



האוניברסיטה העברית בירושלים  
THE HEBREW UNIVERSITY OF JERUSALEM

The Institute of Asian and African Studies  
The Department of Islamic and Middle Eastern  
Studies

Under the Auspices of The Ruth and Mordechai  
Abir Foundation



**Truman  
Institute**  
The Harry S. Truman  
Research Institute  
for the Advancement of  
Peace

# 2nd Annual Conference

## The Middle East in Transition

14-15 March 2011 – Jerusalem, Israel  
The Senate Hall and Handler Auditorium, Mt. Scopus Campus

### Monday, 14 March 2011

#### The Senate Hall, Administration Building

#### 9:30-10:00 - Greetings and Abir Scholarship Awards Ceremony

Chair: **Prof. Amikam Elad**, Director of the Institute of Asian and African Studies (Hebrew University of Jerusalem)

**Mr. Carmi Gilon**, Vice President for External Relations (Hebrew University of Jerusalem)

**Prof. Reuven Amitai**, Dean of the Faculty of Humanities (Hebrew University of Jerusalem)

**Prof. Steven Kaplan**, Academic Director of the Harry S. Truman Research Institute for the Advancement of Peace (Hebrew University of Jerusalem)

**Prof. Mordechai Abir** (Hebrew University of Jerusalem)

On behalf of the Abir Scholarship recipients:

**Mr. Nadav Solomonovich** (Hebrew University of Jerusalem)

#### 10:00-11:00 Keynote Address

In Cooperation with the French Research Centre in Jerusalem

Chair: **Prof. Amnon Cohen** (Hebrew University of Jerusalem)

**Prof. Gilles Kepel** (Sciences Po, France):  
The Middle East: Change or Crisis?

11:00-11:30 Coffee break

#### 11:30-13:30 Egypt after Mubarak

Chair: **Prof. Shimon Shamir** (Tel Aviv University)

**Prof. Gabriel M. Rosenbaum** (Hebrew University of Jerusalem): The Language Revolution in Contemporary Egypt

**Dr. Bosmat Yefet-Avshalom** (Hebrew University of Jerusalem): The Human Rights Movement in Egypt: Past Difficulties, Future Challenges

**Prof. Yoram Meital** (Ben Gurion University of the Negev): Toppling Mubarak and the New Setup in Egypt

**Prof. Elie Podeh** (Hebrew University of Jerusalem): Egypt's Revolution: Causes and Possible Consequences

13:30-14:30 Lunch break

#### 14:30-16:00 Islamic Martyrdom

Chair: **Prof. Ella Landau-Tasserion** (Hebrew University of Jerusalem)

**Dr. Anat Berko** (Interdisciplinary Center, Herzliya): The Path to Paradise: The Inner World of Suicide Bombers and Their Dispatchers

**Dr. Eli Alshech** (Independent Scholar):  
Salafi-Jihadi Martyrdom: A Means or an End?

**Prof. Meir Litvak** (Tel Aviv University): "We Seek Death": Martyrdom in the Ideology of Hamas

16:00-16:30 Coffee break

#### 16:30-18:30 Iran and its Nuclear Project

Chair: **Mr. Uzi Eilam** (Institute for National Security Studies)

**Dr. Soli Shahvar** (University of Haifa): Towards the "Great Civilization": The Shah, the Iranian Nuclear Program, and the West, 1956-1979

**Dr. Ephraim Kam** (Institute for National Security Studies): A Military Operation Against Iran: Is It a Viable Option?

**Mr. Uri Lubrani** (Former Israeli Ambassador to Tehran): Iran Before and After

**Prof. Shlomo Aronson** (Hebrew University of Jerusalem): The Iranian Bomb: Is it an Existential Threat to Israel?

### Tuesday, 15 March 2011

#### Handler Auditorium, Truman Institute, Davis Building

#### 10:00-11:30 Sunni-Shi'a relations

Chair: **Prof. Etan Kohlberg** (Hebrew University of Jerusalem)

**Dr. Noga Efrati** (Hebrew University of Jerusalem): From Nuri al-Sa'id to Nuri al-Maliki: National Leaders in Iraq

**Dr. Ronen Zeidel** (Haifa University and Hebrew University of Jerusalem): "Negative" vs. "Positive" Sectarianism: Manifestations of Taifiyya in Contemporary Iraq

**Prof. Uzi Rabi** (Tel Aviv University): Iran, the Arab States and the Lessons of Wikileaks: A Geopolitical Analysis of a Religious Rift

11:30-12:00 Coffee break

#### 12:00-13:00 Keynote Address

Chair: **Prof. Moshe Maoz** (Hebrew University of Jerusalem)

**Mr. Dan Meridor** (Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Intelligence and Atomic Energy)

13:00-14:00 Lunch break

#### 14:00-16:00 Intellectual Developments in the Arab World

Chair: **Dr. Liat Kozma** (Hebrew University of Jerusalem)

**Dr. Sune Haugbolle** (University of Copenhagen, Denmark): The Arab Left and Ideology Studies: Convergence and Cross-Fertilization

**Prof. Rami Ginat** (Bar-Ilan University): The Arab Left: A Retrospective Analysis

**Dr. Meir Hatina** (Hebrew University of Jerusalem): Rethinking Arab Liberalism

**Mr. Wael Abu-'Uksa** (Hebrew University of Jerusalem): Two Variants of Egyptian Liberalism

16:00-16:30 Coffee break

#### 16:30-18:30 Turkey towards the General Elections

Chair: **Prof. Amikam Nachmani** (Bar-Ilan University)

**Prof. Ümit Cizre** (Istanbul Şehir University, Turkey) Deconstructing the Conflict between the AKP and the Secular Establishment: Promises and Perils for the Upcoming Elections

**Dr. Gallia Lindenstrauss** (Institute for National Security Studies): A Zero Problem Policy in a Multi Problem Region: Issues in Turkey's Current Foreign Policy towards the Middle East

**Dr. Nimrod Goren** (Hebrew University of Jerusalem): Europeanization as a Phase or as a Fate: Turkish Societal Beliefs regarding Turkey-EU Relations

**Dr. Anat Lapidot-Firilla** (Van Leer Jerusalem Institute and Hebrew University of Jerusalem): Neo-Ottomanism as a Political-Cultural Program: The Case of Turkish Cultural Centers