



PHAROS

LIGHTING THE PATH TO UNDERSTANDING



THE NEWSLETTER OF THE FARES CENTER AT TUFTS UNIVERSITY FALL 2008

A Letter from the Provost



Jamshed
Bharucha

During this important election year in the United States, foreign policy in the Middle East approaches a critical juncture. This is the

ideal moment in time to reflect, analyze, and take a fresh look at opportunities moving forward. To this end, the Fares Center for Eastern Mediterranean Studies held its annual conference in March 2008 on the topic of "The United States and the Middle East: What Comes Next After Iraq?" Through its many lectures, roundtables, and workshops, the Fares Center creates an environment for greater understanding of historical and contemporary regional issues. By participating in this sustained dialogue, scholars, practitioners, and students are able to explore, challenge, and enrich each other's points of view. Director Leila Fawaz, who brings such a wide spectrum of voices to Tufts through the Fares Center, also contributes to international dialogue through her own scholarship. She has recently been named a Carnegie Scholar for her ongoing research on power and identity in the Middle East and South Asia.



From left: Lee H. Hamilton, President and Director, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars; Lawrence S. Bacow, President, Tufts University; Jamshed Bharucha, Provost and Senior Vice President, Tufts University; Stephen W. Bosworth, Dean, The Fletcher School

"The United States and the Middle East: What Comes Next After Iraq?"

The Fares Center for Eastern Mediterranean Studies held its annual conference, entitled "The United States and the Middle East: What Comes Next After Iraq?" at Tufts University on March 27 and 28, 2008. Scholars, journalists, and policymakers convened to identify issues pertaining to the Middle East that will be of concern to Americans in the coming years. Questions and discussions centered on how the war in Iraq and other regional challenges have affected Middle Eastern states; how the new

leadership in Washington should understand and address political and military developments unfolding in the Middle East; and how the United States can best serve its own interests while helping parties in the Middle East manage ongoing conflicts. Below follows a synopsis of the presentations.

Keynote speaker **Lee H. Hamilton**, President and Director of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Co-Chair of the Iraq Study Group, and Vice-Chair of the 9/11 Commission, noted

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THE NEWSLETTER OF THE FARES CENTER
AT TUFTS UNIVERSITY FALL 2008

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

STUDENT CONSULTING EDITORS

Julia Bennett (MALD '08) is a research assistant at the Fares Center, which awarded her a fellowship to continue her study of the Arabic language in Damascus, Syria. While at The Fletcher School, she has served as Managing Editor of *The Fletcher Forum of World Affairs*, a biannual journal featuring scholarly articles on foreign policy. She has focused her studies on Middle East affairs, international law, and post-conflict reconstruction. Julia's master's thesis analyzed the impact of U.S. foreign policy on civil society activism in Iran. Julia can be reached at julia.bennett@tufts.edu.

Amelia Cook (MALD '08) studied international development, human rights, and environmental policy at The Fletcher School. She recently completed her master's thesis entitled, "Land and Indigenous Rights in Botswana: The Central Kalahari Game Reserve and the San," an exploration of human rights violations in one of Africa's most praised democracies. In January 2008, she began a second master's degree at the University of Maine, in Resource Economics and Policy, where she works as a graduate assistant in the School of Economics. She continues to work as a research assistant for the Fares Center from her new home in Maine. Amelia can be reached at amelia.cook@tufts.edu.

PHOTO EDITOR
Omar Dauhajre

Letter from the Director



Leila Fawaz

Throughout the 2007-2008 academic year, the Fares Center has continued to build ties with Tufts University, particularly with The Fletcher School, and strengthen relationships with faculty and students. The Fares Center has cosponsored joint programs with the History Department, the Music Department, the Art History Department and, most of all, the Jonathan M. Tisch College of Citizenship and Public Service, which has taken an active role in all of the Fares Center's major conferences.

This year's conference on the United States' post-Iraq policy received widespread accolades and was once again a symbol of the Fares Center's excellence and commitment to enhancing a balanced dialogue on political issues concerning the Middle East. The Fares Center continues to take pride in creating a welcoming atmosphere for students. As a result, it nurtures lasting connections with graduate students and has made progress in developing closer relationships with undergraduates, particularly through programming initiated by Fares Center Visiting Scholars and individual students. The Fares Center extends its gratitude and appreciation to those who support its important work. Programming is made possible by the generous support of His Excellency Issam M. Fares and Trustee Fares I. Fares, as well as through the support and guidance of President Bacow and Provost Bharucha. As always, initiatives undertaken by the Fares Center benefit tremendously from the unique community of scholarship, diversity, and debate at Tufts University.

SPECIAL GUEST EDITORS

Iris Abraham (MALD '09) is pursuing a certificate in diplomatic studies 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. Previously, she 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. Iris can be reached at iris.abraham@tufts.edu.

Tarek Zeidan (MALD '09) focuses on security studies and Southwest Asia at The Fletcher School, where he also serves as a research assistant at the Fares Center. Previously, he was 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 can be reached at tarek.zeidan@tufts.edu.

"The United States and the Middle East: What Comes Next After Iraq?" CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

that the narrow-minded domestic discourse in the United States concerning Iraq lacks a strategic regional context and that the failure of U.S. political leadership to foster unity between the President and Congress only exacerbates this flaw. Hamilton asserted that the casualties of American soldiers and Iraqi civilians suggest that victory is no longer possible—only the avoidance of defeat. He concluded that the United States is in Iraq for the "long haul," and that any form of progress in the country will require a long-term commitment of American leadership and resources. He favored a sterner approach in urging the Iraqi government to get its political house in order. A sustainable solution requires the entire U.S. policy toward Iraq to be smarter, broader, and more unified.

The first panel considered regional issues from the perspective of the Gulf. **Judith S. Yaphe**, Distinguished Research Fellow at the Institute for National Strategic Studies at the National Defense University, asserted that the United States lacks understanding of identities in the region. Ultimately, ownership and control over resources are the underlying drivers of the conflict in Iraq and several issues are at stake, including oil, federalism, and the October 2008 elections. While the U.S. military surge has had some positive effects, Yaphe argued that it has not been accompanied by solid political developments. The United States has not established clear benchmarks for collaboration with the Iraqi government. Developments in Iraq are also highly dependent on Iran, which considers itself the "great protector" of the region. **Ronald E. Neumann**, President of the American Academy of Diplomacy and former Ambassador of the United States to Afghanistan (2005-2007), suggested that the importance of the smaller states in the Gulf region should not be underestimated.



Anthony Zinni, U.S. Peace Envoy in the Middle East, speaks about lessons learned in Iraq by the U.S. military.

Despite its ability to generate public passion, Neumann does not believe that the Palestinian-Israeli conflict will spur action or sacrifice on the part of Gulf rulers. Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) states and citizens view the Iraq War as unnecessary and believe that the United States is preventing the Iraqi people from seeking their own solutions. At the same time, GCC states deeply fear U.S. withdrawal from Iraq because of its potentially destabilizing effect on the region. These states also harbor a fear of Iran, which they perceive as a regional hegemon pre-dating Arab nationalism. **Vali Nasr**, Professor of International Politics at The Fletcher School and Associate Director of the Fares Center, stated that relations between the United States and Iran have been a major determinant in the Iraq War. Many of those who hold power in Iran are former military commanders and veterans of the Iran-Iraq War. In their calculation Iran needs to act in a self-sufficient and unilateral manner in order to compete with Saudi Arabia for regional prowess. Nasr observed that the most critical objectives for Iran are consolidation of power and the pacification of Iraqi territory, although

nuclear capability would also strengthen its standing in the region. To this end, it has adopted a mixed strategy of threatening neighbors who host U.S. troops while simultaneously engaging in the rising economies of other GCC states. Nasr concluded that each of these policies is problematic for the United States, which does not have a viable strategy that considers Iran as part of the Middle East. **Anthony H. Cordesman**, Arleigh A. Burke Chair in Strategy at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, commented that the United States has neither a clear strategy nor the leverage to enforce a clear strategy in Iraq. According to Cordesman, Operation Enduring Freedom, the Iraq War, and the Global War on Terror have amounted to cumulative costs of almost \$750 billion. The United States invaded Iraq with no capacity for nation-building, no operational goals for training military or police forces, and no plan for distributing international aid. Cordesman warned that if the United States leaves a power vacuum in Iraq, several generations of Americans will pay the price of consistent instability in the region. CONTINUED ON PAGE 10

The Fares Lecture Series

“The Middle East at 2008: Challenges for the United States”

Shai Feldman, Judy and Sidney Swartz Director of the Crown Center for Middle East Studies and Professor of Politics at Brandeis University, focused his October 3, 2007 remarks on a number of characteristics that define the Middle East today. Feldman noted that the prevailing weakness of the Arab state system affects the region as a whole. When Arab governments do not provide for their citizens effectively, sub-state groups such as the Muslim Brotherhood and Hezbollah create successful health and welfare systems in their stead. Additionally, the rise of sectarianism over nationalism provokes cycles of labeling and mislabeling—as in the case of Hamas being mistakenly associated with the Shi’a sect.

Feldman proposed that the decline of national media outlets, the rise of regional news sources, and the loosened controls over information are both catalysts for and products of the increasing weakness of Arab states. Not only has this vulnerability exposed Arab states to the influence of regional players such as Israel, Iran, and Turkey, but it also makes Arab affairs more susceptible to intervention by Western powers. Feldman observed that the American neo-conservative project of cultivating peace through democratization in the Middle East has failed. He noted, finally, that Muslim societies are capable of generating democracy without assistance from external powers.

“Religion, Pluralism, and Terrorism: 21st Century Dilemmas”

John O. Voll, Professor of Islamic History and Associate Director of the Prince Alwaleed Bin Talal Center for Muslim-Christian Understanding at Georgetown University, spoke on November 14, 2007 about challenges facing the Middle East and highlighted avenues for fostering stability in

the Muslim world. In Voll’s view, globalization and religious resurgence are competing platforms that constitute a major dilemma at the beginning of the twenty-first century. Because globalization results in a profound transformation of basic units of identity, it has dissolved old-fashioned territorial boundaries. Voll suggested that only a few societies remain purely local. Yet, despite the breakdown of physical divisions, distinctly identifiable communities without a territorial reference point continue to expand. In the context of globalization, religion has become a vehicle for the expression of identity. Where globalization blurs the distinction between groups, religion clarifies them. More than a venue for community, contemporary religious practice has become a reaffirmation of systemic traditions.

Voll noted that the framework for a global jihad does not exist yet; however, there are a number of venues for violent action. Additionally, extremist actions have taken on the nature of a multi-national guerrilla insurgency, which necessitates a particularly creative and comprehensive security response. Voll asserted, however, that distinct religions can coexist in a global context provided that they embrace rather than reject pluralism.

“Why Are We in Afghanistan?”

In a lecture given on December 5, 2007, cosponsored by The Fletcher School as part of the Charles Francis Adams Lecture Series, **Barnett R. Rubin**, Director of Studies and Senior Fellow at the Center on International Cooperation of New York University, spoke about the root causes of instability and the challenges of nation-building efforts in Afghanistan. Rubin noted that the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 brought peripheral humanitarian issues in Afghanistan to the centerfold, quickly transforming the state and its non-state elements into a “pre-eminent security threat” to the United States.



Barnett R. Rubin, Director of Studies and Senior Fellow, Center on International Cooperation, New York University

Rubin argued that the international community made a fundamental mistake by not realizing that the challenge in Afghanistan is a political struggle, in which normative and legitimacy issues are at stake. The international community has attempted to convince Afghanistan that it should decentralize the government to improve the distribution of resources, but the legacy of external subsidies is very strong. The long-term presence of international aid undermines rather than reinforces the power of the state. Rubin recommended that countries providing aid to Afghanistan report on their activities in a manner compatible with the bureaucracy of the Afghan government. As some observers contend, even when working together the international system might not be capable of delivering for Afghanistan. Despite this sad reality, Rubin concluded, it is crucial for international actors to attempt to cooperate.

“Jihadism between the East and the West”

On February 27, 2008 **Farhad Khosrokhavar**, Professor of Sociology and Director of Studies, L’École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales (Paris), gave a talk at The Fletcher School, organized by the Fares Center, on the distinction between jihadism in Europe and in the Muslim world. In his talk he noted that a sense of humiliation often motivates people to participate in these movements.

According to Khosrokhavar, three distinct groups involve themselves in jihadi movements within European society. The first group is made up of Muslims living in Europe who feel humiliated, victimized, and marginalized economically. The second is made up of Muslims disconnected from their roots in the Islamic world, while the third group comprises European citizens who have converted to Islam. In the Muslim world, oppressed Muslims whose traditional communities have been uprooted through modern processes tend to become involved in the jihadi movement. Khosrokhavar stressed that the process of radicalization in both Europe and the Muslim world is a complex phenomenon with economic, social, and cultural dimensions.

“The Pakistan Crisis”

On January 30, 2008 **Shahla Haeri**, Director of the Women’s Studies Program and Associate Professor of Cultural Anthropology at Boston University, and **Hussain Haqqani**, Ambassador of Pakistan to the United States, spoke about the situation in Pakistan following the assassination of former Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto.

Haqqani observed that crisis has been a continuous theme in Pakistan’s history, a fact that he attributed to several paradoxes and fissures in the politics of Pakistan. Among the paradoxes are the juxtaposition between Pakistan as an ancient land and a new country, with a strong state but a weak nation, Pakistan’s new position as the epicenter of Islamic radicalism, which contradicts its traditional religious tolerance, and the Pakistani people’s aspirations for democracy while they live under a military dictatorship. These paradoxes, according to Haqqani, have led to fissures that plague the socio-political sphere. These include divisions between the masses and those of *muhajir* backgrounds and between the civil and the military points of view; the overlap of Pakistani ethnic groups geographically with neighboring countries, which fosters divided loyalties; and the grim fact that 113 million Pakistani nation-



From left: Hussain Haqqani, Ambassador of Pakistan to the United States, and Shahla Haeri, Director, Women’s Studies Program and Associate Professor of Cultural Anthropology, Boston University

als are either poor or transitionally poor.

Haeri focused on the significance of the gender of the former Prime Minister in South Asian politics. She explored the long history of South Asian female leaders, despite the stereotype that Islam is inherently incompatible with female leadership. While men are strongly valued in South Asia, the father-son axis is often a nexus of tension and rivalry which can lead to fear, resentment, and even murder. The other side

of the coin is the more obscure occurrence of a father bestowing land and prestige on his daughter and grooming her for leadership, as was the case with Benazir Bhutto. Judging by the throngs of males who supported her, Bhutto’s gender was insignificant to South Asian politics. In her closing comments, Haeri agreed with Haqqani that the group with the most to gain from Bhutto’s death is the Pakistani military.

Students React to Pakistan Lecture

The South Asian Political Action Committee of Tufts University organized a vibrant student discussion on February 4, 2008 in response to remarks presented at “The Pakistan Crisis” lecture. Samad Khurram (Harvard College ’09), who personally participated in the civil society movement for the restoration of Pakistan’s deposed judges, was invited to speak about his experiences. In discussing his work organizing rallies and protests, Khurram relayed his account of the crackdown that government forces unleashed on himself and his fellow protesters. He identified the Soviet-Afghan War of the 1980s as the point from which many of Pakistan’s troubles stemmed. Babar Khan (Tufts University ’10) and Faris Islam (Tufts University ’11) argued that in the context of the Soviet-Afghan War, the Afghan jihad was necessary for Pakistan’s strategic interest and that it was, in fact, a resounding victory for Pakistan. Students concurred that mishandling of the postwar period by subsequent governments, as well as the sudden disappearance of the United States from the region, were crucial factors leading to Pakistan’s troublesome history.

Roundtables



Author Nazik Yared

“Reflections on the Modern Middle East”

On September 19, 2007 **Nazik Yared**, novelist and author of *Secularism and the Arab World*, spoke about post-World War I tensions in the Middle East between two distinct populations: those who clung to the past and those, mostly intellectuals, who focused on the needs of the future. She observed that the unification of the spiritual and temporal realms regarding governance has been contrary to most intellectuals’ desire to eliminate religion from the latter. Intellectuals in the region articulated the limitations of religion for society, while traditional Muslims believed Islamic texts should not be critiqued. Yared spoke about the promotion of legal and political reform by intellectuals. She noted that traditionalists on the other hand identified pre-existing elements of democracy in former Arab governments, such as the process of consensus that informed the selection of Prophet Muhammad’s successor. They were countered by reformists who categorized such Arab governments as oligarchies that were not accountable to their citizens, suggesting instead that education—characterized by reason and questioning, not memorization—and economic reform would create a

genuine foundation of democracy in the Arab world. The economic and political empowerment of the bourgeoisie classes, Yared concluded, would reinforce checks and balances that bolster the accountability of Arab governments.

“Lebanon after the Summer 2006 War: Student Research”

In March 2007, a group of undergraduate students from Tufts University was able to travel to Lebanon on a student research and outreach program sponsored by the New Initiative for Middle East Peace (NIMEP) and coordinated by the Institute for Global Leadership at Tufts University. Several of the participants presented their research at the Fares Center on November 5, 2007 in a discussion moderated by **Abdul-Rahim Abu-Husayn**, Professor of History at the American University of Beirut and Fall 2007 Visiting Scholar at the Fares Center.

Tim Fitzsimons (Tufts University ’10) and Nichole Sobceki (Tufts University ’08) exhibited a multimedia presentation with original photography and audio of personal interviews that the student group conducted with academics, civil society

leaders, journalists, and prominent local figures such as Prime Minister Fouad Siniora, Druze leader and MP Walid Jumblatt, Hezbollah MP Hussein Hajj Hassan, and senior Shi’ite cleric Sayyid Muhammad Hussein Fadlallah. Nancy Henry (Tufts University ’09) presented her research on the Lebanese Armed Forces (LAF), which she portrayed as a mediator among factions within Lebanon rather than as a capable defender of Lebanon’s borders. Abu-Husayn agreed that the Lebanese Army, the ground forces branch of the LAF, has failed to defend the state from illegal occupation by external forces. Meanwhile, many Lebanese—including Prime Minister Siniora—believe that Hezbollah successfully forced Israel to withdraw unilaterally from Lebanon in May 2000. Abu-Husayn estimated that disarming Hezbollah through military means would be impossible for at least ten to fifteen years, especially given the substantial numbers of Shi’ite troops in the Lebanese Army that support Hezbollah and could defect from the national force for ideological reasons as they have done in the past.



Abdul-Rahim Abu-Husayn (right), Professor of History, American University of Beirut and Fall 2007 Visiting Scholar at the Fares Center, talks to students at a roundtable on Lebanon after the 2006 war.

“Three Tales of Horror: The Demons and Inner Hatreds of Early Turkish Nationalism”

Halil Berktaý, Associate Professor of History at Sabanci University in Istanbul and Visiting Scholar at the Center for Middle East Studies, Harvard University, spoke on November 28, 2007 about the construction of Turkish nationalism and national memory in the late Ottoman and early Republican Kemalist era. Berktaý argued that early Turkish nationalism must be understood by analyzing the collapse and demise of the Ottoman Empire and the nationalist struggles—especially the Balkan nationalist movements—of that period. Focusing on nationalist historiography, Berktaý challenged the Kemalist Republican paradigm, which claims that there never existed a nationalist ideology in the pre-Republican period. He also asserted that the Republican Kemalist elite constructed Turkish nationalist ideology after the proclamation of independence.

Referring to the theoretical foundations of the construction of nationalist ideologies, Berktaý argued that a narrative of demonology is typically based on an imagined category of national enemies. Berktaý’s current research on the Balkan nationalisms reflects this trend of demonology. By deconstructing the short stories of Ottoman-era author Seyfettin in light of the writings of contemporary Turkish columnists, Berktaý concluded that, in fact, both the early nationalist perception of the West and the idea that the world is conspiring against the Turks remain part and parcel of today’s Turkish nationalist narrative.

“Rebellion, Myth-Making, and Nation Building: Lebanon from an Ottoman Mountain Itizam to a Nation-State”

On December 3, 2007, in an event cosponsored by the Middle Eastern Studies Program of Tufts University, **Abdul-Rahim Abu-Husayn**, Professor of History at the American University of Beirut and Fall



Students discuss Lebanon elections at a roundtable at the Fares Center.

2007 Visiting Scholar at the Fares Center, presented his research on the transition period in Lebanon from Ottoman rule to an independent nation-state. Abu-Husayn used his research from Ottoman archival materials and his criticism of Lebanese canonical historians to portray an alternative view of this period. He argued that the Lebanese resistance of the Ottomans in the form of a “long rebellion” was instrumental in creating a Lebanese entity in 1861. It also provided the country with its national hero, the Druze Fakhreddine II of the Maanid dynasty. However, Abu-Husayn considers Fakhreddine’s legacy as greatly exaggerated and attributes this to the desire of Lebanese Maronites to legitimize their rule.

“Lebanon: The Elusive Presidential Elections”

On February 20, 2008 Tarek Zeidan (MALD ’09) and Alain Hasrouny (MALD ’09), two Lebanese students, spoke about the stalemate in Lebanese politics created by the political vacuum following thirteen postponements of the presidential elections. Ibrahim Warde, Adjunct Professor of International Business at The Fletcher School and Associate Director of Business Programs at the Fares Center, moderated

the event. Both presenters recalled key developments in Lebanese politics that led to the presidential crisis following the assassination of former Prime Minister Rafik Hariri in February 2005. The anti-Syrian opposition forces forged the March 14 Group and the Lebanese population hoped for the subsequent Cedar Revolution to bring about change. Pressured by the United States and the international community, Syria withdrew in April 2005 and the UN commission, led by Delfef Mehliis, began investigation of the Hariri assassination. Despite these developments, Syria continued to covertly control Lebanese politics. The continuing proxy war with Israel exacerbated tensions.

The July 2006 war marked another turning point: Hezbollah claimed victory over Israel and thus emerged as a national hero, strengthened by its ability to provide social services in the immediate aftermath of the war. Lebanon has been crippled by the political stalemate coupled with numerous assassinations of anti-Syrian politicians. The issue of the country’s political construction and the need for a new electoral law remain unresolved and will only lead to a greater crisis if not addressed by the upcoming parliamentary elections in 2009.

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Cosponsored Events



Arthur Sulzberger, Jr.

Tufts Leadership Forum

Arthur Sulzberger, Jr. (74), Publisher of *The New York Times* and Chairman of The New York Times Company, launched the inaugural Tufts Leadership Forum on October 17, 2007. The Jonathan M. Tisch College of Citizenship and Public Service organized this event, which the Fares Center cosponsored. To frame the mission of the Tufts Leadership Forum, which aims to make the formal study of leadership a signature of Tufts University, Sulzberger reflected upon the climate of free speech that characterized the campus in the 1970s. Sulzberger observed that The New York Times Company embodies a similar commitment to perpetual transformation. Now in its 156th year, the media company began with the print edition, eventually expanded into radio and television, developed an international branch in the 1980s, and adapted to the digital age in the 1990s. Sulzberger praised the ability of the company and its staff to adjust to mercurial conditions, while maintaining consistency and quality.

Sulzberger emphasized a focus on the fundamentals. Despite the accelerated pace of innovation, most basic human needs and interests remain constant. New technology should focus on addressing these needs and interests. To this end, The New York Times Company uses the participatory capability of the Internet to communicate with its audience. In order

to increase organizational sustainability, Sulzberger recommended that leaders promote interactivity, as the company has done by linking to outside sources, creating blogs, and soliciting reader comments.

In closing, Sulzberger noted that recent research suggests that the millennial generation encourages commitment to community, articulates concern about the outside world, and generates optimism in a rapidly changing environment. To make effective use of these tendencies, Sulzberger emphasized constant learning and adaptation as vital tools for the next generation of Tufts leaders.

“A Modern Spice Market: Exploring MENASA Cross-Border Trade and Finance”

In ancient times, the Middle East, North Africa, and South Asia (MENASA) were the crossroads of booming commerce centered on the spice trade. Today there is a re-emergence of interest in the region revolving around a new “spice”: finance and foreign investment. On October 25, 2007 **Tariq Jawad**, Director of Investment Banking at Rodman & Renshaw, discussed these changes and his company’s involvement in this flourishing industry, in a lecture organized by the Jonathan M. Tisch College of Citizenship and Public Service and cosponsored by the Fares Center.

Jawad noted that the emerging markets of MENASA are a catalyst for the local economies of the region as well as those of the West. The commodities, productivity, and high value cheap labor are huge draws for investors. Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and the UAE have been active in investing petro-dollars in the growing economies of India and China. Investors have no choice but to take advantage of these opportunities. In light of these shifting trends, Rodman & Renshaw serves a critical role in facilitating investment in the MENASA region. Jawad spoke about a recent project to

connect investors with the Indian company, Indu, which is working to build a healthcare city outside of Bangalore. Such projects are evidence of the reinvention of the ancient spice market into a trade and investment-based market that meets contemporary needs.

The Arabesque Music Ensemble

On March 4, 2008 the Tufts community witnessed the revival of the golden age of Egyptian music at the Granoff Music Center as the Arabesque Music Ensemble took the stage in the Distler Performance Hall. The event was cosponsored by the Tufts University Department of Music, Department of International Relations, Office of the Provost, the Pathways Project, and the Fares Center, and supported by the Tufts Arts, Sciences, and Engineering Diversity Fund. Composed of musicians from the United States, the ensemble presented authentic recreations of famed Egyptian diva Umm Kulthum’s most memorable songs written and composed for her by three of the Arab world’s most talented composers: Zakariyya Ahmad, Muhammad al-Qasabji, and Riyad al-Sunbati. Showcasing Middle Eastern instruments such as the qanun and the riq, the concert’s theme mixed unadulterated oriental music with Western influences. The performance met with a standing ovation and several requests for an encore.



Tariq Jawad

“Iraq in the Light of Population Movement”

On April 22, 2008 in a lecture cosponsored by the Fares Center and the Tufts History Department and organized by the Inter-University Committee on International Migration as part of the Myron Weiner Seminar Series on International Migration, **Noah Feldman**, Professor of Law at Harvard Law School, analyzed the situation in Iraq. He first described the run-up to the Iraq War, in which Iraq demonstrated no discernable provocation towards the United States. Decision-making was heavily influenced by Iraqi exiles, such as Ahmed Chalabi, who could offer President Bush their expertise and access to other exiles who supported the invasion. Then, following the invasion, all parties were shocked by the speed with which the Iraqi state collapsed. U.S. failure to reinstitute stability stemmed in part from the disconnect between leadership in Washington and Paul Bremer’s Coalition Provisional Authority. Delays in decision-making allowed violence to flare and a low-level civil war to take root. Feldman concluded by noting that all countries in the region have an interest in Iraqi stability and that no successful deal can be brokered for peace without their involvement. The movements of populations in the region make this a permanent reality.

Additional Cosponsored Events



Sami Michael (Photo by Lillie Paquette)

“Writing in the Language of the Other”

September 17, 2007

SPEAKER: Sami Michael, Israeli author and civil rights advocate
COSPONSORS: The Fares Center, the Consulate General of Israel to New England, Tufts University Judaic Studies Program, Tufts University Middle Eastern Studies Program, and Tufts Hillel.

“The Regional Politics of Turkey”

December 12, 2007

SPEAKER: Ambassador Altay Cengizer, Fellow, The Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, Harvard University.

“Byzantium and Armenia: The Larger Picture”

April 2, 2008

SPEAKER: Helen C. Evans, Mary and Michael Jaharis Curator for Byzantine Art, The Metropolitan Museum of Art
COSPONSORS: The Fares Center, Tufts University Department of Art History, Department of History, Department of Classics, Archaeology Program, Phi Beta Kappa (Delta Chapter of Massachusetts), and the Office of the Dean of Undergraduate Education.

THE GILL LECTURE SERIES

The Gill Lecture Series was designed to honor the contributions of Tufts University Associate Professor Gerald Gill, who passed away unexpectedly in July 2007. The Department of History, the Office of the Provost, and the Fares Center cosponsored the lecture series, which consisted of three events:

Discourses on Black Criminality in the Making of the Segregated Urban North

February 25, 2008

SPEAKER: Khalil Muhammad, Assistant Professor of History, Indiana University.

Journeymen: Race, Boxing, and the Transnational World of Jack Johnson

March 3, 2008

SPEAKER: Theresa Runstedtler, Assistant Professor of American Studies, State University of New York at Buffalo.

The Beginning of the Long Civil Rights Movement with ‘Plenty of Opposition’

March 10, 2008

SPEAKER: Leslie Brown, Former Assistant Professor of History and African-American Studies, Washington University in St. Louis.

“The United States and the Middle East: What Comes Next After Iraq?” CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

The second panel provided a multifaceted assessment of the Arab-Israeli conflict. **William Quandt**, Edward R. Stettinius, Jr. Professor of Politics at the University of Virginia, observed that in contrast to Israel’s historically strong political leadership, no Arab equivalents since Egyptian President Anwar al-Sadat and King Hussein of Jordan have emerged. Today, Prime Minister Ehud Olmert’s powers are constrained, while President Mahmoud Abbas maintains limited authority. Quandt highlighted fatigue on all sides of the conflict. Thus, even hardliners may be willing now to make territorial concessions. The parameters for a two-state solution are much clearer now, and Arab consensus on the proposal is much broader. Quandt warned, however, that parties might be less inclined to make concessions to the outgoing U.S. administration. Thus, the incoming administration must revisit U.S. priorities in the region. **Shai Feldman**, Judith and Sidney Swartz Director of the Crown Center for Middle East Studies and Professor of Politics at Brandeis University, highlighted three assets to the Middle East peace process: greater Arab consensus regarding the dangers of Islamic extremism; Mahmoud Abbas’ understanding that Fatah must deal with Hamas; and the importance of an independent Palestinian state to Israel’s reputation as a democracy. Likewise, Feldman highlighted issues that could become major liabilities for the peace process such as the principles of the right of return, the sovereignty of Temple Mount, and the status of Jerusalem. Feldman identified several building blocks for a peace agreement, including the comprehensive armistice agreement of 1984, Hamas’s concept of a *hudna*, or truce, and the Roadmap’s proposal for a Palestinian state with permanent status and provisional borders. **Shibley Telhami**, Anwar Sadat Professor for Peace and

Development at the University of Maryland, College Park and Non-Resident Senior Fellow in the Saban Center for Middle East Policy at The Brookings Institution, observed that among Arabs, a majority favors a two-state solution based on the 1967 borders and a Hamas-Fatah government in Palestine. Telhami indicated that the issue of Israeli deterrence is still relevant, especially in the light of the 2006 Lebanon War. Having recognized the symbolic and political importance of Palestinian statehood to the Arab world, Saudi Arabia seeks a formative role in brokering peace based on the 1967 borders. Telhami noted that today a significant minority of Middle Easterners believes that the United States should stop meddling in regional affairs. The incoming U.S. administration cannot ignore the implications of this mood shift within the region. **Aaron David Miller**, Public Policy Scholar at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for

Scholars, pointed out that any solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict must be equitable and durable, and must inevitably follow from a long and imperfect process of negotiation. The United States has a critical role to play because of its leverage with Israel. Miller asserted that Arab and Israeli leaders are at present prisoners of their constituencies. Despite having become disillusioned during his active engagement in the Middle East peace process, Miller emphasized the importance of rising above the circumstances to become “idealists without illusions,” in John F. Kennedy’s words, rather than losing hope and resorting to cynicism.

In the third panel, speakers examined opportunities for democracy and reform in the Middle East. **F. Gregory Gause III**, Associate Professor of Political Science and the Director of the Middle East Studies Program at the University of Vermont, discussed the state of governance in Middle



From left: Conference participants Shai Feldman, Judith and Sidney Swartz Director of the Crown Center for Middle East Studies and Professor of Politics at Brandeis University, and Rashid Khalidi, Edward Said Professor of Arab Studies and Director of the Middle East Institute at Columbia University



From left: Mona Eltahawy and Khalil Shikaki discuss democracy and reform in the Middle East.

Eastern states. Gause suggested that authoritarian governments remain dominant in the Middle East because they have proven adept at statecraft. Not only have they built reliable patronage networks, which have entered the global economy successfully, but the process of economic liberalization has also served as a cover for crony capitalism and the construction of private sectors that are supportive of the regimes. Governing elites in authoritarian societies are also skilled at manipulating identity issues within their countries. Gause commented that the rise of Islamist politics has indirectly empowered the authoritarian state by making political leaders more determined to hold on to power. **Mona Eltahawy**, syndicated columnist and lecturer on Arab and Muslim issues, focused her remarks on democracy in Egypt, a country currently suffering from internal economic pressures. Eltahawy sought to explain support for the Muslim Brotherhood within this context of economic strain. In her estimation, the growing support for the Muslim Brotherhood is not ideological; rather, it is a protest against the status quo. Hope lies with newspapers, such as *al-Misr al-Yawm*, that have retained their independence

from government influence, and with the growing culture of Egyptian bloggers who publish stories on police brutality and corruption among government officials. **Khalil Shikaki**, Associate Professor of Political Science and Director of the Palestinian Center for Policy and Survey Research (Ramallah), discussed reasons

societies in the Middle East, which do not benefit from a historical emphasis on social equality, effecting change requires overcoming traditional deference to political authority. **Fawaz Gerges**, Christian A. Johnson Professor in International Affairs and Middle Eastern Studies at Sarah Lawrence College, argued that the Iraq War has failed to bring about political liberalization in the region. Authoritarian states have cracked down on Islamist movements with the goal of political exclusion. In Gerges’ estimation, these government measures are precarious because they force the most significant social movements to go underground. It is therefore critical for the United States to recognize and engage with dissidents in the Muslim Brotherhood who are trying to democratize the movement. By reinforcing a strategy of exclusion, the United States has contributed to a culture of political apathy wherein Arab citizens have no faith in politics.

In his webcast keynote address, **Anthony Zinni**, Executive Vice President

A sustainable solution requires the entire U.S. policy toward Iraq to be smarter, broader, and more unified.

for democracy having floundered in the Middle East. First, ruling elites in the region have touted the limitations of democratic reform to assure their own survival. Second, domestic institutions have not been sufficiently robust to facilitate the proper functioning of democracy; political parties and civil society are weak throughout the region. And, third, Shikaki observed that the United States has at times adversely affected the process of democratization in the region. For many

of DynCorp International, U.S. Peace Envoy in the Middle East, and Commander of the Combined Task Force for Operation UNITED SHIELD, deplored the politicization of intelligence. In Zinni’s opinion, decision-makers in the U.S. government disregarded initial claims that people would see the Iraqi invasion as an occupation. Zinni argued for a smart power model that relies on the U.S. Department of State and the U.S. Agency for International Development to augment

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U.S. military efforts, as well as on international organizations to lend legitimacy. He criticized the lack of a comprehensive Middle East strategy. Zinni observed that existing realities only increase the importance of safeguarding fragile coalitions and initiating active dialogue.

The fourth panel considered the role that Islamic parties and groups might play in regional stability. **Malik Mufti**, Associate Professor of Political Science and Director of the International Relations Program at Tufts University, underscored that democratic discourse has become “hegemonic” and that a shift toward democracy-centered discourse has resulted in increased emphasis on political pluralism. Due to this progressive shift, the Muslim Brotherhood has had to devise legitimate justifications for its participation in politics. From Mufti’s perspective, notions of democracy, competitive elections, and respect for ideological differences will develop into a more liberal political order in the region. He recommended that the United States consider the alternatives to encouraging these developments, which he regarded as worse than the possibility of the participation of Islamist groups in the democratic process. **Abdel Monem Said Aly**, Director of the Al-Ahram Center for Political and Strategic Studies (Cairo), pointed out that rather than understanding the Middle East in terms of colonization and decolonization, the United States now constructs its foreign policy through the lens of September 11, 2001 and extremist political Islam. In Said Aly’s view, these factors lead the United States to focus on the players with whom it should engage rather than on the manner of engaging. That the region suffers from repressive regimes does not necessarily imply that those fighting against these regimes are superior. Said Aly warns of the dangers of engaging with the Muslim Brotherhood, whose literature touts *fatwas* rather than legislation

and whose ideological positions would destroy countries rather than develop them. He also acknowledged positive examples of moderate Islamist parties such as the Justice and Development Party (AKP) in Turkey. **Amr Hamzawy**, Senior Associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, spoke about patterns of Islamist activity in the Middle East. First, some governments exile Islamist movements, forcing them to operate from the outside. Second, political scenes can be less polarized and enable Islamist parties

to function openly. Third, Hamzawy described the highly ideological platforms that typify Islamist movements that are not allowed to participate in a stable manner. Islamist groups characterized by actors who employ military tactics constitute a final pattern. Hamzawy stressed the importance of examining empirical evidence when attempting to understand these shifting trends. **John L. Esposito**, University Professor and Founding Director of the Prince Alwaleed Bin Talal Center for Muslim-Christian

The United States must abandon its narrow public relations approach and make substantive shifts in foreign policy in order to succeed in the struggle against extremism in the Muslim world.



Robert M. Hollister, Dean of the Jonathan M. Tisch College of Citizenship and Public Service at Tufts University, chaired a conference session on democracy and reform.

Understanding at Georgetown University, presented the results of recent polling in the Muslim world, which indicate that the vast majority of Muslims does not support the acts of violence that occurred on September 11, 2001. Esposito sought to provide clarity regarding the growing gap between American and Muslim public opinion. While Americans tend to believe that educational and cultural exchanges can solve diplomatic problems, Muslims do not agree that such exchanges are sufficient. In Esposito’s estimation, the United States must abandon its narrow public relations approach and make substantive shifts in foreign policy in order to succeed in the struggle against extremism in the Muslim world.

In the fifth panel, speakers highlighted challenges facing U.S. policy and public diplomacy. **Richard Shultz**, Professor of International Politics and Director of the International Security Studies Program at The Fletcher School, explained that the U.S. Department of Defense has prescribed irregular patterns of warfare in Iraq since the deployment of the Marines. These changes are largely due to the emergence of a new paradigm of non-state actors, which necessitates unconventional approaches to fighting that depart from traditional state versus state warfare. Shultz asserted that future conflicts in the region are likely to be fought among civilians rather than around them, a manner of fighting long in use in the Middle East but for which the U.S. military was unprepared. A new doctrine of defense and operational concepts will better position the U.S. military to work with armed groups rather than against them. **William A. Rugh**, Edward R. Murrow Visiting Professor of Public Diplomacy at The Fletcher School, Adjunct Scholar at the Middle East Institute, and Associate at the Institute for the Study of Diplomacy at Georgetown University, stated that opposition to American foreign policy has

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Post-Conference Student Colloquium

The Fares Center cosponsored a colloquium organized by the Tufts University International Relations Program and the Office of the Dean of Undergraduate Education following the two-day conference “The United States and the Middle East: What Comes Next After Iraq?” on March 29, 2008. Malik Mufti, Associate Professor of Political Science and Director of the International Relations Program at Tufts University, welcomed students, faculty, and Fares Center conference guests to the event, in which students shared their research on the future of the Middle East.



Malik Mufti (right) leads student research colloquium.

Rami Khouri led the first panel, an exploration of the current balance of power in the Middle East and the dynamics of external intervention. International relations (IR) major and head of the Director’s Leadership Council (DLC) Oleg Svet (Tufts ’08) discussed America’s image abroad and urged that future American leaders should pay better attention to public diplomacy. IR major Vicki Gilbert (Tufts ’10) explained that in order to reduce the perception of threat, the United States must become less involved in the region. Economics major Toby Bonthron (Tufts ’09) warned that the overextension of the military in Iraq and Afghanistan will make further military action in the region difficult. Monica Camacho (Tufts ’08) discussed how the insurgents’ policy of deliberately targeting aid workers has complicated the delivery of humanitarian aid to Iraq.

Fawaz Gerges led the second panel, which addressed issues of political development, democratization, and Islam in politics. The first presenter, IR major Alex Gladstein (Tufts ’08), provided his reflections on the effects of the region’s history of secular authoritarianism on Muslim democracy. IR major Jacki Silbermann (Tufts ’08) discussed the political evolution of Hamas and the Muslim Brotherhood, focusing on the strategies of the two organizations. Finally, political science major Mohammed Al-Ghanim (Tufts ’08) spoke about the blurred line between the public and private sphere, and the role of Islamic law in Kuwait’s history of governance.

Workshops



Tosun Aricanli (right) leads a workshop discussion at the Fares Center.

Civil Society & Socio-Economic Development

Tosun Aricanli, Professor of Political Economy at Southern New Hampshire University and Fares Center Spring 2008 Visiting Scholar, led three workshops at the Fares Center during the spring semester, which students from The Fletcher School, Tufts University, and beyond attended. Student interest in the topic of civil society and socio-economic development originated from their academic work and their participation in research. The objective of the workshops was to address the individual interest of the students through in-depth discussion on the issue from a critical perspective. The workshops examined the cultural context of civil society and its emergence in a certain “community,” while also exploring issues of social capital between different communities and how social progress and state accountability can win over local cooperation. The workshops will continue during the fall semester.

Interdisciplinary Workshop on South Asian Studies

On April 5, 2008 the Center for South Asian and Indian Ocean Studies, the Fares Center, the History Department, the

Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, and the Arts and Sciences Diversity Fund cosponsored a closed-door, one-day workshop on South Asian Studies for graduate students and postdoctoral students. Participants were selected from a national call for papers announced in Fall 2007 and facilitated by co-conveners **Angma Jhala**, Visiting Lecturer in South Asian history, and **Neilesh Bose**, Ph.D. candidate.

The workshop started with a keynote speech by Angma Jhala concerning princely states, gender, and colonialism in nineteenth century South Asia. Thereafter, the program included four panels: “Post-Colonialism and Knowledge,” “Modernity and Liberalism,” “Re-Visioning Modern Bengal,” and “Perspectives on Princely States and Colonialism.” This program, along with the many events of the Center for South Asian and Indian Ocean Studies, establishes Tufts University alongside other nationally-funded research centers in the field of modern South Asian studies. Many participants noted the value of an intensive workshop for junior scholars, and the event set a precedent for future symposia for graduate students and post-doctoral researchers.

The Future of Middle East–U.S. Relations Workshop: A Fares Center and Fares Institute Collaboration



Rami G. Khouri

On February 22, 2008 the Fares Center hosted a workshop in collaboration with the Issam Fares Institute for Public Policy and

International Affairs at the American University of Beirut (AUB). The aim of the workshop was to discuss issues that are critical to the future of the Middle East, and to plan for joint research, analysis, and public communication activities that focus on relations between the United States and the Middle East at the start of the new U.S. presidential term in January 2009. **Rami G. Khouri**, Director of the Issam Fares Institute at AUB and Editor-at-Large of *The Daily Star* (Beirut), initiated the project. The meeting included Fletcher alumnus **Karim Makdisi**, Assistant Professor of Political Studies at AUB; **Leila Fawaz**, Issam M. Fares Professor of Lebanese and Eastern Mediterranean Studies and Director of the Fares Center; and a number of academics, journalists, and policymakers. Additional meetings will follow.

Mediterranean Club



Students perform at Med Night 2008. (Photo by Lillie Paquette)

Internal Politics of Iran

Students engaged in an informal discussion about the politics of Iran on November 14, 2007. **Nick Gossen** (MALD '08) shared the central premise of his master's thesis, which deals with the impact of economic fluctuations on Iranian public opinion toward the government and public policy. **Julia Bennett** (MALD '08) and **Medina Haeri** (MALD '08) spoke about their professional experiences advocating for gender empowerment and worker rights in Iran. The discussion raised important questions about the internal workings of the Iranian political machine, the perception of Iran in the international community, and the treatment of Iran by the American media.

Reflections on the Annapolis Peace Conference

On November 29, 2007 students gathered to reflect upon the outcome of the Annapolis Conference. **Hamad Albloshi** (MALD '09) and **Robert Marcus** (MALD '09) made brief presentations that related their experiences in the region to their opinions regarding the peace process. Other students contributed to the discussion of key issues, including the feasibility of a permanent peace agreement, the right of return for Palestinian refugees, and the exclusion of Hamas and Iran from the list of conference attendees. **Ibrahim Warde**, Adjunct Professor of International Business at The Fletcher School and Associate Director of Business Programs at the Fares Center, moderated the discussion.

“Mrs. President: Women and Political Leadership in Iran”

On December 10, 2007, the Mediterranean Club organized a screening of the documentary “Mrs. President: Women and Political Leadership in Iran,” which was produced by **Shahla Haeri**, Director of the Women's Studies Program and Associate Professor of Cultural Anthropology at Boston University. The film focuses on six of forty-seven women who nominated themselves as candidates for the 2001 presidential election in Iran. Immediately after the film, Haeri moderated a student discussion about the dilemmas highlighted by her work.



2008 Conference Participants: Back (from left): Jamshed Bharucha, John L. Esposito, F. Gregory Gause III, William A. Rugh, William Quandt, Amr Hamzawy, Ronald E. Neumann, Anthony Zinni, Richard Shultz, Thom Shanker, Malik Mufti, Khalil Shikaki, Robert M. Hollister. Front (from left): Shai Feldman, Abdel Monem Said Aly, Vali Nasr, Mona Eltahawy, Judith S. Yaphe, Rashid Khalidi, Leila Fawaz, Fawaz Gerages, Ibrahim Warde

pushed public diplomacy operations to the margins. A cumbersome bureaucracy has buried public diplomacy, and programs such as U.S.-funded Arabic language stations in Iraq could be improved. Rugh advised the incoming U.S. administration to pay attention to foreign public opinion, find ways of balancing security needs with dialogue in embassies, expand exchange programs for students and professionals, and provide independent monitoring of broadcasting stations. **Thom Shanker**, Pentagon Correspondent for *The New York Times*, described the effects of the Iraq War on the U.S. military, including the realization that killing enough “bad guys” will not necessarily achieve victory. Furthermore, the approach undertaken by the U.S. military is incompatible with the U.S. agenda for Iraq, as the United States cannot achieve the spread of democracy through undemocratic means. Shanker emphasized that the role of militaries is merely to defeat other militaries; only governments are able to win wars. Given these realities,

the United States must secure a new arena of influence in the region. **Rami G. Khouri**, Editor-at-Large of *The Daily Star* (Beirut) and Director of the Issam Fares Institute for Public Policy and International Affairs at the American University of Beirut, highlighted the importance of engaging Middle Eastern publics, whose opinions are tremendously critical for democratic transformation. He attributed the lack of significant change in the region to a series of historical grievances related to the degradation of Arab societies, which include crises of identity, citizenship, sovereignty, and human dignity. Khouri explained that Islamist movements have been successful in the Middle East because they are indigenous and credible and they have historically adapted to respond to citizens’ demands for basic needs, political empowerment, resistance of foreign powers, and redressing of historical traumas. Understanding these patterns in the region, Khouri said, might be a good starting point for the next president of the United States.

The conference’s concluding remarks were provided by **Rashid Khalidi**, Edward Said Professor of Arab Studies and Director of the Middle East Institute at the School of International and Public Affairs, Columbia University. He reflected that during the Cold War, both the United States and the Soviet Union used and ultimately exacerbated the Arab-Israeli conflict to meet their own objectives. With the end of the Cold War, the Middle East hoped for a change in U.S. policy. Instead, ongoing violence led to increased anger against the United States prior to September 11, 2001. The United States has a conflicted record of promoting democracy in the Middle East, which includes ignoring or undermining democracies in Egypt, Iran, Lebanon, and Turkey. Khalidi concluded that as long as the United States sustains its interventionist approach, as exhibited in Iraq, it will likely face a series of bloody wars in the region.

“The Question of Gaza: Student Discussion”

In response to a renewed breakout of violence in the Gaza Strip in early March 2008, the Fares Center hosted a student-led discussion on March 12, 2008, which was moderated by Eileen Babbitt, Professor of International Conflict Management Practice at The Fletcher School. The main objective of the roundtable was to discuss how Gaza fits into the vision of constructive negotiations between Israel and Palestine. Three students, Nicholas Kenney (MALD ’08), Tarek Zeidan (MALD ’09) and Dahlia Shaham (MALD ’09), elaborated on the issue from different points of view, based on their own experiences in the region. Kenney stated that Israeli society was exasperated by the conflict. The population feels that the Left has failed it and the peace process has not delivered. The Palestinian population on the other hand desperately seeks legitimate leadership. Zeidan spoke about the Gaza-Lebanese connection. While Hamas is minimally present among Palestinian groups in Lebanon, many Hezbollah supporters also support Hamas. Both groups are also useful pawns for Iran. Shaham asserted that the Israeli-Palestinian question is implicitly about a two-state solution, and Gaza is a symptom of the erosion of a consensus on this solution. Rejection of the plan comes from the settlers, as well as from Hamas and Iran, forces arguably as strong as the governments representing both sides. During the subsequent student discussion, participants explored different avenues for potential negotiation efforts.



Eileen Babbitt, Professor of International Conflict Management Practice, The Fletcher School, leads a roundtable discussion on the future of Gaza.

“Voices of Moderate Palestinian Youth Leaders”

On April 22, 2008 six young volunteer members of the Palestinian-based Ruwwad Youth Corps joined Eileen Babbitt, Professor of International Conflict Management Practice at The Fletcher School, to talk about their organization’s mission and activities. Ruwwad, funded by USAID, invests in trying to mobilize Palestine’s youth by turning their ideas into innovative projects that develop the community. Examples of youth-initiated projects include the development of an SMS phone service to link members from across Palestine, a job search system that connects employers to employees, and a budding career mentoring program for high-school graduates.

The approach of the volunteers, who hail from various colleges, is unified by their focus on fostering education. They discussed Palestine’s need for rehabilitation and community development in order to regain functionality and



Palestinian youth share stories about volunteer community projects.

expressed their wishes for a peaceful resolution to the current political situation. The session ended with candid reflections on their promotional trip to the United States, which, as one speaker noted, would not have been possible in Palestine.

Affiliated Faculty

NEWS & NOTES



Lucy Der Manuelian, Arthur H. Dadian and Ara Oztemel Professor of Armenian Art and Architectural History at Tufts University,

recently presented the first lecture in Harvard University Art Museum's lecture series "Cities, Their Art and Architecture." Her slide lecture, entitled "Ani: The Fabled Capital of Armenia," showcased the centuries-old city. Her chapter on Ani was published in S. Peter Cowe (ed.), *Ani. World Architectural Heritage of a Medieval Armenian Capital* (Leuven, 2001). In 2006, the Tufts Graduate Student Council presented Der Manuelian with the Award for Outstanding Contributions to Graduate Studies for her commitment to graduate education, particularly in the Departments of Art and Art History.



Eva Hoffman is Associate Professor of Art History, Director of Undergraduate Studies in Art History, and Faculty

Coordinator for the introductory surveys of art history at Tufts University. Her research focuses on artistic and cultural exchange in the medieval Mediterranean world. From 1994–2007, she was Director of ARTIFACT, an interactive web application originally developed as a study tool for the art history survey courses and expanded over the years. In conjunction with her work on ARTIFACT, she has written a chapter with Christine Cavalier, "ARTIFACT: Mapping a Global Survey of the History of Art," for the volume *Teaching Art History With New Technologies*, ed. Kelly Donahue-Wallace, Laetitia La Follette, and Andrea Pappas (Jossey-Bass/Wiley, 2008).



Ayesha Jalal, Professor of History at Tufts University, recently published her newest book *Partisans of Allah: Meanings of Jihad in*

South Asia (Harvard University Press, 2008). Her work helps retrieve the ethical meanings of jihad by throwing light on how Muslims interpreted this essential idea as they tried negotiating relations with members of other religious communities. The book provides finely etched expositions of the ethical and political ideas of such towering figures as Shah Waliullah, Sayyid Ahmad Khan, and Abu Ala Maududi. Based on prodigious original research, this book is written in a style accessible to the interested non-specialist, gives fresh insights into intellectual developments within Islam, and makes a much misunderstood, yet key concept in complex Islamic history, intelligible to the wide reading public.

Richard Jankowsky, Assistant Professor of Music in Ethnomusicology at Tufts University, published an article in 2007 on the relationship between music and trance entitled, "Music, Spirit, Possession, and the In-Between: Ethnomusicological Inquiry and the Challenge of Trance," based on his fieldwork in Tunisia. In March 2008, he gave a lecture at the Humanities Center at Harvard University on "The Aesthetics of Alterity: Toward an Acoustemology of Tunisian Stambeli" and organized a sold-out concert at the Distler Performance Hall at Tufts University, cosponsored by the Fares Center, featuring the renowned Arabesque Ensemble. He will be on sabbatical for the 2008–2009 academic year to finish his book on *stambeli* (a trance healing music developed by slaves in North Africa) and to begin his next project on music and Sufism.

Beatrice Manz, Associate Professor of Middle East and Inner Asian Studies at Tufts University, recently published *Power, Politics and Religion in Timurid Iran* (Cambridge University Press, 2007), which won the Houshang Pourshariati book prize in Iranian Studies from the Middle East Studies Association (MESA) last November. She has been on leave during the academic year of 2007–2008 working on her next book, *Nomads in the Middle East*, for the series "Themes in Islamic Civilizations" at Cambridge University Press.



Ina Baghdiantz McCabe, Professor of History at Tufts University and Darakjian Jafarian Chair of Armenian

History, recently won the Faculty Research Awards Committee's Distinguished Scholarship Award. This prestigious award is presented annually to a Tufts faculty member for distinguished contribution to scholarship in the School of Arts and Sciences and/or the School of Engineering. Each year the university-wide faculty committee is charged with selecting the recipient of the Distinguished Scholar Prize, which rotates annually among three departmental groupings. McCabe recently published *Orientalism in Early Modern France: Eurasian Trade, Exoticism, and the Ancien Régime* (Oxford, 2008).

Academic Steering Committee Members News

Christopher A. Bayly, Vere Harmsworth Professor of Imperial and Naval History at the University of Cambridge, was made a Knight Bachelor in June 2007. Professor Sir Bayly is a recent winner of the Wolfson Prize for lifetime achievement.

Selma Botman has been appointed to the position of President of the University of Southern Maine by the university's Board of Trustees effective July 1, 2008.

Affiliated Students

NEWS & NOTES

Irina Chindea (Ph.D. candidate) received funds from the Fares Center to complete an internship at the Al Ahran Center for Political and Strategic Studies, and to continue her study of the Arabic language at the International Language Institute in Cairo, Egypt.

Medina Haeri (MALD '08) focused on issues of human security with an emphasis on gender and forced migration while at The Fletcher School. During the summer of 2007, Medina interned at the International Rescue Committee, working with Karen refugees who were applying for third-country resettlement. Her master's thesis focused on the resilience of Iran's women's movement, particularly in the context of Iran's 1979 Revolution and the emergence of the Islamic Republic. She also served as co-president of the Mediterranean Club.

Emre Kayhan (Ph.D. candidate) is completing a dissertation entitled "Between Apology and Utopia: A Study on the Sources of Turkish Conduct," which investigates how Turkey's self-proclaimed Western identity determines the formulation of the state's foreign policy preferences, interests, and legal behaviors. On January 7, 2008 he gave a lecture at the Center for Global Studies at the American University of Beirut entitled "Turkey's 'New Activism' in the Middle East: Myths and Realities."

Abeer Kazimi (MALD '08) received funds from the Fares Center to conduct research examining memoirs, chronicles, and other testimonies of life in the Arab provinces of the Ottoman Empire during the period 1900 to 1920. She is assessing the value of various witnesses and what they tell us about bygone times.

Lillie Paquette (MALD '08) concentrated on U.S. foreign policy and public diplomacy in the Middle East while at The Fletcher School. She also served as the co-president of the Mediterranean Club. Previously she was a program officer with International Research & Exchanges Board (IREX) where she worked in conjunction with the U.S. Department of State Middle East Partnership Initiative.

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. Since January 2008, she has been conducting research in archives and private collections in Sind, Pakistan.



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

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

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

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

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



The Fares Center

for Eastern Mediterranean Studies

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