

The mission of the Fares Center for Eastern Mediterranean Studies at Tufts University is to create an academic environment for the promotion of greater understanding of the rich heritage of the Eastern Mediterranean, and of the significant challenges that this region faces at the beginning of the twenty-first century. The center acts as a major focus for cross-regional

and cross-cultural analysis, providing a forum for the articulation of a broad diversity of viewpoints in the belief that this will serve as an effective means of conflict resolution.

The main countries concerned are Jordan, Lebanon, and Syria, and the neighboring countries of Cyprus, Egypt, Greece, Iran, Iraq, Israel, and Turkey, together with any other country or region of the world whose history and politics affect them. The region's history and its pivotal role in world politics have attracted the interest of scholars concerned with fields as diverse as the origins of writing and the beginnings of modern science. In focusing on the Eastern Mediterranean, the center is a rich source of current information and data on the area, encouraging the consideration of policy issues from an international perspective.

In addition to constituting a valuable resource for Middle East majors and graduate students in other fields, the university-wide center's links to the existing curriculum include collaboration with a number of schools, departments, and programs at Tufts. Visiting fellowships are offered annually to prominent and promising scholars from abroad, who can make significant contributions to the center's teaching and research, and its analysis of public policy issues.

The center sponsors academic symposia, conferences, and seminars that enhance its commitment to cross-regional analysis and to the encouragement of a diversity of voices from within and from outside the region. It publishes occasional papers and the proceedings of workshops and conferences on the history, culture, and international relations of the region.



The Fares Center

for Eastern Mediterranean Studies

TUFTS UNIVERSITY
Cabot Intercultural Center
160 Packard Avenue
Medford, MA 02155

Telephone: 617-627-6560
Fax: 617-627-3461
E-mail: fares-center@tufts.edu
Web: <http://farescenter.tufts.edu>

NONPROFIT ORG.
US POSTAGE
PAID
BOSTON, MA
PERMIT NO. 1161

PHAROS

LIGHTING THE PATH TO UNDERSTANDING



THE NEWSLETTER OF THE FARES CENTER AT TUFTS UNIVERSITY FALL 2004

Fares Center Adds to Diversity of Voices

A Letter from Provost Jamshed Bharucha

What we watch on television and read in newspapers not only keeps us informed of current events, it shapes our perceptions of those events. Anyone who is interested in the future of the Middle East needs to understand the important role media play in the region, as well as the way news is brought home to us here in the U.S. This past year, the Fares Center brought five experts on the media and the Middle East to speak from their considerable experience. They sought to answer such questions as: Is there an independent media in the non-Western world? Is there a bias in Western coverage of the Middle East? If all five were to sit in a room



together, they would probably agree on very little. One thing they would all most likely agree on, however, is that a diversity of

voices can make societies stronger. It is precisely this sort of embrace of diverse viewpoints that makes the Fares Center for Eastern Mediterranean Studies so important to the vitality of the Tufts campus. We are lucky to have a center, under the leadership of Leila Fawaz, committed to such important goals during these difficult times.



Hafiz al-Mirazi (center), from the Washington, D.C. bureau of Al-Jazeera, posed in the Fares Center with graduate students and faculty during his visit to Tufts for the fall 2003 Fares Lecture Series.

Media and the Middle East

The fall 2003 Fares Lecture Series brought five experts on the media and the Middle East to Tufts to offer their perspectives on the role of the media in reporting the region's current events. At a time when much of the world's news is generated in the Middle East, and when the ever-increasing rapidity of global information exchange highlights the importance of the international media, the lecturers provided thoughtful and much-needed analysis and observations about the "al-Jazeera effect," embedded reporting from Iraq, the American media's treatment of Islam, and other major topics informing the current debate on media and the Middle East. (See summations on page 4.)

The Fares Center

for Eastern Mediterranean Studies

PHAROS

LIGHTING THE PATH TO UNDERSTANDING



THE NEWSLETTER OF THE FARES CENTER
AT TUFTS UNIVERSITY FALL 2004

The lighthouse known as Pharos, considered one of the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World, directed ships to the cultural richness of Alexandria.

SPECIAL GUEST EDITORS:

Michael Kugelman, Fletcher '05, studies international communication and U.S. foreign policy. He has lived, studied, and traveled throughout Europe and East Asia. Prior to his arrival at Fletcher, he helped administer the Fulbright Foreign Student Program to graduate students from the Middle East and North Africa at AMIDEAST. At Fletcher he is a senior editor with *The Fletcher Forum*, Fletcher's journal of international affairs. He also cohosts "The World in Focus," Fletcher's weekly radio discussion show on international affairs.

Craig Cohen, Fletcher '04, studied comparative and developmental political analysis, focusing on the Middle East and Africa. He has lived in and worked for U.N. and nongovernmental development agencies in Rwanda, Malawi, Azerbaijan, and the former Yugoslavia. At Fletcher he served as a teaching assistant for Professor Fawaz's undergraduate course "The Contemporary Middle East."

CONSULTING EDITOR: Peri Bearman

Photography by Chamsai Manasveta, George Ellmore, Steve Guerra, Richard Howard, Mark Morelli, and Claudia Zelada. Illustration by Shannon Abbey.

TUFTS

Letter from the Director



It is not difficult to imagine why students are drawn to the Fares Center for Eastern Mediterranean Studies. The Middle East is in the news every day for one thing or another. As the students pass through our halls, we try to do three things with them through our speaker series, our scholars-in-residence, and our support for student-run activities. First, we try to show them that reality is often subjective, particularly in the Middle East, where everyone has a different opinion on even the smallest of matters. Second, we try to stir their intellectual curiosity. It can be frightening to learn that what we have been taught our entire lives may not be the one and only truth, but this can also be a liberating experience. Opening one's mind to new and conflicting ideas is essential in a liberal arts environment. And, finally, we try to combat racism and exclusion in all its forms, in all we do. Bridging opposing views by lighting the path to understanding is what we have been charged with through the generosity of His Excellency Issam M. Fares, and what we try to attain under the leadership of Provost Bharucha and President Bacow.

Leila Fawaz

Tufts Student Receives Prestigious Award

The Fares Center congratulates Fletcher doctoral student Amal Jadou, who has received a prestigious award from the Sasakwa Young Leaders Fellowship Fund (SYLFF) program at The Tokyo Foundation. The award recognizes academic excellence and leadership potential. Ms. Jadou will have the opportunity to receive the \$5,000 prize and to spend two weeks in Japan. Her award letter praises her "clear vision...her unwavering, strong commitment...her courage and perseverance,"

and her "ability to inspire others." Ms. Jadou, a Palestinian, was raised in the Aida refugee camp near Bethlehem. She became the first Palestinian woman to appear on Palestinian television. She later worked with several nongovernmental organizations, serving as a representative of Palestinian political, social, and academic institutions. The current Palestinian Intifada sparked Ms. Jadou's decision to come to Fletcher, where she now researches the Palestinian-Israeli peace process. In her prize-winning essay, she described her goal of getting elected to the Palestinian Legislative Council within five years of finishing her dissertation. "In order to make real change in people's lives," she wrote, "we have to create the appropriate laws that ensure equality and responsibility." Ms. Jadou's determination to succeed is captured by her motto: "Wherever there is a will, there is a way."



AMAL JADOU



Students listen to one of three roundtable discussions sponsored by the Med Club this past year.

Med Club Round-Up

In November 2003, the Tufts community was treated to a brilliant array of food, song, and dance from across the Mediterranean as Med Night kicked off the 2003 academic year's round of Fletcher culture nights. The event—sponsored by the Med Club, Fletcher's Eastern Mediterranean student club—featured belly and flamenco dancing, poetry readings, a wealth of culinary offerings from souvlaki to shwarma, and other examples of the region's culture.

The Med Club also hosted several roundtable discussions this year. The first addressed perspectives on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The second considered energy and oil issues in the Caucasus. And the third focused on the recent French decision to ban religious

symbols, including Islamic headscarves, in classrooms. All roundtables featured Fletcher student panelists and faculty moderators.

Finally, the Med Club continued its tradition of sponsoring film screenings relevant to the Eastern Mediterranean region. It presented *Nasser 56*, a 1996 movie of Egypt's former president Gamal Nasser, and *Umm Kulthum: A Voice Like Egypt*, a 1996 documentary about the iconic Egyptian singer. It also sponsored a viewing of *The Battle of Algiers*, a 1965 film about the Algerian insurgency against France. All of these events contributed to the Med Club's vision of illuminating the uniquely rich degree of cultural diversity in the Eastern Mediterranean region.



Tufts graduate student Ronnie Olesker (right) with friends at Med Night 2003.



The Fares Lecture Series Media and the Middle East

The Fares Lecture Series strives to bring a wide array of experts on the Middle East who represent a diversity of backgrounds, perspectives, and countries of origin to Tufts. The fall 2003 series brought five distinguished Middle East scholars and journalists to discuss the media's role in the region.

Hafiz al-Mirazi, Washington, D.C. bureau chief for the al-Jazeera Satellite Channel, former correspondent for BBC Arabic World Service, and former writer and reporter with the Voice of America, spoke about the “al-Jazeera effect.” This phenomenon, according to Mr. al-Mirazi, refers to the channel's ability to shape Arab public opinion with its visual images of suffering in the Arab world. He began his lecture with a history of al-Jazeera, tracing its evolution from a failed joint venture between a Saudi Arabian satellite service and the Arabic television division of BBC World Service to its eventual formation in 1996 as a single, Qatar-based satellite station. The Qatari government provided al-Jazeera with public grants, but pledged not to interfere otherwise. The station's impact was immediate, as viewers could now circumvent the traditional government control of print media. CNN's coverage during the Gulf War had already convinced Arabs that they

needed their own independent medium to report on major events in the region. Al-Jazeera provided this resource during Operation Desert Fox in 1998, when American and British forces launched several days of aerial bombings on Iraqi ground targets. Al-Jazeera's footage of the attacks on Baghdad outraged Arabs, Mr. al-Mirazi said. Unlike during the Gulf War, Arabs now saw how events played out in their region from a more personal perspective. Another dimension of the “al-Jazeera effect” is regional, as media in the Middle East can avoid state control and censorship, and in so doing expand the margin of media freedoms throughout the region. Such developments, Mr. al-Mirazi explained, have made al-Jazeera very controversial in the eyes of many in the region. Arab governments have faulted it for inviting opposition politicians on the air—a policy, according to critics, that amounts to the old colonial practice of divide-and-conquer, with Arabs criticizing other

Arabs. Additionally, the station has been under fire for superimposing maps of Israel—something that does not happen even on Jordanian or Egyptian stations, according to Mr. al-Mirazi. The United States has in the past expressed its concern over the station's programming. Though U.S. views of al-Jazeera were positive prior to the September 11, 2001, attacks, they became critical after the attacks when Americans alleged that the station overemphasized the remarks of Osama Bin Laden and Saddam Hussein. Mr. al-Mirazi defended this charge by noting that U.S. President George W. Bush, Secretary of State Colin Powell, National Security Adviser Condoleezza Rice, and Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld have often appeared on the station since the attacks. Mr. al-Mirazi also recalled *The New York Times's* publishing of the Unibomber Manifesto—an indication that even American media give space to “unsavory figures.” Media outlets, he said, simply want to provide knowledge for their audiences about people making news on a given day. Mr. al-Mirazi concluded with a summation of the “al-Jazeera effect”: Just as CNN aroused public opinion in the United States during the 1990s after broadcasting footage of U.S. soldiers being dragged through Mogadishu and of the market shelling in Sarajevo, al-Jazeera has engendered among Arabs a desire to take action by broadcasting images of Palestinian casualties and demolished homes.



The Honorable **William A. Rugh**, former president and chief operating officer of America-Mideast Training and Educational Services, Inc. (AMIDEAST), former U.S. ambassador to the United Arab Emirates and Yemen, and author of several books, including the recently published *Arab Mass Media: Newspapers, Radio, and Television in Arab Politics* (2004), offered an American perspective on Arab media. Ambassador Rugh's basic assumption was that media outlets are rooted in the society of their origin; for this reason, one must understand a society in order to appreciate the society's media. Journalism, in fact, is not a highly respected pursuit in the Arab world, particularly because many still consider oral communication to be the most reliable source of information. He described the characteristics of Arab media, including their tendency to have weak

economic bases. Small populations, low literacy rates, and limited advertising all contribute to the financial struggles of Arab media. The total revenue of all Arab media outlets, according to Ambassador Rugh, is less than that of either *The New York Times* or *The Washington Post* alone. This economic fragility can create a dependence on governments, which in turn lowers media credibility as readers suspect that their country's media have a political purpose. Many Arab newspapers, in fact, were established by colonial powers or local governments; private newspapers in Lebanon and Egypt have been exceptions. Ambassador Rugh presented his own typology of today's Arab print media, based on four models: mobilization, loyalist, diverse, and transitional. Mobilization involves full government control over media, as it aims to "mobilize" the population for government sup-



The Honorable William A. Rugh (left) is greeted by Fletcher Executive Associate Dean Gerard F. Sheehan.

port. This model, apparent in Syria, Libya, and the Sudan, brooks no criticism of leadership, punishes journalists, and practices censorship. The loyalist model involves privately owned media that tend to support governments. Common in the Gulf countries, such media outlets permit limited criticism of leaders. The diverse model, which prevails in Lebanon, Morocco, Kuwait, Yemen, and—as of April 2003—Iraq, comprises privately run newspapers that show a varied type of coverage and style; governments are both criticized and supported. The transitional model is new, as the countries it comprises—Algeria, Egypt, Jordan, and Tunisia—have all experienced change in their systems. Here, strong elements of government controls are combined with freedom. Some newspapers are privately owned while others are not. In these cases, the press can speak out but risks legal repercussions. Turning to radio and television in the Arab world, Ambassador Rugh noted that broadcast media, because of



From left: Provost Jamshed Bharucha, Fares Center Director Leila Fawaz, Tufts trustee and Executive Committee member Fares I. Fares, and George J. Marcopoulos, Tufts professor of history, at a meeting of the Executive Committee.



low literacy rates, have historically boasted larger audiences than their print counterparts. Traditionally, the only available options for viewers were state-run. However, in the early 1990s, Arab-language satellite channels began proliferating in Europe and spread to the Middle East. The advent of Arab satellite television, he believes, is rooted in discontent with what was perceived as biased CNN coverage of the first Gulf War. The region now boasts more than a dozen satellite outlets, of which nine are owned by either Saudi Arabia or Lebanon. In 2003, the four most popular television channels in the region were al-Jazeera, the Lebanese Broadcasting Company, al-Manar, and Abu Dhabi TV. Ambassador Rugh ended with a case study of television's evolution in Lebanon. The country's television stations were originally a government-controlled monopoly. Civil war spawned several private stations, each one representing a different faction in the war. In 1994, the government passed a media law permitting the existence of private television stations. This case study, he concluded, proves the point he made at the beginning of the lecture: The media are intertwined with the politics and society in which they originate.

Khaled al-Maeena, president and chief executive officer of Saudi Public Relations Company, editor-in-chief of *Arab News*, and senior columnist for *Al-Sharq Al-Awsat*, *Al Madina*, *Urdu News*, and *Gulf News*, provided an Arab perspective on media and the Middle East. He issued a call for better under-

standing between Arabs and Americans and their respective media. Mr. al-Maeena began with an attempt to dispel the mischaracterization held by many outside the Arab world that Arab media outlets are not independent. In fact, he said, the region's press—particularly in the Gulf—is quite vibrant and autonomous. Eleven privately owned newspapers exist in Saudi Arabia. The country also has a journalists' association and employs many women in the journalism field. He insisted that press freedoms do exist in Arab media. Certain issues are off limits, he acknowledged, but for cultural reasons, not because of censorship or fear. For example, stories about personal lives are considered inappropriate and needless incursions into private lives. Yet issues such as child abuse and corruption are covered. Those in the Arab media agree that these misunderstandings have continued in the



KHALED AL-MAEENA

post-September 11 era. Responding to the view held by those outside the region that Saudis were apathetic about the September 11 attacks, Mr. al-Maeena said that Saudi Arabia was deeply affected, particularly since 15 of the hijackers were Saudi. In a country with little crime, it took Saudis some time to accept the fact that their countrymen were complicit in such an atrocity, he explained. He received 578,000 e-mails from the United States after the attacks, most of them negative and vitriolic, but not all so. While some aspects of the United States are not pleasing to the Arab media—such as the proliferation of people purporting to be experts on Islam and the Middle East—American and Arab media do have healthy exchanges. Ultimately, he concluded, we must focus on points of convergence, because the United States and the Arab world share the common enemy of terrorism.

Judith Miller, senior writer for *The New York Times*, former *Times* bureau chief in Cairo and Paris, former news editor at the *Times*' Washington, D.C., bureau, and coauthor of *Germes: Biological Weapons and America's Secret War* (2002), drew on her recent experiences as an embedded reporter in Iraq and offered her thoughts on the issue of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) in the aftermath of last year's war. After speaking specifically about WMD in Iraq, she commented more broadly about current issues in the WMD debate. Prewar indications pointed toward the existence of WMD in Iraq, she said. These indications included the U.S.



intelligence community's assessment that Iraq had chemical and biological weapons; the allegation that President Saddam Hussein was attempting to acquire uranium and other materials; the conclusions of the UNSCOM and UNMOVIC weapons inspection regimes that Hussein had not accounted for large quantities of chemical compounds and Scud missiles; and the belief that about 10,500 liters of liquid anthrax were unaccounted for. In sum, on the eve of the war, the Bush administration concluded that Iraq posed a clear and present danger to the United States because of its possession of WMD. Ms. Miller described her experiences from March to June 2003 as an embedded reporter with the 75th Exploitation Task Force, a group of U.S. forces charged with the task of locating WMD. The task force traveled to the 50 sites listed by the Pentagon as most likely to contain weapons. What was found were not weapons but instead gasoline, fertilizer, and other dual-use products. She praised the bravery and hard work of the people with whom she worked, and lamented the difficult conditions they often faced. Mission helicopter availability, for example, was often wanting. Despite the failure to find any WMD, she rejects the theory that Hussein never had them, as the reports of UNSCOM and UNMOVIC indicate that Hussein was acting as if he had something to hide. Perhaps, she posited, the weapons were there but have since been hidden, transferred, or destroyed, or perhaps the weapons are in the hands of what remains of Hussein's Ba'athist regime.



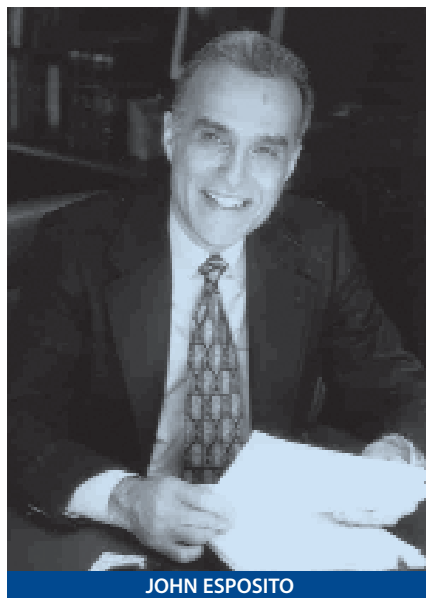
What worries Ms. Miller the most, however, is the possibility that the prewar intelligence was wrong—that Iraq's weapons program was destroyed during the 1990s, and that intelligence communities everywhere failed to notice. We live in a world of WMD seekers, Ms. Miller said, and if it turns out that all predictions about Iraq's weapons program—despite all the scrutiny—were wrong, then what implications does such a failure have for accurately predicting the intentions of Syria, North Korea, and other nations suspected of having WMD? Shifting to some general comments about WMD, she first touched on their increasing modernization. The world is moving toward virtual arsenals and mobile facilities, she explained. Huge, Soviet-style biological facilities are no longer necessary. Sufficient amounts of an agent to destroy the United States or Israel could be made in a small room. This biotechnological revolution poses a challenge to existing nonproliferation

treaties and detection regimes. Ms. Miller characterized chemical weapons as potent yet ultimately preventable; damage occurs when the chemical attack happens. Yet biological weapons have a more long-term and extensive impact—the attack does not end upon the initial hit; on the contrary, people themselves become weapons of mass destruction as they spread the infectious agents. Al-Qaeda has made strides with biological weapons, she said, noting how the United States recently shut down a newly constructed anthrax laboratory in Afghanistan. Ms. Miller ended on a note of hope. Despite criticism of the Bush administration during the war in Iraq, global cooperation in fighting WMD has intensified of late; countries realize that they are all at risk. Signs of progress in the race to limit the proliferation of WMD are encouraging, she added. The Bush administration recently proposed the Proliferation Security Initiative, which would aim to stop and interdict weapons shipments. Ms. Miller believes that the United States' recent experiences with WMD in Iraq have in fact emboldened the Bush administration to reach out and to explore new mechanisms for nonproliferation. Ultimately, she concluded, an individual can do very little about a biological weapons attack; people must trust in governments and coalitions of the willing to work toward countering the WMD threat.



Dr. John L. Esposito,

founding director of the Center for Muslim-Christian Understanding as well as University Professor of Religion, International Affairs, and Islamic Studies at Georgetown University, and author of more than 25 books including *Unholy War: Terror in the Name of Islam* and *What Everyone Needs to Know About Islam* (both 2002), lectured on American media treatment of Islam in the context of the War on Terrorism. While coverage of Islam has increased since September 11, 2001, he contended, it still remains simplistic and misleading. He prefaced his remarks with references to developments in the War on Terrorism over the last two years. These events—the hunt for Osama Bin Laden, the military operation in Afghanistan, the “axis of evil,” and most significantly the recent war in Iraq—provide political context for today’s treatment of Islam in the American press. Coverage of Islam is more prolific than it was 30 years ago, when Islam was practically invisible and isolated events were reported without context. Islam’s presence in American media would slowly come to increase, Dr. Esposito explained, because of a heightened interest. Yet this desire to understand Islam was fueled not so much by an interest in religion or intellectual curiosity but rather by the acts of figures such as Ayatollah Khomeini and Bin Laden. People took an interest in these individuals and not in the millions of other Muslims worldwide, according to Dr. Esposito. Consider, he said, if such an approach were used with Christian or Jewish extremists. Typically,



JOHN ESPOSITO

in the United States, when one speaks of a Christian or Jewish extremist, the implication is that each represents an anomaly. Such a distinction, he said, is not made when referring to Islamic extremists. Dr. Esposito assessed U.S. media coverage of Islam in the pre-September 11 era, characterizing it as uninformed and stereotypical. Many U.S. journalists, in fact, have a limited understanding of Muslim culture and religion; he cited a Freedom Forum survey in which 60% of American religion writers polled professed no background in religious studies. Dr. Esposito noted the work of Jack Shaheen, who has identified Hollywood movies featuring reductive images of Arabs as gangsters and womanizers. Common themes materializing in post-Cold War, pre-September 11 media coverage included Islam’s demographic threat and civilizational clash. These themes persist in post-September 11 coverage. The U.S.

media also misinterpret Islam and the Arab world, failing to make the crucial distinction between hatred of Americans (a phenomenon associated with terrorists) and anti-Americanism (a more benign, broad phenomenon not exclusive to the Arab world). Dr. Esposito identified four characteristics of U.S. media that account for their present coverage of Islam: (1) a secular bias toward religions in the West, marked by an American secular tradition at odds with Islam; (2) a market-driven mentality that focuses on explosive, headline-driven events certain to boost readership and garner profits. Such an emphasis, which invariably embraces stories on terrorism, elicits a desire to learn not about Islam, but about the terrorists’ religion—a far cry from Islam; (3) an ideological bias. Many prominent media owners, Esposito said, are neoconservatives; (4) an overt anti-Muslim bias. Esposito concluded with a comparison of U.S. media coverage to European coverage. In his view, American media are more reluctant than the British press to probe and to criticize their administration and its Middle East policy. Additionally, the British press has been more dynamic than its U.S. counterpart in responding to allegations of poor coverage of Islam. After being accused of according too much time to Islamic extremism, the *Guardian* newspaper responded by publishing a six-part series on the Hajj.

Compiled by Michael Kugelman, Fletcher '05. These summations reflect to the best of his ability the content and tenor of the speakers' remarks.

Conferences

Upcoming Conference

Engaging in Dialogue on U.S. Foreign Policy will be hosted November 8–9, 2004, by the Fares Center in conjunction with Fletcher, the Provost's Office, and the University College of Citizenship and Public Service to assess current U.S. foreign policy in the Middle East against the background of September 11 and the end of the Cold War. The invited speakers will be asked to reflect on four broad themes:

1) the history of U.S. involvement in the region; 2) implications of current U.S. foreign policy for the region's future; 3) whether the root causes of conflict in the region are a) irreconcilable differences of culture, or b) nationalistic disputes over hegemony, land, and economics; and, 4) specific case studies, such as the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, Iraq, and Lebanon and Syria.

Professor Leila Fawaz, founding director of the Fares Center, is organizing the conference together with Robert Hollister, dean of the University College.

Recent Conferences

In late May and early June 2004, the conference **Homage to Abdul-Karim Rafeq—Recent Research on Bilad al-Sham under Ottoman Rule (1517–1918): The Last Three Decades of Historiography; Periodization and Patterns of Social History; General Trends** was held in Beirut, Lebanon, and Damascus, Syria. The event, attended by Fares Center Director Leila Fawaz, was hosted by two institutions, Orient-Institute Beirut (OIB) and Institut Français du Proche Orient à Damas (IFPO). The Fares Center cosponsored the conference along with the Department of Politik und Zeitgeschichte des Modernen Vorderen Orients at the University of Erlangen, Germany, and the History Department and Middle East Center, University of Utah, Salt Lake City.

The Tufts Arabic Program held a **Conference on Arab-American Writing Post-9/11** in April 2004. The conference, prepared by Tufts Assistant Professor of Arabic Amira El-Zein and cosponsored by the Fares Center, addressed prevalent themes of Arab-American life and writing following the September 11, 2001, attacks. Speakers, most of them Arab-Americans, included academics, authors, and journalists. The event was launched with a keynote address from Dr. Naseer Aruri, chancellor professor (*emeritus*) of political science at the University of Massachusetts

at Dartmouth. Dr. Aruri spoke about globalization and the export of democracy after September 11. The first panel identified post-September 11 challenges facing Arab-Americans. Panelists grappled with questions of identity. Louise Cainkar, a panelist and sociologist at the University of Illinois-Chicago, spoke of the fear and insecurity she discerned in the Arab-American community following research she undertook on the impact of September 11 on Arab-Americans in the Chicago area. The second and third panels built on this cultural context by focusing on Arab-American writers and their themes. One panel addressed post-September 11 Arab-American writing on the topic of exile, while the other offered interpretations of the period's Arab-American novels, including those by Diana Abu-Jaber and Mahmoud Said. The fourth panel tackled issues of Arab-Americans under scrutiny in the post-September 11 era. Discussants considered the role of the Patriot Act as well as the impact the September 11 attacks have had on Arab-American journalists.

In March 2004, the Fares Center cosponsored the conference **Sudan at the Crossroads: Transforming Generations of Civil War Into Peace and Development**. The conference, which was organized jointly by students at Fletcher and the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University, consisted of two days of panel discussions on the prospects for peace in the Sudan. The first day emphasized the peacemaking process, while the second day focused on challenges facing the country as it works toward peace implementation. A post-conference event brought together Boston-area members of the Sudan diaspora for a dialogue with Sudan's ambassador to the United States and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement's representative to the United States. Conference speakers included representatives of both the Government of Sudan and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement, leaders of nongovernmental organizations, diplomats, businesspeople, human rights advocates, and Fletcher faculty. Charles Snyder, acting United States assistant secretary of state for African affairs, delivered the keynote address. The conference, in the words of its organizers, aimed "[to] raise Sudan's public profile, [to] inspire innovative approaches to support the Sudanese parties, and most importantly [to] help connect the Sudanese diaspora to the policymakers influencing the peace process."

Looking Forward, Looking Back

CRAIG COHEN, FLETCHER '04

Eminent historian Cornell Fleischer reflects on his life as an Ottoman scholar, the state of Middle Eastern studies today, and the future of America's relations with the Islamic world.

History, according to Cornell Fleischer, Kanuni Süleyman Professor of Islamic and Ottoman History at the Center for Middle Eastern Studies, University of Chicago, lives and breathes in the present. "It is everywhere," he says. "And it is highly contested. What one chooses to talk about—and what one is allowed to talk about—has everything to do with current political sensibilities." The notion of historians as apolitical, objective observers of past events is clearly one to which Dr. Fleischer gives little credence. Nor does he view events that transpired centuries ago in the Eastern Mediterranean as irrelevant to today's world, not when nationalist narratives continue to promote the fallacy that minorities are somehow unnatural to the region. "Diversity and heterogeneity was the norm in the Ottoman Empire of the sixteenth century," Dr. Fleischer, a 1988 MacArthur "Genius Award" winner and author of *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire: The Historian Mustafa Âli (1541–1600)*, explains in his soft-spoken manner. "But in many nation-states today, communally mixed space has become seen as something unnatural and alien."

In order to put his moral vision into practice, Dr. Fleischer traveled to Bosnia during the 1990s to speak out in defense of Muslims' rights and to serve as an election observer after the war. To Dr. Fleischer, such service is not separate from his career as a scholar, but an extension of the very same: Although he may express unease at the suggestion, he intends to make history as much as he intends to write it. Growing up in the Middle East as the child of American diplomats, Dr. Fleischer characterizes his mission over the last four decades as "making knowledge of the Islamic world and the Middle East a normal part of the mental furniture of average Americans." Now, almost three years after September 11, Dr. Fleischer is in a unique position to look forward and back at America's interest in and understanding of such a critical part of the world.

The narrative that follows is a stitching together of two separate talks by Dr. Fleischer. The first is excerpted from an address he gave to the Tufts community on April 20, 2004, the subject of which was his own intellectual development within the context of the changing nature of Middle Eastern studies. Two days later I sat down with Dr. Fleischer in the Fares Center for Eastern Mediterranean Studies for a question-and-answer session that I hoped would reveal even more about a man who has avoided the attractions of public attention throughout his career. Rather than present his talk and our Q&A session as two disjointed narratives, I have instead woven the two together into one cohesive monologue. The words, of course, are Dr. Fleischer's own. They reveal a high level of intellectual rigor, and also serve as evidence that even the top scholars of Middle Eastern studies today are forced to navigate an increasingly politicized field where power and interests stand at odds with intellectual curiosity and historical accuracy.

The Making of a Scholar

My father was a diplomat in the U.S. foreign service, and as a consequence I grew up in Egypt and Iraq. In the 1950s and '60s, the world was starkly divided in Europe, but this was less true in the Middle East. I attended international schools with few American classmates, so the importance of national boundaries seemed strange upon my eventual return to the United States. Culture becomes a willed exercise in foreign lands, since it is not evident otherwise. It becomes something imagined and cultivated, something you learn about in books and through language. I think this early experience abroad helped to prepare me to enter the Ottoman world of the sixteenth century.

American diplomats in the Middle East after World War II were moving into the space vacated by the British, and as a result they tended to pick up the colonial culture. I remember that the sporting club in Cairo was barely open to Egyptians, and that there was terrible racism against Arabs. I can remember visiting the American embassy in Baghdad when I was ten years old, feeling an intense shame at watching Arab kids who looked just like me crawl up an outer wall to catch a glimpse of what was happening inside. We were living in a grotesque display, exhibiting an arrogant insouciance at the immediate world around us.

When I returned to the United States



The Writing of History as a Political Act

I chose to study history because I felt it gave me the greatest latitude to do almost anything. I never felt it was antiquarian. History is everywhere. And it is highly contested. What one chooses to talk about—and what one is allowed to talk about—has everything to do with current political sensibilities. I first became interested in studying the Sufi orders of the early modern period because they were forging armies and creating governments in a way that reminded me of the anarchic 1960s. These societies were on the cusp of becoming something quite different which they themselves could not name. By studying Ottoman times, I was seeing the summation of 1,000 years of Islamic history.

After spending three years living in Istanbul to research how the world looked through the eyes of an educated Ottoman gentleman of the sixteenth century, I returned to the U.S. in 1979 to teach Persian and Turkish at Ohio State. This was the time of the Iranian revolution and the hostage crisis, and I found myself in the middle of America at a public university. Being at Ohio State awakened my sense of mission to make knowledge of the Islamic world and the Middle East a normal part of the mental furniture of average Americans. I believe strongly that this sort of learning should not be solely the luxury of elite university students. But at Ohio State I also ran into a sort of racism similar to what I had witnessed while growing up. I was teaching an introductory course on Islamic civilizations when I learned that one of my students had complained, “I didn’t come to find out why these people are so great, but why they’re such animals.”

in 1968 to attend Brown University, I took up nineteenth-century British, French, and German literature. I soon changed course. For me, comparative European literature was a narcissistic enterprise, and it was becoming deadening to look at oneself for too long. Because of my childhood, I was drawn to Arabic, and therefore to Princeton’s Department of Near Eastern Studies, one of the few institutions where one could study language seriously in those days. Even there, at the time, Arabic was not taught as a living language to be learned by foreigners.

We were told, “This is not a Berlitz school.” Scholars who spoke Arabic were seen as having “gone native,” and their “scholarly objectivity” was called into question.

The teacher who convinced me to pursue Near Eastern studies—Martin Dickson—was unlike most in the department. He was a professor of Persian studies, and he had lived for long periods of time in the societies of the Middle East. He felt a real responsibility toward the peoples and societies of the region. In a way, he was both an Orientalist and an anti-Orientalist. He thought Westerners could do some things, but also that schol-

ars from the region could do other things we couldn’t do. Ultimately, he saw the need to bring people together. What was most important to me as a young man thinking about my own career was that he had gone through the professionalization and socialization process of academia, and he had still come out as a passionate and moral human being.

I was privileged to see so much of the Middle East before the cataclysmic changes that have occurred over the last three decades. When I returned to Egypt in 1971, while I was in college, things had changed drastically relative to my childhood. The country was poorer. One could see the consequences of the war with Israel, as well as the militarization and polarization on account of the Cold War. I traveled overland to Afghanistan in 1972 and 1973. By this time I had already made the decision to become a historian, but it was then that I really understood why I was doing what I was doing. Here was life as it had been led 300 years before. It was not escapism that drew me in, but the fact that life was so immediate. There was a perceptible humanity in one’s everyday dealings that I didn’t find with any frequency in America.

Looking Forward, Looking Back ...CONTINUED...

At the most basic level, ignorance of history is a very good way to get yourself into trouble. It's not sufficient to think you can discern what the current situation is in a place by looking only at contemporary politics, culture, and economy. If you do not add a fourth dimension, if you do not look at history, you are likely to misinterpret what is happening. And yet, I'm also wary when people in the public media say that we have to learn from history, when they make this sort of facile use of history. History does not have only one lesson to teach.

While a core of the positivist idea of scientific objectivity in history writing has to be maintained, of course for human beings it is an impossible ideal. The pretense that the individual historian has no political commitments is unsustainable. In fact, it is only in a totalitarian society that one can find such "objective" history writing, since it is only in a society where there is an absolute consensus (even when such a consensus is coerced), that nationalist historians have the authority to say, "We are presenting the facts with scientific objectivity." Nationalist historians in totalitarian societies are rarely seen as having a political agenda since no competing political agendas are permitted. One saw this in *Republika Srpska* after the war: boldly asserted facts becoming "history," and "history" becoming very deterministic.

At some level, the historian does need to maintain faith in the ideal that one is supposed to find out what really happened, even if one does not like what really happened. Postmodernists can say we do not know what really happened, that we are all writing our own fictions anyhow, so we ought to abandon our slavish adherence to the text, but ultimately this doesn't work either. What I try to do

as a historian—where I ground myself—is to let my predilections show in the sorts of topics I choose. And then I listen to my sources as carefully as I can. And some might be saying things I don't expect or want to find there.

Let me give you an example. The project I've been engaged in for a decade now began with an examination of the reign of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent. I was looking at this period through the lens of administrative and ideological innovation. Methodologically, it was pretty traditional: I was examining how a centralized financial system is established. Basically, I was counting bureaucrats. But something was bothering me. This was a period of tremendous change. The Safavids next door were engaged in wild religious experimentation, so how could the Ottomans be sitting there as defenders of "traditional" Sunni Islam on their border without being influenced, without competing in the same arena?

A colleague at this time showed me a text at variance with the traditional image of the Ottoman sultan. The text presents the sultan as a messianic figure, an image one is not supposed to find among "orthodox" Sunnis. This finding alone led me down a completely new avenue, into a project on apocalypticism. For years now I've been writing a completely different book than what I had originally set out to do. For starters, I've been studying a broader geographic area, one that stretches across the Mediterranean from Iran to Spain, with Istanbul in the middle. The research is also based on more ephemeral sources, such as collections of prophesies on the end of time.

I believe I have been able to build up a convincing history of belief in prophesy and the imminence of millennial salvation

that ran across Muslim, Christian, and Jewish communal boundaries, and to show the influence these beliefs had on political and military decisions in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. I am convinced that what this really amounts to is writing an unseen history—a history of people's beliefs, within a social and political context. As a scholar, it makes me somewhat uneasy to be doing this, since I am posing as central things not easily recoverable in records and logs. But history is larger than this.

Of course, one cannot demonstrate the unity of the Mediterranean until one can show that people are inhabiting the same mental and spiritual universe, as well as eating the same foods. One needs to demonstrate the variety and commonality of culture. But how does one determine how a large population thought when it has been dead for 400 years? It's difficult enough to get into the head of one individual. I think my book will show that the person who is perceived as the architect of the "classic" Ottoman imperial system—Süleyman the Magnificent—created that order in part because of the possibility that he was a divinely ordained messiah, a prophet king whose regime would transcend all historically conditioned religions. I am therefore calling into question the traditional foundations of a world considered to be determined by primordial communal identities. My research shows these communal identities in a vastly different light—as much more fluid and contingent—which, of course, is a highly political affair.

I believe that the writing of good history ought to be a politically significant act. It tells people who they are and who they are not. It has as part of its agenda, through a reworking of the past, an artic-

ulation of hopes for the future. This is true for both liberals and nationalists alike. The way one writes history can in fact produce disasters. The former Yugoslavia is a good case in point. The rhetoric of Serb and Croat nationalists was that Muslims were alien to Bosnia, that they weren't supposed to be there. But Westerners also tend to see history in this fashion, as a conflict between Islam and the West. In our current world of territorially bounded nation-states, the remnants of empire—of empires still within living memory—have been cast as something unnatural. We no longer have the category empire, only nation-states, and this has made communally mixed space unnatural and alien.

As a historian and as a teacher, I feel that I am a living link to a world that has been destroyed, that has been altered beyond recognition. Many historians do not feel the need for this sort of deep, personal engagement. But for me, my field is not just what I study, but where I live, what I do, where I work. This was brought home to me a few years ago when the wars of Yugoslav succession started in 1991 and 1992, and I felt that I ought to do more, as an Islamicist, an Ottoman historian, and a concerned citizen. Much of my involvement was through the media, to try to explain what Muslims were doing in the heart of Europe. I, like others, tried to mobilize public awareness to stop the ethnic cleansing of Bosnia, though obviously we were not very successful. I then served as an election supervisor in Tuzla in 1996. When I returned, I met a colleague from my department. She looked at me in astonishment when I told

her how I had spent my summer. She said “All of us here study history, but you’ve been making it.” It seemed grandiose at the time, but it is true that I do not want to be merely a tourist of history.

America’s Efforts to Understand the Islamic World

When I first began studying in Princeton’s Department of Near Eastern Studies, there was a sense that you did not give natives white man’s jobs, and Americans who actually lived in and learned the living cultures of the Middle East and the Islamic world were often suspected of having loyalties toward the nation that served as the object of their study, that is, of “going native.” Although these trends are still not completely dead—as we have seen in post-9/11 attempts by some organizations to assess the pro- or anti-Americanism of individual scholars—there has been a significant shift in the field of Middle Eastern studies over the last few decades. My generation of scholars was the first to really take advantage of programs of study in the Middle East, while at the same time people from the Middle East began showing up at American universities.

When I arrived at Washington University in St. Louis in the 1980s, I was nearly the only one teaching anything Islamic, but was identified by many as a “Turkish historian,” despite the fact that I work equally in Arabic, Persian, and Turkish materials. Ultimately, I was able to build a program where faculty worked across multiple languages and traditions; the totalizing monolinguisms and ethnocentric assumptions that twentieth-century

nationalisms have insinuated into much of modern study of the Islamic world were conspicuously absent, a fact that made Islamic studies at Washington University different from most such programs. This is not to say that there was no suspicion of the politics held to be implicit in the growth of Islamic studies where it had not existed before, in the heart of the Midwest; in the academy there are those who hold a variety of political agendas, not all of them benign. But certainly the study of the Middle East has become much more international over the last fifteen years. I’m not optimistic, though, about the future of Middle Eastern studies in the U.S. I’m not sure that these changes in the field are translating to a wider American consciousness of the region.

For one, Middle Eastern studies has never been considered part of the canon of learning for secondary schools in the U.S. Even in the international schools I attended in the Middle East, it was not considered to be necessary knowledge, and the one foreign language taught in those schools was French. As far as undergraduate teaching is concerned, the best one can hope for is not necessarily to implant detailed knowledge, but simply to stimulate the sympathy, or empathy, that springs from recognizing that those who live in the Middle East are people, too. To put it most crudely, in the area of education curriculum, we have, through exclusion, a sort of institutional racism. This is not active racism (of course, though, this is still there, as I’ve heard it from within my own family), but it still reflects ingrained, inherited attitudes. Our cur-

In the U.S., we are less historically self-conscious today. In fact, we seem to be extraordinarily uninterested in our past, unlike in most other parts of the world where history has more salience, perhaps because things have been good here for so long.

Looking Forward, Looking Back

...CONTINUED...

riculum has institutionalized the sort of colonial attitudes I perceived as a child growing up in the Middle East, and as a result it stands as a powerful expression of our denial of others' humanity and dignity. People from the Middle East have never been normalized as human beings who play an important role in history as we like to think our culture has. And this makes all the easier the production and commodification of such misguided notions as the clash of civilizations. If people from the Middle East are not active agents of history, they can be dealt with in an emblematic fashion, reduced to representing certain qualities alone, none of which is desirable or admirable. The creation of a large number of new positions in Islamic and Middle Eastern studies in colleges and universities across the country is a response to crisis rather than an expression of idealism, a crisis produced in part by a history of institutionalized exclusion.

Second, as far as U.S. policy is concerned, the government rarely asks regional experts for advice because of fear of divided loyalties. The reflex of the government is to pick its own people and to teach them basics of language and politics, or let them learn what they may on the job. The government believes that these people can be trusted better than academic experts—who are seen as too theoretical to be of practical use in dealing with crisis—particularly since the former are less likely to tell the government things it may not want to hear. I'm skeptical that the increased attention to the region today will yield any increased understanding, since at its base what we are seeing now is an instrumentalist enterprise rather than people coming to the region with a deep personal connection

and curiosity that, by the way, could eventually bring them into conflict with their employer.

The irony is that there are real similarities between the U.S. today and the Ottoman Empire of the sixteenth century. In both societies, diversity and heterogeneity have been the norm. In the U.S., we like to think that overt racism has been overcome through multiculturalism (of course, my wife—who is Korean and grew up in an immigrant community—would have a much different impression). In Ottoman times as well, heterogeneity was a necessary constituent structural feature of society, although diversity was not celebrated in the modern sense. Mustafa Ali sounds like an American of the 1900s when he says, "If you look at all of us two or three generations back, we all go back to a nonbeliever." He thought that heterogeneity combined the best of cultures and ethnicities to create something new and exciting. This is clearly different from modern historiography in Turkey, which acknowledges diversity but erases or subjugates it to a master narrative of Turkish nationalism. In the U.S., we are less historically self-conscious today. In fact, we seem to be extraordinarily uninterested in our past, unlike in most other parts of the world, where history has more salience, perhaps because things have been good here for so long.

We should make no mistake that we are at a very delicate and fragile point in history. If we were truly to consider what is generally perceived here as rampant anti-Americanism found throughout much the rest of the world—in particular, the Muslim world—we would find that it is not that they hate us, but that, particularly since 1967 and 1978–79, in parts of the world with increasingly politicized

populations, they find American rhetoric and the American model appealing. But we have not put our money where our mouth is. And this disjuncture produces a love/hate relationship.

The rub about historical consciousness is partly located here. While much of the world wants to be forward looking in the way the U.S. claims to be, it's a different thing to try to be forward looking when one lives in a society that has very significant problems compared to what we have here in the U.S.: poverty, poor education, repressive governments. We think forward looking is just looking forward, but we forget that we're looking from a particular place, and our policy makes it clear that we don't understand how others see the world. We are looking from a position of power, which is different from those looking from a position of powerlessness, those who are used to being pushed around by others. People who find themselves in this position have a different perspective on what they see ahead, not to mention the value of looking ahead in the first place.

In the aftermath of 9/11, what has been perceived as a rather dangerous environment has created attitudes and formulations of policies of a certain type. In particular, it seems as if a kind of racialized sense of a civilizational mission has taken very solid footing in some political circles. So long as the fundamental issue is one of power—and the U.S. seems to be reveling at the moment in unrivalled power to effect its will—the truth can become whatever you say it is. In fact, one can say two entirely contradictory things, and both become true since they come from the mouth of those in power, those who stand as the sole arbiters of the truth.

Affiliated Faculty

NEWS & NOTES



Astier M. Almedom, assistant professor of biology, guest-edited a special issue of the *Journal of Biosocial Science* (a leading interdisciplinary journal published by Cambridge University Press) on “Mental Well-Being in Settings of Complex Emergency” that features field studies from Bosnia, Eritrea, New York City, Nicaragua, Palestine, Peru, and South Africa. It was to be published in July 2004. This effort marks the first scholarly contribution to the literature on mental health, trauma, and humanitarian psychosocial programming focusing on the intersection between biomedical and sociocultural discourses in a unified, authoritative research forum. She is also the recipient of a Maion and Jasper Whiting Foundation Fellowship grant (teaching-related) for the summer of 2004.

translation of Koén-Sarano’s grammar was also published: *Kurso de Djudeo-Espanyol (Ladino) para Prinsipiantes/ Course in Judeo-Spanish (Ladino) for Beginners* (J. R. Elyachar Center for Studies in Sephardi Heritage, Ben Gurion University of the Negev, 2003). She presented a paper at the Annual Conference of the Association for Jewish Studies in Boston in December 2003 (“Ladino Transforming Identities: The Experience of University Students”), as well as at the “Días de leche i miel” (Days of Milk and Honey), the Judeo-Spanish conference/gathering/festival attended by 650 speakers of the language in February 2004 at the Dead Sea in Israel. Finally, she accepted an invitation from the director of the Ottoman-Turkish Sephardic Culture Research Center, founded in 2003 in Istanbul, to serve on a consultant committee of experts, and has since participated in lively discussions relating to Judeo-Spanish, reflecting the ever-growing and broadening commitment to its survival and development.

Associate Professor **Ina Baghdiantz-McCabe**, holder of the Hagop and Miriam Darakjian and Boghos and Nazley Jafarians and Son Haig Chair in Armenian History, recently coauthored *Slaves of the Shah: New Elites of Isfahan*, a book available this summer from London’s I.B. Tauris Publishers. She has participated in conferences in Paris, Bologna, and St. Petersburg that concentrated on her recent France-based research on early modern Orientalism and on her Bologna-based work on food history. Her 1999 monograph on the silk trade, *The Shah’s Silk for Europe’s Silver*, is currently being translated into Persian. She has received a Zohrab-Liebmann award toward the publication of her next book.

George Ellmore, associate professor of biology, recently coauthored a refereed journal publication, “Differential Sectoriality in Long-Distance Transport in Temperate Tree Species: Evidence from Dye Flow, 15-N Transport, and Vessel Element Pitting,” in *Trees* (currently in press). He was invited to



Gloria J. Ascher, co-director of the Judaic Studies program and associate professor of German, organized, with the help of Eglal Hencin, professor of Romance languages, the Festival of Joha at Tufts (September 23–25, 2003), an international, multicultural, and multireligious celebration of the Middle Eastern and Mediterranean comic folk figure of many names and forms. The festival featured presentations by prominent scholars and performers from Israel, Tufts faculty, and Tufts trustees, among others. The second edition of Professor Ascher’s

Students Debate the Issues
Graduate students at one of this year’s Med Club roundtables debate the recent French decision to ban religious symbols, including headscarves, in classrooms.



Affiliated Faculty

NEWS & NOTES

provide a symposium presentation, “Structural Determinants of Success and Environmental Versatility in Trees,” at the Donald R. Kaplan Symposium (Botanical Society of America) in August 2004 in Snowbird, Utah. This past March, he was awarded a \$6,000 grant from the Hummingbird Cay Foundation to work on Tropical Dry Forest Ecology: international aspects of climate change, disturbance ecology, land and water use, waste management, and ecotourism. He has been designated the Tufts faculty representative for the Morris Udall Foundation to support excellence in environmental policy. Two Tufts undergraduate nominees won an award from this national foundation in 2004.



Sol Gittleman, Alice and Nathan Gantcher Distinguished Professor of Judaic Studies, has given

seventeen lectures to business, university, and church groups on the topic of “The Religions of Abraham: War in the Name of God.” He has also written *The Entrepreneurial University: The Transformation of Tufts, 1976-2002*, which will be published in the fall/winter of 2004 by the University Press of New England.



Eva Hoffman, associate professor of art history, is currently on leave as a fellow at the Aga Khan Program for Islamic Art and

Architecture at Harvard University,

where she is at work on an anthology, *The Art of the Mediterranean World, ca. 300-1200*. In May 2004, she gave a paper, “The Portable Arts in Islamic and Christian Realms in the Mediterranean between the Tenth and Thirteenth Centuries” at a symposium, “Portability and Desire: The Impact of Islamic Art and Technology on the Italian Renaissance,” at the J. Paul Getty Museum in Los Angeles, California.

Ian Johnstone, associate professor of international law at Fletcher, has been writing on the broad topic of “deliberative legitimacy” in international organizations. His 2003 publications on this topic were “Security Council Deliberations: The Power of the Better Argument,” in *European Journal of International Law*, and “The Role of the Secretary-General: The Power of Persuasion Based on Law,” in *Global Governance*. Several of his articles will be published this year: “The Power of Interpretive Communities,” a chapter in *Power and Global Governance*, edited by Michael Barnett and Bud Duvall (Cambridge University Press), and “U.S.-UN Relations after Iraq: The End

of the World (Order) as We Know It?” in *European Journal of International Law*. His chapter, “Deliberative Legitimacy in International Decision-Making,” to appear in *The Faultlines of Legitimacy*, edited by Hilary Charlesworth and Jean-Marc Coicaud, is forthcoming. Professor Johnstone presented a paper, “UN State-Building in the Post-September 11 Security Environment,” at the State-Building and the United Nations, International Peace Academy conference, in November 2003. This past May, he served as a commentator on a paper at a symposium on Europe and International Law, sponsored by the *European Journal of International Law*, in Florence, Italy.



Lucy Der Manuelian, Arthur H. Dadian and Ara Oztemel Chair of Armenian Art and Architectural History, was awarded a second

grant of \$50,000 to continue her work restoring a series of seventh- to eleventh-century Armenian medieval churches in Armenia. These churches are deemed of international significance because of their

Dr. Edmund Burke, III, professor of history at the University of California-Santa Cruz, visited the Fares Center in January 2004. Dr. Burke is a specialist on Islamic, modern Middle Eastern, and North African history. He has written on precolonial Morocco, struggle and survival in the Middle East, Islam and world history, and, most recently, Orientalism. Dr. Burke was recently awarded a presidential chair and research funds by his university.

constructional techniques, inscriptions, and historical role. Her article, “The Field of Medieval Armenian Art and Architecture: Reflections on its Recent Past, Present and Future,” appeared in *Rethinking Armenian Studies Past, Present and Future*, a special issue of the *Journal of Armenian Studies*. The television film that she produced and shot on location in Armenia during the Cold War and after the collapse of the USSR, “Lost Treasures of Christianity: The Ancient Monuments of Armenia,” continues to have multiple broadcasts on PBS stations, including in Los Angeles, Detroit, and Chicago. The film was also shown at the British Library for an exhibition, “Treasures from the Ark: 1700 Years of Armenian Christian Art,” as well as at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston.



Peter Der

Manuelian, visiting lecturer in classics, recently wrote *Slab Stelae of the Giza Necropolis*, a publica-

tion of the Pennsylvania-Yale Expedition to Egypt (Peabody Museum of Natural History of Yale University and the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, 2003). His recent articles include the forthcoming “The End of the Reign and the Accession of Amenhotep II,” in *Studies in the Reign of Thutmose III*, edited by Eric Cline and David O’Connor (University of Michigan Press), and “Tombs of the High Officials at Giza,” Chapter 14 of *The Treasures of the Pyramids*, edited by Zahi Hawass (American University in Cairo Press and White Star, 2003). He

Tufts trustee and Executive Committee member Fares I. Fares (second from right) with (from left) graduate students Obaida El-Dandarawy and Zenon Severis, Tufts professor of history George J. Marcopoulos, and Fletcher professor Jeswald W. Salacuse.



presented a paper, “Giza Mastabas Volume 8: Reisner’s Nucleus Cemetery 2100,” at a conference on Old Kingdom Art and Archaeology, held in Prague from May 31 to June 4, 2004.



Jeanne Marie

Penvenne, associate professor of history, has been awarded a Fulbright grant to study in Mozambique from July 2004 to October 2005. She will be working on oral histories of forced migration and internally displaced persons, as well as on refugee experiences during the country’s civil war. She will also undertake a curricular review of the national university’s B.A./M.A./Ph.D.

program. Professor Penvenne recently edited a special issue of the *International Journal of African History* on new research in Lusophone Africa, and her chapter, “Settling Against the Tide: The Portuguese Settler Experience in Africa,” will be published by Routledge in a collection edited by Harvard University faculty Susan Pederson and Caroline Elkins.

Joel Rosenberg, associate professor of Judaic studies, recently published a short essay on Bosnian filmmaker Ademir Kenovic’s 2002 film *Secret Passage* for the 2004 Boston Jewish Festival program brochure. He is currently revising for publication a long article, “1937 / The Soul of Catastrophe,” on the 1937 Yiddish film *Der Dybbuk*.

Affiliated Faculty

NEWS & NOTES



The Global Negotiator: Making, Managing and Mending Deals Around the World in the Twenty-First Century (Palgrave Macmillan,

2003), by **Jeswald W. Salacuse**, Henry J. Braker Professor of Law at Fletcher, was selected by *Library Journal* as one of the best business books published in 2003. He recently published “Corporate Governance, Culture and Convergence: Corporations American Style or with a European Touch?” in *European Business Law Review* (2003), and “Corporate Governance in the New Century,” in *The Company Lawyer* (March 2004). Professor Salacuse has also been appointed president of an International Investment Arbitration Tribunal, functioning under the auspices of the World Bank’s International Centre for Settlement of Investment Disputes.



Reed Ueda, professor of history, has been a research associate at the Center for American Political Studies in the

Department of Government at Harvard University during 2003–2004. He has been studying immigrant populations that have formed in the United States since the 1965 Immigration Act. He also participated in a conference on the history of European opera and society held at Princeton University in March 2004.



Donald Wertlieb, professor at the Eliot-Pearson Department of Child Development and Tufts University Center for Children,

keynoted the November 13, 2003, international conference on “Parents and Children in Times of Extended Social, Economic, and Security Crises” at Israel’s Haifa University. His talk presented “Authoritative Communities as

Frameworks for Child and Family Well-Being.” Sponsors of the conference included Haifa University, Haifa Municipality, the Boston-Haifa Connection of Combined Jewish Philanthropies, Ashalim, and Mercaz Gil. Mercaz Gil is a new technical assistance and knowledge utilization center designed to support and diffuse innovative human service practices, where Professor Wertlieb serves as senior consultant.

Dr. Seyyed Reza Vali Nasr, professor in the Department of National Security Affairs at the Naval Postgraduate School, graduate of Tufts (A83, F84) and author of numerous books, including *The Islamic Leviathan: Islam and the Making of State Power* (2001), spoke at Tufts in November 2003 on the latest political trends in Islam, focusing on al-Qaeda and Iraq. Dr. Nasr first noted the challenge political Islam poses to secularism, a tension that harkens back to the colonial era. Secularism, generally, was not a condition indigenous to the Middle East; it was often imported as a Western construct. Traditionally, two types of Islamism have prevailed. One, which Dr. Nasr characterized as left of center, appeals to the underclass and takes a Jacobin view of social change. Examples include Hamas, Hezbollah, and the GIA in Algeria. The other, the right-of-center variety, is concerned with promoting Islamic values. It is neither anti-system nor revolutionary, and it has more parallels in Western society than the left-of-center strand of Islamism. Egypt’s Muslim Brotherhood exemplifies this right-of-center model of political Islam. Al-Qaeda is not representative of political Islam, though it does embody the Islamist urge to tap into social pressures and to push for change. Iraq, also, is not typical; it has not had a history of Islamist movements. In the aftermath of the American actions in Iraq during the last year, Iraqi Sunnis have bristled at what they perceive as the Americans having taken their power away and handing it to the Shi’a. Sunnis, regarding such moves as a U.S. conspiracy, have been inspired to stage a militant build-up of their forces. According to Dr. Nasr, these developments in Iraq signify a major challenge for right-of-center Islamists.

Affiliated Students

NEWS & NOTES



Emre Kayhan, a Ph.D. candidate, gave a presentation to the Massachusetts Institute of Technology

International Shipping Club titled “Aegean Angst: A Case Study of a Regional Maritime Conflict, and its Impact on International Shipping” this past May. Mr. Kayhan’s current research interests focus on the international law of the sea and conflict resolution with specific reference to the regional disputes. Next year, Mr. Kayhan will be teaching a class at Tufts on Turkish foreign policy. The course is titled “Turkish Foreign Policy and Identity.”



Juan Federico Vélez, a research fellow at the Fares Center, successfully defended his dissertation,

“Encounters between Latin American and Arab Radicals in the Twentieth Century,” in a public lecture at the Fares Center on December 8, 2003. Dr. Vélez’s work, conducted under the direction of Fares Center Director and Professor Leila Fawaz, explores the causes and nature of the relationships established between Latin American and Arab radicals during the second half of the twentieth century. It also analyzes their ultimately failed efforts to construct a community of Third World revolutionaries independent from their former colonial powers and the New World superpowers. Not only does his work break from the narrow limits of area studies and explore points of overlap in

the histories of Latin America and the Arab world, it also offers a completely new perspective of the history of the Cold War, that of a conflict intensified, and in many ways controlled, by the junior members of the international system. In April 2004, the Fares Center provided him with a scholarship to travel to Colombia to present his work at several universities.



Six graduate students received funding from the Fares Center for research in summer 2004. **Rudy Jaafar**, a master’s student, will

study the Lebanese democratic system. Doctoral student **Amal Jadou** will be working on her dissertation, “Mediation Regime: An Alternative to Traditional Explanations of the Failure of the Israeli-Palestinian Peace Process (1993–2000).” **Jonathan Lautze**, a master’s student, will interview Israeli and Palestinian water specialists in order to better understand their positions on water allocation, as well as the rationales that underlie these positions. Doctoral student **Ahsiya Posner** will be concentrating her research on the potential role for education in enhancing security and development in today’s world, particularly in the Middle East. Master’s student **Harout Semerdjian** will be travelling to Iran on the Tufts-Iran Dialogue Initiative. He will conduct research on U.S.-Iran relations that will be presented to the public in the Fall either through a public lecture and/or articles. Finally, master’s student **Ronan Wolfsdorf** will be developing a second-

ary-school curriculum for water resource conflict issues in the Eastern Mediterranean.

The Fares Center is a partner in the new Tufts interdisciplinary cross-school graduate program in Water: Systems, Science, and Society (WSSS). The program’s goal is to train Ph.D. and M.S./M.A. candidates in one of the social, physical, biological, or technical fields involved in water management. An upcoming Tufts University study, in collaboration with the American University of Beirut, typifies WSSS M.S. research and is an attempt to explore economical, environmental, and socially acceptable solutions to challenges facing Lebanon. Surface water in Lebanon is insufficient to meet future demand, and its groundwater is presently being overdrawn. Desalination is prohibitively expensive. Demand management will, at best, reduce current stresses on water sources to an acceptable level, but it does not allow for the effect of population increases on domestic, agricultural, and industrial water demand. **Patrick Ray**, a master’s candidate in civil and environmental engineering, will spend the summer of 2004 in Beirut developing the foundation of a multiple-objective optimization model (MOOM) to help determine strategies to alleviate water stress in Lebanon. Mr. Ray’s thesis advisor is Paul Kirshen, research professor of civil and environmental engineering and director of the WSSS program.