALITH, AMIRA'S SISTER

New Publications

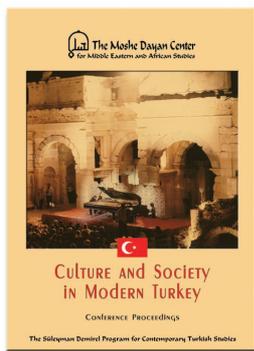


Cohesion-Challenged?

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, 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 both broad and deep, examining the issue historically as well as state-by-state. An English version is in press.

Turkey, Past and Present

Prof. (Emeritus) **Michael Winter** and Dr. **Miri Shefer** of the Department of Middle Eastern and African History have published **Turkey: The Ottoman Past and the Republican Present**. The book was published in memory of Senior Fellow Prof. **Aryeh Shmuelevitz**, one of Israel's great scholars of Ottoman and Turkish history, who passed away in 2005, and is issued by the Dayan Center and the Department of Middle Eastern and African History. Covering the entire gamut of Ottoman and Turkish history, the volume includes essays on Jews in the Ottoman Empire, the Empire on the threshold of modernity, and the Turkish Republic.

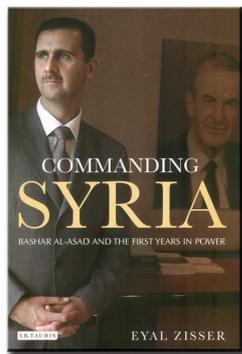


Turkey, Present

Culture and Society in Modern Turkey is the title of a new collection published by the Dayan Center's **Süleyman Demirel Program for Contemporary Turkish Studies**. The essays, by Turkish, American and Israeli scholars, cover such subjects as modern Turkish literature, television, music and cinema.

Religion and State in the Middle East

Together with the Department of Middle Eastern and African History and Hakibbutz Hameuhad Publishers, the Dayan Center has issued **Religion and State in the Middle East: A Tribute to Prof. Shimon Shamir**. Edited by Prof. **David Menashri**, and with articles by colleagues and students, the book covers a wide range of subjects, reflecting Prof. Shamir's extraordinary scholarly contribution to the study of modern Middle Eastern history in Israel.



Syria under Bashar

Dayan Center Senior Fellow and chair of the Department of Middle Eastern and African History, Prof. **Eyal Zisser**, has published **Commanding Syria: Bashar al-Asad and the First Years in Power** (I.B. Tauris). The book traces Asad's continuing hold on power amidst the Byzantine maneuvering of Asad family politics, and the key events of his presidency.

"A valuable, detailed record...there is nothing like it in print today."

– Patrick Seale

THE MOSHE DAYAN CENTER BULLETIN is published twice a year by THE CENTER.
TO RECEIVE THE BULLETIN REGULARLY OR TO REQUEST A CHANGE OF ADDRESS,
PLEASE CONTACT THE MOSHE DAYAN CENTER, TEL AVIV UNIVERSITY,
RAMAT AVIV 69978, ISRAEL; TELEPHONE: (972) 3-640-9100; fax: (972) 3-641-5802;
E-MAIL: dayancen@post.tau.ac.il
WEBSITE: dayan.tau.ac.il

THE BULLETIN IS DISTRIBUTED FREE OF CHARGE.