

PHAROS

LIGHTING THE PATH TO UNDERSTANDING



THE NEWSLETTER OF THE FARES CENTER AT TUFTS UNIVERSITY FALL 2009

A Letter from the Provost



Jamshed
Bharucha

The election of a new administration may herald a sea change in America's position in the Middle East. This is a critical time for academic and policy leaders

to come together to examine the political and social issues that divide and unite our world. Led by Director Leila Fawaz, the Fares Center for Eastern Mediterranean Studies continues to host lectures, roundtables, and workshops that increase understanding of current events in the Middle East among the Tufts community.

"Foreign Policy Challenges for the New Administration: Iran and the Middle East," this year's annual conference, assembled two dozen scholars, journalists, diplomats, and military commanders on campus in March 2009, in order to explore both areas of contention and areas of cooperation in the region. This event brought together some of the world's foremost experts on a timely topic that continues to evolve, especially given the June 2009 presidential elections in Iran. The well-informed and eager participation of so many students and scholars in this conference reminds us of the unabated interest in the Middle Eastern region and the importance of the Fares Center in creating a space at Tufts for dialogue and exploration.



Tony Blair, Former Prime Minister of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, delivered the Issam M. Fares Lecture on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict

"The Struggle for Peace"



Issam M. Fares

Peace in the Middle East, former British Prime Minister Tony Blair said in the Issam M. Fares Lecture, can only be achieved through a global diplomatic effort.

Tony Blair has stood on Mount Nebo, the peak where Moses is said to have looked out on the promised land of Israel. And he has also stood on the Mount of Temptation, located in Jericho in the West Bank, where Jesus is said to have been tested by the Devil. Blair, prime minister of Great Britain and Northern Ireland from 1997 to 2007 and at present the special envoy of the Middle East

Quartet, a group comprising the U.S., Russia, the European Union, and the United Nations that is mediating the Israeli-Palestinian peace process, spoke to a near-capacity crowd on February 2, 2009 about the challenges of achieving peace in the Middle East in an increasingly globalized society. During his address as the 2009 Fares Lecturer, hosted by the Fares Center for Eastern Mediterranean Studies at Tufts, Blair discussed the complex issues facing the battle-scarred region, underscoring his account with a remark by a Palestinian tour guide who was with the former British leader in Jericho: "Moses, Jesus, Muhammad—why did they all have to come here?"

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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. She is currently completing a Master's Degree in Resource Economics and Policy at the University of Maine, where she works as a graduate assistant in the School of Economics. She continues to work as an editor for the Fares Center and maintains the content of the website from her new home in Maine. Amelia can be reached at amelia.cook@tufts.edu

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Letter from the Director



Leila Fawaz

While strengthening bonds with the university community, the Fares Center has continued to encourage students, academics, and practitioners to address the many social and political issues at work in the Middle East today. Interest in Middle Eastern and Eastern Mediterranean affairs is flourishing at Tufts University, enriched by the unique and exciting perspectives put forth by students and scholars alike.

Over the 2008–2009 academic year, the Fares Center has furthered its mission by continuing to sponsor joint programs with the departments of Art History, Classics, History, and Anthropology, as well as with the International Relations Program, the Jonathan M. Tisch School of Public Service, and the Security Studies Program at The Fletcher School. This year's conference, the result of such collaboration, drew together an assembly of distinguished guests who addressed the most pressing American concerns in the Middle East today, especially regarding Iran.

In our most notable event of the year, Tony Blair, Former Prime Minister of the United Kingdom and Northern Ireland, delivered the Issam M. Fares Lecture to a packed auditorium of over five thousand members of the Tufts community. In his lecture, Blair spoke on his experiences in the Middle East in his current role as special envoy of the Middle East Quartet.

Student involvement remains integral to the mission of the Fares Center, and to this end we have sponsored many panel discussions featuring students, which provide a range of perspectives that are invaluable to lively debate and intellectual inquiry. We continue to be grateful for the generous support of His Excellency Issam M. Fares and Trustee Fares I. Fares, which makes the work of the Fares Center possible, as well as for the vision and guidance of President Bacow and Provost Bharucha.

2009 Fares Center Conference



Conference participants, from left (back): Jon B. Alterman, Gary G. Sick, Jamshed Bharucha, Farhad Kazemi, Rami G. Khouri, Stephen W. Van Evera, George Perkovich, William A. Rugh; (middle): Richard Shultz, William J. Fallon, Vali Nasr, Robert M. Hollister, Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, Jr., Uri Ben-Eliezer, Leila Fawaz, Barnett Rubin, Shahram Chubin, John P. Abizaid; (seated): Mark Tessler, Michael R. Gordon, Robin Wright, David R. Ignatius, Robert Malley, Karim Sadjadpour

Absent were: Lawrence S. Bacow, R. Nicholas Burns, John L. Esposito, Shai Feldman, and Malik Mufti.

The Fares Center Conference

"Foreign Policy Challenges for the New Administration: Iran and the Middle East"

On March 5-6, 2009, the Fares Center held its annual conference at Tufts University. The purpose of this conference was to identify issues that, in light of a new American administration, were of concern to Americans in 2009, specifically the continuing confrontation between the United States and Iran. Renowned practitioners, scholars, policy-makers, journalists, and members of the U.S. military gathered to shed light on the issues of greatest importance and provide guidance regarding how the new administration can alter the dynamic in a helpful way. Presenters focused on recent developments in the region, especially with reference to Iran's nuclear ambitions, but also to other pressing concerns, for example, in Pakistan, Afghanistan, and the Occupied Palestinian Territories, and provided concrete suggestions for how to move forward.

In the keynote address, "War or Peace: Obama's Challenges in the Middle East," Ambassador **R. Nicholas Burns** noted that addressing the state of the U.S. economy, which is the fundamental pillar of America's international influence and status, should be the central priority of the Obama administration. There are, however, also a number of international challenges the administration must attend to with great urgency, including the ongoing military and political efforts in Iraq and Afghanistan, the war on terrorism, climate change, global poverty, pandemics,



R. Nicholas Burns



An audience member asks a question of the panel members

and natural disasters. The U.S. must tackle all of these challenges in the context of a changing international system, in which unilateralism has become ineffective and isolationism no longer a realistic option. Burns emphasized the need to compromise and to show restraint. He closed by saying that peace in the Middle East in particular will only materialize through common effort and sustained multilateral engagement.

In session I of the conference, "America and Iran: The Historical Context," chaired by **Vali Nasr**, Professor of International Politics at The Fletcher School, panelists discussed the rise and fall of American-Iranian relations. Current tensions between Iran and the U.S., noted **Gary G. Sick**, Senior Research Scholar and Adjunct Professor at the School of International and Public Affairs at Columbia University, are domestic in nature: Iranians see the U.S. as an enemy trying to infiltrate and overthrow them, and Americans retain the "Death to America" images of the hostage crisis. According to **Karim Sadjadpour**, an Associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, despite this resistance from Tehran, the vast majority of the Iranian population is ready to move forward from the revolutionary culture of 1979. Sadjadpour explained that if the U.S. changes its approach to Iran by

reintegrating Iran into the global economy and perhaps opening an embassy in Tehran, political change will follow. While Sadjadpour feels a grand bargain is untenable, **Shai Feldman**, Judith and Sidney Swartz Director of the Crown Center for Middle East Studies at Brandeis University, believes the U.S. has only two options: a grand bargain in which Iran might seek the lifting of international sanctions and recognition of Iran's right to be trusted with nuclear technology, or a strategy of containment, including the strengthening of economic sanctions and perhaps limited military operations targeting nuclear facilities.

The second session, chaired by Associate Professor of Political Science at Tufts University **Malik Mufti**, addressed "Zones of War and Diplomacy: The Eastern Mediterranean." The panelists discussed the relationship between conflict in Israel and Palestine and developments in Iran as one of convenience for both parties. **Farhad Kazemi**, Professor of Politics at New York University, analyzed Iran's historical relationship with Israel, which broke down only after the Iranian Revolution, when Tehran cut off ties with Israel and established a relationship with Arafat and the PLO. In the meantime, **Uri Ben-Eliezer**, Senior Lecturer at the University of Haifa, noted, Israel has

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The Fares Lecture Series



Andrea Rugh greets an audience member after her lecture

“The Resurgence of Tribalism in the Middle East and the Implications for Democracy”

In an engaging presentation, **Andrea Rugh**, an anthropologist by training and a scholar at the Middle East Institute in Washington D.C., explored the resurgence of tribalism in the contemporary Middle East. The presentation on September 17, 2008 was wide ranging in its considerations as it addressed both the dangers and potential benefits of tribalism’s recent resurgence. For many, the threat of tribalism is clear: increased factionalism, violence, and strife. Yet others see the possibility of using tribalism to combat modern radicalism. In Iraq, tribal groups have been brought together in the form of “Awakening Councils” in order to combat al-Qaeda inside the country. Moving past these examples, Rugh offered an incisive analysis of the role of tribalism in three states: the United Arab Emirates, Saudi Arabia, and Yemen.

Rugh asked the audience to consider what effect this resurgence has on attempts to deepen democratic governance in the region. While there are those who argue that tribalism is the closest thing to democracy in the region’s history, she warned that the connection is tenuous. In the end, tribalism creates dueling loyalties between the tribe and the state. It leads to corruption and nepotism, and the customary law of the tribe is only as just as the sheikh enforcing it. We must understand that kinship bonds are hard to break, which makes

them dangerous to confront or to support. The risk in pursuing the latter strategy, Rugh concluded, is that a strong tribal system is unlikely to be subservient to governmental authority.

“Reflections on the Middle East in World Affairs”

On October 8, 2008, **Stanley Hoffmann**, Paul and Catherine Battenwieser University Professor at the Center for European Studies at Harvard University, discussed how recent political developments in the Middle East have done little to settle what he believes should be the most pressing American concern in the region: the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Hoffmann observes a division in the Middle East between the opposing forces of pan-Arabism and pan-Islamism, as well as tribalism. Such an environment has given rise to al-Qaeda, but Hoffmann is quick to point out that terrorist groups are not a strictly Middle Eastern phenomenon; they exist in many other places, including European countries “where one does not expect them.”

Hoffmann discussed Iran and its nuclear ambitions, which he feels the U.S. will be powerless to derail in light of its contradictory nuclear policy towards India. On the subject of Iraq, he believes it is a mistake for the U.S. administration to regard that country as the primary front in its “War on Terror.” In fact, Hoffmann rejects the entire concept of waging a war against terrorism; such a war will go on forever and impinge on our domestic liberties, while increasing anti-Arab and anti-Muslim feelings in the U.S. and Europe. The U.S. could instead put forth maximum engagement to solve the Palestinian issue, which would also help stabilize Lebanon, open a possible dialogue with Syria, and show inhabitants of the Middle East that the U.S. is not just “a servant of Israel.”

“Islamism in the Shadow of al-Qaeda”

In his lecture on November 19, 2008, **François Burgat**, director of the Institut Français du Proche-Orient, Damascus, introduced the main findings of his most

recent book, *Islamism in the Shadow of al-Qaeda* (University of Texas Press, 2008). In this book, Burgat first and foremost wishes to recall the necessary distinction between an essential phenomenon of identity, a resurgence of the popularity of something he calls “Muslim-speak,” and the manifold ways in which its supporters have put this “rehabilitated” lexicon to use in political and social life. In order to reconfigure Islamist mobilization within contexts that, in the space of one century, have considerably evolved, he proposes to clearly distinguish the three main sequences during which the latter became widespread. Burgat explored the tensions between national specificities and the phenomenon of trans-nationalization, tensions whose examination hopefully presents us with a better understanding both of the great diversity of the Islamist field and of the forces that have come to shape its dynamics. He concluded by proposing a deconstruction of the process of radicalization during al-Qaeda’s early years, whose “sectarian” and “political” dimensions urgently need to be distinguished.



Stanley Hoffmann



François Burgat

“Malhamé – Malfamé: The Ambiguity of Empire in the Late Ottoman Levant”

On January 21, 2009, **Jens Hanssen**, Assistant Professor of Middle Eastern and Mediterranean History at the University of Toronto, presented a talk in which his expertise on urban life in the provincial capitals of the Ottoman Empire during its waning years shone through in the story he told about the travails of the Malhamé clan. The story is of a family of Maronite Christians, which he dubbed “transimperial” subjects, who served as power brokers and facilitators of influence between Europe (including protected European subjects in the Levant) and the Ottoman power structure. The family moved easily between confessional groups, intermarried with European Protestants, were multilingual, and sometimes adopted European identities. The story of the Malhamés, Hanssen summarized, is one of the malleability of identity in the late Ottoman Levant, and of the intense cross-cultural interaction that the urban milieu of that period allowed for.

“Fact and Fiction in U.S.-Iran Relations Before and After the Islamic Revolution: Lessons for Policy”



Gholam Afkhami

Gholam R. Afkhami, Director of the Oral History Project at the Foundation for Iranian Studies, began his lecture on February 11, 2009

by emphasizing that most scholars look at revolutions through certain models and paradigms. The problem is that these models tend to overlook case-specific attributes in exceptional situations. In the case of the Iranian Revolution, Afkhami argued, the literature consistently misrepresents three key issues. The first is the 1953 coup d’état. The widely accepted narrative suggests that Mohammed Mosaddeq was popularly elected and then deposed through a CIA-orchestrated conspiracy. However, Afkhami found that the consensus among primary sources is that internal forces, not external ones, actually orchestrated Mosaddeq’s removal from power. The second issue relates to the Shah’s rapport with the U.S. administration. Afkhami stressed that the common view, which is that the Shah was a puppet of the U.S., is fundamentally wrong. In essence, the Shah believed that Iran was destined to be a powerful country with the potential to lead the Middle East. In order to accomplish this, the Shah felt that he had to gain the trust of the U.S. administration. The final issue concerns the character of the Shah. Again, Afkhami would contend that the common narrative distorts the truth by painting him as a despot who abused his power and oppressed the Iranian people. Others would claim that he was a soft person who hated violence and repression.

These major distortions constitute the main pillars of a narrative that lends itself well to the rhetoric of the Islamic regime in Tehran and affords its leaders the opportunity to portray their regime as an agent of resistance to U.S. hegemony and oppression in the region. Nevertheless, Afkhami concludes, the reality is that the Islamic republic is based on a system that

concentrates power in the hands of the jurist-cleric and legalizes the condition of this empowerment.

“The British Army, Counter-Insurgency, and Strategy in Current Conflict”

On March 31, 2009, **How Strachan**, Chichele Professor of the History of War at Oxford University, offered his remarks on the status of British counter-insurgency efforts based upon numerous seminars he has attended over the last five years. These seminars featured top British generals speaking candidly about the changing nature of war, particularly as it relates to campaigns in Iraq and Afghanistan.

Strachan opened with the startling fact that the British army is currently operating under a policy that is twelve years old, which—except for an additional section added in the aftermath of the September 11, 2001 attacks—has remained unaltered despite the shifting security environment. Strachan particularly took issue with a 1997 defense review for failing to appreciate the unique challenges of low-intensity warfare. Its drafters believed that if the army were trained for major war, then it would be

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Jens Hanssen

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



William A. Rugh leads students in a roundtable discussion of American military incursions in the Middle East

“When are U.S. Military Interventions in the Middle East Useful?”

In the first talk of the series, on September 23, 2008, Ambassador **George Lane** drew on his vast experience as a diplomat in the Middle East to examine the outcomes of U.S. military conflicts in the region. Lane took a comparative approach in selecting two examples of military intervention in Lebanon and two in Iraq to answer the question he posed: “What are the characteristics of a successful military intervention in the Middle East?”

President Eisenhower’s military assistance to Lebanon in 1958 was judged a success, due to the brevity of the mission and the excellent political-military working relationship between Eisenhower and his diplomatic counterpart, Robert Murphy. The 1982 American military intervention in Lebanon, following the Israeli invasion, was considered less successful. The U.S. achieved its initial mission of rescuing PLO fighters to help quell the conflict, but American troops became embroiled in the rapidly disintegrating conflict, which culminated disastrously with the explosion of the U.S. Marine barracks in Beirut, killing 241 soldiers.

In Iraq, Lane regarded the 1990 Gulf War as a success due to the quick completion of its primary mission, and the loss of very few American lives. Lane examined the ongoing challenges of the current Iraq War as an

example of a less-effective mission. He felt that despite some successes, notably the recent troop surge, time will tell whether the intervention was a complete failure.

“Is Petroleum the Mainspring of U.S. Policy in the Middle East?”

On Wednesday, October 1, 2008, the Fares Center Forum hosted Ambassador **Charles Dunbar**, who presented on the ways in which oil shapes the political economy of the Middle East. His presentation covered much ground, from peak oil theory, to the concept of a “rent price ceiling” for petroleum producers, to the future of OPEC as an international player. Dunbar contended that OPEC is not necessarily to blame for oil prices; OPEC is simply pursuing its interests by pumping a high volume at a high price. He was quick to point out that OPEC also seeks stability in the market, as stability serves its interests well. Other factors, including the volatility of the dollar, have affected the price of oil. Given that oil is a dollar-denominated commodity, any drop in the value of the dollar is reflected in the price of a barrel of oil. In conclusion, Dunbar implored the audience to think strategically about the problems facing the U.S. and its dependence on petroleum products.

Fares Center Welcomes Visiting Scholar

Ambassador William A. Rugh joined the Fares Center as the fall 2008 Visiting Scholar, in addition to his role as Edward R. Murrow Visiting Professor of Public Diplomacy at The Fletcher School. Ambassador Rugh had a distinguished career as a Foreign Service officer with the U.S. Information Agency from 1964 to 1995, serving as U.S. Ambassador to both the Yemen Arab Republic and the United Arab Emirates, among other posts.

While at the Fares Center, Rugh initiated a new series entitled “Fares Center Forum on U.S.-Middle East Diplomacy,” the purpose of which was to provide Fletcher students who are interested in the Middle East with the opportunity to discuss informally some of the difficult issues that diplomats and other professionals confront in their work.

With Rugh’s guidance, the series featured Ambassadors George Lane and Charles F. Dunbar, who addressed key issues such as U.S. military intervention in the Middle East and oil as the cornerstone of U.S. policy in the region. Rugh also chaired several student panels, which tackled topics such as U.S. promotion of democracy in the Middle East and the new administration’s approach to terrorism. The overflow of students from the conference room at the Fares Center during these discussions attested to the fact that student response to this series was enthusiastic.

“Should the U.S. Promote Democracy in the Middle East and, If So, How?”

In a roundtable discussion held the morning after the election of Senator Barack Obama to the presidency, a panel of students either from the Middle East or with recent experience in the region met to discuss U.S. strategies for promoting democracy there. Ambassador William A. Rugh moderated the roundtable discussion, in which students disagreed about whether the U.S. ought to promote democracy in the Middle East. Those opposed stated that democratization should be a home-grown process. All students, however, recognized that this U.S. policy would survive the transition to an Obama administration. They also concurred that the best U.S. objective is to reject forced democratization and instead focus on promoting civil society initiatives and educational programs that introduce democratic principles from the bottom up.

“How Should the Obama Administration Deal with the Problem of Terrorism?”

On December 3, 2008, Ambassador William A. Rugh moderated a panel discussion that surveyed student opinions of



A roundtable led by William A. Rugh aired student views of the Middle East

the Obama administration’s anticipated approach to terrorism. **Stephen Allen** (MALD ’10) feels that fighting terrorism will present “almost insurmountable challenges” for the Obama administration, but that the international community has given the incoming president wide leeway to formulate new policy. **Erin Clancy** (MALD ’09) believes that the president-elect “will put a high premium on going

after terrorists” and will continue to be just as hawkish as the Bush administration has been, but should also devote attention to state sponsors of terrorism. **Hawazin Naseef** (MALD ’09) objects primarily to the name “the war on terror,” and believes that it should be defined more restrictively by the Obama administration. She hopes the president will pursue diplomatic efforts with the help of other countries to encourage uncooperative countries to respect UN decisions. Finally, she feels that “the war on terror should not always focus on Islam,” as many Muslims feel a global war is being waged against them. **Andrea Walther** (MALD ’09) discussed the 2006 Dubai Ports World deal, claiming that this scandal caused many private international companies to reconsider investment in the U.S. She went on to say that Obama must also reach out to the American public, which was a key force in bringing down the DPW deal.



Students voice their opinions on the role of the United States in the Middle East

Cosponsored Events



“Orientalism, Then and Now”

On October 30, 2008 at the Tufts Art Gallery, moderator **Eva Hoffman**, Director of Middle Eastern Studies and Associate Professor of Art History, began the panel of Tufts professors by asserting that Edward Said’s work changed the way we study the Orient. According to Said, Orientalism was a Western construct that had more to do with the West than the East, as it helped the West define and reassure itself. **Ina Baghdiantz McCabe**, Darakjian Jafarian Chair of Armenian History, suggested that the art on display points to a post-colonial era that escapes Said’s analysis. She added that her research on the early-modern period was primarily focused on material and economic relations. **Beatrice Manz**, Professor of History, discussed art as a form of fighting tyranny, both Eastern and Western. She suggested that the art on display expresses a controversial struggle against both local and foreign tyrannies. **Ayesha Jalal**, Mary Richardson Professor of History, analyzed satire as a post-colonial statement. She explained that in the process of critiquing the former imperial masters, post-colonial critics have been prone to fall into excesses. Doubtless, there is a wealth of discourse on imperial violence but very little talk of the violence and repression perpetuated by the post-colonial state.

Amahl Bishara, Assistant Professor of Anthropology, stated that Said’s work was not challenging monolithic cultural constructs of the other, but rather trying to address the question of how culture and knowledge relate to power.

The Middle Eastern Studies Program of Tufts University co-sponsored this lecture.

“Decent into Chaos: The American Challenge in Pakistan, Afghanistan, and Central Asia”

In an informative lecture, co-sponsored with the Center for South Asian and Indian Ocean Studies, on October 13, 2008, **Ahmed Rashid**, a Pakistani journalist and best-selling author, outlined the current challenges to U.S. policy in Pakistan and Afghanistan and offered several recommendations. With the conclusion of major combat operations, the U.S. failed to follow through on earlier successes in Afghanistan by ignoring the need for reconstruction and by promoting warlords who challenged the authority of the central government. Furthermore, the U.S., in its zeal to destroy al-Qaeda, left the Taliban weakened but not destroyed, which provided it the opportunity to regroup and rebuild in the Federally Administrated Tribal Areas (FATA) in Pakistan. Without pressure from the U.S., Pakistan has allowed the Taliban to flourish. This safe haven for the Taliban has provided a base of operations and a training ground for Afghanistan-bound insurgents.

Rashid argued that dealing with these issues will require a comprehensive strategy; introducing more troops in Afghanistan is not enough. This strategy must include first and foremost a new regional diplomatic initiative that includes the cessation of external hostilities fueling the conflict in Afghanistan. So, while it is important that the U.S. talk with Iran, and that China, with its great capacity for investment, is involved in discussions, it is also necessary that India and Pakistan resolve their issues over Kashmir. Rashid concluded that

a regional economic program must complement this diplomatic initiative, as the economic malaise of Afghanistan is beginning to spread into bordering countries.

“Live from Bethlehem”

“Live from Bethlehem” producer **Joseph Sousa** is an Emmy-nominated writer and director who previously worked for public and commercial television. On March 30, 2009, Sousa offered a perspective on producing a documentary in a politically charged environment such as the one in the Palestinian territories. He also spoke of security and logistical issues on the ground faced by the production team.

In the wake of the second intifada, Ma’an News Agency was established in 2005 as the only independent news network in the Occupied Palestinian Territories. The documentary “Live from Bethlehem” tells the story of how Ma’an struggles to preserve its independence from political pressure and continues to challenge social, religious, and cultural norms regarding news-making in the Palestinian territories.

The film is also a story about the challenges Palestinian journalists face. Amira Hanania balances being a muckraking talk show host, an investigative journalist, and a mother of three-year-old twins. Photojournalist Fadi Tamas argues with heavily armed soldiers and dodges bullets to get his shots. Nasser Laham uses the Hebrew he learned at an Israeli prison to broadcast translations of Israeli news to Palestinian viewers. The documentary does not exclude a number of criticisms of Ma’an, including its dependence on financial aid from abroad and its use of the term *shahid* (martyr) in place of “suicide bomber” in news coverage.

The Departments of Anthropology and International Relations, the Middle Eastern Studies major, the Charles Smith Endowment Fund, the Communications and Media Studies Program, and the Institute of Global Leadership co-sponsored this event.

Roundtables



In a roundtable chaired by Ibrahim Warde, Jean-Pierre Filiu (far right) addresses students at the Fares Center

“Messianic Movements in Contemporary Islam”

Jean-Pierre Filiu, Visiting Professor at Georgetown University, asserted on October 15, 2008 that Messianic thought is deeply entrenched in Jewish religious traditions. Despite the fact that this brand of apocalyptic ideology is almost absent from the Quran, it has gained tremendous traction in the Muslim world through the hadith and other Islamic sources. This development was influenced by the civil war that erupted between Muslim factions during the century that followed the death of the Prophet Muhammad. The Messianic tradition in Islam borrowed heavily from both Christianity and Judaism. Similarly to the two other monotheistic Messianic traditions, the return of the savior at the end of time to rid the world of evil has always been central to the Islamic Messianic narrative. All in all, the Muslim public was highly receptive to Messianic ideas. Books that addressed Messianic topics were bestsellers in the Muslim world. This fact did not pass unnoticed by Ayatollah Khomeini, who used the idea of the Hidden Imam and other Messianic notions to appeal to the masses, consolidate the theocratic regime in Iran, and sustain the gains of his revolution. The gaps in Messianic tradition within Islamic sources, Filiu argued, led to the emergence of an opportunistic discourse that is anti-clerical and often difficult to suppress.

“What is the Impact of the U.S. Presidential Elections on the Middle East?”

The U.S. presidential election brought about strong feelings among inhabitants of Middle Eastern countries, along with many questions about the future of American endeavors in the region. On October 21, 2008, a panel of student speakers chaired by Ibrahim Warde discussed summer activities undertaken in the Middle East and the potential impacts of the U.S. election on the countries in which they resided. **Erin Clancy** (MALD ’09) spoke about her summer at

the U.S. Embassy in Damascus, Syria. She believes the next president will have to deal with issues such as water disputes with Syria and Arab-Israeli rapprochement. Clancy disagrees adamantly with Obama’s proposed 18-month troop withdrawal from Iraq, calling it “absolutely ludicrous.” Also in Damascus, **Iris Abraham** (MALD ’09) spent the summer studying Arabic. She noted that Syrian people, for whom the war in Iraq is the most important element of U.S. policy, are very eager for a change of direction.

Dahlia Shaham (MALD ’09) conducted research in Israel for her thesis on the evolution of business relations between Israel and the Arab states of the Persian Gulf. While Shaham does not foresee a peace settlement any time soon, she is hopeful about economic possibilities for Israel and the Arab states during the tenure of the next American president. Ph.D. candidate **Emre Kayhan** spoke about the impact of the U.S. election on American-Turkish relations. For Kayhan, Iran’s emerging nuclear capability will be the biggest issue in the Middle East faced by the post-Bush administration, while the Kurdish issue will continue to dominate U.S.-Turkish relations.



Students, chaired by Ibrahim Warde (far right), engage in a spirited discussion of how the 2008 election might change the American role in the Middle East

Mediterranean Club

“The Gaza Escalation: Understanding Differing Perspectives on the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict”

In conjunction with the Mediterranean Club, the Fares Center hosted a panel discussion moderated by **Eileen Babbitt** on February 19, 2009 in which students reflected upon the recent conflict in Gaza. For **Dahlia Shaham** (MALD '09), the most alarming aspect of the Gaza escalation was that both sides seemed to behave in ways counterproductive to what they hoped to achieve. She believes that the vast majority of people in the Israel-Palestine region want to end the conflict through political separation via the “two state” solution. **Mohammed Herzallah** (MALD '10) posited that the unique religious, cultural, and nationalistic aspects of the conflict have produced an impasse that has “more to do with its international setting than it has to do with Palestinians and Israelis.” Herzallah feels that the Palestinians have succeeded in gaining broad recognition for their cause, and hopes that in time Israeli will shed its militaristic impulses.

Zach Gold (MALD '09) rejected the proposal of a bi-national one-state solution, calling it a “preposterous idea, basically a destruction of the state of Israel.” He acknowledged that Israel is not helping its own cause by erecting settlements in the West Bank or the security barrier that the Israeli Supreme Court has claimed should be rerouted. Regarding Hamas, he upheld the American and EU designations of it as a terrorist organization. To the contrary, **Alain Hasrouny** (MALD '09) stressed his belief that even if national governments do not recognize Hamas or Hezbollah, the people in those organizations, their followers, and their agendas remain. Hasrouny feels that the Obama administration should talk directly to Hamas and Hezbollah.



Student Dahlia Shaham (MALD '09) speaks on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict during a panel discussion led by Eileen Babbitt

Med Night

Med Night 2008, the Mediterranean Club-sponsored yearly extravaganza celebrating all things Mediterranean, was held in Dewick Hall this year and featured music, dancing, and delicious regional cuisine. Hosts **Tarek Zeidan** (MALD '09) and **Iris Abraham** (MALD '09) kicked off the evening with a joyful celebration of Mediterranean culture.

The stage was elaborately decorated by the Moroccan Caravan of Somerville, and displayed authentic lanterns and wall hangings. As the guests filled themselves with a feast of delicacies catered by Greek Corner of North Cambridge, a sequence of student performances began. A Yemeni-style dance, the Israeli Baraka, described the way the dancers will celebrate when the blessing of peace comes. A traditional Turkish folk dance called the Harmandali followed. Bringing down the house was a belly dance performed by three female students in glittering costumes, set to a score that

combined traditional and modern Arabic music. Later, several students performed comedy sketches, poking fun at aspects of The Fletcher School.

A performance by Los Fletcheros began the musical portion of the evening, in which members of the Fletcher a cappella group the Ambascords participated. Atlas Soul, Boston's best Afro-Mediterranean band, performed what it refers to as “World Music for World Peace.” Guests danced to a rousing blend of jazz, funk, and Middle-Eastern/Arabic grooves. Finally, the evening finished with DJ Hash-tastic. Proceeds from the evening were donated to the Leukemia Foundation and Global Narratives, a documentary project that hopes to bring awareness to the need for bone marrow donors, in the memory of Fletcher student Erica Murray.

“The Fares Lecture Series” CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5



Hew Strachan

training to properly execute the reconstruction and long-term development projects crucial to stabilizing the country. Operations in Iraq were also plagued by a lack of strategic focus, as, unlike the U.S., in the UK there is no proper framework for developing strategy.

A new defense review is planned for 2010 and the question now is whether Afghanistan should be its basis. Strachan concluded that, regardless, it is imperative that the UK find a COIN doctrine that works.

“Israel in the New Middle East”

Joel S. Migdal, the Robert F. Philip Professor of International Studies at the Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies at the University of Washington, lectured on April 7, 2009 on Israel's place in the Middle East and its contemporary relationship with the United States. Migdal believes that Israel's previous strategic relationship with the U.S. is gone. He postulated whether, at this juncture, Israel and the U.S. are ready to forge a new partnership.

Following the 1970 conflict between Jordan and the PLO, which Israel successfully diffused at America's behest, the U.S. began to consider Israel its main strategic partner in the Middle East. However, when American leaders refused to include Israel as a part of the 1991 Gulf War coalition, Israel briefly dropped off the U.S. radar following the Cold War.

In 2009, Migdal feels that there might now be an opening for Israel and the U.S. to establish an alternative relationship, if Israel can interpret regional changes in power. The non-Arab powers of Turkey and Iran have replaced Egypt, Iraq, and Syria as the most important players in the Middle East. Israel is the third major power in the region, and is therefore an absolutely essential strategic asset for the U.S. However, Migdal cautions that integrating Israel into the regional system will require strong Israeli leadership, and the influence of non-state actors such as Hezbollah could potentially destabilize any balance of power in the region.



Joel S. Migdal

capable of low-intensity warfare, including counterinsurgency (COIN) operations. The armed forces themselves were similarly confident in their ability to successfully execute COIN operations based on their experience in Northern Ireland.

This failure to properly appreciate the changing nature of warfare would have serious implications for UK operations in Iraq, as UK armed forces soon realized that the lessons of Northern Ireland were not applicable in Basra and that they lacked the

“The Struggle for Peace”

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

“Resolving the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is the single most important thing we can do to create peace in the region,” he said.

Blair laid out three principles to guide the peace process: a commitment to “reinvigorate” negotiations toward a peaceful two-state solution; balancing Israel's security needs with progress in the West Bank; and a new approach for the Gaza Strip.

An Interconnected World

Today, Blair said, we live in an era of global interdependence that relies on international alliances to confront a shared set of challenges.

“Do we make that coming together work or do we make that coming together a source of friction and division that then leads to a coming apart?” he asked.

President Lawrence S. Bacow described the Fares Lecture as “an important reflection of this university's global commitment,” and called Blair's presence a unique opportunity to gain a “participant's perspective on the past, present, and we hope the future of diplomacy in the Middle East.”

Bacow and Blair were joined by Nijad Fares, representing the Fares family, and Leila Fawaz, Issam M. Fares Professor of Lebanese and Eastern Mediterranean Studies and founding director of the Fares Center.

Also in attendance were Antoine Chedid, ambassador of Lebanon to the U.S., Somerville Mayor Joe Curtatone, and consuls-general from countries including Great Britain, Canada, Colombia, Japan, and Switzerland.

Freshman Gabrielle Horton appreciated “the whole theme of coexistence and working together rather than tearing apart.” Sophomore Nedghie Adrien noted that Blair had “a great way of approaching the situation, because you have a room full of people with divided opinions.”

While Blair peppered his speech with humorous asides and anecdotes, at the heart of his talk was an urgent desire to achieve peace in a region long beset by conflict.

“We can't afford to let another year pass without substantial progress,” he said. “Let us start to make 2009 the year we bring peace to the Middle East.”

Written by Georgiana Cohen,
Office of Web Communications

used the polarizing discourse of the 2001 terrorist attacks to equate its regional battles—within the Occupied Palestinian Territories, as well as with other regional powers like Iran—to the new paradigm of “good” versus “evil,” and the U.S. has bought into it. To move forward, the U.S. must eliminate this polarizing framework and separate the Iranian issue from that of Palestine. Furthermore, current U.S. involvement in the region, **Robert Malley**, Middle East and North Africa Program Director at the International Crisis Group, pointed out, has rejuvenated the ideals of the Iranian revolution, which appeared to be thoroughly exhausted before the Bush administration. Iran is an accidental regional power whose success was caused by the failure of alternative regional ideologies. It provides a reliable cover that improves the negotiating positions of Hamas, Hezbollah, and Syria. Although not fixed in stone, breaking the alliance will require substantial incentives and inducements.

In session III, “Zones of War and Diplomacy: Iraq, the Gulf, and Afghanistan,” the panelists, chaired by MIT Professor of Political Science **Stephen W. Van Evera**, focused on Iranian-American relations in light of the current conflicts in Iraq and Afghanistan. The U.S. and Iran have a history of cooperation, noted author

and journalist **Robin Wright**, beginning at least in the 1980s when the two banded together to confront the Soviet Union over its occupation of Afghanistan. Today, the two countries share common geo-strategic interests including the stabilization of Afghanistan and Iraq. The panelists highlighted several avenues for cooperation, but noted that a lack of trust between the two countries will make it difficult to proceed. **Barnett R. Rubin**, Director of Studies and Senior Fellow at the Center on International Cooperation at NYU, discussed Tehran’s worry that once Afghanistan is stabilized the U.S. will use it as a base to pursue regime change in Iran. Perhaps for this reason, Iran has sought to challenge the U.S. presence in Afghanistan and Iraq by providing weapons to Taliban groups and Iraqi insurgents and allowing foreign fighters to pass through its territory. **Michael Gordon**, Chief Military Correspondent at *The New York Times*, stressed that any U.S. strategy that effectively deals with Afghanistan must include a plan for nation-building. Regardless of whether Iran begins to cooperate, all panelists noted that the U.S. still faces considerable challenges in both Afghanistan and Iraq, and that Pakistan, with its support of various armed groups, is the greatest threat to stability in the region.



John P. Abizaid

Former commander of the United States Central Command and retired General **John P. Abizaid** delivered the webcast keynote address, chaired by Fletcher Professor and Director of the International Security Studies Program **Richard Shultz**. Abizaid discussed major strategic issues, including terrorism, narcotics trafficking, and the rise of Shiite ideological power, which present enormous transnational challenges. For example, in order to combat Sunni extremism the U.S. must learn to see common cause with the vast majority of people in the Middle East before it can win their hearts and minds. The United States’ lack of willingness to talk to Iran has led to a great deal of miscalculation. The Iranians desire hegemony in the Middle East, but in fact lack long-term military capabilities. The U.S. should neither rush to go to war with nor ignore Iran. An additional strategic problem Abizaid emphasized is the proliferation of nuclear weapons in the Middle East. The area of greatest security concern is the Pakistan-Afghanistan border, where the Taliban are gaining strength, drug trafficking is endemic, and al-Qaeda has a foothold. For Abizaid, the key to solving these border issues is to work with the Pakistanis, who—along with India—have great interest in determining a consensus of international action that involves less military and more diplomacy, an approach emphasized by the Obama administration, which Abizaid finds encouraging.

Admiral (Ret.) **William J. Fallon**, former commander of the United States Central



From left: Stephen W. Van Evera, Michael R. Gordon, and Robin Wright

Command, began the session on “Nuclear Issues” by stating that Iran’s nuclear ambitions have been over-hyped by many policy-makers. He discussed the tactical issues related to military strikes, stating that the use of military power is not always the answer. According to **Shahram Chubin**, Director of Studies at the Geneva Center for Security Policy, the Iranians have defined security as a zero-sum game with America. He feels that the nuclear issue, which generally has been exaggerated, is a symptom of Iran’s problems with the United States. For **George Perkovich**, Vice President for Studies and Director of the Nonproliferation Program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, there exists a possibility for the U.S. to make progress by cooperating with Iran on Iraq. However, it is possible that Iran will assist the U.S. regarding Iraq while plodding ahead with its nuclear program in the hopes that the international community will begrudgingly accept it. Moderator and participant **Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, Jr.**, Shelby Cullom Davis Professor of International Security Studies at The Fletcher School, closed by stressing that the U.S. must rethink the basis for extended deterrence, or face the possibility of cascading proliferation. He feels that greater priority should be given to forensics and higher-quality intelligence, obtained through enhanced cooperation and sharing of information between allies and partners.

In session V, “American Policies and Options in the Region,” speakers chaired

by **Robert M. Hollister**, Dean of the Jonathan M. Tisch College of Citizenship and Public Service at Tufts University, discussed U.S. engagement with Iran and the greater Muslim world. **Jon B. Alterman**, Director and Senior Fellow of the Middle East Program at the Center for Strategic

and International Studies, and **David R. Ignatius**, Associate Editor and Columnist for *The Washington Post*, both argued that the threat posed by Iran must not be over-hyped: the world is basically allied with the U.S. in this regard and the threat itself is not especially substantial. Instead, the U.S. must find a way to manage tensions with Iran by following the normal rules of international engagement. **John L. Esposito**, University Professor and Founding Director of the Prince Alwaleed Bin Talal Center for Muslim-Christian Understanding at Georgetown University, **Rami G. Khouri**, Editor-at-Large of *The Daily Star* (Beirut) and Director of the Issam Fares Institute of Public Policy at the American University of Beirut, and Ignatius agreed that meaningful engagement on equal footing requires that the U.S. demonstrate respect for the Muslim world, and treat Muslim countries as they do other countries in the region. Additionally, the U.S. should rethink the kind of aid it gives, and place greater emphasis on helping to develop civil society and independent government institutions. This growing trend away from military options and towards diplomatic solutions further necessitates that the U.S. engage in a dialogue with opposition and reform movements. Esposito noted that greater inclusion of moderate Islamist parties may allow them to act as a bulwark against extremist groups. As well, failure to engage with more extremist groups

such as Hamas and Hezbollah will only further radicalize them.

Mark Tessler, Vice Provost for International Affairs and Samuel J. Eldersveld Collegiate Professor of Political Science at the University of Michigan, offered the concluding keynote remarks. In his comments, which were chaired by Fares Center Visiting Scholar **William A. Rugh**, Tessler addressed a range of issues that concern the contemporary Middle East. This included the approach the Obama administration should take vis-à-vis Iran and in addressing the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, as well as prospects for democratic reform in the region. He began by considering the prudent approach to Iran. While the apparent consensus view presented at the conference was for engagement, many questions remain about what kind of engagement. What should America’s policy goals be in regards to Iran? Should the U.S. push the nuclear issue or has it been overemphasized? What constraints do both countries face in terms of domestic politics? What are the regional dynamics that could either help or hurt this process? Tessler concluded that the U.S. should decipher Iran’s intentions and the vision that Iran has of its own role in the region, and then determine how American overtures could shape associated decision-making in Tehran.



Uri Ben-Eliezer (left) and Robert Malley



From left: session chair Vali Nasr and panelists Gary G. Sick and Karim Sadjadpour

Affiliated Faculty

NEWS & NOTES



Gloria J. Ascher, Associate Professor of German, Scandinavian, and Judaic Studies and Co-director of Judaic Studies at Tufts

University, produced updated editions of her English versions of Matilda Koén-Sarano's two Ladino textbooks, following her Fall 2009 sabbatical. Her Judeo-Spanish poem "Festiladino 2004" was posted on the website of the Festiladino, the yearly international competition, based in Israel, to encourage the composition and performance of new songs in Ladino. Ascher talked and sang at the Center for Humanistic Judaism in September 2008 and at Congregation Ahabat Sholom in October. In December, she gave a paper on "Women and Men in the Works of Matilda Koén-Sarano: Confirmation and Transformation of Sephardic Traditions" at the Modern Language Association convention in San Francisco, and in March 2009 she presented on "Translating Alfred Ascher's 'Diario': The Challenges of a Quintessential Judeo-Spanish Literary Text" at the American Comparative Literature Association conference at Harvard University.



Eva R. Hoffman, Director of the Middle Eastern Studies Program and Associate Professor of Art History, wrote "The Meeting of Holiness

and Commerce: Expanding Sacred and Cultural Boundaries in the Medieval Mediterranean World," which will appear in *Cultural Encounters in the Mediterranean*, a volume of essays to

be published this year by the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum of Art. In October 2008, she served as the moderator and organizer of a Middle Eastern Studies faculty panel co-sponsored by the Fares Center, "Orientalism, Then and Now," in conjunction with the art exhibition, *Empire and its Discontents*, held at the Tufts University Art Gallery. Hoffman also traveled to Tunisia during the summer to conduct research for her ongoing project on the art and culture of the medieval Mediterranean world.



Aysha Jalal, Mary Richardson Professor of History at Tufts University, gave the keynote address at the South Asian Free Media Regional

Conference "Democracy and Authoritarianism in South Asia" in Bangladesh, which the *South Asian Journal* will publish. She also delivered the keynote at a conference on "Beauty in the Worlds of Islam" at the University of Texas, Austin. Among her more recent articles are "Fallacies of Mainstreaming 'Jihad'" in *Dawn* (2009); "Freedom and Equality: From Iqbal's Philosophy to Sen's Ethical Concerns" in *Arguments for a Better World: Ethics, Welfare, and Measurement v. 1: Essays in Honor of Amartya Sen*, edited by Kaushik Basu and Ravi Kanbur (Oxford University Press, 2008); "Pakistan's Present in India's Future," *Seminar* (New Delhi, 2008); and "An Uncertain Trajectory: Islam's Contemporary Globalization, 1971-1979" in *The Shock of the Global: The International History of the 1970s*, edited by Niall Ferguson, Charles Maier, Erez Manela, and Daniel Sargent (Harvard University Press, forthcoming, 2009).



Richard Jankowsky, Assistant Professor of Music in Ethnomusicology at Tufts University, received a National Endowment for the

Humanities Fellowship to pursue a research project entitled "Sufis, Saints, and Their Songs: Sacred Music In/As Tunisian History, from the Colonial Era to the Global War on Terror," which will include field research in France and Tunisia, and will extend his sabbatical until spring 2010. He is also presenting a paper, "Performing Sub-Saharanness in Tunisian Ritual Music," in June at the American Institute for Maghrib Studies/West African Research Association's joint conference "Sahara Crossroads: Views from the North" in Tangier, Morocco. In the meantime he is co-editing the Africa/Middle East volume of *The Continuum Encyclopedia of Popular Music of the World*.



A new volume of essays co-edited by Camille Mansour and Fares Center director and Issam M. Fares Professor of Lebanese and Eastern Mediterranean Studies Leila Fawaz was published in May (American University in Cairo Press). The collection, dedicated to Walid Khalidi, presents insights into debates and struggles in modern Middle East history that affect current events, including the Ottoman legacy and its assessment over time.



Jeanne Marie Penvenne, Associate Professor of History and Core Faculty in the International Relations Program at Tufts University, has

a chapter entitled "Picturing Lourenço Marques—the City and its People," forthcoming in *Os Outros da Colonização em Moçambique* (in Portuguese), to be published by Afrontamento Press. She won support from the American Embassy in Mozambique for the translation. Penvenne also won a Tufts Faculty Research Award to travel to Mozambique for the summer of 2009 to finalize photographic and document permissions for her book, *Seeking Gendered Perspectives: Urbanization, Labor Migration and the Cashew-shellers of Lourenço Marques, 1945-1975* (Ohio University Press). Her keynote address, "Creating Consciousness: New Themes in African Studies," opened Boston University's African Studies Center 17th Annual Graduate Research Conference in March 2009.



Anthony Robbins, Professor of Public Health at the Tufts University School of Medicine, has expanded AuthorAID, a concept that

provides editing assistance to scientists and researchers from developing countries who wish to prepare scientific articles for publication in peer-reviewed journals. The program is now represented in the Eastern Mediterranean. He is also working together with Phyllis Freeman to develop an AuthorAID program for the New York Academy of Sciences' Scientists Without Borders website. In addition, support from the Eastern Mediterranean Association of Medical Editors (EMAME), the Regional Office for the Eastern Mediterranean of the World Health Organization, and the Bahrain Medical Society made it possible for Karen Shashok, a translator and author's editor located in Granada, Spain, to attend the EMMJ4 conference in Manama, Bahrain and to start work on the AuthorAID in the Eastern Mediterranean project. Thanks to support from the Shiraz University

of Medical Sciences in Shiraz, Iran, the project began in January 2009.



Joel Rosenberg, Associate Professor of Judaic Studies at Tufts University, delivered a seminar paper, "Alone with God: Elie Wiesel's

Writings on the Bible," at a conference honoring the 80th birthday of novelist and Peace Nobel Elie Wiesel at the Center for Jewish Studies at Boston University, on October 26, 2008, by invitation of the Center's director, Professor Steven T. Katz. The paper will become part of a Festschrift for Wiesel, edited by Professor Katz. Rosenberg's essay on Israeli filmmaker Amos Gitai's French film "One Day You'll Understand" (*Plus tard tu comprendras*) appeared in the program booklet for the twentieth annual Boston Jewish Film Festival in November.

Affiliated Faculty

NEWS & NOTES (CONTINUED)



Jeffrey W. Taliaferro, Associate Professor of Political Science at Tufts University, recently published *Neoclassical Realism, the State, and Foreign*

Policy, co-edited with Steven E. Lobell and Norrin M. Ripsman (Cambridge University Press, 2009). The book offers the first systematic survey of the neoclassical realist approach to international relations. The editors lead a group of scholars who examine the central role of the “state” and seek to explain why, how, and under what conditions the internal characteristics of states intervene between leaders’ assessments of international threats and opportunities and the actual diplomatic, military, and foreign economic policies those leaders are likely to pursue. Taliaferro and his co-editors participated in a roundtable on this book at the annual meeting of the International Studies Association (ISA) in New York City on February 17, 2009. Finally, he co-organized a conference

on “Grand Strategy between the World Wars” at the University of Utah, March 26–27, 2009. Taliaferro is currently working on a book on U.S. national security since World War II.



Allen Taylor, Professor at the Friedman School of Nutrition Science and Policy at Tufts University and founder and director of the Science Training

Encouraging Peace-Graduate Training Program (STEP-GTP), recently authored “A Peace through Pairings” for the April 2, 2009 edition of *The Jewish Advocate*. He also published numerous scientific articles based on original research and contributed chapters to two books. Taylor was appointed as Fellow of Association for Research in Vision and Ophthalmology, received the ARVO/AFER-Merck Innovative Ophthalmology Research Award, and was the recipient of a National Institute of

Health Research Project Grant to research the function of the ubiquitin pathway in the eye. His work on diet and age-related macular degeneration was featured in *The New York Times*, *Science Magazine*, and numerous other publications. Taylor participated in several recent conferences in China, as well as meetings at the Israel Institute of Technology, Technion, in Haifa, and in Neve Shalom–Wahat al-Salam and Ramallah.



Reed Ueda, Professor of History at Tufts University, is co-chairing the Inter-University Committee on International

Migration at the MIT Center for International Studies. He is also working on research and a book project at the Center for American Political Studies, Harvard University.

New Faculty



Amahl Bishara, Assistant Professor in the Department of Anthropology, comes to Tufts from the Department of Anthropology at the

University of Chicago where she was a Mellon Postdoctoral Fellow for the past two years. She received her Ph.D. in Anthropology in 2006 from New York University. Her recent articles include, “Local Hands, International News: Palestinian Journalists and the International Media,” published in *Ethnography* in 2006, and “Watching U.S. Television from the Palestinian Street: Representational Contests of the Palestinian Authority, the U.S. Media, and the Palestinian Public,” published in *Cultural Anthropology* in 2008.



Kenneth Garden, Assistant Professor in the Department of Religion, was previously a postdoctoral fellow at Georgetown University, a lecturer

at Yale, and a visiting assistant professor at Amherst College before joining the faculty at Tufts. Garden received his doctorate in Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations from the University of Chicago in the fall of 2005. His current research centers on the medieval Muslim religious scholar Abu Hamid al-Ghazali’s *Revival of the Religious* and controversies it inspired in Muslim Spain and Iran.



Zeina Hakim, Assistant Professor of French in the Department of Romance Languages, joined the Tufts community in September

2008. She previously taught at Yale University and at the University of Geneva in Switzerland, after receiving her Ph.D. in French from Columbia University in 2005. Hakim’s expertise lies in 17th- and 18th-century French literature, cultural history and historiography in Early Modern France, and aesthetics and literary theory. In 2006–2007, she worked for the Metropolitan Museum of Art assisting the Director for International Affairs in a research project on practicing Islamic architects, current Islamic art exhibitions, and related ventures, undertaken in connection with the renovation and reinstallation of the Metropolitan Museum’s permanent galleries for Islamic art (scheduled to reopen in 2010).



Nadim Rouhana, Professor of International Negotiation and Conflict Studies at The Fletcher School, was the Former Henry

Hart Rice Professor of Conflict Analysis and Resolution at George Mason University. He has held teaching positions at Harvard University, The Fletcher School, Tel Aviv University, Boston College, Najah National University, and The University of Massachusetts at Boston. Rouhana is also founding Director of Mada al-Carmel: Arab Center for Applied Social Research in Haifa, Israel.

Feroz Ahmad Joins the Fares Center’s Academic Steering Committee

Professor Feroz Ahmad is chair of the History Department at Yeditepe University in Istanbul, Turkey. He retired in 2003 from the History Department at the University of Massachusetts at Boston, where he taught for thirty-five years. Throughout his career, Professor Ahmad has taught at universities in Europe and the United States while publishing extensively and acquiring a host of awards and honors. Professor Ahmad’s publications include *The Young Turks* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969, translated into Turkish numerous times), and *The Turkish Experiment in Democracy, 1950–1975* (London, 1977), *The Making of Modern Turkey* (London, 1993), as well as many articles. His most recent book is *Turkey: The Quest for Identity* (Oxford: One World, 2003; revised and updated editions 2007 and 2008).



Affiliated Students

NEWS & NOTES

Iris Abraham (MALD '09) is pursuing a MALD degree at The Fletcher School with concentrations in international negotiation, conflict resolution, and Middle East affairs. She is also a research assistant at the Fares Center and was co-president of The Fletcher School's Med Club in 2008/2009. In the summer of 2008 she lived in Syria where she studied Arabic and conducted research. Previously, Iris was a political affairs officer with the United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH). She has also served as a political advisor at the Mission of the European Union to the United Nations in New York, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), and the United Nations Secretariat.

Brooke Adams (MALD '10) studies international security and Southwest Asia/Islamic civilizations at The Fletcher School and is a research assistant at the Fares Center. She spent the 2007–2008 academic year in the intensive Arabic program at the American University of Cairo. Prior to that, she worked at Freescale Semiconductor in Toulouse, France as the company's English teacher.

Neilesh Bose (Ph.D. '09) defended and submitted his doctoral dissertation in spring 2009. His doctoral work focused on the intellectual and cultural history of Bengali Muslims from the 1840s to 1952. His dissertation, titled "Anti-colonialism, Regionalism, and Cultural Autonomy: Bengali Muslim Politics, c. 1840–1952," examined various aspects of Bengali Muslim political, cultural, and religious identity. In addition to his work in South Asian history, Neilesh has also published research in theatre and performance studies. Indiana University Press published his edited anthology *Beyond Bollywood and Broadway: Plays from the South Asian Diaspora*



in spring 2009. He will join the University of North Texas Department of History in fall 2009 as an assistant professor of South Asian history.

Christopher DeVito (MALD '09) studies Southwest Asia and political systems at The Fletcher School and is a research assistant at the Fares Center. Previously, he worked for the Middle East and North Africa program at the Center for International Private Enterprise. He has studied Arabic in Cairo, Egypt and his political analysis has appeared in *Foreign Policy*.

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. Previously, he was a junior research fellow at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in Washington D.C. He has published articles in *The Daily Star*, *Ahram Weekly*, and *The Washington Post*.

Lata Parwani (Ph.D. candidate) is presently working on her dissertation entitled "Sindhis Between Region, Religion, and Nation." This study seeks to investigate how Sindhi Hindus positioned themselves within the emerging discourse of the Indian nation in the pre-independence era, the extent to which their self-conception was shaped by the 1947 partition of the subcontinent, and the ways in which the community has been accommodated and absorbed in post-colonial India. In 2008, Lata conducted research in Pakistan where she read government documents from various official archives, in addition to a wide range of primary materials drawn from Sindhis themselves. These eclectic sources include poetry, fiction, personal correspondence, memoirs, unpublished writings, newspapers, photographs, and oral interviews.

Matteo Tomasini (MALD '10) is a research assistant at the Fares Center who focuses on conflict resolution and international security studies at The Fletcher School. He is also a staff editor of the Fletcher Forum of World Affairs. 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 Eastern issues at the Burkle Center at UCLA and the Brookings Institution. Matteo received his bachelor's degree in international relations and in history from the University of California, Los Angeles.

Tarek Zeidan (MALD '09) focuses on security studies and Southwest Asia at The Fletcher School. He also serves as a research assistant for the Fares Center, as well as M.I.T Lincoln Laboratories, and is co-president of the Mediterranean Club. Previously, Tarek worked as a political analyst for the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), for which he covered the 2006 Lebanese War. He also worked as an electoral monitor for the Lebanese government and as a campaigner for Greenpeace Mediterranean's nuclear disarmament initiative during 2007. Tarek spent his summer internship covering the UN Security Council for *Al-Hayat*, a leading Arabic daily newspaper.

2008 Fellowship Recipients

Anna Vanessa Karlo (MALD '10) utilized funds from the Fares Center to return to Egypt to conduct research for her thesis, which will analyze the impact of the economic reforms the Egyptian Cabinet has introduced in the past five years, particularly in the financial sector. Anna examined the delicate balancing act the government has to perform in order to liberalize the economy while digging ever deeper into its coffers to subsidize basic commodities and ward off the specter of civil unrest.

Emre Kayhan (Ph.D. candidate) obtained funds from the Fares Center to conduct research in Ankara, Turkey. Emre conducted a series of interviews focusing on the relationship between Turkey's increasing diplomatic interest in the Muslim Middle East and North Africa and the prospects of Turkey's European Union membership. Based on his summer research, Emre concluded that due to an increasing focus on the non-Western world Turkey's European Union accession efforts have recently slowed. The previous administration's efforts to balance Turkey's pro-Western outlook by diversifying Turkish diplomacy to various non-Western regions makes Turkey's EU accession prospects at best suspicious and at worst dim.

Sophie Pouget Khayat (MALD '10) received funds to spend seven months in Beirut, Lebanon, where she continued her study of Arabic at the University of Saint Joseph. Sophie spent the fall semester at the American University of Beirut, and conducted research on the Special Tribunal of Lebanon and transitional justice in Lebanon.

Dahlia Shahan (MALD '10) traveled to Israel over the summer to conduct research in collaboration with The Abraham Fund Initiatives (TAFI) on business relations between Israel and the GCC states and the role the Arab minority plays in these relations. For the sake of this research, Dahlia interviewed Israeli government officials, social activists, business leaders, and journalists. In November 2008, TAFI published her research in a collection of articles titled "The Economic Benefits of Integration and Equality between Arabs and Jews in Israel."

The Fares Center

for Eastern Mediterranean Studies

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