



PHAROS

LIGHTING THE PATH TO UNDERSTANDING



THE NEWSLETTER OF THE FARES CENTER AT TUFTS UNIVERSITY FALL 2006

A Letter from the Provost

The wave of democratic change in the Middle East brings in its wake a need to encourage and develop academic discourse, among students and scholars alike, on the political and social issues that will undoubtedly influence policy in the region for the foreseeable future. We cannot underestimate the importance of achieving a deeper understanding of these issues through continuous and stimulating exchange of ideas. In the past year, the Fares Center for Eastern Mediterranean Studies, under the steady



JAMSHED BHARUCHA

leadership of Leila Fawaz, has proved instrumental in the promotion of these academic values, not only as a haven for debate between renowned

scholars, but also as a destination for those students at Tufts with an interest in the politics and culture of the Middle East. Both these aspects were emphasized at the Fares Center's January 2006 conference on "Democratizing the Middle East?" where students and professors came together in indispensable dialogue just as news broke confirming Hamas' victory in the Palestinian elections. The conference undoubtedly contributed to the scholarly understanding of this moment in history,

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The Asean Auditorium was packed throughout the two-day conference. (top)
Dr. Andrea Rugh (left)

"Democratizing the Middle East?"

The Annual Conference of the Fares Center for Eastern Mediterranean Studies, "Democratizing the Middle East?," convened at Tufts University on January 26 and 27, 2006, just as breaking news confirmed that the Islamic militant group Hamas had won a surprise victory in the Palestinian parliamentary elections. The question coming most readily to global media commentators at this time was "Is the Middle East ready for democracy?"—amplifying the conference's immediate import and relevance. This timeliness was on display throughout the two days, as academics, journalists, and others involved in Mideast affairs grappled with issues of constitution-making, elections and civil society, the role of religion and women in democratic states, as well as American interests in Middle Eastern democracy.

The conference began with an historical overview of democracy in the Middle East by the keynote speaker Rashid Khalidi from Columbia University, who chronicled the legacy of liberalism and constitutionalism in the region dating from the nineteenth century—even as

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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:

Amelia Cook, Fletcher '07, studies international development at the Fletcher School, with regional interests in Africa and the Middle East. Prior to beginning at the Fletcher School, Amelia worked as a project coordinator for Right To Play in Maputo, Mozambique. At Fletcher, she has served as a research assistant at the Fares Center and is a member of the Africana Club and the International Migration Group. She can be reached at amelia.cook@tufts.edu.

Sara Ferro Ribeiro, Fletcher '07, studies international law and Middle East affairs. Prior to her arrival at Fletcher, Sara lived in Beirut, where she worked as a program coordinator for the National Democratic Institute, running campaign schools for women in preparation for municipal and parliamentary elections in the Levant. Sara has written for the *Independent on Sunday*, *New Statesmen*, and *Anglo-Portuguese Newspaper*. At Fletcher, she has served as a research assistant at the Fares Center and staff editor with Fletcher's journal of world affairs, *The Fletcher Forum*. Sara can be reached at sara.ribeiro@tufts.edu.

Michael Kugelman (Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, MALD '05) contributed to this issue as supporting writer for the conference blurb.

Consulting Editor: Peri Bearman

Letter from the Director



The Fares Center has settled into its role as a forum for vibrant and stimulating discussion on the social, cultural, and political issues pertinent to the Middle East. The center has developed the practice of encouraging both graduate students and undergraduates to work alongside distinguished academics and practitioners of Middle East affairs. As a result of this coexistence, the Fares Center has developed a unique character in which the perspectives of our

students are as valued as those of professors.

Today the center plays an active and essential role in promoting Middle Eastern and Eastern Mediterranean studies amongst academics and the public through a variety of exciting events. The ongoing debate on democratization in the Middle East has been a central issue for the Fares Center in the past few months, and has been discussed and analyzed by prestigious scholars and interested students in various lectures, conferences, and roundtables. These have focused on such varied subjects as future relations between Lebanon and Syria, U.S.-Iranian discourse, and the ongoing situation in Israel and Palestine, among others. The center has also become an important source for establishing and developing links between individuals and institutions with an interest in Middle Eastern and Islamic studies, through fellowship grants for individual student research.

Student involvement remains the cornerstone of our mission, and the Fares Center prides itself on its welcoming atmosphere. Interest in the region has flourished among the student community this past year, in part because of the diverse and dynamic backgrounds of the students and scholars themselves. The Fares Center promotes the differences of opinion that result from this diversity, in an aim to foster stimulating and enlightening understanding and debate on the pressing issues of the day.

Our achievements are made possible through the continued generosity of His Excellency Issam M. Fares and Trustee Fares I. Fares and the guidance and vision of President Bacow and Provost Bharucha, whose support has been an invaluable contribution to this exciting journey.

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as academics, journalists, and practitioners made important recommendations on the issue from a multitude of interdisciplinary perspectives. Views and ideas were exchanged between panelists and the student body, whose eager and informed participation in the conference is evidence of the Fares Center's continued ability to encourage, educate, and inspire our students to be better informed and able to deal with the challenges of today's world.



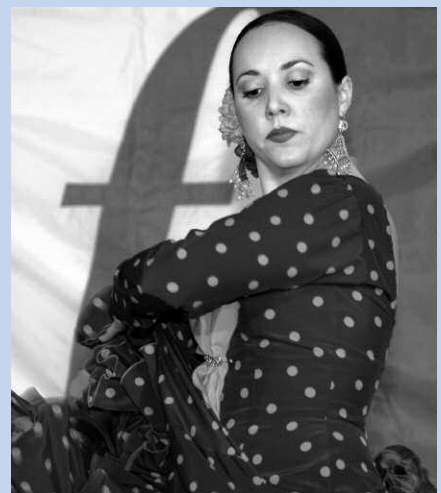


Students enjoy Mediterranean food and music.

Med Night

In early February 2006, the Med Club put on its yearly Med Night celebration, showcasing the endless talents of the Fletcher community through music, dance, dress, and song associated with the Mediterranean. Following a superb selection of Middle Eastern food, served in a room furnished with elegant carpets for seating, the evening's activities included such varied performances as belly dancing, flamenco, traditional dance, opera, and an acoustic music performance. An auction followed in an effort to help raise money for the charitable causes supported by the Med Club. The evening attested to the unvarying enthusiasm of Fletcher students, as well as to the depth of their knowledge and experience of Middle Eastern and Mediterranean culture.

The role of the Med Club at Fletcher does not begin and end with Med Night. Over the course of the year, the Med Club hosted several roundtable discussions, which brought to the fore some of the more relevant contemporary issues facing the Middle East and Mediterranean region today. These included roundtables on Lebanese politics, the recent Israeli elections, and the current state of affairs in Bosnia and Herzegovina following the signing of the Dayton Accords. Med Club members organized and participated in all of the roundtables. The group also hosted several film screenings, including *Destiny*, *Los Amantes del Circolo Polar*, and *I Cento Passi*.



Spanish students play traditional "Tuna" music for their fellow classmates. Dances included flamenco as well as the hora.

Med Club Activities

Roundtables



The Fares Center was packed with students eager to participate in the roundtable discussions.

The Cedar Revolution

As this year's kickoff event, the Med Club hosted a roundtable discussion entitled "The Cedar Revolution: A Democratic Revival in Lebanon?" Professor Ibrahim Warde, Adjunct Associate Professor of International Business, moderated the debate, in which two Fletcher School students, Rahul Chandran and Elias Sayegh, and two Harvard University Kennedy School of Government students, Talal Salman and Rania Succar, participated.

The panelists, all of whom were well versed in the political context of Lebanon, discussed the country's current

political system, as well as the events leading up to Syria's intervention in the Lebanese Civil War and the subsequent Taef Accords. Discussion also covered the recent assassination of Rafik Hariri in Beirut, in which both the international community and the majority of the Lebanese population accuse Syria of being complicit.

Pivotal to this period, the panelists noted, was the passing of UN Resolution 1559, which called for the withdrawal of all armed forces from Lebanon, and served essentially as a public condemnation of Syria's intrusion in Lebanese affairs. As a result of the tension over these issues, relations

between the closely tied countries have deteriorated. Panelists closed the discussion with positive reflections on how this relationship could and should be improved in the future. The event was noteworthy for the unmistakable expertise of the students and their intelligent engagement of the topic.

Bosnia and the Dayton Accords

On November 28, 2005, the Med Club sponsored a luncheon lecture on the current state of affairs in Bosnia and Herzegovina at the Fares Center. The lecture was given by Steven Burg,

Professor of International Politics at Brandeis University, and Bruce Hitchner, chairman of the Dayton Peace Accords Project and chair of the Department of Classics at Tufts University. Fletcher School professor Dimitris Keridis, Karamanlis Chair of Hellenic and Southeastern European Studies, served as moderator for the lecture.

Both professors discussed the effects of the Dayton Peace Accords on Bosnia and how the Accords have shaped the nation in the ten years since their conclusion. The attempted constitutional reforms in Bosnia, and the role local actors and the international community played in them, was also reviewed. Approximately 30 students attended the lecture, which was followed by a lively discussion on the general role of the international community and the specificities of the Bosnian case. Of special interest in this section of the lecture were lessons that could be applied to other cases of state building, including Iraq.

Israeli and Palestinian Elections

On Monday, April 3, 2006, the Med Club, under the auspices of the Fares Center, organized a roundtable discussion on the Palestinian-Israeli peace process in the wake of the Israeli elections, which had taken place one week before the roundtable. Three Fletcher students from the MALD and PhD programs, Alison Hodgkins, Joshua Gleis, and John Davis, and one Palestinian student from the Kennedy School of Government, Ghaleb Darabya, took turns presenting their views on the

consequences of the recent elections and what they saw as the best viable course of action to push the peace process forward.

There was great consensus on both sides that unilateral disengagement—as proposed by the new Israeli government of the Kadima party—does not offer reasons for hope, as it excludes negotiations with and recognition of the

Palestinian government, and does not promise total withdrawal from the West Bank, a precondition for peace from the Palestinians' point of view. When the floor was opened for general discussion, the feasibility of a two-state solution was addressed. Fletcher's own Professor Babbitt moderated the debate.



Professor Ibrahim Warde of the Fletcher School and Kennedy School student Talal Salman

A Talk with David Kretzmer

Taking advantage of the presence of David Kretzmer (Bruce W. Wayne Professor of International Law at Hebrew University, Jerusalem) at Tufts University, where he was Visiting Scholar at the Fares Center for Eastern Mediterranean Studies and Visiting Professor of International Law at the Fletcher School for the spring of 2006, Matthew McCandless (MALD '06), a Southeast Asian specialist on leave from the U.S. Department of State, asked his opinion on present-day armed conflict and the institutional bodies that can contain it.

MM: *When you came to Fletcher in 2003 to participate in the Fares lecture series, you commented that the Israeli Supreme Court, while being the most liberal institution in government, also has issued several decisions that interpreted the law in a light favorable to the government's policy in occupied territory. Given the continued, if not growing, pace of cases before the court in relation to Palestine, would you say the court has maintained the same position vis-à-vis the government, and if not, how has it changed?*

DK: When I completed my book on the Supreme Court of Israel and the Occupied Territories in 2000, I found that the general tendency of the court had been to legitimize almost all government policies in the territories. Since then there seems to have been a change in the attitude of the court, with a greater willingness to interfere in actions of the military. Thus in three cases relating to the separation barrier being built on the West Bank, the court has held that the route chosen in the segments under review is incompatible with international law. It has also ruled that use of Palestinian civilians as “human shields” is unlawful. The court quite regularly examines the legality

of Israeli actions, even during actual military operations, and has interfered with those actions in a number of cases.

MM: *Given the end of the Cold War and the onset of the U.S. war on terror, is the international community at a major turning point in regards to international humanitarian law? In other words, are there serious gaps in the law in relation to the reality of conflict today?*

DK: Use of the term “war on terror” is unfortunate, since it seems to imply that any action against terrorist activities is regulated by the law of war (or IHL). This is not the case. Unless we are dealing with an armed conflict (international or non-international),

actions of states to combat terror will be regulated by domestic law, which must conform to international human rights standards.

This is not a technical difference. Human rights law and IHL are based on different models of law: the first on a law enforcement model, which allows the use of force only in exceptional circumstances, and the second on an armed conflict model, which permits force directed towards combatants and military objects of the enemy.

When it comes to armed conflicts, one of the biggest problems is the tendency of states to deny that the rules of IHL (and

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On March 6, 2006, Visiting Professor David Kretzmer gave a lecture entitled “The Separation Barrier: Between the ICJ and the Supreme Court of Israel” to an eager crowd of students and guests. In his lecture, Dr. Kretzmer addressed the different perspectives of the Supreme Court of Israel and the International Court of Justice on the legality of the barrier being built by Israel on the West Bank. The talk examined the background to the barrier—and especially the combination of security and political factors involved in Israeli decision-making. Kretzmer remarked on the lack of international mechanisms for enforcement of international humanitarian law and the responsibility of domestic courts to close the “Enforcement Deficiency Gap.”

In an advisory opinion, the ICJ ruled the barrier as unlawful under international law. After an uncertain start in which the Supreme Court of Israel refused to interfere with decisions on the barrier, in two cases the court examined the concrete facts relating to different segments of the barrier and held two segments to be unlawful as they did not meet the demands of proportionality. Kretzmer analyzed the different constraints faced by the International Court and the Israel Supreme Court as well as the strengths and weaknesses of each system.

Dr. Kretzmer came to the Fares Center from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, where he specializes in constitutional law, international human rights law, and international humanitarian law. In the spring semester of 2005-06, he taught a course on international humanitarian law at the Fletcher School that focused on the case of Israel-Palestine.

Khalid Al-Falih Lecture

BY CHARLES DE SIMONE (MALD '07)

Students and faculty of the Fletcher School and Tufts University filled a lecture hall to capacity to hear the insights and experiences of Khalid A. Al-Falih, Senior Vice President of Industrial Relations for Saudi Aramco, one of the world's top energy companies. Al-Falih came to Fletcher as part of the International Business Program's Global Speakers Series in cosponsorship with the Fares Center, and shared his insights on understanding and profiting from the world oil market.

Al-Falih's lecture outlined Saudi Aramco's understanding of the rapidly evolving world market and how it was shaping the company's plans for the future, and demonstrated how the company's status as a nationally controlled company influenced both its decision-making and strategy.

The company's history as the product of a partnership between American firms and Saudi Arabia gave it the background to thrive in an increasingly globalized world, Al-Falih stated.

"We at Saudi Aramco have been living globalization for the last seven decades," he said, pointing to the company's history in which "thousands of Americans came to the Kingdom to prospect for oil, invested millions, and transformed Saudi Arabia from an underdeveloped country to the nation it is today."

Al-Falih also shared his insights into how the Saudi government's 100% ownership of the company has shaped its operating style. While it might seem unusual for a corporate company to have only one shareholder, he explained that while most

shareholders of public companies are mainly interested in increasing the value of their shares, the government has a much broader range of interests.

"We are entrusted to create value for the Kingdom, and that is a much more fuzzy responsibility. It includes job creation, diversification of the larger economy, sharing best practices with other companies in the Kingdom," he explained. "These are the reasons why many oil-producing countries insist on maintaining an exclusive role for national oil companies," he added.

As a result of these broader interests, "we try to assess our projects in a more holistic way, and we bring much more into our calculations of project viability," Al-Falih said. Despite government ownership, "we still try to maintain the same standards as the other [independent oil companies] in our management and operations, and we are constantly looking for areas where we can work to keep our performance 'best in class,'" he said.

Al-Falih also touched on the role of education, both in U.S.-Saudi relations



Mr. Khalid Al-Falih

and in the careers of the students in the audience. The opportunity to study in an international environment builds the understanding and sensitivities necessary for the modern business world, he argued, noting, "In my family we will have three generations educated in the U.S., while our roots remain in Saudi Arabia."

He also reminded Fletcher students of the importance of not just what they are learning now, but the perspectives and methods they are developing. "Whatever you learn in school is very important in getting you through the door in a company, but what takes you places in your work is the ability to keep learning and developing your skills. The most important thing I learned in school was how to learn," he said. Al-Falih jokingly added a final benefit to a university, at least as speaker: "It's always enjoyable to be among students and academics—it makes one feel much younger."

See <http://fletcher.tufts.edu/news/2006/04/saudi.shtml> for more details.

Boston Forum on the Middle East



(left to right) Augustus Richard Norton, Professor of International Relations, Boston University; Ali Banuazizi, Professor of Social Psychology, Boston College; Ambassador Thomas R. Pickering, Senior Vice President for International Relations, Boeing; Dean Stephen W. Bosworth, The Fletcher School; Leila Fawaz, Director, Fares Center

On November 16, 2005, former U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Thomas Pickering spoke about the need for “continuing dialogue in the U.S-Iran relationship” at the Inaugural Lecture of the Boston Forum on the Middle East. The lecture, cosponsored by the Fares Center for Eastern Mediterranean Studies, was held at the Fletcher School’s ASEAN Auditorium and attracted a near-capacity crowd.

In outlining U.S.-Iranian history in relation to proliferation, Ambassador Pickering expressed concern about a “cascading of nuclear developments” that could take place in the region should Iran pursue its nuclear ambitions. In

order to avoid this, “there should be a regional effort to improve security in the region,” he said, which would involve the Security Council’s willingness to provide assistance to any states threatened by a neighboring state’s nuclear power.

Ambassador Pickering emphasized a “carrot and stick option,” which would involve both a multilateral diplomatic approach combined with a three-stage series of sanctions implemented through the Security Council, all the while leaving open the possibility of further negotiations. “It is extremely important that the U.S. join Europe in its talks with Iran,” he said. “It should not stand alone on this.”

Increasing oil investment in the region should also be a priority, Pickering argued, as “the U.S. should focus on developing the Iranian oil infra-

The Boston Forum on the Middle East

The Boston Forum on the Middle East, established in 2005, seeks to promote a deeper understanding of Middle Eastern cultures, societies, and politics, particularly in relation to U.S. foreign policy, through public lectures and regular meetings involving scholars, policymakers, journalists, and students. The current sponsors of the Forum are the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University, Boston College, and Boston University. The inaugural public lecture of the Forum was given on November 16, 2005, by Thomas Pickering (former United States ambassador to the United Nations) at the Fletcher School.

structure” to decrease the need for the development of nuclear energy.

The option of U.S.-led military action was also mentioned in the lecture. “Military action should absolutely be the last resort,” Pickering said. “The important thing to remember is that we do not know where all of Iran’s nuclear capacity is, and this could be a crucial factor should there be a war.”

Fares Lecture Series

“**A**merican Foreign Policy and the Future of the Muslim World: Autocrats, Democrats, Terrorists?”

was the title of a Fares Center lecture delivered by John Esposito, Professor of Religion and International Affairs at Georgetown University on November 30, 2005.

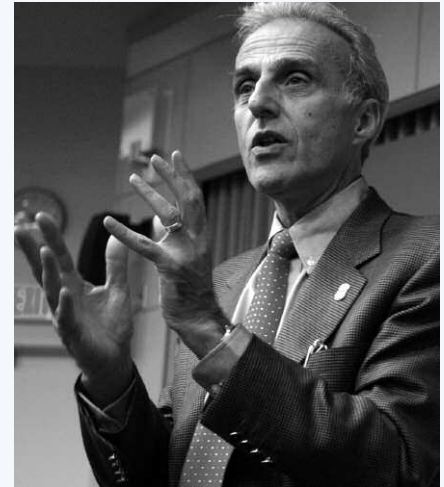
Professor Esposito began his address by claiming that, yes, “we will probably have all three—autocrats, democrats, and terrorists—present in the region of the Middle East for at least the next generation.” Yet he asked this question: “Why, if there are so many secular authoritarian regimes, do we portray the religious ones as worse?”

Esposito argued that the need to recognize the difference between mainstream

and extremist Islam is especially important at a time when Islam is resurgent as a political force. “The lack of viable secular alternatives from which to seek answers and support is at the root of this emergence,” he continued.

The issue of terrorism was central to his lecture, and he stated that as political discourse takes a closer look at the subject it is important to stress the need to combat terrorism with public diplomacy, not war. “War can kill, capture, and contain, but it cannot win a war against global terrorism, which has to be won through the hearts and minds of people.”

Key to this effort is undermining the legitimacy that strengthens extremist groups’ abilities to recruit. Professor Esposito stressed that this should be done through economic reform and serious religious reform, although he emphasized that



Professor John Esposito

the latter will not be an easy task. Importantly, he said, we must remember that “ideas are not enough to effect change; you must find ways to institutionalize these changes in relevant ideology.”

A Talk with David Kretzmer

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especially the Geneva Conventions) apply in the particular situation. The original Israeli position (now, more or less abandoned) was that the Fourth Geneva Convention does not apply to the West Bank and Gaza, and the U.S. position was that the Geneva Conventions do not apply to suspected members of al-Qaeda apprehended in Afghanistan. The Geneva Conventions were not drawn up with the issue of international or transnational terrorist groups in mind. Nevertheless, in situations of international armed conflicts (such as the armed conflict in Afghanistan following the U.S.

military action there), the conventions apply to all persons involved in the conflict, even if they are suspected terrorists. If such persons do not meet the requirements to be considered combatants under the Third Convention (and thus are not entitled to POW status if apprehended) they will be protected persons under the Fourth Convention (and thus may only be interned when imperative reasons of security so demand). One must also remember that under the approach adopted by the International Court of Justice, human rights conventions continue to apply in times of

armed conflict, although it may be superseded by the *lex specialis*, IHL. Thus, for example, even if one argues that the detention of certain categories of persons is not regulated under the Geneva Conventions, that detention will have to conform to international human rights standards.

To answer the question: there are gaps in international law, but these can generally be filled by combined application of standards of IHL and international human rights law. The real danger in the present situation is that states will ignore these standards.

Iranian Film



Professor Shahla Haeri

On a Wednesday evening in March 2006, students and faculty gathered in the Media Center at Tufts' Tisch Library to watch Professor Shahla Haeri's documentary *Mrs. President: Women and Political Leadership in Iran*. Haeri's work focuses on six women—out of forty-seven—who nominated themselves as candidates for the 2001 presidential election in Iran. Their nomination is made possible by an ambiguous article in the Iranian Constitution, whose use of the non-gender-specific term *rejal-i siyasi* (political elite) gives these women the opportunity to give voice to their political aspirations. Professor Haeri, who is Director of the Women's Studies

Program at Boston University and author of *Law of Desire: Temporary Marriage in Shi'i Iran* (Syracuse University Press 1989), was present to answer questions and listen to comments on the film, and a lively discussion ensued.



Vali Nasr was recently awarded the prestigious Carnegie Scholar Award for 2006 for his new project to examine the future of democracy in the Muslim world. The Carnegie

project will involve a multi-country study of the role of Islamic politics in democratization. Nasr is a member of the Fares Center's Academic Committee.

Vali Nasr (A'83 and F'84) is Professor and Associated Chair of Research at the Department of National Security Affairs at the Naval Postgraduate School, Adjunct Senior Fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations, and Senior Fellow at the Belfer Center at the Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University. Nasr is a leading expert on political Islam, and has written and lectured widely on the subject.

He has advised policy-makers, has written for *The New York Times*, *TIME*, *The New Republic*, and *The Washington Post*, and is a frequent guest on CNN, BBC, NPR, and "Newshour with Jim Lehrer." Nasr is the author of many important books, two of which are from 2006. The first, *Democracy in Iran: History and the Quest for Liberty*, is co-written with Ali Gheissari and has just been published by Oxford University Press. The book traces the history and prospects of democracy in Iran at a time when the future of that country, and its prospects for democratization, is of great concern to the international community. His second book, *The Shia Revival: How Conflicts within Islam will Shape the Future*, to appear in August with W.W. Norton, deals with an important dimension of Middle East politics today, namely, sectarian conflict. It examines the roots of Shi'i-Sunni rivalry and how that competition has developed through the centuries. *The Shia Revival* provides fresh insights into the broader implications of developments in Iraq for the future of the Middle East.



The Role of Faith

In association with the Fares Center and the South Asia Society, a group of students organized a roundtable on April 7, 2006, to discuss "Muslim Life in Today's World." During this unique insight into the perspectives of six Muslim students, three men and three women addressed key questions, concerns, and misconceptions about Muslim life for the benefit of the Fletcher community.

The students, Abdul Akande, Ashirul Amin, Khadija Amjad, Mema Beye, Abeer Kazimi, and Zeba Khan, are from Nigeria, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Mali, Iraq, and the United States, respectively. Such a diverse group of students provided for a stimulating, open, and honest discussion of some very delicate topics, such as the status of Muslim women in politics, inheritance rights, democracy and Islam, the role of the imam in Muslim communities, madrasas and educational systems, interpretations of

jihad, and much more. The six panelists spoke first on a topic of their choosing, and then took part in a question and answer session with the audience.

The panel provided an opportunity for students to engage one another on a personal level in sensitive subject-matter. It was certainly an evening that stands out for its contribution to cross-cultural and multi-religious understanding. Fletcher's own Professor Eileen Babbitt mediated the panel, drawing the panelists' comments and subsequent discussion together into coherent narrative, and helping to maintain an atmosphere of respect and good humor.

The informal atmosphere, which allowed the Fletcher community to embrace questions and topics not easily posed in the academic atmosphere, was central to the event. Hopefully this roundtable has opened the door to further debate on faith-based topics.

“Democratizing the Middle East?”

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Tufts faculty and administrators with conference participants

the myth of a Middle East historically inhospitable to democracy continues to prevail. All the same, as Said Amir Arjomand (SUNY, Stony Brook), David Kretzmer (Hebrew University of Jerusalem), and Bruce Rutherford (Colgate University)—panelists from the first session—underscored, the issue of constitutionalism in the contemporary Middle East is complex. For example, they argued, both ideology and religion pose challenges to the law: the success of Turkish and Iranian constitutional courts has been compromised by their emphasis on the ideological elements of national constitutions instead of on the law itself, while it is difficult to reconcile the place of religious law in the political order. Still, Rutherford noted, a distinctive home-grown Islamic constitutionalism has existed in the past.

In the second panel on elections and civil society, the phenomenon of civil society was portrayed as similarly nuanced. The panel, made up of Augustus Richard Norton (Boston University), Eva Bellin (Hunter College), and Mustapha El-Sayed (Colgate University), contended that civil society is a key ingredient of, but not the sole criterion for, democracy—and that the empowerment of civil society is dependent

on the nature of the state itself. Iraq’s difficult progress towards a democracy was not left untouched, with Dick Norton reflecting on its lack of a viable political institution outside the Saddam Hussein regime, which had all but destroyed the civil society in that country.

Speakers on the third panel—Vali Nasr (Naval Postgraduate School), Ayman Abdel Nour (Editor, *All4Syria*), and Mark Tessler (University of Michigan)—weighed in on the dynamic between religion and democracy. Some argued that debate within Islamic societies has shifted from the compatibility of faith with democracy to questions of a sectarian balance of power. Yet others noted how even sectarian societies require cooperation between military power, businessmen, and clergy, and how public opinion surveys reveal that religious orthodoxy does not necessarily determine the level of affinity for democracy. The discussant, Barbara Bodine (Harvard University), argued that although academics are reluctant to characterize the present situation as a “clash of civilizations,” there does seem to be a clash of transformational philosophies taking place.

The fourth panel, on Women and Democracy, with Andrea Rugh (Middle

East Institute), Jenny White (Boston University), and Mahnaz Afkhami (Women’s Learning Partnership for Rights, Development, and Peace), and discussant Diane Singerman of American University, opened with the question why current models of democratic reform in the Middle East are not more inclusive of women. The panel used Turkey as a historical case study—illuminating the tensions between the educated, secular roles of women in public and their more private, religious roles at home—and urged the formation of a worldwide partnership to address the status of women.

Lastly, F. Gregory Gause III (University of Vermont), William Rugh (Georgetown University), Shibley Telhami (University of Maryland), and discussant Stephen Van Evera (MIT), seeking to analyze and apply broader issues of democracy to U.S. Mideast policy, acknowledged that the U.S. promotion of democracy in the Middle East can come across as paradoxical—and can also precipitate results at odds with established goals of U.S. foreign policy. They addressed the gap between what American diplomats state as policy in their official capacity, and what is said behind closed doors; and discussed both U.S. and Iraqi public opinion of the role of the U.S. at present.

The conference’s concluding remarks, given by Larry Diamond (Stanford University) and Rami Khouri (editor, Beirut *Daily Star*), emphasized the fluid and volatile nature of today’s Middle East, and echoing themes from the keynote address that began the conference, urged against U.S. preemptive military engagements in the Middle East, arguing that such actions would prove disastrous for the region.

Affiliated Faculty

NEWS & NOTES



Astier Almedom,
Fellow of the Institute
for Global Leadership
and Henry R. Luce
Professor in Science
and Humanitarianism,

and her team published an Arabic translation of the handbook “Hygiene Evaluation Procedures: Approaches and Methods for Assessing Water and Sanitation-Related Hygiene Practices” this year.

Gloria J. Ascher, Associate Professor of German and co-Director of Judaic Studies, published “The Pleasure of Teaching Judeo-Spanish: The Family Is Growing!” in the September 2005 issue of *El Amaneser* (Istanbul). Ascher also wrote the critical prefatory essay and a poem in Ladino, as well as music for five songs, for Matilda Koén-Sarano’s *Ritmo Antiko: Poezías i kantigas kon Notas* (Jerusalem, 2005). Ascher taught an invited session in Jerusalem last year for the (Israeli) National Authority for Ladino. The course was aimed at training teachers and activists on Ladino culture, and Ascher’s session dealt with Ladino in the U.S. At the annual convention of the Modern Language Association of America in Washington, D.C. in December, Ascher presented a paper, “How to Save the Living Judeo-Spanish Language? The Activities of Matilda Koén-Sarano.” This was the first time a paper was given in Ladino (Judeo-Spanish) at an MLA convention.



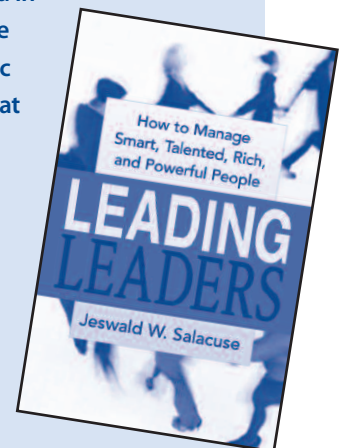
New Book from Jeswald W. Salacuse

In his new book *Leading Leaders: How to Manage Smart, Talented, Rich, and Powerful People* (AMACOM 2006), Professor Jeswald W. Salacuse provides guidance on leading persons who are themselves leaders, a topic that has received little attention in management and organizational literature. Both inside and outside organizations, leaders often have to manage

persons—professionals, experts, board members, and other elites—who are leaders by virtue of their knowledge, their constituents, their authority, or their prestige. What characterizes all of these situations is that the leader has little real authority over such persons. Salacuse argues that other leaders will follow you not because of your charisma, your commanding presence, or your brilliance, but because they believe it is in their interest. Advocating the concept of “interest-based leadership,” he stresses that a leader’s initial task is to convince other persons of that fact.

Salacuse believes that useful principles for leading other leaders can be found in the realm of politics and international relations. To illustrate some of these principles, he compares the leadership of George H. W. Bush, the 41st President of the United States, who successfully built a broad international coalition in 1990-91 to undertake the Gulf War, with that of his son George W. Bush, the 43rd President, who failed to lead other leaders into a similarly broad coalition to invade Iraq in 2003. While the historical situations may have been different, Salacuse found that the father succeeded and the son failed for at least three basic reasons: The father believed in the need for a broad coalition and worked hard to create one. His son did not. The father had extensive diplomatic experience and long relationships with world leaders that he used in leading them. The son did not. The father understood and accommodated the interests of other leaders and other nations. The son did not.

Leading Leaders has been favorably reviewed in *The New York Times*, the *International Herald Tribune*, *The Boston Globe*, the *Toronto Globe and Mail*, and many other publications.





Eileen Babbitt, Assistant Professor of International Politics, is co-editor of a new collection of articles entitled *Negotiating Self-Determination* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books), along with Fletcher Professor of International Law Hurst Hannum. Two articles by Professor Babbitt, “Self-Determination as a Component of Conflict Intractability: Implications for Negotiation” and “Negotiating Self-Determination: Is It a Viable Alternative to Violence?,” appear in the collection. Professor Babbitt also participated as panel chair and discussant in the International Studies Association annual meeting, “Moving from Armed Conflict to Sustainable Peace: Critical Issues in Peace Processes and Post-Agreement Peacebuilding,” which was held in San Diego March 22-25, 2006.



Peter Der Manuelian is a lecturer in Egyptology in the Tufts Classics Department and the Giza Archives Project

Director at the Museum of Fine Arts (MFA), Boston. In the fall of 2005 he published “Virtual Pyramids—Real Research: The Giza Archives Project Goes Live Online” for *KMT* and wrote “The Giza Archives Project” for *Egyptian Archaeology* in March of this year. Last year he was interviewed on his project by Sokar: “Giza-Archiv-Projekt. Interview mit Peter Der Manuelian.” Also, Der Manuelian organized the 56th annual meeting of the American Research Center

in Egypt at the Hyatt Regency Hotel in Cambridge, Massachusetts, April 22-24, 2005. There were 150 papers in four simultaneous rooms, including topics ranging from pharaonic Egypt through the Coptic and Islamic periods. Der Manuelian presented a paper entitled “Reisner’s Nucleus Cemetery Concept at Giza: Cemetery G 2100.”



Lawrence Gianinno, Research Professor in the Eliot-Pearson Department of Child Development, was invited to present a

paper at the 10th European Association for Research on Adolescence Conference, held in Antalya, Turkey, May 2-6. His paper, entitled “The Economic Socialization of Children of Immigrant Lebanese Muslim Parents in the United States,” was delivered as part of a symposium on “How Muslim Immigrant Youth Negotiate Their Identity: Findings from Europe and the United States.” His talk was based on his ongoing research on the children of Lebanese immigrants who are members of the Muslim and Maronite communities in the Boston metropolitan area.



Ayesha Jalal, Professor of History and Director of the Center for South Asian and Indian Ocean Studies, has

been on leave during the 2005-06 academic year, writing her new book, *Partisans of Allah: Meanings of Jihad in South Asia*, with the help of a Carnegie Foundation grant. In addition to working

on the manuscript, Dr. Jalal has been editing the *Oxford Companion of Pakistani History*. In January 2006 she gave the keynote address at a conference on “Local Governance, Texts and Contexts: Perspectives from South Asia” in Lahore, Pakistan. Most recently, she presented a paper entitled “Striking a Just Balance: The Ethics of War and Peace in Islam” at a symposium on “Conflict Resolution in the Middle East and South Asia” at Ryukoko University, Japan.



Jeanne Penvenne, Associate Professor of History, recently returned from a year as a Fulbright scholar in Mozambique. She

is currently developing a module on women and oral history for a graduate program in regional history being created by the History Department in conjunction with the Center for African Studies at Universidade Eduardo Mondlane. The module includes videotaped lectures, primary sources, and readings on CD. On April 3, 2006, she presented “Seeking Gendered Perspectives: Urbanization and Labor Migration in Southern Mozambique,” for Boston University’s Walter Rodney Seminar Series. The paper is drawn from the introduction of her book manuscript of the same title.

Affiliated Faculty

NEWS & NOTES



Anthony Robbins, Professor of Public Health at the Tufts School of Medicine, and his co-editor of the *Journal of Public Health*

Policy, Phyllis Freeman, have been developing AuthorAID. The project—to provide developmental editing help to authors in developing countries—is described in an article by them in SciDev.Net (<http://www.scidev.net/content/opinions/eng/closing-the-publishing-gap-between-rich-and-poor.cfm>). A proposal for funding is now pending with the Swedish International Development Agency, which is eager to make additional contacts in the Middle East where AuthorAID might be useful.

Joel Rosenberg, Lee S. McCollester Associate Professor of Biblical Literature and Associate Professor of Judaic Studies, will be receiving an honorary Doctor of Humane Letters degree this coming June from the Reconstructionist Rabbinical College. His four-volume *Kol Haneshamah* prayer book series was the first effort by a major Jewish movement to present Jewish liturgy in gender-neutral language for divinity. Rosenberg's article "The Biblical Question" has recently appeared in the journal *Kerem: Creative Explorations in Judaism*.



Robert Russell, Director of the Jean Mayer USDA Human Nutrition Research Center on Aging, represented the U.S.

National Academies of Science at a workshop on "Strategies for Prevention of Micronutrient Deficiencies," held in Jerusalem May 23-24, 2005. The core group, representing the Israeli Academy of Sciences, the Palestinian Academy for Science & Technology, the Higher Council for Science & Technology of Jordan, and the U.S. National Academies, prepared a report entitled "Micronutrient Deficiencies in the Middle East." The Academies and Higher Council distributed their report with a public statement to the governments, private sectors, and international agencies active in the region describing the danger of micronutrient deficiencies and urging prompt remedial action. There is hope that the Academies and Higher Council will form a regional board on food and nutrition whose members would include the most distinguished scientists of the region and the United States to provide governments with the best available scientific information about nutrition and, upon request, advise and assist in setting up educational and surveillance programs.

Jeswald W. Salacuse, Henry J. Braker Professor of Law at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, is the author of a new book, *Leading Leaders: How to Manage Smart, Talented, Rich, and Powerful People* (AMACOM 2006) (see page 12). He also recently presented papers on international investment at symposia at Harvard Law School, Columbia University, and Southern Methodist University. In September 2005 he gave a public lecture at Hamilton College on "The Responsibilities of a Superpower to Negotiate With Other Nations: When You Carry the Biggest Stick of All, Why Bother?"

Donald Wertlieb, professor in the Eliot-Pearson Center of Child Development, delivered a keynote presentation at Kuwait University's International Conference on Progress in Special Education, March 20-23, 2006, in Kuwait. His topic was "Developmental Stress and Coping Perspectives on Children with Learning Disabilities: Frameworks for Assessment and Intervention." Wertlieb and two other U.S. scholars joined 100 participants from throughout the Middle East to exchange views on addressing the needs of children with special needs, emphasizing contemporary research and effective practices in diverse cultures and systems.

Affiliated Students

NEWS & NOTES



Alok Anand is working on a joint degree at the Fletcher School and the Tufts University School of Medicine. He focuses at Fletcher on security studies and development economics. He hopes to combine this work with pursuits at the medical school to work on improving access to health care and adequate nutrition to underserved areas. Alok assisted the Fares Center in many respects, most specifically providing technical support and assistance for the “Democratizing the Middle East?” conference.

Ricardo Borges de Castro will be joining St. Anthony’s College at the University of Oxford to read for a DPhil in international relations in the fall of 2006. His dissertation topic will be “From Democratization to de-Secularization? The Impact of the European Union’s Copenhagen Criteria on Turkey.” Ricardo attended Bogaziçi University summer school in Istanbul for a Turkish language

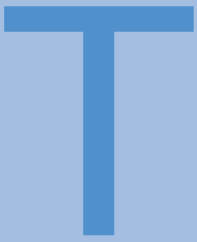
program in 2005, with a fellowship from the Fares Center. He also assisted with the logistics and organization of the “Democratizing the Middle East?” conference, and served as an active member of the Med Club.

Sung-Wook Choi (’08), combined MD/MALD student, is currently preparing for the United States Medical Licensing Examination Step I, and will begin his hospital rotations in August. He is also at work on his thesis with Professor Sung-Yoon Lee, which will analyze the role of human rights discourse in the foreign policy of the U.S. toward communist nations, and evaluate its relevance and potential efficacy in the context of the current administration’s approach in dealing with North Korea. Sung acted as a teaching assistant for Professor Leila Fawaz in the fall of 2005.

Michael Kugelman (’05) began work in July 2005 with the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in Washington, D.C. He develops and organizes conferences and public seminars, most of which pertain to Asian affairs. He also edits post-conference reports, including a recent one assessing post-tsunami reconstruction in Indonesia. Michael, who was a guest editor of *PHAROS* in 2004 and 2005, also edited the Fares Center’s first occasional paper, which was published late last year.

Matthew McCaffree will be finishing his graduate studies at the Fletcher School in May 2006. Expanding on his specialization in technology policy and development, he is soon to finish his thesis on electricity restructuring and public power. Matthew has mainly been responsible for technical support at the Fares Center, including developing content for the Fares Center website.

Anand Sithian is an undergraduate senior majoring in history and international relations with a focus on the Middle East and South Asia. Upon graduation, Anand will be traveling to Greece and Turkey before taking a litigation assistant position at Sullivan & Cromwell in New York. He eventually plans on entering the field of law with a focus on international law.



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 center acts as a major focus for cross-regional

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

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

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

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



The Fares Center

for Eastern Mediterranean Studies

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