

# PHAROS

LIGHTING THE PATH TO UNDERSTANDING



THE NEWSLETTER OF THE FARES CENTER AT TUFTS UNIVERSITY FALL 2010

## A Letter from the Provost



Jamshed  
Bharucha

The first year of the Obama administration witnessed many important challenges and triumphs in the Middle East, most notably President

Obama's Cairo speech of June 2009 calling for a new relationship between the U.S. and the Islamic world. This is an exciting time for policymakers, academics, and students of international affairs to examine one of the most dynamic corners of the world. Steered by Director Leila Fawaz, the Fares Center for Eastern Mediterranean Studies captures this interest within the Tufts community and beyond with its offerings of events designed to enhance understanding and appreciation for contemporary issues pertaining to the Eastern Mediterranean region.

The Fares Lecture Series has brought a number of important guests to campus this semester, beginning with "Mothers and Daughters: A Conversation with Hanan al-Shaykh and Mariam Said," which featured two Lebanese authors discussing their recently published books, inspired by their mothers. Both authors offered unique investigations into twentieth-century Middle Eastern history as seen through the eyes of two very different women. In addition, Juan Cole gave an illuminating talk on

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H.E. Issam M. Fares (left) and Ambassador Thomas Pickering

## ICG Award Honors Issam M. Fares

At its annual dinner on October 28, 2009, at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel in New York, the International Crisis Group (ICG) recognized His Excellency **Issam M. Fares** for his work in calling attention to the causes of peace, democratic values, and economic development. Then CNN correspondent Christiane Amanpour hosted the ICG awards, which also went to Presidents William J. Clinton and George H. W. Bush.

In receiving his award, Issam Fares recognized the struggles that Lebanon has overcome, and also noted the role that the ICG played in expanding his concern for peace and stability to the global level. He commented on the destructive nature of war and the importance of the work of organizations such as ICG in bringing peace to conflicts around the world.

More than 300 people, including diplomats, politicians, and members of the media and of the NGO community, attended the ICG event, which was titled "In Pursuit of Peace." Ambassador Thomas Pickering, former Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs, veteran U.S. diplomat, and Fletcher School alumnus, presented Issam Fares with his award, praising His Excellency's achievements in the educational and development fields in Lebanon and abroad and noting his unending support of world peace, democracy, and economic progress.



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

#### GUEST EDITOR:



**Amelia Cook** (MALD '08) studied international development, human rights, and environmental policy at The Fletcher School. In May 2010, she completed a

second Master's Degree in Resource Economics and Policy at the University of Maine, where she worked as a graduate assistant in the School of Economics. Cook recently published "Who is Indigenous? Indigenous Rights Globally, in Africa and among the San in Botswana," with Jeremy Sarkin, in the *Tulane Journal of International and Comparative Law* (Fall, 2009). She continues to work as an editor for the Fares Center and maintains the content of the Center's website. Amelia can be reached at [amelia.cook@tufts.edu](mailto:amelia.cook@tufts.edu).

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## Letter from the Director



Leila Fawaz

The 2009-2010 academic year has been one of scholarly exploration and connection-building for the Fares Center.

The Center has sponsored numerous events and explored issues ranging from the workings of the Israeli courts to the use of Quranic archetypes in a comic book series that encourages religious tolerance and revives interest in the earliest period of Islam. This year we also worked especially closely with a dynamic group of students that assisted in research, developed programming, and organized and participated in many of our events.

The Fares Center has continued to build ties with the broader Tufts community and other institutions of learning. In putting together such a wide array of events, the Center has joined forces with many partners, including the Jonathan M. Tisch College of Citizenship and Public Service, the Tufts Political Science Program, the Tufts International Relations Program, the Middle Eastern Studies Major at Tufts, the Tufts Department of German, Russian, and Asian Languages and Literatures, the Tufts Hillel, the Center for the Humanities at Tufts, The Fletcher School's Master of Laws (LLM) Program, and the Boston Forum on the Middle East, a joint initiative between Boston University, Boston College, and Tufts University.

The generosity of friends of the Center, including H.E. Issam M. Fares and Trustee Fares I. Fares, has made our programming possible. We would also like to thank President Lawrence Bacow and Provost Jamshed Bharucha for their invaluable support and continued guidance.

Presently, we are preparing for our next major conference, to be held October 14-15, 2010, at Tufts University, entitled "Engaging the Middle East: After the Cairo Speech." We invite you to join us in what we expect to be two days of vibrant discussion among leading scholars, journalists, and other experts on the Middle East.

### Letter from the Provost

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the contentious U.S.-Iran relationship and discussed possible options going forward, in his provocatively titled lecture "Can President Obama Avoid War with Iran?" Cole considered President Obama's address to Iran on the Iranian New Year a significant step towards improving U.S.-Iran relations, and contrasted this administration's desire to have direct relations with Iran, while maintaining a critical posture on its nuclear ambitions and sponsorship of terrorism, with previous policies of aggressive ostracism.

Through its selection of lectures, cultural events, and student roundtables highlighting the most pressing issues faced by individuals and governments in the Middle East today, the Fares Center continues to enlighten and challenge the future decision-makers and visionaries being educated at Tufts University.



Tufts University Provost Jamshed Bharucha, Fares Center Associate Director Vali Nasr, and Fares Center Director Leila Fawaz welcomed Ambassador Richard A. Holbrooke (center left), Special Representative for Afghanistan and Pakistan under the Obama administration, to the Fares Center on March 4, 2010

## A New Politics of Consumption? Dams, Electricity, and the Cold War in Post-Musaddiq Iran (1953-1961)

In his recent book *Who is Knowledgeable is Strong: Science, Class, and the Formation of Modern Iranian Society, 1900-1950* (University of California Press, 2009), **Cyrus Schayegh**, Assistant Professor of Modern Middle Eastern History at Princeton University, explores modern Iranian uses of biomedical sciences. On March 3, 2010 at the Fares Center, Schayegh discussed his research on post-World War II Iran, which addresses infrastructure and consumer goods during the Cold War.

According to Schayegh, the roots of the "politics of promise" lie in the 1953 CIA-led coup against Muhammad Musaddiq, and in the development of the Pahlavi regime subsequent to the coup until its demise following the 1979 Islamic Revolution. In 1953, the Shah returned to Iran to find very little legitimacy for his regime: it was clear to Iranians that Musaddiq had been removed illegitimately, and that a foreign power—the U.S.—had had a hand in it. Musaddiq had possessed

political support that the Shah lacked when he returned, leading the Shah to attempt to regain legitimacy by promoting microeconomic development for the urban middle class: the politics of promise.

Schayegh used dams and electricity to serve as a case study to investigate the larger question of what the politics of promise really were. Among his many promises was the Shah's guarantee of the stability of services such as water supply and electricity in cities, about which people had been concerned. He also promised to make available to the middle class daily newspapers showing how the urban transportation system was being revamped. In the end, the government could not fulfill all of its promises, Schayegh argued, which created a societal backlash that the government proved unable to control. The disappointment regarding unfulfilled promises ultimately played a role in the outbreak of the Islamic Revolution, Schayegh concluded.

## Boston Forum on the Middle East

The Boston Forum on the Middle East, established in 2005 by A. Richard Norton, Ali Banuazizi, and Leila Fawaz, seeks to promote a deeper understanding of Middle Eastern cultures, societies, and politics, particularly in relation to U.S. foreign policy, through public lectures and regular meetings involving scholars, policymakers, journalists, and students. The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University, Boston College, and Boston University are the Forum's sponsors. Thomas Pickering, former U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, gave the inaugural Forum lecture at The Fletcher School on November 16, 2005. This year, **Ali Banuazizi**, Professor of Political Science and Director of the Program in Islamic Civilization and Societies at Boston College, presented on U.S.-Iran relations.

### "U.S.-Iran Relations: Confrontation, 'Engagement,' Sanctions—and Then?"

The third Boston Forum lecture was presented by **Ali Banuazizi**, on April 23, 2010, at the Castle on Boston University's campus. The topic of the lecture was the historical relationship between the U.S. and Iran.

The U.S.-Iran relationship changed suddenly in the late 1970s due to the Islamic Revolution in Iran, the Iranian hostage crisis, and the Iran-Iraq War during which the U.S. government, along with other Arab nations, supported Iraq over Iran. According to Banuazizi, these three events are still relevant to this day. Eight years of President George W. Bush added further tension to the relationship, he noted. President Bush's "regime change" rhetoric and "Axis of Evil" policy made it seem as if the U.S. was impervious to the moderating steps that Iran was taking at the time. More recently, the contentious 2009 presidential election in Iran severely impacted the legitimacy of Ahmadinejad's government. Banuazizi concluded that Iran will ultimately need the support of the U.S. in order to integrate itself into the international system.



# The Fares Lecture Series



Eva Bellin speaks on the role of the courts in the Middle East

**Managing the Culture Clash in the Middle East: Do the Courts Matter?**  
On September 23, 2009, the Fares Center welcomed guest speaker **Eva Bellin**, Associate Professor of Political Science at Hunter College and the Graduate Center, City University of New York. Bellin is a comparativist with specialization in the Middle East and North Africa, and author of *Stalled Democracy: Capital, Labor, and the Paradox of State*. She was introduced by Jeswald W. Salacuse, Henry J. Braker Professor of Law at The Fletcher School.

Bellin explored the role that the courts play in arbitrating what she calls the “dual inspiration” of many Middle Eastern and Muslim states. Dual inspiration refers to the fact that both religious and liberal democratic commitments are intrinsically woven into the foundational institutions of many of these states. The tensions that arise from this dual inspiration are often left to the courts to arbitrate. The courts, however, have shown significant variation over time and place in their rulings on this issue. Moreover, they have adopted quite different jurisprudential strategies to manage this tension.

Bellin explored this issue in two country case studies: Egypt and Israel. She focused on the rulings of the Supreme Constitutional Court/High Court of Justice in each. Although both high courts have been important forces for liberalism in their respective countries, neither has been unbridled. Bellin explored the political, institutional, and attitudinal factors that have restrained the court in each case.

A comparison of the two cases suggests some important distinctions, notably, the degree to which the respective courts acknowledge the priority of religious principles as *Grundnorm*. Comparison also suggests the paradoxical role that political context plays in shaping court liberality. Bellin emphasized the ability to generalize the experiences of Egypt and Israel and to extrapolate them to other countries in the Middle East and the Muslim world also struggling to reconcile their multifaceted cultural heritages.

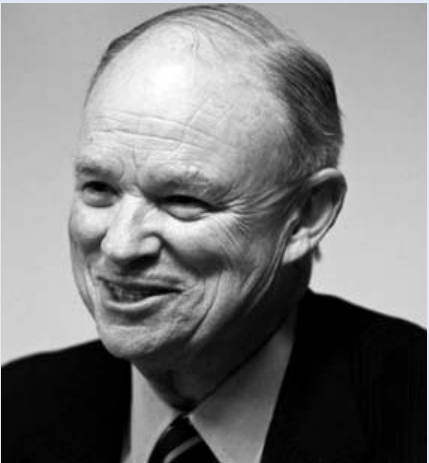


Mohsen Milani talks with an audience member following his lecture

**Reflections on U.S.-Iran Relations**  
On October 21, 2009, **Mohsen M. Milani**, Professor of Politics at the University of South Florida, spoke at The Fletcher School on U.S.-Iran relations. Fares Center Associate Director Vali Nasr introduced Milani, describing his expertise on Iranian politics, foreign policy, and the formation of the Islamic Republic, as well as his latest essay entitled “Tehran’s Take: Understanding Iran’s U.S. Policy” published in the July/August 2009 issue of *Foreign Affairs*. Milani believes that both Iran and the U.S. are in fierce competition for domination of the Middle East, a context that defines their relationship. He felt that the October 2009 talks in Geneva between U.S. and Iranian officials represented an important breakthrough, and explained that Iranian Supreme Leader Ayatollah Ali Khamenei likely made a strategic decision

prior to the Iranian election of June 2009 to negotiate with the U.S. for the first time since ties were severed in November 1979. Throughout the summer of 2009, Iran suffered from widespread unrest as a result of a significant portion of the Iranian population believing that incumbent president Mahmoud Ahmadinejad’s electoral victory was fraudulent. Milani felt that this episode was the greatest crisis of legitimacy since the inception of the Islamic Republic due to the deep divisions it revealed in the clerical and ruling establishments of Iran. At the same time, however, Iran’s position in Iraq is stronger than ever, thanks in large part to the U.S. war effort there. Likewise, Iran remains a major player in Afghanistan and Lebanon. President Obama has done more to change the American relationship with Iran in the past nine months, Milani concluded, than former President Bush did during his eight years in office. Nevertheless, Milani believes that the pervading financial crisis will limit U.S. options for dealing with Iran.

**How Is President Obama Doing in the Middle East?**  
Reviewing President Obama’s accomplishments in the Middle East during his first year in office, Ambassador **Robert Pelletreau** said that the President started “strong” on issues across the Middle East but also benefited from some luck. However, challenges remain from Afghanistan to Israel. Pelletreau, who served as Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern Affairs from 1994 to 1997 and as Ambassador to Egypt, Tunisia, and Bahrain during his long career, spoke at The Fletcher School on November 4, 2009. Before President Obama took office, the situation across the Middle East had deteriorated, Pelletreau said, pointing to the resurgence of the Taliban in Afghanistan and the stagnation of the Israeli-Palestinian peace process. But President Obama started off on the right foot, Pelletreau noted, with the ban on torture, his pledge to close Guantanamo, and his appointment of two special envoys,



Ambassador Robert Pelletreau

each of whom Pelletreau considered well suited to his post. Former senator George Mitchell, “a persistent negotiator,” is the right choice for the Israeli-Palestinian issue, Pelletreau claimed. The Israeli-Palestinian peace process has, however, stagnated, in part because Israel failed to accede to the U.S. demand to cease settlements, a condition Pelletreau described as a non-starter. Meanwhile, Special Envoy Richard Holbrooke, an “activist,” is the right choice for the Afghanistan-Pakistan region, according to Pelletreau. The Pakistani army has begun to engage, retaking the Swat Valley and moving into Waziristan. Nonetheless, neither Pakistan nor Afghanistan is a “pillar of strength,” Pelletreau noted. In Iran, a country that the U.S. has spent thirty years trying to isolate, President Obama has benefited from some measure of luck. The nation’s “seemingly solid conservative majority came apart last summer,” Pelletreau said, referring to protests questioning the legitimacy of the presidential election. Meanwhile, the U.S. has altered what he characterized as an unproductive stance of hostility towards Iran. In closing, Pelletreau noted the limited progress his generation made on issues from climate changes to disease to terrorism and stated his hope that students in the audience would enter the public service.

**“Can President Obama Avoid War with Iran?”**  
The November 18, 2009, Fares Center lecture was given by **Juan R. I. Cole**, Richard P. Mitchell Collegiate Professor of History at the University of Michigan, who seeks to place the relationship between the U.S. and the Muslim world in its historical context. Cole has most recently published *Engaging the Muslim World* (2009) and *Napoleon’s Egypt: Invading the Middle East* (2007). He was introduced by Tufts University Provost and Senior Vice President Jamshed Bharucha.

Cole believes that prior to the presidency of George W. Bush the U.S. had successfully contained Iran since its 1979 Islamic Revolution. However, the decision by the Bush administration to pursue wars in Iraq and Afghanistan removed Iran’s main foes and freed it to pursue a more active role in the Middle East, where Iran strives to become the regional power by harnessing its key Shiite allies in Iraq and Lebanon. Cole hypothesized that former President Bush may have waged war against Iran’s neighbors in part as a springboard for the overthrow of the Iranian regime, but was unable to follow through on this vision and instead inadvertently helped Iran become the regional superpower.

Regarding Iran’s nuclear ambitions, Cole upholds the Iranian standpoint that the program is aimed solely at achieving the ability to enrich uranium for nuclear energy plants and to secure



Juan Cole, Richard P. Mitchell Collegiate Professor of History at the University of Michigan

energy independence for Iran. Cole believes that Iran is not actually trying to produce nuclear weapons, but that it would like to possess the ability to make a bomb on short notice if the country is attacked or its government overthrown. According to Cole, this “nuclear latency” is useless in today’s world, as the regime would likely fall before it could produce a bomb. In closing, Cole noted that both the U.S. and Iran have a lot to gain from working together.



David Kretzmer, Bruce W. Wayne Professor Emeritus of International Law at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem

**“Law, Politics and the Supreme Court of Israel”**  
**David Kretzmer**, Bruce W. Wayne Professor Emeritus of International Law at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and currently Inaugural Fellow at the Straus Institute for the Advanced Study of Law and Justice at the New York University School of Law, delivered a lecture on the Israeli Supreme Court at The Fletcher School on January 27, 2010. Kretzmer explained that the Court occupies a controversial position in Israel, particularly among the political right and ultra-orthodox sections of the country, which believe it to be far too liberal.

Beginning in the early 1980s the perception of the court evolved, precipitated by Justice Barak’s stance that emphasis should be placed on judicial review of all government action in addition to administrative action. As a result of these changes in the direction of the Court, many NGOs, politicians, and private individuals began challenging government action that had nothing to do with restrictions on the rights of



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individuals. Additionally, Kretzmer claimed, the Court changed direction in matters of security and began to consider whether security measures were exercised with reasonableness and proportionality.

The attitude of the Court and the growing dominance of non-liberal, particularistic views among wide sections of the Israeli Jewish public, Kretzmer noted, have led to alienation from the Court of some sections of the population and constant attacks on the Court by politicians and members of the press. Yet the Supreme Court remains the bastion of liberal values in Israeli society and for the moment, despite pressures, there are no signs that the Court will take a softer stance towards governmental actions.

It is difficult to predict what will happen in the future. While some important figures remain committed to protecting the Court, the rise of the radical right and the increasing influence of orthodox elements could lead again to attempts to limit the jurisdiction of the Court. One has to hope, Kretzmer concluded, that the voices of reason will prevail and the Court will retain its role as guardian of rights in Israel’s democratic system.



Tufts Provost and Senior Vice President Jamshed Bharucha listens to Kretzmer’s lecture



Jessica Heinzelman (MALD ’11) asks a question of guest speaker Evelyn Early

“American Public Diplomacy: Engaging Middle Eastern Audiences”

American efforts at public diplomacy in the Middle East have had some success in building social capital and fostering cultural exchanges, according to Air University Senior State Department Advisor **Evelyn Early** during her talk on February 3, 2010, at The Fletcher School.

“Public diplomacy isn’t a magic wand to convert everyone to a certain opinion,” Early said. But the relationship-building and engagement aspects of public diplomacy are important nonetheless. While diplomacy is typically thought of as government-to-government, Early noted that “public diplomacy is much more expansive and on all levels, people to people.”

“I come at public diplomacy as an anthropologist who is firmly convinced that you can’t do anything until you establish personal relations,” said Early, an author and veteran State Department diplomat who holds a Ph.D. in anthropology and has worked in Morocco, Sudan, Syria, and the Czech Republic.

The U.S. has made some significant strides in public diplomacy in the Middle East in recent years. A decade ago, Early said, if you turned on a television in an Arab country “you would never see an American talking head, particularly not in Arabic.” Now that has changed completely. American diplomats, she noted, have

also adapted to the 24-hour news cycle. One major challenge for public diplomacy, Early concluded, is to explain and give context to American public opinion, including the phenomenon she refers to as “Islamophobia.” The non-governmental sector plays a key role in this effort. In particular, Early praised the Fulbright program as the “crown jewel of our education exchange programs,” a program that she said works to “humanize and personalize” international relations.



Hania Bekdash (MALD ’10) takes notes at the lecture delivered by Hussein Ibish, Senior Fellow at the American Task Force on Palestine

“Israel, the Palestinians, and the One-State Agenda”

On February 10, 2010, **Hussein Ibish**, author of several studies on anti-Arab discrimination, delivered a talk on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and discussed his book *What’s Wrong with the One-State Agenda?* (American Task Force on Palestine, 2009).

Ibish called the proposed one-state solution to the conflict a “strategic blunder for Palestinians and friends of Palestine.” The idea of a single bi-national state is not new—it was, in fact, a suggestion of Jewish settlers in the 1930s—but it has never become a significant part of the Israeli political discourse. Ibish attributes the intellectual and emotional

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Mothers and Daughters: A Conversation with Hanan al-Shaykh and Mariam Said

In collaboration with the Center for the Humanities at Tufts University (CHAT), the Fares Center welcomed two renowned female authors, **Mariam Said** and **Hanan al-Shaykh**, as part of the Fares Lectures Series this year. Said is the Vice President of the Barenboim-Said Foundation USA, a charitable organization devoted to intercultural conciliation through music co-founded by her late husband, Edward Said, while al-Shaykh is a former journalist and author of four books in Arabic. Both have recently published books dealing with the experiences of women in twentieth-century Lebanon. The September discussion between Said and al-Shaykh was moderated by Jonathan Wilson, Professor of English and Director of CHAT, who was introduced by Tufts University Provost Jamshed Bharucha.

Mariam Said’s book, *A World I Loved: The Story of an Arab Woman*, was originally written in Arabic by her late mother, Wadad Makdisi Cortas, and describes life in Lebanon and surrounding Middle East countries from 1917 until Cortas’s death in 1979. Cortas’s first job was teaching at a girl’s school in Baghdad where she became its principal by the age of 26. She devoted significant time to convincing students’ parents not to marry their daughters off at very young ages, and was unusual herself for having married at the “late” age of 34. A headstrong, driven woman, Cortas was shocked when, on her first trip to Paris, she met with young Arab students who she felt were wasting their time without achieving considerable accomplishments. Fittingly, the school of which she was principal had been founded for the explicit purpose of educating the nation’s girls and turning them into leaders at the dawn of independence; her own daughter Mariam was educated there. The importance of history was paramount to Cortas, who was very much taken aback by the 1979 Iranian Revolution, which occurred a few months before she died. In *A World I Loved*, she focuses on the

historical narrative. When she finished writing the book, she brought it to her now-deceased son-in-law Edward Said, and told him she wanted her story to be known in the West. Mariam Said—who left Lebanon shortly before the civil war broke out—found herself drawn to the book and translated her mother’s work into English. Her own daughter, actress Najla Said, read aloud excerpts at the Tufts event.

Hanan al-Shaykh read excerpts of a very different memoir: *The Locust and the Bird: My Mother’s Story*. Al-Shaykh’s mother had been born in a southern Lebanese village to a poor Shiite Muslim family, and was engaged at age 11, before entering an arranged marriage at age 15 to al-Shaykh’s father, a man twice her age. The marriage was unhappy and al-Shaykh’s mother took the unusual step at the time of divorcing her husband to marry her lover. In order to do so, she had to leave her children, abandoning Hanan at age 7. However, according to al-Shaykh, her mother acted courageously by standing against family, society, and tradition in order to remain independent and stay true to herself. While she seemed distinctly modern in this way, she remained illiterate all of her life; she nevertheless had a keen interest in oral storytelling and classical Arabic. Al-Shaykh was initially hesitant to write a book about her mother’s life, but changed her mind during the Lebanese civil war, when she became nostalgic for the life depicted in the stories her mother had told her. Ten years after the civil war, al-Shaykh interviewed her mother at length in order to write the book in the first person.



Jonathan Wilson leads the question and answer session with Hanan al-Shaykh (right) and Mariam Said (left)

Wilson pointed out that both mothers, while living vastly different lives, were “extraordinarily progressive.” They both expected the Middle East to democratize, and Said spoke of her mother’s shock at the Iranian Revolution. Brought up in a Quaker Christian family, she had never dreamt that a religious revolution would occur in the Middle East. Al-Shaykh’s mother had a very different upbringing in an impoverished Shiite family. She always asked someone to read aloud her daughter’s writings so that she could experience them. Al-Shaykh explained that she wrote her book in the first person in order to give her mother a voice, which is denied to one who is illiterate. Initially, she had been reluctant to do so because she did not want to delve into the past and write disparaging remarks not only of herself from her mother’s perspective, but also of her mother’s estranged husband, al-Shaykh’s pious father. But her mother had always felt that her own story was more important than the stories of those “who had led privileged lives,” and who were far more likely to have their stories recorded in a book.

Each book provides a distinct picture of life in the Middle East during the twentieth century for two unique women.



“The Fares Lecture Series” CONTINUED FROM PAGE 6

impact of the second intifada’s shocking violence to the emergence of the one-state idea as a potential solution. Ibish pointed out that the vast majority of Israeli Jews would never accept a one-state solution because it would mean the end of their state. The idea of ceding Gaza to Egypt and the West Bank to Jordan is equally untenable because it would pose an existential threat to both countries. Most fundamentally, Ibish asked, if Israel has not been compelled or convinced to end the occupation thus far, how can it be compelled or convinced to dissolve itself through a one-state solution?

Ibish feels that the strides towards Palestinian statehood will come from the bottom-up institution-building agenda enacted in August 2009 in the West Bank, complemented by a top-down diplomatic agenda. He believes this approach has real political implications and can be transformative. This method of institution-building, along with support from the outside world and under American protection, can unilaterally bring about the framework of a Palestinian state, in spite of the Israeli occupation. “You can think of it as the Palestinian answer to settlement-building—and it is actually that,” he said of this two-pronged peaceful and diplomatic strategy for bringing about an eventual end to the conflict.

“Sounds Like a Job for *THE 99*”

On April 29, 2010, Jonathan Wilson, Director of the Center for Humanities at Tufts University, introduced **Naif al-Mutawa**, a Tufts alumnus (LA ’94) and creator of *THE 99*, the first-ever comic book series with Muslim lead characters, which utilizes archetypes drawn from the Quran. According to Wilson, al-Mutawa is “a great restorer” (*mujaddid*), operating in an unconventional genre. The purpose of *THE 99* is to restore tolerance to interfaith and international relationships, and to promote modern love for ancient learning. The series entertains children, but also restores one’s faith in humankind.

Al-Mutawa began his lecture by discussing the perception of Muslims in international media, and his experiences working as a psychologist treating torture victims in New York, including those who had been tortured by security



Audience members at Naif al-Mutawa’s April lecture

forces in Arab states. He returned to his native Kuwait shortly before the 9/11 attacks. For him, 9/11 was an attack on the meaning of Islam. After this event, al-Mutawa asked himself: What has happened to Islam, and who are these people making decisions for my children?

Born out of these reflections, and drawing on his previous experience as an award-winning children’s book author, al-Mutawa created *THE 99*. Ninety-nine is a number of great significance in Islam, as there are traditionally 99 names, or attributes, for God. In his research, al-Mutawa found that to date most superheroes originated in America or Japan. In America, comic book heroes have a Judeo-Christian background, frequently receiving messages from above. No one had ever mined the Quran for archetypes, so al-Mutawa set about to do just that. While his stories occur in the present, they are rooted in Islamic history.

The project officially began in 2003, when al-Mutawa secured financial backing and hired writers from X-Men, the Power Rangers, Spiderman, and Iron Man. *THE 99* entered Western consciousness in 2005 with the tagline “Next Ramadan, the world will have new heroes.” The series gained fame when a full-page article on it appeared in the Sunday *New York Times*, following the



Naif al-Mutawa, CEO of Teshkeel Media Group and the creator of *THE 99*, talks with Elsa Gomes, Development Officer at Tufts University, following his lecture

publication of the Danish cartoon depicting the Prophet Muhammad. To date, *THE 99* has created over one thousand jobs on four continents. Nearly one million copies are printed each year, in various languages including Hindi, Urdu, and Arabic. Forbes recently named *THE 99* a top-20 trend. Al-Mutawa has received the first Intersections “Intersector” award for *THE 99* as well as awards from the United Nations Alliance of Civilizations and The Schwab Foundation.

# Visiting Scholar Series



Rami Khouri, Fares Center Spring 2010 Visiting Scholar

Author and political columnist Rami Khouri joined the Tufts community as the Fares Center Visiting Scholar in the spring of 2010. Khouri is Director of the Issam Fares Institute for Public Policy and International Affairs at the American University of Beirut and Editor-at-Large of *The Daily Star* (Beirut). While at the Fares Center, Khouri gave three lectures as a part of the Fares Lecture Series.

“On-the-Job Training in the Turbulent Middle East: Assessing Obama’s First Year”

President Barack Obama began relations with the Middle East “with a real bang,” veteran journalist and Fares Center Visiting Scholar **Rami Khouri** told a Fletcher School audience last March. Mr. Obama set a “new tone” with the Middle East, including what Khouri referred to as a “hug-a-Muslim” policy of public outreach, a new negotiating posture toward Iran, and a new openness with Syria. But President Obama has hit some stumbling blocks, and it remains unclear what the administration will be able to accomplish. Many Middle Easterners are “looking for the policy, the beef, the follow-up.”

Khouri praised President Obama’s appointment of George Mitchell as Special Envoy to the Middle East, and commented on the hope this offers for progress in the Israeli-Palestinian peace process. He also commended the Obama administration’s push for Israel to freeze

settlements and to open Gaza to humanitarian aid. But, Khouri noted, Israel rejected President Obama’s request for a full settlement freeze and President Obama has not personally delved into the Israeli-Palestinian peace process. Forty years of history have demonstrated that progress in this process is only made when the U.S. president “is literally in the room.” President Obama’s approach to the war on terror, Khouri said, has been “surprisingly consistent” with that of his predecessor, former President George W. Bush. The change, Khouri noted, is that President Obama has signaled that he wants to fight “but also to negotiate” with the Taliban, a combination Khouri concluded was “very bizarre.”

“Mosques, Malls, and Monarchs: The New/Old Power Balance Inside the Arab World”

On April 14, **Rami Khouri** delivered his second talk of the spring, in which he analyzed what he sees as the three major centers of power and identity in the modern Middle East: the mosque, the mall, and the monarch. For Khouri, the mosque represents a religious or tribal identity, the monarch stands for the political state, and the mall exemplifies the commercial or private sector, including NGOs and foreign aid.

Khouri believes that from the end of the Cold War the Middle East began to develop relatively static power structures. With the removal of outside pressures caused by the Cold War, and in light of economic growth lagging behind demographic growth, control of society began to loosen, leading to a wave of liberalism in the early 1990s. People rushed to participate through more open media and political

parties, creating new dynamics that for the first time allowed citizens to express themselves in society. The growth in freedom of expression since the early 1990s has led to an increase in clarity of political demands. Khouri noted that this political clarity is the first step toward the development of real politics, which have never before existed at their current level in the Arab world. Political fights, followed by truces and ultimately a settling upon a balance of power, together provide a workable system that Khouri judges is probably more sustainable than any political movement in the past half century. He believes that this system will lead to the development of modernity and enlightenment in the Middle East, just as it once did in the West.

“The Palestinian Exile and the Babylonian Exile: Reflections on the Arab-Israeli Conflict After 62 Years”

There are reasons to hope for resolution but also fear of catastrophe with regards to the Israeli-Palestinian dispute, **Rami Khouri** told a packed crowd at his third 2010 lecture. The U.S. has made some effort toward becoming a credible mediator and removing the “structural flaws” that have contributed to the stalemate, but the increasingly religious tenor

CONTINUED ON PAGE 15



Nicole Abi-Esber (A ’12) talks with Malik Mufti following Rami Khouri’s lecture



# Turkey: A Republic at Sea

Malik Mufti, Associate Professor of Political Science at Tufts University, discusses his new book, *Daring and Caution in Turkish Strategic Culture: Republic at Sea* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), with Fletcher School student Rabeh Ghadban (MALD '11).

**Rabeh Ghadban:** The title of your book is *Daring and Caution in Turkish Strategic Culture*. How has the political discourse to keep “Peace at Home, Peace in the World” helped to mold Turkish strategic culture?



Malik Mufti, Associate Professor of Political Science at Tufts University

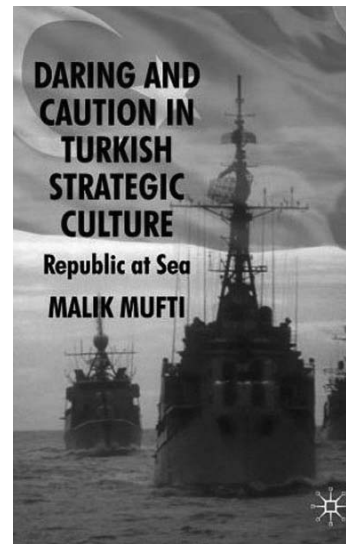
**Malik Mufti:** I begin the book by trying to emphasize the decisive nature of the experience of the collapse of the Ottoman empire and the trauma of WWI on the formation of Turkish strategic culture. It was a searing experience. The main lesson was an aversion to getting sucked into foreign entanglements, as the imperial impulse had dragged the Ottoman empire into WWI with catastrophic consequences for the country, including population transfers, ethnic cleansing, and an enormous number of deaths. The lessons learned were to avoid involvement in foreign entanglements, that the outside world is a hostile environment and full of predatory powers, and that the way to protect yourself was through internal unity across ethnic, sectarian, and class lines. That experience shaped the cautious, inward-looking “Republican” paradigm that continues to dominate Turkish strategic culture to this day.

At the same time, there also existed an “Imperial” counter-paradigm, which was more in sync with the Ottoman empire in terms of being eager to venture out into the world. The three examples I give of this are the Democrat Party in the 1950s, Turgut Özal in the 1980s and early 1990s, and also, perhaps, the Justice and Development Party (AKP in its Turkish acronym) today. This approach tends to be more adventurous and feisty, but also more liberal in the sense of being more open to the diversity of Turkish society, and more willing to question the homogenizing impulse of the Republican world view.

**RG:** In your book, you mark an important shift when Turgut Özal challenged the notion of Turkish homogeneity, creating an alternative “Imperial” approach that embraced Turkish diversity as a strength and source of “strategic power.”

**MM:** The theme of the book is the increasing dysfunctionality of the dominant Republican paradigm. Turkey was largely left alone for decades after WWI, and so its ruling elites were able to pursue their inward-looking agenda pretty successfully. By the 1970s and 1980s, however, strains begin to emerge as a result of indigenous social developments, including the growing reassertion of sectarian and ethnic (especially Kurdish) identities. Because many of these developments have a regional dimension as well, a disjunction emerged between the Turkish establishment’s desire to maintain the domestic status quo (“Peace at Home”), and its desire to remain aloof from external dynamics (“Peace in the World”). I describe this as a paradigm crisis, and use it to explain the incoherence of Turkish foreign policy during the 1990s—for example, in its reluctant military interventions into Iraq to combat Kurdish separatism.

Özal’s key insight was this: Why do we need to see Kurdish identity as a threat or as a vehicle for foreigners to infiltrate our society? If we adjust our own sense of who we are to accommodate Kurdish identity, then the Kurds become a mechanism of projection of our influence in northern Iraq and elsewhere. Instead of being a threat, they become an asset. This constituted a radical change in Turkish strategic thinking. It continues to be opposed today by many elements of the Republican establishment, but it is in sync with the evolution of the Turkish polity.



**RG:** One of the main themes of your book refers to the influence of individual leaders and their impact on statecraft. How do you think we will look back on PM Erdogan’s time in office ten years from now? Has his leadership significantly altered Turkish strategic culture?

**MM:** The bottom line is that it is too early to say what his ultimate legacy is going to be. There is a great deal of contingency in individual statecraft. The emergence of someone like Özal, for example, was quite startling in a political culture with such strong elements of conformity and continuity, because he was so “outside the box.” Yet it happened. He was not able to accomplish everything he wanted to, but he consolidated this counter-paradigm, which Prime Minister Erdogan and President Gül appear to have taken on.

The main problem for the AK Party and Erdogan is that their main focus has had to be domestic politics. They won their first elections in 2002 and ever since, we have found out, they have been subject to repeated destabilization attempts, so their focus has been on how to consolidate their political leadership at home. This has also led them to pursue EU accession, since the required liberalization measures have helped them to neutralize their hard-line domestic opponents. Beyond that, however, Erdogan and the AK Party have simply not had the chance to undertake a truly major departure in foreign policy. Their primary legacy to date, therefore, is accelerated political liberalization at home.

**RG:** Can Turkey’s Islamic revival be linked to a wider phenomenon seen in the Middle East, Iran, and other densely populated Islamic societies, or does it carry its own separate characteristics? Where might differences between Turkey’s experience and traditional Muslim revivalists lie?

**MM:** As your question suggests, there are bound to be some similarities and some distinctions. The distinctive element in Turkey is the balance between the secular Kemalist establishment and the more Islamist, populist, elected, political movement of which the AK Party is the latest manifestation. The balance between them—the fact that you not only have a robust Islamist coalition, but also a sizeable elite that has absorbed and strongly believes in the secular values of Kemalism—helps to provide stability in Turkey.

The alternatives are a bloody and prolonged civil war of religion—which no one wants—or moderation on both sides, including increasing acknowledgment of the Muslim values of the Turkish population, which we are seeing, as well as a concomitant willingness by the AK Party to play by the rules and not try to impose a militantly anti-secularist regime. This model is an attractive one that could benefit the rest of the region, but it is based on having this balance, which is a historical outcome you cannot replicate easily in other countries—that is the problem. What Turkey does show is that it is possible to have a political regime that grows out of the Muslim values of the population that does not have to be authoritarian or dogmatic and can be truly respectful of pluralism and rotation of power. Turkey in that sense really does offer a model for the rest of the Muslim Middle East. Setting up the institutions for such a system to function is the real challenge.

**RG:** Looking to the future, how can Turkey avoid being reluctantly assertive and strike a balance in its foreign policy that does not “alarm its neighbors or worry the United States”?

**MM:** Interesting question. There is no guarantee. What the Turks have going for them is that despite the swings and the detours I outlined in my book, they have had a relatively successful foreign policy. They have not made many mistakes. Ever since the establishment of the Republic, the Turks have generally been able to gauge

correctly how adventurous and how cautious to be. I have to say, they have done a pretty good job in maintaining this balance. It has to do with the strengths of institutions in Turkey, including the military. They really do have some well-tried and tested institutional, cultural, and normative precedents and foundations to make the right choices. I do not expect any widely erratic behavior coming out of Turkey.

But if Turkey is to come out of its inward-oriented worldview and become a more assertive regional player, I do not see how it would not bump up against interests of other actors in the region. In the long run, for example, as even the current Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoglu suggests in his book *Stratejik Derinlik* (“Strategic Depth”), Turkey will likely come into competition with Russia in arenas such as the Caucasus. What such assertiveness will mean for the rest of the region and the world is still unclear. That is why the subtitle of my book is “Republic at Sea,” which refers to this going out of your homeland to engage the world. But it also means not being completely clear what direction you are taking. This is a country with great resources and considerable military potential, which is going to begin to play a more assertive role in the region. That is why it is worth watching to see how this interesting phenomenon will unfold.

**RG:** What’s next for you after this book? What are your plans for future publications?

**MM:** Although my books may seem very different, they all come from the same basic overall question: What kind of political system is taking form in the Middle East since the collapse of the Ottoman empire? My first book, *Sovereign Creations*, investigated the evolution of state formation in two of the countries that, in many ways, were most artificial in the aftermath of WWI—Syria and Iraq. Turkey was the most successful of the nation-state experiments. But even there we now see these tendencies toward a more cosmopolitan, multicultural, even imperial worldview. With that being said, I am very interested in how medieval Islamic political thinkers such as Ibn Rushd and Ibn Khaldun thought of issues of war and empire, and I think there might be some relevant lessons there as well.

## The Fares Center Forum on U.S.-Middle East Diplomacy

Ambassador **William A. Rugh**, a distinguished diplomat, stayed on in the fall of 2009 as the Fares Center Visiting Scholar. While at the Fares Center, Rugh initiated the Fares Center Forum on U.S.-Middle East Diplomacy, which has provided Fletcher School students interested in the Middle East with the opportunity to discuss the difficult issues that diplomats and other professionals confront in their work. On October 14, 2009, Rugh wrapped up the series this year with a final roundtable discussion, entitled “Regional Stability in the Levant: Israel, Lebanon, and Syria,” featuring Fletcher School students who have recently lived in the Middle East.

**Rabeh Ghadban** (MALD '11) discussed his recent work experience with the Lebanese Transparency Association, which monitored the Lebanese National Assembly election of June 2009. Ghadban witnessed firsthand some of the fighting that went on in Lebanon during the summer, which he found alternatively frightening and eye-opening. **Trevor McNeil** (MALD '10) interned at the same organization, and was excited to find himself in Lebanon during the National Assembly election. McNeil was astonished that the pro-Western 14 March coalition prevailed over the Hizballah-dominated 8 March coalition. **David Wallsh** (MALD '11) discussed the two years he spent studying in Jerusalem and working at the Israeli-Palestinian Center for Research and Information (IPCRI) where he was involved with a project aimed at facilitating trade and joint business ventures between Israeli and Palestinian small businesses. **Hammad Hammad** (MALD '11), who was born in Jerusalem and raised in the West Bank, discussed the impact of the Goldstone Report on the Palestinian Authority and the viability of resuming negotiations between Palestinians and Israelis. **Maggie Williams** (MALD '10) interned at Tomorrow's Youth Organization (TYO), a community development non-profit in Nablus. Williams facilitated classes on a diverse range of subjects meant to further healthy expression, improve self-confidence and sociability, and advance the health of the women and children in the refugee camps.



## Cosponsored Events



### “Muslim Engagement for the 21st Century”

On January 28, 2010, Special Representative to Muslim Communities **Farah Pandith** (F ’95) told a Fletcher School crowd about her work with the U.S. State Department engaging with Muslims around the world, and about the Fletcher School professors who helped encourage her career path. Speaking in ASEAN auditorium as a part of the Charles Francis Adams Lecture Series, Pandith explained that her job involves putting a face to Secretary of State Hillary Clinton’s pledge to seek partnerships with Muslim communities around the world while helping to empower local leaders “who reject the distortion of Islam” by radicals.

The U.S. rebuffs the idea that the West is at war with Islam, Pandith claimed. She emphasized her title as representative to Muslim *communities*, rather than to the Muslim world, nomenclature that denies the idea that Muslims are a monolith. Pandith specifically rejected the Samuel Huntington thesis of a “clash of civilizations,” which appeared in a *Foreign Affairs* article that she described as controversial when she was at The Fletcher School.

Pandith came to The Fletcher School after working for the U.S. Agency for International Development. When she arrived, she intended to continue development work. But then, two members of her family were killed in Kashmir.

Fletcher School professor Richard Shultz and then-professor Sugata Bose each took Pandith aside to advise her that her interest in national security and extremism made her the “perfect person” to research

the situation in Kashmir. She subsequently had a “James Bond summer,” interviewing government officials and militants. That summer gave Pandith an introduction to extremist ideology and to understanding how “different regions understand the same event differently,” she said.

Born in Kashmir, Pandith emigrated to the U.S. with her family on July 4, 1969, when she was a baby. She grew up in Braintree, Massachusetts, and attended one of the oldest mosques in the country, in Quincy. Pandith closed by saying, “I grew up knowing that there was no contradiction between being a Muslim and being an American.”

### “A Discussion of *From Coexistence to Conquest: International Law and the Origins of the Arab-Israeli Conflict 1891-1949*”

Together with the Arab Students Association, the Fares Center hosted **Victor Kattan**, a Palestinian scholar, author, and teaching fellow at the Centre for International Studies and Diplomacy at the School of Oriental and African Studies, London. On Friday, February 26, 2010, Kattan presented the results of the research he conducted while writing *From Coexistence to Conquest*, a book that analyzes the Arab-Israeli conflict from a historical perspective.

In his presentation, Kattan sought to explain the origins of the Arab-Israeli conflict by analyzing the policies of the Great Powers during the early twentieth century. He argued that the British Government adopted Zionism in its 1917 Balfour Declaration primarily as an anti-immigration device. According to Kattan, the British encouraged Zionism in order to curb Jewish immigration into Britain. He argued that these efforts and their respective policies can be traced back to the 1903 Royal Commission on Alien Immigration and the Aliens Act of 1905.

In his presentation, Kattan also discussed his study of the Hussein-McMahon correspondence (1915-1916) and the Faisal-Weizmann Agreement (1919). He highlighted some of the controversies concerning the question of self-determination, the partition of

Palestine, and the reactions of the Palestinian Arabs to mass Jewish immigration. Kattan’s central argument was that neither the Jews nor the Arabs are to blame for starting the Arab-Israeli conflict, but rather that the conflict was manufactured by outside powers, especially Great Britain. He stressed that that there was no significant conflict between Arabs and Jews prior to the meddling of outside powers.

### “Dislocated Immigrant Identities: Rachid Nini’s *Diario de un ilegal*”

On March 31, 2010, Professor **Raquel Medina** of Aston University, Birmingham, U.K., delivered a lecture on the construction of subjectivity and the reconfiguration of Arab identity in Spain. In doing so, she focused on *Diario de un ilegal*, a non-fiction account of immigration to Europe written by Rachid Nini, a Moroccan immigrant to Spain.

*Diario de un ilegal* was first published in Morocco in 1999, then translated into Spanish, and eventually published in Spain. Nini developed his book from a sequence of articles about his own experiences as an illegal immigrant in Western Europe, which had first been published in a Moroccan newspaper. The book emphasizes factors that become important in the dissolution of identity. Nini was a journalist, a poet, and an intellectual with a degree, but all of his qualifications became irrelevant when he ended up on the Spanish Canary Islands. In Spain, he was treated as a member of a homogenous community, noticed only on account of his Moroccan origins, and as an “immigrant.”

At its core, Medina noted, Nini’s work addresses the identity of illegal immigrants and the stereotypes of immigrants in Europe, depicting prejudice on both sides. In doing so, *Diario de un ilegal* creates the type of intercultural dialogue in which no one wins and everyone loses. The most important structural element in the book, according to Medina, is the return of the immigrant to the homeland. Nini’s return to Morocco, where he is now a news presenter and public figure, is what compelled him to publish his

story. Although he has gained Spanish nationality through marriage, citizenship for Nini goes far beyond a legal document and is a testament of identity.

### “Crossing Borders”: A Film Screening and Discussion

On Wednesday, April 7, 2010, the Fares Center collaborated with a number of co-sponsors to screen the documentary “Crossing Borders” (2009), which was hosted by the Tufts International Center. “Crossing Borders” follows four American and four Moroccan students over the course of an eight-day trip around Morocco. The students come from radically different backgrounds, and their initial interactions are tense and argumentative. However, as the documentary progresses, the students grow closer to one another and begin to form personal relationships. They become more understanding and accepting of each other.

After the screening, the director **Arnd Wächter** spoke briefly about his background and what led him to make the documentary. The audience gathered into a circle and discussed stereotypes and how the students in the film confronted them and learned to break them down. According to the director’s synopsis, the students in the film “confront the complex implications of the supposed ‘clash of civilizations’ between Islam and the West.” A student in the audience brought up a particularly tense moment in the film when the Americans crossed a border that the Moroccans could not, and this led to a discussion about rights and inequalities.

The message of the documentary was that, in order to break down prejudices and stereotypes, personal relationships must be formed and one must recognize the humanity of others. The discussion following the screening was conversational and insightful, and students left with a better understanding of the differences between the Middle East and the West and the ways to overcome them.

## FAREWELL TO OMAR DAUHAIJRE!



From left: Don Button, Lupita Ervin, Lauren Dorgan, Gerard F. Sheehan, Omar Dauhajre, Leila Fawaz, Chris Zymaris, and Bernadette Kelley-Leccese



Elizabeth Canny and Omar Dauhajre

On January 28, 2010, the Fares Center hosted a reception to bid farewell to Program Assistant Omar Dauhajre, who left for another position after nearly four years of service to the Center. During his time at the Center, Omar contributed greatly to the ongoing success of the Fares Lecture Series. He also helped to enhance the Center’s rapport with students, both graduate and undergraduate, and strengthened relationships with the many groups critical to

the achievements of the Center.

Joining the Fares Center in wishing Omar continued success were Jamshed Bharucha, Tufts University Provost and Senior Vice President, as well as friends from the Provost’s Office, The Fletcher School, and The School of Arts and Sciences. Also offering their farewells to Omar were Steve Guerra, Fares Center Administrator from 2000 to 2007, and friends and colleagues from the many departments that support the Fares Center, including ITS, Publications, and Photography.

Omar’s daily contributions to the functioning of the Center and his warm personality will be greatly missed.



From left: Jeanne Marie Penvenne, Mariesmith Michaud, Jamshed Bharucha, and Ina Baghdiantz McCabe



# Mediterranean Club

## “Summer Experiences in the Middle East and North Africa”

On October 28, 2009, four student panelists came together to discuss their activities in the Middle East and North Africa during the summer of 2009. The moderator of this event was Ibrahim Warde, Associate Director of Business Programs at the Fares Center and Adjunct Professor of International Business at The Fletcher School.

**Rachel Brown** (MALD ’10) worked as an Advocacy Project Peace Fellow at a Washington, D.C.-based organization that sends fellows into the field to learn about the work of various non-profit organizations. Brown’s fellowship took her to the Alternative Information Center (AIC) in Jerusalem, where she researched and wrote about issues of educational equity within Israel, women’s roles in the peace movement, gay rights, and Israel’s policies towards refugees, migrant workers, and political asylum seekers coming to Israel from Darfur. **Stephen Allen** (MALD ’10) spent the summer undertaking a Critical Language Scholarship from the U.S. Department of State in Tangier, Morocco. Allen studied Modern Standard Arabic in an intensive language program that is sponsored and paid for by the U.S. government. Allen recommended this course of study to other American students hoping to improve their language skills dramatically in a relatively short time. **Elsa Palanza** (MALD ’10) conducted independent research for her thesis and undertook Turkish language study in Istanbul. She interviewed Turkish academics and policy-makers on education in Turkey. Palanza felt the unstructured nature of her schedule forced her to become an adept manager of her time in Istanbul. Using Turkish on a daily basis also provided her with the most ideal circumstances in which to learn the language. **Maggie Williams** (MALD ’10) worked with a youth and community development non-profit, Tomorrow’s Youth Organization (TYO), in the West Bank city of Nablus. Her chief responsibilities included organizing and leading classes on various subjects, all of which were geared towards reaching

healthy forms of self-expression, increasing self-confidence and sociability, and improving health for women and children living in refugee camps.

## “Egypt’s Wall: Implications of the Gaza Barrier”

On February 11, 2010, Eileen Babbitt, Professor of International Conflict Management Practice at The Fletcher School, moderated a roundtable discussion on the underground barrier between Egypt and Gaza—on which construction began in December 2009—which is an effort to stop illegal underground traffic between Egypt and Gaza. The discussion was conducted by several Fletcher School students.

**Rob Bortree** (AF ’10) voiced his opinion that Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak must undertake such harsh security measures as the barrier because he cannot risk a re-ignition of violence in Egypt, especially given the importance of the service industry, which employs 51% of Egyptians, to his country. A decline in tourism and ship traffic could sharply increase unemployment and thus contribute to political instability. **Hend Abdel Ghany** (LLM ’10) suggested that Mubarak decided to construct the barrier in order to control the flow of arms through the tunnels, which were “legitimated” due to the reluctance of the Egyptian government to crack down on them. Additionally, Abdel Ghany concluded, Egypt wants to avoid dealing with Hamas in Gaza. **Mohammed Herzallah** (MALD ’10) felt that the main reason for the construction of the Gaza barrier was pressure exerted by the U.S. and Israel on the Egyptian regime, and that if Egypt truly wanted to fight the problem of smuggling and reduce tunnel traffic, it would open the Rafah crossing. **David Wallsh** (MALD ’11) explained that Israel wanted to block the tunnels because they are used to transport bombs, in addition to humanitarian goods. In the past, the tunnels have been the first target that Israel attacked in response to aggression from Gaza. Wallsh did not believe that the barrier will end all smuggling, but it will make an impact, in his view.



**Fatma Kayhan** (MALD ’10) and an accompanist perform a traditional Turkish song at Mediterranean Night

## Med Night

The Mediterranean Club of The Fletcher School presented Mediterranean Night in Dewick Hall on October 24, 2009. Hosted by **Brooke Adams** (MALD ’10) and **Sami Shammass** (MALD ’10), the evening kicked off with a performance of the Debka, an Arab folk dance popular in the Levant that is normally performed at celebrations. Next, a skit entitled “Jeopardy: Mediterranean Leaders” humorously explored the antics that could ensue if the leaders of France, Italy, and Libya competed on Jeopardy, hosted by **Eddie Garcia** (MALD ’11) as Alex Trebek. Turkish classical music followed, with soloist **Fatma Kayhan** (MALD ’10) accompanied by an oudist. A lively Israeli dance was next, as students performed Rachamim, which means “mercy” or “pity” and Maoryan (“my son” and “my daughter”), drawing on both Eastern European and Yemenite traditions. **Thorin Schriber** (MALD ’11) entertained with the aria “Pur dicesti, o bocca bella,” by Antonio Lotti, while donning a traditional Venetian mask. **Munish Puri** (MALD ’09) and **Carol Waters** (MALD ’09) delighted with “Al-Fletcherzeera,” a skit poking fun at the news. A Greek dance featuring **Louisa Seferis** (MALD ’11) and **Marcia Kammitisi** (MALD ’11) got the audience moving, and the evening closed with a rousing dance celebrating the musical traditions of the

Arabic world, as **Nathalie Bekdache** (MALD ’11) and **Hend Abdel Ghany** (LLM ’10) led students in “Arabs Gone Wild.” With catering by Greek Corner of Cambridge and decorations by Moroccan Caravan, the evening was a beautiful tribute to the diverse cultures and traditions of the Mediterranean.

## Middle Eastern Social

On Tuesday, March 9, 2010, the Fares Center hosted a Middle Eastern social, along with the Tufts Arab Students Association and The Fletcher School Mediterranean Club. The objective was to bring together, in an informal meet-and-greet, all Tufts affiliates who have an interest in the Middle East and the Mediterranean regions, from both the graduate and undergraduate divisions. In addition to those affiliated with the Fares Center, the Arab Students Association, and the Mediterranean Club, invitations were extended to all professors and students with a Middle Eastern background, as well as members of Tufts New Initiative for Middle East Peace, the Muslim Students Association, and the Hellenic Society.

**Eugenia Vadoros**, (co-president of the Mediterranean Club) and **Nicole Abi-Esber** (co-president of the Arab Students Association) gave a short speech welcoming attendees and inviting them to eat, chat, and mingle. Students and professors were encouraged to introduce themselves and exchange contact information. Perhaps the most rewarding outcome of the event was the sharing of ideas and commonalities between members of the Tufts community who had not had the opportunity to meet each other prior to this gathering. Although there are many students on the Tufts campus with a focus on the Middle East, it is rare that undergraduate students, graduate students, and professors with shared interests are given the opportunity to socialize in an informal setting. This event successfully facilitated interaction and networking among these three distinct Tufts communities.

## “Greek Financial Crisis and Implications for the Eurozone”

On April 14, 2010, Ibrahim Warde, Adjunct Professor of International Business at The Fletcher School and Associate Director of Business Programs for the Fares Center, moderated a discussion on the Greek financial crisis and its impact on the Eurozone. Several members of the Tufts academic community provided their input. **George Kouladis** (MIB ’11) attributed the Greek financial crisis to basic problems present in the Greek economy, including a loss over recent decades of the momentum to develop and restructure its industries. Kouladis felt that Greece’s incompetent and heavy public sector, which employs nearly one-fifth of the country’s workforce, is the largest burden on the state. He cited corruption and the enormous barriers to foreign direct investment as two of the chief economic issues. **Erwan Lagadec**, Lecturer in French Studies at The Fletcher School, pointed out that more than a decade ago some compromises were made to aid the process of instituting the euro as the common currency within the European Union, not all of which were in the best interests of all member states. Lagadec felt that change was necessary, but that Europe must determine whether change will ultimately come from Brussels, or from regional capitals.

**Yannis Ioannides**, Max and Herta Neubauer Chair and Professor of Economics at Tufts University, referenced Greece’s massive public debt as its main problem. Ioannides noted that recent agreements between Greece and the EU have made default by Greece impossible. He saw potential for the crisis to spread to other countries, putting them in danger of dropping the Euro. **Laurent Jacque**, Professor of Finance and International Banking at The Fletcher School, explained that Greece must refinance its national debt. Jacque believes that if Greece continues spending at higher and higher rates, then default on the debt becomes almost unavoidable. For Jacque, the practical question was: How is it possible to turn around the discrepant levels of inflation and of Euro-overvaluation among Eurozone members?

## Visiting Scholar Series

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 9

of both sides of the conflict creates the possibility of descent into worse violence.

Khoury described the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in three time frames: Biblical, temporal, and real. Biblically, Khoury noted, both sides share the narrative of exile and describe their struggle to survive in “sweeping, existential” terms. For Israelis, the existential threat is about genocide, Islamic extremism, Nazism, and the threat of nuclear weapons. For Palestinians, the existential struggle is about colonialism, Islamophobia, and imperial duplicity.

In temporal time, Khoury discussed negotiations that have been ongoing, with little success, since the 1970s. In real time, Khoury noted several enduring issues, including Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu’s ten-month partial freeze on settlements, Palestinian Prime Minister Salam Fayyad’s plan to build the infrastructure of a Palestinian state, and the U.S. 2010 mid-term elections.

Meanwhile, Khoury noted, the new, tense dynamic between Netanyahu and U.S. President Barack Obama bears watching. The Western tendency to prioritize “Israeli security over Arab rights has been a structural flaw,” but Khoury sees signs of change in this regard. In conclusion, Khoury recognized that tough issues remain, from the rights of Palestinian refugees to Israeli settlements.





**Gloria Ascher**, Associate Professor of German and Co-Director of Judaic Studies at Tufts University, gave a paper at the December 2009 Modern Language

Association convention held in Philadelphia on “Ladino (Judeo-Spanish) into English: Adventures in Translation.” In January 2009, Ascher was elected to the Hunter College Hall of Fame in recognition of her contributions to Judaic studies, especially regarding the Ladino language. She will be inducted at Hunter in May 2010.



**Eileen Babbitt**, Professor of International Conflict Management Practice at The Fletcher School, co-edited a volume entitled *Human Rights*

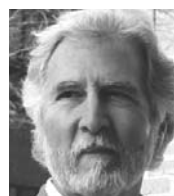
and *Conflict Resolution in Context: Colombia, Sierra Leone, and Northern Ireland* (Syracuse University Press, 2009). Her article “The Evolution of International Conflict Resolution: From Cold War to Peacebuilding,” appeared in *Negotiation Journal* (Fall 2009).

**Karam Dana**, Lecturer in the Department of History at Tufts University, is currently working on a book based on his dissertation “Before Their Nakba: Palestinian Society and Politics, 1920-1940,” which examines the social and political history of Palestine during the British Mandate period. He is also finalizing a book manuscript (with Matt Barreto) that explores the social and political history of Islam and Muslims in the U.S., a research project that won the American Political Science Association’s Best Paper Award for 2008. Dana has recently received a grant from the Social Science Research Council (SSRC) to hold conferences related to his work on Muslims in Western Societies. He currently holds a Post-Doctoral Fellowship at the Center for Middle Eastern Studies at Harvard University, and later in 2010 will also be a Research Fellow at the Belfer Center’s Dubai Initiative at Harvard’s Kennedy School of Government.



**Kenneth Garden**, Assistant Professor of Religion at Tufts University, published “Al-Mazari al-Dhaki: al-Ghazali’s Maghribi Adversary in

Nishapur” in the *Journal of Islamic Studies* (2010). In fall 2009, he presented a paper at the Cambridge Symposium on Middle Eastern Studies entitled “Revival Through Reclassification: Abu Hamid al-Ghazali’s *Revival of the Religious Sciences*.” He is working on a book project about al-Ghazali’s *Revival*.



**Hurst Hannum**, Professor of International Law at The Fletcher School, contributed a chapter entitled “The United Nations and Human

Rights” to *International Protection of Human Rights: A Textbook* (2009). He also published a chapter, “A View From the Outside,” in *60 Years of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in Europe* (2009), and an article “The Responsibility to Protect: Paradigm or Pastiche,” in the *Northern Ireland Legal Quarterly* (2009). This past academic year, Hannum has discussed human rights on public radio in Michigan, Sri Lankan self-determination at a conference at Southern Methodist University, and the Minorities Declaration at a UN Forum in Geneva.



**Malik Mufti**, Associate Professor of Political Science and Director of the International Relations Program at Tufts University, recently published

*Daring and Caution in Turkish Strategic Culture: Republic at Sea* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2009; see interview on p. 10). His article “Jihad as Statecraft: Ibn Khaldun on the Conduct of War and Empire,” appeared in *History of Political Thought* (2009). His article “The Many-Colored Cloak: Conceptions of Democracy in Medieval and Contemporary

Islamic Political Thought” is forthcoming in the *American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences*. Mufti presented on issues of war and peace in Islamic political thought at the Middle East Studies Association conference in Boston in fall 2009 and at the University of Otago in Dunedin, New Zealand in winter 2009.



**Joel Rosenberg**, Associate Professor of Judaic Studies and Co-Director of the Program in Judaic Studies at Tufts University, wrote a

piece entitled “Veit Harlan: In the Shadow of Jud Suess” for the program of the 2009 Boston Jewish Film Festival. His essay “Alone with God: Elie Wiesel’s Writings on the Bible” will appear in a Festschrift honoring Wiesel’s eightieth birthday. He contributed an article, “Cultural Erosion and the (Br)other at the Gateway of Sound,” to the forthcoming book *The Modern View: Modern Jewish Experience in World Cinema*.



**Allen Taylor**, Professor at the Friedman School of Nutrition Science and Policy at Tufts University, presented papers in the U.S. and beyond

during the past academic year. Taylor is founder and director of the Science Training Encouraging Peace-Graduate Training Program (STEP-GTP), which has received a \$100,000 matching grant to provide graduate science and medical training to pairs of Palestinian and Israeli students.



**Eva Hoffman**, Associate Professor of Art History and Program Director of Middle Eastern Studies at Tufts University

As the director of the Middle Eastern Studies (MES) Program at Tufts University, Eva Hoffman oversees a program notable for its interdisciplinary approach. Eighteen faculty members participate in the program across eight different departments, from Anthropology and Art History to Political Science and Religion. The cross-disciplinary curriculum is designed to equip graduating majors with a sufficient degree of linguistic, cultural, and social scientific regional expertise to enable them to embark on successful Middle East-related careers in academia, public service, or the private sector.

One of the overriding objectives of the MES program is to strengthen its language and culture offerings. The program’s language courses have been particularly popular. Three languages—Arabic, Hebrew, and Ladino—are currently taught and the hope is to expand the program to include the Turkic and Persian languages, among others. Hoffman also would like to establish a Tufts Study Abroad Program

in the Middle East for the MES program. Currently, Tufts students study at various non-Tufts programs in Egypt, Morocco, Jordan, and Israel.

As Associate Professor of Art History, Hoffman teaches courses on Islamic art, the art of the Medieval Mediterranean World, Iconoclasm, and Orientalism. She has also been the faculty coordinator for Tufts’ foundation courses in the global history of art, FAH 1: Art, Ritual and Culture (3000 BCE-1400 CE) and FAH 2: Art, Politics and Culture (1400 CE-present). Hoffman also contributes regularly to the work of the Fares Center as a collaborator and a guest speaker, and the MES program often co-sponsors events with the Fares Center.

Hoffman is currently writing a book on the circulation of art and culture in the medieval Mediterranean world between the tenth and thirteenth centuries. The book explores the ways in which art forged deep and wide-ranging connections between political, religious, and ethnic realms. The identification of dynamic continuities and interactive networks of cultural and visual exchange will offer a new model for mapping the art and culture of the medieval Mediterranean world.



**Reed Ueda**, Professor of History at Tufts University and Co-Chair of the MIT-based Inter-University Committee on

Migration, has been selected a Distinguished Lecturer for 2010 by the Organization of American Historians.



**Ibrahim Warde**, Adjunct Professor of International Business at The Fletcher School and Associate Director of Business Programs at the Fares Center, has

published the new edition of his book *Islamic Finance in the Global Economy* (Edinburgh University Press, 2010). He has written articles for *Le Monde Diplomatique* on the Madoff scandal, the financial meltdown on Wall Street, and the debt crisis in Dubai. In 2009-2010 he gave lectures at Princeton University’s

Institute for the Transregional Study of the Contemporary Middle East, at Boston University’s Pardee Center for the Longer-Range Future, and at Harvard University’s Islamic Finance Program. He has also recently lectured in Lebanon at the Fares Institute for Public Policy and International Affairs (American University of Beirut), in Italy at the Free University of Bozen-Bolzano, and in France at the University of Strasbourg and at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales in Paris.



## The Future of Islam by John L. Esposito

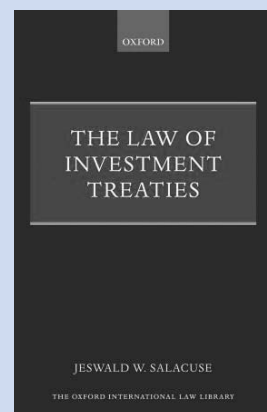
**John L. Esposito**, Chair of the Fares Center Academic Steering Committee and the Founding Director of the Prince Alwaleed Bin Talal Center for Muslim-Christian Understanding in the Walsh School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University, where he is also Professor of Religion and International Affairs and of Islamic Studies, recently published *The Future of Islam* (2010, Oxford University Press). In this book, Esposito explores the major questions and issues that face Islam in the twenty-first century and that will deeply affect global politics, e.g., is Islam compatible with modern notions of democracy, rule of law, gender equality, and human rights? How representative and widespread is Islamic fundamentalism and the threat of global terrorism? And, can Muslim minority communities be loyal citizens in America and Europe? The book also turns the mirror on the U.S. and Europe, revealing how we appear to Muslims. What are key perceptions and issues that affect the future of relations between the non-Muslim West and Muslims everywhere? Recent decades have brought extraordinary changes in the Muslim world, and in addressing these issues, Esposito paints a complex picture of Islam in all its diversity—a picture of urgent importance as we face the challenges of the coming century.



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## The Law of International Investment Treaties by Jeswald W. Salacuse

**Jeswald W. Salacuse**, Henry J. Braker Professor of Law at The Fletcher School, and member of the Fares Center Executive Committee, recently published *The Law of International Investment Treaties* (2010) with Oxford University Press. In this book, Salacuse examines the history and relevance of international investment treaties and the impact they have on investors and investments worldwide. The book draws on a growing body of arbitration decisions that apply and interpret investment treaties to analyze the common issues facing foreign investors and governments that are parties to these agreements.



## New Faculty



**Elizabeth Foster**, Assistant Professor of History at Tufts University, is working on a book manuscript provisionally entitled *Faith in the Empire: Church, State and Colonial Rule in French Senegal, 1880-1940*. She contributed “A Mission in Transition: Monsignor Joseph Faye and the Decolonization of the Catholic Church in Senegal” to the book *In God’s Empire: French Missionaries and the Modern World*, forthcoming from Oxford University Press. Foster received her Ph.D. from Princeton University in 2006 and then taught in the Directed Studies Program at Yale for one year before spending 2007-2009 as an Assistant Professor at Bates College. Foster was named a Neubauer Faculty Fellow for 2010-2011.



**Kamran Rastegar** is Assistant Professor of Arabic Literature and Director of the Arabic Language Program at Tufts University, where he is a Neubauer Faculty Fellow for 2010. His publications include the chapter “The Glass Agency: Iranian War Veterans as Heroes or Traitors,” in the edited volume *Traitors: Suspicion, Intimacy and the Ethics of State-Building* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), and “Trauma and Maturation in Women’s War Narratives: The Eye of the Mirror and Cracking India,” in *The Journal of Middle Eastern Women’s Studies* (2006). He has published a monograph, *Literary Modernity Between Europe and the Middle East* (Routledge, 2007). Melville House Press published his translation of Mahmoud Dowlatabadi’s novel *Missing Soluch* in 2007. After receiving his Ph.D. from Columbia University (2005), Rastegar taught at the University of Edinburgh and at Brown University. He is currently working on a project on visual culture and trauma, with a focus on Arab and Iranian cinemas.

## Affiliated Students



**Brooke Adams** (MALD ’10) studies International Security Studies and Southwest Asia and Islamic Civilizations at The Fletcher School and is a research assistant at the Fares Center. Her thesis is a comparative study of the demobilization of guerrilla movements and the development of political parties in El Salvador, Lebanon, and Sudan. At The Fletcher School, she is co-president of the Mediterranean Club and managing editor of the *Fletcher Ledger*. She spent the 2007-2008 academic year in the intensive Arabic program at the American University of Cairo. Prior to that, she worked as a corporate trainer at Freescale Semiconductor in Toulouse, France.



**Irina Chindea** is a Ph.D. candidate at The Fletcher School, with a focus on International Security Studies and Southwest Asia and Islamic Civilizations. Her research interests cover irregular warfare, energy security-related issues (with a regional focus on Central Asia, South Caucasus, and Russia), and the nexus between finance and the activities of non-state armed groups. Since joining The Fletcher School in 2006, Irina has also been studying Arabic at Tufts and in Cairo, Egypt, where, in parallel to the Arabic classes, she interned with the Al-Ahram Center for Political and Strategic Studies. Prior to coming to The Fletcher School, Irina worked as a senior analyst for the investment arm of Raiffeisen Bank and for the Financial Advisory Services Department of KPMG Romania. Irina holds a B.A. in Business Administration.



**Lauren Dorgan** (MALD ’11) is a research assistant at the Fares Center. She studies International Security Studies and Southwest Asia and Islamic Civilizations at The Fletcher School. Prior to beginning graduate studies, Lauren was a political reporter at *The Concord Monitor* (New Hampshire), covering the presidential primary and a variety of state political issues. Before that, she worked as a desk assistant at the NewsHour with Jim Lehrer. She has

studied Arabic at the International Language Institute in Cairo, and graduated from Harvard University with a B.A. in History.



**Rabeh Ghadban** (MALD ’11) is a Lebanese-American who is currently pursuing a graduate degree in International Business Relations and Political Economy at The Fletcher School. He has spent the last two years working within Lebanese civil society to promote political development through a range of advocacy projects and as a freelance journalist. At The Fletcher School, he is hoping to broaden his scope of knowledge through researching how business solutions can be a more effective vehicle for development in emerging countries. Rabeh graduated from the University of California, San Diego in 2006 with a B.A. in international relations.



**Mohammed J. Herzallah** (MALD ’10) studies International Monetary Policy and Political Systems at The Fletcher School and is a research assistant at the Fares Center. He is currently the Managing Editor of the *Fletcher Forum of World Affairs*. Previously, he worked for *Newsweek* and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. He has published articles in *The Daily Star*, *Al-Ahram Weekly*, *Newsweek*, and *The Washington Post*. His graduate thesis examines the economic and political impact of international aid to the Palestinian territories.

**Shahla Hussain** is a Ph.D. student in the History Department at Tufts University. Her field of specialization is South Asian History and her research interests lie in the fields of migration and trans-nationalism. Shahla has completed one of the qualifying exams in Middle Eastern history. For her doctoral dissertation she intends to explore the crucial role played by the Kashmiri diaspora in shaping the politics of Kashmir, a region strongly contested by both India and Pakistan. She aims to examine the complex motivations of the various actors in this scheme, and more specifically, to determine what these

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motivations reveal about their religious, regional, and international identities. Shahla is also working as a graduate assistant for the Center of South Asian and Indian Ocean Studies at Tufts University. She has assisted the director in event planning and organizing lectures and conferences. Prior to coming to Tufts, she taught in India at the University of Kashmir.

**Matteo Tomasini** (MALD ’10) studies International Security Studies and International Conflict Resolution at The Fletcher School, while also working as a research assistant at the Fares Center. His thesis examines Syrian support of armed groups and he spent the past summer in Damascus, learning Arabic and conducting research. He most recently served as the Research and Advocacy Fellow at an Iraq-focused NGO in Washington, D.C. where he worked primarily on addressing the displacement crisis. Previously, he conducted research on various Middle East issues at the Burkle Center at UCLA and the Brookings Institution. Matteo received his B.A. in international relations and history from the University of California, Los Angeles.



**Eugenia Vandomos** (MIB ’10) studies International Marketing and Southwest Asia and Islamic Civilizations at The Fletcher School. She is co-president of the Mediterranean Club and works in conjunction with the Fares Center and the undergraduate Arab Students Association Club to organize events. Additionally, she is on the planning committee for the first Business Club Trip to the UAE. Eugenia was a Tufts undergraduate majoring in International Relations with a focus on the Middle East. She was raised in London, born to Greek parents, and grew up living between these two countries.





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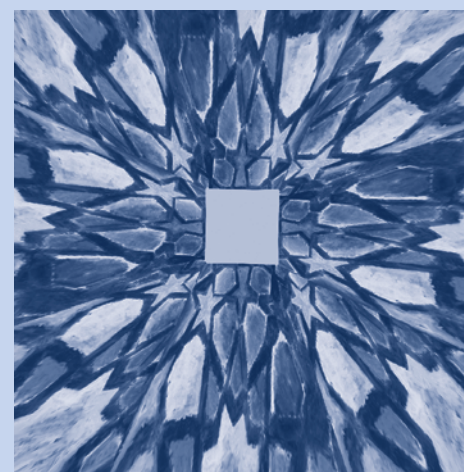


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