



PHAROS

LIGHTING THE PATH TO UNDERSTANDING



THE NEWSLETTER OF THE FARES CENTER AT TUFTS UNIVERSITY FALL 2007

A Letter from the Provost

As the international community observes another anniversary of September 11, 2001, the ideological struggle between extremism and tolerance continues around the world. As we mark the fourth year of the conflict in Iraq, leaders and voters must assess the utility and management of the global war on terrorism. In order to stimulate analysis and to offer innovative policy recommendations, the Fares Center for Eastern Mediterranean Studies organized its



JAMSHED BHARUCHA

annual conference “The ‘War on Terrorism’: Where Do We Stand?” in January 2007.

By engaging Tufts students and the

Boston community in this conference and other events, the Fares Center is exceptionally poised to impact present and future leaders who need to make informed decisions. Under the expert leadership of Leila Fawaz, the Fares Center cultivates an atmosphere of mutual respect in which to explore divergent opinions and debate potential courses of action. Roundtables organized and moderated by students provide opportunities to articulate

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2



Panelist Hisham Melhem, Washington Correspondent for *Al-Nahar*, speaks about the historical and ideological roots of terrorism.

“The ‘War on Terrorism’: Where Do We Stand?”

The Fares Center for Eastern Mediterranean Studies held its annual conference, entitled “The ‘War on Terrorism’: Where Do We Stand?,” at Tufts University on January 25 and 26, 2007. Scholars, journalists, and policymakers convened to discuss the complex identities of terrorists, their impetus for committing terrorist attacks, and the efficacy of international responses to the threat of terrorism.

Keynote speaker **Robert Pape**, Founder and Director of the Chicago Project on Suicide Terrorism and Professor of Political Science at the University of Chicago, used empirical evidence to challenge the assumed link between suicide terrorism and Muslim fundamentalism. While religion might be used as a recruitment tool or to contextualize goals of self-determination, it is rarely central to suicide terrorism. Pape suggested that suicide terrorism

CONTINUED ON PAGE 10

The Fares Center

for Eastern Mediterranean Studies

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THE NEWSLETTER OF THE FARES CENTER AT
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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.

SPECIAL GUEST EDITORS:

Emma Aller (MALD '08) focuses on international business relations and development economics at Fletcher. She is currently a research assistant at the Fares Center and editor-in-chief of *Al Nakhlah*, Fletcher's journal on Southwest Asia and Islamic civilization. Prior to graduate school, Emma conducted research on South Asia and the Middle East as a research associate at the Council on Foreign Relations in New York. She also served as an American India Foundation Service Corps Fellow in New Delhi, India, where she worked at a non-governmental organization dealing with women's rights. Emma can be reached at emma.aller@tufts.edu.

Julia Bennett (MALD '08) studies international law and Middle East affairs at Fletcher. She is a research assistant at the Fares Center and managing editor of *The Fletcher Forum of World Affairs*, a biannual journal that features scholarly articles on foreign policy. Previously, she coordinated public programming and funding for the Project on Leadership and Building State Capacity and the Middle East Program at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in Washington, DC. In that capacity, she also facilitated networking among women activists and parliamentarians in the Middle East by organizing workshops in leadership, conflict resolution, and political participation. Julia can be reached at julia.bennett@tufts.edu.

Consulting Editor: Peri Bearman

Letter from the Director



Leila Fawaz

During the 2006–2007 academic year, the Fares Center fostered engagement on critical issues related to the Middle East by facilitating interaction between Tufts and Fletcher students, scholars and policymakers, and national and international leaders. During this year of tumult in Iraq and Lebanon, the Fares Center continued to serve as a vital forum for the expression of diverse views. Numerous events offered multifaceted and layered analysis of both current events in the Middle East and insight into its important history.

The highlight of the Fares Center's programming was a conference that brought academics, journalists, and policy analysts together for two days to assess the implications of the "War on Terrorism" for the Middle East and the United States. The conference enabled hundreds of participants to listen to and question expert panelists on a broad array of themes. Throughout the year, the Fares Center also organized stimulating debates by high-profile speakers on topics such as prospects for regional peace and consequences of U.S. foreign policy toward Iran.

The Fares Center continued to prioritize campus involvement and to value the creativity and innovation of student contributions. Workshops and roundtables attracted large numbers of students and touched on issues ranging from the connection between civil society and development to the impact of regional players on Lebanon to the pioneering work of Palestinian women artists.

The activities of the Fares Center are made possible through the ongoing generosity of His Excellency Issam M. Fares and Trustee Fares I. Fares and the valued guidance of President Bacow and Provost Bharucha. The dedication of these Fares Center supporters remains an indispensable component in the achievement of exceptional programming and the expansion of venues for dialogue.

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

opposing views, and the involvement of tenured and incoming faculty facilitates careful analysis and encourages balanced perspectives. The resulting constructive dialogue among students, scholars, and practitioners has profound effects throughout the Tufts campus and beyond.



Issam M. Fares Annual Lecture: “Foreign Policy in the Middle East”

The Issam M. Fares Annual Lecture was delivered on March 7, 2007 by former U.S. Secretary of State **Madeleine Albright**, who focused her remarks on the elusive project of understanding the Middle East and provided constructive recommendations for U.S. policy toward the region.

Albright suggested that the relationship between preemption and national security has been tenuous for millennia, and she praised former President George H. W. Bush for channeling the Gulf War (1990–1991) through the United Nations. By obtaining Security Council authorization for the use of force to restore peace and stability in Kuwait, Bush Sr. reinforced the legitimacy of the United States within a multilateral structure.

Alternatively, Albright asserted that by mishandling the situation in Iraq, President George W. Bush has largely ignored the lessons of history. The United States has caused excessive civil strife in Iraq, encouraged antagonistic gesturing by Iran, and increased incentives for rogue states to possess weapons of mass destruction. Looking forward to the



From left: Lawrence S. Bacow, President of Tufts University, former U.S. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, and Stephen W. Bosworth, Dean of The Fletcher School, arrive at the Fares Center.

advent of self-rule in Iraq, Albright agreed that more energy should be devoted to reinforcing the balance of power between Iraq’s central government and its disparate regions, and she was hopeful about prospects for collaboration between Iran, Syria, and the United States.

The Middle East does not constitute a simple morality play, Albright said. Rather, “fear, anger, hope, courage, cowardice, and confusion all swirl about

without ever settling into a completely coherent pattern.” Given this reality, Albright noted that common understanding among regional players could be founded on the shared priority of survival—if not upon reciprocal love. The United States can help to facilitate this under-

standing by acting as an honest broker in the peace process between Israel and Palestine, and by limiting the exacerbation of divisions between Shi’i and Sunni groups in Iraq. Supporting democratic institutions in Iraq and throughout the region is imperative, she commented, and failing to embrace democracy would jeopardize the concept of the existence of the United States itself.

In conclusion, Albright emphasized that the tensions between the Middle East and the West should not be characterized as a clash of civilizations, but more accurately as a war of ideas hinging upon the absolute certainty harbored by all contenders. “We should not be so sure that we’re right, that we don’t realize that we’re wrong,” she advised. While Albright admitted to worrying extensively about violence in the Middle East, she confirmed that her overarching beliefs reflect a commitment to reason, education, and the capacity for peace.



From left: Leila Fawaz, Director of the Fares Center, Noor Fares, Zeina Fares, Nijad I. Fares, President of Wedge Equities Incorporated, former U.S. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, and Lawrence S. Bacow, President of Tufts University, at the Fares Center

Lectures and Roundtables



Vali Nasr, Professor of International Politics,
The Fletcher School

“Theocracy, Democracy, and the Conservative Consolidation in Iran”

The Fares Center cosponsored a Charles Francis Adams Lecture on March 8, 2007 delivered by **Vali Nasr** (MALD '84).

Nasr is author of *The Shia Revival* (W. W. Norton, 2006) and has since been appointed Professor of International Politics at The Fletcher School and Associate Director of the Fares Center. He discussed the shifting formations of the Iranian state since the transformative Islamic Revolution in 1979, current issues facing the Iranian government and society, and the consequences of U.S. approaches to Iran.

Two contradictory images of Iran are in circulation today, Nasr said, and neither captures the essence of Iran. On the one hand, Iran is portrayed as a stable authoritarian regime with an entrenched theocracy that maintains clear domination over Iranian society. On the other hand, Iran is depicted as a teetering state on the verge of revolutionary change, with an active civil society and a populace engaged in deep debates over democracy and Islamic reform. Nasr characterized the Iranian state as a “lame Leviathan,” a decentralized authoritarian regime with more than one power center at the top. Iran is still in the process of formation, and economic factors are the driving forces shaping changes.

In order to move beyond conventional theories, Nasr charted three distinct stages that have characterized Iran since 1979. After the Revolution, Iran thrived on mass mobilization and student activism, and it promised—but failed to deliver—distributive economic development to its citizens. As Iran’s foreign policy became increasingly combative and the Iran-Iraq War raged throughout the 1980s, the regime’s popularity suffered. In 1989, leader Ayatollah Khomeini’s death marked the end of active revolution. Dependence on oil, the economic strains of a bloated public sector, and the negative effects of an aggressive foreign policy encouraged Iran’s transition to an “Islamic developmental” state. This phase emphasized bureaucracy and privatization, and saw the growth of a middle class and a power shift from revolutionaries to clerics. By 1997, the overwhelming electoral victory of reformist President Mohammad Khatami clearly indicated Iranians’ desire for change, Nasr explained. The old guard reacted with a conservative restoration and thwarted the reform agenda. Iran adopted the Chinese model, whereby it would retain the authoritarian nature of its regime while opening up its economy.

Because of multiple constituencies and competing centers of power in Iran, elections have been used since 1979 to settle disputes in the absence of other mechanisms. In contrast to the first stages of Iran’s development, elections have now become “de-stabilizing and threatening.” Nasr observed that the 2005 elections were viewed by many as a contest between conservative groups over who would ally with the middle class. To the shock of many, Mahmoud Ahmadinejad won the presidency on a populist platform, having

campaigning in rural areas appealing to lower classes with promises of wealth redistribution. Because many Iranians associate the era of reform with ineffective governance, Ahmadinejad benefited from the electorate’s desire for a military-affiliated leader who could implement policies by utilizing his close relationship with conservative elements. In addition to promoting himself—rather than the clerics—as the head of the Iranian state in the Twelfth Imam’s absence, the former member of Iran’s Revolutionary Guard is also recasting politics in an increasingly militarized light.

According to Nasr, Iran currently represents “the most significant foreign policy challenge for the United States.” Since 1997, Iran has become more engaged in the region, and Ahmadinejad’s regime aspires to obtain a place among the ranks of China, India, and Russia. Nasr suggested that an adversarial U.S. position has helped Iran to further its regional goals, particularly as its influence has grown in neighboring Iraq since 2003. Repeated assertions by the United States that Iran supports Hezbollah and Hamas have solidified the country’s relations with both groups. Nasr emphasized that in spite of its fractured structure, the Iranian state would not easily be brought down because strong domestic solidarity movements are lacking. Amid growing U.S. rhetoric against Iran, claims of disruptive Iranian activities in Iraq, and many Americans concerned that the Bush administration is trying to build the case for war against Iran, Nasr warned that “any kind of war [with Iran] would galvanize the Iranian regime.”



“Russian Resurgence and Incursions in the Middle East”

On March 29, 2007, the Fares Center hosted a roundtable on Russia’s current involvement in the Caucasus. Participants included **Irakli Alasania**, Ambassador and Permanent Representative of Georgia to the United Nations, **Elin Suleymanov** (MALD ’04), Consul General of Azerbaijan to Los Angeles, and **Emre Kayhan** (MALD ’02), Ph.D. candidate at The Fletcher School. Andrew Hess, Professor of Diplomacy at The Fletcher School, moderated the discussion.

Alasania highlighted the benefits of diplomacy and cooperation among the Caucasus states, noting specifically the valuable relationship that has developed between Georgia and Azerbaijan. Undertaking unified endeavors, such as joint projects in energy and transport, supports these efforts and can strengthen the states as independent entities.

Kayhan analyzed Russia’s role in the “War on Terrorism.” Having enjoyed its status as an ally in the post-9/11 era, Russia shifted to an adversary of the United States beginning in 2005. This transformation is due in part to the situation in Chechnya, in part to Russia’s recognition of Hamas as a legitimately elected government, and in part to Russia’s hesitance to involve itself militarily to the level it had in the Gulf War (1990–1991).

From left: Andrew Hess, Professor of Diplomacy, The Fletcher School; Elin Suleymanov (MALD ’04), Consul General of Azerbaijan to Los Angeles

Reflecting upon the regional effects of the collapse of the Soviet Union, Suleymanov noted that its model of government has left a more influential mark on the Caucasus than has the history of conflict resulting from the split. He also discussed the advantages and disadvantages of Russia’s uni-polar role, and he noted that many perceive the U.S. presence as beneficial for foiling a possible Russian resurgence. The panel agreed that Iran poses the gravest challenge to the region and that resolving the foreign policy impasse will require great sensitivity.

“Democracy in the Middle East: Staying the Course”

Chibli Mallat, European Union Jean Monnet Chair in European Law and Director of the Centre for the Study of the European Union at the Université Saint-Joseph in Beirut, spoke at the Fares Center on November 28, 2006 about the

ongoing regional challenges to democratization in Lebanon. Mallat, who is currently completing a book on the Cedar Revolution and is also a presidential candidate in Lebanon, addressed the future of the country’s democracy from the perspective of his own candidacy and with the belief that Lebanon will continue to be “in the eye of the storm.”

Mallat said, “regional deadlocks weigh heavily on Lebanon,” enumerating key flashpoints that threaten Lebanon’s democracy and destabilize the region. Understanding the conflicts being played out in the Lebanese context is important, Mallat explained, because “communities in Lebanon mirror East-West divisions in a unique way.” He argued that pro-democracy elements in Lebanon must reclaim the initiative against regional and international actors and that Lebanon’s president should endeavor to represent the ideals promoted during the Cedar Revolution.



Chibli Mallat, European Union Jean Monnet Chair in European Law and Director of the Centre for the Study of the European Union, Université Saint-Joseph, Beirut, Lebanon

A Talk with Maha Azzam

BY MATAN CHOREV (MALD '07)



From left: Dimitris Keridis, former Constantine Karamanlis Associate Professor in Hellenic and Southeastern European Studies, The Fletcher School; Maha Azzam, Associate Fellow at Chatham House and former Head of the Program on Security and Development in Muslim States, Royal United Services Institute, London

MC: As a scholar who has spent considerable time in Britain and the United States, do you feel that there is a divergence across the Atlantic in the perception of terrorist threats and in counterterrorism measures?

Azzam: When it comes to combating terrorism, and to al-Qaeda activities in particular, common security measures are shared across the Atlantic and globally. I do not think that there is a divergence in European and U.S. counterterrorism policies. On the contrary, there is ever greater unification of such policies. However, there are different emphases. For Europe, and particularly for the United Kingdom, France, Germany, and various other European Union members, the threat is increasingly seen as coming from within Muslim communities in European countries. Therefore, this has taken on a different nature in terms of security and in terms of community harmony within societies.

This internal threat is something that the United States does not face in the same way. It does not mean that the United States may not face threats from American Muslims in the future. This may happen. Nevertheless, perhaps there is more of a feeling of assimilation by Muslim communities in the United States than there is in the European context. I think also that the United States is very aware of the radicalization of Muslim communities in Europe, and it is keeping a close watch on what is happening there in order to understand better what might happen within the context of its own Muslim community.

The Europeans have had their own experiences with terrorism, but I believe that the experience of more recent, al-Qaeda-type terrorism is viewed in respect to the United States. I do not think that Europe is countering or containing contemporary challenges in ways that they used to control previous forms of terrorism,

such as that committed by the IRA, the Red Brigade, or others. Europeans fall back on their experience with terrorism, but they know that this kind of terrorism is qualitatively different: possibly emerging from different sectors; highly threatening; and more exotic and distinctive because it has the label “Islam.” This view is a danger in terms of combating terrorism and in terms of inserting a wedge within Europe’s own Muslim societies.

MC: What is the most effective way for the government to lead a counter-narrative to that of al-Qaeda, and to Islamism more generally?

Azzam: The counter-narrative provided by a government has to resonate with the communities that are discontented. If the discontented Muslim communities in Europe echo some of the discontent of Muslims in the Middle East and in other parts of the Muslim world—regarding the issue of Palestine, authoritarian regimes, Iraq, and the like—then governments need to respond to these issues. Muslim communities in Europe are not saying the



Maha Azzam

same things as al-Qaeda. They are expressing concern with the same issues, with the injustices, and with the fact that these injustices need to be addressed, but they do not agree with the methods of al-Qaeda, despite their acknowledging that these causes matter to them. One of the major narratives that governments in the West can pursue is the issue of political reform. We have seen the United States take on this issue and start to regress in terms of its commitment. This will be the biggest setback in terms of progress, relations with the Middle East, and even with relations with Muslim communities in the West.

MC: What should be the policy of the United States concerning the rise of democratically elected Islamist parties?

Azzam: Islamist political parties, such as the Muslim Brotherhood and others, make it very clear that they are committed to the democratic process. There is no reason to suppose they would reverse this process once in power. If they push for an agenda that is more religious than secular, it is their choice to do so and the choice of the electorate to endorse them. The United States has very friendly relations with countries that have chosen an Islamist social code, such as Saudi Arabia. There is no reason why the United States cannot have good relations with countries that have Islamist parties that were voted in democratically and that will maintain the democratic process.

MC: What is the prime political and philosophical debate between these Islamist parties in today's marketplace of ideas?

Azzam: Concerning mainstream non-violent Islamist parties competing in a

“Political Islam and Al-Qaeda Five Years On”

On November 15, 2006, the Fares Center hosted a lecture by **Maha Azzam**, Associate Fellow at Chatham House and former Head of the Program on Security and Development in Muslim States at the Royal United Services Institute in London.

Ibrahim Warde, Associate Professor of International Business at The Fletcher School and Associate Director of Business Programs at the Fares Center, moderated the event. Azzam addressed several key issues concerning political Islam, including the increase of homegrown terrorism in Europe, the failure of al-Qaeda to win hearts and minds, and the growth of Islamism through democratic channels. She also discussed how the “War on Terrorism” has actually strengthened al-Qaeda’s image, and how the situation in Iraq has degenerated from a prospective model for democracy in the Middle East to an example of sectarianism at its worst and a potential breeding ground for further Islamist violence.

democratic environment, there are more similarities than differences. Some may promote a free market approach, some may be more wary of globalization than others, and some may have a social welfare agenda. This all depends on the economic situation in a particular country, the constituency the party is trying to attract, and other factors that motivate the group to behave like any other political party. Parties with a strong Islamic social agenda are committed to a political process that is essentially multi-party and, at the moment, committed to a rotation of power. The West cannot demand anything else. If political parties in the Middle East

are competing in terms of ideology, debate will not be on major issues that affect the West. There may be one party that is more outspoken on Palestine, or that may take a more extremist position on various regional issues than another party. But I believe that, over time, these parties will desire a degree of cooperation and they will want to be represented in some kind of political and economic body. It will be possible to observe different voices and a coalescing of these voices.

Ottoman Merchants in Venice

Suraiya Faroqhi, author of *The Ottoman Empire and the World Around It* (I. B. Tauris, 2006), Professor at Ludwig-Maximilians University of Munich, and preeminent scholar of the Ottoman Empire, spoke at the Fares Center on April 9, 2007. Through the lens of Ottoman merchants' documents and official entreaties related to their activities, Faroqhi analyzed the dynamics of mercantile and political relationships between the Ottoman Empire and Venice from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries. Venice represents a unique site in the "dense web of relations" because of the interaction of

merchants of Muslim, Christian, and Jewish backgrounds.

Faroqhi conducted her research in the Venetian archives, which were accurately recatalogued in 1994 and which are one of the very few resources in Europe with documents on Muslim merchants. The documents reflect an exchange of knowledge between the Ottoman Empire and Venice. Faroqhi also used reports by ambassadors about activities abroad to illustrate how the situations encountered by Ottoman merchants mirrored broader political trends.

Interestingly, some documents that Faroqhi came across in the archives, par-

ticularly those that aimed to negotiate a dispute between different merchants, exhibit a uniquely vague style of religious language that indicates a "generic monotheism" shorn down to the essentials. General religious terms such as "piety," "rectitude," and "truth" are summoned without attribution to one god over another. Faroqhi hypothesized that this language was developed by merchants from different religious communities in order to communicate in ways that could invoke morality without religious specificity.



Suraiya Faroqhi



Mark Farha, Harvard University Ph.D. candidate, presents his research at a roundtable on Lebanon.

In a roundtable held at the Fares Center on November 20, 2006, **Rudy Jafaar** (MALD '06), Ph.D. candidate at The Fletcher School and founding member of Nahwa al-Muwatiniya (www.na-am.org), and **Mark Farha**, Ph.D. candidate at the John F. Kennedy School of Government of Harvard University, analyzed the Lebanese political system. Specifically, they linked Lebanon's current situation to continued polarization and interference of external actors, and they alluded to

Hezbollah and Other Players on the Lebanese Chessboard

possible solutions based on reassessment of governance structures. **Elias Sayegh** (MALD '07) moderated the discussion.

Farha cited the plurality of religious sects as a foundation for the consociational political system established by the constitution in 1926. Yet, he also observed that the dynamism of the Lebanese population—exacerbated by high birth rates and demographic shifts—has ultimately outgrown the static system. These demographic shifts have coincided with civil and regional wars that have impacted processes of recalibration toward proportional representation of Lebanon's ethnicities.

Farha suggested that while Shi'i Muslims maintain a limited quotient of formal political representation, their perception of societal empowerment is probably greater. Noting that shifts in domestic power have historically followed violent conflicts, Farha observed that even

Hezbollah is now experimenting with degrees of secularism in order to push the limits of its political representation.

Jafaar suggested that quotas for governmental positions facilitate a balance of power, the disruption of which is perceived with extreme suspicion by sects that stand to lose influence. In this way, consociationalism crystallizes diversity and undermines the very solution it proposes to offer. Historically, internal weakness has produced external balancers, such as the Palestine Liberation Organization, Israel, Syria, and the United States.

While those who instituted consociationalism did not stipulate a specific horizon or endpoint, it was understood that the system was intended to serve as a short- to medium-term solution for managing Lebanon's diverse population. Jafaar suggested that the current political system requires more than mere adjustment.

Cosponsored Events

Palestinian Women Artists

On February 7, 2007, **Gannit Ankori**, Associate Professor and Chair of the Art History Department of Hebrew University in Jerusalem, spoke about the common motivations and diverse trends that characterize contemporary works by Palestinian women artists, as well as showed slides of their work. Eva Hoffman, Associate Professor of Art History at Tufts University, organized this event, which the Fares Center cosponsored with the Department of Art & Art History, the Department of Women’s Studies, the Department of Middle Eastern Studies, EPIIC/Global, and Tufts Hillel.

Ankori spoke about the role of the *Nakba*, or “catastrophe,” in molding the work of post-1948 Palestinian art. Widely used in reference to the destruction of Palestinian life following the Arab-Israeli War, the *Nakba* has served as a point of departure for the nationalist movement. While mainstream opinion holds that fine arts were not developed in Palestine until 1948, Ankori identified herself with a post-colonial revisionist viewpoint, which suggests that the Arab-Israeli War served not as the inception of creativity but as a hiatus from originality. She also contended that Palestinian women artists have fashioned a critical link between the pre-1948 and post-*Nakba* periods.

Contemporary Palestinian women artists share a conception of art as a vehicle to overcome the constrained identity imposed upon them. Ankori described Palestinian women as victims of a double-colonization—that of Western dominance and generalizations, and that of Arab patriarchal traditions and expectations. By chal-

lenging those forces through bold feminist critiques, women artists confront the familial and societal demands thrust upon them, as well as take part in a dis-Orientalist movement that defies a simplistic East-West divide. Ankori observed that by discussing art in a space beyond the public and private realms, Palestinian women embrace complexity and symbolize hope in the face of fundamentalism.



Raeda Saadeh, *Untitled (Basket)*, 2002–2003, photograph [from Gannit Ankori, *Palestinian Art*, Reaktion Books, London, 2006]

“Creating Superheroes for the Islamic World”

Naif Al-Mutawa, Founder and CEO of Teshkeel Media Group (www.teshkeelcomics.com), led a vibrant discussion on October 5, 2006 about the need for creativity in the Islamic world and the impact of his own contribution to the cause. Al-Mutawa’s lecture was part of the Global Speakers Series of The Fletcher School’s International Business Program, cosponsored by the Fares Center and the Edward R. Murrow Center for Public Diplomacy.

Based in Kuwait, Al-Mutawa spoke about his concept for a new genre of comic book superheroes, which he sought to popularize within an identifiable context for readers in the Islamic world. *THE 99* cast consists of ninety-nine teenagers, each of whom embodies the human expression of one of Allah’s ninety-nine qualities. Victories are contingent upon the collaboration of smaller groups of three superheroes. While the premise of *THE 99* is based on Islamic culture and history, Al-Mutawa noted that the writing

and design processes take into account a multiplicity of traditions. Characters of Muslim origin are residents of Saudi Arabia, London, and France, and superheroes represent Arab, Asian, European, and African-American backgrounds.

Reflecting on the role of imagination in the Islamic world, Al-Mutawa noted that children have limited access to Arabic literature that sustains their curiosity and challenges their own creativity. *THE 99* is a homegrown effort to depict the non-violent and constructive foundations of Islam in an inventive format that is attractive across cultures. Al-Mutawa was optimistic that *THE 99* will generate further understanding of Islam and renewed support for collaboration among diverse actors with common values. Already, the initiatives of Teshkeel Media Group are financed by Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) institutions and by private investments from eight countries including China, Kuwait, Mexico, Saudi Arabia, and the United States.



“The ‘War on Terrorism’: Where Do We Stand?”

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

is grounded in coherent strategies, and that democratic states are targeted because of their inherent vulnerability to coercive measures. Reflecting on possible policy solutions, he recommended that the United States focus on a new strategy of offshore military presence in the Gulf, which would enable an extension of its temporary presence in the region without compromising troops or further aggravating opposition forces.



From left: Stephen W. Bosworth, Stephen Van Evera, Sumantra Bose, Steven Simon

The first panel examined the historical and ideological roots of terrorism, drawing upon analysis from **Hisham Melhem**, Washington Correspondent for *Al-Nahar*, **Micheline Ishay**, Professor and Director of the International Human Rights Program at the Graduate School of International Studies at the University of Denver, **Peter Bergen**, Schwartz Senior Fellow at the New America Foundation and Adjunct Professor at the School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS) of Johns Hopkins University, and discussant **Feroz**

Ahmad, Chair of the International Relations and Political Science Department at Yeditepe University in Istanbul. Panelists described Islamism as grounded in claims of unjust foreign occupation, disenfranchisement with incapable leaders, fragmentation in the face of demands presented by globalization, humiliation resulting from post-colonialism, alienation of Muslim immigrants in Europe, and U.S. foreign policy in support of Israel. Similar to crime, terrorism cannot be eradicated completely. Panelists noted that since not all terrorist groups harbor identical motives, successful counterterrorism must assess the various strains of activity pursued by each group. While apocalyptic groups such as al-Qaeda might be tempered through coercion, the practice of terror as a protective response to historical and rational grievances requires a different response.

In the second panel, **Ayesha Jalal**, Director of the Center for South Asian and Indian Ocean Studies and Professor of History at Tufts University, **David Kretzmer**, Professor of Law at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and at the Transitional Justice Institute of the University of Ulster, **As`ad Abukhalil**, Professor of Political Science at California State University, and discussant **Ali Banuazizi**, Professor of Cultural Psychology and Director of the Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies Program at Boston College, discussed legal, religious, and social issues relevant to the prolifera-

tion of terrorism. The panelists observed that the study of terrorism is hindered by methodological and political bias. The initial declaration of an international “War on Terrorism” and Security Council Resolution 1373, which obligates states to deal with terrorism within their territories, could be described as impulsive responses to the events of September 11, 2001. The panelists contended that leaders ignore long-term ramifications of counterterrorism policies because they prioritize immediate security concerns over human rights. Agreeing that both the Muslim world and the West are guilty of mistaking temporal political concerns for religious issues in order to fulfill opportunistic goals, the panelists noted that past debates among Muslim scholars signify that reinterpretation of the concept of jihad is appropriate and necessary. Additionally, changes in the study of terrorism could enable a wider condemnation of global terrorism, regardless of the nationalities, ethnicities, and religions of the victims and the perpetrators.

Participants in the third panel—**Mia Bloom**, Assistant Professor of International Affairs at the University of Georgia, **Fawaz Gerges**, Christian A. Johnson Professor in International Affairs and Middle Eastern Studies at Sarah Lawrence College, **Ian Lustick**, Bess W. Heyman Chair in Political Science at the University of Pennsylvania, and discussant **Stephen M. Walt**, Professor at the John F. Kennedy School of Government of Harvard University—highlighted political



Top row, from left: Ali Banuazizi, Seymour Hersh, Rami Khouri, As'ad Abukhalil, Peter Bergen, Cofer Black, David Kretzmer, Ayesha Jalal, Ian Lustick; **Bottom row, from left:** Mia Bloom, Robert Pape, Micheline Ishay, Richard Shultz, Steven Simon, Sumantra Bose, Stephen M. Walt, Fawaz Gerges

issues that motivate terrorists and that complicate a constructive analysis of terrorist acts. Noting that jihadists began to develop manifestos about attacking the United States in the late 1990s, panelists agreed that the Iraq War, in which insurgency is the rule rather than the exception, has altered the fundamental nature of conflict in the region. While poverty might not be exclusively responsible for breeding insurgents, panelists observed that a lack of basic dignities and little hope for the future often contribute to the choice of violent outlets. Furthermore, propaganda provides a venue through which terrorist organizations distinguish themselves by using emotional narratives that often weave together religion, nationalism, and masculinity. The panelists suggested that despite minimal evidence of suspected targets or planned attacks, the “War on Terrorism” has been sustained in order to justify U.S. activities in Iraq. Bureaucrats unable to qualify their activities within the rubric of terrorism have been denied funds, and political longevity is dependent upon maintaining the imminence of threats. Domestic politics account for the prevalence of terrorism as a frame of reference for policymakers and funding institutions.

The fourth panel considered the organization and tactics utilized by terrorist groups. **Richard Shultz**, Professor of International Politics and Director of the International Security Studies Program at The Fletcher School, **Steven Simon**, Hasib J. Sabbagh Senior Fellow in Middle Eastern

Studies at the Council on Foreign Relations and Adjunct Professor of Middle East Security Studies at Georgetown University, **Sumantra Bose**, Professor of International and Comparative Politics at the London School of Economics and Political Science, and discussant **Stephen Van Evera**, Professor of Political Science at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, analyzed case studies of regional and transnational groups. The panel agreed that al-Qaeda has adapted to the U.S. military response to September 11, 2001, and they suggested that Osama bin Laden’s central role has been transformed into a global movement of decentralized strategies and newly emerging tactics. The group’s virtual Internet sanctuary increases its strategic capability, psychological appeal,

and networking opportunities. In addition to targeting sources of economic infrastructure, al-Qaeda fighters have become increasingly versed in urban warfare, especially as practiced in Iraq. Additionally, al-Qaeda has infiltrated ungoverned territories to absorb resident criminal groups and militias. While terrorist activities in South Asia are motivated by relatively clear territorial matters, groups also use sophisticated networks to solicit global support based on ethnic and religious solidarity. The panelists recommended that understanding such dynamics of societies that produce terrorists is critical to preparing an effective response to threats.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 12



Members of the Tufts community and residents of the Boston region attended the two-day conference.



Group photograph of many of the conference participants

In the final panel, speakers **John L. Esposito**, University Professor and Founding Director of the Prince Alwaleed bin Talal Center for Muslim-Christian Understanding at Georgetown University, **Cofe Black**, Vice-Chairman of Blackwater USA and former Counterterrorism Coordinator at the U.S. State Department, **Rami Khouri**, Editor-at-large for *The Daily Star* (Beirut) and Director of the Issam Fares Institute for Public Policy and International Affairs at the American University of Beirut, and discussant **Sugata Bose**, Gardiner Professor of Oceanic History and Affairs at Harvard University, considered the implications of terrorism on U.S. foreign policy. All agreed that while neither the U.S. military nor law enforcement agencies are the appropriate institutions for fighting terrorism, public diplomacy is an essential part of any strategy to stem

increasing anti-Americanism in the world. The United States must distinguish between moderate and radical Muslims in order to tackle rampant distrust of Islam, and it must show that its goals are defensive rather than aggressive in nature, especially in the context of the Iraq War. The antidote to terrorism and violence in the region, according to the panelists, is the development and implementation of real sovereignty in the Middle East. Sustaining honest, courageous leadership in the region is hampered by the multiplicity of tensions that extend beyond the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, the expansion of non-state actors in areas of frayed national borders such as Iraq and Lebanon, and the increasingly intrusive nature of Western intervention. The panel warned that resistance to these elements is beginning to amount to the contours of a

new global confrontation that is anchored in the Middle East.

Seymour Hersh, contributing writer at *The New Yorker*, provided the concluding remarks, which drew upon his extensive experience covering politically sensitive stories about the U.S. military and government. In a dramatic narration of the effect of war on young men and women who serve, Hersh observed that his interactions with American soldiers who had fought in Vietnam mirrored his findings leading to the report on the Abu Ghraib torture scandal in Iraq. Hersh acknowledged that terrorism is a fact of life, but he criticized the U.S. handling of the “War on Terrorism,” and suggested that the current administration is immune to what is said in newspapers and throughout the world.

Workshop Series on Civil Society

Tosun Aricanli, Visiting Fellow at the Fares Center and Professor of Political Economy at the School of Community Economic Development and the School of Liberal Arts of Southern New Hampshire University, conducted five workshop sessions on civil society and socio-economic development throughout the fall of 2006. His workshop series brought together participants to explore current notions of civil society and to produce papers on civil society-related topics. Sessions examined the cultural context of the emergence of the concept of civil society, as well as the adequacy of the application of civil society institutions to varied cultural contexts.

While Aricanli was trained as an economist, his career shifted as he began to look into the connections between civil society, social development, and community participation, specifically considering the meaning of the complex term civil society and its relevance to progress in the developing world. Aricanli noted that the term “civil society” has now overtaken



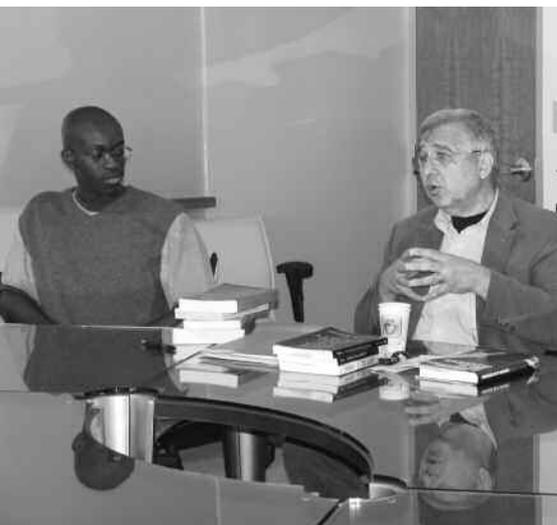
“development” as the buzzword for change, and it is often invoked as the key element in the emergence of developing countries. While maintaining a separate, independent status from politics, civil society can serve as an intermediary between the individual and the state, which are positioned at opposite ends of a continuum.

Student participants, who were graduate and undergraduate students from diverse backgrounds, shaped the trajectory of the workshop. The meetings were devoted to the presentation of the research topics of the participants. One student had spent the summer working at a non-governmental organization in Central Asia and hoped to become familiar with literature on civil society that could contribute to her thesis on the region. The workshop also dealt with the



Participants of “Rethinking Development in the Age of Globalization,” cosponsored by the Fares Center from April 6–8, 2007 at Southern New Hampshire University

classification of groups that do not easily fit into the notion of civil society. For example, one student considered the case of Hezbollah, which is at once a military outfit, political party, and social service organization.



From left: Abdul-Rahman Akande (MALD '07), Tosun Aricanli, Professor of Political Economy, Southern New Hampshire University

Honoring Steve Guerra

On February 23, 2007, the Fares Center hosted a reception to celebrate the service of Steve Guerra, who retired from his position as Fares Center Administrator at the end of that month. Tufts University Provost Jamshed Bharucha, former Tufts Executive Administrative Dean and current Chief Operating Officer of the Museum of Science Wayne Bouchard, and Fares Center Director Leila Fawaz offered remarks about Steve's contribution to the growth and success of the Fares Center. Steve oversaw the challenging formative years of its inception, as well as managed funding and programming for seven years thereafter. Steve plans to spend his retirement in Maine, fishing, hunting, and relaxing at his home by the lake. He will continue to give the Fares Center his guidance and friendship, and the Tufts community is privileged to have had the fortune of knowing and working with him.



Top: Steve Guerra; **Bottom, from left:** Howard Malchow, Margery Davies, Wayne Bouchard



Clockwise, from top left: Steve and Betty Guerra; from left: Steve Guerra, Deborah Walsh; from left: Sara Ferro Ribeiro, Julia Bennett; from left: Omar Dauhahre, Steve Guerra, Shawn Maloney; from left: Leila Fawaz, Janshed Bharucha, Jeanne Marie Penvenne

Affiliated Faculty

NEWS & NOTES



Astier M. Almedom, the inaugural fellow of the Institute for Global Leadership, has been appointed Professor

of Practice in Global Public Health and Humanitarian Policy at The Fletcher School, subsequent to her Henry R. Luce professorship at Tufts University. To mark this transition, following the publication of two of her research team's latest publications on resilience, an International Resilience Workshop was convened at Talloires, France. Almedom's articles appeared in the *Journal of Biosocial Science* (January 2007) and the *Journal of Loss and Trauma* (March 2007).



Gloria J. Ascher, Associate Professor of German at Tufts University, published two poems and a short

story in Ladino. Her story, "Whoever Knocks on the Door Will Get an Answer," appeared in Matilda Koén-Sarano's *Old Age Viewed Lightly: Tales and Proverbs from the Judeo-Spanish World* (2007). In June 2006, Ascher presented a paper on "The Language of Matilda Koén-Sarano's Tales of My Life" in Jerusalem and spoke in Ladino on "Sephardic Tales: The Tradition Continues!" in Mexico City at the Jornadas Sefardies, which was sponsored by the Spanish government. Ascher presented a paper at the 38th Annual Conference of the Association for Jewish Studies held in San Diego, and in February 2007, she gave a presentation on "Ladino: Performance, Survival, and Resurgence" at the conference "Transcending Boundaries: Jewish Languages, Identities and Cultures" held at Georgetown University.

Laurent Jacque Joins Executive Committee



Laurent Jacque, Walter B. Wriston Professor of International Finance and Banking and Director of the International Business Relations Program at The Fletcher School, is the newest member of the Fares Center's Executive Committee. As such, he recently participated in the January 2007 annual meeting, which provides a forum for the committees' members to discuss the strategic direction and future projects of the Fares Center.

Jacque believes that as a unique place with a multi-faceted, idiosyncratic identity, the Middle East's history, politics, language, and finance should be further explored. The Fares Center serves as a component of regional studies programming in the Fletcher community, and Jacque ascribes its continued success to the creativity and effective leadership of Director Leila Fawaz. At the beginning of his career, Jacque taught in Tunis, Tunisia for two years and gained an appreciation for the complexity and beauty of the Arabic language, which he studied for the duration of his stint in Tunis.

In his role as Academic Dean of The Fletcher School (2004–2007), Jacque prioritized regional studies. In working to deepen Fletcher's offerings in this area, Jacque actively pushed for a course on Islamic banking and finance. Currently taught by Ibrahim Warde, the course is concurrently offered in Arabic for advanced speakers. Pairing regional courses with an advanced language experience is an important element of Jacque's vision for the future of regional studies at Fletcher, for he believes that professional knowledge of a language will help to place Fletcher students ahead of their cohorts in international leadership roles.



Lucy Der Manuelian, Arthur H. Dadian and Ara Oztemel Professor of Armenian Art and

Architectural History, was the first person to bring ground-penetrating radar technology to Armenia, providing information and guidance for archaeologists in the excavation of their archaeological sites. This technology, co-presented by Der Manuelian and archaeologist Daniel Welch, aided Armenian archaeologists in excavating the remains of one of the

oldest Jewish cemeteries discovered in Yeghegis, Armenia. The second grant of \$50,000 was awarded for the restoration of medieval churches in Armenia of international interest. Der Manuelian presented numerous slide lectures on medieval history, art, and architecture in Armenia and prepared documentation for UNESCO on the destruction of Armenian cultural heritage sites in Azerbaijan.



Peter Der Manuelian is Lecturer in Egyptology at Tufts University and

the Giza Archives Project Director at the Museum of Fine Arts (MFA), Boston. The Giza Archives Project website (www.mfa.org/giza) was recently awarded an honorable mention by the committee for the 2007 ABC-CLIO Online History Award, which recognizes sustainable online history resources that are free, useful, and innovative. The MFA has recently received a third grant of \$306,000 for additional Giza Archives Project work from the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, contributing to a total of \$1.6 million in grants. In January 2006, descendants of the Egyptian foremen who contributed to the Harvard-MFA

Expedition were located in Cairo. Out of 72 Arabic-language expedition diary books, 42 are relevant to the Harvard-MFA Expedition's work at Giza. Permission to obtain these books was granted by Egypt in October 2006, and Tufts students are now working to scan the volumes for eventual posting on the Giza Archives Project website.

Beatrice F. Manz, Associate Professor of History at Tufts University, recently published *Power, Politics and Religion in Timurid Iran* (Cambridge University Press, 2007). Part of the "Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilization" series, her book uses the history of Iran under the Timurid ruler Shahrukh (1409–1447) to analyze the relationship between government and society in the medieval Middle East. The

book provides a broad analysis of political dynamics in late medieval Iran and challenges much received wisdom about civil and military power, the relationship of government to society, and the interaction of religious figures with the ruling class.



Jeanne Marie Penvenne, Associate Professor of History at Tufts University, focuses her research on

Africa and will be on sabbatical during the 2007–2008 academic year to spend the time completing her current book. She was the keynote speaker at the Tufts University Undergraduate Research Symposium "Industrial Woman Comes to Southern Africa," in March 2007.



Robert M. Russell is Professor of Medicine and Nutrition and Director of the Jean Mayer USDA Human Nutrition Research

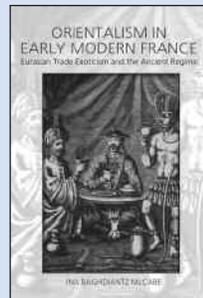
Center on Aging at the Friedman School of Nutrition Science and Policy. In January 2007, he spoke on carotenoids and public health at the "International Conference on Carotenoids" in Ventura, CA, as well as on establishing upper safe levels for nutrients at the National Academy of Science Food Forum. He is a member of the expert task group on nutrient guidelines for the SUSTAIN project, which will give authoritative recommendations on the most appropriate set of nutrient guidelines for young children and women in a food aid programming environment. Russell coedited with Barbara Bowman the new edition of *Present Knowledge in Nutrition, Volumes I and II* (The International Life Sciences Institute, 2006), which is proving to be the favored ready reference for professionals answering questions on nutrition.

Ina Baghdiantz McCabe Reexamines Orientalism

Ina Baghdiantz McCabe, Professor of History and Darakjian Jafarian Chair of Armenian History at Tufts University, has written *Orientalism in Early Modern France: Eurasian Trade, Exoticism and the Ancien Regime* (Berg Publishers, expected 2008).

According to McCabe, a novel aspect of this book is its unusual integration of both material and textual Orientalism. In the tradition of Edward Said, many studies on Orientalism analyze the literary and textual tradition; McCabe chose to interweave the arrival of products with trade that affected life in France. Her book addresses the textual production of knowledge, as well as how the consumption of silk, cotton, cloth, spices, coffee, tea, china, gems, flowers, and other luxury goods transformed daily life and gave rise to a new discourse about the Orient. French interpretations of the Orient and knowledge about Asia and Islam helped shape new ideas about science, the economy, and a philosophical tradition that allowed for veiled criticism of absolutism and the monarchy. The book finds that Orientalism was at the root of the creation of many new institutions in France.

As an economic historian who was partly raised and schooled in France, McCabe has been interested in the idea of material and textual Orientalism in Europe for years. Her book project came to fruition during her 2001–2002 Fellowship at the Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Studies, Harvard University. Recently, McCabe has also coauthored *Slaves of the Shah: New Elites of Seventeenth Century Safavid Isfahan* (I. B. Tauris Publishers, 2004), and edited *Diaspora and Entrepreneurial Networks 1600–2000* (Berg Publishers, 2005).





Jeffrey W. Taliaferro, Associate Professor of Political Science at Tufts

University, published “State Building for Future War: Neoclassical Realism and the Resource Extractive State,” in *Security Studies* (July–September 2006). He co-organized a conference with Norrin Ripsman and Steve Lobell on “Neoclassical Realism, the State, and Foreign Policy,” held in May 2006 at Concordia University in Montreal. The conference produced an edited volume that is currently under review. Taliaferro has also been named to the editorial board of the journal *International Studies Perspectives*.



Allen Taylor is Professor of Nutrition, Biochemistry, and Ophthalmology and Director of the

Laboratory for Nutrition and Vision Research at the Jean Mayer USDA Human Nutrition Research Center on Aging at the Friedman School of Nutrition Science and Policy. Formerly a Senior Fulbright fellow in Israel, he has initiated a health and medical education capacity building effort in the Israel-Palestinian region called Scientific Training Encouraging Peace-Graduate Training Program (www.STEP-GTP.org), which aims to provide graduate and post-graduate education to pairs of young Israeli and Palestinian health professionals. The program is designed to build bridges between communities by fostering the development of mutual trust and professional interdependence. Al-Quds University (Palestinian Territories) and Ben-Gurion University (Israel) are participating in this initiative.



Ibrahim Warde Investigates the Financial War on Terror

In his new book, *The Price of Fear: The Truth Behind the Financial War on Terror* (University of California Press, 2007), Associate Professor of

International Business Ibrahim Warde traces the origins of the mythology behind terrorism financing. His work debunks common misconceptions about the nature of terrorism financing, which have led to the failure of U.S. government action to impact these networks. His book tackles the false assumption that money is the driving force of terrorism, and it demonstrates how applying the money-laundering template to terrorism financing was completely inappropriate for the contextual realities at hand.

Warde is Associate Director of Business Programs at the Fares Center, and he currently teaches a course on Islamic banking and finance at The Fletcher School. He was recently named a Carnegie Scholar for his proposed research project entitled “Financial Practices and Networks in the Islamic World.” His research will examine the religious and historical origins of informal and underground financial operations in fifteen countries, with the aim of assisting policymakers and scholars in understanding how these financial systems operate. Warde also works as an international finance consultant.



Reed Ueda, Professor of History at Tufts University and Co-Chair of the Inter-University

Committee on International Migration at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology Center for International Studies, has recently published the book *The New Americans: A Guide to Immigration Since 1965* (Harvard University Press, 2007) with Mary C. Waters and Helen Marrow. The volume includes essays on immigration law and policy, refugees, unauthorized migrants, racial and ethnic identity, assimilation, nationalization, economy, politics, religion, education, and family relations.



Donald Wertlieb, Professor in the Eliot-Pearson Department of Child Development at Tufts University,

headed a team of human service professionals, including two Tufts alumni, in delivering a series of professional development workshops and case conferences for multi-disciplinary social service providers affiliated with the Haifa Municipality Social

Welfare Department in January 2007.

Wertlieb returned to Israel in March 2007 as a speaker at Haifa University’s inaugural conference on social responsibility, where he contributed a U.S. perspective on reforming services and policies for children placed at risk. With Robert Hollister, Dean of the Jonathan M. Tisch College of Citizenship and Public Service, Wertlieb spent time at the Rabin Center for Peace Studies in Tel Aviv, learning about active citizenship and service learning with faculty, administrators, students, and NGO staff.



Jonathan Wilson, Fletcher Professor of Rhetoric and Debate and Director of Creative Writing at Tufts

University, recently published a biography of Marc Chagall, Jewish modern painter of Russian origin (Schocken/Nextbook, 2007). In the book, Wilson demonstrates how Chagall’s artistic career—which spanned two World Wars, the Russian Revolution, the Holocaust, and the birth of the state of Israel—constitutes a lens through which much of twentieth-century Jewish history is vividly portrayed.

Affiliated Students

NEWS & NOTES

Sara Celiberti (MALD '07) was awarded a fellowship from the Fares Center to study the Arabic language in Damascus, Syria. She later traveled to Beirut to conduct field research for her thesis on the Lebanese Cedar Revolution. As President of the Med Club at Fletcher, Sara organized Med Night in December 2006, an annual evening of festivities that showcases artistic, musical, and culinary highlights of the region. After Fletcher, she plans to be based in the Middle East, studying Arabic and working with issues related to building civil society.

Amelia Cook (MALD '07) is a research assistant at the Fares Center, which awarded her a fellowship to conduct research on human rights in Tunisia. While in Tunis, Amelia worked with the U.S. Commercial Liaison Office of the African Development Bank. Her thesis deconstructs the human rights situation in the Republic of Botswana. She will graduate from Fletcher with a focus in development economics and environmental policy, and her regional interests are the Middle East and sub-Saharan Africa.

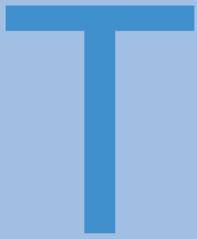
Dalia Mroue-Fateh (Ph.D. '05) completed her dissertation at Fletcher under the direction of Leila Fawaz, on the unique role that the clergy play in contemporary Iranian elections. Subsequently, she obtained a graduate degree in Documentary Filmmaking from George Washington University and founded Salt Productions, LLC (www.saltdocs.com). Salt is an independent production company that specializes in documentary films on topics in international law, diplomacy, public

policy, human rights, elections, environmental issues, and sustainable economic development. Dalia's professional experience includes monitoring elections in the Middle East for the International Foundation for Election Systems (IFES), as well as reporting on escalating conflicts in West Asia for the United Nations Secretariat.

Jonathan Reiber (MALD '07) was awarded funding from the Fares Center to complete an internship at the United Nations Mission to the Sudan. In Sudan, he studied security planning and conflict prevention and interviewed religious and political leaders regarding the role of Islamic history and Islamist thought in shaping current affairs. In particular, he looked at the government's role in promulgating extremist rhetoric to deter the international community's involvement in Darfur. Jonathan's thesis focuses on transnational Islamist movements in Britain, and he hopes to work in the Horn of Africa on issues of religious identity, conflict, and development.

Sara Ferro Ribeiro (MALD '07) is a research assistant at the Fares Center. She received a fellowship award to research Hezbollah's promotion of women's rights as a tool of political integration, as well as the way in which that progressive policy represents a departure from traditional beliefs of Shi'i Islam. Sara's studies at Fletcher have focused on human rights, Islam, and the Middle East, and her thesis dealt with a case study of women's rights in Iran. After Fletcher, she plans to continue her work on women's rights while based in London.

Elias Sayegh (MALD '07) has helped to organize and moderate Lebanon-related public events at the Fares Center. He is also an active member of the Med Club and co-president of the Muslim Arab Student Association at Fletcher. His thesis on the role of credit-rating agencies in developing Islamic capital markets draws upon his studies in international business relations, economic law, and the Middle East. After sitting for the New York Bar Exam, Elias plans to work for King and Spalding, an international law firm that handles cases in the fields of energy and Islamic finance.



he 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 Fares 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 Fares 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 Eastern Studies majors and graduate students in other fields, the Fares Center's university-wide 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 Fares Center's teaching and research, and to its analysis of public policy issues.

The Fares 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>

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