

**BIOGRAPHICAL**  
ENCYCLOPEDIA OF THE  
**MODERN**  
**MIDDLE EAST &**  
**NORTH AFRICA**

Volume 2

*Biographical Encyclopedia of the Modern  
Middle East and North Africa*

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Middle East and North Africa*

VOLUME I  
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## Biographical Encyclopedia of the Modern Middle East and North Africa

Michael R. Fischbach

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## *Introduction*

The first decade of the twenty-first century has witnessed an astronomical rise in public demand for information about the Islamic regions of the Middle East, North Africa, and western Asia, especially in the United States. The 9/11 attacks, and the subsequent American invasions of Afghanistan in October 2001 and Iraq in March 2003, were largely responsible for this increased desire for information about a part of the world that many in the United States view with great curiosity, yet also with great fear and distrust. Not surprisingly, many of the books, television programs, films, and websites that have emerged in recent years reflect these feelings, and often even cater to them. Many have focused exclusively on Islam, or political topics related to it, in their purported effort to explain the region to the public. Books with derogatory titles like *The Politically Incorrect View of Islam (and the Crusades)* and *The Truth About Muhammad: Founder of the World's Most Intolerant Religion* even have made it to *The New York Times* bestseller list (it is doubtful that similar books about Judaism or Christianity ever would be published, let alone make the bestseller list).

Yet books such as these, that focus exclusively on Middle Eastern politics, religion, and violence, do little to shed light on how the hundreds of millions of ordinary people of the Middle East and North Africa live their lives on a daily basis. The various peoples inhabiting this region in fact possess rich, varied, and, by Western standards, often quite normal lives, hopes, and experiences that are far removed from the disturbing images presented by books lining the shelves of major bookstores on this side of the Atlantic. If only the public could read more about this reality in the Middle East and North Africa, to balance the portrayal of warriors, politicians, clerics, and extremists so typically presented to it.

### **TYPE OF COVERAGE**

This encyclopedia was designed as a step in the direction of filling this information gap. In it, the reader will find entries on the lives of more than three hundred contemporary individuals from modern North Africa and the Middle East, including Afghanistan, who are making their marks on all walks of life. A central purpose of this work is to show this broad region as a vibrant, diverse part of the globe, full of people doing things with their lives that are not all that different from what Westerners do with theirs.

Some of the people spotlighted in these biographies will be familiar, but most probably will not be. For example, the reader will encounter in these pages Nobel Prize laureates, hip-hop singers, Olympic ice skaters and runners, Hollywood stars, architects, writers, academics,



race car drivers, human rights advocates, journalists, heart surgeons, fashion designers, businessmen and businesswomen, kings and queens, as well as the politicians, militants, and clerics (from several different religions) that one might expect to see in an encyclopedia dealing with this region. All are significant in their fields and to their wider societies in one way or another that merits them being featured in this encyclopedia. Taken together, these biographical entries help showcase the region in the broad range of its diversity.

Those responsible for creating this encyclopedia established several overarching principles to guide their work. First, how to choose more than three hundred people to highlight a region of hundreds of millions of people presented quite a challenge. In the first instance, we included biographical entries from every country stretching from Mauritania, in the west, to Afghanistan in the east. In the middle were the Maghrib states of North Africa; Egypt, Libya, and Sudan; Turkey and Cyprus; Israel and the Palestinian Authority; the Fertile Crescent countries; the states of the Arabian Peninsula; and Iran. The encyclopedia also features persons from ethnic or national groups within these states such as Kurds, Palestinians, southern Sudanese, Armenians, Assyrians, and Berbers, as well as from political entities like the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus and the Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic that are not universally recognized by the world community. Larger countries like Iran and Egypt, and even smaller ones that have generated considerable public interest (such as Israel), have a larger number of entries in the encyclopedia than smaller countries.

Second, we established several categories of persons that we wanted to cover for each country. These included academics, economists, and scientists; architects and urban planners; artists and musicians; militants and politicians; activists; writers; religious leaders; athletes; and so forth. This was consistent with our mission to provide as wide-ranging a picture of the region as possible. Beyond that, we strove to make the encyclopedia as topical as possible. This is largely not an historical bibliographical encyclopedia. More than three-quarters of the entries represent living people, and these, moreover, are people we feel are likely to be around and active in their fields in five years' time. Those who are deceased were included because their influence is still being felt today. Beyond that, we worked hard to make sure that we maintained a balance between men and women.

Finally, each entry contains a bibliography (including websites) so that readers can find more information about that person. Many entries also contain a "contemporaries" section highlighting other persons who were contemporaries of the main subject, as well as sections containing quotations and other primary source excerpts. Various "exploring" sections throughout the encyclopedia invite the reader to think and study further about certain topics relating to the entries.

#### NON-PARTISANSHIP

The authors who wrote these entries are as varied as the biographies themselves. Mostly (but not exclusively) academics, they come from a number of backgrounds and countries throughout the world: North Americans, Europeans, Turks, Iranians, Arabs, Israelis, and others. While each one followed a standard format when writing the biographical entries—the subject's personal history, contributions, legacy, and so forth—each author approached the task of writing the biographies from her/his own perspective, background, and expertise. Throughout, however, we strove to ensure that the entries discussed various aspects of the subjects' lives, including controversial matters, in as scholarly and dispassionately a manner as possible.

This attempt to be as non-polemical and non-partisan as possible also led us to avoid certain terms and language that implies partisanship. Arabs and Israelis usually refer to the wars fought between and among them in different fashion. For example, the October 1973 war is usually called "The Yom Kippur War" by Israelis, while Arabs generally employ the expressions "The Ramadan War" or "The October War." For the sake of neutrality, we simply call it the "1973 Arab-Israeli war." Similarly, Iranians refer to the body of water

separating Iran from Saudi Arabia and the smaller Arab oil shaykhdoms as the “Persian Gulf,” while Arab countries call it the “Arabian Gulf.” We diplomatically used the term “Arabian/Persian Gulf.”

Persons’ identities and nationalities also proved tricky sometimes. One of the sections in each biographical entry is “nationality.” Sometimes identity and nationality are complicated, even contested issues, particularly for minority groups. The reader, therefore, will find various descriptions of persons’ identity and nationality, descriptions that some people might find objectionable, but that try to reflect what the person him/herself—and/or the world community—might use. Kurds from Iraq, Turkey, and Iran, for example, usually are listed as “Kurd from Turkey” or “Iraqi Kurdish,” just as Palestinians from Israel generally are referred to as “Palestinian citizens of Israel,” and so forth.

#### ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This encyclopedia was a true labor of love, involving much more than just academic expertise and editorial experience. It was a collaborative effort that brought together the talents and efforts of many different people, in different walks of life, in a number of countries on several continents, at various stages of its production. As editor-in-chief I relied heavily upon my associate editors for their advice in choosing more than three hundred people to spotlight from the countries of the Middle East and North Africa, as well as in finding appropriate authors to write the entries about these individuals. The fact that all of the associate editors were traveling (including overseas), moving, and otherwise busy, made their tasks even more difficult to accomplish, and I thank them for completing them so well and so cheerfully. Some of them also were called upon to write some of the entries as well, adding to their workload. I am particularly grateful for their help in this regard. Aida Bamia’s knowledge of and insight into North Africa was invaluable to this project, as was J. E. Peterson’s intimate and longstanding acquaintance with the Arab countries of the Arabian/Persian Gulf. Eric Hooglund is a consummate scholar of Iranian history, whose extensive background in publishing and encyclopedia production also proved very helpful to this project. My good friend Jeremy Forman not only put to good use his extensive knowledge of Israeli history and society, he also helped ensure the timely delivery of the articles by the authors. Finally, Mine Eren, my friend and colleague at Randolph-Macon College, meticulously went about the work of shaping the Turkish entries and ensuring their proper quality. I might add that the decisions on what persons to include in the encyclopedia ultimately rested with me, and I trust that some of the entries that I added or deleted from the associate editors’ lists of suggested names meet with their approval. Of course I also would like to thank the dozens of authors who wrote the entries contained herein. They came from a number of countries and fields of endeavor and brought to bear on the entries they wrote their expertise, familiarity, and experiences with this fascinating part of the world.

The committed and tireless staff at Gale are the real heroes of this encyclopedia. It was they who took ideas and manuscripts and turned them into the exciting, attractive, and informative reference work you now have before you. I would like to thank Leigh Ann Cusack of Gale’s New Product Development for her vision in developing a resource such as this. I was particularly heartened to see how her hopes for what this encyclopedia could accomplish, and what needs it could serve, matched my own so closely. I would also like to thank Jay Flynn of New Product Development for his many efforts and ideas that helped shape this work. Senior Project Editor Andrea Henderson was an absolute joy, and working with her was both fruitful and even fun. Despite the rigors of a maternity leave and frightening commuting schedule, she diligently handled her job with a keen sense of purpose and a wonderful sense of wit. Alas, working with academics is never easy, and nowhere is it more frustrating than when real-world deadlines collide with the casual schedules of scholars. Project Editor Laura Avery experienced this in the course of this, her first project involving working with academic authors. Laura was a true gem throughout, handling the entire project load during Andrea’s maternity leave and, beyond her other duties, selecting the many photos that appear in the encyclopedia, which I am sure the reader will agree truly are

the icing on the cake and greatly enhance the appeal of this work. Few realize just how much work goes into producing a reference work such as this. Even I, who have worked on several encyclopedia projects in the past, learned much about just what an amazing and daunting task Andrea and Laura faced and how they pulled it off with skill and grace. My heartfelt thanks go out to these two exceptional editors.

I also would like to thank the various friends and colleagues from the Middle East off whom I bounced ideas, and from whom I solicited advice, recommendations, and information in the course of this project. I can only hope that this encyclopedia can in some humble way contribute to the improvement of understanding and relations between Westerners and the peoples of the Middle East and North Africa. Finally, as always, I would like to thank my wife, Lisa, and my daughters Tara, Grace, and Sophia, for their support and their patience throughout the many hours I labored on this project.

*Michael R. Fischbach*

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# *Transliteration and Pronunciation Guide*

A work such as this, which is targeted at an English-speaking audience, faces two major linguistic challenges. The first involves how to write Middle Eastern and North African names so that English-speakers can read them. With the major exceptions of Turkish, Kurdish as it is written in Turkey, and Berber, most languages spoken in the Middle East and North Africa are not written with Latin letters, as English and most European languages are. For example, Arabic, Farsi (Persian), and Kurdish (in Iran and Iraq) use Arabic letters. Hebrew uses its own alphabet, as does Greek. Smaller languages present in the region usually employ their own alphabets as well, including Armenian, Aramaic and Syriac, and Coptic. This means that most of the names in this encyclopedia have had to be spelled in Latin characters—a process called transliteration—if English-speakers are to be able to read them. However, Latin characters at best can only approximate how the names actually sound when spoken in their original languages. The second problem involves pronunciation: Even when transliterated, the names are not only unfamiliar to most Westerners, they also come from languages that contain sounds that do not exist in English and are thus very hard for English-speakers to pronounce.

The authors and editors of *The Biographical Encyclopedia of the Modern Middle East and North Africa* have tried to keep the process of transliteration as simple as possible for the reader. We also offer a few guides and tips on pronunciation. When it comes to transliteration, we tried to keep the system as simple as possible, yet as accurate as we could. When transliterating, scholars usually like to use somewhat complicated transliteration systems that attach various dots, dashes, and other diacritical marks to Latin characters in order to indicate specific letters in Arabic, Hebrew, and so forth. The need for this arises from the fact that there can be more than one letter in a Middle Eastern alphabet that corresponds to just one character in the Latin alphabet. For example, there are two letters in Arabic that are approximated by the Latin character “h.” Similarly, there are two “s” letters, two “d” letters, and so forth. Hebrew has two “s” letters and two “t” letters. Scholars put diacritical marks on these letters to help one another differentiate exactly to which letter in the original alphabet they are referring.

These kinds of academic transliteration systems can be very confusing to non-specialists, and we chose not to use one of them for this encyclopedia. Rather, we have tried to keep things simple. Arabic and Farsi names are written using a modified version of the transliteration system employed by the *International Journal of Middle East Studies (IJMES)*. No dots or other diacriticals are used. The letter “ayn” is indicated by an apostrophe facing the other direction “‘” only in the middle of a word, not at the beginning or end. The same is true for the “hamza,” which is

indicated by an apostrophe “’”. Hebrew names are transliterated according to a modified version of the system adopted by *The Encyclopedia Judaica*. Because Turkish is written in Latin characters, Turkish names generally are written as they would appear in Turkey, including using letters such as “ç” and “ü.” However, we make certain changes, including using “sh” to represent the “sh” sound (as in the English “ship”), although some authors preferred to use the Turkish “ş” to indicate this sound.

Yet inconsistencies always arise. Some people in the Middle East and North Africa transliterate their names however they want, not according to any particular transliteration scheme. Others have become famous in the West under a specific spelling of their name that does not conform to our transliteration system. A famous example is the name of the late Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein. The modified IJMES transliteration system that we use here would spell his name “Saddam Husayn.” But so many people recognize and use the spelling “Hussein” that going “by the book” with “Husayn” might be confusing. Some people might even think they were two different people. The first president of Israel is known to history as “Chaim Weitzmann,” not “Hayyim Vaitsman.” Sometimes people have transliterated their names as they and others locally pronounce it and not as it would be “properly” pronounced. So where a person uses a particular spelling of her or his name, or is widely known by that spelling, we usually have spelled it that way.

This is particularly the case for the North African Arabic names found in this encyclopedia. Because France ruled several North African Arab countries, and French is a second language to many people there, most North Africans spell their names in Latin letters according to various French transliteration schemes. For example, they use “dj” instead of “j” to represent the first consonant sound in the English word “jam.” These systems not only use French representations of certain sounds, they also reflect specific North African Arabic accents and dialects. For example, the names of two twentieth century Algerian leaders almost always are spelled in this way: “Houari Boumédiène” and “Chadli Bendjedid.” However, the IJMES system, based on how these names are written and pronounced in formal Arabic, would transliterate them as “Huwwari Abu Midyan” and “al-Shadhili bin Jadid.” No one would recognize these names were we to force the spelling of their names into the IJMES system, so we have left them as they themselves transliterated them, or as history has generally referred to them.

As for pronunciation: It is impossible to offer a complete guide, although here are a few guides to help the reader in pronouncing the names found in this encyclopedia.

### *Arabic*

- Generally pronounce consonants as you would in English, with some exceptions; vowel sounds are like in Italian or Spanish (for example, long “i” is pronounced like “ee” in “feel,” not like the “i” in “fine”)
- “kh” is made in the back of the throat, almost like clearing one’s throat; like the German “ch” as in “ach”
- “q” is a clicking sound, like a “k,” made in the back of the throat
- “gh” is a hard, scraping “g” sound made deep in the throat, almost like the sound of someone gargling
- “ei” and “ay” are like “a” in “made”
- “’” and “”” are best pronounced as glottal stops. So “Mu‘ammar” would be pronounced like “Mu-ammar,” with a slight pause between the “u” and the first “a”
- Double letters usually mean that the letter is lengthened (not actually pronounced twice), rather like the “c” sound in “black cat.” So “Saddam” would be pronounced like “Sad-dam”
- “ou” is like “oo” in “mood”
- “dj” is like “j” in “jam”
- “c” is like “s” in “sun”

- “ch” is like “sh” in “shine”
- “aou” is like “ou” in “ouch”

### ***Turkish***

- Generally pronounce consonants as you would in English, with some exceptions; vowel sounds are like in Italian or Spanish (for example, long “i” is pronounced like “ee” in “feel,” not like the “i” in “fine”)
- “ü” is like a long “e” like “feel” with the lips rounded; like the “ü” in German
- “ö” is rather like the “ur” in “fur,” with the lips rounded; like the “ö” in German
- “c” is like the “j” in “jam”
- “ç” is like the “ch” in “church”
- “ş” is like the “sh” in “ship”
- “ei” is like “a” in “made”
- “ay” is like “i” in “like”
- “ğ” lengthens the vowel preceding it

### ***Farsi***

- Generally pronounce consonants as you would in English, with some exceptions; vowel sounds are like in Italian or Spanish (for example, long “i” is pronounced like “ee” in “feel,” not like the “i” in “fine”)
- “kh” is made in the back of the throat, almost like clearing one’s throat; like the German “ch” as in “ach”
- “gh” is a hard “g” sound made deep in the throat, almost like the sound of someone gargling
- “ou” is like “oo” in “mood”
- “ae” is like “i” in “like”
- “ei” is like “a” in “made”
- “q” is best pronounced like “g” in “girl,” but made in the back of the throat

### ***Hebrew***

- Generally pronounce consonants as you would in English, with some exceptions; vowel sounds are like in Italian or Spanish (for example, long “i” is pronounced like “ee” in “feel,” not like the “i” in “fine”)
- “kh” and “ch” is made in the back of the throat, almost like clearing one’s throat; like the German “ch” as in “ach” (certain “h” letters are pronounced this way as well)
- “tz” is like “ts” in “its”
- “ei” is like “i” in “wine”
- Double letters usually mean that the letter is pronounced twice. So “Peer” would be pronounced with two short “e” (like “pet”) sounds, as in “Pe-er”

### ***Kurdish, Greek, etc.***

- Generally follow the rules of Turkish (for Kurds in Turkey), Arabic and Farsi (for Kurds in Iraq and Iran), and Arabic (Berbers in North Africa). Greek names are fairly familiar to most English-speakers.

## *List of Chronological Events in the Middle East and North Africa Since the End of the Second World War*

- 1945 Formation of the League of Arab States (Arab League)
- 1946 Jordan becomes independent from Britain; rise and fall of Kurdish Republic of Mahabad in Iran
- 1947 United States issues “Truman Doctrine”; Britain announces intention to abandon the League of Nations Mandate for Palestine and turn over future of the country to the United Nations (UN); U.N. General Assembly adopts Resolution 181 (II) to partition Palestine into a Jewish state, an Arab state, and an international zone; first Arab-Israeli war breaks out as a result
- 1948 Israel declares its independence; Arab-Israeli war escalates as troops from six Arab states enter the fighting; 750,000 Palestinian refugees flee or are expelled by Israeli forces; thousands of Jews emigrate from several Arab countries; Imam Yahya assassinated in Yemen
- 1949 First Arab-Israeli war ends when Israel signs armistice agreements with Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan; Jordan annexes West Bank; three military coups d’état take place in Syria; U.N. General Assembly passes resolution calling for independence of Libya
- 1950 Turkish government sends troops as part of UN military coalition in Korean war; Turkey holds first multi-party elections since becoming a republic; thousands of Iraqi Jews begin immigrating to Israel
- 1951 Libya achieves independence under UN supervision; Oman obtains independence from Britain; Jordan’s King Abdullah I assassinated; Iran nationalizes Anglo-Iranian Oil Company
- 1952 Turkey joins North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO); military coup d’état overthrows Egyptian monarchy, Jamal Abd al-Nasir (Gamal Abdel Nasser) emerges as strongman
- 1953 Military coup d’état in Iran overthrows Prime Minister Mohammed Mosaddegh; King Hussein bin Talal assumes the throne in Jordan; King Abd al-Aziz Al Sa’ud of Saudi Arabia dies
- 1954 Algerian war of independence against France begins; Britain signs treaty with Egypt to withdraw its troops from the zone around the Suez Canal
- 1955 Iraq, Turkey, and Iran join British-led Baghdad Pact; Egypt signs major arms deal with Soviet Union; Israel signs arms deal with France; civil war breaks out in Sudan
- 1956 Morocco and Tunisia become independent from France; Sudan becomes independent from Britain and Egypt; Egypt nationalizes Suez Canal Company; Suez War begins with Britain, France, and Israel at war with Egypt; Suez Canal blocked because of the Suez War, disrupting global shipping; Egypt begins expelling thousands of Jews as a result of the Suez War
- 1957 United States issues “Eisenhower Doctrine”; Israel withdraws from occupied Sinai, Gaza Strip; Suez Canal reopens
- 1958 Egypt and Syria are united as the United Arab Republic (UAR); civil war breaks out in Lebanon, the United States lends Marines to bolster Lebanese government; military coup d’état overthrows Iraqi monarchy, General Abd al-Karim Qasim becomes Iraqi prime minister
- 1959 Oil discovered in Libya
- 1960 Turkish military stages coup d’état against the civilian government; Cyprus obtains independence from Britain; Mauritania obtains independence from France; creation of Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC)



- 1961 Syria secedes from UAR; Kurdish insurgency against Iraqi government occurs; King Mohammed V of Morocco dies, is succeeded by King Hassan II; Kuwait obtains independence from Britain
- 1962 Algeria obtains independence from France, more than 100,000 French citizens flee for France; Egyptian actor Omar Sharif stars in *Lawrence of Arabia*; military coup d'état against King Muhammad al-Badr leads to civil war in Yemen, with Egyptian troops eventually supporting republican side
- 1963 Ba'th Party comes to power in Syria via coup d'état; Ba'th Party briefly comes to power in Iraq via coup d'état; Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi declares start of "White Revolution" in Iran
- 1964 Formation of Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO); King Sa'ud of Saudi Arabia deposed, replaced by King Faysal; Turkey becomes an associate member of the European Economic Community
- 1965 Houari Boumédiène overthrows government of Ahmed Ben Bella in Algeria
- 1967 Arab-Israeli war breaks out; Israel defeats armies of Egypt, Syria, and Jordan and occupies the Gaza Strip, Sinai Peninsula, West Bank and East Jerusalem, and Golan Heights; hundreds of thousands of Palestinians and Syrians are displaced as a result of Arab-Israeli fighting, thousands of Jews emigrate from several Arab countries as well; Israel annexes East Jerusalem; Suez Canal closed because of Arab-Israeli fighting, forcing ships bound from Asia to Europe to travel around the Horn of Africa; shipping companies begin building supertankers as a result (to be able to carry more cargo, especially oil, on each journey); U.N. Security Council passes Resolution 242 regarding Arab-Israeli peace; Egyptian troops leave Yemen; South Yemen becomes independent from Britain
- 1968 Coup d'état returns Ba'th Party to power in Iraq
- 1969 Egyptian-Israeli War of Attrition begins; military coup d'état overthrows Libyan monarchy, Mu'ammār al-Qaddafi becomes new strongman; Ja'far Numayri becomes president of Sudan after military coup d'état; Yasir Arafat becomes chair of PLO
- 1970 U.S. Secretary of State William Rogers announces "Rogers Plan" for Arab-Israeli peace; Israeli-Egyptian War of Attrition ends; fighting breaks out in Jordan between PLO and Jordanian army; Egypt's Jamal Abd al-Nasir (Gamal Abdel Nasser) dies; Hafiz al-Asad takes power in Syria via a coup d'état; Qaboos Al Bu Sa'id deposes his father, becomes sultan of Oman; High Dam in Aswan, Egypt completed; Yemeni civil war ends
- 1971 Devaluation of U.S. dollar leads to decrease in revenue of oil-producing states; Bahrain and Qatar obtain independence from Britain; creation of the United Arab Emirates leads to evacuation of last British military forces in Arabian/Persian Gulf; Turkish military forces the resignation of Prime Minister Süleyman Demirel
- 1972 Civil war ends in Sudan; Palestinians kill eleven Israeli athletes at Olympic Summer Games in Munich
- 1973 Frente Popular de Liberación de Saguía el Hamra y Río de Oro (POLISARIO) established; Arab-Israeli war breaks out; U.N. Security Council passes Resolution 338 regarding Arab-Israeli peace; Arab oil-producing states reduce exports of oil in response to Western support of Israel, global oil prices increase 380 percent; Arab-Israeli peace conference in Geneva; coup d'état overthrows government of Zahir Shah in Afghanistan
- 1974 Israel signs armistice agreements with Egypt and Syria thanks to mediation efforts of U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger; Cypriot military coup d'état in favor of union with Greece prompts military invasion by Turkish forces; Arab League recognizes PLO as "sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people"; PLO Chair Yasir Arafat addresses UN General Assembly; Kurdish insurgency breaks out in Iraq
- 1975 Civil war breaks out in Lebanon; United Arab Emirates become independent from Britain; Algiers Agreement between Iran and Iraq leads to end of Kurdish insurgency in Iraq; Spain relinquishes control of Western Sahara, Morocco and Mauritania lay claim to the area; Saudi King Faysal assassinated; Egyptian singer Umm Kulthum dies; Egypt and Israel sign Sinai Interim Agreement; U.N. General Assembly passes Resolution 3379 equating Zionism with racism
- 1976 Syrian forces invade Lebanon to end civil war; POLISARIO declares independence of Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic
- 1977 Egyptian President Anwar Sadat flies to Israel, addresses the Knesset
- 1978 Iranian revolution begins; Israeli forces invade southern Lebanon following Palestinian terrorist raid on Israel; Egyptian President Anwar Sadat and Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin sign Camp David Accord in Maryland thanks to mediation efforts of U.S. President Jimmy Carter; Begin and Sadat awarded Nobel Peace Prize; communist coup d'état overthrows government of Afghanistan
- 1979 Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi flees Iran, Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini returns from exile, Islamic Republic of Iran declared; Egypt and Israel sign peace treaty in Washington; Saddam Hussein becomes president of Iraq; U.S. hostages taken in Iran; Islamic militants take over Grand Mosque in Mecca, Saudi Arabia; coup d'état in Afghanistan leads to invasion by Soviet forces; United States announces "Carter Doctrine"; Mauritania gives up claims to Western Sahara
- 1980 Military coup d'état overthrows civilian government in Turkey; Iran-Iraq War begins

- 1981** American hostages released from Iran; Egyptian President Anwar Sadat assassinated; Israeli air force planes destroy Iraq's nuclear reactor; creation of the Gulf Cooperation Council; Israel annexes Golan Heights
- 1982** Israel withdraws from last of occupied Sinai Peninsula; Israel invades Lebanon, besieges Beirut, and forces PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat and his fighters to leave Beirut; American, French, and Italian troops enter Beirut to supervise PLO withdrawal; Lebanese President-elect Bashir Gemayel assassinated, Christian forces kill hundreds of Palestinians in Sabra and Shatila refugee camps in Beirut
- 1983** Islamic militants blow up American embassy, Marine barracks, and barracks of French forces in Beirut; civil war breaks out in Sudan, Sudan People's Liberation Army/Movement (SPLA/M) formed; Turkish Cypriots declare independence of Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus
- 1984** United States and other Western forces withdraw from Lebanon; Kurdish insurgency begins in Turkey
- 1985** Sultan bin Salman Al Sa'ud becomes first Middle Easterner in space; major decline in global oil prices; Hizbullah movement emerges publicly in Lebanon
- 1986** U.S. planes bomb Tripoli, Libya, in response to terrorist attack against American military personnel in Germany; secret U.S.-Iranian arms deal exposed, leading to "Iran-Contra" scandal in United States
- 1987** Tunisian President Habib Bourguiba deposed, replaced by Zein al-Abidin Ben Ali; United States agrees to protect Kuwaiti ships in Arabian/Persian Gulf; first Palestinian Intifada breaks out
- 1988** Iran-Iraq War ends; Naguib Mahfouz receives Nobel Prize for literature; Anfal campaign against Kurds in Iraq; Lebanon ruled by two rival governments; Jordan renounces claim to West Bank; PLO's Palestine National Council declares independence of Palestine; PLO Chair Yasir Arafat renounces terrorism, U.S.-PLO dialogue ensues; formation of Hamas movement in West Bank and Gaza Strip
- 1989** Iran's Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini dies; Ta'if Accord signed by Lebanese politicians; Soviet forces withdraw from Afghanistan; military coup d'état led by General Umar Hasan al-Bashir overthrows Sudanese government
- 1990** Major earthquake in Iran; Iraq invades Kuwait, U.N. Security Council imposes sanctions on Iraq; Yemen and South Yemen unite; Lebanese politician General Michel Aoun forced into exile by Syrian troops, ending Lebanese civil war
- 1991** U.S.-led military coalition attacks Iraqi forces in Kuwait and Iraq; Iraq signs armistice agreement; Iraqi forces crush anti-regime Shi'ite and Kurdish uprisings; establishment of Kurdistan Regional Government in northern Iraq; UN creates United Nations Special Commission (UNSCOM) to search for weapons of mass destruction in Iraq; Arab-Israeli peace conference held in Madrid; UN General Assembly Resolution 46/86 revokes 1975 resolution equating Zionism with racism; Algerian runner Hassiba Boulmerka becomes first African woman ever to win a world title when she wins the 1,500-meter dash at the World Championship games in Tokyo
- 1992** Algerian military cancels parliamentary elections and deposes President Chadli Bendjedid, prompting start of civil war between government and Islamic militants; communist government of Najibullah collapses in Afghanistan; UN Security Council imposes sanctions on Libya; Boutros Boutros-Ghali elected UN Secretary-General; Israeli-Palestinian peace talks in Washington
- 1993** Israel and the PLO agree to recognize one another, sign the Declaration of Principles (also known as the Oslo Accord) in Washington
- 1994** Palestinian Authority (PA) established in part of the West Bank and Gaza Strip following signing of PLO-Israeli Agreement on the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area (also known as the Cairo Accords); Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres, and PLO Chair Yasir Arafat share Nobel Peace Prize; Israel and Jordan sign peace treaty; civil war in Yemen
- 1995** Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin assassinated; Israeli-Palestinian Interim Agreement (also known as Oslo II) signed; Hamad bin Khalifa Al Thani seizes power in Qatar, deposing his father
- 1996** PLO Chair Yasir Arafat elected president of the PA; Syrian Ghada Shouaa wins heptathlon at Olympic summer games in Atlanta, earning the title "world's greatest female athlete"; Taliban takes power in most of Afghanistan; establishment of Al Jazeera television network in Qatar; International Federation of Associated Wrestling Styles names Turkish wrestler Hamza Yerlikaya "Wrestler of the Century"
- 1997** Iranian director Abbas Kiarostami wins Palme d'Or at Cannes Film Festival; Turkish military forces the resignation of Prime Minister Necmettin Erbakan; Mohammad Khatami elected president of Iran
- 1998** Iraq expels UNSCOM inspectors, major U.S. bombing campaign in Iraq ensues
- 1999** Major earthquake in Turkey; King Hussein of Jordan dies, replaced by King Abdullah II bin Hussein; King Hassan II of Morocco dies, replaced by King Muhammad VI; Turkey recognized as a candidate for membership in the European Union; UN replaces UNSCOM with United Nations Monitoring Verification and Inspections Commission (UNMOVIC); Turkish special forces capture Kurdish leader Abdullah Öcalan in Kenya
- 2000** U.S. President Bill Clinton hosts Israeli-Syrian peace talks at Shepherdstown, West Virginia; Israeli forces withdraw from southern Lebanon; Syrian President Hafiz al-Asad dies; President Clinton brings together Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak and PLO Chair Yasir

- Arafat at Camp David II summit in Maryland; Second Palestinian Intifada breaks out; Kurdish insurgency in Turkey ends
- 2001** Israeli-PLO peace talks in Taba, Egypt; 9/11 attacks in United States carried out by Islamic militants associated with al-Qa'ida; United States invades Afghanistan, overthrows Taliban government
- 2002** Hamid Karzai elected president of Afghanistan; Israeli forces reoccupy West Bank cities under PA control; Israel begins construction of security barrier/separation wall; "Road Map" for Israeli-Palestinian peace announced; UNMOVIC begins arms inspections in Iraq; Turkish runner Süreyya Ayhan named 2002 European Female Athlete of the Year
- 2003** UNMOVIC withdraws from Iraq; United States and Britain invade Iraq and overthrow government of President Saddam Hussein; Iranian Shirin Ebadi awarded Nobel Peace Prize; Israeli astronaut Ilan Ramon dies when his spacecraft disintegrates upon reentry into earth's atmosphere; UN Security Council lifts sanctions on Libya and Iraq
- 2004** United States returns sovereignty to provisional Iraqi government; trial of Saddam Hussein begins in Iraq; Israelis Avram Hershko and Aaron Ciechanover awarded Nobel Prizes for chemistry; Iraqi architect Zaha Hadid awarded Pritzker Prize in architecture; Palestinian leader Yasir Arafat dies; referendum in Cyprus fails to approve the "Annan Plan" for resolving the Cyprus problem
- 2005** Former Lebanese Prime Minister Rafiq Hariri assassinated; Syria bows to international pressure, withdraws its forces from Lebanon; Egyptian Mohamed ElBaradei awarded Nobel Peace Prize; Kurdish leader Jalal Talabani elected president of Iraq; Mas'ud Barzani elected president of Kurdistan Regional Government in Iraq; Saudi Arabia's King Fahd dies, replaced by King Abdullah bin Abd al-Aziz al-Sa'ud; Israel evacuates Jewish settlements in Gaza and a portion of the West Bank; Comprehensive Peace Agreement signed by Sudan and SPLA/M ends Sudanese civil war; SPLA/M leader John Garang killed in plane crash; Mahmoud Ahmadinejad elected president of Iran
- 2006** Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon suffers a massive stroke, is replaced by Ehud Olmert; Israel-Hizbullah war occurs in Lebanon and northern Israel; Orhan Pamuk receives Nobel Prize for literature; Saddam Hussein executed in Iraq
- 2007** U.N. dissolves UNMOVIC; first fully democratic elections in Mauritania occur; Hamas movement seizes power in Gaza Strip, PA President Mahmud Abbas dissolves government and appoints a new prime minister



A

## ABBA, DIMI MINT BENAISSI (1958–)

Dimi Mint Benaissi Abba (also known as Dimi Mint Abba) is the most influential and well-known Mauritanian musician of her generation. Extremely popular in her home country, she is one of the few Mauritanian musicians to receive international recognition through her recordings and performances in Europe, the Middle East, and Africa. For the last several decades, she also has served as the foremost cultural ambassador for her country. As a griotte, Abba is continuing the tradition of griots (males) and griottes (females) who have served for centuries as oral historians, soothsayers, poets, praise singers, and entertainers in Mauritania and other bordering countries—Senegal, Mali, Guinea, and Guinea-Bissau).

### PERSONAL HISTORY

Abba was born in Tidjikdja, Mauritania in 1958 into an *iggawin* (musician caste) family. Her parents were both prominent Mauritanian musicians. Her father, Sidaty Ould Abba, was a prominent singer and composer, and her mother, Feu Mounina Mint Eida, was an expert musician who played the ardin (a fourteen-string harp similar to the West African kora traditionally played only by females) and percussion. Abba began singing at an early age and began study of the ardin and tabl (kettledrum) with her mother at ten. She also learned to play the tidnit, a small four-string lute traditionally played only by males (similar to the West African ngoni). During adolescence, she began to excel as a vocalist and a performer on the ardin. At eighteen, she won a national radio competition in 1976 that led to her representing Mauritania at the internationally-prominent festival *d'Oum Kulthum* in Tunisia. She won a Gold Medal at the festival for her performance of the song “Sawt al-Fan” that asserted that musicians are more important to a society than fighters. The appearance exposed her to an international audience and led to increased popularity both at home and abroad, particularly in the Arab world. During the next decade, she performed concerts and at festivals throughout the Middle East and North Africa, including the Festival of Arabic Youth in Iraq (1977), the Festival of Timgad in Algeria (1978), and the Festival of Agadir in Morocco (1986).

In 1989 Abba toured Europe offering the first exposure of many Western audiences to Mauritanian music. In 1990, she released the album *Moorish Music from Mauritania* on the World Circuit label. The recording of the album, reportedly recommended to the label by Malian superstar Ali Farke Touré, was the first studio recording of the *griot/griotte* tradition; all previous recordings had been live recordings. The album featured Abba on vocals and ardin and her husband, Khalifa Ould Eide—a prominent Mauritanian *griot*—on vocals, tidnit,

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Dimi Mint Benaissi Abba; also Dimi Mint Abba

**Birth:** 1958 in Tidjikdja, Mauritania

**Family:** Husband, Khalifa Ould Eide; two daughters

**Nationality:** Mauritanian

### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1976:** Wins a radio contest in Mauritania entitling her to represent the country at the Festival d'Oum Kuhlthum in Tunisia; awarded a Gold Medal at the Festival d'Oum Kuhlthum
- **1977:** Performs at the Festival of Arabic Youth (Iraq)
- **1978:** Performs at the Festival of Timgad (Algeria)
- **1986:** Performs at the Festival of Agadir (Morocco)
- **1989:** First European tour
- **1990:** Release of the recording *Moorish Music from Mauritania*
- **1992:** Release of the recording *Musique & chants de Mauritanie*
- **1993:** Tour of the United States
- **1996:** Awarded a Gold Medal for voice at the African-Arab Exhibition (Johannesburg, South Africa)
- **1999:** Awarded a Gold medal for voice at the African-Arab Exhibition (Dakar, Senegal)
- **2000:** Featured performer at the Gnawa Festival of Essaouira (Morocco)
- **2002:** Featured performer at the Gnawa Festival of Essaouira (Morocco); performed at the Festival of Sacred Music in Fes (Morocco)
- **2003:** Performed at the Festival in the Desert (Mali)
- **2004:** Featured performer at the Festival *International des Musiques* in the Nouakchott, Mauritania

*Musique & chants de Mauritanie/Music and Songs of Mauritania*. The success of the European tour and the positive critical response to the two albums led to a tour of the United States in 1993.

Abba then took a break from her busy performing schedule to have another daughter. However, she continued doing performances in Mauritania and appeared at a number of festivals in Africa, winning gold medals for best voice at the African-Arab Exhibitions in Johannesburg, South Africa in 1996 and in Dakar, Senegal in 1999. During this period, she also performed frequently in the neighboring country of Morocco where she frequently appeared on television, played with the Moroccan Royal Orchestra, and gave a royal performance for King HASSAN II.

In the late 1990s, she returned to a more active international touring schedule. In 2000 and 2002, she was a featured performer at the enormously popular Essaouira Festival of Gnawa Music. She also performed at the international Festival of Sacred Music in Fes, Morocco in 2002. In 2004, Abba was a featured performer at the festival *International des Musiques* in Nouakchott, Mauritania. In 2006, she performed at the Festival in the Desert in Mali. An album is scheduled for release on the World Circuit label in 2008.

### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Abba's music is a modernization of the *griot/griotte* tradition that was reserved for members of the *iggawin*: a low caste that served the warrior caste as praise singers, oral historians, and poets. Reflecting the history and ethnic composition of Mauritania, the *iggawin* musical tradition blended Arabic, Berber, and Sudanic influences. A strict set of musical rules that saw little change between the late eighteenth century and the mid twentieth century governed the music of the *griots/griottes*. Musical performances followed a specified progression of modal structures that led the performance through three modal "ways": black (*lakhal*) to spotted (*zzraag*—mixed black and white elements) to white (*labyad*). The most important musical instruments used by the *iggawin* were the tidnit and the ardin. Oral transmission from parents to children maintained the *iggawin* musical tradition, and Abba learned her skills as a *griotte* from her mother.

After independence from France in 1960, the role of the *iggawin* began to change with the growth of a more urbanized population, particularly in the capital city Nouakchott and the development of the country's mass media. Pre-independence, *griots* and *griottes* performing for members of the nobility (warrior caste) and the musical tradition were little known among the general public. Initial exposure on the radio—Radio Nouakchott founded in 1961—at government-sponsored concerts, and later exposure on television, helped introduce a wider

and electric guitar. Abba and Eide were accompanied by a tabl player and a female chorus, which included their daughter Veirouz Mint Seymali. In 1992, Abba released a second album on the French Avudis Ethnic label,

## CONTEMPORARIES

There are numerous prominent *griots* and *griottes* in Mauritania today, but relatively few are known outside of the country. Among the most well known is Abba's husband and performing partner Khalifa Ould Eide. Aicha Mint Chighaly, another prominent *griotte* who, like Abba, performs a mix of traditional and modernized styles, became internationally known after the release of a recording in 1998. A number of *griots* and *griottes* have been particularly active in efforts to "renew" the *iggawin* tradition that began in the mid-1970s. Malouma Mint el Meydah has sought to seek interest in the tradition through her performances abroad, most notably at the 1988 Carthage Festival in Tunisia. Some traditionalists have opposed these efforts for renewal, including Sidaty Oul Abba, who advocates a strict maintenance of the musical rules of the *iggawin* tradition. Seymali Ould Hemed Wall, son of renowned *griot* Mennina Mint Aliyen, was an early leader of this effort but later was instrumental in developing a musical style featuring a more prominent incorporation of Arab musical influences.

audience to the music. Increasingly perceived as entertainers and creative artists, *griots/griottes* began to lose their traditional dependence upon the patronage of the higher warrior caste and became highly desired performers for weddings, social events, and state ceremonies. During the 1970s, the music of the *iggawin* also began to become known in other African countries through festival performances by *griots* and *griottes*.

Changes in the role and status of the *griots/griottes* led to changes in musical style and performances of *iggawin* music by musicians not born into the *iggawin* caste. During the 1970s, when Abba began her career, traditional melodies were "modernized" and some musicians created larger ensembles that occasionally included saxophones, electric guitars, synthesizers, and drum machines. Abba's husband, Khalifa Ould Eide, was an influential figure in popularizing the use of the electric guitar as a replacement for the *tidnit*. Other musicians, including the prominent *griot* Seymali Ould Hemed Wall, substituted the Arabic *ud* (*oud*; lute) for the *tidnit*, helping to create greater popularity for the music in the Middle East. Some *iggawin* have maintained the strict

rules of traditional practice. Abba has taken a middle road between those who seek to "modernize" the practice and those calling for a strict adherence to traditional rules. Her ensemble is larger than the traditional ensemble, including a vocal chorus and her husband playing an electric guitar. On occasion, she has also performed with additional instruments including keyboards and saxophones. However, she has not significantly altered the rhythmic and melodic elements of *iggawin* music to create modern "pop" music. Her performances often follow the traditional progression of melodic modes from black through spotted to white.

### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

Abba has been the most significant figure in creating an awareness of Mauritanian music outside of Mauritania. Prior to the effort of the government to present Mauritanian music at festivals throughout Africa and the Middle East beginning in the mid-1970s, there was little knowledge of the *iggawin* musical tradition outside of Mauritania. Abba, who earned awards and accolades at a number of international festivals early in her career, was a significant figure in these efforts. During the 1990s, she became the best-known Mauritanian musician in the world and was influential in introducing Mauritanian music to new audiences in Africa, the Middle East, Europe, and North America.

### LEGACY

Abba is the most influential Mauritanian musician of the last half-century. She was instrumental in introducing audiences outside her country to Mauritanian music, particularly the music of the *iggawin* tradition. During the last three decades, she has also been a significant figure in the debate in Mauritania about the future role of the *griot/griotte* and the direction of the *iggawin* musical tradition. Through her popularity at home and abroad and her frequent role as cultural ambassador for her country, she exerts a significant influence on the direction of the *griot/griotte* tradition.

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*Jeffrey Callen*

## ABBAS, MAHMUD (1935–)

Palestinian politician Mahmud Abbas (also known as Abu Mazin) long played a key role in the Israeli-Palestinian peace process and had become the paramount political leader on the Palestinian political scene by the early twenty-first century. It was under his leadership that Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) first started face-to-face talks in the early 1990s, a process that gave birth to the Palestinian Authority (PA), and it was he who assumed the positions of chairman of the PLO and president of the PA upon the death of long-time Palestinian leader YASIR ARAFAT in 2004.

### PERSONAL HISTORY

Abbas was born in 1935 in the town of Safad (Hebrew: Tzfat) in the Galilee region of what was then Mandatory Palestine. Most of Safad’s inhabitants at that time were Sunni Muslim Arabs like Abbas’s family, but about



*Mahmud Abbas.* OMAR RASHID/GETTY IMAGES.

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Mahmud Abbas (Mahmoud Abbas, Abu Mazen, Abu Mazin)

**Birth:** 1935, Safad, Mandatory Palestine

**Family:** Wife, Amina; three sons, Mazin (deceased 2002), Yasser, Tareq

**Nationality:** Palestinian

**Education:** Egypt, Syria; Damascus University; Ph.D., Oriental College, Moscow, 1982

### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1948:** Flees as a refugee to Syria
- **1960s:** Founding member of Fatah
- **1960s–present:** Senior official in the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)
- **1964:** Gains membership in Fatah’s Central Committee
- **1980:** Gains membership in PLO’s Executive Committee
- **2003:** Prime minister of the Palestinian Authority (PA)
- **2004–present:** PLO chairman and PA president

twenty percent were Jews—roughly the same percentage as in the population of Palestine at large. The Abbas family’s fortunes changed dramatically after fighting broke out between Jews and Arabs in Palestine in late 1947, following the United Nations decision to partition the country into Jewish and Arab states. In the course of this fighting, Jewish forces captured Safad on 11 May 1948, after which the Arab population—about 11,000 people—fled. Young Abbas and his family ultimately took refuge in Damascus, Syria. Israel did not allow the vast majority of Palestinian refugees to return, and Abbas became a permanent exile from his country.

Abbas worked as an elementary school teacher in Syria and later studied in Egypt and Syria, eventually graduating from Damascus University. As a student, he involved himself in Palestinian nationalist politics in the General Union of Palestinian Students. Later in life, Abbas completed a Ph.D. on the history of Zionism at Oriental College in Moscow in the Soviet Union in 1982. In 1957, he capitalized on his education and moved to Qatar to work in the Qatari education department. There he continued his involvement in the Pales-

tinian national movement through his associations with fellow Palestinian expatriates. Along with figures like Yasir Arafat, Abbas became one of the founders of the Palestinian National Liberation Movement, better known by its backwards Arabic acronym, al-Fatah. Like many in the movement, he assumed a *nom de guerre* (pseudonym) that began with “Abu” (“father of”), following the Arab convention of calling a man by the name of his eldest son. Abbas became known as Abu Mazin (“father of Mazin”), after his first-born son, who died in 2002. Abbas still is commonly referred to this way by Palestinians. He rose to membership in Fatah’s Central Committee, its top leadership body, in 1964, and has remained one of Fatah’s key figures since.

Abbas’s political fortunes rose with those of Fatah, which by 1968 was the most important Palestinian nationalist organization. By 1969, Fatah had become the dominant faction in the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). Abbas served as a Fatah representative in the Palestinian National Council, the PLO parliament, starting in 1968. Yet Abbas’s real source of power was his relationship as a key advisor and trusted lieutenant to Fatah chairman Yasir Arafat, who in 1969 became chairman of the PLO as well. Abbas was given a number of key positions in the PLO over the years, including membership in its top leadership body, the Executive Committee, starting in 1980 (and secretary general of the committee starting in 1996). He also secured the important Occupied Territories portfolio in 1988 and headed the National and International Relations Department from 1984 to 2000.

Abbas was the senior PLO official in charge of negotiations with Israel beginning with the October 1991 Madrid Peace Talks. As a result of the secret deal reached between Israel and the PLO in Oslo, Norway, in September 1993—an agreement called the Declaration of Principles but also known as the Oslo Accord—Abbas was catapulted from relative public obscurity into the full glare of the international media. He joined Arafat on the lawn of the White House in Washington to sign the accord on 13 September 1993, in the presence of U.S. president Bill Clinton, Israeli prime minister YITZHAK RABIN, and Israeli foreign minister SHIMON PERES, among others, all of whom were well-known public figures. It was in fact Abbas, not Arafat, who actually signed the document for the PLO. Abbas continued to coordinate the Israeli-Palestinian peace process, known to the world as the Oslo process, a process that produced agreement on the formation of a Palestinian government called the Palestinian Authority (PA) in parts of the Israeli-occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip.

As a result, Abbas was able to return to his homeland in July 1995 after 47 years in exile. Although he visited Safad and saw his boyhood home shortly thereafter,

Abbas took up residence in Ramallah and Gaza City in territory under the control of the PA. He headed the PA’s Central Elections Commission from 1996 to 2002, coordinating the first-ever direct Palestinian elections in January 1996, by which PA citizens chose a legislative body, the Palestinian Legislative Council, and a president, Arafat. Abbas himself was elected to the council as a representative from the West Bank town of Qalqilya. He also remained busy directing Palestinian negotiators in their ongoing talks with Israel from 1994 until the collapse of the Oslo process in January 2001.

More significantly, he became the first prime minister of the PA in 2003. The various Israeli-Palestinian agreements signed as part of the Oslo process only made reference to a single PA executive position, that of “ra’is”—a term that was deliberately left in the original Arabic because the two sides could not agree on whether to translate the term as “chairman” (as the Israelis wanted) or “president” (as the Palestinians wanted). Regardless of its translation, Arafat was the “ra’is,” and, because no further presidential election was held while he was alive, he had enjoyed sole executive authority since the PA was formed in 1994. Mounting international criticism of Arafat’s method of governance, plus his unwillingness to wield the numerous PA security forces under his command against militant groups like Hamas that continued to attack Israelis during the second Intifada that broke out in September 2000, eventually led the U.S. and Israel to halt all further contacts with Arafat. Bowing to the pressure, Arafat agreed to create a new post of PA prime minister, and reluctantly allowed Abbas to assume the position on 30 April 2003.

Abbas’s short tenure as prime minister was marred by his conflict with Hamas, as well as by internal friction within his own Fatah movement over his talks with the Israelis. Yet his most pronounced struggle was with Arafat, his one-time political mentor. Upon assuming the post of prime minister, Abbas was courted by the Israelis and the Americans, but also pressured to crack down on Hamas. Yet he also was faced with the need to avoid looking like a tool of the Americans in the eyes of Palestinians. His conflict with Arafat over who would control PA security forces reached a head when he appointed a loyalist, MUHAMMAD DAHLAN, as minister of state for Security Affairs, only to have Arafat counter by appointing Dahlan’s rival, Jibril Rajub, to the new post of national security advisor to the president. As a result of these various conflicts, Abbas resigned first from the Fatah Central Committee in July (although he later rejoined) and then from his post as prime minister on 6 September after only four months in office.

Abbas quietly withdrew from the public political scene for a little more than a year. Arafat’s death on 11 November 2004 opened the door for his political rehabilitation.



Within hours of Arafat's passing, the PLO Executive Committee appointed Abbas chairman of the PLO, only the fourth person to hold the position since the organization's inception in 1964. Further consolidating his power, Abbas also was elected president of the PA on 9 January 2005 with 62 percent of the votes. Abbas now controls two of the three major portfolios once held by Arafat: PA president and PLO chairman. The third, Fatah chairman, was assumed in November 2004 by long-time Fatah figure Faruq Qaddumi, who actually wields little influence within the group. Abbas has retained those two posts ever since.

### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Abbas was deeply influenced over the decades by his refugee experience. His commitment to, and lengthy involvement in, the Palestinian national movement stems from his having lived in exile for most of his life since his family fled Safad when he was thirteen years old. Like many of his generation, wealth and success elsewhere in the Arab world never could erase the longing to return home. While most Palestinian refugees in the 1950s placed their political hopes in the leaders of the Arab world to defeat Israel for them and open the door to return, Abbas was one of a small group of lower-middle-class and professional Palestinians living in the Arab Gulf countries who chose instead the path of self-liberation. The organization they established, Fatah, was unique at the time of its establishment in the late 1950s in proposing that Palestinians wage their own military struggle against Israel. Fatah thereafter played the leading role in shaping the modern Palestinian national movement. Fatah went on to control the PLO in 1969, where its refugee leadership subsequently spent decades trying to translate their desire to return to Palestine into concrete actions to make this happen. While never himself a combatant, Abbas was a central figure in Fatah for decades, translating the bitterness of his personal exile into the nationalist campaign for creation of a Palestinian state.

Abbas's experiences with Fatah and the PLO over the years also showed him, however, that an Arab and Palestinian armed struggle never would lead to a Palestinian state and the return of the refugees because Israel, time and time again, defeated all Arab military challenges to its power. He came to realize that ultimately only diplomacy would lead to the Palestinians' realizing at least some of their national aspirations. Like those of other Fatah founders, his lower-middle-class origins and conservative Muslim background also shaped his overall conservative, pragmatic worldview, in marked contrast to some of the expansive, revolutionary views held over the years by Palestinian activists from different social backgrounds.

Abbas has made two major contributions to the Palestinian national movement and the wider Middle

## CONTEMPORARIES

Known by the *nom de guerre* Abu Jihad, Khalil al-Wazir (1935-1988) was another founding member of Fatah who rose to senior positions within both Fatah and the PLO. Born in Ramla, Palestine, to Muslim Palestinian parents, al-Wazir and his family were made refugees by the 1948 War. After helping form Fatah, al-Wazir became deeply involved in military action against Israel starting in the early 1960s. He founded al-Asifa, Fatah's military wing, and later served on the PLO's Supreme Military Council. More than anyone else, it was al-Wazir who shaped the theory and practice of Palestinian armed struggle. As holder of the PLO's Occupied Territories portfolio, he also played a key role in organizing PLO activities in the West Bank and Gaza Strip after their capture by Israel in 1967, activities that helped trigger the first Intifada in late 1987 and eventually helped convince Israel to begin negotiations with the PLO. A lifelong friend and confidant of Yasir Arafat, al-Wazir was assassinated by Israeli commandos in April 1988 at his home in Sidi Bu Sa'id, Tunisia.

East. The first has been his pioneering efforts on behalf of a negotiated, peaceful settlement of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Considered a moderate and a pragmatist, Abbas laid the basis for his involvement in diplomacy long before the Israeli-Palestinian peace process that began with the Madrid Conference in October 1991. In the 1970s he met with Israeli peace activists like Uri Avnery and former general Mattiyahu Peled, with whom he signed the "Principles of Peace" document in January 1977 that spoke of a two-state solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict: Israel alongside a Palestinian state. Abbas continued meeting with Peled and others, both at PLO headquarters in Tunisia and elsewhere. In 1989 during the first Intifada, he was engaged in secret talks with Israelis through the help of Dutch intermediaries.

Arafat chose Abbas to coordinate Palestinian participation in the public peace talks at the October 1991 Madrid Peace Conference convened by the United States and the Soviet Union and that continued in Washington until 1993. At that time, neither Israel nor the U.S. would talk officially with the PLO. Abbas's major contribution came in directing the top-secret, direct talks between PLO and Israeli negotiators carried out in Oslo, Norway, that

eventually produced the Oslo Accord in August 1993 and the establishment of the PA in July 1994. Under his direction, Israeli-PLO talks continued in the 1990s, producing several follow-up agreements such as the September 1995 Interim Agreement (Oslo II) that led to Israeli withdrawals from parts of the West Bank and Gaza and the expansion of the PA's jurisdiction.

The failure of the incremental steps toward a permanent peace set in motion by the Oslo process disappointed many Palestinians. Abbas's fellow exiles felt betrayed by the PLO, which they criticized for selling out by abandoning armed struggle to participate in a process restricted by Israeli and American constraints, a process they believed was designed to prevent their right to return to their pre-1948 homes. In the West Bank and Gaza, the process did not lead to full statehood for the PA, nor did it even halt continued Israeli seizures of Palestinian land and construction of Jewish settlements in the territories. Mutual suspicion and violence weakened the peace process in the mid- to late-1990s and culminated in the explosion of the second Intifada in September 2000, the Israeli reoccupation of parts of the territories, and the effective end to the Oslo process.

Abbas has been the central figure in revived peace talks starting in 2003. Believing that he, unlike Arafat, was willing to rein in anti-Israeli militants and resume negotiations, the United States and Israel agreed to a return to the talks that had ended in January 2001, but only with Abbas and not Arafat. Within hours of Abbas's assuming the position of prime minister on 29 April 2003, the United States announced details of a new peace initiative, called the Roadmap to Peace, that would pick up where the Oslo process had failed. U.S. president George W. Bush also quickly invited Abbas to a summit meeting with Israeli prime minister ARIEL SHARON and Jordanian king ABDULLAH II BIN HUSSEIN in Aqaba, Jordan, in June 2003, and to a meeting with him at the White House the following month. In the run-up to the January 2005 PA presidential elections, Abbas called on Palestinians to end the violence of the second Intifada. However, the violence continued. Abbas's efforts were hampered both by anti-Israeli attacks mounted by Hamas and Islamic Jihad, among others, and by Israeli attacks and Israel's ongoing construction of a "security barrier" within Palestinian territory, inside the internationally recognized border between Israel and the Occupied Territories. Furthermore, Israel's unilateral withdrawal of its settlements from Gaza, completed in August 2005, indicated that it was abandoning hope of reaching a deal with the Palestinians, preferring instead to go its own way.

Yet perhaps Abbas's most serious challenge to peace-making was the stunning Hamas victory in the 25 January 2006 elections for the Palestinian Legislative Council. The elections ended Fatah's dominance of the council and PA

politics and represented a major blow to its standing in the Palestinian body politic generally. It also brought into electoral power a movement that opposed the Road Map and indeed any talks with Israel. On 19 February 2006 Hamas leader ISMAIL HANIYEH became the new PA prime minister, worsening Abbas's dilemmas by precipitating a cutoff in aid from the United States and other countries (which formally list Hamas as a terrorist organization). In addition to the clash in attitudes toward how to deal with Israel, internecine Palestinian fighting grew as Fatah militants clashed with those from Hamas, who also deployed a special militia in Gaza to rival the PA's regular security forces which Hamas views as Fatah, rather than national, organizations. In June 2006, Abbas challenged Hamas to accept a document brokered by Hamas and Fatah figures in Israeli prisons that called for a two-state solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, thus establishing a tacit Hamas acceptance of Israel. He also made plans to hold a referendum on the document throughout the PA and set in motion a "national dialogue" to discuss the future course for realizing Palestinian independence. After lengthy talks, Haniyeh's government gave way to a joint Fatah-Hamas unity government in March 2007, with Haniyeh remaining as prime minister. This arrangement fell apart in June 2007 when vicious fighting between Hamas and Fatah militants led to a Hamas takeover of Gaza. Safe in the West Bank, Abbas dissolved the unity government and appointed a new prime minister, Salam Fayyad. In Gaza, Haniyeh rejected the move and claimed he was still prime minister and head of the unity government.

Abbas's second major contribution has been the shape he has given to Palestinian politics since becoming the leading Palestinian politician in late 2004 and early 2005. After decades of behind-the-scenes work in the shadows of Yasir Arafat, Abbas emerged not only to face the challenges inherent in Arafat's legacy but to set Palestinian politics on a new course. Arafat ran the PLO and the PA in authoritarian fashion based on his charisma and larger-than-life public persona. Despite the existence of political structures, his was a shadowy world of intrigue, rivalries, secret bank accounts, and less-than-transparent governance. Abbas by contrast was more of a technocrat. He lacked Arafat's flair and eschewed a military uniform like Arafat, appearing in public in a simple suit and tie. While still a consummate insider and politician, Abbas was much more willing to work within formal structures and according to procedures. He also respected the democratic process to a much greater degree than Arafat, even bowing to the popular will when it meant sharing power with Hamas after January 2006. However, he made no dramatic gestures to curb the widespread corruption in the PA associated with years of Fatah/Arafat rule. Nor is it clear if he will be able to rehabilitate the virtually defunct PLO.

## PEACE SHOULD PRODUCE SATISFACTION ON BOTH SIDES

If we truly want to achieve true peace, then we have to be satisfied—both sides will have to be satisfied—and I'm here [in Washington] preparing for those permanent status issues. I'm not preparing for other issues. For example, I am a Palestinian refugee. I was born—I was born in another city that is now in Israel. I'm not asking for that part where I was born. All we are asking for is the twenty-two percent of the territories of historic Palestine that will be the future state of Palestine. I'm not asking for more, and I'm not going to allow other people to ask for more. It is very important here that peace should produce satisfaction on both sides. Let us work for peace and let us get what international law and international legitimacy gives.

(“A CONVERSATION WITH H.E. MAHMOUD ABBAS.” COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS. UPDATED 27 MAY 2005. AVAILABLE FROM [HTTP://WWW.CFR.ORG](http://www.cfr.org))

### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

Global perceptions of Abbas generally have been positive since his emergence on the public scene in 1993. He is perceived both as a pragmatist and a moderate committed to a peaceful resolution of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, although it took the world some time to understand the central role he played in the peace process. Of the four Israelis and Palestinians who shared the podium at the Oslo Accords' signing ceremony at the White House in September 1993, for example, Abbas was alone in not receiving the Nobel Peace Prize the following year. During the ceremony, he was not even acknowledged by his full name, but was introduced to the crowd in attendance merely as “Mr. Abbas” of the Palestine Liberation Organization. But he soon was seen in many international quarters as the Palestinian key to a permanent peace, particularly as global attitudes toward Arafat soured. This was especially seen in the intense hopes placed in him by the United States government upon his assumption of the PA prime minister's position in April 2003. President Bush invited Abbas to the White House on July 23, at which time he said, “To break through old hatreds and barriers to peace, the Middle East needs leaders of vision and courage and a determination to serve the interest of their people. Mr. Abbas is the first Palestinian Prime Minister, and he is proving to be such a leader.” The White House press secretary Tony

Snow reaffirmed Bush's positive view of Abbas three years later, when Abbas challenged Hamas to accept a two-state solution contained in the document forged by Palestinian prisoners, by noting on 6 June 2006, that “once again. . . [Abbas] has demonstrated that he's somebody who wants to work toward a two-state solution.”

### LEGACY

It remains too early to assess Abbas's ultimate legacy. Certainly he will go down in history as the Palestinian figure most associated with the intricacies of the Israeli-Palestinian peace process, if not its high drama, as well as the leader who took the Palestinians into a new direction following thirty-five years when Arafat dominated the scene. His ultimate ability to achieve his goals of leading the Palestinians toward an independent and more democratic state alongside Israel remains hostage, however, to powerful forces beyond his ability to control.

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*Michael R. Fischbach*

## ABBASGHOLIZADEH, MAHBOUBEH (1958–)

Mahboubeh Abbasgholizadeh is an Iranian women's rights activist who has played an important role in Iran since the 1990s. She is an active member of the Stop Stoning to Death Campaign and the Iranian Women's Charter. She was the director of the Non-Governmental Organisation Training Centre (NGOTC) and the director of the Association of Women Writers and Journalists NGO. She was also the chief editor of *Farzaneh Women's Studies Journal* and the director of *Entesharate Banoo* (Banoo publication) and *Entesharate Jamee Iranian* (Iranian society publication). She has attended numerous international and national conferences, and she is a regular contributor to *Sharg* (East), the most popular opposition newspaper in Iran and *Zanan* (Women), the first independent journal after the Iranian Revolution that specifically dealt with women's issues.



**Mabboubeh Abbasgholizadeh.** COURTESY OF MAHBOUBEH ABBASGHOLIZADEH.

#### PERSONAL HISTORY

Abbasgholizadeh was born in 1958 in Khoramshahr, in the south of Iran. She has a BA in Theology from Tehran University; a BA in Islamic Sciences from Islamic University in Tehran and an MSc in Communication Sciences from Allameh Tabatabaee University in Tehran. In 1980-81 she studied Arabic literature at AinShams University in Cairo, Egypt. She has also completed a number of short courses on human rights, women's studies and women and development. Her intellectual starting point was the dynamism of religion and modern ideas. For many years she concentrated on feminist readings of the Qur'an. As she commented in a recent interview with the author: "I came to the conclusion that in the context of gender equality, what is practiced is not equal to what is said in the Qur'an" (Rostami-Povey).

In the 1990s she was engaged with the reform movement associated with MOHAMMAD KHATAMI's government. In this period, she moved away from gender and cultural activities to NGO activities focusing on economic development and feminist issues. As a journalist and as an editor, she also produced ten issues of *Farzaneh Women's Studies Journal*. As a publisher she translated and published a number of feminist books.

#### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

In the 1990s, the conservatives in control of the judiciary objected to the reform movement and closed down many newspapers, journals, and publications. Abbasgholizadeh

established the Association of Women Writers and Journalists NGO. Her aim was to support unemployed female media workers by facilitating income-generating activities for them. She explained: "I did not give them money. I organised projects and exhibitions and suggested to them to work for these projects and exhibitions. I provided them with computers and cameras. Once they completed the projects and the exhibitions, they benefited intellectually and financially" (Rostami-Povey). Through her activities, she also raised the issue of women's right to work and the undemocratic nature of the closure of newspapers, journals, and publishing houses (Rostami-Povey 2004 and 2005).

The association was also closed down, and Abbasgholizadeh then established the NGOTC. In the NGO Training Centre she pursued capacity building and advocacy work in order to strengthen women's civil society organizations. In 2004 she became actively engaged with the "Beijing + 10" and was responsible for organizing women in the region and in Central Asia for this Bangkok conference reviewing the United Nations' plan for action regarding women's rights. She also attended the

#### BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Mabboubeh Abbasgholizadeh

**Birth:** 1958, Khoramshahr, Iran

**Family:** Divorced; two daughters Maryam Ommi and Mahya Ommi

**Nationality:** Iranian

**Education:** B.A. Islamic University, Tehran; M.Sc. Allameh Tabatabaee University, Tehran; studied Arabic literature at Ainshams University, Cairo

#### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1993-2000:** Editor in Chief, *Farzaneh Women's Studies Journal*
- **1996-1998:** Director of Banoo Publishing House
- **1998-2002:** Director of Jamee Iranian Publishing House
- **1997-2004:** Director of Association of Women Writers and Journalists Non-Governmental Organization (NGO)
- **2002-present:** Director of NGOTC
- **2006-present:** Founding member of Stop Stoning to Death Campaign and Women's Charter

European Social Forum in London. In October 2004 the Iranian government imprisoned her for one month, making her more determined to promote feminist activities. In a recent interview with the author Abbasgholizadeh said:

I went to jail as an NGO activist. I came out as a feminist activist. I also had to review my position as a Muslim feminist. When I was insisting that I am a Muslim feminist, my interrogator kept saying that I am not. I came to the conclusion that whatever we try to argue for a different reading of Islam, the conservative Islamists will insist on their own discourse. I, therefore, decided to change my discourse and to become a secular feminist, to work with ordinary women and to try to challenge the unequal gender relations from below.

Prior to 8 March 2007, International Women's Day, she was arrested along with thirty-two other women's activists. They were released on bail awaiting trial and possibly several months of imprisonment. She has argued that her aim is not to change but to reform the system. She is an active member of the Campaign to Stop Stoning to Death and the Iranian Women's Charter. These activities are based on the website [www.meydaan.org](http://www.meydaan.org), meetings, and conferences. She feels that "solidarity work with other women's groups is the essence of women's rights activism: Only through solidarity with each other and work with ordinary women and men from below we can achieve our rights" (Rostami-Povey).

#### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

In a recent interview with the author, Abbasgholizadeh argued that "the world is a small place; women's activities globally and regionally can impact each other. Women in Iran and the region are at the centre of the wars, conflicts and the debate over Islam and the West. Through our struggle for women's rights and democracy we can end wars, conflicts and the dichotomisation of Islam and the West" (Rostami-Povey). When she was in jail in March 2007 Abbasgholizadeh and other imprisoned women activists received hundreds of thousands of sympathetic letters and emails from around the world. She said:

It is important that we make a difference in the modern world. I am optimistic and I feel that the changes in the future have roots in our activities today. One hundred years ago women in Iran fought to establish girls' schools. Today 64% of university students are women. I hope that our children could one day say that our parents went to jail for our gender equality and democracy. I feel that I am making a change for the future, which has legacy in our today's activities (Rostami-Povey).

#### LEGACY

Mahboubeh Abbasgholizadeh will certainly go down in history as a prominent Iranian women's rights activist.

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*Elahab Rostami Povey*

### ABD AL-QADER, AHMAD BEN (1941-)

Mauritanian poet and fiction writer Ahmad Ben Abd al-Qader is a pioneer in his field. Clearly aware of the need to address social issues, he recognizes that prose is better suited than poetry to communicate his social message. Though he began his literary activity as a poet, he soon began to use prose to address the country's feelings of insecurity during the early years of its independence. Many intellectuals observed that the government and political structure had not filled the gap of the weakening tribal ties that long formed the backbone of the Mauritanian society.

#### PERSONAL HISTORY

Abd al-Qader was born in 1941, in Arkiz in the Tararza Desert in southwest Mauritania. He received his early education in the Qur'anic schools (*kuttab*). In 1961 he enrolled and spent four years in the Institute of Arab-Islamic Studies in Abu Tilmit. He grew up in a family that appreciated poetry, and he began composing verse at an early age. He admits having been influenced by two Mauritanian poets in his youth, Ghilan dhi al-Rummah and Muhammad An-Anah ben al-Ma'li. He worked in the field of journalism and teaching before joining Mauritania's National Center for Scientific Research in Nouakchott in 1975. His research at the Center focused on the study of manuscripts and oral traditions.

Abd al-Qader was active in the ranks of the opposition since its inception in 1968. He was imprisoned several times, an experience described in some of his poems, including "A Night with the Police." His opposition to Mauritania's existing political power structure is obvious as he writes:

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Ahmad ben Abd al-Qader

**Birth:** 1941, Arkiz, Mauritania

**Nationality:** Mauritanian

**Education:** Institute of Arab-Islamic Studies, Abu Tilmit, Mauritania, 1961-1965

## PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1968:** Joined ranks of the anti-government opposition
- **1975:** Began working at National Center for Scientific Research, Nouakchott
- **1984:** Publishes “al-Safin”
- **1986:** President of the Mauritanian high court

The truth is that I struggle  
Against those who build houses of torture.  
The truth is that I struggle against those who  
lead our nation toward destruction

(AL-SHI'R AL-MURITANI AL-HADITH)

In later years, Abd al-Qader served as the president of the High Court in 1986 and then appointed cultural advisor to the presidency. He is semi-retired, concentrating on his writing. Abd al-Qader's poetry and prose writings reveal his knowledge of his country's history, the Arab World, and Islamic traditions. He is well versed in Arabic literature and borrows abundantly from its vast repertoire. His lengthy poem, “al-Bahth an Hajar Luqman” (Searching for luqman's stone) is a case in point. The poem abounds in references to geographical locations across the world and to characters from *One Thousand and One Arabian Nights*, especially Sinbad the traveler par excellence. Sinbad's travels taught him that the most important thing for a human being is the knowledge of one's self:

I came back  
With the first lesson I learned,  
And the last one I understood,  
I learned that I am myself  
A person should not despair in God's mercy  
Except he  
Who does not know himself.

(AL-ADAB, P. 50)

## INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Abd al-Qader is credited with changing the literary scene of Mauritania. He shifted from poetry to prose in the early 1980s as he became aware of the inadequacy of poetry to respond to Mauritania's social changes and suggest solutions. The respect of the readers for his poetry allowed this turning point in his career, giving his prose writing—a genre that had received little attention—respectability. Furthermore, traditional classical poetry was losing its appeal among the young readers. While free verse had made major strides in the Arab world, it was slow to rally supporters in Mauritania and met with opposition from traditional poets.

Abd al-Qader's two novels were published outside Mauritania: *al-Asma al-Mutaghayyira* (The changing names) was published in 1981 in Beirut, and *al-Qabr al-Majhul aw al-Usul* (The unknown tomb or the origins), was published in 1984 in Tunisia. Abd al-Qader continues to write poetry, but he is moving away from the traditional *qasida* and writing free verse. His poem “al-Safin” (The ship) raised a storm of controversy in the Mauritanian press, as well as in literary and academic circles. The poem started the debate around the issue of free verse and the new literary genres gradually appearing on Mauritania's literary scene.

Abd al-Qader published a collection of poetry, *Asda al-Rimal* (The echoes of sand), before embarking on fiction writing. His political position is expressed explicitly in his poetry, where he describes his experience in prison and denounces the abuses of the political regime he considered to be a nightmare.

## AL-SAFIN

Will we like life after resurrection?  
Will we have roots again?  
Will our thickets be green?  
Will our gatherings flourish?  
Will our days and our hopes  
Come together  
When everything turns green  
And the birds sing for it, and  
The scents of the valley and the genuine light.  
Goodbye our grazing grounds,  
Goodbye our beaches,  
Will the ship and the sea return,  
Or will they become still?

(ABD AL-QADER, AHMED BEN. “AL-SAFIN.” 1984)

In his novel *al-Qabr al-Majhul aw al-Usul* Abd al-Qader evokes Mauritania's nineteenth-century past to describe the tribal system that dominated society and its gradual disintegration. The author offers readers the image of a newly evolving society with different values and relationships between its various ethnic and social groups. He had described this change in his poem "al-Safin," comparing the sudden change in the social structure to the dizzying effect of seasickness:

The fortune teller told us  
How strange!  
Your ship has raised the anchor,  
It is sailing,  
Can't you feel it?

The poet adds, describing his feelings:

I feel dizzy  
And scared  
As if I am seasick.

*Al-Qabr al-Majhul aw al-Usul* offers Abd al-Qader's vision for his country. Referencing the past and evoking the historic disputes between the country's three factions—the belligerent and strong Arab tribe of Awlad Aswailem; the weak tribe of Awlad Ahmidan; and the Zawiyas (Islamic mystical lodges) of Awlad Abd al-Rahman whose sole weapon is that they are holders of the cultural heritage and endowed with special blessings—Abd al-Qader demonstrates the futility of the traditional way of life and the need for change and coexistence. The message throughout the novel is a call for coexistence and knowledge.

Through the events of the novel the author suggests that force and manipulation do not pay, and he advocates enlightened education that could lead to sharing an Arab-Islamic culture, rather than claiming a purity of descent that cannot be proven and would only lead to futile debates. Abd al-Qader meant to teach by example through his novel, using bloody examples from the country's past history to show the uselessness of ethnic divisions and fighting. Modern Mauritania needs unity, education, and reconciliation. The need for such a message in the novel came as a result of efforts made in post-independence Mauritania to reaffirm and highlight the country's Arab identity.

In addition to its literary value as one of the first modern Mauritanian novels, the book reveals its author's position on various aspects of his society. He alludes to the exploitation and manipulation of religion and the conduct of some members of the zawiyas that contradicts their religious message. Moreover, his choice of classical Arabic and not the spoken Hasaniyya reflects his belief in the Arabic character of Mauritania. He is clearly opposed to class discrimination based on tribal affiliation and ethnicity, an impediment to building a modern, cohesive Mauritanian society.

Abd al-Qader has expressed his affiliation with the Arab world. He has supported Arab causes—particularly the Palestinian cause—and backed leaders who devoted their energy in defense of those causes, including Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser. He also supported other liberation movements, hailing the success of the Vietnamese in their fight against the United States.

#### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

No discussion of Mauritanian literature is complete without Abd al-Qader. He is given a prominent place in the special section on Mauritanian literature published in *al-Adab*. There is a critical study of his novel *al-Qabr al-Majhul*, and his long poem "al-Bahth an Hajar Luqman" (In search of luqman's stone) is published in its entirety.

Abd al-Qader has participated in various literary activities in the Arab world, an involvement that he seems to cherish as reflected in his poem, "Amir al-Khalidin" presented at the Mutanabbi Festival in Baghdad in 1978. He began the poem with these verses,

I traveled at dawn, heading to the East  
I leave full of passion with roses and smoldering  
embers  
How nostalgic I am,  
Lilies of love  
Light my life

#### LEGACY

Abd al-Qader provided inspiration to other poets of his generation in the 1970s, including Muhammad ben al-Qadi (d. 1983) and Muhammad al-Amin Weld Muhammad Fadel (d. 1983). They abandoned traditional themes in their poems and turned their attention to national and international causes and social problems. Abd al-Qader and his contemporaries pioneered the tradition of giving poems a title.

On the technical level Abd al-Qader is credited with introducing dialogue in his poems and using a narrative style. His poem "al-Safin" published in 1984 in both Arabic and French, started the debate between the supporters of the traditional form of poetry and the modernists, contributing to an evolution in modern poetry. In his article "The Appearance of the Mauritanian Novel, a Shift from the Literary Genre of Poetry to the Literary Genre of Fiction," Muhammad al-Amin Weld Mulay Ibrahim credits Abd al-Qader with rallying the modernist Mauritanian poets of his generation. A younger generation of poets developed a greater clarity of vision in the poetry of the 1990s as a result of this development. It even influenced some oral *Hassani* poetry to use a narrative style.

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*Aida A. Bamia*

## ABDELAZIZ, MOHAMED (1947–)

Mohamed Abdelaziz (also Muhammad Abd al-Aziz) is the secretary-general of the POLISARIO front and president of the Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic.

### PERSONAL HISTORY

Mohamed Abdelaziz was born 17 August 1947 in Marrakech, Morocco. His family was from the Reguibat Fokra clan of Arab bedouins (nomads) who traveled through Mauritania, Algeria, Morocco, and Spanish Morocco. His father was an officer in the Moroccan army.

Spain colonized the region later known as Western Sahara beginning in 1883. The Frente Popular para la Liberacion de Saguia el Hamra y Rio de Oro (POLISARIO) was born in May 1973 as an independence move-

ment among Saharawis (Arabic: those of the desert, i.e., of Western Sahara) to fight for the region's independence. Joining the liberation struggle while at university in Rabat, Morocco Abdelaziz was one of POLISARIO's early activists.

When Spain relinquished its control over Spanish Morocco in 1975, Morocco and Mauritania laid claim to Western Sahara, despite a ruling from the International Court of Justice that the region should become independent. Morocco ultimately came to occupy much of the region and Mauritania the rest. In February 1976, POLISARIO declared the independence of the Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic (SADR), a government-in-exile based in the Saharawi refugee camps in Algeria's Tindouf province. This government is supported by Algeria and recognized by approximately forty-three nations. In August 1976, Abdelaziz was elected secretary-general of POLISARIO and president of SADR. Mauritania abandoned its claim to Western Sahara in August 1979, but Morocco still strongly asserts its legal claims to control the area.

### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Abdelaziz is the longtime leader of the POLISARIO movement, and has played a crucial role in the Saharawi drive for independence. He led the movement through negotiations that led to Mauritania's evacuation from that portion of Western Sahara it had occupied, through the long war against Morocco from 1975-1991, and through the lengthy peace process with UN involvement that has continued ever since. Abdelaziz has also brought the SADR to prominence within the African Union (AU), and some have credited Abdelaziz with moving the Saharawi independence movement away from war towards diplomacy, and away from the vague socialism of its early years towards free market economics.

### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

Not surprisingly, opinions about Abdelaziz vary. Morocco steadfastly refuses to recognize the SADR, and some in Morocco consider Abdelaziz a separatist who is merely a tool of Algeria, and who is responsible for years of conflict and lost lives. Most Arab states defer to Morocco and refuse to recognize the SADR. The AU, however, allowed Abdelaziz to appear as one of the presidents representing the five main regions of Africa at its founding meeting in July 2002, when he was also named as one of the AU's vice presidents.

Among Saharawis, there is both appreciation of Abdelaziz for his historic role in their struggle, and frustration that his lengthy stewardship of POLISARIO/SADR's diplomatic struggle has not reaped any tangible benefits since 1991. Some Saharawis also criticize him for heading an undemocratic and corrupt government, and

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Mohamed Abdelaziz

**Birth:** 1947, Marrakech, Morocco

**Family:** Wife, Khadija Bent Hamdi

**Nationality:** Saharawi

**Education:** Some university education

### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1976:** Elected POLISARIO secretary general and president of the Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic (SADR) government in exile
- **1979:** Mauritania abandons its claim to Western Sahara
- **1991:** Brings Saharawi-Moroccan war to an end; negotiates beginnings of UN-mediated peace process
- **2002:** Appears as president of SADR at founding summit of the African Union (AU); is named one of five AU vice presidents



for not allowing Saharawis in refugee camps in Algeria freedom of movement.

#### LEGACY

It remains to be seen how history ultimately will judge Abdelaziz, but there is no denying his key role thus far in the Western Sahara issue.

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*Michael R. Fischbach*

## ABDEL-MOATI, MUSTAFA (1938–)

Mustafa Abdel-Moati (also Mustafa Abd al-Mu'ti, Mostafa Abdel Moity) is an Egyptian artist who identifies himself as a contemporary artist who neither follows in foreign footsteps nor replicates past achievements in Egyptian art. Abdel-Moati has had more than thirty shows in Egypt, Italy, and Spain, and participated in approximately twenty-five international group exhibitions. Abdel-Moati

is one of the founders of the Experimental Group, established in 1958.

#### PERSONAL HISTORY

Mustafa Abdel-Moati was born in Alexandria, Egypt in 1938. After completing his study at the Faculty of Fine Arts in 1962, he started a teaching career at the same faculty while at the same time using government grants to live in and study the Upper Egypt and Delta regions of the country. At this time, Abdel-Moati began to develop his interpretation of *ibda'a*, the process of being creative, a concept that his artistic generation championed. He argues that there is a difference between art and *ibda'a*, (literally creation) because the ability to draw and creating art are two different skills.

Abdel-Moati received his master's degree in 1972. His master thesis was "The Crisis of Contemporary Man and its Multifolded Aspects." Two years later he was nominated Professor of Art from San Fernando Academy of Madrid University, while exhibiting and taking part in a governmental expedition to Spain. He later earned degrees in restoration and mural painting in Spain.

Abdel-Moati served as a vice minister of culture in Egypt from 1980 to 1988. He became a member of the National Specialized Congress in Cairo in 1983. In 1985 Abdel-Moati became a member of the World Congress of Contemporary Art in Venice. That same year he was elected vice president of this prestigious institution. Later in 1988, he became the head of the Egyptian Academy in Rome. He also was a director of the National Center Of Figurative Arts from 1980 until 1988.

#### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

A key to understanding Abdel-Moati's contribution to art is in the meaning of *ibda'a*—which requires artists to produce work that is entirely new, unfettered by previous traditions or preconceptions. Importantly, however, Abdel-Moati does not completely forgo past achievements; he only opposes the rote replication of them. He produces art within a framework that contains elements of the past but provides a new meaning to them. He contends that the entire heritage inherited from ancient Egyptian, Coptic, and Islamic civilizations is a result of causal factors. That is why artists should look at the causes that produced the art rather than copy the effect. These causal influences inform Abdel-Moati's paintings in a modern and abstract way. He adds to the framework of heritage his own sense of the times and his individual style. As he explains, the result is continuation and not a repetition of heritage. Heritage is just a starting point of a dynamic and ever-moving process. The horizon of *ibda'a*, however, is unclear and unseen. Abdel-Moati has contributed significantly to the art of Egypt and internationally

### BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHT

- **Name:** Mustafa Abdel-Moati; also Mostafa Abdel-Moity, Mustafa Abd al-Moati
- **Birth:** 1938, Alexandria, Egypt
- **Nationality:** Egyptian
- **Education:** Egypt, degree from Academy of Fine Arts, Alexandria; Granted professor of art, equal to doctorate degree, from San Fernando Academy of Art, Spain.

#### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1962:** Professor at Faculty of Fine Arts, Alexandria University
- **1980-1988:** Vice-Minister of Culture in Egypt
- **1988-present:** Director of Academia d'Egitto in Rome

## CONTEMPORARIES

Born in Egypt in 1923, Abdel Rahman El-Nachar received his Ph.D. in art from the Budapest Art Academy in 1978. Combining expressionism and surrealism, he depicted topics adhering to the reality of everyday life. Before his death in 1999, El-Nachar created works related to Islamic Art. He died in 1999.

Born in Dairout, Egypt in 1941, Farghali Abdel Nafiz graduated from the Institute of Art Education and the Academy of Fine Art in Florence, Italy. He had been the Dean of the Faculty of Art Education from 1989 to 1994. His choice of color is rich and ever changing. He uses oil, watercolor, acrylic, corn stalk, pencil, sand, clay, and metal.

Born in Mansoura, Egypt, in 1953, Mohamed Abla graduated from the Faculty of Fine Arts, Alexandrian. He has referred to international art scenes frequently and had many exhibitions in European galleries. The main theme of Abla's art involves the Nile and the environment. He uses graphics, installation and oil paintings.

Abdel-Moati also has achieved much as a Director of the National Center of Figurative Arts. He organized the Gallery of Nile (1984), the biggest hall for art exhibitions in Egypt; Cairo International Biennale (1984); and the Mahmud Sa'ïd Center in Alexandria, the greatest cultural center in Egypt.

Abdel-Moati organized the great majority of the artistic examinations as a president for the Artistic Patrimony of Egypt from 1980 to 1988, creating the medal for the Biennale exhibition and prepared prizes awarded to artists in various fields including sculpture, photography, publicity, and drawing.

### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

Abdel-Moati is universally respected for his artistic talents. He is particularly famous in Egypt, Italy, and Spain because of his many exhibitions in these countries. He has had more than twenty exhibitions in Italy—including Gallery Studio-S, Rome (1990), Gallery II Traghetto, Venice (1991), Gallery Nobart of Madrid (1974), and the Gallery Iho of Caceres (1976)—more than seven exhibitions in Spain including Thebes Gallery of Madrid (painting and drawing, 1974), Mauro Gallery of

Santander (painting, 1974), and Gallery Faunis of Madrid (painting and drawing, 1977). He also presented more than thirteen exhibitions in Egypt, including Gallery in the Building of Culture at Kafr el Shaikh (1968), Gallery of Exposition of the Russian Cultural Center in Alexandria (1974), Gallery of the Fine Arts Museum, Alexandria, (1969), and he also has had more than twelve international exhibitions. Abdel-Moati's work can also be seen in several noted museums, including the museum of the Arab Institute in Paris, Museum of Islamic Modern Art in Amman, Museum of Modern Art in Cairo, museum of the Opera House in Cairo, and Museum of the National Congress in Cairo.

### LEGACY

Although his art is well known in Egypt and abroad, it still is too early to assess Abdel-Moati's ultimate legacy. Doubtless he will be remembered in Egypt as a painter who has combined national and international motifs into one abstract meaning by using geometrical shapes and unique colors. As an artist who simultaneously honors and refuses to repeat the past, Abdel-Moati and his work will doubtlessly continue to be studied by future generations of painters.

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*Adil M. Asgarov*

## ABDULLAH II BIN HUSSEIN (1962–)

Abdullah II bin Hussein is the fourth king of Jordan.

### PERSONAL HISTORY

Abdullah bin Hussein was born in Amman on 30 January 1962, the first-born son of Jordan's King HUSSEIN BIN TALAL. His English mother, Princess Muna (née Antoinette "Toni" Avril Gardiner), was Hussein's second wife. Abdullah's family, the Hashemites of Jordan, claim descent from Islam's Prophet Muhammad. Abdullah himself is considered the Prophet's 43<sup>rd</sup>-generation direct



*Abdullah II bin Hussein.* © BROOKS KRAFT/CORBIS.

descendant. By royal decree he was made crown prince soon after birth, although on 1 April 1965, King Hussein appointed his own younger brother, Prince Hassan bin Talal, to serve as crown prince instead.

Abdullah attended primary school at the Islamic Educational College in Amman and at St. Edmund's School in Canterbury, England. He pursued his secondary school education at Eaglebrook School and Deerfield Academy, both in Deerfield, Massachusetts. In 1980, Abdullah followed in his father's footsteps by enrolling in the British Royal Military Academy, Sandhurst. After completing his instruction, Abdullah was commissioned a second lieutenant in the British army. He joined the 13<sup>th</sup>/18<sup>th</sup> Royal Hussars (Queen Mary's Own), an armored (tank) regiment, and later became reconnaissance troop leader for the regiment in England and West Germany.

From 1982 to 1983, Abdullah took a special one-year program in Middle Eastern affairs at Oxford University. Thereafter, he returned to Jordan to become an officer in the Jordan Arab Army. In addition to serving in several armored units, Abdullah also served with the Royal Jordanian Air Force's anti-tank wing. As a result, he received his flying wings and became qualified as a

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Abdullah II bin Hussein

**Birth:** 1962, Amman, Jordan

**Family:** Wife, Queen Rania al-Abdullah (née Rania al-Yasin); two sons, Hussein and Hashim; two daughters, Iman and Salma

**Nationality:** Jordanian

**Education:** Primary: Islamic Educational College, Amman, and St. Edmund's School, Canterbury, England. Secondary: Eaglebrook School and Deerfield Academy, Deerfield, Massachusetts. Military: Royal Military Academy, Sandhurst, England, 1980–1981; Fort Knox, Kentucky (armored officers advanced course), 1985; Royal Staff College, Camberley, England; Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California (defense resources management course), 1998. University: Oxford University (Middle Eastern affairs), 1982–1983, and Georgetown University (graduate level, international affairs), 1987–1988.

### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1980:** Graduates Royal Military Academy, Sandhurst
- **1981:** Is commissioned second lieutenant, British army
- **1983:** Becomes officer in Jordan Arab Army
- **1994:** Becomes commander, Jordanian Special Forces
- **1998:** Heads Special Operations Command within Jordanian army
- **1999:** 25 January, appointed crown prince by King Hussein; 7 February, becomes king upon Hussein's death
- **2002:** Proposes "road map" to Israeli-Palestinian peace
- **2003:** Hosts Aqaba Summit for Israeli, Palestinian, and American leaders
- **2005:** Is awarded first Pope John Paul II Peace Prize

Cobra attack helicopter pilot. Over the years he worked himself through the ranks until, in June 1994, Abdullah was made commander of the army's Special Forces with the rank of brigadier general. In May 1998, he was

promoted to major general. That same year, Abdullah personally directed Special Forces troops in an operation against heavily armed criminals who had killed eight people in Amman, including an Iraqi diplomat. He also reorganized the Special Forces and other elite units into the army's new Special Operations Command.

Although he was not the subject of political gossip and intrigue like some of King Hussein's children, or as much in the news as other siblings, Abdullah's private life nonetheless was fast paced, as his father's had been. He still enjoys automobile racing, parachuting, scuba diving, and other water sports, and is an avid motorcyclist. In June 1993, Abdullah married Rania al-Yasin, a Kuwaiti-born Palestinian whose family originally came from the West Bank city of Tulkarm. They eventually had four children.

Abdullah was catapulted from his quiet family life into the full glare of national and international attention virtually overnight when his dying father suddenly redesignated him crown prince on 25 January 1999, thereby demoting Prince Hassan, who had served as crown prince since 1965. The move startled the Jordanian public, and allegedly was the result of a dispute between the two brothers over the future line of royal succession. Abdullah accordingly took the place of his uncle, a man who had been groomed for the throne for thirty-four years, and became king with comparatively much weaker preparation when King Hussein died shortly thereafter on 7 February. Bowing to his dying father's wishes, Abdullah named his half-brother Prince Hamzah (son of King Hussein's fourth wife, American-born Queen NOOR AL-HUSSEIN) as crown prince. However, he rescinded the title five years later in November 2004, presumably paving the way to appoint Abdullah's eldest son, Prince Hussein, to the post someday.

Abdullah—now known as King Abdullah II, given that his great grandfather Abdullah I had ruled from 1921-1951—gamely rose to the occasion of ruling a country that his father had ably led for nearly five decades. He had to reach out to a population who for the most part had never known any other sovereign but King Hussein. The new king started out with several liabilities, including his relative lack of political and diplomatic experience, his half-English parentage, and his weak command of formal Arabic. Abdullah also lacked his father's intimate knowledge of, and comfortable relationship with, Jordan's native East Bank tribes and their traditions. Nor did he possess his father's flair for playing the role of "head shaykh" of the country. On the other hand, his service in the military, dominated by non-Palestinian East Bank Jordanians, ensured him a degree of support and good will within a key regime constituency. The fact that he was married to a Palestinian also helped him politically with Jordan's considerable Palestinian population. Abdullah also ushered in his reign speaking of

democracy, governmental efficiency, globalization, economic improvement, and technology, which offered the possibility of change to other key constituencies, such as liberals and the business community.

## INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

King Abdullah emerged as one of several young, Westernized "internet kings" who came to prominence in the Arab world at the turn of the twenty-first century. Considering that the region possessed some of the longest-lasting rulers on earth, many around the world hoped that their passing might usher in a new age. Early in his reign, Abdullah pledged to improve and modernize the country's sizeable public sector bureaucracy. He adopted the habit of making unannounced inspection visits to government offices around the country, disguised as an ordinary citizen, in an effort to improve bureaucratic efficiency. He spoke of using the internet to create an "e-government." Abdullah also assumed the throne stating that his first priority was improving the economy, and he pushed to privatize certain public sector companies. He also moved to integrate Jordan fully into the global economy. In April 2000, Jordan joined the World Trade Organization and hosted the World Economic Forum in June 2003.

Abdullah also moved forward on his domestic political agenda. On the question of ruling a country faced with considerable cleavages—Palestinian/East Bank, urban/rural, north/south—Abdullah attempted to define a new Jordanian national consciousness through his "Jordan First" (Arabic: *al-Urdunn Awwalan*) campaign in 2002. The king created a national commission to "consolidate" exactly what the slogan meant. This approach differed somewhat from that of his father, who had tried to forge a sense of Jordanianness—what he called "the one Jordanian family"—on his own, by appealing to his Hashemite heritage, Arab nationalism, and his own persona as unifying forces. Abdullah shared his father's wariness of civil society, however, especially the press. The government continued to arrest journalists accused of violating the Press and Publications Law by committing crimes such as "slandering the royal family" and "harming relations with a friendly country," and Jordan's intelligence agency, the General Intelligence Directorate (GID), remained very active. He also postponed parliamentary elections scheduled for 2001 until 2003.

Like his father, Abdullah plunged himself into Israeli-Palestinian peacemaking. In 2002, while meeting with U.S. president George W. Bush in Washington, he told Bush, "what we need is a road map" that could show the region how to proceed along the path of peacemaking. This term was soon adopted as the name of a new peace program endorsed by the United States, the United Nations, Russia, and the European Union. The Road Map was unveiled at a summit Abdullah hosted in the Jordanian city of Aqaba in June 2003 that brought

## WE HAVE A MORAL OBLIGATION TO STAND UP

I lived all my life, I guess you could say, as a normal citizen. I served in my country's armed forces and traveled to all different parts of the country pretty much freely. My greatest concern is that, after the tragic loss of his late Majesty King Hussein when I was thrust into this position, it could be very easy to get disconnected from the people because you can find yourself isolated. A lot of people around leaders tell them what they think they want to hear. So you have to break out of that—to keep going back to what you think the problems are. So by traveling around incognito you can actually get a feeling for whether the government is treating a citizen properly, whether the hospital is providing the right type of services. Then I can go back and bring in individuals who are responsible and say, 'Look you have been letting society down—letting Jordanians down, don't do it again.' Invariably I have had to disguise myself again to go back a couple of weeks later to make sure that what I have asked has been done. In the first year of my reign people didn't take it seriously—they said 'he went and checked the hospital and nothing is wrong, we don't have to do anything, he is not going to go back.' Well, we went back two or three times and a

lot of people lost their jobs until we got the right ones in position in that particular hospital to be able to serve the people properly.

("KING ABDULLAH TALKING POINT SPECIAL." BBC NEWS.  
19 FEBRUARY 2003. AVAILABLE FROM [HTTP://NEWS  
.BBC.CO.UK](http://news.bbc.co.uk))

At the time of the Beslan school massacre in Russia, all of us were disgusted. But it's just not good enough to sit in the privacy of one's home and say how awful this is and condemn these people [Islamic terrorists] who are defaming Islam. This was a crime against humanity, and we have to be much more vocal, in public. In my view, Islam is going in a direction that's very scary, and as the Hashemite Kingdom, we have a moral obligation to stand up. Yes, there are a lot of other things that are happening inside the Muslim world, but we have to draw the line. If we don't, then these people are going to win.

("KING ABDULLAH II: 'IRAQ IS THE BATTLEGROUND - THE WEST AGAINST IRAN.'" *MIDDLE EAST QUARTERLY* 12,  
NO. 2 (SPRING 2005). AVAILABLE FROM [HTTP://WWW  
.MEFORUM.ORG](http://www.meforum.org))

together Bush, Israeli prime minister ARIEL SHARON, and Palestinian Authority prime minister MAHMUD ABBAS.

Another signal feature of Abdullah II's rule has been the extremely close connection he has forged with the United States and its regional priorities and ambitions. This cooperation has extended far beyond the support he lent to American diplomacy vis-à-vis the Arab-Israeli conflict. In this the young monarch differed from his father. While staunchly pro-Western, King Hussein balanced more carefully and circumspectly his need for Western support and the anti-Western feelings of his subjects and regional neighbors. Abdullah, however, openly embraced Washington's "war on terrorism," especially after September 2001. On his orders, officials from the Palestinian organization Hamas were expelled from Jordan in October 1999. Cooperation between the GID and the American Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) grew so extensive and so close that some analysts have claimed the relationship is one of the closest between the CIA and any non-American intelligence agency in the world. Jordan became a transit point for American "extraordinary renditions" (forced deportation of terrorism suspects) to third countries, where they can be

tortured and detained outside the framework of American law, and according to some reports even hosted a secret CIA detention center itself. In December 2005, Abdullah authorized creation of a special intelligence unit called the Knights of God to track down fugitive Jordanian militant ABU MUSAB AL-ZARQAWI in Iraq. American forces killed Zarqawi in June 2006 in part because of information gathered by this unit.

American-Jordanian cooperation also grew in areas beyond the "war on terrorism." On October 24, 2000, Jordan signed the Jordan Free Trade Agreement with the United States, only the fourth country to sign such an agreement with the U.S. government. Jordan also allowed American, British, and Australian special forces units to operate out of the country in advance of the March 2003 invasion of Iraq. This came despite Jordan's public denials, and despite the vociferous pro-Iraqi, anti-American sentiments of the country's populace. Washington rewarded the king for his support. In 2005, Jordan received some \$700 million in American grants, and was one of the top recipients of American aid in the world. Jordan also has trained new Iraqi security personnel after the fall of Saddam Hussein's government, and

more recently, Abdullah has warned of the alleged dangers to the region of emboldened Shi'ite forces there and in Iran, what he called a Shi'ite "crescent."

#### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

Abdullah's high-profile involvement in Arab-Israeli diplomacy, postwar Iraq, and even his marriage to the glamorous and philanthropic Queen Rania, all have made him a visible and well-liked figure in Western media and diplomatic circles. He is perceived as a moderate, pro-Western leader working to settle the Arab-Israeli conflict and combat Islamic terrorism. He has been a frequent guest at the White House, and in November 2005, was awarded the first Pope John Paul II Peace Prize by the Pope John Paul II Cultural Center in Washington for his efforts. Inside Jordan, however, his close embrace with the United States, his muzzling of dissent, and his style of governing a country characterized by conservative social traditions and tribal identities have led to whispered discontent.

#### LEGACY

While still a young monarch who has been in power less than a decade, it is already clear that one of Abdullah II's main legacies will be the degree to which he has aligned Jordan with United States foreign policy concerns in the Middle East, and with the forces of economic globalization. He also will be noted for changing the persona and style of leadership of the king from that of a paternalistic "head shaykh" of the nation to a more formal, technocratic leader.

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Michael R. Fischbach

## ABTAHI, MOHAMED ALI (1958–)

Mohamed Ali Abtahi is a ranking cleric, politician, and former vice president in the administration of Iranian president MOHAMMAD KHATAMI. Abtahi's government career includes high positions with the Office of the President, the Ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance, and the national broadcasting services. He is well-known for running a personal weblog while he was a member of the Office of the President.

#### PERSONAL HISTORY

Abtahi was born on 28 January 1960 in Mashhad, Iran to a religious and clerical family. His father, ranking cleric Ayatollah Seyyed Hasan Abtahi, is a controversial author of several books whose work and activities have several times resulted in his being arrested and sent into internal exile. After completing his secondary education, Abtahi followed his family's clerical traditions and continued his studies at seminary, beginning in 1977. He now carries the title Hojatoleslam as a result. In 1980, he married Fahime Mousavi-Nejhad, with whom he eventually had three daughters. Before the 1979 revolution, the young Abtahi was active in anti-regime activities. In addition to his enthusiastic participation in oppositional rallies and



Mohamed Ali Abtahi. AP IMAGES.

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Mohamed Ali Abtahi

**Birth:** 1958, Mashhad, Iran

**Family:** Wife, Fahime Mousavi-Nejhad; three daughters, Fatemeh, Faezeh, and Farideh

**Nationality:** Iranian

**Education:** Seminary, 1977

### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1980:** Becomes director of programming of Mashhad Broadcasting Services
- **1981:** Becomes director of Boushehr and Shiraz Broadcasting Services
- **1983–1987:** Director of Radio Iran; Establishes Radio Qur'an, Radio Jebhe, Radio Darba
- **1988–1991:** Vice minister, international relations, Ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance
- **1994–1997:** Represents Iranian National Broadcasting, Lebanon
- **1997–2001:** Chief of staff for President Mohammad Khatami
- **2001–2004:** Vice president for legal and parliamentary affairs
- **2004:** Resigns as vice president; Appointed consultant to president; Member of central council of *Majma'e Rowhaniyoon-e Mobarez* (Militant Clerics Society)

events as a speaker and leaflet distributor, Abtahi applied his interest in photography and cinematography to documenting the revolutionary demonstrations in Mashhad.

An avid supporter of the new form of government established after the overthrow of the monarchy, Abtahi's career has almost entirely consisted of a number of government positions. He spent more than a decade working with various branches of the Iranian national broadcasting services starting in 1979, when he served for two years as the program director of Mashhad Broadcasting. In 1981, he spent a year as the director for Bushehr and Shiraz Broadcasting before he was transferred to Tehran to work as the director of Radio Iran. His tenure there coincided with almost the entire duration of the Iran-Iraq war.

In 1987, Khatami, who was then the head of the Ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance, appointed

Abtahi to the position of vice minister of international relations. In that capacity, Abtahi traveled to a number of countries with the goal of introducing and promoting Iranian culture. When Khatami resigned the ministry in 1991, Abtahi followed suit.

He returned to National Broadcasting without holding an official position for a number of years before its director at that time, ALI ARDASHIR LARIJANI, agreed to have Abtahi work as its representative in Lebanon. He left his post in Lebanon on hearing that Khatami would be running for the presidency and joined his presidential campaign in Iran. After Khatami's surprising and sweeping victory in 1997, Khatami appointed Abtahi as his chief of staff. Khatami's first term in office was eventful and challenging. Khatami and his reformist supporters in the press and *Majles* (parliament) were assailed by attacks from hardline elements of the government. With the judiciary and security forces under their control, Khatami's conservative opponents went after the blossoming reformist press. Hardliners also targeted the *Majles* and attempted to thwart any attempts at passing reform legislation. As a high-ranking member of Khatami's cabinet, Abtahi was in the eye of the storm and the subject of much criticism and attacks by hardliners and their allies.

During Khatami's second term in office, Abtahi was appointed as vice president for legal and parliamentary affairs. After the *Majles* elections of 2004, when the conservative-controlled Council of Guardians refused to approve the candidacy of thousands of reformists running for office, Abtahi resigned his post in protest. Khatami, his close friend and ally, was very reluctant to accept his resignation and assigned him an honorary position of advisor after Abtahi left his post.

### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

While Abtahi's father, Ayatollah Seyyed Hasan Abtahi, has a following that includes Abtahi's younger brother, Sayyed Mohammad Taghi Abtahi, Mohamed Abtahi's own views are quite different than his father's. In fact, Abtahi has himself remarked that his father disapproves of his ideology and political analysis. Rather than drawing inspiration from his father's teachings, Abtahi's early intellectual development was more influenced by the works of Iranian thinker Ali Shariati and his maternal uncle, Abdolkareem Hasheminejad. The figure most influential in shaping his thinking and politics during the post-revolution period, however, was Khatami.

Abtahi himself, along with other leading figures in the reformist movement such as Abdullah Nuri, Ata'ollah Mohajerani, Saeed Hajarian, and Mohamed Reza Khatami, went on to become a central figure popular with the younger population, which had voted for and placed much hope in the reformers. During the most intense periods of the power struggle between the conservatives

and reformists, Abtahi was center stage in working for the latter's efforts toward changing the system from within.

Before working with Khatami at the Ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance and later in the Office of the President, Abtahi made important contributions during his tenure as director of Radio Iran. As part of the war effort, Abtahi had an active role in the establishment of several new radio stations such as Radio Qur'an, Radio Jebhe, and Radio Darba. While Khatami's chief of staff, Abtahi also took the unusual and unique step of starting his own personal weblog, a site which he has maintained since. It includes his analyses of political and social issues, personal musings, as well as a section containing pictures he has taken of himself and other notable figures in Iranian politics. Most of the blog's content is in Persian, but he occasionally writes in English.

#### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

International commentators on Abtahi have often focused on his enthusiasm for blogging both during and after his service with the administrations of Khatami. His website has served as a direct line of communication between him and both Iranians and non-Iranians who are curious about the inner workings of Iran's government and society. Abtahi's openness on his blog and his good-natured commitment to the exchange of ideas have garnered him respect as a politician committed to democratic reforms.

#### LEGACY

Despite the disappointments and failures of the reformists during their time in office between 1997 and 2004, Abtahi's legacy, similar to that of the president he served under, may lie in the fact that he expanded the space for interaction between the people and government officials. Presenting himself as an approachable and accountable figure in his blog and his public appearances, Abtahi provided an example of how the relationship between the Iranian people and officials might be reconfigured.

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*Niki Akhavan*

### ABU-ASSAD, HANY (1961–)

Hany Abu-Assad (also Hani Abu As'ad) is a Dutch-Palestinian film director. Born in Nazareth, Israel, he moved to the Netherlands as a young man, where he



*Hany Abu-Assad.* AP IMAGES.

began his filmmaking career. A producer and director of both documentaries and feature films, Abu-Assad in his work incisively portrays the lives of those engulfed in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in his homeland. In 2005, he won international acclaim for his film, *Paradise Now*, which tells the story of two Palestinian suicide bombers.

#### PERSONAL HISTORY

Hany Abu-Assad a secular Muslim, was born on 11 October 1961 in Nazareth, Israel, where he grew up in a wealthy family amid the chaos of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. His father operated a longstanding family transportation and delivery business, which had advanced from a stable of camels to a fleet of vans.

In 1981 Abu-Assad's uncle persuaded him to immigrate to the Netherlands, where Abu-Assad studied technical engineering in Haarlem. After working as a process engineer for two years in Amsterdam, Abu-Assad entered the television and film business as a producer. His early filmmaking career included the Dutch television show *Dar O Dar*, focusing on foreign immigrants, and the documentary *Long Days in Gaza*, which aired on the BBC. He formed Ayloul Film Production Company in 1990 and, two years later, released the short film *Paper House*, which he both wrote and directed. The film, which was shown on Dutch television and won several



## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Hany Abu-Assad

**Birth:** 1961, Nazareth, Israel; moved to the Netherlands, 1981

**Nationality:** Dutch citizen Palestinian

### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1990:** Forms Ayloul Film Production Company
- **1992:** Writes and directs short film *Paper House*
- **1998:** Writes and directs feature film *Het 14e kippetje* (The fourteenth chick)
- **2000:** Produces and directs television documentary *Nazareth 2000*; forms Augustus Film Production Company
- **2002:** Directs feature film *al-Quds fi Yawm Akhar* (Jerusalem, another day; internationally as *Rana's Wedding*); produces and directs television documentary *Ford's Transit*
- **2005:** Writes and directs feature film *Paradise Now*

awards, follows the story of a thirteen-year-old Palestinian boy who wishes to rebuild his house after it is destroyed.

Released in 1994, Abu-Assad's first feature film as a producer, *Hatta Ishar Akhar*, also won numerous awards, including the Gold Pyramid Prize at the Calgary International Film Festival and the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) Prize at the Cannes International Film Festival. The dramatic film, also known as *Curfew*, recounted a twenty-four-hour period during a curfew imposed by the Israeli army in a Palestinian refugee camp on the Gaza Strip. Working with Arnon Grunberg, Abu-Assad made his feature film debut as writer and director with *Het 14e kippetje* (The fourteenth chick), released in 1998. The film premiered at the Netherlands Film Festival in Utrecht but failed to be a commercial success. In 2000, Abu-Assad aired a one-hour documentary *Nazareth 2000*, on Dutch television, which centered on the cynical but often comical comments of two gas station attendants as they reflect on the unique social and political climate in Nazareth, a city considered important to both Christians and Muslims. In the same year, Abu-Assad formed Augustus Film Production Company with partner Bero Beyer.

In 2002, Abu-Assad's production company released *al-Quds fi Yawm Akhar* (Jerusalem, another day; internationally as *Rana's Wedding*), with Abu-Assad serving as the film's director. The film follows the story of a young girl in East Jerusalem who awakens one day to find that her father is moving to Cairo and, in order to stay in Jerusalem, she must get married before his four o'clock flight out of the city. Her wealthy father provides her a list of eligible, suitable men, but Rana sneaks away to seek out the theater director she loves. Through Rana's adventures, the film, billed as a dramatic comedy, depicts the political unrest and social devastation of the city as her search takes her through occupied Jerusalem. *Rana's Wedding* won numerous awards, including the Golden Anchor Award at the Haifa International Film Festival, the Grand Prize at the Cologne Mediterranean Film Festival, and the Golden Antigone at the Montpellier Film Festival.

The documentary *Ford Transit*—written, produced, and directed by Abu-Assad—was also released in 2002. The film depicts a day in the life of Rajai, who drives a Ford Transit taxi (a popular mode of transportation) in the Palestinian territories. The film caused considerable controversy in the Netherlands and was pulled from Dutch television after the factual basis of the film was called into question, including the use of a Palestinian actor to portray a brutal Israeli soldier. Nonetheless, the film won the FIPRESCI Award (International Federation of Film Critics) at the Thessalonica Festival, In the Spirit of Freedom Award in Jerusalem, and the Nestor Almedros Award (for courageous filmmaking on human rights) in New York.

In 2005 Abu-Assad earned international critical acclaim with the release of *Paradise Now*. The film tells the story of two Palestinian childhood friends who volunteer to become suicide bombers. *Paradise Now* was nominated for an Academy Award and received thirteen awards, including a Golden Globe for Best Foreign Language Film, the European Film Award, the Amnesty International Film Prize, and the Blue Angel from the Berlin International Film Festival. Following the success of *Paradise Now*, Abu-Assad moved to Hollywood to begin work with DViant Films on his next feature, *L.A. Cairo*, a tragedy-comedy about the Arab-American dream.

### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Abu-Assad claims that he is a filmmaker, not a politician. He wants to make movies that tell a story but not necessarily build a political agenda. Nonetheless, although he has spent most of his adult life in the Netherlands, he has been formed and shaped by the Palestinian experience of being occupied.

He is often assertive about his limited ability to change his homeland: "Films change nothing. If they did, things would already be different," he told an audience following a

showing of the film, according to the American Jewish magazine *Tikkun*. Nonetheless, he also hangs on to a glimmer of hope. He told *Tikkun* magazine he believes in “the conscience of the Jewish people. The Jews have been the conscience of humanity, always, wherever you go. . . . I think Hitler wanted to kill the conscience of the Jews, the conscience of humanity. But this conscience is still alive. . . . maybe a bit weak. . . . but still alive. Thank God!”

#### THE WORLD’S PERSPECTIVE

Much of the controversy surrounding *Paradise Now* occurred when the film was nominated for an Academy Award for Best Foreign Film. The Academy originally listed the film’s origins as Palestine, but when Israeli officials objected (the United States does not recognize Palestine as an independent state), the Academy altered the wording to the Palestine Authority, which infuriated Abu-Assad. Ultimately, the Academy used the wording Palestine Territories.

Abu-Assad has been lauded by human rights groups for his portrayal of the injustice and inhumanity of the conditions under which many Palestinians live. At the same time, others have strongly criticized him for showing suicide bombers too sympathetically. The world’s perspective on Abu-Assad depends immeasurably on the political and social backdrop of his critics.

#### LEGACY

Although not the first film to address the issue, *Paradise Now* is the first to portray suicide bombers as human beings—not ultimately evil nor righteously glorious in their acts. “There were some Palestinians who wanted to see these characters as superheroes, as almost inhuman in their great powers,” Abu-Assad told *Newsweek*. “There were also those—Europeans, Americans, Israelis, whomever—who wanted to see these characters as evil monsters. Again, as inhuman. But that’s not what this film is about. . . . They are strong and weak—and it’s in those weak moments that they are the most human.”

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Alisa Larson

## ABU GHAYTH, SULAYMAN (1965–)

A Kuwaiti Islamist, Sulayman Abu Ghayth is best known as a spokesman for al-Qa’ida.

#### PERSONAL HISTORY

Sulayman Abu Ghayth was born in Kuwait on 12 December 1965. He is a teacher and preacher with a long reputation as a strident Islamist voice in the emirate. He attracted attention by speaking out in the mosques in Kuwait against the Iraqi invasion in 1990, despite the danger of arrest by Iraqi troops. Following liberation in 1991, he began criticizing moves toward greater democracy from his base at the al-Rumaythiyya mosque. In the following years, he became increasingly critical of the government, which responded by suspending him several times as an imam.

Never a prominent figure among Kuwait’s Islamists, Abu Ghayth was originally a member of the social reformist Muslim Brotherhood but gradually seemed to drift toward more radical causes. He had apparently fought in Afghanistan and was said to have joined Muslim guerrillas fighting in Bosnia-Herzegovina in the summer of 1994. Removed as imam of al-Rumaythiyya mosque about 1999 for diverting from approved religious themes, as well as stridently attacking the Kuwaiti and other Arab governments, he subsequently taught religion classes at a Kuwaiti high school.

In the summer of 2001, he left his wife and six children in Kuwait and made his way to Afghanistan where he joined al-Qa’ida leader USAMA BIN LADIN. It later transpired that he had been recruiting Kuwaitis for at least several years to join al-Qa’ida training camps in Afghanistan.

#### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

In the aftermath of the 11 September 2001 attacks, Abu Ghayth appeared on a video next to Usama bin Ladin on 7 October 2001, and appeared on videos aired twice

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Sulayman Abu Ghayth  
**Birth:** 1965, Kuwait  
**Family:** Married; six children  
**Nationality:** Kuwaiti (stripped of his citizenship by the Kuwaiti government)  
**Education:** Unknown

### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1994:** Reportedly fights with other foreign Muslim volunteers alongside the Bosnian government during the wars among the countries of the former Yugoslavia
- **2001:** Travels to Afghanistan, joins up with al-Qa'ida; issues video-taped statements as al-Qa'ida's official spokesman; Kuwaiti government strips him of his citizenship
- **2003:** Reportedly captured in Iran

more within the week as al-Qa'ida's official spokesman. As a result, the Kuwaiti government stripped him of his Kuwaiti nationality on 14 October (his youngest daughter, born after his departure from Kuwait, was granted Kuwaiti citizenship by the emir in June 2002). On another video that aired in early 2002, Abu Ghayth made the first al-Qa'ida claim of responsibility for the 11 September attacks in the United States. Another statement by Abu Ghayth in April 2002 claimed al-Qa'ida responsibility for the April 2002 synagogue bombing in Tunisia, and a following statement in June 2002 warned the United States of more attacks. A message broadcast in December 2002 claimed al-Qa'ida responsibility for the November 2002 suicide attacks in Kenya.

Similar to bin Ladin and Ayman al-Zawahiri, Abu Ghayth continued to evade capture. Whereas the other two were presumed to be at large in either Afghanistan or Pakistan, reports emerged in mid-2003 that Iranian authorities had arrested Abu Ghayth. On 17 July 2003, the Kuwaiti minister of the interior, Shaykh Nawwaf al-Ahmad Al Sabah, said that Kuwait had rejected an offer from Iran to extradite Abu Ghayth on the grounds that he was no longer Kuwaiti. However, Iranian authorities denied his presence in Iran. On 16 January 2004, the U.S. Treasury Department froze the assets of Abu Ghayth. In June 2005, U.S. and foreign intelligence officials alleged that Abu Ghayth was living in Iran, along with bin Ladin's son Sa'd and al-Qa'ida security chief

Sayf al-Adil. Conflicting reports contended that the al-Qa'ida figures were either under house arrest or enjoying the support of Iran's Revolutionary Guards.

### LEGACY

It is too early to assess Abu Ghayth's lasting legacy, but he will certainly be remembered for his role as the voice of al-Qa'ida.

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J. E. Peterson

## ABUKHALIL, AS'AD (1960–)

As'ad AbuKhalil (also Abu Khalil) is a Lebanese scholar based in the United States. He is a frequent commentator on Middle Eastern affairs, and he publishes a well-known blog, the Angry Arab News Service, on issues in this topic.

### PERSONAL HISTORY

AbuKhalil was born on 16 March 1960 in Tyre, Lebanon. His father's family were Shi'ite Muslims, while his mother was a Sunni Muslim. His father was secretary-general of the Lebanese parliament, and AbuKhalil was raised in Beirut. He received his B.A. (1981) and M.A. (1983) in political science from the American University of Beirut, and a Ph.D. in comparative government in 1988 from Georgetown University in Washington, D.C. He later taught at universities including Tufts University, Georgetown University, and the George Washington University. Since 1993,

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** As'ad AbuKhalil

**Birth:** 1960, Tyre, Lebanon

**Family:** Divorced; no children

**Nationality:** Lebanese; American citizen

**Education:** American University of Beirut, 1981, B.A. political science, 1983, M.A. political science; Georgetown University, 1988, Ph.D. comparative government

## PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1983:** Moves to the United States for graduate studies
- **1993:** Begins teaching at California State University, Stanislaus
- **2003:** Begins Angry Arab News Service on the Internet

he has taught at California State University, Stanislaus. AbuKhalil also is a visiting professor at the University of California, Berkeley.

## INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

AbuKhalil was influenced by his surroundings in Lebanon. He was born into a privileged, bi-communal Shi'ite-Sunni Muslim household, and he studied at elite schools in Lebanon. He also witnessed the bitter inter-communal strife of the Civil War in Lebanon that started in 1975, the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, and the heavy bombardment of Beirut in 1982. AbuKhalil also was deeply impacted by the ongoing plight of the Palestinians as well as by Marxist philosophy. This varying mix produced in him a burning commitment to social and political justice, a healthy skepticism, a militant atheism, and impatience with facile and arrogant politicians and great powers.

In addition to being a professor of political science in the United States, AbuKhalil has written a number of scholarly books and articles. He has written for a number of reference works, including the chapter on Lebanon in *Political Parties of the Middle East and North Africa* (1994) and numerous entries on Lebanon for the *Encyclopedia of the Modern Middle East and North Africa* (2004). He also authored the *Historical Dictionary of Lebanon* (1998). More recently, he has written two works dealing with Islamic politics and

American foreign policy, *Bin Laden, Islam, and America's New "War on Terrorism"* (2002) and *The Battle for Saudi Arabia: Royalty, Fundamentalism, and Global Power* (2004).

AbuKhalil is perhaps best known for his political commentary in the media and, more recently, for his Internet blog. Since arriving in the United States for graduate studies in 1983, AbuKhalil's penetrating insight into Middle Eastern politics—especially relating to Lebanon, the Palestinians, the Arab-Israeli conflict, and American involvement in the Middle East—has made him an increasingly highly sought commentator on Middle East issues by the American media. Adding to his media allure is his excellent command of American English, his witty, typically biting comments, and his no-holds-barred style. AbuKhalil was a freelance consultant on Middle Eastern affairs for the NBC and ABC television networks, and more recently has appeared on CNN as well as PBS's *The News Hour*. He also is a regular commentator on the Arabic-language al-Jazeera network. In September 2003, AbuKhalil launched his popular Angry Arab News Service, his Internet blog. His acerbic yet humorous comments make it one of the most talked-about blogs addressing with the Middle East.

## THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

AbuKhalil's perspectives on Middle Eastern politics at times seem to decry nearly every nation, politician, and group with equal impunity. He has earned myriad admirers and detractors in both the United States and the Middle East. In either case, his perspectives and views receive notice. He was notable as one of the few voices of dissent heard in the American media and cyberspace that voiced skepticism about the anti-Syrian "Cedar Revolution" in Lebanon in 2005. The typical laudatory and shallow perspective heard in the American media celebrated the political forces arrayed against pro-Syrian president EMILE LAHOUD after the assassination of former Lebanese prime minister RAFIQ HARIRI as heralding the onset of a new era of democracy and people power in Lebanon. AbuKhalil by contrast did not hesitate to scorn these opinions, offering a deeper and more nuanced perspective on the situation and the motives behind it.

The website for AbuKhalil's Angry Arab News Service receives between 30,000 and 35,000 hits per month, demonstrating its popularity. Approximately one-half of these hits come from in the United States.

## LEGACY

AbuKhalil is a formidable scholar possessing an amazing knowledge of Middle Eastern politics, particularly relat-

ing to Lebanon and the Palestinians. Yet his ultimate legacy may well be the fact that he became one of the most famous and adroit proponents of using blogging for political commentary on the Middle East—using the appeal of the Internet to post his political viewpoints and analysis in an era when the public, particularly the young and well educated, increasingly turn to the Internet as a primary source of information.

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*Michael R. Fischbach*

## AHMADINEJAD, MAHMOUD (1956–)

The 2006 *Time* magazine person of the year, Mahmoud Ahmadinejad has rapidly grown in stature from a virtually unknown entity to one of the most well-known political leaders on the world stage. The current president of Iran, Ahmadinejad is arguably the most controversial personality in Middle East politics. Whether as a result of his incendiary claims about the falsity of the Holocaust or because of his unabashed defiance on what he terms as Iran's solemn right to continue its nuclear energy program, Ahmadinejad's political career has remained shrouded in controversy and confrontation. This controversial persona is mainly a product of his severely acrimonious relationship with major Western nations (mainly the United States). Ahmadinejad's political journey from an obscure mayor of Tehran to a central player in the ongoing power relations between the West and the Middle East has seen several tumultuous shifts and turns, both on the international and on the domestic front. Thus far, he seems to have weathered these political storms and challenges quite successfully. But Ahmadinejad's legacy is far from determined. In all certainty the outcome of the global impasse over Iran's nuclear energy program will represent the key variable in how he is remembered in history and how his legacy is recorded.



*Mahmoud Ahmadinejad.* STEPHEN CHERNIN/GETTY IMAGES.

#### PERSONAL HISTORY

**Early Life and Education** Ahmadinejad was born 28 October 1956 in Aradan, near the town of Garmsar in southeastern Iran. Son of an ordinary ironworker, he is the fourth of seven brothers. Ahmadinejad and his family migrated to Tehran in 1957 when he was a year old. He completed his undergraduate career in the field of civil engineering at the University of Science and Technology in Tehran in 1975 and went on to attain his master's degree at the same university in 1986. A year later, Ahmadinejad earned a doctorate in the field of engineering and traffic transportation from the same university. This doctorate represented the culmination of his personal education, though he did re-join the academy at a later stage in his life.

**The Iranian Revolution and the Iran-Iraq War** Much like most Iranian baby-boomers, the career of Ahmadinejad both as a politician and as a social activist was most influenced by the Iranian Islamic revolution of 1979. Ahmadinejad's personal involvement in the American hostage crisis in the aftermath of the 1979 Islamic Revolution remains unclear. Several of the 52 Americans who were held hostage in the United States embassy say they are certain Ahmadinejad was among those who captured them. However, he has always denied this claim and he continues to insist that he was absent at this event.

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Mahmoud Ahmadinejad

**Birth:** 1956, Aradan, Iran

**Family:** Married; two sons, one daughter

**Nationality:** Iranian

**Education:** B.S. (civil engineering), 1975; M.A., 1986, and Ph.D. (transportation engineering), 1987, all from the Science and Technology University, Tehran

## PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1992-1993:** Served as the governor of the cities of Maku and Khoy
- **1993-1997:** Served as governor general of the province of Ardebil
- **1989:** Became a member of the Board of Civil Engineering Faculty of the Science and Technology University in Tehran
- **2003-2005:** Served as the mayor of Tehran
- **2005:** Elected the president of Iran

However, regardless of the uncertainty regarding Ahmadinejad's direct involvement in the hostage crisis, the aftermath of the 1979 revolution represents a major event in the development of his political career.

Following the 1979 revolution, Ahmadinejad became a member of the Office for Strengthening Unity (OSU) between Universities and Theological Seminaries, a largely conservative student-led organization that aimed to strengthen the nexus between religious and secular modes of education in post-revolution Iran. Also at this time, he is reported to have joined the Revolutionary Guards voluntarily. After the onset of the Iran-Iraq war in 1980, Ahmadinejad served in covert operations in western Iran during the first six years of the war. Ahmadinejad was a senior officer in the Special Brigade of the Revolutionary Guards, stationed at Ramazan Garrison near Kermanshah in western Iran. This was the headquarters of the Revolutionary Guards' "Extra-territorial Operations," which was responsible for mounting attacks beyond Iran's borders. He later joined the special forces of the Islamic Revolution's Guards Corps (IRGC) in 1986 where he served in the Islamic Revolution Guards Corps intelligence and security apparatus.

**The Beginnings of a Political Career** Ahmadinejad's first official stint in the field of politics came about when he was

elected governor of Maku and Khoy cities in the northwestern Azerbaijan province in 1992. He also served as an advisor to the governor general of the western province of Kurdistan for two years in the early 1990s. While serving as the cultural advisor to the Ministry of Culture and Higher Education in 1993, he was appointed as governor general of the newly established northwestern province of Ardebil. He served this post from 1993 to 1997. However, after these years of steady progress, Ahmadinejad's political career took a hit in 1997 when the newly elected administration of President MOHAMED KHATAMI removed him from his post as Ardebil governor general. Following this setback, Ahmadinejad returned to the academy and assumed the position of a full-time professor at the *ilm-o San'at* (knowledge and industry) University in Tehran. He also became a full-time member of the scientific board of the Civil Engineering College of University of Science and Technology. Ahmadinejad continued to teach as a full-time professor and remained primarily involved in the academy for six years, from 1997 to 2003 respectively.

In April 2003 Ahmadinejad re-entered the political sphere when he was appointed mayor of Tehran by the capital's municipal council. Ahmadinejad's mayoral career was a major passage in his political career. This was the first time that he was afforded a serious opportunity to articulate his vision for the country and to present his ideology for his fellow Iranians. As mayor, Ahmadinejad undertook several important measures that put his social ideas on display. His policies were primarily aimed at re-ordering the moral and social fabric of public life in Tehran. To that end, he introduced major reforms that sought to render the performance of religion in the public sphere more visible and vibrant. For example, Ahmadinejad turned several cultural centers into prayer halls during the Muslim holy month of Ramadan. Moreover, as a symbol of reclaiming and reinforcing Iran's Muslim identity, Ahmadinejad ordered several fast-food restaurants to close their businesses and he required male city employees to sport beards and wear long sleeves. He also instituted the separation of elevators of men and women in the municipal offices.

Although the regulation of religion and the institution of proper moral performance in the public sphere represented major parts of Ahmadinejad's political efforts, he also devoted a considerable amount of energy toward economic reform and corruption in Tehran. To sum up, Ahmadinejad's self-projection as a firebrand populist determined to fight for the economic rights and well-being of the less-privileged—an image that truly flowered during his presidency—was already at work during his career as the mayor of Tehran.

**The Presidency** Ahmadinejad was elected Iran's president in June 2005. He ran his campaign on a platform of populism, religious revival, and the reinvigoration of Iran's cultural capital. Pitted against the relatively moderate and pro-Western Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani, Ahmadinejad

## EXCERPTS FROM AHMADINEJAD'S 2006 OPEN LETTER TO U.S. PRESIDENT GEORGE W. BUSH

Mr. President,

Don't Latin Americans have the right to ask, why their elected governments are being opposed and coup leaders supported? Or, why must they constantly be threatened and live in fear? The people of Africa are hardworking, creative and talented. They can play an important and valuable role in providing for the needs of humanity and contribute to its material and spiritual progress. Poverty and hardship in large parts of Africa are preventing this from happening. Don't they have the right to ask why their enormous wealth—including minerals—is being looted, despite the fact that they need it more than others?

Again, do such actions correspond to the teachings of Christ and the tenets of human rights?

The brave and faithful people of Iran too have many questions and grievances, including: the coup

d'état of 1953 and the subsequent toppling of the legal government of the day, opposition to the Islamic revolution, transformation of an Embassy into a headquarters supporting the activities of those opposing the Islamic Republic (many thousands of pages of documents corroborate this claim), support for Saddam in the war waged against Iran, the shooting down of the Iranian passenger plane, freezing the assets of the Iranian nation, increasing threats, anger and displeasure vis-à-vis the scientific progress of the Iranian nation (just when all Iranians are jubilant and collaborating their country's progress), and many other grievances that I will not refer to in this letter.

WASHINGTON POST (9 MAY 2006). AVAILABLE FROM  
[HTTP://WWW.WASHINGTONPOST.COM/WP-DYN/  
CONTENT/ARTICLE/2006/05/09/AR2006050900878.HTML](http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2006/05/09/AR2006050900878.html)

propounded a narrative of middle-class populism and staunch defiance against any undue Western interference in Iran's internal affairs. Heavily backed by the conservative religious clerics in the higher echelons of Iran's political hierarchy, Ahmadinejad's rhetorical positioning resonated strongly among two key constituencies in the Iranian electorate: 1) Religious conservatives in the rural areas who saw Ahmadinejad's message as the perfect antidote to the encroachment of westernizing trends in the country and 2) the disenfranchised middle-class in urban areas who were desperate for a reversal of the dismal economic situation in the country. This enthusiastic reception for Ahmadinejad's political platform translated into electoral success in June 2005 when he emerged victorious in the presidential elections by a decisive and wide margin.

### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Ahmadinejad's influences and contributions to Iranian society must be considered with a major qualifier: his subservient position to the Supreme leader of Iran, Ayatollah ALI KHAMENEHI. Although Ahmadinejad is Iran's president in theory, in practice foreign policy, nuclear policy, and the central economic policies are ultimately under the jurisdiction of the supreme leader. In fact, it has also been argued that Ahmadinejad was Khamenehi's favored candidate for president precisely so that the latter could exercise complete political and social control over Iran without having to deal with any ideological impediments, such as those posed by relative moderates such as

Rafsanjani and Khatami. However, despite Khamenehi's practical dominance over the political scene in Iran, Ahmadinejad nonetheless represents a major player on both the domestic as well as the global political front.

Ahmadinejad's popularity among a vast segment of the Iranian population (especially in the rural areas) is a product of two inter-related factors: 1) his populist image of a leader servant whose top priority is the welfare of the less-privileged and 2) his relentless insistence on the continuance and progress of Iran's nuclear enrichment program, even in the face of massive international pressure to do the opposite. Although Ahmadinejad faces significant political and ideological opposition from Iranians both within and outside the country, and even though his political capital has somewhat eroded since his 2005 presidential election, he remains a popular leader among the masses of Iran. His popularity among Iran's common folk is largely a result of his staunch defiant stance against Western pressure on the nuclear issue. Ahmadinejad's brand of unrestrained chivalry in the face of mounting Western hostility and opposition to Iran's nuclear program is very effective in catering to a national psychology of resistance and counter-attack against an imagined Western hegemony. Therefore, it is quite ironic that the more that Western countries pressure Iran into halting its nuclear energy program, and the more that Ahmadinejad is successful in resisting and smothering this pressure, the more does his popularity as the champion of Iran's sovereignty and national pride rise in the country.

Ahmadinejad's biggest contribution to global politics is perhaps more symbolic than it is practical. By confronting the United States' demands against Iran's nuclear enrichment program, Ahmadinejad has assumed an almost iconic status of a "national warrior" who is brave enough to withstand the might of the United States. This iconic image of Ahmadinejad is not limited to the borders of Iran. Rather, in a region where most leaders are perceived as overly subservient and submissive towards the United States, Ahmadinejad has risen as the symbol of resistance against Western hegemony and domination in not only the Middle East but in a large portion of the Muslim world.

### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

According to the Bush Administration's "National Security Strategy" document released on 16 March 2006, the United States "may face no greater challenge from a single country than Iran." This statement speaks volumes about the United States' perception of Ahmadinejad. The United States clearly views him as a threat to its national security and as a challenge to its overall standing in the broader Middle East. Furthermore, since the United States harbors and maintains close political ties with other majority Sunni Muslim countries in the Middle East such as

Saudi Arabia and Egypt, the growing influence of a Shi'ite Muslim leader such as Ahmadinejad is obviously a cause of tremendous concern. This perception has intensified following the military confrontation between the Lebanese Hezbollah and Israel in July-August 2006. The anxiety of the United States over Iran's nuclear energy program is largely shared by most major European nations, though with varying levels. Although countries such as France and Germany have categorically stated that they are opposed to Iran's nuclear enrichment program, they are also adamant in finding a resolution to this issue through sustained talks and dialogue and not through military means.

Other Sunni countries in the Middle East such as Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and Jordan also perceive Ahmadinejad with a certain degree of angst and trepidation, mainly because of his growing popularity not only among Shi'ites but also among Sunni populations in the region. Ahmadinejad's charismatic personality is seen by these Sunni leaders as a political threat and a potential disturber of the prevalent power dynamics in the Middle East. These fears and anxieties will surely multiply if Iran were successful in attaining its nuclear ambitions. Another key element involved in the world's perspective towards Ahmadinejad is the war in Iraq. The more that Ahmadinejad is seen as making political inroads into the

## EXPLORING

Philosopher Charles Taylor has commented that modern social imaginaries are "the ways people imagine their social existence, how they fit together with others, how things go on between them and their fellows, the expectations that are normally met, and the deeper normative notions and images that underlie these expectations" (Taylor, *Modern Social Imaginaries*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2004, p. 23). Like most majority Muslim nations encountering the unsettling conditions and cultural vicissitudes of post-modernity, Iran is also a country caught in the midst of competing social imaginaries. On the one hand, the Iranian social imaginary continues to remain enveloped in a narrative of the pristine golden past that attempts to appropriate the literary, cultural, and religious legacy of its foregone past.

On the other hand, the cultural shifts and transformations of modernity have compelled Iranians to re-think their place in the world, and to invest their time and energy in keeping pace with the increased scientific and rational focus of the modern social imaginary. The figure of

Mahmoud Ahmadinejad epitomizes the tensions, challenges and aspirations associated with the competing social imaginaries that stand before the Iranian nation-state. His firebrand political posture toward the West and his insistence on furthering Iran's nuclear program testify to his highly modern, scientific and rational social imaginary where he perceives the scientific progress of his country as the marker of its cultural progress. On the other hand, his call for the reinvigoration of "proper" religious practices in the Iranian public sphere and his strong emphasis on reviving the moralizing subjectivity of Iranian Muslims signify the vitality of communal religion to his social imaginary. These competing social imaginaries need not be dichotomous. In fact, as Mahmoud Ahmadinejad's political career has shown, competing social imaginaries can and often times do act as complementary dyads as opposed to conflicting dichotomies. The extent to which Ahmadinejad continues his success in juggling, negotiating, and resolving these competing social imaginaries still remains to be seen. However, so far, he seems to be doing well.



Shi'ite leadership and populous of Iraq, the more does his growing influence become a cause of concern for the United States, Europe, and Sunni nations in the Middle East.

However, not all nations in the world harbor a negative opinion about Ahmadinejad. Generally, international leaders who are openly hostile or opposed to the current United States government view Ahmadinejad highly favorably. The chief example of this favorable impression is the country of Venezuela and its leader, Hugo Chavez, whose amicable relations with Ahmadinejad are well known. In general, Ahmadinejad is regarded quite highly in several Latin American countries, mainly because of the anti-American sentiments prevalent in that region and the way in which Ahmadinejad is perceived as a bulwark against an imagined United States and western imperialism.

### LEGACY

Ahmadinejad's legacy is difficult to predict. Much will depend on how the controversy over Iran's nuclear enrichment program plays out, and how that impacts the triumvirate relationship between Iran, Europe, and the United States. Moreover, in addition to Iran's tussle with America and European countries over the issue of nuclear arms, Ahmadinejad's legacy will also in large measure be determined by the progression of domestic politics within Iran. As evidenced in the unfavorable outcome of the recently held local body elections in the country, Ahmadinejad will soon need to deliver on his promises of economic growth and social reform in the country for him to leave behind a memorable legacy. However, although several variables in the formulation of Ahmadinejad's legacy are yet to be determined, one can safely predict that his firebrand mode of politics and international diplomacy is sure to have a lasting impact on the contours of the Middle East's relationship with the West. Moreover, regardless of whether Ahmadinejad succeeds or fails in his goal of re-ordering Iranian society into an economically vibrant, religiously fervent, and militarily robust nation, he will be remembered as a dogged resistor of American hegemony and power.

From another perspective, Ahmadinejad's legacy will also be open to competing intra-Iranian interpretations. The people of Iran (both within and overseas) are deeply divided on their vision for their country. Certainly, several Iranians vehemently oppose Ahmadinejad's call for a stringently religious public sphere or for a cuttingly confrontational attitude toward the United States and the West. However, even the most liberal Iranians residing in the West seem supportive of Iran's nuclear enrichment program, as anxious as they might be about its potential consequences on the world stage. According to them, if countries like India and Pakistan can have nuclear weapons, why can't Iran do the same?

Nevertheless Ahmadinejad's legacy in the thoughts of those who oppose his vision for the country will in all probability be decisively negative and unfavorable. They will view the period of his reign over Iran as a dark moment in the

country's history when the gradual development of a liberal society in Iran as cultivated by Ahmadinejad's predecessors Rafsanjani and Khatami was brought to a halt and supplanted by a more doctrinaire and rigid national ideology. On the other hand, Iranians who agree with Ahmadinejad's political, religious, and foreign policy ideas and those who feel inspired by his call to resist the hegemony of the West will likely remember him as a national hero who served the national and security interests of the country with valor and courage. The point being that the most determinative factor in the construction of Ahmadinejad's legacy is the opinions of those who will articulate his legacy and render it public.

Although Ahmadinejad's legacy will vary considerably in both form and content, people will be united in accepting his central role in re-shaping and indeed re-defining the power dynamics underlying Iran's relationship with the Sunni Middle East, Europe, and the United States. Whether Ahmadinejad goes down in history as a smart, bold, and decisive leader who challenged the might of the United States successfully or whether he is remembered as a rash, radical, and foolhardy leader who destabilized the globe and created conditions for the isolation of Iran on the world-stage still remains to be seen. However, regardless of how his legacy might be defined, he will go down in history as a central figure in the political history of the Middle Eastern whose presidency represented a major chapter in the evolution of Iran's relationship with the rest of the world, especially the United States.

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*SherAli Tareen*

### AJRAM, NANCY (1983–)

Nancy Ajram is a popular Lebanese pop singer and dancer. The winner of a Lebanese television musical competition at the age of twelve in 1995, she achieved stardom, complete with lucrative commercial endorsements, after releasing a hit album in 2003.

### PERSONAL HISTORY

Ajram was born on 16 May 1983 in Ashrafiyya, in the eastern part of Beirut, Lebanon to a Maronite Catholic

family who nurtured her musical ability from an early age (she has two siblings who are also performers, one an actress, the other a singer). Ajram appeared in two televised singing contests when she was eight years old. When she was twelve, she appeared on *Nujum al-Mustaqbal* (Stars of the future), a popular variety show, where she won a gold medal. She began at this time to focus on voice and theory lessons, and at age eighteen she released her first album, *Mihtajlak* (I need you). She was then accepted, apparently a major accomplishment, as a member of the Syndicate of Professional Artists in Lebanon. Three years after her first album she released a second, *Uyunak Anni* (Take your eyes off me). Neither was especially well received. She has achieved more success in recent years; in 2005 she signed a deal to endorse Coca-Cola and be a spokeswoman for Damas Jewelry, and the album she released in 2006, *Yatabtab... Wa Dalla* (I pat and spoil) was a major success. Ajram is now one of the wealthiest singers in Lebanese.

During the 2006 war between Israel and Hizbullah, Ajram refused to leave Lebanon. She wrote a patriotic song, "Lebanon Ya Habib al-Umur" (Lebanon my love) as a tribute, and to "express her grief over the horror her dear country is experiencing while Israeli forces are kill-



*Nancy Ajram.* ADAM JAN/AFP/GETTY IMAGES.

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Nancy Ajram

**Birth:** 1983, Ashrafiyya, Lebanon

**Family:** Single

**Nationality:** Lebanese

**Education:** Vocal and music theory studies

### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1990s:** Participates in Lebanese TV musical competitions; wins gold medal on *Nujum al-Mustaqbal* (Stars of the future)
- **1998:** Releases first album, *Mihtajlak* (I need you)
- **2000:** Releases second album, *Uyunak Anni* (Take your eyes off me)
- **2003:** Releases third album, *Ya Salam* (How fantastic)
- **2004:** Releases fourth album, *Ah Wa Noss* (Yes of course)
- **2005:** Signs to promote Coca-Cola
- **2006:** Releases single, *Anta Masri* (You're Egyptian) for African Cup of Nations football tournament being held in Egypt; releases fifth album, *Yatabtab... Wa Dalla*

ing so many innocent civilians, destroying the core of Lebanon." Ajram also cancelled her concerts in Syria, Egypt, and the United Arab Emirates on Valentine's Day 2006 to commemorate the one-year anniversary of the assassination of the former Lebanese prime minister RAFIQ HARIRI, saying that it was "[my] duty as a Lebanese citizen to commemorate this day, as most Lebanese plan to do" (<http://www.nancy-ajram.ws>).

### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Ajram's career was deeply influenced by the Lebanese producer Jiji Lamara. After her first two albums failed, the Lebanese producer turned her career around and made her the star she is today. She also claims Fadel Chaker as her favorite recording artist.

### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

Global perception of Ajram has generally been positive since her emergence on the music scene in the late 1990s. Ajram was named as the best Arabic singer by the magazine *Zabrat al-Khalij* for both 2003 and 2004 and she

## CONTEMPORARIES

Myriam Faris (1983?-), like Nancy Ajram, is considered to have been a child prodigy. She began dancing at the age of five, and earned the first place spot on *Téléliban*, a televised dance competition, at the age of nine. She placed first in Oriental dance. She credits her early and continued dance experience with helping her later vocal talent. She studied for four years at the National Conservatory of Music. At the age of sixteen, she won the top prize at the Lebanese Song Festival, and the next year participated in the singing competition *Studio El Fan 200* and took the first prize here as well. She was signed to the music label the Music Master International. She has enjoyed tremendous success, including sold-out concerts and a large fan following throughout the Middle East. Both Ajram and Faris started fairly young, and have worked hard at perfecting their talent and fan followings.

was also named by the Arabic-language edition of *Newsweek* as one of the most influential personalities of the Arab world in 2005. Although her reception has been generally positive, Ajram has also caused some controversy (as have many of her colleagues), for her clothing, for certain comments she has made about religion, and the fact that she is seen as a sex symbol in the Arab world. Most recently rumors circulated that her concert in Berlin was boycotted because of this, and she experienced some difficulties at a concert in Bahrain because it was held during the Islamic month of fasting, Ramadan. She is seen somewhat ambivalently in the Arab world: she is a symbol of modern western influence, a flouter of tradition; on the other hand, she is loved, considered progressive, entertaining, and new. The rest of the world, other than those of Middle Eastern descent, seems to be slow to discover her.

### LEGACY

It remains too early to assess Ajram's legacy, since she is young and still growing as an artist; her career and influence could change in any direction. However, she has sold more than twelve million albums, and is the third best-selling female singer in Lebanese and Egyptian music history. She had three albums debut at number one as well as multiple number-one singles after beginning to work with producer Jiji Lamara. She was the youngest to have a first single reach number one on the Arabian Charts (*Ya Salam* [How fantastic], 2003).

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*Khodr M. Zaarour*

## AKKAD, MOUSTAPHA (1930–2005)

Moustapha Akkad (also Mustafa) was one of the few Syrians to reach international stardom as a producer and director in Hollywood from the 1970s until his death in a terrorist bombing in Amman, Jordan in 2005. He produced two classics; one on the early years of Islam under the Prophet Mohammad, and the other a Libyan-funded film about resistance leader, Omar al-Mukhtar, of the 1920s and 1930s. Both were also performed in Arabic. Akkad also produced the horror classic *Halloween* and its many sequels.

### PERSONAL HISTORY

Moustapha Akkad was born to a Muslim family on 1 July 1930 (some sources say 1935) in Aleppo, Syria where he attended the local French school. After Syrian independ-



*Moustapha Akkad.* AP IMAGES.

ence from the French Mandate in 1946 he completed his secondary education at the American Aleppo College. There Akkad discovered his love of acting in the theatre arts classes taught by American Douglas Hill. Hill applied for a scholarship to enable the nineteen-year-old Akkad to attend the Theater Arts Department of UCLA.

Akkad's studies at UCLA coincided with the insurgency in Algeria against the French. Los Angeles director Sam Peckinpah contacted Akkad when searching for an Arab assistant while developing a film on the conflict. When the Algerian Revolution ended the film was dropped, but the bond between Akkad and Peckinpah remained. After graduating, Akkad accepted Peckinpah's invitation to work with him as a production assistant at MGM studios on the movie *Ride the High Country*. Akkad later moved to the CBS News Department and, with Peckinpah's encouragement, produced his own show "As Others See Us." He then formed Akkad International Productions, specializing in documentaries as well as features. The success of one of these early documentaries, *Caesar's World*, broadcast across the United States, allowed him to open offices for his film company in Beirut, London, and Hollywood.

#### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

In 1972, Akkad founded Filmco International Productions. In 1976 Akkad produced and directed through Filmco his first blockbuster in the Arab world, *al-Risalah* (The message), starring the Egyptian actor Abdallah Ghaith and Syrian actress Mona Wasif. This film made Akkad a household name in the Arab World and re-runs are common on Arab satellite television even today, decades after the movie's release. Its popularity in the Arab world prompted Akkad to release a version in English in the United States. *Mohammad: The Messenger of God* starred Anthony Quinn as Hamza, the uncle of Prophet Mohamed, and Irene Papas as Hind, wife of the Mecca notable Abu Sufyan. It was the first feature film with popular lead actors in cinema history to deal with the Muslim community and the beginnings of Islam. The movie received positive reviews in the United States and opened in three thousand theatres across the country.

Some American Muslims, however, were outraged by the idea of a Hollywood movie on Islam, apparently assuming that it somehow constituted a Jewish attack on their faith. In Washington D.C., a group of African-American Muslims stormed the B'nai Brith office building and took twenty-two hostages, threatening violence unless the film was withdrawn from circulation. Akkad negotiated with the Muslims' leader, Khalifa Hamaas Abdul Khaalis. "Let me show you the movie," Akkad offered. "If you find it objectionable, I will burn it." The Muslim leader refused the offer, and Akkad was forced to withdraw the film from circulation. Later the movie was released for a second time. Khalifa, however, threatened from his jail cell to burn the theaters showing the film, and many potential moviegoers kept away from the film. Although Akkad had carefully

solicited the approval of various Islamic authorities before creating the film, it was nevertheless banned in Saudi Arabia and other Arab countries. One criticism of the movie was that it showed the camel and cane of the Prophet of Islam—by Islamic code, nothing related to the prophet can be depicted in art. It was only after Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini of Iran approved the film for distribution in Iran that it came to be widely viewed and praised in the Muslim world.

Describing his classic film *The Mohammed: The Messenger of God*, Akkad said:

I did the film because it is a personal thing for me. Besides its production values as a film, it has its story, its intrigue, its drama. Beside all this I think there was something personal, being a Muslim myself who lived in the west I felt that it was my obligation my duty to tell the truth about Islam. It is a religion that has a 700 million following, yet it's so little known about it which surprised me. I thought I should tell the story that will bring this bridge, this gap to the west.

Following the 11 September 2001 attacks on Washington DC and New York City, the Pentagon purchased many copies of *Mohammed: Messenger of God* to show to troops preparing for military duty in Afghanistan and, later, in the Middle East, so as to help them better understand the Islamic faith. "Sadly, even after watching the film" Akkad commented a few years later, "they still did not understand the truth behind Islam."

In 1978 Akkad produced *Halloween*, a low-budget horror movie costing \$300,000. A major success at the U.S. box office, the film was inspired by Alfred Hitchcock's *Psycho*, starring Janet Leigh. Akkad hired Leigh's then seventeen-year-old daughter, Jamie Lee Curtis, to play the lead role. The film is considered one of the most important and influential of the horror genre. All but one of the *Halloween* sequels featured the same character, Michael Myers, as an unstoppable psycho-killer. Akkad's described *Halloween* as a movie in which "horror is based on suspense—there is nothing of blood, gore or special effects."

The success of the film led to seven sequels, the last released in 2002 in the United States. Akkad also produced and directed the seven sequels, the last *Halloween: Resurrection* in 2002. The series was highly profitable, although it was only the first film that became iconic.

In 1981 Akkad produced and directed *Lion of the Desert*, a biography on Libyan nationalist Omar al-Mukhtar, who led an armed revolt against the Italian occupation of Libya and was executed on the orders of Benito Mussolini in 1932. The film starred Anthony Quinn as Mukhtar, Oliver Reed as General Graziani, the officer in charge of crushing the Libyan revolt, and Rod Steiger as Mussolini. Despite an impressive cast, the film was not a box office success though it has since been screened many times on U.S. television and is a perennial favorite in the Arab world. Mainly because rumors surfaced that the film had been financed by MU'AMMAR AL-QADDAFI, it got negative reviews, recalled Akkad.

One reviewer said it was a film about “ayatollahs on horseback.” Libyan television repeatedly showed the scene of Mukhtar’s hanging—classic in the Arab world—in December 2006 when Qaddafi tried to draw parallels between the executions of Mukhtar and SADDAM HUSSEIN in Baghdad.

Akkad had a studio at Twickenham in Great Britain and he tried to buy Pinewood Studios from the Rank Organisation. In 1986, he produced a comedy *Free Ride*. With a lackluster cast and plot, it went unnoticed. The following year he returned to the horror genre, producing *An Appointment with Fear*, which also flopped. In 2001 he began preparations for his third epic, *Saladin*, a high-budget Hollywood production with Sean Connery cast in the role of the Muslim sultan. Akkad lacked the funding for the project, so he toured the Arab world from 2003 to 2005 seeking support for his *Saladin* project. At one point he brought Connery with him to Damascus. The film, which was to cost \$80 million and to be filmed in Jordan, was described by Akkad shortly before his death: “*Saladin* exactly portrays Islam. Right now, Islam is portrayed as a terrorist religion. Because of a few terrorists are Muslims, the whole religion has that image. If there ever was a religious war full of terror, it was the Crusades. But you can’t blame Christianity because of a few adventurers did this. That’s my message.”

#### THE WORLD’S PERSPECTIVE

Moustapha Akkad was never hailed or honored in Hollywood, probably because of his Syrian descent and for not being a prolific director and producer. Over his thirty-year career he produced the timeless *Halloween* movies, *The Messenger*, and *Lion of the Desert*. Only the *Halloween* movies were hits in the United States. The others were popular in his native Syria, the Arab, and Muslim world. Therefore, a rising generation of moviegoers in the United States did not really know Moustapha Akkad. His 2005 death in a terrorist attack received minimal mention in the U.S. press. Only Arab and Middle East-oriented reports and publications covered his brutal murder thoroughly. The news of his death hit Syria like storm. He was its famous son who had made his mark in Hollywood. As far as the Syrians were concerned, Akkad was their Alfred Hitchcock. The same applied to the Arab world, where his movies still air on satellite television many times a year. Syrian actors and actresses, also mourned Akkad greatly. In the years following Akkad’s death the Syrian press has been reporting news on a new Moustapha Akkad in the making, his son Malek. Malek Akkrad wants to continue his father’s legacy and produce the long-awaited *Saladin* epic.

#### LEGACY

Akkad died before completing the *Saladin* project. On 9 November 2005 he was mortally wounded in a terrorist bombing at the Grand Hyatt Hotel in Amman, Jordan while attending a wedding with his daughter Rima, who was killed instantly. Akkad later died in a hospital on

November 11 and ABU MUS‘AB AL-ZARQAWI’s al-Qa‘ida group in Iraq claimed responsibility for the attack. Akkad received a hero’s funeral in Syria where President BASHAR AL-ASAD posthumously gave him the Syrian Medal of Honor. Akkad’s tragic murder was particularly troubling for Syrians who took great pride in his achievements in Hollywood. There is a sad irony in that Akkad, who spent his life dispelling stereotypes about Islam and Arabs, should have fallen victim to Islamic fundamentalism. In fact, despite his popularity with Arab audiences, Akkad had been the subject of fundamentalist threats in the past.

The Amman bombings deprived the Arab world of a man whose work represented a potent weapon against the massive media machine propagating negative images of Arabs and Muslims in the United States. He and Egyptian actor OMAR SHARIF were two of only a few Arabs with considerable influence in Hollywood. Akkad produced films that presented an Arab and Islamic perspective rarely seen by the American public.

His classic movie *Mohammed: Messenger of God*, presented a nuanced image of Islam in direct contrast to the perversion of the religion promoted by criminals such as OSAMA BIN LADEN. Muslim fanatics who threatened to kill Akkad in 1976 when he produced *Mohammed: Messenger of God* succeeded three decades later. Professor Juan Cole, president of the Global Americana Institute, who was monitoring the terrorist activities and war in Iraq with his highly influential website [www.juancole.com](http://www.juancole.com), wrote after Akkad was killed:

The Iraq conflict has become a bad horror film. It has killed the grandfather of the *Halloween* movies. And it has snuffed out the man who wanted to bring real Muslim heroes such as the Prophet Muhammad, Omar Mukhtar, and Saladin to American film-going audiences. Now, his last project will remain unachieved. Saladin was a Kurd from what is now northern Iraq, and he defeated the Crusaders with a legendary chivalry that inspired their respect. [bu Mus‘ab al-] Zaraqawi’s henchmen inspire only horror, not respect. They have no chivalry, only bloodthirstiness. They are Michael Myers, not Saladin.

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*Sami Moubayed*

## ALAAE TALEGHANI, AZAM (1944–)

Women's rights activist Azam Alaee Taleghani (also Azam Taleghani, Taleqani) is an Iranian women's rights activist who has played an important role in women's rights and democracy issues in Iran since the 1960s. She is the daughter of Ayatollah Said Mahmoud Taleghani, who fought against the Pahlavi Shah Mohammad Reza in the 1970s and died after the 1979 revolution. Alaee Taleghani was a Member of the Majles, the Iranian legislature, from 1979 to 1981. She is the founding member of Najm Complex Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) which consists of three institutions, The Association of Islamic Women of Iran; Women's Society of the Islamic Revolution and *Payame Hajar* (Farsi: Hajar's Message) women's journal. She is the author of many articles and books.

### PERSONAL HISTORY

Alaee Taleghani was born in 1944 (some sources say 1943) in Tehran, Iran. She has a diploma in Humanities, a diploma in English language, and a BA in Persian Literature from Tehran University. She specializes in educational issues and has worked as a teacher, a head teacher, and head of a school for 26 years. From 1973 to 1975 she was in jail under the Shah's regime for her anti-regime activities. Since the 1979 revolution she has been active on women's issues and democracy issues.

For Alaee Taleghani, women played an important role in the 1978-1979 revolutionary period which led to the fall of the pro-West regime of the Shah in 1979: "Women carried their children on their shoulders and attended meetings, conferences, and marches. Many were killed during the street demonstrations against the Shah's regime. We worked in hospitals day and night and looked after the injured. Women left their homes and their husbands to work in hospitals and in the mosques. They only went home a few hours a day to sort out things for their children. Those who had young children organized collective child-care facilities in the neighborhood, allowing time for everyone to do their share of voluntary work. Women attacked police stations and barracks, confiscated arms and distributed them amongst the revolutionaries" (Poya 1999, p. 124).

### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Alaee Taleghani is strongly influenced by her father's idea of a link between Islam and modern ideas. She, alongside other female political activists in the 1990s such as Shahla Habibi (daughter of Ayatollah Habibi), and Fatemeh and Faeze Hashemi (daughters of Ayatollah Rafsanjani), tried to reinterpret Islamic laws and regulations in favor of women's participation in economics and politics. Alaee Taleghani believed that women's political activities in the

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Azam Alaee Taleghani

**Birth:** 1944 (some sources say 1943), Tehran, Iran

**Family:** Husband, Morteza Eghtesad; one daughter, Akram Eghtesad; three sons, Abbas Eghtesad, Kazem Eghtesad, and Mohammad Sadegh Eghtesad

**Education:** Diploma and BA, Tehran University

### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1979:** Founded Najm Complex Non-Governmental Organization (NGO): The Association of Islamic Women of Iran; Women's Society of the Islamic Revolution and *Payame Hajar* Women's Journal
- **1979–81:** Member of the Majles

revolutionary period and their paid and unpaid work in the 1980s gave them a sense of collective consciousness against their limited role in the home. She explained how women's experiences of voluntary work during the Iran-Iraq war (1980-1988) politicized women: "During the war we joined the Sisters Mobilization Organization. We worked in the mosques, prepared food, blankets and medicines for the men at the war front. In the war-zone areas women were involved in the distribution of arms amongst the population and the soldiers. In these areas women set up mobile hospitals and looked after the injured. As the war continued, women had to return to their homes, but they still continued their voluntary work and had to organize their time in a way to allow them to do their housework and their voluntary work in order to keep make family members happy" (Poya 1999, pp. 136-137).

During this period, Alaee Taleghani's organization, the Women's Society of Islamic Revolution, voluntarily taught women sewing, knitting, and electronics work. This allowed them to be employed in textile and electronics industries. The organization also ran classes in mathematics and Farsi for poorer students who needed help with their studies.

Women's rights activists put women's issues at the center of political debate in Iran. In the 1997 presidential election, women used this period to raise their voices for gender equality. Despite the fact that, according to religious law and Article 115 of the Constitution, women could not become president, nine women stood. This

## CONTEMPORARIES

Faeze Hashemi, the daughter of Ayatollah Rafsanjani (the President of Iran between 1989-1997), was a women's rights activist during the 1990s alongside Azam Alaee Taleghani. In the 1990s, women's issues became central within Iranian politics when magazines, newspapers, television and radio raised brought the topic to the forefront. The powerful presence of religious Iranian women, wearing black chador (Farsi: Iranian full Islamic cover) as delegates at the International Women's Conference in Beijing in 1995 brought to the fore gender issues in Iran. In the parliamentary election of 1996 Hashemi as a candidate for Tehran was extremely popular among young women of both the religious and the secular middle class for suggesting that if elected she would create women-only sport ground. She came second in this election. In 1998 she published the daily *Rouznameh Zan* (Farsi: Woman's newspaper). This was an important publication relating women's issues to a growing democracy movement. This newspaper, with the circulation of twenty thousand, waged a campaign to encourage women to stand for elections. In April 1999 this newspaper was closed down for challenging unequal gender relations.

action was a form of protest, forcing the state to admit to its own limitations. Alaee Taleghani was one of these candidates. She announced that her intention was first "to sort out the interpretation of the term "rejal" (Farsi: statesman), which is ambiguously defined in the Constitution"; second, she said, "It was my religious duty to stand for the presidential election, otherwise the rights of half of the population of this country would have been wasted and I would have been responsible and accountable to God for such an injustice." Third, she explained, "I have discussed with a number of clergymen the issue of whether a woman could be the President of the Islamic Republic or not in order to pave the way for the future, even if this may cause problems for me at present" (*Zanan* No. 34, 1997; Poya 1999, p. 144-45).

She visited a number of the ulama (Islamic religious scholars), and challenged their objection to women standing for presidency. She explained, "Five out of six ulama believed that women cannot be president. I argued with them, my aim was to prove to them that they have a

particular reading of Islamic laws on women which can be changed." Despite her and other women activists' efforts, all female candidates were rejected by the conservative clergy. In this election, the majority of women voted for President MOHAMED KHATAMI who was sympathetic to their views and he won a landslide victory against the conservatives (Rostami-Povey 2001, p. 49).

Since 1997, Alaee Taleghani pioneered the tradition of women challenging the presidential elections. Prior to the 2001 presidential election eighty women and prior to the 2005 presidential election eighty-nine female activists declared themselves as candidates. In the 2005 presidential election, women's rights activists staged a number of sit-ins and demonstrations. They argued that they would continue their struggle until the male reading of the Islamic laws, including rejecting women to be president, was changed. In one of these demonstrations, Alaee Taleghani turned to the police who were surrounding women and said to them, "Thank you brothers for allowing us to raise our voices. We will be here forever to continue our struggle and you will have to cooperate with us" (Rostami-Povey 2005).

Alaee Taleghani, as the founding member of Najm NGO, has attended international conferences. Under her supervision and directorship *Payame Hajar* is published in Farsi and in English to promote women's rights issues. In 1997 she attended the United Nations (UN) Division for the Advancement of Women and participated in the debate about the Muslim women's equal right with men to inheritance. In her publications she has been supporting Palestinian women and has been sending regular declarations in support of them. She has also been writing and discussing issues in relation to refugee and migrant women and children, disabled women, and the rights of female religious minorities and secular women (*Payame Hajar* 1997, 17-21).

In her analysis of various verses of the Qur'an she argues that "men were not born weak, they were made weak; women were not born oppressed, they were made oppressed. Therefore, women's and men's natural rights are taken away from them. One is therefore obliged to fight for women's and men's rights." It is on this basis is that she sees herself on the side of the globally oppressed who constitute the majority of the world's population. She criticizes some Muslim communities in the Muslim majority and Muslim minority societies who do not allow women to enter into the mosques. She argues that "women's presence in the mosques is their Islamic right." In her view, in the eyes of the God, women and men are equal; in Islam, human beings are equal and one is not superior to the other. In early history of Islam, women played important political roles (*Payame Hajar* 1995, p. 5). Therefore, according to Islamic culture, women and men can have equal access to work and employment. In her book

*Women's Issues; Second Notebook*: (1991) she discusses the importance of the work of women in agriculture and in industry and women's contribution to the household economy and the national economy as well as women's grievances and demands.

#### LEGACY

Azam Alae Taleghani certainly will go down in history as an important Iranian women's rights activist.

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*Elaheh Rostami Povey*

## ALAMA, RAGHEB (1962–)

Massively popular throughout the Arab world, Lebanese singer Ragheb (also Raghieb) Alama has been a topping the Arab billboards since the early 1980s when he broke into the music business at the age of eighteen. He has released more than fourteen albums, with many singles reaching number one on the charts. His music tends to blend traditional rhythms with a synthesized sound to produce popular dance tunes.

#### PERSONAL HISTORY

Ragheb Subhi Alama was born in Ghubayri, a suburb of Beirut, Lebanon, on 7 June 1962. The fourth of eight children (he has three sisters and four brothers), Alama displayed his music abilities at an early age. When he was just two years old, he would sing along with the radio, even though he could not pronounce the words. His father, who recognized his son's special talent and encouraged his musical interest, took Alama to a taping of a music show at a Lebanese radio station to be interviewed when he was just nine years old.

When he was thirteen, Alama entered the Beirut Conservatory of Music, where he refined his talent with vocal training. He also studied the *ud* (oud; a lute) for several years. Although his parents hoped that Alama would continue his studies at the university and perhaps enter a career in engineering, Alama's heart was already in his music. On the very day he finished his high school exams, he rushed from his tests to a television studio to

### BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Ragheb Alama; also Ragheb Subhi Alama

**Birth:** 1962, Beirut, Lebanon

**Family:** Wife, Jehan Al Ali (married 1996); two children, Khalid (born 1997) and Lu'ay (born 2001); one daughter, Sara, from his first wife, Randa Zaka

**Nationality:** Lebanese

#### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1986:** Released first album, *Ya Rayt*
- **1993:** Released "Albi Ashiqha," first music video produced in the Arab region
- **1998:** Named Best Arabic Male Singer, awarded the Golden Lion
- **2002:** Released album *Saharuni al-Layll*
- **2003:** Released album *Tab Leh*
- **2005:** Released *Greatest Hits, 1996-2002*

appear on the popular, nationally broadcast show, *Studio al-Fann*, the Lebanese version of America's *Star Search*. Displaying his wide range of vocal abilities, Alama won the talent show and quickly became a popular figure across Lebanon.

Riding the wave of his success on *Studio al-Fann*, Alama released his first album, *Ya Rayt*, in 1986. Written and produced by Ihssan Al-Mounzer, the album's blend of traditional rhythms and Western pop sounds was soon breaking sales records around the Middle East. Alama's popularity continued to increase and he appeared widely at festivals and concerts in Lebanon and Egypt. He also spent significant time in the recording studio, releasing a new album every year through 1990: *al-Hadiya* (1987), *Dawa al-Layl* (1988), *Ma Yajuz* (1989), and *lbi Ashiqha* (1990). In 1990 Alama's fame reached new heights and spanned new international borders when *Albi Ashiqha* went platinum and the title cut became the first music video produced in the Middle East.

Between 1993 and 1999, Alama released six albums: *Ya Hayati* (1993), *Tawa'am Ruhi* (1995), *Allamtini* (1996), *Farq Kabir* (1996), *Bravo Alayki* (1997), and *Habibi Ya Nasi* (1999). All but *Farq Kabir* were released under the Relax-In Production label. During the 1990s, Alama's international audience continued to expand, and he played to sold-out crowds in New York, Los Angeles,



Detroit, and Washington, D.C. In 1998, following a concert in Jordan, he was the target of an assassination attempt by a crazed fan, who shot him in the leg before fleeing the scene.

Alama garnered several awards, including Best Video Clip from *Cinema and People Magazine* in 1995 and the Golden Lyre from the Second Orbit Festival for Arabic songs in 1997. In 1998, he was named the Best Arabic Male Singer and awarded the Arabian World Gold Lion. In 1996, Alama married Jehan Al Ali; he has two children: Khalid (born 1997) and Lu'ay (born 2001). He also has one daughter, Sara, from his first marriage to Randa Zaka.

In 2001 Alama signed with Alam al-Fann Production and soon released *Saharuni al-Layll* (Up all night), which included the smash single, "Bitghib Bitruh" (When you go away), a duet with then-newcomer Elissa (now a major Arab singing star). The following year, the title cut of his new album, *Tab Leh* (Oh why), became his most popular release to date, reaching the number-one spot on the Arab billboards. In 2004, the release of *al-Hubb al-Kabir* (The great love) marked the final collaboration between Alama and Alam al-Fann Productions. "Yalla Ya Shabab," performed with Persian superstar Andranik Madadian (known simply as Andy) received significant attention and spawned a successful music video. The second single to generate interest was the album's title cut, which, although it never reached number one, managed to make it into the Top 40. In 2005 Alama released *Greatest Hits, 1996-2002*, which included songs such as "Tab Leh," "Nassini al-Duniya" (Make me forget the world), and "Saharuni al-layl."

Although Alama asserted he left his partnership with Alam al-Fann on amicable terms, the singer has vowed to never again sign a contract that gives a production company full and exclusive rights to his music. Thus, several attempts to negotiate a deal with the radio and television company Rotana have continued to stall over this point. Alama plans to self-finance his new album, which is scheduled for release in summer 2007.

Alama has also done his part to bring "reality television" to the Middle East. He starred in the popular show *What You Don't Know About*, which airs on Arab satellite television station MBC. The show, which follows along in the everyday life of a popular entertainer, shows Alama as singer, husband, and father, with several of the episodes shot at Alama's home in Paris.

#### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

With fans across the world, Alama has toured the United States and Canada several times. In 2005, he held a concert in the capital of Mauritania, the first of its kind in that country. In 2006, he held a concert for the Iranian community in the city of Dubai in the United Arab

#### "NASSINI AL-DUNIYA" (MAKE ME FORGET THE WORLD)

Make me forget the world, make me forget  
the people.  
Melt me my darling, and let me tell you  
sweet words.  
If I go around the world, if I go around the  
people,  
There is no possibility to find love like yours.  
  
If I tell you that I love you,  
Love is just too less for you.  
If I take a minute away from you,  
I return in the need to see your eyes.  
Hug me, be mine,  
Melt me and melt in my love.  
Come and we'll live the nicest days.  
  
It was the nicest day of my life  
When I met you, my life.  
I couldn't take it, if I didn't think of you for  
one moment.  
I found myself in your love,  
You took me from all the people, to live the  
most beautiful feeling,  
And, my darling, make me forget the world  
with you.

EXCERPTED FROM "NASSINI AL-DUNIYA"

Emirates. In the same year, he performed at Royal Albert Hall in London, in a benefit concert that aided two Lebanese orphanages. Alama regularly participates in charity events, especially those aimed at aiding children in need. He has also built a school for children. Alama brings a message of hope and an appeal for unity among Arab nations to his performances.

#### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

Alama's international appeal has carried his blend of Middle Eastern rhythms and Western pop melodies across the world. Although his heavy reliance on synthesized notes and sound effects may sound overdone to Western ears, the Arab community has long loved his danceable tunes, with belly dancers preferring his more traditional beats and others leaning toward his more purely pop songs. Alama's love songs have also garnered

a wide audience. He has performed throughout the Arab world at festivals in Carthage, Tunisia, the Jarash International Festival in Jordan, and the City Lights Festival in Egypt, as well as appeared in the West in cities like Los Angeles, Chicago, Detroit, and Washington. He has been given the honorary keys to the city from cities like Detroit and Sydney. In Egypt, he received top honors for his video "Alamtini" (You taught me). He has recorded with Western performers and even has a global fan base in non-Arabic speaking countries. His songs also are available worldwide via such music download services as Rhapsody, iTunes, and MusicMatch.

### LEGACY

Besides being wildly popular among his most devoted fans during his twenty-year career, Alama has served as a pioneer of Arab music videos. With the release of the first Arab-produced music video, "Ibi Ashiqha," in 1990, he has continued to advance the region's offerings of quality music. He will be remembered as one of the most popular Arab singers of the last quarter of the twentieth century.

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Alisa Larson

## AL-ANI, JANANNE (1966–)

London-based Jananne Al-Ani is an Iraqi-Irish multimedia artist.

### PERSONAL HISTORY

Al-Ani was born in 1966 in Kirkuk, Iraq to an Iraqi father and an Irish mother. She is primarily a video and video installation artist and emigrated from northern Iraq to England in 1980 where she trained at the Byam Shaw School of Art, earning a fine art diploma in 1989. Al-Ani earned a B.A. in Arabic from the University of

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Jananne Al-Ani

**Birth:** 1966, Kirkuk, Iraq

**Nationality:** Iraqi, Irish; based in Britain

**Education:** Fine art diploma, Byam Shaw School of Art, 1989; B.A. (Arabic), University of Westminster, 1995; M.A. (photography), Royal College of Art, 1997

### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1996:** Photographs *Untitled 1 & 2* win John Kobal Photographic Portrait Award, National Portrait Gallery, London
- **2004:** Participates in "Beyond East and West: Seven Transnational Artists" show, Krannert Art Museum, Champaign-Urbana, Illinois
- **2005:** Exhibits with "The World is a Stage: Stories Behind Pictures" show, Mori Art Museum, Tokyo; *Art Now* solo exhibition at the Tate Gallery, London
- **2006:** Participates in "Seventeen Ways of Looking" show, Museum of Modern Art, New York

Westminster in 1995, and an M.A. in photography from the Royal College of Art in 1997.

### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Al-Ani's early works were photographic but in the late 1990s she began to work most frequently in video. Al-Ani's work is primarily concerned with the complexities, ambiguities, and power relationships that are part of the processes of cultural contact and mixing. She often draws on her own experience of moving from Iraq to Britain, and of being the child of an Iraqi father and Irish mother, to explore these issues, but she intentionally disrupts the easy correlation between her work and her background. Al-Ani has done a series of pieces dealing with the male gaze and the female body, and the Orientalist and Western male gaze on Middle Eastern women in particular. A number of pieces that both confront and entice voyeurism exemplify her work on this theme, as in *Untitled 1 & 2* (1996), as do the works that deal with the politics and practices of veiling.

Her video installations on the veil are part of the larger body of work being produced by female artists

from the Middle East examining the complicated issue of the veil from their own diverse perspectives. Another theme running through Al-Ani's works is the relationship between memory and narrative, a topic motivated by her personal history. Similar to several other prominent artists of Arab descent, Al-Ani's artistic exploration of her mixed and diasporic identity was initially motivated by the 1991 Gulf War, which brought into focus the interwoven personal and political aspects of life in exile. Al-Ani is particularly interested in the ambiguities of personal histories as constructed through narratives of memory, and has created a series of works involving family members that explore the multiple layers of experience and identity. Her 2005 *Art Now*, a two-part video installation at London's famous Tate Gallery, has been her most ambitious project to date.

#### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

Al-Ani has exhibited widely in the United States and Europe. In 1999 she mounted solo shows at the Imperial War Museum in London and at the Smithsonian Institution in Washington. In 2004 she participated in the group exhibition "Beyond East and West: Seven Transnational Artists" at the Krannert Art Museum in Champaign-Urbana, Illinois, and in 2005 in "The World is a Stage: Stories Behind Pictures" show at the Mori Art Museum, Tokyo. In 2006, her work appeared in the show "Seventeen Ways of Looking" at the Museum of Modern Art in New York.

Her work has earned her a number of awards, including an Arts Council Grant, 1998; a Renaissance Art Award, 1997; the John Kobal Photographic Portrait Award, 1996; a Fuji, Joe's Basement & RCA Award, 1996; a South Bank Photo Show prize, 1991; and the East International Award in 2000.

#### LEGACY

It remains too early to assess the final legacy of this creative artist still in her prime.

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*Jessica Winegar  
updated by Michael R. Fischbach*

## AL-AZM, SADIK (1934–)

A noted Syrian intellectual, Sadik Al-Azm is one of the great scholarly minds of the past four decades in the Arab world.

#### PERSONAL HISTORY

Sadik Jalal Al-Azm was born in 1934 in Damascus, Syria, to a distinguished Sunni Muslim Damascene family. He completed his Ph.D. at Yale University in 1963 and thereafter began teaching at The American University of Beirut. He taught for many years at the University of Damascus, and also was a visiting professor at a number of institutions, including the Wissenschaftskolleg in Berlin from 1990 to 1991, and the University of Hamburg in 1998. From 1992 to 1993 he was a fellow at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in Washington. Now retired, he is professor emeritus in modern European philosophy at the University of Damascus. Al-Azm is a member of the Committee for the Prizes of the Prince Claus Fund.

#### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Al-Azm has been one of the premier leftist Arab intellectuals of the past several decades. The 1967 War, which led to the catastrophic defeat of Syria, Jordan, and Egypt by Israel—along with the occupation of parts of all three of those countries by Israeli forces—had a profound impact on Al-Azm and his entire generation. As the Arab world grappled for explanations, Al-Azm produced two seminal works that offered penetrating explanations that probed deep into Arab society. His books *Self Criticism After the Defeat* (1968) and *Critique of Religious Thought* (1969) became instant classics. They spawned other intellectual ventures into Arab self-criticism as well, and represent milestones in modern Arab intellectual history. Looking back decades later, Al-Azm described his thought process at the time as follows:

"What really attracted my attention then was the presence of a transformational and radicalizing tendency within this [Arab] liberation movement [in the 1960s] which aimed at the implementation of necessary changes in the economic, productive, and political structures of the Arab World. But along with this tendency went a highly conservative counter-trend which wanted to preserve the old social structures and their values, as well as the superstructures of thought, values, morality, and religion. In other words, it appeared to me then as though the Arab liberation movement was striving toward the implementation of significant and revolutionary transformations in the lower structures of society with its left hand, while at the same

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Sadik Al-Azm (Sadiq Al-Azm)

**Birth:** 1934, Damascus, Syria

**Family:** Married

**Nationality:** Syrian

**Education:** Yale University, 1963, Ph.D.

## PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1967:** Publishes "Modern Science and the Dangerous Relapse"
- **1968:** Publishes *Self Criticism After the Defeat*
- **1969:** Publishes *Critique of Religious Thought*
- **1981:** Publishes "Orientalism and Orientalism in Reverse"
- **1992:** Named fellow at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in Washington
- **2004:** Receives Erasmus Prize

time striving just as hard to slow down the transformation of the superstructures with its right hand. I was convinced then that this contradiction within the Arab liberation movement resulted in a great deal of obstruction, without any realization on my part at the time that this may have been class-related, or more specifically, directly related to the nature of the petty bourgeoisie. It appeared to me that the most appropriate intellectual task for a person like myself would be to engage in some constructive activity. This meant destroying those superstructures which had lost their capacity for life because of the changes occurring in the base, while at the same time participating in the building of relatively new structures more suited to the transformations gripping Arab life at that moment" (Talhami 1997).

Beyond those two works, two ongoing features of his research have been his studies of Orientalism and Islamic fundamentalism. He has written much about Orientalism—essentially defined as the West's attempt to understand Muslim and other societies of the Orient or the East according to monolithic, immutable terms (often culturally and religiously based) and typologies, rather than as living, changing societies. His work goes on to analyze how such beliefs affect Western-Islamic relations. His 1981 essay "Orientalism and Orientalism in Reverse" was a classic in this regard.

As for Al-Azm's studies of Islamic fundamentalism, just two months after the 1967 defeat he published an

article titled "Modern Science and the Dangerous Relapse," which correctly anticipated the return of Islamic political discourse in the Arab world. The defeat spelled the end of many Arabs' belief in secular trends such as pan-Arab nationalism and socialism, and caused some to turn to religion as an explanatory and mobilizing agent instead. Al-Azm not only studied this phenomenon, but also criticized Arab regimes' exploitation of mounting religious fervor as a way of deflecting attention away from their role in the defeat. He discussed this in his article "The Miracle of the Virgin's Apparition and the Liquidation of the Traces of Aggression," which focused on how the Egyptian government helped spread the rumor of the appearance of the Virgin Mary at a church in Egypt. Al-Azm has continued to write about fundamentalism in the post-11 September 2001 world. He argues that modern Islamic fundamentalism and Islamic politics are reactive, not constructive, in that they essentially reflect a religious response to ongoing Arab defeat and humiliation.

## THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

Al-Azm has been hailed as one of the foremost Arab intellectuals of recent decades. *Self Criticism After the Defeat* marked a turning point in Arab discourse about society and politics. He has received a number of prestigious prizes and awards testifying to his scholarly contributions. In 2004, he won the prestigious Erasmus Prize along with fellow Arab intellectual FATIMA MERNISSI and Iranian intellectual ABDOLKARIM SOROUSH. In 2004, he also received the Dr. Leopold-Lucas-Preis of the Evangelical-Theological Faculty of the University of Tübingen, and in 2005, became a Dr. Honoris Causa at Hamburg University.

Several conferences have also been convened in Al-Azm's honor. In 2005, a conference titled "Orientalism and Conspiracy: Workshop in Honour of Sadik al-Azm" was held at the Asia-Africa-Institute at the University of Hamburg. In January 2006, the "Orientalism and Fundamentalism in Jewish and Islamic Critique: A Conference Honoring Sadik al-Azm" was held in his honor at Dartmouth College. Arab regimes, however, sometimes have taken a dimmer view of him and his work. The Lebanese government, for example, imprisoned Al-Azm after he published *Critique of Religious Thought* in 1969.

## LEGACY

Although still writing, Sadik Al-Azm already has left a legacy of piercing intellectual examination of the social, religious, cultural, and political bases of modern Arab thought and politics.

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Michael R. Fischbach

## ALBERSTEIN, CHAVA (1947–)

Folk and pop singer-guitarist Chava (also Hava) Alberstein is one of Israel’s most important, respected, and prolific entertainers; one of the few Israeli artists whose popularity spans decades both in her native country and abroad. Her career resembles that of other female folk singers such as the American Joan Baez and the Argentinian Mercedes Sosa, illustrating the connection between folk music and the performance realm of musical self-expression combined with political and social activism. For her achievements she has received the degree of *Doctor Philosophie Honoris Causa* from Tel Aviv University.

Her success is even more impressive considering the fact that she has aimed for the highest artistic standards while remaining true to her political and social agendas. She has tirelessly promoted collaborations with the most prominent and respected Israeli poets, composers, and producers in tandem with developing her own compositional and lyrical skills. She is at home in a wide array of musical styles (including folk, world, pop and jazz) and is noted for her singular devotion to singing and recording in Yiddish.

### PERSONAL HISTORY

Chava Alberstein was born on 8 December 1947 in Schechin (now Szczecin), Poland and immigrated to Israel at the age of four. She settled with her family in Kiryat Haim, a working-class suburb near Haifa, Israel’s third largest city. In an interview for Israeli TV, she recalled that her first guitar was given to her by her father, who had purchased it from a sailor at Haifa Port, and thus the instrument was covered with stickers from all over the world. This might have predetermined her artistic destiny; to be a “wandering gypsy” vocalizing the music of the people.

At the age of twelve she won a government fellowship for music studies, and five years later performed for the first time in public during a live radio broadcast. The musician Meir Harnik heard her performance on the

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Chava Alberstein

**Birth:** 1947, Schechin (now Szczecin), Poland

**Family:** Married. Husband: Nadav Levitan

**Nationality:** Israeli

### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1967:** Releases first solo album, *Perah ha-Lilakh* (Lilac flower)
- **1970:** Releases *Me’shirei Eretz Ahavati* (Songs of my beloved country)
- **1986:** Releases *Mehagrim* (Immigrants)
- **1989:** Releases *London*; one of its songs, “Khad Gadya,” decries Israeli policies toward the first Palestinian intifada, and creates controversy
- **1998:** Releases *The Well* with the Klezmatics
- **2005:** Receives honorary doctorate from Tel Aviv University

radio and invited her to join his traveling singing show on a national tour. She accepted Harnik’s invitation, and it was during one of these shows that the prominent popular music composer Nachum Heiman heard her, and assured her on the spot that she was about to become a star.

Heiman secured her a contract with CBS Records (which later became the major label NMC), the most important record label in Israel during the 1960s and 1970s. She completed her compulsory military service in the Israel Defense Forces, performing as a solo singer-guitarist before the troops.

### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

**The First Years (1967-69)** CBS did not wait long; in 1967 Alberstein’s first solo album *Perah ha-Lilakh* (Lilac flower) was released and went gold, with the young singer amply displaying her overall charm and ability to winningly present a melody. In the same year she also released her first Yiddish language album: *Hineh Lanu Nigun* (Here we have a song).

The following year was very productive; she released a total of three albums. A careful examination of this 1968 vintage will demonstrate three main directions in Alberstein’s career: performing and interpreting songs from the Yiddish musical heritage (in 1968 she recorded

an album with actor/singer Mike Burstein); exploring the possible mixture between her singing and a jazzy musical environment (her album *Mot ha-Parpar* [Death of the butterfly] was arranged by leading jazz musician Albert Piamenta); and her faith and commitment to the work of young and advanced Israeli musicians (the next album *Mirdaf* [The chase] was produced by Misha Segal [who later became a prominent Hollywood film composer and arranger]). Both Hebrew albums went gold and introduced a more sophisticated Alberstein, once again displaying her expressive and interpretive abilities. At this stage in Alberstein's career, it was already apparent that she possessed a unique ability to take a song and make it her own. In 1969, she released her third Yiddish language album, *Margaritkalach* (Daisies).

**The 1970s** A careful review of Alberstein's career indicates that the roots of her mature personality can be traced back to her activities in the early 1970s, during which her constant quest for means of self expression took some interesting directions.

Her 1970 gold record *Me'shirei Eretz Ahavati* (Songs of my beloved country) included texts that had a strong personal and even political impact. The strongest of them was the perceived anti-war statement in "Chess" (with lyrics by Israel's most potent poet-satirist Hanoach Levin and music by Alex Kagan), a somber song describing pawns in a chess game commonly sacrificed to protect the king.

In 1971 Alberstein mounted a solo show, accompanied for the first time in her career by a live band. Yaacov Agmon (an important personality in the Israeli entertainment industry) produced the show, which added a surprising theatrical ability to the already wide talents Alberstein had previously revealed to the Israeli public. In this show she addressed issues such as womanhood, love, and even some self-parody about singers who want to act and actors who want to be singers. Israel's best writers joined forces for this production, which was an enormous success and established Alberstein as a star of the Israeli stage.

In 1972 Alberstein changed direction when she recorded an entire album of the music of upcoming young composers of the time. The gold record *Isha Ba'avatiah* (A woman in a watermelon) was seemingly addressed to children and included poems by poet Nurit Zarhi with music by up-and-coming composers such as Shlomo Gronich and Matti Caspi. The album set unprecedented musical standards of melodic complexity, harmonic sophistication and orchestration and was considered ahead of its time. By doing so, Alberstein once again displayed her courage and individuality. She also released the children's record *Hava Ve-Oded B'Eretz ha-Ksamim* (Magic land) in 1972.

The 1973 Arab-Israeli war brought Alberstein once again to the public eye with her performance of "Lu Yehi" (Let it be), a simple song of hope composed by the beloved national poet and composer Naomi Shemer. Alberstein, like many other artists, took up her civil duty to entertain both soldiers and the public during wartime. However, in her post-war platinum album *Lu Yehi* (Let it be) she included a few somber songs with an overall pacifistic spirit. Some of the arrangements for that album were written by Roman Kunzman, the leader of the influential jazz band Platina. Once again, Alberstein was among the early vanguard of singers in placing her theatrical and musical talents in a jazz-oriented musical environment. Alberstein's collaboration with Platina resulted in the 1975 triple-platinum album *K'mo Tzemakh Bar* (Like a wild flower), which to this day remains one of her most popular releases.

The year 1976 brought the release of another children's album (*Elik, Belik Bom*) and 1977's *ha-Laila Hu Shirim* (The night is songs) went gold and featured new arrangements of some of her classic hits. The year 1977 also marked the release of the Yiddish language *Shirei Am Be'Yidish* (Yiddish folk songs) as well as the "Carousel" cycle of albums (*Karusella 1, 2 & 3*). In 1978 she recorded *Hitbaharut* (The skies are clearing) in Italy, characterized by impressive lyrical melodies and mellow pop arrangements by Natale Massara. This album eventually went gold.

In 1979, one of her most popular Yiddish albums, *Chava Alberstein Sings Yiddish*, was released. She also recorded yet another children's disc and during that same year an album recorded in a live show in Tel Aviv was matched by an album recorded in London, with arrangements and musical production by Heiman, the man who had discovered her when she was seventeen. Among the studio players who participated in the recording was Brazilian composer-arranger Carlos Miranda.

**The 1980s** The next step in Alberstein's career took her for the first time into the realm of creation. In 1986, her twenty-eighth album *Mehagrim* (Immigrants) contained music set solely to her original lyrics. Prior to this album Alberstein continued to explore various musical styles and means of expression. Her second solo show (1980) was musically arranged and produced by keyboardist and violist Nahum Perfekovitch, a member of the show's backup jazz band, her old friends Platina.

She worked with rock musician Misha Segal for her 1982 album *Kolot* (Voices) and entered into a highly unusual collaboration with Menachem Wiesenberg, a respected composer of symphonic and chamber art music. The same year saw the release of the children's album *Shiru Shir Im Hhava* (Sing a song with Chava), which included a Hebrew language cover of the '60s psychedelic Beatles

## WE REALLY MUST SAY WHAT WE FEEL

Even though I have lived in Israel nearly my entire life, I am constantly questioning my place in the world. Maybe this searching comes from being an artist, maybe it comes from being a Jew. I'm not really sure. No matter where I am, even if it's in my own country, I feel like a bit of a guest. People can appreciate this today, because they move around so much. Every country you go to in the world is filled with so-called foreigners.

AVIV PRODUCTIONS WEBSITE: [HTTP://WWW.AVIV2.COM/CHAVA/](http://www.aviv2.com/chava/)

Basically, I believe that artists should criticize governments whenever they can... we are not politicians that we need voters to vote for us and we don't need to please the crowds. So we really must say what we feel...

"CHAVA ALBERSTEIN, ISRAELI SINGER AND PEACE ACTIVIST,"  
NPR (24 APRIL 2002): [HTTP://WWW.NPR.ORG/PROGRAMS/MORNING/FEATURES/2002/APR/ALBERSTEIN/](http://www.npr.org/programs/morning/features/2002/apr/alberstein/)

classic "Yellow Submarine," followed by 1983's gold album *Nemal Bait* (At home). In 1984, for the second time in her career, Alberstein choose to work with young composers such as Yoni Rechter and Shem Tov Levi for the album *Avak Shel Kokhavim* (Stardust). Musical production was given to veteran producer Yaroslav Yaakobovitz.

The year 1986's *Mehagrim* (Immigrants) featured Alberstein as a lyricist for the first time, together with composer Gideon Kafan (who soon was to leave the popular music field). The album was produced by guitarist Yehuda Eder (from the mythological rock band Tapuz) with the contributing musical talents of some of the country's best rock studio players and contained songs with strong statements about Israel's social problems.

In between the release of *Mehagrim* and before 1987's *ha-Zoreh Be'Mila ha-Zoreh Ba'Shtika* (Words and silence, an album that contained for the first time both her own lyrics and music), Alberstein recorded yet another Yiddish album, *Od Shirim Be'Yidish* (More songs in Yiddish). It is interesting to speculate why she continued to periodically work in Yiddish; perhaps because of a sense of duty (a continuing effort to preserve the pre-World War II Jewish culture), a need to return to musical roots, or simply a need to express her love for this musical context.

*Ha-Zoreh Be'Mila ha-Zoreh Ba'Shtika* marked the beginning of Alberstein's career as a creator-performer. From this point she focused on recording her own mate-

rial. For her next album, the 1989 platinum release *London* (with lyrics and music by Alberstein, produced by Yaakobovitz), she even added modern texts to two folk tunes. One of these songs "Khad Gadya" (Lamb), which addressed the moral issues of Israel's occupation of the Palestinian territories, created a national mini-scandal.

In some ways this reflected the end of an era: On a national level, Alberstein had become a controversial artist. She had begun to feel strong opposition from the far right-wing political bloc and was publicly booed during the traditional torch lighting ceremony for 1987's Independence Day celebrations.

**The 1990s and International Expansion** At this point, Alberstein began to seriously consider expanding her international career. In addition to the release of the controversial *ha-Zoreh Be'Mila ha-Zoreh Ba'Shtika* in 1987, Alberstein closed out the decade with 1989's *Chava Zingt Yiddish* (Chava sings Yiddish). By 1990 the first retrospective collection of her songs, *Me'Shirei Eretz Ahavati* (Songs from my beloved country) was released, and the year after that she began to work periodically with producer Oved Efrat.

*Ahava Mealteret* (Improvised love), an album released in 1991 that went gold, had most of the songs written by Alberstein, and was characterized by a world music sound and featured instruments like accordion, bouzouki and ethnic drumming. In 1992 her first compact-disc collection was released and during the same year she produced an English-language album, *The Man I Love* (including a version of the Beatles' "Eleanor Rigby," among others).

In 1994 she composed the soundtrack for the feature film *Groupie*, directed by her husband, Nadav Levatan, and re-released it as *Margaritkalach* (Daisies). In 1995 she wrote the lyrics and music for most of the songs in *Derekh Akhat* (My own way), which was produced by Ilan Wurtzberg. This rock-flavored album included a protest song named "Gitara Khadisha" (New guitar). Her next album, 1996's *Yonat ha-Ahava* (The Dove of love) was once again produced by Efrat and included Alberstein's original music set to texts by major Israeli poets such as Esther Rub and David Avidan. The year 1997 was relatively quiet by Alberstein's standards, with the release of one retrospective album *Adaber Itkha* (I will talk to you).

The year 1998 marked an international breakthrough for Alberstein; *The Well*, a joint record with the highly regarded avant-garde klezmer group *The Klezmatiks* for the Xenophile label, gained her world-wide recognition. Strangely enough, this album was never distributed in Israel. A CD box set of sixty songs (*Chava Alberstein, The Collection*) was issued in the same year and went gold. The 1999 album *Tekhef Ashuv* (Be right back) contained strong protest songs such "The Magician" (which mocked then prime minister Benjamin Netanyahu), the anti-reli-

gious coercion title "Shalom Rav" (Blessed be), and "Rebecca" (protesting the way that Israel treats its foreign workers). This album was produced by long-time collaborator Efrat and featured top ethnic hand drummer Zohar Fresco. The end of this decade was capped by the release of a box set collection of Yiddish songs called *Chava Alberstein, Yiddish Songs*.

**2000 and Beyond** In 2003 she composed and recorded the single "ha-Tzel" (The shadow), a protest song (set to lyrics by her husband) dealing with the plight of foreign workers that serve the elites of the first world, and soon after released "Tehilim Ktanim" (Little psalms), a song which related the story of a born-again Jew. In the same year, the album *End of the Holiday* (with lyrics by Liviatan and music by Alberstein) was released and sold an impressive (by Israeli standards) 14,000 copies in the first two months of sales, together with the release of another CD box set collection, *The First Years*. The year 2005 saw the release of *Kokus* (Coconut) and the Yiddish language *Lemele* (Lamb).

#### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

Chava Alberstein is a veritable institution in her native Israel. But her career and stature have not been without controversy. In a controversial interview for Israel TV, Alberstein declared that she currently is not ready to perform for Israeli audiences, because of the lack of artistic tolerance and the deterioration of the popular music scene. She also has been criticized in Israel for her political views on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Her version of the Passover song "Khad Gadya" from the late 1980s, decrying the government's harsh repression of the Palestinian intifada, was banned from Israeli state radio. A boycott was mounted against her when she was chosen to light the flame at the 1990 Israeli Independence Day celebrations. Despite all this Alberstein remains a popular cultural icon in her native country, continuing to produce an impressive amount of works that reflect her trademark intensity and personal voice.

Internationally, Alberstein also is well known and acclaimed. In 2001, a Czech-language film included two songs sung by Alberstein in its soundtrack and was nominated for an American Academy Award for Best Foreign Movie. In the same year, the album *Foreign Letters* (produced by Canadian-American multi-instrumentalist and composer Ben Mink for the label Rounder Records) was released internationally, with impressive sales in Korea.

#### LEGACY

Chava Alberstein already is a legendary icon within Israel. She will be remembered for her music, her attempts to keep Yiddish culture alive, and her passionate insistence on using her fame as a platform for speaking out on political issues.

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*Oded Zehavi*

## AL BU SA'ID, BADR BIN HAMAD BIN HAMOOD (1960–)

Badr bin Hamad bin Hamood Al Bu Sa'id is undersecretary of foreign affairs of the Sultanate of Oman. One of the leading diplomats of the Middle East and a negotiator of many important international trade and political agreements, he has played a central role in formulating and implementing Omani foreign policy since the early 1990s.

#### PERSONAL HISTORY

Badr bin Hamad bin Hamood Al Bu Sa'id was born in 1960 in Muscat, capital of Oman, and spent most of his early years in Salalah in the Dhofar province of southern Oman. He takes the title Sayyid as is customary among members of the ruling Al Bu Sa'id family. During the 1960s the then-sultan Sa'id bin Taymur lived almost exclusively in Salalah, where Sayyid Badr's father Sayyid Hamad bin Hamood worked as his private secretary. Badr is among the last generation of Omanis to have a clear recollection of the time before the modernization of Oman, a time when it was common to sleep on rooftops for the benefit of the cool night air (years later, staying in modern Western hotels, Badr found himself seeking his rest on the floor, the beds being just too soft for a good sleep). It was a time when education was often gleaned from the Qur'an and the BBC Arabic Service. Badr would see his father set off regularly for the desert or mountains to settle tribal disputes. During these years the family lived in the Salalah Palace compound, where some of the children benefited from the help of their neighbor, the future Sultan QABOOS AL BU SA'ID, with their English.

As a boy of ten Badr was an eyewitness to the events of 23 July 1970 in Salalah which led to Sayyid Qaboos taking over as Sultan from his father Sa'id. Shortly afterward Hamad moved his family to Muscat, to make himself available to assist the new Sultan in the development of a modern administration. Hamad was appointed minister of diwan (court) affairs, a position of great importance which managed relations between the palace and the government, which he held till 1986, when he became Qaboos' personal adviser until his death in 2002.



## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Badr bin Hamad bin Hamood Al Bu Sa'id (AlbuSa'id)

**Birth:** 1960, Muscat, Oman

**Family:** Former wife, Nura (divorced 1993); one son, Nasr; three daughters, Aseelah, Salsabeel, and Mazan

**Nationality:** Omani

**Education:** Sa'ideyya schools, Muscat and Salalah; private tutors, U.K.; M.Lit., St. Catherine's College, Oxford, 1988

### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1989:** Appointed first secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs; established Office for Political Analysis
- **1990:** Promoted to counselor
- **1996:** Promoted to ambassador
- **1997:** Appointed head, Minister's Office Department
- **2000:** Promoted to undersecretary

Badr left Oman in the summer of 1977, at the age of seventeen, to pursue his education in the United Kingdom. He first spent several months in North Wales with a private tutor. Badr's experience in North Wales was cold and lonely, and it was with some relief that he relocated to London during the spring of 1978. Then, working with a team of tutors, he managed over a period of three years to earn sufficiently high marks on the British secondary school examinations to win a place at St. Catherine's College, Oxford, where he read politics, philosophy, and economics. He was fortunate to have as his tutor Wilfrid Knapp, a renowned teacher of political science, who over the years had many leaders of the future among his pupils, among them Peter Mandelson (guru of the early years of the Blair government in Britain) and Benazir Bhutto (erstwhile prime minister of Pakistan).

While studying in the United Kingdom, Badr took a keen interest in the well-being of his fellow Omani students. In 1983, he and his younger brother, Khalid, organized a concert in London, providing an opportunity for several hundred Omani students to celebrate their national day together and to send greetings home via Oman TV, which covered the event.

On his return to Oman, and following the death of his elder brother, Sami, in 1988, Badr took over as chairman of the family business, SABCO (Sami and Brothers Company), a diverse holding company. He remained in this position until 2000, when pressure of official work and concern to observe fully a separation between public responsibilities and private interest led him to resign all his private appointments. In 1988 Badr returned to Muscat and started work as a diplomat in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, where he has been ever since.

### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Since the early 1990s Badr has played a central role in the implementation of Omani foreign policy, acting as chief of staff for the minister, as well as directing ministry operations on his behalf. In one of his first tasks at the Ministry, he established an Office of Political Analysis to provide the ministry with a systematic process of policy assessment and analysis of international and regional issues.

Badr has represented Oman in many regional and international meetings at the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC), at the Arab League, in the United States, in the multilateral phase of the Middle East peace process, at the United Nations, at the Non-Aligned Movement, at the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC), and in many other multilateral and bilateral forums. He led the initial negotiation with the United States concerning labor law issues which began in 1993 which subsequently developed into an initiative resulting in Omani membership in the World Trade Organization in 2000, and to a U.S.-Omani Free Trade Agreement in 2006.

During the active phase of the Middle East peace process, from the Madrid Conference in 1991 to death of Israeli prime minister Yitzhak Rabin in 1995, Badr helped shape Oman's responses. The first official talks between Oman and Israel took place in 1995 in Washington with Badr and Yossi Beilin (then Israel's deputy foreign minister) representing their respective governments. He also played an active role in the Water Working Group of the multilateral phase, which led to the establishment of the Middle East Desalination Research Center in Oman, an institution conceived in the context of the peace process, and currently serves as Oman's representative and the chairman of the Executive Council of the Center.

For many years the GCC and the European Union have had a persistent although relatively fruitless trade dialogue. Badr has been closely involved in this, in particular when the GCC chair has been with Oman. He has also worked closely with the United Kingdom, and took a leading role in developing Oman's bilateral relations with the Netherlands (home to Shell Oil, Oman's partner in Petroleum Development Oman, the dominant player in Oman's energy industry). He also chairs the

## WE DO WANT TO BE MODERN

Globalization also puts into question the relationship between periphery and core . . . it seems to me very clear that the fluidity and multiplicity that characterizes contemporary economic relations is going to break down any stable sense of core and periphery . . . there is a sense in which smaller nations like ours may have been living an early version of this reality slightly longer than some of the larger nations, and that as a result the kinds of diplomacy and foreign policies we have been developing for some time will increasingly be taken up by others.

We are not imposing modern things and modern ideas and hoping that they will somehow perform a kind of magic that will make us modern just like the industrial West is modern. We are adapting and transforming our own social and cultural inheritance, blending in whatever ideas and practices will enhance the process. We do want to be modern. We are modern. But we're doing it our way.

One aspect of [globalization] that is sometimes unjustly overlooked, or paid insufficient attention, is

the development of cosmopolitan cities. One is inclined, on hearing the term, to think of places such as New York, London or Paris as the great cosmopolitan centres. And indeed, they were, and still are, among the great cosmopolitan cities of the modern world: of the late nineteenth and twentieth century. But there are others now, in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, other cities whose cosmopolitan character is not the result of a great imperial past or present, but perhaps a rather more modest outcome of trade and commerce. Dubai today is just one example of the cosmopolitan city in the age of globalisation. If we think back before the modern period, one might think perhaps of Venice, another cosmopolis based on an unusual commitment to free trade. One might, on a much more modest scale, think also of the network of cities from Kilwa, via Muscat to Gwadar in the eighteenth century, and then, in the light of this historical insight, look again at Muscat, its history and its future potential.

BADR BIN HAMAD ALBUSA'ID. "THOUGHTS ON WRITING OMANI HISTORY." LECTURE AT THE OMANI HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, MUSCAT, 23 FEBRUARY 2004.

Omani side of joint bilateral committees and political consultations with countries such as Germany and Russia.

Badr's work has not only been concerned with Oman's relationship with the West and with Middle East peace. He has made three important official visits to China (currently Oman's principal trade partner), interacting at the ministerial and vice-ministerial level. In addition, he chairs standing strategic working groups for bilateral cooperation with India. He also oversees bilateral political consultations with a number of other countries including Pakistan, Singapore, Brunei, and Japan.

Beyond the realm of foreign relations, Badr has lectured in Oman and internationally on topics such as cultural dialogue, modernization and development, and the writing of Omani history. He is an articulate and prolific exponent of the nuanced political philosophy of Sultan Qaboos.

### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

The diplomatic community in Muscat, and indeed in Washington and other places, where he is less well known, consistently appreciate Badr as someone easy to work with: quick on the uptake, and unafraid to make decisions. Interacting with a diverse range of colleagues and visitors, from the most hardline neoconservative American to the Islamist

mainstream, Badr makes his interlocutors feel they have been understood, like the professional diplomat that he is.

The issue of Middle East peace arouses very strong emotions, and Badr's firm and consistent promotion of Oman's longstanding moderate policy, which has been clearly visible from its support for the first Camp David agreement in 1979 onward, has won him many friends throughout the world.

### LEGACY

With many years of work ahead of him, it is perhaps premature to consider Badr's legacy. However, he has clearly made an important contribution to dialogue between Islam and the West, and in particular has improved understanding of Oman's balanced policies in the United States. He has also been an effective modernizer of government administration.

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*Jeremy Jones*

## AL BU SA'ID, QABOOS (1940–)

Omani political figure Qaboos (also Qabus) bin Sa'id Al Bu Said is, from 1970 on, the sultan of Oman. Qaboos is credited with the Omani Renaissance: the political, economic, and cultural rebirth of the country in the late twentieth century following the long period of political repression, instability and economic depression under his father, Sultan Sa'id bin Taymur Al Bu Sa'id (1932-1970).

### PERSONAL HISTORY

Qaboos was born in Salalah in Oman's southern province of Dhofar on 18 November 1940, the only son of Sultan Sa'id bin Taymur (d. 1972) and Taymur's second wife Mayzun bint Ahmad al-Ma'ashani (d. late 1990s), a Qara woman of the Bayt Ma'ashani clan of Dhofar. Qaboos' early life was spent in the royal compound in Salalah, where he received private tutoring. In 1958 he went to England for further private schooling before entering the Royal Military Academy at Sandhurst in September 1960. Upon graduating from Sandhurst in August 1962, Qaboos served a one-year tour of duty with the British army in Germany. His education was completed with a private course in local government in England and then a world tour before returning to Oman in late 1964.

Upon his return to Salalah, Qaboos remained isolated from government affairs, except for occasional briefings by Sa'id's mostly foreign personal advisors, and devoted his time to the study of Islamic law and Omani history. Personal relationships were limited to carefully selected



*Qaboos Al Bu Sa'id.* AP IMAGES.

### BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Qaboos bin Sa'id Al Bu Sa'id

**Birth:** 1940, Salalah, Oman

**Nationality:** Omani

**Family:** Divorced. Former wife: Kamila (formerly Nawwal) bint Tariq Al- Sa'id (m. 1976); no children

**Education:** Oman private tutors; England private tutors, 1958-1960; Royal Military Academy, Sandhurst, September 1960-August 1962.

### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1970-present:** Sultan of Oman
- **1971:** Becomes prime minister and minister of defense, finance, and foreign affairs
- **1975:** Proclaims victory in Dhofar
- **1981:** Forms State Consultative Council; Oman named a founding member of the Arabian Gulf Cooperation Council
- **1994:** Arrests Islamic fundamentalists in plot against Omani government
- **1995:** Survives automobile accident in which Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Qays bin Abd al-Mun'im al-Zawawi dies
- **1996:** Proclaims Basic Statute of the State
- **2002:** Extends voting rights to all Omanis over the age of twenty-one
- **2005:** Arrests Islamic opposition plotting overthrow of government

palace officials, and efforts by Sultan Sa'id's advisors to include Qaboos in the affairs of state were rebuffed. Qaboos did use his limited contacts to express his displeasure with Oman's political and economic conditions.

On 23 July 1970 Qaboos succeeded his father following a nearly bloodless palace coup. The action was coordinated by Sultan Sa'id's British military advisors. The actual coup was led by Burayk bin Hamud al-Ghafiri, the son of Sultan Sa'id's governor of Dhofar, who led a group of the sultan's bodyguards to the palace. After a brief struggle, Sultan Sa'id surrendered, signed an abdication document, received medical attention for a superficial gunshot wound, and then was flown off into exile in England. Once Qaboos secured his position in

Salala, he flew to Muscat—seeing the sultanate's capital city for the first time—to announce the New Oman.

Qaboos became sultan of a country in disarray. An insurgency dating from the mid-1960s raged throughout Dhofar, with Marxist-inspired rebels, who received material support from South Yemen, in control of most of the province except for Salala. Political dissatisfaction also threatened to erupt in northern Oman where some supported reestablishment of a traditional Ibadi imamate such as had ruled much of interior Oman until its defeat by Sultan Sa'id and his British allies in 1957. Much of the opposition, whether in Dhofar or northern Oman, was a result of the slow pace of economic development. Oil was discovered in 1964 and exports began in 1967. Sultan Sa'id had prepared a development plan, but much of the oil income went to suppressing the rebels in Dhofar, and the sultan was reluctant to commit to economic and social programs in any event.

The first decade of the new sultan was devoted to consolidation of his authority by defeating the insurgents in Dhofar through reorganization and modernization of the military and establishing a strong institutional basis for his government. At the same time, the social causes of political dissatisfaction required attention, and Qaboos began implementing his father's development plan for a modern port, airport, road system, educational and health facilities, and added to the plan with housing and a communication infrastructure. By the middle of the 1970s, Oman had been transformed from an unstable, backward country to one well on the path to becoming a modern state.

Once his position was consolidated, Qaboos began devoting more attention to larger political and development issues. First and foremost was the question of succession. On 22 March 1976, Sultan Qaboos married his cousin Nawwal (later Kamila) bint Tariq Al Sa'id. Unfortunately, the marriage ended in divorce with no heir to the throne. In other areas, Qaboos was more successful. Economic development had been disorganized, not surprising given the need to build a new country from the ground up. By 1976, in the wake of a financial crisis and a World Bank study of the Omani economy, Qaboos placed economic development on a more orderly footing by approving the first comprehensive five-year plan. Political change came much more slowly. Qaboos remained one of the world's few absolute rulers where the ruler was isolated from his subjects. Oman had no tradition of the *majlis* (a gathering for discussion) that is so much a part of traditional leadership in the Arabian Peninsula. However, in 1975 he launched "Meet the People" tours in which he and the full complement of his ministers and other government officials took up residence in some part of the country to hear and deal with local complaints. Then in October 1981 a royal

decree created the State Consultative Council, the sultanate's first representative consultative body. Political reform culminated with the proclamation of the Basic Statute of the State, a constitution-like document, in November 1996.

Although Qaboos' political reforms and economic development programs resulted in tremendous popularity, his regime has experienced some opposition. Early plots against the government in 1972 and 1974 were remnants of opposition to Sultan Sa'id. However, in May and June 1994, the government discovered a plot to overthrow Qaboos by Islamic militants that was quickly suppressed. A second plot, this one inspired by a group seeking to reestablish the Ibadi imamate, was uncovered in February 2004. Sedition trials followed in both cases, but Qaboos eventually pardoned all of those found guilty. The only other matter to threaten Qaboos' reign was a September 1995 traffic accident in which a car he was driving, which had been stopped along the highway, was struck from behind by another vehicle. Although a passenger in his car, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Qays bin Abd al-Mun'im al-Zawawi, died, Qaboos and two other passengers survived.

#### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Qaboos' policies and personal style are very much a result of four factors: his military background; his appreciation of Omani history and culture and desire to Omanize the sultanate; his desire to balance the tradition of royal sovereignty with the demands of popular participation in government; and his love for the environment.

His first priority upon becoming sultan was to defeat the insurgency in Dhofar. Most of his focus was on the military aspect of the conflict, and Qaboos' interest in military affairs is something that he acknowledged as late as 1995 when he told an interviewer, "I am a military man." This began with reorganization and supply of all branches of the sultan's Armed Forces, including a much larger and more centralized Dhofar Brigade. Qaboos made two important changes in the Brigade. First, recruitment expanded rapidly, in part to reduce the historic dependency on foreign, mostly ethnic Baluchi, mercenaries. Second, Qaboos authorized creation of the *firqat*, paramilitary units comprised entirely of Dhofaris who had surrendered to the government. Sultan Sa'id had rejected such a notion, but Qaboos embraced it as an important way to win the hearts and minds of the Dhofari people. Furthermore, the sultan internationalized the war, despite opposition from his Arab neighbors. British involvement in the Omani armed forces, already considerable, increased with the inclusion of a Special Air Service (SAS) unit. As the war progressed, a 4,000-man Iranian force and Jordanian special forces joined the British troops. The greatly expanded, modernized, and interna-

tionalized force began a series of campaigns that succeeded in establishing a government presence throughout Dhofar on a permanent basis. On 11 December 1975, Sultan Qaboos announced victory.

Although victory in the Dhofar War eliminated the greatest threat to Omani security, defense remained a primary focus of Sultan Qaboos. Military expenditures expanded greatly during the 1970s and 1980s as all units in the sultan's armed forces and royal Oman police obtained modern equipment and a full educational and social services infrastructure. Defense expenditures continue to consume a large percentage of the Omani budget, and Qaboos' association with the military is constantly reinforced in his public appearances at military events and his wearing of military uniforms.

The victory in Dhofar did not arise completely from military action, a fact that highlights the importance of Qaboos' appreciation of Omani history and culture as well as his desire to Omanize the sultanate. In addition to military reform, Qaboos incorporated a so-called "hearts and minds" campaign to gain the support of the Dhofari population. This campaign began in August 1970 when Qaboos issued a general amnesty to any rebel who surrendered to the government. Qaboos then appointed the Dhofar Development Council with a Civil Aid Department and Civilian Action Teams that drilled wells and built schools, medical and veterinary clinics, mosques, and shops in newly liberated villages. Such actions greatly reduced support for the insurgency.

Even Qaboos' military focus demonstrates his commitment to Omanization. At the end of the Dhofar War, the officer corps was almost exclusively British. By the end of 1977, Omani officers commanded all infantry units. The first Omani commander of the army was appointed in 1984 and Omanization became complete in 1990 when both the air force and navy came under Omani command.

On the broader national scale, Qaboos has also sought to insure that economic and social change does not come at the expense of Omani traditions and identity. Government policies have focused on a free-market, *laissez faire* model of development. The rapid expansion of all sectors of the economy resulted in an influx of foreign labor at all levels from construction workers to managers. However, as the population has grown, education programs that emphasize the creation of a highly skilled workforce sought to replace expatriate labor with Omani. Qaboos also encouraged the adoption of specific Omanization programs that restricted the hiring of foreign workers.

Qaboos also encouraged the development of cultural and religious institutions. Among the first ministries to be established was National Heritage, which was charged with developing a national cultural museum and archive,

publishing historical and religious texts, preserving historic buildings, and promoting national handicrafts. Qaboos also began funding the construction of mosques and various religious institutes throughout the country. The Sultan Qaboos Grand Mosque in the Capital Area is one of the largest in the world.

Political development also incorporates Qaboos' understanding of Omani tradition, especially as it relates to royal sovereignty. The initial phases of political modernization coincided with the Dhofar War. The new sultan had inherited only the basic rudiments of a modern state in July 1970. Sultan Sa'id's highly personal and centralized rule meant few exercised any real authority. Immediately after the coup, the British advisors, mostly holdovers from Sultan Sa'id's regime but supporters of Qaboos, created an Interim Advisory Board to oversee the transition. The board's first act was to invite Qaboos' uncle, Sayyid (Prince) Tariq bin Taymur, to return from exile in Germany to become the prime minister of the new government. Qaboos was probably not consulted in this matter. A consequence was that the new sultan and his uncle set up competing cabinets, Sayyid Tariq appointing a government of technocrats and opponents to Sultan Sa'id. Qaboos drew on a more traditional group drawn from close associates to the old regime. The system did not work, and in December 1971 Tariq resigned. The new cabinet, with Qaboos as prime, defense, foreign, and finance ministers, combined both Qaboos' and Tariq's officials and remained in place until conclusion of the Dhofar War. Then in 1974 Qaboos introduced major changes to the cabinet when members of the Omani commercial establishment, most with strong historical ties to the Al Bu Sa'id regime, were brought into the government. This served to consolidate Qaboos' hold on government and maintained the tradition of centralized authority under the sultan.

However, Qaboos remained cognizant of the political tradition of *shura*, or consultation, a central principle of Oman's Ibadi school of Islam. The *shura* tradition was institutionalized in 1981 with the creation of the State Consultative Council (SCC). The SCC combined government officials, business community, and popular representation, all appointed by the sultan, to discuss, not legislate, social and economic matters. This body evolved further in November 1990 when Qaboos announced its replacement by the Majlis al-Shura. A significant change with the new body was that representation came exclusively from the general population. The selection process at first involved local nominations and royal appointment but has evolved into direct election by universal adult suffrage. As of 2007, two women have won election to the Majlis. Although still limited to social and economic issues, the Majlis reviews all proposed legislation and can, itself, propose laws.

Political development progressed further when in November 1996 Qaboos announced promulgation of the Basic Statute of the State, Oman's first constitution-like document. Although the Basic Statute confirms the sovereignty of the sultan, the document does establish guarantees for personal rights and freedoms, along with duties, and expands the representative nature of government with the establishment of the Oman Council, a bicameral consultative body comprised of the existing Majlis and a new, fully appointed upper house called the Council of State. Many of the general provisions of the Basic Statute have been implemented, most notably judicial reform, which established a much more independent judiciary, and legislation expanding personal freedoms, such as the legalization of labor unions in 2006.

An important matter addressed by the Basic Statute was the question of succession. Qaboos has no children and has not designated an heir, preferring to allow the royal family to deliberate and consult on the future sultan. The Basic Statute spells out the specific procedures to be followed in this process.

Finally, while military affairs and political matters have attracted much of Qaboos' attention, his interest in the natural environment has resulted in Oman being recognized as one of the rare developing countries in which conservation and anti-pollution policies has been put in place during development, rather than after the fact. As the war in Dhofar was winding down in 1974, Qaboos promulgated Oman's first environmental law and created an office for conservation of the environment. The government then commissioned flora and fauna surveys, and the first nature reserves—in Jabal al-Akhdar and the coastal wetlands at Qurum—were established in 1979.

The major conservation effort was the reintroduction of the Arabian oryx. The oryx was hunted to extinction in its natural habitat in 1972. The Omani government, in partnership with the World Wildlife Fund, the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN), and American zoos, reintroduced a herd of oryx to the Jiddat al-Harasis region of central Oman. In addition to the nature preserves and the oryx project, Qaboos has encouraged attention to the marine environment. Governmental programs have focused on sea turtles in the Ra's al-Had nesting area and have focused on coral reef preservation.

These efforts have resulted in considerable international recognition. Sultan Qaboos received the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) award for conservation in 1989, and was invited to deliver the keynote address at the 1992 Earth Summit. The IUCN elected Oman to its governing council in 1994 and then awarded Qaboos its Philips Memorial Medal in recognition of his environmental activism in 1996. The oryx reclamation project received United Nations World Heritage Site status in 1994.

## THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

Qaboos' international reputation as a moderate Arab and Islamic leader is well established. His political and cultural reforms have balanced Western secular views of democracy and personal freedoms with Oman's Muslim religious traditions. More importantly to the international community, Qaboos adopted an independent foreign policy based principally on Omani political and economic interests, rather than on ideological concerns.

For example, despite the objections of conservative Arab neighbors and the U.S. as well as his personal opposition to communism, Qaboos established diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China in the 1970s. However, Qaboos also refused to side with the Arab League boycott of Egypt following President Anwar Sadat's peace treaty with Israel in 1977. Then in 1980, Qaboos, concerned with the regional destabilization caused by the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, signed agreements with the United States granting American access to military facilities in Oman, again with strong opposition from his Arab neighbors. This access proved to be important in the 1991 Gulf War and the 2003 American invasion of Iraq, and Omani access agreements became a model for similar agreements signed by Qaboos' previously reluctant neighbors.

Qaboos has also maintained strong regional relations. As one of the founders of the Arabian Gulf Cooperation Council, Qaboos advocated the need for mutual defense over economic reform and proposed a joint defense force. Although his partners rejected Qaboos' view, Oman continued to work closely with its neighbors toward economic integration and concluded treaties over long-contested borders. At the same time, Qaboos maintained good relations with Iran, first under Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, who provided military assistance during the Dhofar War, and then after 1978 with the Islamic Republic, emphasizing the shared responsibility of Iran and Oman for the Straits of Hormuz, the strategic waterway linking the Persian Gulf and its oil facilities with the wider world. Oman has also played a leading role in the founding of the Indian Ocean Rim Association for Regional Cooperation.

## LEGACY

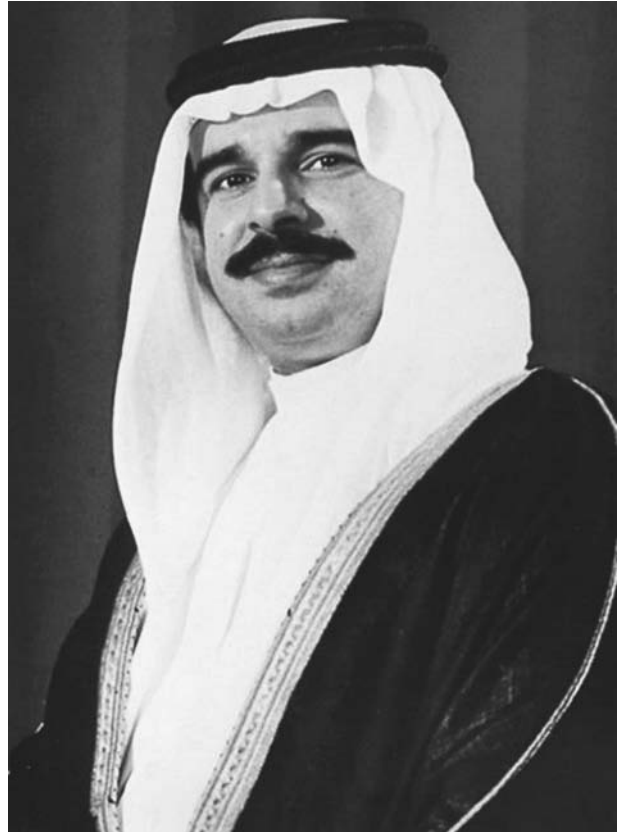
Sultan Qaboos will always be remembered as the founder of modern Oman. Although recent scholarship on Oman questioning the extent to which Qaboos deserves absolute credit for the renaissance and some criticism about government corruption and the isolation of the sultan has replaced the universal adulation of the 1970s and 1980s, there is no denying that Oman has undergone a political and economic transformation under his rule.

In addition to his domestic legacy, through his charitable giving Qaboos has also established an international legacy. Every two years since 1991, UNESCO awards a new winner the Sultan Qaboos Prize for Environmental Preservation in recognition of Qaboos' personal commitment to environmental issues. Qaboos has also endowed chairs in Arabic and Arab studies at American, British, and Australian universities, in addition to funding other causes internationally.

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*Calvin Allen*



*Hamad bin Isa Al Khalifa*. AP IMAGES.

## **AL KHALIFA, HAMAD BIN ISA (1950–)**

Shaykh Hamad bin Isa Al Khalifa became the emir of the state in Bahrain following the death of his father Isa bin Salman on 9 March 1999, and the supreme commander of Bahrain Defense Force. In addition, Hamad holds the titles of field marshal, Royal Bahrain Army; admiral of the fleet, Royal Bahrain Navy; and marshal of the Royal Bahrain Air Force. On 14 February 2002, Hamad proclaimed a new constitution and pronounced himself king of the kingdom of Bahrain. He is also the author of *First Light: Modern Bahrain and its Heritage* (1994).

#### **PERSONAL HISTORY**

Al Khalifa was born on 28 January 1950 in Rifa'a, the royal family's exclusive town, fifteen miles outside Manama, the capital of Bahrain. Hamad was the eldest son of Shaykh Isa, the late emir of Bahrain, and Shaykha Hessa. He was appointed crown prince on 27 June 1964. He studied at the Manama Secondary School in Bahrain for two years before he was sent to the United Kingdom to study for a year at the Leys School, a private school in Cambridge. In September 1967, Hamad joined the British Mons Officer Cadet School at Aldershot for a six-months military training course. While receiving his military training, Hamad was also involved in his father's plan to build

the Bahrain Defense Force (BDF), founded in August 1968. Hamad joined the BDF and became its commander in chief from January 1970 to March 1999. In 1971, Hamad traveled to the United States for year-long military training at the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas.

For most of the following three decades, Hamad's public roles were largely ceremonial. Following the independence of Bahrain in 1971, Hamad was appointed minister of defense, a position he combined with being the commander in chief of the BDF. Following the eruption of the 1973 Arab-Israeli War, Hamad began mobilizing the newly constituted BDF to join the Egyptian side. Although a ceasefire agreement was reached before actual deployment of Bahraini troops to the war theatre, the exercise remains a source of pride for Hamad because it displayed Bahraini troops' "readiness to join the war and heroism displayed by Arab troops helped to heal the wounds of the disaster of June 1967" (Al Khalifa, 1994, p. 82).

In 1974, Hamad was appointed deputy to the chairman of the Al Khalifa Family Council (AFC). In the same year he became president of the Supreme Council

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Hamad bin Isa Al Khalifa (Hamad bin Isa, Bu Salman, and Abu Salman)

**Birth:** 1950, Rifa'a, Bahrain

**Family:** Wife, Sabeeka; Seven sons, Salman, Abdullah, Khalifa, Nasser, Khalid, Faisal, and Sultan; Four daughters, Najla, Hessa, Nura, and Munira

**Nationality:** Bahraini

**Education:** Manama Secondary School, Bahrain; Leys School, Cambridge, U.K., secondary school; British Mons Officer Cadet School, Aldershot, U.K., 1967, six-month training course; U.S. Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, KS, U.S., 1971, one-year military training

## PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1964:** Becomes Crown Prince
- **1970-1999:** Serves as Commander in Chief of Bahrain Defense Force
- **1999-2002:** Emir of Bahrain
- **2002-present:** King of Bahrain

of Youth and Sports. He has personally taken the initiative to found several institutions, including the Emiri Stables in June 1977, the Historical Documents Centre in 1978, and the Bahrain Center for Studies and Research in 1981. Hamad continued to allocate considerable time and energy developing these institutions and pursuing other personal interests including falconry, horse riding, and golf. In 1978 he became a certified helicopter pilot and was appointed as the first commander of the Bahrain Emiri Air Force.

Notwithstanding his formal positions as the crown prince, minister of defense, and commander in chief of the BDF, Hamad was not offered a realistic possibility to improve his potential or practice in the running of day-to-day political and financial affairs of the state. This can only be partly explained by his preoccupation with recreational interests and hobbies. Other explanations relate to balance of power within the ruling family. Since gaining independence, Bahrain's politics were the reserve of the emir, Isa bin Salman, and his powerful brother, Khalifa, Bahrain's prime minister since 1971. Between

them, no additional space was left for the young Hamad. He was not included in the customary consultations before or after the two brothers made major political decisions. The role of the BDF was also ceremonial. Despite the unsuccessful attempt to carve a military role for the BDF in the 1973 War, its political significance was limited to being a recruiting ground for young males from Al Khalifa and its tribal allies. This was not seriously affected by BDF's actual participation in the 1991 Gulf War to evict Iraqi forces from Kuwait in 1991. Further, the better-equipped police and internal security forces that remain under the strict control of the prime minister outnumber the BDF. It was these forces that carried the burden of defending the regime since 1975 when it imposed a state of emergency following the dissolution of parliament and suspension of the 1973 constitution.

Following the death of his father on 6 March 1999, Hamad became the emir of Bahrain. He inherited a country in deep political crises as a result of decades of periodic unrest and systematic violations of human rights that culminated in regular street confrontations between protesters and government forces since December 1994. Those confrontations have, at times, been violent, and led to some twenty fatalities. The main issue of contention has been the opposition's call for the restoration of the constitution and the reinstatement of the parliament that was dissolved by an emiri decree in the summer of 1975.

Soon after assuming power, Hamad promised changes that would result in political stability and economic growth. Throughout the initial period of his reign, he repeatedly assured his people that his priorities include strengthening national unity, internal security, and consolidating solidarity of all Bahrain citizens through elimination of all forms of discrimination based on origin, gender, or creed. These proclamations were well received by most people in Bahrain, a country that was undergoing decades-long political unrest. Some of those proclamations gained their own historical significance, such as his commitment to women's political rights that resulted in granting Bahraini women full citizenship rights in the Bahrain constitution of 2002.

After eighteen months of coming to power, Hamad formally announced his intentions to introduce political reforms and to move his country on the path of modern constitutional monarchies. In implementing his reforms, Hamad benefited from his unchallenged power to mobilize both the relatively large financial resources available to the state and its internal security forces. Hamad has made extensive use of these financial resources and its distributive capacity to exercise control over civil society.



Hamad was encouraged by his state's coffers filling up almost immediately after he assumed power. Following several years of instability and decline, oil prices began in 1999 to show a sustained rise. Bahrain's revenues from oil rose by more than 80 percent that year. This enabled the new ruler to expand his support base within the royal family and among political elites. Hamad's generosity was particularly conspicuous in the *makramas* (royal favors) he extended to local elites, including some of the newly pardoned political prisoners and exiles. His effective political use of *makrama* has elevated it into a strategic instrument of rule. The list of *makramas* dispensed by him between December 2000 and February 2002 is long and by any measure impressive. The most spectacular consisted of diverse housing grants costing over BD172m (approximately U.S.\$450m). Another *makrama* wrote off up to a third of every housing loan owed to the state housing bank. Some 30,000 families, nearly 40 percent of Bahraini citizen households, benefited.

Following its Jordanian mirror image, the Bahraini National Charter has been presented as an attempt to reassert the legitimacy of the ruling family through concessions to opposition demands for reinstating the constitution and for curbing the excesses of the security services. Authors of the charter defined the state as a constitutional monarchy where government decisions are subject to the approval of a freely elected parliament. It stipulates that decisions of the elected parliaments are balanced and moderated by an appointed consultative council. Each of the charters was presented as an integral part of a liberalization package. The package included a general amnesty granting the release of political prisoners, return of exiles, reinstating activists to their government and semi-government jobs, return of confiscated passports, lifting travel restrictions on prominent political activists, and most significantly, lifting of the state of emergency and repealing of state security laws. The Charter states the same guarantees of rights stipulated in 1973 constitution, and reiterates that the people are the source of sovereignty. It solemnly declares that "time has now come for Bahrain to be among the constitutional monarchies with a democratic system that achieves the aspirations of its people for a better future." Hamad faced little difficulty in convincing opposition leaders to back the charter.

On the eve of the plebiscite on 14-15 February 2001, Hamad appeared justifiably triumphant. He had already appeased most critics of the Charter, and its text and modalities were proposed for adoption. Bahrainis, including most of the opposition networks, offered near unanimous approval. Turnout for the plebiscite, in which women participated, was massive, and 98.4 percent voted in favor of the revised text of the National Action Charter. These figures attested to the general mood prevailing

at the time in Bahrain: Hamad's promises and reconciliatory gestures created a state of national euphoria without precedent in the island's history since it was conquered in 1783 by the Al Khalifa family and their allies from mainland Arabia.

This was a major achievement for a ruler who, at first, was dismissed as indecisive and uninspiring. In giving him their support, the leaders of the opposition—many of them recently rehabilitated after long years in prison or exile—were hoping he would reinstate the country's elected parliament that had been dissolved by his father in 1975, in exchange for backing his regal aspirations.

On 14 February 2002, Hamad declared the state of Bahrain a constitutional monarchy and himself a king. He also promulgated an amended constitution, and called municipal elections in May and national elections in October. The new constitution gives the king (whose person is inviolate), the loyal protector of religion and homeland, and the symbol of national unity, some wide-ranging authority elaborately detailed in Section One of the Constitution of 2002. He is head of state, supreme commander of Defense Forces, and chair of the Higher Judicial Council. He appoints and dismisses ministers, judges, and members of the Consultative Council. According to article 35, the king may amend the constitution, propose laws, and is the authority for their ratification. The 2002 constitution calls for the formation of a National Assembly, which shares legislative authority with the king and is to be made of two forty-members chambers, Majlis al-Shura (Consultative Council) and Majlis al-Nuwwab (Chamber of Deputies). Members of the Consultative Council are appointed by the king, whereas members of the Chamber of Deputies are elected on the basis of universal suffrage.

## INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

During this initial period of his reign, Hamad seemed to be trying hard to please everyone. The promises he made to various sections of the populations, combined with his inexperience, resulted in raising expectations among his opponents and supporters alike. Most critical among these are leaders of the competing factions within the ruling family itself. This may explain why consolidating his reign was among the most urgent measures taken by Hamad during his first year; he was attempting to protect himself against the ruling family itself.

Although aware that the ruling family is not a monolith, his twenty-five-year tenure as a deputy president of the AFC convinced him of the family's importance as the regime's core constituency and its most trustworthy pool of recruits to administer the security forces of the state and staff other major governmental offices. While relations between members of the Al Khalifa family and its head are formally regulated since 1932 through the AFC,

## INTELLIGENT PEOPLES MUST BENEFIT FROM THEIR EXPERIENCES

“When we published the book *The First Light* in 1986 we referred to Bahrain’s experience ‘in choosing a political system to take part in decision-making. Bahrain emerged from that experience with a Constitution that was approved by a national assembly that was founded on the two principles of election and appointment (1973). Then Bahrain passed through a parliamentary experience from which it benefited, and from which it will also benefit for the future of its political system in participation and consultation.’ We are pleased that we have begun to fulfill that promise and realize that aspiration fifteen years later when the draft National Action Charter was put to a general referendum, despite warnings, and the emergence of a new Bahraini generation that was inexperienced in electoral traditions.”

FROM OFFICIAL TRANSLATION OF AN ARTICLE BY HM KING HAMAD  
PUBLISHED IN ALL BAHRAINI NEWSPAPERS ON 9 FEBRUARY 2005.

“The National Action Charter and subsequently the articles of the ‘amended Constitution’—which was promulgated in accordance with the renewed contract and popular authorization represented by the general referendum on the draft Charter—were the guarantees and checks that I had thought carefully about for years in order to renew the democratic and constitutional march while avoiding the pitfalls that faced the earlier experiment. Intelligent peoples must benefit from their experiences so that they do not repeat their mistakes, and I am confident that the people of Bahrain are one of those peoples.”

FROM OFFICIAL TRANSLATION OF AN ARTICLE BY  
HM KING HAMAD PUBLISHED IN ALL BAHRAINI NEWSPAPERS  
ON 9 FEBRUARY 2005.

rallying the support of the 2,500–3,000 Al Khalifas was not self-evident. However, Hamad benefited from his long tenure as deputy president of the AFC that has, since 1974, become a formal organ of the state with an executive secretariat and full-time administrative offices headed by an Al Khalifa, who holds the rank of a minister. Members of its board are recognized representatives of various kinship lines and factional alliances within the family. Within its formal meetings the AFC settles family disputes, particularly those related to appropriation of land, sale of real estate, and other properties. Above all else, Hamad took several measures to preserve the unity of the ruling family and he swiftly appointed his own crown prince to head the AFC.

Throughout his first year of reign, Hamad focused on maintaining the cohesion of his family while trying to establish a credible base of authority that could compete with the power base of his uncle, the prime minister. He appointed some trusted members of his faction, including another of his sons, to the AFC. He increased the monthly stipends allocated to each adult member of the royal family and placed more of them in senior positions in government and public institutions. He also embarked on civil engineering improvement works, including new housing projects in Rifa’a, where most Al Khalifa households are located.

In a speech delivered to members of the Shura Council in early November 2000, Hamad announced his intentions to introduce a series of measures to reform the political system. Keywords in his reform plan were

constitutional monarchy and bicameral legislative body. A forty-six-member commission was formed to draw up a charter based on common values and practices in the country, to put forward proposals for constitutional reforms, and to elaborate on the parameters of his planned liberalization process. The work of the commission was concluded on 18 December when it presented to the emir its final draft of the Mithaq al-Amal al-Watani, National Action Charter (the Charter). Although formulated in general terms and at times ambiguous, the Charter outlined the emiri political reform plans. In addition to the required political reforms to enhance the hereditary constitutional monarchy of the ruling system, the document puts forward one of Shaykh Hamad’s key conditions for introducing the envisaged reforms.

To reduce his opposition’s mistrust, Hamad took several measures to improve the human rights situation in the country. Throughout 2000, Hamad announced several *makrama*, granting conditional pardon to several hundred detainees. Scores of exiles were allowed to return home. Toward the end of that year Hamad announced another *makrama*, promising citizenship to thousands of Bahrainis who were living without formal citizenship rights.

Although limited, the political reforms initiated by Hamad during the first two years of his reign have created some unprecedented venues for political activity. Gradually those reforms have redefined the political space in the country. This strengthened Hamad’s ability to outmaneuver the old guards within the ruling family and weaken the position of his uncle. More than three hundred associations

helped to bolster self-confidence among their growing membership and constituencies. Ethnic, regional, and ideological allegiances found expression in forums, associations, and in mosques and religious meeting places. In spite of this, Hamad did not allow his reforms to cause the regime to lose its ability to shape major parts of the visible political terrain of the country. Through manipulation of administrative red tape and legal requirements, the regime continues to control the growth of these associations, its activities, and its freedom of action.

In designing his own reforms plans, Hamad followed closely the similar steps to those taken by King HUSSEIN BIN TALAL of Jordan. Hamad learned to admire the late Jordanian king whom he visited immediately after graduating from Mons, seeking Jordan's military help in building Bahraini armed forces. In his book *First Light*, Hamad speaks with awe of the resolution and spirit of cooperation exemplified in King Hussein. According to Hamad, he thought it was a good omen that during his first visit to Jordan he witnessed a victorious action over the Israelis in the Battle of Karameh on 21 March 1968. The deep personal influence of King Hussein became apparent even in Hamad's appearance and demeanor. While crown prince, Hamad was a frequent guest of King Hussein and followed closely the Jordan monarch's handling of his kingdom.

#### LEGACY

Hamad is credited with changing the face of political life in his country. Admirers of the Bahraini monarch point out that, for the first time in its modern history, Bahrain jails are empty of political prisoners, that he initiated political reforms that increased respect of human rights organizations, and eased restrictions on freedom of expression and association. His reforms granted equal citizenship rights to women, including the right to vote and to be elected to public office. Hamad is further credited with appointing the first female judges in the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) countries, as well as encouraging the growth of civil society institutions. His critics fault his reforms for being too slow and for keeping the reforms as his own prerogative and private domain which he jealously guards through his effective use of the state distributive capacity. A more sympathetic view explains Hamad's caution by pointing to the continuing influence of the old guard within the ruling family, including the prime minister whose supporters and protégés control of most key positions in the state.

One of Hamad's lasting legacies is the elevation of *makramas* from being simply an aid for cooptation of traditional notables and their circulation into becoming a strategic instrument of rule. Critics allege that, although reliance on *makramas* seems to work for the present, it cannot be a viable alternative to a thoroughly worked out strategy of reforms. In spite of his commitment to reforming his country, Hamad remains reluctant to con-

sult with any of the political groups on any aspect of the political process in the country.

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*Abdulbadi Khalaf*

## AL KHALIFA, KHALIFA BIN SALMAN (1935–)

Khalifa bin Salman Al Khalifa has been prime minister of Bahrain since its independence from Britain in 1971. A businessman with real estate and other interests in Bahrain, Southeast Asia and the U.K., he is said to be the wealthiest individual in the kingdom.

#### PERSONAL HISTORY

Khalifa bin Salman was born 24 November 1935 in Al Jasra, one of the ruling family's seaside retreats, outside Manama, the capital. He is the second of three sons of Shaykh Salman bin Hamad, ruler of Bahrain from 1942 to 1961. He received no formal education, but was tutored in reading and writing as well as other traditional skills.

Shaykh Khalifa received his first official appointment in 1954 as a member of a government committee to solve rent disputes. Upon returning from Britain, where he took an English language course in 1957, he was appointed president of the Education Council. In the following three years he combined this role with several other official supervisory positions. Between 1960 and 1966 Khalifa was president of the Finance Directorate of the government of Bahrain. From 1962 to 1967 he was also chairman of the Manama Municipal Council. In 1966 he was appointed chairman of the newly formed Administrative Council, a quasi-cabinet, which was renamed the State Council in 1970. Following Bahrain's declaration of independence on 15 August 1971, Khalifa was appointed the country's first prime minister—a position he has held ever since. Khalifa has also held other key posts including the presidencies of the Bahrain Monetary Board, the Scientific Council, the Supreme Defense Council, the Supreme Oil Council, the Civil Service Board, and the Supreme Economic Development Council.

**BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS****Name:** Khalifa bin Salman Al Khalifa (Khalifa bin Sulman, Abu Muhammad, Abu Ali)**Birth:** 1935, Al Jasra, Bahrain**Family:** Wife, Hassa; three sons, Muhammad (d. 1974), Ali, Salman; one daughter, Lulwa**Nationality:** Bahraini**Education:** No formal education**PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:**

- **1954:** Member, Rent Disputes Committee; Education Council
- **1957–60:** President, Education Council
- **1960–66:** President, Finance Directorate
- **1962–67:** Chairman, Manama Municipal Council
- **1966–1971:** Chairman, Administrative Council (renamed State Council, 1970)
- **1971–present:** Prime minister

With his appointment in 1960 as president of the Finance Directorate, Khalifa became the most powerful member of the ruling family. Even after his brother Shaykh Isa bin Salman's accession as ruler in 1961 after the death of their father, Khalifa remained the most powerful of the three brothers. His position was enhanced by his experience, his control of the country's finances, and his business acumen, as well as his hands-on control of the government bureaucracy and internal security apparatus. Indeed, Khalifa was perceived throughout his brother's reign as the *de facto* ruler of the country. This point is carefully noted in Khalifa's official biography, which praises his brother for the "sagacity and insight" that led him to assign "executive leadership to the man who could efficiently shoulder the weighty responsibility, despite all the difficulties entailed." All "the development Bahrain has achieved—and [is] still achieving—is the result of decades of [Khalifa's] struggle, endeavor and sacrifice" (Hamad, p. 12).

**INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS**

Khalifa has played a central role in building the government administration, modernizing its structures and personally recruiting its leading personnel. In 1960, when he was appointed president of the Finance Direc-

torate, government administration was rudimentary and its employees represented only a small portion of Bahrain labor. Bahrain Petroleum Company (BAPCO), then a subsidiary of Standard Oil of California, had been the major employer in the country since the discovery of oil in Bahrain in 1932. In 1960, government structure, functions, and personnel were legacies of British administration and dealt primarily with elementary duties of state such as maintaining public order, collecting customs duties, and dividing accrued oil revenues between the ruling family and the government. Paucity of educated local personnel made government offices dependent on recruits from the Indian subcontinent, and the schools on Arab recruits, particularly from Egypt, Lebanon, and Syria.

Khalifa oversaw the expansion of government services through direct investment, which turned the government into the major employer in the country in 1971, with more than 50 percent of the labor force. Continued expansion in the public sector, as well as increases in government investment in industrial and commercial projects, consolidated the role of the state as Bahrain's major employer. Recruitment for all major positions in government agencies and businesses have been personally monitored and approved by the prime minister himself. Khalifa became the focal figure for both admiration and discontent with wages and working conditions.

Another important contribution by Khalifa was his role in the intense diplomatic negotiations following Britain's announcement in early 1968 of its decision to withdraw its military forces from the Gulf as part of its "East of Suez" strategy. In response, Iran reiterated its historic claim to Bahrain, threatening to move in to fill the military vacuum once the British troops left. With the help of King Faysal (1964–75) of Saudi Arabia, the Shah of Iran, Mohammad Reza Pahlavi (1941–79) agreed to refrain from use of force once he was convinced that the "residents of Bahrain do not wish to unite with [his] country" (Hamad, p. 16). Khalifa became directly involved in the negotiations with the Iranians and the British on the appropriate ways of appraising the wishes of the Bahrainis. These negotiations resulted on 26 March 1970, in a joint request by Britain and Iran to the secretary general of the United Nations to send a special envoy to Bahrain to report on the opinion of its people. The fact-finding mission concluded its report on 30 April noting that "the proposed state should be an Arab state." In the following decade Khalifa paid two official visits to Tehran, which helped maintain his close personal relations with his Iranian counterparts, and encouraged Bahraini businessmen to develop their economic and financial ties with Iran. According to his official biography, Khalifa believed that with the fall of the Shah of Iran, Bahrain lost a regional ally and he a personal friend. These sentiments may have been influenced by the uneasy relations between

## WE TALK ABOUT OUR HOPES FOR THE FUTURE

“The Consultative Council—a distinguished experiment in which we take pride—is the result of such interaction and integration among state institutions. It includes 40 members who represent various groups and sects in Bahrain. It has carried out its role in full as a partner in making political and economic decisions and as a forum where various views and trends are aired. When we talk about our hopes for the future of our country in the new millennium we say that we hope to continue with the same determination and enthusiasm to safeguard the achievements and gains that have been accomplished in order to continue with the security and stability Bahrain has enjoyed for a long time and that lie behind its progress and renaissance.”

(WASHINGTON TIMES ADVERTISING DEPARTMENT.  
“SPECIAL INTERNATIONAL REPORT.” WASHINGTON TIMES  
(21 MARCH 2000).)

[Commenting on rumors of disagreements with the king:] “Understanding with His Majesty King Hamad and Crown Prince and BDF Commander-in-Chief Sheikh Salman bin Hamad Al Khalifa is at its highest . . . His Majesty immediately updates me by telephone on his talks in total transparency.” He reiterated his unabated keenness to continue serving Bahrain politically, economically and socially.

(“UNITY CALL,” GULF DAILY NEWS, 21 SEPTEMBER 2006.  
AVAILABLE FROM [HTTP://WWW.GULF-DAILY-NEWS.COM](http://www.gulf-daily-news.com))

the Islamic Republic of Iran and Bahrain since 1979, including occasional Bahraini charges that Iran insists on exporting its revolution to its neighbors. The fact that nearly two-thirds of the population of Bahrain are Shi'ite fuels its government's suspicions of Iranian regional ambitions. Tension increased following the start of the Iran-Iraq war in September 1980, which led to occasional severing of diplomatic ties and bans of travel between Iran and Bahrain.

Among Khalifa bin Salman's less remarkable contributions is his role in promoting Bahrain's claims to be the leader of the Gulf shaykhdoms. Together with his brother Shaykh Isa, Khalifa was involved in the intense negotiations among rulers of Abu Dhabi, Ajman, Dubai,

Fujairah, Qatar, Ras al-Khaimah, Sharjah, and Umm al-Quwain. These negotiations were motivated by Britain's decision to withdraw its military presence from the Gulf in 1968. Britain encouraged the nine shaykhdoms of the Gulf to form a political union, which would provide the basis for stability in the region. Various proposals were discussed by the rulers of those shaykhdoms. Bahrain, the most populous of the nine at the time, insisted on popular representation and proposed a referendum to determine the will of the people of the proposed union. Upon rejection of his proposal, Khalifa bin Salman walked out of the meeting, declaring that in Bahrain's view “the union should be established among peoples, not among governments.”

### Modernization and the Parliamentary “Experiment”

Khalifa also took a leading role in modernizing the regime. Following the 1972 “March uprising,” which was the culmination of various actions organized by an alliance of underground opposition networks and public figures, the government publicly agreed to several opposition demands, including modernization of labor laws and legalization of trade unions. The regime also took steps to implement earlier promises to draft the country's first constitution. A partially elected Constituent Assembly (both the franchise and the seats were restricted to men only) debated and adopted a draft constitution, which was proclaimed by the emir in July 1973. On 7 December that year voters elected a thirty-member National Assembly following an electoral campaign involving various political forces, including well-known public figures representing the underground networks. While the majority of members of the National Assembly were members of communist, Pan-Arab, and Islamist networks, it remained powerless in the face of the government. In his role as a prime minister, Khalifa was able to effectively manipulate differences among parliamentary blocs and, as a result, prevent the Assembly from taking up its legislative role or becoming a credible body capable of monitoring government policies. Khalifa expressed displeasure with a parliament whose members resorted, even in the first parliamentary working session, to “certain patterns of behavior, mistakenly thought by some members as part of the democratic process, whereas they were merely fruitless arguments, incompatible with the spirit of true parliamentary practices, and obstructive in the efforts of the State in many fields of national Service” (Hamad, p. 202).

The parliamentary “experiment” was evolving into a threat to the regime because it also expanded other informal political spaces. Disenfranchised women's groups were organizing in towns and in the countryside and taking actions challenging the regime and its conservative clerical allies. Scores of petitions were organized by women activists and presented to the National Assembly

demanding rights, from voting and other political rights to the provision of child day-care centers. Other groups including Bahraini *biduns* (stateless legal residents of Bahrain who lack formal rights of citizenship even though most can document generations-old roots in Bahrain), trade unionists, and the unemployed began using the National Assembly to put forward their grievances and demands.

During the summer recess of the National Assembly in 1974, the government issued a “state security decree” giving the internal security apparatus unrestricted powers. Opposition groups were undeterred. The government faced an overwhelming parliamentary majority against the decree when it proposed it to the National Assembly as a draft State Security Law. Year-long negotiations with various parliamentary blocs were fruitless. This was the first time that Khalifa’s abilities as a negotiator failed to overcome his adversaries. On 25 August 1975 Khalifa submitted his resignation to the emir, on the grounds that his government was hindered from fulfilling its duties by the uncooperative National Assembly. In his letter of resignation, Khalifa complained that “parliamentary life has been deviated from the right path, and the effective role of moderate views has been hampered.” Consequently, he writes, “the Government was unable to finalize the aspired legislations, or carry out the projects planned for the benefit of the citizens. Those who do not adopt our principles, or believe in our ideals, exploited the situation and worked furtively to realize the aims of their ideologies” (Hamad). The emir, using his constitutional prerogative, promptly dissolved the Assembly and reappointed Khalifa as prime minister.

**Dissolution of the Assembly** Dissolution of the Assembly was also influenced by a change of national fortune as a result of the rise in oil prices following the Arab-Israeli War of 1973. While Bahrain produces only around 200,000 barrels per day, oil remains the major source of income for the country and facilitates the growth of other major economic activities including banking and offshore businesses. From the start of the oil boom, Shaykh Khalifa and his government became increasingly impatient with the intrusive (as they saw it) role of the parliament. Indeed, Khalifa saw the parliamentary debates as obstructions for his plans to expand the economy, modernize the state, and maintain security and political stability. During the following twenty-five years, Khalifa would administer the affairs of the state almost single-handedly and without intrusion by other people except his own appointees. The increase of state revenues during the first oil-boom years facilitated the modernization and expansion of the country’s infrastructure, but contributed nothing to its democratization.

With the rising oil revenues the government of Shaykh Khalifa became the generous provider of basic social, education, and health services. In becoming the supreme patron, Khalifa demonstrated a remarkable ability to maintain balance among competing segments of society. Khalifa utilized the expanded financial resources of the state to continue recruiting supporters from nearly every social background to the government bureaucracy and public sector enterprises. Khalifa’s detractors allege that he has often looked the other way while encouraging senior officials to indulge in personal enrichment. While these allegations have not been investigated by an independent commission or by a court of law, opposition groups continue to publish reports documenting rampant corruption in the government and public institutions, and, opponents charge, this corruption has been a means of consolidating the regime’s control over the country through a pyramid of patron-client relationships. While corrupt officeholders have benefited from the prime minister’s generosity, they remain both vulnerable and in constant need of his protection.

The entrepreneurial sector was a major beneficiary of oil-boom investment, and it provided Khalifa with a new, and relatively modern, addition to his power base. Major actors in this sector were able to increase their wealth through government and public sector enterprise contracts or licenses largely on basis of their political loyalty to Khalifa personally, rather than through reliance on their tribal or sectarian backgrounds. Some entrepreneurs considered not sufficiently loyal lost already awarded contracts.

Through offshore banking, one of Khalifa’s pet projects, Bahrain became an important regional banking and financial center. He also initiated many development projects, including the construction of several new townships that helped improve living conditions for low- and middle-income families, thus eliminating one major source of discontent. The expanding economy also reduced rates of unemployment in the country, particularly among university graduates, and led to improving levels of wages for the local labor force.

**“Stability” and the Security Apparatus** Khalifa’s concerns for maintaining political “stability” as a requirement for business expansion may explain the high priority he gave to improving the capabilities of the internal security apparatus. Within the first decade of the oil boom allocations for security and defense increased from US\$22.5 million in 1974 to US\$236.4 million in 1983, or from 11 to 20 percent of total government expenditures. Empowered by the state security decree of 1974 and by several amendments to the 1976 Penal Code, the security apparatus continued to expand, becoming a formidable bulwark of the regime. For these improvements Khalifa

relied on the service of Colonel Ian Henderson, a former British colonial officer in Kenya. The two worked closely together from 1966 until Henderson's forced retirement following the accession of Shaykh HAMAD BIN SALMAN AL KHALIFA as emir in 1999.

The unrestricted powers enjoyed by Henderson, particularly after 1975, led to a virtual permanent state of emergency, pushing all forms of political opposition underground. Various regional and international human rights watchdogs have amply reported on state violations of human rights, including torture and incarceration of political opponents for years without trial. Other measures included withholding or withdrawing the mandatory state "certificate of good behavior" from job seekers, limiting to one year the validity of passports issued to students, and banning students from returning to their universities abroad. Khalifa's detractors blame his authoritarian rule and continued influence for the slow pace of political reforms initiated by his nephew upon becoming emir in 1999. Khalifa continues to advocate "a concept of democracy which does not compromise national interests," noting that "the United States and Britain adopted laws curbing civil liberties, despite their deep-rooted democratic heritage" (*Gulf Daily News*). Critics note that on 20 November 2006 the prime minister issued an edict banning strikes at "vital facilities" including all means of transport involving people or merchandise, telecommunications, electricity, water, bakeries, educational establishments and oil and gas facilities.

#### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

Perspectives on Khalifa are inevitably mixed. He is viewed by Bahraini opposition groups as the leading figure within the ruling family's old guard that opposes political reform. According to a 2002 study conducted in Bahrain for the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI), a quasipublic American nonprofit organization, Khalifa is "viewed with distinctly less affection than his nephew, the king. He is viewed as an effective yet cold, businesslike person—responsible both for the modernization of the country over the last generation and for the fact that the country has not found a way to equitably distribute the benefits of that modernization. Usually with a bit of nervous laughter, suggesting they would not have dared voice this thought a few months or years ago, people in several of the groups say his time has passed and he should retire" (Melia).

#### LEGACY

Among local and foreign business communities, Khalifa is appreciated as an astute businessman who has attracted some major banks and investment houses to invest in Bahrain development projects. He is also seen as a pillar of stability whose policies have made Bahraini economy

"the fastest growing economy in the Arab world [with] the freest economy in the Middle East according to the 2006 Index of Economic Freedom," according to the Bahrain Economic Development Board website.

Another enduring legacy of Khalifa bin Salman is Bahrain's modern government structure. While marred by corruption and nepotism, it is by all accounts a functioning and reliable bureaucracy. Khalifa's personal control of the internal security apparatus between 1966 and 2001 will assure that his name will continue to be associated with the unrestricted abuse of power and systematic violation of human rights, particularly during the 1990s.

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*Abdulhadi Khalaf*

## ALMAGOR, GILA (1939–)

Gila Almagor is an Israeli film and theater actress, the first and only Israeli female film star. She has rendered a rich portrayal of women of diverse ethnicities and social classes in an acting career lasting for nearly fifty years. She is the author of two successful semiautobiographical novels, which she also adapted to the screen. She won the prestigious Israel Prize in 2004.

#### PERSONAL HISTORY

Almagor (born Alexanderovich) was born in Petah Tikva, mandatory Palestine, in 1939, just four months after her father, an officer in the British police, was killed by an Arab sniper. At the age of thirteen she was sent to Hadassim youth village, but left after two years, and moved, alone, to Tel Aviv to join the acting school of Habima, Israel's national theater. When she was seventeen she got her first stage role.

Her first screen appearance was in 1960 in *Burning Sands*, an action-adventure film about a group of young

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Gila Almagor (born Alexanderovich)  
**Birth:** 1939, Petah Tikva, mandatory Palestine  
**Family:** Husband, Yaakov Agmon; one son; one daughter  
**Nationality:** Israeli  
**Education:** Actors Studio and HB Studio, New York, 1963-1965

## PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1954:** Enters acting school of Habima (Israel's national theater)
- **1956:** First stage role
- **1960:** First screen appearance
- **1985:** Publishes first semiautobiographical novel, *The Summer of Avia*
- **2004:** Wins Israel prize for cinematic contributions

travelers on their risky way to the ancient city of Petra, across the Jordanian border. But her breakthrough performance came in 1966, when she played a Moroccan mother of five in a remote southern town in Menachem Golan's *Fortuna*. In 1963 Almagor left for New York, where she enrolled in the prestigious Actors Studio and took acting courses with Uta Hagen. In 1965 Almagor returned to Israel and joined the Cameri, the Tel Aviv city theater. She left a year later and became a much sought-after stage actress. Some of her well-known roles include the leads in *Anne Frank*, *Jeanne d'Arc*, *The Crucible*, *The Bride and the Butterfly Hunter*, and *Medea*.

But Almagor is best known as the Israeli cinema's leading lady. She has appeared in more than fifty films, and her on-screen persona expresses the multiple images of Israeli women. She played a soldier's young widow trying to get back to normal life in *Siege* (1969), made by the Italian director Gilberto Toffano, a part she once acknowledged as her favorite; a street prostitute in Menachem Golan's *The Highway Queen* (1971); and a demented Holocaust survivor in *The Summer of Avia* (1988). Mainly she played mothers or motherly figures, such as the struggling widowed mother in Moshe Mizrahi's *The House on Chelouche Street* (1973), which was nominated for an Academy Award as best foreign-language film, a Moroccan matriarch in Shmuel Hasfari's *Sh'bur* (1994), an over-protective Jewish mother in Joel Silberg's comedy *My Mother the General* (1979), based on a local stage hit, the pub owner in Assi Dayan's

*Life According to Agfa* (1992), and even her own mother in *Avia*—a fact that positioned Almagor as the ultimate matron of Israeli cinema.

Her ability to convincingly portray all sorts of women—vulgar as well as elegant, North African as well as European and Arab (for example, in the Israeli-German 1973 coproduction, *Stranger in Jericho*), peripheral as well as bourgeois, and tragic as well as comic, the Israeli Jeanne Moreau—not only indicate Almagor's diversity as an actress, but also mark her as the screen image of the all-Israeli identity. The characters she has portrayed over her career manifest the various aspects of Israeli identity.

Between 1977 and 1986 Almagor's career declined, and she found herself forced to accept small and insignificant roles. During this period of professional crisis she even attended auditions, as if she were not one of Israel's veteran actresses. As personal and professional therapy, Almagor wrote her semiautobiographical novel *The Summer of Avia*. She then adapted it as a one-actress stage play, that turned into a surprisingly great success.

In 1988 Almagor adapted the play for a film version, directed by Eli Cohen, which she coproduced and starred in. She plays a Holocaust survivor in the 1950s, a character based on her own mother, who is mentally ill and has just been released from a mental institution. While her ten-year-old daughter tries to cope with her mother's illness, she becomes convinced that a new resident in their village is actually her lost father, whom she's never met. The film was very well received, both commercially and critically, and won the Silver Bear award at the 1989 Berlin Film Festival. It went on to be named best film at both the Belgrade and Valladolid film festivals.

In 1994 she co-wrote the script and starred in the sequel to *The Summer of Avia*, *Under the Domim Tree*, also directed by Cohen, which told the story of her growing up in the Hadassim youth village in the 1950s along with teenaged Holocaust survivors. Since then she has appeared constantly in the theater and in films. Among the latter are Shemi Zarhin's *Passover Fever* (1995), Assi Dayan's *The Gospel According to God* (2004), and Dan Wolman's *Tied Hands* (2006).

## INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Throughout her acting career Almagor has won numerous prizes, among them the prestigious Israel Prize for her cinematic work (2004), an Israeli Academy of Film and Television honorary award (1997), and, several times, the best actress award for her performances in films and on stage. She spends much of her time doing volunteer activities for ailing children, was a member of the Tel Aviv-Yafo (Jaffa) City Council, and chairperson of the Culture Committee for the city. Almagor is also one of the founders of Ami, the Israeli Artists Association. In 1996, she received



the President's Merit Award for Volunteers as recognition for her years of volunteer work.

#### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

Almagor has appeared in many international productions, most recently in Steven Spielberg's acclaimed political thriller, *Munich* (2005). She has been a jury member in many international film festivals, among them the Berlin Film Festival in 1996. She has been honored with a number of retrospectives, most notably by the Museum of Modern Art (MoMA) in New York. Her novels, *The Summer of Avia* (1985), *Under the Domim Tree* (1992) and *Alex Lerner, Daphne and Me* (2002), have been translated into English, German, Russian, Danish, and other languages.

#### LEGACY

Gila Almagor has proved in more than four decades of screen appearances a rare ability to stay at the center of Israeli cinema despite the changing context. She actually grew up with it, thus becoming one of its iconic figures. It is difficult to point to another Israeli screen actress who has achieved a similar status.

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*Shmulik Duvdevani*

## AL NAHYAN, KHALIFA BIN ZAYID (1948–)

Ruler of the Emirate of Abu Dhabi since 2004, Khalifa bin Zayid Al Nahyan is also the president of the United Arab Emirates.

#### PERSONAL HISTORY

Shaykh Khalifa bin Zayid Al Nahyan has been president of the United Arab Emirates (UAE) and the Emir and ruler of Abu Dhabi since 2004. As chairman of Abu Dhabi's Supreme Petroleum Council, he is also responsible for management of Abu Dhabi's massive share of the country's considerable oil wealth.



*Khalifa bin Zayid Al Nahyan*. AP IMAGES.

Khalifa was born in 1948 in al-Ayn, the most prominent among a cluster of eight villages located in the easternmost reaches of the Emirate of Abu Dhabi in an oasis region that overlaps the border with Oman. He is the eldest son of the late Shaykh Zayid bin Sultan Al Nahyan, who ruled Abu Dhabi from 1966 until his death in 2004 and served as the first president of the UAE upon its founding on 2 December 1971 until his passing in 2004. Shaykh Khalifa's mother, Shaykha Hassa bint Muhammad bin Khalifa bin Zayid Al Nahyan, was from a collateral branch of the Al Bu Falah branch of the ruling Bani Yas tribe. Among his siblings, from different mothers, are Shaykhs Sultan, deputy Prime Minister of the UAE; Muhammad, crown prince of Abu Dhabi and deputy supreme commander of the UAE armed forces; Hamdan, also a deputy prime minister of the UAE; Saif, UAE Minister of the Interior; Abdullah, UAE Foreign Minister; Hamad, Tahnun, Sa'id, and a dozen other half-brothers, many of whom occupy key posts in the UAE or local Abu Dhabi governments.

Abu Dhabi, is by far the largest of the seven UAE emirates and is situated atop more than 90 percent of the UAE's oil and gas reserves. It also has foreign instruments estimated conservatively to be in excess of US\$750 billion. Therefore, the overall power and influence of the ruling family and emirate that Shaykh Khalifa heads is without a peer within the confederation.

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Shaykh Khalifa bin Zayid Al Nahyan  
**Birth:** 1948, al-Ayn, Abu Dhabi  
**Family:** Married; children, including Sultan bin Khalifa  
**Nationality:** Abu Dhabi, United Arab Emirates  
**Education:** Local and Sandhurst Military Academy, United Kingdom

## PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1966:** Appointed ruler's representative in the eastern region of Abu Dhabi and head of the courts department in al-Ayn
- **1969:** Becomes crown prince/heir apparent (*Wali Abd*) of Abu Dhabi
- **1971:** Appointed prime minister of Abu Dhabi and minister of defense and finance
- **1973:** Assumes post of deputy prime minister in the UAE Federal Cabinet
- **1974:** Appointed chairman, Abu Dhabi Executive Council
- **1976:** Appointed deputy supreme commander of the UAE armed forces
- **2004:** Elected to succeed Shaykh Zayid as ruler of the Emirate of Abu Dhabi and as president of the UAE

Shaykh Khalifa received his initial education from the traditional system of learning then long in practice in the oasis setting of al-Ayn where he was born and raised. A core feature of the system was its emphasis upon learning to read and write Arabic, memorization and recitation of the Qur'an, and the study of selected sayings as well as exemplary practices of the Prophet Muhammad. For those born into a ruling household, there was additional emphasis upon understanding and assimilating lessons in leadership learned from one's ancestors, including the broad outlines of Islamic values, moral principles, and the traditions, institutions, and practices associated with one's family, tribe, and society. Prior to 1958, when Shaykh Khalifa was ten years old, no formal school system existed in Abu Dhabi. Shaykh Khalifa spent time at Sandhurst, the British armed forces academy.

Public appointments commenced in 1966 for Shaykh Khalifa when he assumed two posts in al-Ayn, namely

ruler's representative in the eastern region of Abu Dhabi and head of the courts department. In the early years after the establishment of the UAE in 1971, this area was sometimes referred to informally as an eighth UAE emirate, owing to its size, population, degree of development, and the extent of its government apparatus relative to most of the other emirates. Being responsible for the day-to-day administration of this multifaceted oasis region with its different tribes, half dozen villages, and its agriculture-based economy's dependence upon perennially scarce sources of water would have tested the capacity for effective leadership of anyone. In Shaykh Khalifa's case, it provided an ideal laboratory within which he was able to learn and practice firsthand the time-honored leadership skills of consultation and consensus essential for the promotion and maintenance of, among other things, political stability, domestic security, and a sense of material well being. Being head of the courts department required that he become steeped in and adept at overseeing administration of the emirate's system of law enforcement and justice in keeping with the body of jurisprudence (*fiqh*) and sources (*usul*) of law applied in Abu Dhabi in association with the Maliki school of Islamic legalistic thought, one of four schools of Islamic law recognized among Sunni Muslims worldwide.

In 1969, Shaykh Khalifa was named crown prince of Abu Dhabi and head of the Department of Defense, where he presided over the Abu Dhabi Defense Force (ADDF), later to become the core of the UAE's military. Following the first ADDF Chief of Staff, Shaykh Khalid bin Sultan Al Qasimi, eldest son of the immediate past ruler of the Emirate of Ra's al-Khaymah, there would be a succession of Jordanian chiefs of staff seconded to Abu Dhabi by then king HUSSEIN BIN TALAL of Jordan prior to the assumption of this post by Abu Dhabians. Since then to the early twenty-first century, Shaykh Khalifa has maintained a strong interest in the modernization and development of Abu Dhabi's and the UAE's defense establishment.

During Shaykh Khalifa's service as deputy supreme commander, until his accession as ruler of Abu Dhabi and election as UAE president, the UAE armed forces have seen action in various international contexts. In 1976, the military was sent to Lebanon as part of the Arab Deterrent Force, which aimed to defuse the civil war then raging in that country. During the Kuwait Crisis and Gulf War of 1990-1991, the UAE armed forces played an active role, with several hundred Emirati troops taking part in the internationally concerted action to reverse Iraq's aggression against Kuwait. UAE armed forces personnel were also sent to Somalia in 1993 and participated in the multinational force dispatched to Kosovo in 1999.

In 1971, upon the foundation of the United Arab Emirates with his father, Shaykh Zayid bin Sultan Al Nahyan, serving as president, Shaykh Khalifa was appointed prime minister of Abu Dhabi. In 1973, he assumed the post

of deputy prime minister of the presidentially appointed UAE Federal Cabinet. In the late 1980s, Shaykh Khalifa became the chairman of Abu Dhabi's Supreme Petroleum Council, assuming administrative control over the emirate's vast oil resources. In this capacity, he sought to diversify the economy away from what had rapidly become, since the export of oil in 1958, its overwhelming dependence upon the extraction and export of hydrocarbons. To this end, he sought to develop an industrial complex at Ruways, a coastal settlement to the north of and west of Abu Dhabi Island. He also oversaw efforts to establish mutually beneficial joint commercial ventures with international aerospace and defense firms in association with a system of economic off-sets. In fulfillment of obligations incurred in the course of being awarded lucrative defense-related and other large development contracts, such companies undertook to partner with Abu Dhabians in the strengthening and expansion of such projects as the Abu Dhabi Ship Repair Yard in association with the American firm, Newport News Dry Dock and Shipbuilding. Much later, he would lend his support to the beginnings of what promised to become a burgeoning tourism sector predicated on the need to provide meaningful jobs outside government employment for the country's growing population. In 2007, one of the most high profile projects of this nature took the form of the Louvre Museum in Paris entering into a partnership in Abu Dhabi to construct a world-class museum in Abu Dhabi. Another partnership was also entered into with the Guggenheim Museum.

#### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

A source of international goodwill for Shaykh Khalifa and his father has been the Abu Dhabi Fund for Development, established in 1971, originally as the Abu Dhabi Fund for Arab Economic Development. The purpose of the Fund has been to promote economic development, first among select Arab states, and subsequently in numerous other developing countries. Shaykh Khalifa has remained chairman of the Fund. In addition, Shaykh Khalifa has followed his father as chairman of the Zayid bin Sultan Foundation, a charitable organization with capital at more than one billion dollars. The Fund has focused on four areas of assistance for needy recipients in the developing world: hospitals and health care services; financial aid for orphans, widows, and widowers; the building and maintenance of Islamic schools and mosques; and disaster relief. Regarding the latter category, among all international donors in the wake of Hurricane Katrina in 2005, specifically in regard to the State of Louisiana in the United States, the UAE stood second to none in the amount of financial assistance provided to alleviate the plight of the hurricane's victims. In these and other endeavors, Abu Dhabi, together with Kuwait and Saudi Arabia, has ranked yearly among the top three of all countries providing foreign economic assistance in the

two most important categories of measurement, namely as an annual percentage of its economy's gross national product and the amount of charity per capita.

More broadly, within not only Abu Dhabi but the UAE as a whole, Shaykh Khalifa has long been associated with a degree of generosity and charity that has had no match among the other six UAE emirates. The Department of Social Services and Commercial Buildings, popularly known as the Khalifa Committee, which was so-named to reflect Shaykh Khalifa's role in organizing the program, was formed in 1981 to promote development of the UAE and to demonstrate Abu Dhabi's commitment to sharing its oil wealth. The Department provides low-interest loans to Abu Dhabians wishing to build houses in the country. The project has garnered considerable goodwill from citizens toward Abu Dhabi, the UAE federal system, and particularly toward Shaykh Khalifa and his late father, Shaykh Zayid. Whereas most citizens have remained in the homes they build with these funds, others receiving such loans have subsequently leased their properties to foreign laborers and expatriates. This generates an additional source of private sector income and with it a strengthened middle class, deemed an integral pillar of economic, political, and social stability. All in all, the Khalifa Committee's work has been viewed as but one among many examples of tangible benefits derived from the developing world's most successful confederation and the generosity of its founder and his successor.

During the run-up to the American-led invasion and subsequent occupation of Iraq in 2003, Shaykh Khalifa and other Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) leaders, together with King ABDULLAH II of Jordan, President HUSNI MUBARAK of Egypt, and League of Arab States Secretary General AMR MOUSSA, among others, voiced their opposition to the operation and attempted unsuccessfully to play a mediator role by calling on Iraq to comply with UN resolutions. However, once hostilities commenced, the UAE, together with the rest of the GCC countries, Egypt, and Jordan, confronted a strategic dilemma not of their making. On one hand, they could have chosen to oppose the United States openly with a view to altering American policies toward these two issues. On the other hand, they could have assumed a quiet and informal role of tacit, albeit limited, assistance on grounds that their dependence upon the United States for support in deterring and, if necessary, defending against Iran, Iraq, or some combination of the two, left them without any credible alternative. Aligned to this latter argument was the additional rationale that the nature and extent of the many other benefits and advantages they sought to obtain and maintain with Washington mitigated against opting to confront Washington officials. Had they done so, they could have severely damaged their ties to the White House and placed

their overall strategic partnership with the United States at risk. Weighed in the balance, most saw the UAE and its fellow GCC members as having wisely opted not to pursue the first option.

On 2 November 2004, when Shaykh Zayid bin Sultan died, Shaykh Khalifa succeeded him as ruler of Abu Dhabi and was elected by his fellow rulers the next day as president of the United Arab Emirates. Immediately upon assuming power, he took care to emphasize his commitment to the UAE system and especially the overall policies and standards of leadership associated with his father. He also noted his strong support for the GCC, at whose annual heads of state summits he had already been representing the UAE several years before his father died.

Shaykh Khalifa was associated with two major developments in 2005, his first year as ruler of Abu Dhabi and UAE president. In the first one, he hosted the GCC's twenty-fourth Annual Ministerial and Heads of State Summit. The summit was notable for the heads of state calling for a Middle East free of nuclear weapons. Given the evolving crisis related to Iran's nuclear development program, this particular summit result was directed most immediately to Tehran in light of its ongoing and substantially accelerated nuclear research and development program; however, it also applied to Israel, which, in contrast to Iran, was already an acknowledged major nuclear power. The meeting was also notable for the palpable anxieties occasioned by the summiters' alarm at the extent to which Iran had become emboldened as a direct result of the American-led invasion of Iraq. Emblematic of the nature and degree of the apprehension on this front was an observation that circulated among the delegates to the effect of, America attacked Iraq militarily and Iran won—without firing a single bullet or shedding a drop of blood.

In the second development, which pertained solely to the UAE, Shaykh Khalifa announced a limited democratization measure. To this end, he declared that half the members of the already appointed UAE Federal National Council would be elected, whereas the other half, as before and indeed since the UAE was established on 2 December 1971, would be appointed. In so doing, the UAE became the last of the GCC countries to introduce an electoral system as a means of increasing the degree of popular participation in the country's national development and political processes.

#### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

Shaykh Khalifa has been deeply influenced by the example of his father, the founding ruler of the United Arab Emirates, who, as noted, was widely respected for his statesmanship and generosity. Shaykh Khalifa has generally followed his esteemed father in his broadly pro-Western stance with regard to global and regional strate-

gic issues and in his commitment to strengthening the UAE as a whole. Sensitive to the Abu Dhabi and broader UAE citizenry's reverence for the memory of his father and that his father's shoes would be exceptionally difficult ones to fill, Shaykh Khalifa has repeatedly underscored his intention to do whatever possible to emulate his predecessor's accomplishments and exemplary role as a leader.

Gestures such as the 2005 changes to the Federal National Council notwithstanding, Shaykh Khalifa and his fellow UAE rulers' movements toward democratization have been viewed, in the eyes of their critics, as, at most, minor and gradualist, and subordinate to a more overarching emphasis upon the need to maintain at whatever cost the prosperity and stability of Abu Dhabi and the UAE. In Shaykh Khalifa's and his colleagues' defense, various rationales have been advanced. In one, Shaykh Khalifa has indicated that he and his fellow leaders' reluctance to engage in radical political change is rooted in the unassailable observation that such change has not been vociferously demanded by the population. Another rationale has made references to the sagacity embedded in an analysis attributed to American political philosopher Thomas Jefferson, who posited, "That government is best that governs least." Yet another rationale has likened the UAE federal experiment to a coat that, in addition to being light rather than heavy, also fits loosely, not tightly, thereby reflecting, in both instances, the wishes of those for whom its manufacture was commissioned and who, since the UAE's inception, have opted to wear it. Regardless of perspective, what is equally undeniable is the fact that the UAE represents the longest and most successful experiment in sub-regional cooperation and integration in modern Arab history.

#### LEGACY

Shaykh Khalifa is unique among world leaders for three reasons. The first is that he is the ruler of Abu Dhabi, whose citizens, since oil was discovered in 1958, have become among the planet's wealthiest people in terms of income per capita. The second is that he is the president of the United Arab Emirates, unquestionably the developing world's longest and most successful confederation from the time of its establishment on 28 May 1971 to the present day. The third is that, for more than three decades, the government of Abu Dhabi, the Abu Dhabi Fund for Economic and Social Development, and the Zayid Bin Sultan Foundation, over all three of which is Khalifa the single most prominent leader, have annually been ranked among the world's most important contributors to charitable causes as well as providers of humanitarian assistance and other forms of development aid to the world's less fortunate peoples.

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*John Duke Anthony*

## AL NAHYAN, MUHAMMAD BIN ZAYID (1961–)

Shaykh Muhammad bin Zayid Al Nahyan is the Crown Prince of the Emirate of Abu Dhabi in the United Arab Emirates (UAE), Chairman of Abu Dhabi’s Executive Council, and Deputy Supreme Commander of the UAE Armed Forces.

#### PERSONAL HISTORY

Shaykh Muhammad was born in 1961 in Abu Dhabi, the third son of Shaykh Zayid (also Zayed) bin Sultan Al Nahyan. Shaykh Zayid served as Ruler of Abu Dhabi, beginning in 1966, and UAE President from its founding in 1971, holding both positions until his death in November 2004. Upon Great Britain’s announcement in late December 1967 that over the next three years it would abrogate their defense and foreign relations treaties in east Arabia, Shaykh Zayid became the prime mover for the establishment of a union between the emirates, a project which culminated in the UAE’s 2 December 1971 declaration of independence.

Although Shaykh Zayid had a total of nineteen sons, Shaykh Muhammad is Shaykh Zayid’s eldest son by Shaykha Fatima bint Mubarak Al Qudayra, a favored wife. Some have opined that this fact played a role in Shaykh



*Muhammad bin Zayid Al Nahyan.* AP IMAGES.

Muhammad’s selection by his father as deputy crown prince in 2003. While this was undoubtedly a contributive consideration, several other factors were as important, if not much more so, in driving the decision. One was that Shaykh Muhammad is the acknowledged leader of the single largest bloc of Shaykh Zayid’s sons from the same mother, Shaykha Fatima, who gave birth to a larger number of children than any of the other wives of Shaykh Zayid. As is the case with numerous large ruling families in Arabia as elsewhere, it is virtually impossible for a monarchical head of state to devote as extensive an amount of time and care to raising his progeny on a day-to-day basis as would be likely with a father in a smaller, more nuclear, non-dynastic family. This being the case, it is typically the mothers who have the single greatest formative impact not only on how the children of a ruling household are being raised from one day to the next in terms of order and discipline, but also in terms of helping to develop numerous other attributes of their character, personality, knowledge, values, behavior, and sense of duty and service to those who, as public officials, they will one day be expected to lead and represent. In this regard, the influence of Shaykha Fatima, a powerful and inspiring person who has remained a legend in her own right, exercised outsized influence on Shaykh Muhammad and her other children early on. Not least among her many accomplishments is that she has long been second to none among UAE ruling family women leaders in striving to advance women’s

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Shaykh Muhammad bin Zayid bin Sultan Al Nahyan

**Birth:** 1961, Abu Dhabi, United Arab Emirates

**Nationality:** Abu Dhabi, United Arab Emirates

**Education:** Sandhurst Military Academy, 1979

### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1993:** Becomes Abu Dhabi Army's Chief of Staff
- **2003:** Named by his father Deputy Crown Prince of Abu Dhabi
- **2004:** Upon his brother Shaykh Khalifa bin Zayid bin Sultan's assumption of rulership, becomes Crown Prince of Abu Dhabi, Deputy Supreme Commander of the UAE Armed Forces, and next in line for the presidency of the UAE

opportunities and rights not only locally and nationally but worldwide. Year after year she has been a pivotal force within the UAE in hosting national and international conferences designed to increase the level of women's participation in a variety of professions such as the media, business, education, government, and public affairs in general.

### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Few have been surprised that, in addition to the important leadership posts assumed by Shaykha Fatima's eldest son, Shaykh Muhammad, others among her sons can also be found in positions responsible for such important tasks as *inter alia*, administering the emirate's port, airport, intelligence, and palace operations as well as, on the larger stage of the UAE, information and foreign affairs. Viewed in this light, Shaykh Muhammad's position and role within the Emirate of Abu Dhabi as well as the UAE has not only been multifaceted. The length and diversity of his public service alone have provided him a degree of legitimacy in matters of leadership unrivaled by any of his contemporaries. His legitimacy is anchored not just in such weighty matters as his responsibilities for the UAE's defense, together with all that entails in terms of his having continuously to interface with his country's armed forces establishment and those among the Great Powers that provide supplies, training, and logistical as well as operational support services for the country's military. It is also based on his having been selected to be the next

ruler of Abu Dhabi when the time comes to succeed the incumbent and, if the manner of the most recent succession is repeated, to become president of the UAE as well. It is rooted further in his being recognized as leader of the single largest faction within the Abu Dhabi ruling family, itself the unquestioned centerpiece of governance in the UAE's most sizeable and powerful emirate and among other ruling households in the UAE, in the country as a whole.

Yet another attribute that has strengthened Shaykh Muhammad's unique niche within the constellation of power in Abu Dhabi and the UAE has been his patronage of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) region's most successful public policy academic institute, or think tank, the Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research. Established on March 14, 1994, in Abu Dhabi, the center, under the administrative direction of Dr. Jamal S. Al Suwaydi, has played a pioneering role in conducting studies and hosting annual conferences as well as year-round seminars on issues pertaining to a broad range of pan-GCC needs, concerns, interests, challenges, objectives, and relationships. From the very beginning, the Center has engaged the participation of many of the world's most renowned researchers, scholars, and foreign affairs practitioners as speakers and consultants in its projects, programs, events, and activities as well as authors of its numerous publications.

In addition to its public service operations, the Center has also maintained an extensive library, a popular website, and a private branch that conducts research for the UAE government on select strategic issues, including defense, technology, foreign policy, and international relations. As the Center's premier sponsor, Shaykh Muhammad has thereby been able to remain as abreast as any leader in the Gulf of the latest developments in national, regional, and global affairs as these pertain to his and his fellow UAE leaders' ongoing quest to enhance the UAE and the GCC region's political stability, external defense, and further economic development and modernization. It has also engaged him directly in the education and training of the rising generation of UAE leaders in domestic and externally centric research and writing, information and communications, technology, and strategic analysis, placing him, like few other UAE leaders, at the cutting edge of the country's intellectual and scientific development.

At another level, Shaykh Muhammad has continued the example of the late Shaykh Zayid in demonstrating that politics is not simply synonymous with the art of the possible but entails equally that its practitioners go beyond accepting and mastering the spirit and principles of compromise to demonstrate a capacity, should matters of state require it, to forge political compromises in contentious matters even when doing so would require the sublimation of his emirate's or the UAE's particular

interests to those of the larger issue at hand. In this regard, Shaykh Muhammad has repeatedly indicated that the UAE has become a microcosm of how far and fast the dynamics of transformation within a traditional society can realistically be expected to be launched, proceed, and in the end prevail. Indeed, with the UAE having been born against a historical background of one failed Arab attempt at political cooperation and integration after another, few among the privileged handful of foreign observers present at the union's foundation in 1971 were willing to wager that the experiment would last as long as half a year, if that.

Yet, in 2007, the UAE had already endured longer than three and a half decades. It had done so despite the limitations and constant need for compromise among any government of seven semi-autonomous polities. Further, in spite of the 1980-1988 Iran-Iraq war, the Kuwait crisis of 1990-1991, the American led-invasion and occupation of Iraq from 2003 onward, the post-1979 Iranian attempts to export its Islamic revolution to the UAE and elsewhere, and more, the UAE managed to remain relatively unscathed by these and the kinds of other ravages that had brought low or ended many another attempt elsewhere to forge a similar edifice of governance and strong but flexible political institutions. In the process, the confederation has continued to serve, as it has from the beginning of the GCC on 28 May 1981, as a living example of what other polities can accomplish. Certainly, it has been a relevant bellwether for how the GCC itself came to be structured, led, and focused, which, in itself, was no mean feat. Indeed, while hardly devoid of defect, the GCC too has survived and, along the way, become the most successful experiment to date in inter-Arab organizational cooperation.

Shaykh Muhammad bin Zayid's Al Nahyan family in Abu Dhabi heads the predominant Al Bu Falah section of the Bani Yas tribe, which has been the most powerful in the southern region of the Emirates since the 19<sup>th</sup> century, when the fortunes of the northern region's rival Al Qasimi extended family waned in conjunction with the increase of British power throughout the Gulf as a whole. The ruling Al Maktum family of Dubai represents another section of the Bani Yas, one with which, like his father before him, Shaykh Muhammad has been on exceptionally close terms, most especially with the ruler of Dubai Shaykh MUHAMMAD BIN RASHID AL MAKTUM (r. 2006–), who is the UAE Vice President and Prime Minister (2006–), and, since 1971, also its minister of defense.

Shaykh Muhammad's pre-collegiate education was obtained through private tutors in Abu Dhabi after which he attended Sandhurst, the British Army's premier military academy in the United Kingdom, from which he graduated in 1979. He then entered the UAE air force,

where he progressed through the ranks, becoming a commander and eventually chief of staff in January 1993 (although one source puts the date as 1994). The decision to appoint Shaykh Muhammad initially to a position that was below flag rank, beyond which he would not advance for several years, was arrived at only after considerable deliberation. It was influenced by his father and those among his advisers who wanted to avoid promoting Shaykh Muhammad in the manner of his next eldest half-brother, Shaykh Sultan bin Zayid. The latter had been provided the rank of Major General while he was still in his twenties and, thus, relatively untested.

For this reason and the additional one of conforming to the canons by which armed forces leaders ordinarily do not obtain senior rank until they have served first at lower levels and earned the respect of their fellow officers, it was several years before Shaykh Muhammad was promoted to the rank of general. Once appointed to senior command, however, there was no doubt that Shaykh Muhammad, who thereby earned the additional sobriquet of General as well as Deputy Supreme Commander of the UAE Armed Forces, would thereafter be a powerful force to be reckoned with in all matters pertaining to enhancing the UAE's capacities for deterrence and defense. In so doing, he became an essential third member of a *de facto* triad of UAE leaders that, upon his father's passing in 2004, would include his older brother, Shaykh KHALIFA BIN ZAYID AL NAHYAN, as Supreme Commander of the UAE Armed Forces (and Ruler of Abu Dhabi as well as President of the UAE since then), and Dubai's Shaykh Muhammad bin Rashid Al Maktum, the country's Minister of Defense since 1971 and Ruler of Dubai as well as UAE Prime Minister since 2006.

In 2003, Shaykh Muhammad's father appointed him deputy crown prince, fixing his place in the line of succession to become the ruler of Abu Dhabi as second only to his brother, Shaykh Khalifa. Prior to this appointment, there was some uncertainty in the country as to who would become crown prince upon Shaykh Zayid's death and the ascension of Shaykh Khalifa to the position of emir. Besides Shaykh Muhammad, the other major contender was Shaykh Sultan bin Zayid Al Nahyan, Shaykh Muhammad's older half-brother. (In 2004, the latter would become Abu Dhabi deputy ruler as well as UAE deputy prime minister.) Among the reasons offered for Shaykh Muhammad's selection was his manifest reputation for integrity, hard work, and skills as a leader, together with his domestic popularity and prominent international profile, especially with defense and aerospace firms. Additional factors were his level of comfort with Western and market-oriented approaches to the procurement of military systems and defense equipment as well as education and training, his acknowledged status as the most powerful among his siblings who also held key

government posts, and the fact that his mother occupied the predominant niche among the women within the ruling family's household.

**Iraq Policy** In the period leading up to the American-led invasion of Iraq on March 19, 2003, Shaykh Muhammad, together with his fellow GCC defense leaders, confronted a predicament for which neither he nor his colleagues were responsible. On one hand, neither he nor others among his Arab colleagues, or for that matter most of the world's leaders, agreed that a military attack against Iraq was justified. They contested the view that an invasion could be rationalized factually or morally either on the grounds of international law or for the sake of protecting any of Iraq's neighbors, let alone on any argument that it was necessary to deter an imminent threat to the Gulf's regional stability and defense. Shaykh Muhammad, together with most of the other GCC military leaders and their counterparts elsewhere in the Arab and Islamic worlds, viewed the situation not only in light of the fact that Iraq had not attacked the United States, other great powers, or any of its neighbors since its 1991 aggression against Kuwait. They viewed it also in the strategic context of how a unified, sovereign, and independent Iraq, however weak and flawed it had become after more than a decade of onerous economic and other internationally imposed sanctions, nonetheless functioned as a geostrategic counterweight to Iran, the GCC countries' largest, most populous, and most radical neighbor. From this perspective, they foresaw that an American invasion of Iraq would immediately upset the regional balance of power. They acknowledged that this balance, achieved by the American-initiated policy of "Dual Containment" against Iran and Iraq from 1991–1992 onward, was hardly bereft of blemish. Indeed, they were fully aware that the accompanying economic sanctions administered by the United Nations Security Council, apart from being porous, less than comprehensively enforced, and ironically serving in various ways to strengthen the regime of SADDAM HUSSEIN, had severe negative consequences upon the health of many Iraqis. Even so, viewed from an overarching strategic perspective of the necessity of prolonging regional peace and avoiding a potentially catastrophic war, it had produced a degree of much-needed and appreciated stability within the Gulf as a whole.

On the other hand, Shaykh Muhammad and other Arab leaders conceded that their profound disagreement with the administration of U.S. President George W. Bush (and also Great Britain) on this matter notwithstanding, it would have been unwise and counterproductive for their strategic, economic, political, commercial, defense and other interests with the United States to allow their disagreement on this one issue, large and laced

with uncertainties as it was, to place their overall relationship with Washington officialdom in jeopardy. There were simply too many other things that the UAE, the rest of the GCC member-states, and Arab countries elsewhere wanted and needed from their association with the world's sole superpower for them to let their opposition to American policy in this instance endanger all their other U.S.-centric interests.

In the end, as was the case with every other GCC country, in addition to Egypt and Jordan, the UAE found it had little choice but to agree, if necessary, to extend tacit and low profile over-flight, refueling, search and rescue, and humanitarian assistance to the United States and the other Allied Coalition countries in the event they proceeded to attack Iraq. The decision to do so was rationalized as being the least bad in a situation where there were no good options available. The decision's results were hardly insignificant and not long in coming. In the UAE, among the consequences was that Shaykh Muhammad and virtually all the other UAE leaders had to contend almost immediately with potentially serious implications for the country's domestic stability and security. One set of concerns stemmed from the palpable anger of Emiratis opposed not so much the idea of replacing the Iraqi regime of Hussein as to what they argued would be the inevitable immense harm inflicted upon an already weakened and beleaguered Iraqi people as a result. More specifically, UAE citizens, along with millions the world over, took particular exception to Washington's stated reasons for the attack. These included *inter alia*, the search for (non-existent) weapons of mass destruction; stemming the tide of terrorism emanating from the Middle East; lowering the international price of oil; installing a system of democratic governance in Iraq that would become a beacon to other countries; and privatizing the Iraqi economy, including its oil, gas, and petrochemical industries, as well as the country's banking and manufacturing sectors, among other rationales. Further, Shaykh Muhammad and other UAE and GCC country leaders' positions were not made any easier in light of the undeniable fact that, nearly half a decade after the invasion and occupation began, practically all of the attackers' stated objectives had met with ignominious failure.

Worse, Shaykh Muhammad and the rest of the GCC countries' leaders found that the results of the invasion, as they had predicted, left the previous regional balance of power in tatters. In its place was an emboldened Iran keen to expand its strategic influence and reach throughout the Gulf region and beyond. The implications of these new realities for UAE and other GCC strategic and defense interests as well as policies were profound and far-reaching. Not least was the heightened anxiety over the possibility that Iran, sooner rather than later, would become a nuclear power. The prospects for



its doing so had advanced largely unchecked as a result of the United States and other great powers, throughout the 1990s, having been fixated upon Iraq to the exclusion of what was happening in Iraq's next door neighbor. Heightening the anxieties rooted in this possibility were mounting signs that either the United States, or Israel, or worse, perhaps some combination of the two, would attack Iran militarily before the end of the Bush Administration in 2008 if not earlier. Making everyone more nervous still was the inability of anyone to rule out that Washington might use force against Iran not by itself but in conjunction with an Israeli strike with a view possibly to influencing in the Republican Party's favor the outcome of the American presidential elections scheduled for November 2008.

Regarding these concerns, Shaykh Muhammad had to contend simultaneously with two other realities. One was the fact that Israel was the only Middle Eastern country other than Kuwait to support the United States-led campaign to replace the regime of Hussein. The other, which was more ominous, was that many of these same Israeli strategists, together with their American supporters, remained enamored with the possibility of being able to overthrow the government of Iran as well. The consequences of the United States toppling the Iraqi government, to be sure, were serious enough. It had demolished the regional balance of power in the Gulf. It had heightened an image of instability throughout the area. It had broken a country and smashed to smithereens its capital that, for half a millennium, had been associated with the zenith of Arab as well as Islamic civilization. That the U.S.-led invasion and occupation of Iraq had strengthened the hand of the UAE's largest non-Arab neighbor, which continued to occupy three UAE islands it had seized by force on the eve of the UAE's independence; that there were tens of thousands of Iranians living and working in the UAE; and that Iran indicated it would not hesitate to strike at American interests in the Gulf were U.S. armed forces to attack Iran—these constituted an even more ominous set of consequences confronting Shaykh Muhammad and others responsible for ensuring the UAE's and the lower Gulf's defense. A particularly acute apprehension in this regard stemmed from the fact that virtually all of the UAE's desalination facilities, power generating plants, and the centers of the country's offshore oil and gas producing operations were not well situated in terms of being able to defend them from external attack. To the contrary, they would be within easy striking distance of Iran's armed forces in the event that Tehran's leaders, responding to an American and/or Israeli military attack against Iran, were to retaliate against United States interests in the UAE.

**Domestic Policies** Since December 2004, Shaykh Muhammad has been the Chairman of the Abu Dhabi Executive Council, the major decision-making body in the Emirate. First established in the late 1960s, the Council has comprised as many as nearly two dozen members appointed by the ruler. In the absence of a parliament, the council has functioned for years as a kind of a de facto council of Emirati ministers, or cabinet. As such, its members are charged to consult continuously with a view to forging consensus in matters relating to a variety of functions common to all governing bodies, especially municipal ones such as energy, education, housing, health, roads, and communications. The council was responsible for administering all of these services, and more, for the city of Abu Dhabi, as the capital of the emirate, in the first five years following Shaykh Zayid's becoming Ruler of Abu Dhabi in 1966, and in that same role as well as Abu Dhabi having become the UAE's national capital since 1971, continuously since then. Just as his older brother, Shaykh Khalifa bin Zayid, obtained valuable experience in the day-to-day administration of government in Abu Dhabi, so, too, has Shaykh Muhammad benefited in the course of developing important administrative skills of a kind at once different and more numerous than those he developed earlier in his role as deputy supreme commander of the UAE defense forces.

Upon Shaykh Zayid's death in November 2004 and his brother's accession to the leadership of Abu Dhabi and the UAE, Shaykh Muhammad became next in line for leadership of the emirate. Likewise, if precedent and the continued predominant position and role of Abu Dhabi within the UAE as a whole are any guide, there is every indication that Shaykh Muhammad will eventually be in line, if not first among equals, to be elected President of the UAE as well.

#### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

Shaykh Muhammad is renowned in defense and aerospace circles the world over as the chief of the air force component as well as deputy supreme commander of the UAE Armed Forces, one of the most modern, high-tech, and well-equipped and supplied air forces of any country in the developing world. He is director of a complex and controversial economic offsets program whereby, in exchange for lucrative defense contracts, his country has been able to enter into long-term mutually beneficial economic and related arrangements whereby the host contracting country gains valuable access to technology, education, training, and access to foreign markets it would have been unlikely to obtain in any other way, simultaneous to strengthening the overall defense commitment of the contracting companies' host country governments in assuring the defense of Abu Dhabi and the UAE as a whole.

**LEGACY**

Like all of Shaykh Zayid's children, it would be difficult for Shaykh Muhammad to have been uninfluenced by the towering legacy of his father. Like his elder half-brother, Sheikh Khalifa, Shaykh Muhammad is regarded as generally committed to continuing those among his father's policies as they pertain to Abu Dhabi. These have included most especially Shaykh Zayid's legacy of providing a degree of security, defense, and material well-being as well as a system of civil and effective justice for the citizens of Abu Dhabi that is second to none not just in the UAE but, arguably, among other countries in the developing world in general. Similarly, he has given every indication that he is also determined to continue as well as build upon his father's pro-confederation policies. These have been manifested most prominently in the efforts to bolster the UAE's capabilities in and contributions to regional and global affairs. They have also been evident in the care that Shaykh Muhammad has taken to strengthen and expand the UAE's close partnership with mainly Western oil and gas companies and a comparably extensive partnership with Western, and increasingly American, systems of deterrence and defense as well as equipment and training in strategic and tactical doctrine pertaining to the country's armed forces.

In addition to being broadly supportive of the UAE's strategic relations with the United States and other Western great powers, Shaykh Muhammad has long admired the UAE Emirate of Dubai's business-friendly policies and orientation. Evidence of the latter has been his support for Abu Dhabi's Chamber of Commerce, comprised of all of the emirate's leading merchant families and investors. Indicative of his willingness to introduce the most modern elements of electronic commerce to Abu Dhabi and the UAE's private sector vendors, he supported the decision stipulating that no application for government contracts would be considered if the applicant failed to submit its request via e-mail.

Further evidence of Shaykh Muhammad's determination to enhance the degree of UAE business participation in major foreign contracts has been the UAE "offsets program." This system has long existed as a means of compelling international companies seeking lucrative government contracts to commit to investing a portion of the profits generated back into the country's economy. As one might expect, international companies have never liked this system, as it often forces them into underwriting business undertakings that for reasons owing to their often being at variance with their strengths and of dubious profitability, they would like to avoid. The UAE and other governments' perspectives have been quite different. They have argued that companies seldom venture

outside their specific area of specialization unless required to do so by some factor over which they have no control. In this instance, the factor has been the UAE government's insistence that any foreign company deriving major defense-related commercial gain from the UAE has a legal duty to find ways to strengthen and expand the country's private sector as a cost, in effect, of doing business in this exceptionally lucrative sector of the UAE economy. As a result, foreign companies doing business in the UAE have concluded they have no choice but to comply with such terms, however onerous they may be, as an essential means of aspiring to win a contract.

Shaykh Muhammad has been essential to the conceptualization and administration of this system since it was launched in the early 1990s. To date, the commercial record of the system's implementation, as elsewhere, has been mixed. However, the goal of achieving the program's strategic objectives, as was the intent from the beginning, has by and large been successful. For example, the UAE has thereby been able to obtain technology it would otherwise have had to purchase separately at additional cost. It has been able to enhance vital human resource training for Abu Dhabi and other UAE citizens who might otherwise not have been provided such an opportunity. It has helped UAE businesses to access foreign companies' or their affiliates' markets in ways that would probably not have been possible in any other way. And it has deepened private sector-to-private-sector ties between the UAE and some of the world's most advanced companies to a degree that would not have been imaginable otherwise.

Finally, Shaykh Muhammad is known for championing improvement of the UAE's record in the realm of human rights. To this end, he and his colleagues have long held to a much broader definition and concept of human rights than many of the country's mainly Western critics. That is, in contrast to many wealthy countries in the Western world, Shaykh Muhammad, in keeping with his father and siblings' values and Islamic-inspired ethics, has contended that any country whose economy can afford it should not shirk from fulfilling its duty to provide as many of its citizens as possible with their legitimate needs. The obligation to provide such assistance is the more keenly felt in those cases where, if it is left to the citizen's personal initiative alone, this is not likely to occur. To this end, Shaykh Muhammad and his fellow leaders believe such governments should consider themselves morally bound to provide their citizens free of charge, as the UAE has done, everything they can in the way of such benefits and services as adequate housing, education, and health care. In addition, Shaykh Muhammad and his fellow leaders contend that, wherever it is possible for a government to avoid doing

so, neither should it tax a person's income or, on humanitarian grounds alone, allow that a society's orphans, widows, widowers, disabled, or any others among a wealthy country's less advantaged citizens should receive anything less than the best possible care, compassion, and provision for their basic needs.

By this measurement of how governments of substantial economic and financial means ought to treat their citizens, Shaykh Muhammad and his UAE counterparts have ranked year after year among the most exemplary of world leaders in terms of the degree of compassion and public service they have extended to those in need among their fellow citizens. In terms of the international components of similar acts of goodwill, Shaykh Muhammad and his fellow UAE leaders have also been exemplary. Together with his ruling brother, Shaykh Khalifa, and the Ruler of the Emirate of Dubai, Shaykh Muhammad bin Rashid Al Maktum, Shaykh Muhammad bin Zayid has frequently been at the forefront of those UAE leaders earliest and most generous to provide support throughout the world for those most in need of assistance. Examples of the recipients of Abu Dhabi and the UAE's largesse have been refugees in Bosnia, Kosovo, Lebanon, and the Israeli-occupied areas of Palestine, victims of climatic catastrophes in the United States and elsewhere, and substantial charitable, humanitarian, and development assistance to numerous less-developed countries.

Among critics of the UAE and its leaders, Shaykh Muhammad and other UAE officials have long been on the receiving end of international condemnation of the extent to which under-age children have been used as camel jockeys in the popular UAE pastime of camel racing. On 31 March 2005 despite predictable opposition from many owners of camels that race in competition, Shaykh Muhammad outlawed the use of child camel jockeys. Under the law, children under 16 years of age or 45 kilograms in weight cannot be jockeys in the country. Similar laws had been enacted previously with minimal effect, but the incarnation of the 2005 restriction has been taken far more seriously and been much better enforced. Contributing to Shaykh Muhammad's decision and follow-up in this matter was his involvement with the Ansar Burney Welfare Trust. The Trust is named after and headed by Ansar Burney, a Pakistani human rights activist and vocal opponent of the use of child camel jockeys. After viewing a documentary that Burney produced to highlight this issue, Shaykh Muhammad proclaimed the ban. Subsequently, he helped the trust establish a rehabilitation center for young camel jockeys who had been damaged by the hazardous sport and the often-unacceptable conditions in which they were traditionally housed and trained. As in neighboring Oman, where Sultan QABOOS AL BU SA'ID has similarly prohibited the use of child camel jockeys, UAE camel

racers have since substituted electronic camel jockeys in their place.

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*John Duke Anthony*

## AL SABAH, NASIR AL-SABAH AL-AHMAD (1948–)

A Kuwaiti businessman and government official, Nasir al-Sabah al-Ahmad Al Sabah is also an art patron.

#### PERSONAL HISTORY

Nasir al-Sabah was born in Kuwait in 1948, and was educated there and in Jerusalem. He is the son and grandson of Kuwait's ruling emirs. His grandfather, Emir SABAH AL-AHMAD AL-JABIR AL SABAH, ruled from 1921 to 1950, and his father, Emir Sabah al-Ahmad, has ruled since 2006. In 1969, Nasir al-Sabah al-Ahmad Al Sabah married Hussa bint Sabah al-Salim, the daughter of Emir Sabah (r. 1965-1977), thus establishing a tie between the two major branches of the ruling Al Sabah family: the al-Salim and the al-Ahmad. The couple has two sons and two daughters.

#### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Nasir al-Sabah subsequently pursued a career in business and banking, becoming chairman of a number of leading



*Nasir al-Sabah al-Sabah.* AP IMAGES.

Kuwaiti companies as well as a director of the British Lornho Group. He and his wife also gathered a major collection of Islamic art that eventually was lent to the National Museum in Kuwait and came to be regarded as one of the most comprehensive collections of Islamic art in the world. From 1975 to 1983, the two collected more than 20,000 pieces. The museum was destroyed during the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in 1990 and the collection was removed to Baghdad. Most of the art was returned intact following the liberation of Kuwait in 1991. The museum reopened in February 1993, and some of the Al Sabah collection has been put on display again.

Also dabbling in politics, Nasir al-Sabah served as the minister of state for foreign affairs from 1990 to 1991. He also was an advisor to Shaykh Sa'd al-Abdullah, the long-time heir apparent to Nasir's uncle, Emir Jabir (r. 1977-2006), once again cementing relations between the two branches of the Al Sabah family. After the death of Emir Jabir and the brief rule of Emir Sa'd (who was controversially removed from office for being physically and mentally incapable), Nasir was named minister to the Emiri Court.

#### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

Nasir al-Sabah earned a reputation in the 1990s as one of the world's leading collectors and buyers of Islamic art. His rivalry at auctions with Qatari collector SA'UD BIN MUHAMMAD BIN ALI AL THANI, who spent millions of dollars buying Islamic art to establish the Museum of Islamic Art in Doha, Qatar, was legendary.

### BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Nasir al-Sabah al-Ahmad Al Sabah

**Birth:** 1948, Kuwait

**Family:** Wife, Hussa bint Sabah al-Salim; two sons; two daughters

**Nationality:** Kuwaiti

#### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1975:** Begins collecting Islamic art
- **1990:** Minister of state for foreign affairs in the Kuwaiti government; his art collection in the National Museum is looted by occupying Iraqi forces and taken to Baghdad
- **1993:** National Museum in Kuwait opens

#### LEGACY

It is too early to assess Nasir al-Sabah's legacy, but he surely will be remembered for being one of the foremost collectors of Islamic art in the world today.

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*J. E. Peterson*

### AL SABAH, SABAH AL-AHMAD AL-JABIR (1929–)

Sabah al-Ahmad al-Jabir Al Sabah is the emir of Kuwait. A senior and long the most powerful member of the ruling family, Shaykh Sabah served as foreign minister (1963–2003) and prime minister (2003–2006) before acceding to the throne as Sabah IV in 2006.

#### PERSONAL HISTORY

Shaykh Sabah was born in Kuwait on 6 June 1929, the fourth son of the late ruler Ahmad al-Jabir (r.1921–1950), and a brother of Jabir al-Ahmad al-Jabir (r.1977–2006). Sabah received tutored education at al-Mubarakkiyya School during the 1930s. He married Shaykha Fatuwa bint Salman Al Sabah (d.1990), with whom he had three sons and a daughter.



*Sabah al-Ahmad al-Jabir Al Sabah.* AP IMAGES.

Over the years, Shaykh Sabah served in various government posts, before becoming foreign minister in 1963. He retained this portfolio until 29 January 2006—one of the long service foreign ministers in the world—when he succeeded Shaykh Sa’d al-Abdullah Al Sabah as emir. In addition to his diplomatic mandate, Sabah was named deputy prime minister in 1978, first deputy prime minister in 1992, a member of the Supreme Council of Planning in 1996, and prime minister between 2003 and 2006. His controversial ascendance ended a serious constitutional crisis in January 2006, which was only resolved following intense family negotiations, but with full parliamentary support. Since his accession, significant laws have been adopted, including a law on women’s suffrage, a repeal of the law against public gatherings, and a new license law that encourages privately held newspapers and television stations.

#### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Shaykh Sabah’s career is intimately tied up with the history of the Al Sabah family in Kuwait. Since 1756, when a Sabah was selected as Utub tribal leader near the northern trading port of Kuwait, all of the emirate’s rulers have been members of that family, chosen, with one exception, by family council. The exception was

#### BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Sabah al-Ahmad al-Jabir Al Sabah

**Birth:** 1929, Kuwait City, Kuwait

**Family:** Wife, Fatuwa bint Salman Al Sabah (d. 1990); three sons, Nasir (minister of Emiri Diwan [Royal Court], owner of Al Sabah collection of Islamic art), Hamad (head of largest Kuwaiti business conglomerate [Wataniyya Telecom, Burgan Bank, Gulf Insurance, inter alia]), Ahmad (d. 1969); one daughter, Salwa (d. 2002)

**Nationality:** Kuwaiti

**Education:** Court and religious education

#### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1954–1955:** Member, Central Committee, Municipality Council
- **1955:** Chairman, Social Affairs and Labor Authority
- **1956:** Member, Higher Council of Country Affairs
- **1956–1962:** Chairman, Printing and Publishing Authority
- **1962:** Minister of Information
- **1963–2003:** Foreign minister
- **1978:** Deputy prime minister
- **1992:** First deputy prime minister
- **1996:** Member, Supreme Council of Planning
- **2003–2006:** Prime minister
- **2006–present:** Emir

Mubarak al-Kabir (Mubarak the Great), who ruled between 1896 and 1915. His accession was neither by family council nor peaceful. Mubarak gained power by killing his half-brother, then the legitimate ruler. Mubarak opted to rely on Britain—in contrast to his brother’s Ottoman preferences—with which he signed the 1899 agreement that made Kuwait a British “protectorate.” London retained control over Kuwait’s foreign and defense affairs until independence in 1961.

After Mubarak’s reign, the Al Sabah family switched from a lateral succession—one brother replacing another—to a more peaceful system, although not quite a primoge-

niture structure. His two eldest sons, Jabir (r.1915–1917) and Salim (r.1917–1921) succeeded him. Salim's successor was Jabir's son, Ahmad (r.1921–1950). In turn, authority reverted to Salim's son, Abdullah (r.1950–65), when Ahmad died. Abdullah bin Salim is widely accepted as the true father of modern Kuwait, for his astute maneuvers to empower Kuwait's leading Al Sabah tribal chieftains, while achieving relative prosperity and political privileges for many. Since 1915, the rotation has functioned well with a single exception in 1965 when Abdullah bin Salim was succeeded by his brother, Sabah al-Salim (r.1965–1977).

In accordance with the tradition established after the death of Mubarak the Great, and to avoid the Al Sabah family's succumbing to the kind of tribal disputes that often result in death and mayhem after a leadership change, it was decided in 1915 that the throne would continue to alternate between the two branches of the family, although internal disputes continued.

For Jabir al-Ahmad al-Jabir, the new ruler in 1978, the dilemma was twofold. First, how to contain the ambitions of Jabir Ali al-Salim without infuriating the al-Salims and, second, how to prevent that group from rallying around Jabir Ali precisely to weaken the new ruler. Jabir al-Ahmad passed over Jabir Ali for the critical post of heir apparent, but restored the balance between the two branches of the family when he designated Sa'd al-Abdullah al-Salim Al Sabah for that position, neutralizing the flamboyant Jabir Ali. Henceforth, differences moved to the parliament, the National Assembly, almost always a center of friction in the emirate.

Kuwaiti nationalists made a noticeable comeback between the 1981 and 1985 elections in the context of intensifying regional turmoil. The Al Sabah family made a significant effort to maneuver public opinion toward concern with law-and-order issues, exploiting the series of bombings that rocked the city in 1983 as well as a 1985 assassination attempt on Shaykh Jabir al-Ahmad al-Jabir Al Sabah, both committed by pro-Iranian Shi'ite groups. At a time when the Iran-Iraq War of 1980-1988 entered a decisive stage, internal security questions remained unanswered, with Iranian-sponsored opposition groups threatening to escalate the level of anti-Kuwaiti violence. These threats culminated in a series of hijackings and other subversive acts that proved to anxious Kuwaiti rulers that anti-Kuwaiti violence existed. The country drifted, and after the government resigned on 1 July 1986, the ruler suspended the National Assembly on 3 July.

Although a crisis in the unofficial stock market, the *Suq al-Manakh*, and the spillover effects of the Iran-Iraq War prompted the ruler to suspend parliament for the second time in 1986, internal Al Sabah family maneuvers played equally important roles in the suspension.

Vociferous debates filled the broadcast and print media as well as most public debates held in Kuwait's famed *Diwaniyyas* (the emir's informal meetings with members of the public). Almost always opposed to the policies of heir apparent Sa'd al-Abdullah, who represented the al-Salim branch of the family, the al-Jabirs unhesitatingly called for his replacement with the emir's brother and foreign minister, Sabah al-Ahmad. A favorite tactic employed by al-Jabir cronies was to launch accusations of wrongdoing and corruption on Sa'd's allies. In response, the heir apparent traveled for extended periods of time, or simply refused to appear in parliament to defend the government when he was physically in the country.

**The 2006 Succession Crisis** Protocol required that once Sa'd was ruler, Shaykh Sabah should be next in line. Yet, this was not certain, for several reasons, including the fact that Shaykh Sabah was not particularly well liked within the family. Many objected to his extensive business interests. Others deplored his lack of political and diplomatic skills, to which they attributed the 1990 Iraqi invasion and subsequent virtual turning over of the country to Western powers. Throughout the 1990s, a growing schism between, on the one hand, a frail ruler, who suffered a stroke in September 2001, and an equally debilitated heir apparent, who most believe suffered from Alzheimer's (although it is impossible to confirm), and on the other hand, a foreign minister allegedly involved in interminable feuds, preoccupied the Kuwaiti intelligentsia. Observers of the boiling Kuwaiti political scene concluded that the triumvirate was weak, with some calling for the selection of someone from the new, though largely inexperienced, generation to take over Kuwait's helm. Most anticipated that the next succession would quickly degenerate into a dangerous crisis that, left unattended, would create considerable difficulties for the Al Sabah family as it maneuvered to preserve its long-term interests.

When Jabir al-Ahmad died on 15 January 2006, the Al Sabah family was mired in confusion. Within a matter of hours, it was announced that the heir apparent had succeeded in a smooth transfer of power. Yet, because the constitution mandates that the emir be sworn in before Parliament, and because the oath of office is a somewhat complex text, it was revealed that the new monarch might not be able to fulfill his constitutional duty in full. An ailing Sa'd al-Abdullah ruled for a mere nine days. Because of his illness, Sa'd could speak, at least for any length of time, only with great difficulty, so it was nearly impossible for him to read the oath of office. Whether some Al Sabah family members goaded leading

## CONTEMPORARIES

The ailing Sa'd al-Abdullah Al Sabah ruled for a mere nine days as the emirate averted a major dynastic crisis in 2006. Sa'd was born in 1930 as the eldest son of Abdullah al-Salim Al Sabah (r. 1950–1964). After primary and religious education in Kuwait, Sa'd attended Hendon Police Academy in Britain, returning in 1954 to work for his uncle Sabah al-Salim, the head of the nascent Constabulary Force under formation in Kuwait. He assumed the critical deputy commander role under Abdullah bin Mubarak Al Sabah in 1959 and, at independence in 1961, became Chief of Police, then Chief of Public Security in 1962. As Minister of the Interior, his responsibilities expanded considerably only to double in 1964 when he assumed a second portfolio as Minister of Defense. This was a significant concentration of power that was unique in Kuwaiti annals. When Jabir al-Ahmad became emir in 1978, he appointed Sa'd as his heir apparent and as prime minister. Over the years, Sa'd voiced his suspicion of parliamentary life that, in one of the most open Gulf societies, did not endear him to the emirate's articulate population. As age and illnesses took their toll, Sa'd lost some of his penchant for confrontation, preferring long overseas visits to prying in Kuwaiti internal affairs. Because of serious medical problems, however, Shaykh Sa'd's short rule was destined to fail. Although it is impossible to know for sure, Sa'd probably suffered from Alzheimer's or a similarly debilitating disease, which essentially meant that he could only speak, with great difficulty.

parliamentarians to dangle the constitution in front of Sa'd so as to corner him into an impossibly embarrassing situation, or whether members of the National Assembly identified Sa'd's debilitated condition as a unique opportunity to assert a parliamentary role in determining the succession, the crisis of January 2006 turned into a rare political spectacle. In the event, the National Assembly embarked on a course intended to depose a monarch, and succeeded.

In fact, the oath issue was a smokescreen because the real disagreement was over the succession, and no clear candidate emerged to be the next in line. It was then that a major coup occurred, as Shaykh Sabah took matters into his own hands. Following intensive negotiations

with the al-Salims, who determinedly resisted Sa'd's abdication, the prime minister dangled the National Assembly threat in front of the family council. The Al Sabah family council would either accept the Assembly move to depose the emir, on the grounds that he could not carry out his constitutional duties, or make a decision about the succession. The powerful prime minister underlined the urgency of the matter on 24 January as Assembly members debated the emir's fate. When word reached the palace that the Assembly had scheduled a vote on forcing abdication proceedings, al-Salim holdouts relented. The message reached the National Assembly just as the clerk started his roll call.

On 24 January 2006, Shaykh Sabah acceded to the Kuwaiti throne, swore allegiance to the constitution, and appointed his brother Nawwaf al-Ahmad al-Jabir Al Sabah, minister of interior in the previous government, as heir apparent. The emir also appointed his nephew Nasir Muhammad al-Ahmad Al Sabah, minister of the Emiri Diwan (Royal Court), as prime minister. Simultaneously, he entrusted the critical position of minister of the Emiri Diwan—gatekeeper to the ruler—to his son, NASIR AL-SABAH AL-AHMAD AL SABAH.

Nasir al-Sabah, although not chosen as heir in 2006, may well be a potential aspirant to the throne because of his demonstrated interests, his appointment as prime minister and, equally important, significant marital ties: Nasir is married to Husa bin Sabah, the daughter of Sabah al-Salim, emir between 1965 and 1977. It remains to be determined whether Nasir will eventually want to do the necessary work to succeed—with or without his wife's assistance—or whether he would rather spend his time collecting art (he is the owner of the famed Al Sabah collection of Islamic art) and engaging in philanthropic activities.

On 24 January 2006, the al-Jabir branch held all three senior positions in Kuwait's government: emir, heir apparent, and prime minister. The most prominent al-Salim figure, Shaykh Dr. Muhammad al-Sabah al-Salim Al Sabah, was reconfirmed as foreign minister and made a deputy prime minister, even if under long-standing protocol he should have been elevated to either heirship or premiership.

### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

As a leading member of the ruling family and the government for more than forty years, Shaykh Sabah was involved in many issues, particularly those involving relations with Iraq, Iran, and the United States, that forged Kuwaiti foreign policy. He was perceived as an ally by many, especially Arab monarchs. Moreover, and because Jabir al-Ahmad was somewhat shy, his brother, Shaykh Sabah, was often the more visible representative

## DISCARD YOUR DIFFERENCES

For the sake of Kuwait and the future of its people, I urge you to discard your differences and stop accusing anyone without evidence because . . . this may result in grave consequences. . . . We must beware of the events going on around us and learn lessons from the country [Iraq] that is hit by conflicts and torn by differences, which have damaged its unity, impoverished its people and threatened its future.

EMIR SABAH AL-AHMAD AL-JABIR AL SABAH'S ADDRESS TO THE NATION ON THE FIRST ACCESSION ANNIVERSARY, 30 JANUARY 2007. IN "AMIR WARNS KUWAIT TO LEARN LESSON OF IRAQ: 'DISCARD YOUR DIFFERENCES.'" ARAB TIMES. AVAILABLE FROM [HTTP://WWW.ARABTIMESONLINE.COM](http://www.arabtimesonline.com).

of the clan. A staunch supporter of the national assembly, the new ruler conducted Kuwaiti foreign policy for the better part of four decades, certainly in his capacity as Foreign Minister since 1963, but also as official negotiator. In fact, if Abdullah bin Salim is considered the true father of contemporary Kuwait, and his son Sa'd al-Abdullah the liberator after the 1990 Iraqi invasion, then Shaykh Sabah must be deemed the visionary who untangled the emirate's alliances within the Gulf region as well as with Kuwait's powerful foreign patrons, especially the United States. Shaykh Sabah worked on developing the strategic cooperation between the United States and Kuwait in 1987, when a maritime protection regime was implemented to ensure freedom of navigation through the Gulf for eleven Kuwaiti tankers that were reflagged with U.S. markings. He focused on ties with the United States after the 2 August 1990 Iraqi invasion and occupation of Kuwait. Since liberation on 26 February 1991, Kuwait has secured new allies through the world, particularly United Nations (UN) Security Council members, by signing various defense agreements with the United Kingdom, Russia, and France. Ties with key Arab states, including Egypt and Syria, have also been sustained. In exchanged for massive Western assistance, Kuwait authorized the use of its territory before, during, and after the 2003 U.S.-led invasion of Iraq, although the emirate did not forgive previous Iraqi debt. While ties with Baghdad remained difficult, they no longer included the name-calling that was frequent when the Ba'ath ruled Baghdad. Likewise, Shaykh Sabah sought to improve ties with Iran, a neighboring power with long-term influence on

the emirate even if the latter has remained wary of Iran's hegemonic designs for the entire region.

Domestically, Shaykh Sabah is supportive of women's rights in Kuwait, and was a key player in the 2005 decision to grant women the right to vote. He also is a proponent of economic liberalization and increased foreign investment in the Kuwaiti oil sector.

### LEGACY

The dissolution of the Kuwaiti parliament in 2000 and the call for new elections on 3 July 2003 enlivened Kuwaiti politics, although the campaign that followed was dominated by a single item: the ruler's decision to give voting and other political rights to Kuwaiti women. This move was criticized in Islamist circles, leading to countercriticisms from liberal voices, diverting attention from what ailed Kuwaiti politics—the domination of the government by the ruling family. Although the National Assembly had been dissolved over a peripheral issue (a controversy over misprints in the Qur'an), Kuwait's quarrels between cabinets and parliaments have historically focused on the right of elected representatives to question, investigate, and reprimand officials—including those who happen to be members of the ruling Al Sabah family. Since these officials almost invariably include the ministers of foreign affairs, defense, interior, finance, and oil, parliamentary investigation of almost any major issue entails questioning an Al Sabah.

Kuwaitis expected key changes when Shaykh Sabah became heir apparent to the ailing 74-year-old Emir Sa'd Abdullah al-Salim. In the event, no changes were announced. Within a year, however, Kuwait experienced significant changes, with a full-fledged succession crisis in January 2006. Still, the direction Kuwait may go in and who will take it there are difficult to identify. Kuwaiti politics will clearly remain problematic for at least a generation.

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*Joseph Kechichian*

## AL SA'UD, AL-WALID BIN TALAL (1955–)

An internationally prominent businessman and investor, Saudi Prince Al-Walid (also Alwaleed) bin Talal bin Abd al-Aziz Al Sa'ud is the largest single foreign investor in the United States economy in the early twenty-first century.

### PERSONAL HISTORY

Prince Al-Walid is an internationally prominent investor as well as a nephew of the late King Fahd of Saudi Arabia (r. 1982–2005) and the incumbent monarch, King ABDULAH BIN ABD AL-AZIZ AL-SA'UD (r. 2005–). With a reported net financial worth of more than U.S.\$26 billion (according to *Arabian Business* magazine in 2006), Prince al-Walid is one of the world's wealthiest men.

Prince Al-Walid was born in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, on 7 March 1955. His father, Prince Talal bin Abd al-Aziz Al Sa'ud, was King Abd al-Aziz's twenty-first son, with a reputation for being a modernizer, a leader of the reform movement called the Young Najd (Najd being the name of the central Arabian plateau on which the national capital in Riyadh is located) and later the Free Princes, and an advocate for constitutionalism. Prince Talal's activist engagement in political issues at odds with the prevailing traditional system of governance in Saudi Arabia reached a point such that, in the early 1960s, a period synonymous with the zenith of modern pan-Arabism led by the United Arab Republic's then-president, Jamal Abd al-Nasir (Gamal Abdel Nasser) of Egypt, Talal's passport was suspended for several years, during which time he lived in exile in Egypt. Prince Al-Walid's mother, Princess Muna al-Sulh, is the daughter of independent Lebanon's first prime minister, Riyadh al-Sulh.

Prince Al-Walid's early life was marked by the separation (1962) and eventual divorce of his parents (1968). At the age of five he went to live with his mother in Beirut, where he attended elementary and middle school. In 1968, his father enrolled him in the King Abd al-Aziz Military Academy, where he remained until



*Al-Walid bin Talal Al Sa'ud*. AP IMAGES.

1973. In that year, at the age of eighteen, he wrote a letter to King Faysal asking that he be released to return to Lebanon. The request, considered rather bold coming from a teenager, was granted.

In 1974, Prince Al-Walid successively enrolled in the Shu'ayfat (Chouefiat) School outside of Beirut, then the Manor School in Beirut itself, and was set to continue his studies at the International College in Beirut (ICB). However, when the Lebanese Civil War broke out in 1975, he decided instead to enroll at Menlo College in Atherton, California. In 1976, he married Princess Dalal Al Sa'ud, also a member of the Saudi ruling family, and in 1978 their first son, Prince Khalid, was born in California.

Prince Al-Walid graduated from Menlo College in 1979 with a bachelor's degree in business administration, and returned to Saudi Arabia in hope of benefiting from the extraordinary oil boom then underway. His first business venture, Kingdom Establishment, was created in 1980 as a construction company with approximately U.S.\$30,000 in startup money from his father, Prince Talal. In the early 1980s his business focused on real estate and construction, fields in which he began to make considerable sums of money.

In 1982, Princess Dalal gave birth to a daughter, Princess Rim. In 1984 and 1985, Prince Al-Walid

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Al-Walid bin Talal bin Abd al-Aziz Al Sa'ud

**Birth:** 1955, Riyadh, Saudi Arabia

**Family:** Married and divorced Princess Dalal (married, 1976); children, Prince Khalid (21 April 1978), Princess Rim (20 June 1982); married and divorced Princess Iman Sudayri (married 1996); married Princess Khawlud (1999)

**Nationality:** Saudi Arabian

**Education:** B.A. (business administration), Menlo College, Atherton, California, 1979; M.A. (social science), Syracuse University, 1985

## PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1980:** Establishes first business, Kingdom Establishment
- **1988:** Purchases controlling shares in United Saudi Commercial Bank
- **1991:** U.S.\$590 million bailout of Citicorp
- **1994:** Purchases one-quarter share in Euro Disney
- **2001:** One month after the 11 September 2001 attacks, donates U.S.\$10 million to the Twin Towers Fund in New York; New York Mayor Rudolph Giuliani returns the check following Al-Walid's comments on American foreign policy
- **2005:** Donates U.S.\$20 million each to Harvard University, Georgetown University

returned to the United States to earn a master's degree in social science at Syracuse University in New York. Upon returning to Saudi Arabia, he set his sights on the banking sector. His purchase of controlling shares in the United Saudi Commercial Bank in 1988 helped bring about enormous increases in the bank's market value. This venture, together with his investment in and merger with Saudi Cairo Bank in 1997, was followed by the creation of United Saudi Bank. In the course of these investments, Prince Al-Walid's fortune grew substantially, burnishing his reputation in Saudi Arabia as a shrewd businessman and investor who was admired by financial strategists and observers in the kingdom and in Asian and Western commercial and banking sectors.

At the beginning of the 1990s, Prince Al-Walid rose to further prominence in international financial circles

with his U.S.\$590 million bailout of Citicorp. Previously, the company was perceived at near collapse and unable to attract significant investors who, in view of the circumstances, would be taking substantial risks. In spite of numerous cautionary signs from conservative investment advisers, who pointed out how potentially ruinous such a venture could be, Prince Al-Walid took the chance. His investment was announced in 1991, and the company's success (first as Citicorp and then Citigroup) in the ensuing years made it the cornerstone of Prince Al-Walid's fortune. Some have criticized the prince's Citicorp deal as a stroke of luck in comparison to some of his other less successful investments. However, Prince Al-Walid has defended himself on the basis of his overall record and the amount of research and consideration that went in to not only the Citicorp deal but his other business ventures as well.

Throughout the 1990s, Prince Al-Walid continued to invest internationally. Along with his Citicorp move, he made other large investments in the foreign hotel industry, with shares in Fairmont Hotels and Resorts (in which he had acquired a 50% share in 1994 when it was the Fairmont hotel chain), Four Seasons Hotels and Resorts, Movenpick, and others. One notable project in this field was his purchase of the King George V hotel in Paris in 1996, together with his announced aim of restoring the run-down property to its former glory. After extensive renovations, the hotel reopened in 1999 to great acclaim. Prince Al-Walid, along with other business associates, also invested heavily in London's troubled Canary Wharf, which at the time was Europe's largest real estate development project. As a result, the project's steady decline up until then was reversed (to the relief of British officials for whom the venture's failure to that point had been embarrassing), with the prince's subsequent sale of shares in 2000 earning him a considerable profit. Another of his investments to draw public attention was his U.S.\$345 million deal in 1994 for a 24 percent share in the financially faltering Euro Disney theme park, later renamed Disneyland Paris. After the prince's investment, the company registered initial success but by the early twenty-first century was faltering again.

Some of Prince Al-Walid's noteworthy investments have been in the entertainment sector. He began investing in the Lebanese Broadcasting Corporation's (LBC) satellite channel in 1993 through another investment in the Arab Radio and Television network (ART). In 2003, he acquired a 49 percent stake in LBC. In 1995, he purchased a 25 percent stake in the Saudi recording label, Rotana, which hosts many top Arab pop singers and musicians. By 2003, his stake in Rotana was 100 percent. By merging ART's music channel with Rotana, the prince created Rotana Music Channel as a 24-hour broadcast show, providing video clips featuring Rotana

artists. Other music channels were added to the Rotana portfolio, together with a feature where mobile phone users could send text messages scrolling across the screen, which proved especially profitable.

In the mid-1990s, Prince Al-Walid began work on a series of construction projects in Riyadh. The 994-foot high Kingdom Tower was built on land that he bought relatively inexpensively in an anxiety-laced economic atmosphere following Iraqi President SADDAM HUSSEIN's invasion of Kuwait on 2 August 1990. Kingdom Centre, the shopping mall situated at the base of the Tower, is also Prince Al-Walid's idea. Other Kingdom projects in Riyadh include the state-of-the-art Kingdom Hospital, the private Kingdom School, and Kingdom City, a residential community that houses many of the employees of Kingdom Hospital.

### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Prince Al-Walid's name became more widely recognized in the United States following the attacks of 11 September 2001. On the one-month anniversary commemoration of the attacks, Prince Al-Walid attended a memorial service in New York City, bringing with him a U.S.\$10 million dollar check for the Twin Towers Fund, which he presented to the city's mayor, Rudy Giuliani. A press release issued by Prince Al-Walid on the occasion made a critical reference to American foreign policy in the Middle East and especially toward the Palestinian issue. Upon learning of the press release, Giuliani took exception to what he contended was an inappropriate statement at an event meant to honor those who had perished in the tragedy of the month before. He said he considered the prince's statement unacceptable and, for that reason, returned the contribution. Prince Al-Walid refused to retract his statement. He asserted that all he was attempting through his observations was simply to speak the truth as an honest friend of the United States.

In December 2005, Prince Al-Walid made gifts of U.S.\$20 million each to America's Harvard and Georgetown Universities in a gesture, as reported by the *Washington Post*, designed to promote the study of Islam and the Muslim world. At the same time, he donated U.S.\$15 million each to The American University in Cairo and The American University in Beirut to enable them to establish the first American studies centers in the Arab world. The money allocated to Georgetown's Center for Muslim-Christian Understanding and Harvard's Islamic Studies Program was received and acknowledged with gratitude by the recipient institutions. The gifts themselves, however, prompted criticism from some American circles that claimed to be leery of the contributions being used to promote favorable views toward Muslim states and societies within American academia. Prince Al-Walid maintained the exact opposite, empha-

## CONTEMPORARIES

Few, if any, in within the Arab world's private sector, with the exception of a number who prefer to remain anonymous, combine Al-Walid's unparalleled commercial acumen with a penchant for assisting societies' handicapped and less well-endowed citizens, and who also associate themselves as unabashedly as he does with the need to build and maintain the strongest possible bridges of mutual understanding and respect between the Arab and Islamic worlds, on one hand, and with Western societies on the other. One of the closest of his countrymen would be the daughters and son of the late Sulayman Ulayan, whose charitable foundation is identified with similarly focused good works. Others would include the Juffali and Ali Rida families, together with the sons and daughters of the late Saudi King Faysal, whose King Faysal Foundation plays a major role in support of laudable endeavors spanning religion, science, medicine, and education, as well as library science, the undertaking of pioneering educational experimentation at the pre-collegiate level, and the facilitation of regular dialogue not only among Arab elites but also among the Arab world's future generation of leaders. Of those whose charitable deeds span national and international philanthropy with public service, one of the closest would have been the late RAFIQ HARIRI, prime minister of Lebanon before his assassination on 14 February 2005. Another would be Juma al-Majid, a businessman long known for his extraordinary success in a variety of commercial activities in the bustling UAE port city of Dubai, who has been similarly generous, albeit not on a comparable scale, in supporting a wide range of cultural, educational, and charitable activities, together with anonymous Saudi Arabians and other Gulf Cooperation Council countries' nationals who have long demonstrated their commitment to assisting worthy causes.

sizing that the gifts were meant to bridge misunderstandings between America and the Muslim world. To that end, he noted further that he neither had nor did he want to have control over how the money would be spent.

In the same spirit, in 2005, 2006, and 2007, Prince Al-Walid made additional financial contributions to various U.S. nongovernmental educational organizations, among them the American Arab Anti-Discrimination

Committee, the Arab American Institute, and the National Council on U.S.-Arab Relations. The vision and mission of these organizations shared similar objectives. One was a dedication to enhancing American understanding of Arab and Islamic culture. Another was a commitment to expanding American awareness and appreciation of the massive and multifaceted benefits that the United States as a whole has derived from its overall relationships with Saudi Arabia and other Arab countries, notwithstanding the jealousies and misrepresentations of these relationships that have incessantly been depicted negatively by various American, Israeli, and other critics. In 2007, Prince Al-Walid signaled an intention to concentrate the future international focus of his charitable and educational donations, beginning in 2008 and continuing beyond for an indeterminate period, upon two different geographic areas. One would be Great Britain and elsewhere among the European Union countries, as well as within Saudi Arabia itself. The other, as he revealed over the course of a lengthy interview with *Arabian Business* on 13 May 2007, would be Africa, where he believed international entrepreneurs who were also philanthropists had for too long failed to appreciate opportunities for conducting business and entering into profitable joint ventures.

#### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

Known as one of the world's three wealthiest and most philanthropic individuals, Prince Al-Walid's worth was estimated at 26 billion U.S. dollars in 2006. He is also known as the investor who financially rescued one of the most renowned international financial institutions, Citibank, in the early 1990s; as the single largest private individual foreign investor in the United States; as a prominent member of the world's largest ruling family; and as someone who is the exact opposite of the widely held negative stereotype of dynastic personalities who deign to work hard, are reluctant to take financial risks with their own money, and who perform the obligatory but seldom outsized major roles on a regular basis year round in using their money and offering strategic advice to assist such worthy causes as cross cultural educational understanding and the advancement of better health services, medical care, and living conditions among the world's less fortunate peoples.

#### LEGACY

Prince Al-Walid has frequently stated how deeply he has been influenced by the character of his grandfathers King Abd al-Aziz bin Abd al-Rahman Al Sa'ud, father of the modern kingdom of Saudi Arabia, and Riyadh al-Sulh, the first prime minister of independent Lebanon, both of whom he has cited as examples of honesty, uprightness, and generosity. Moreover, as one might expect, his childhood and youth in Lebanon and Saudi Arabia, represent-

ing two distinctly different geographic regions as well as similar yet significantly dissimilar variants of history, culture, and society in the Arab world, have also affected his outlook on and appreciation of the diverse positions and roles of Arab and Islamic countries in global affairs.

A key aspect of Prince Al-Walid's character to which he frequently has made reference is his and many of his fellow citizens' attachment to various features of Bedouin culture, however romanticized, selectively highlighted, and mythically remembered in association with its Arabian roots and manifestations. Indeed, as biographer Riz Khan has noted, Prince Al-Walid has long demonstrated a fondness for spending weekends in various desert settings outside Riyadh. According to Khan, Prince Al-Walid has said, "No big investment decision, no professional decision in my life, no personal decision has been made unless I come to the desert," which the prince has explained as providing him a chance to think and reconnect with his roots (Khan 2006).

In his approach toward business, Prince Al-Walid, in the eyes of many who have observed him closely or partnered with him in investment projects, has frequently been described as in tune with the norms of international corporate leaders. His early investments, for example, turned heads in Saudi Arabia not only for their effectiveness, but also for their aggressive, American-capitalist style of takeovers and reorganizations. Indeed, the prince has been viewed for years by international financial and commercial leaders and many of their counterparts among his fellow countrymen as something of a novelty among members of the Saudi Arabian ruling family. His admirers and critics alike have marveled at his preference for investments and contributions to humanitarian, charitable, and educational causes instead of conforming to a traditional stereotype, one frequently voiced by domestic and foreign anti-monarchy critics alike, of conspicuous consumption or maintenance of an indulgent lifestyle. Indeed, his detractors as well as those who have known, partnered with, and admire him, acknowledge his legendary work ethic and the extent to which his investments and business deals reveal a penchant for tireless and extensive research beforehand, followed by a propensity for hard bargaining.

Besides the attempted Twin Towers Fund donation and gifts to universities and nongovernmental, educational, and cultural organizations, Prince Al-Walid has contributed to numerous other projects and institutions, including the Carter Center at Emory University in Atlanta, Georgia, and the formation of a foundation in Lebanon focusing on medical care. In addition, he has donated considerable funds toward health, education, food aid, and HIV/AIDS research in sub-Saharan Africa. He is also known for his concern for Palestinian causes, having invested in the Palestinian Investment and Development Company, and founded the Jerusalem Develop-

ment and Investment Company with the goal of increasing Palestinians' leverage in developments in and related to the disputed city.

Within Saudi Arabia, Prince Al-Walid's overall impact on commerce and investment has been considerable. Among many examples are his investments in various economic sectors, among them the Kingdom properties, Rotana, the Savola foodservice group (the product of a series of mergers driven by the prince), and his transformation of the physical environment effected by the Kingdom Holding Company complex in Riyadh. The manner in which he has achieved so many business successes has inspired analysts to credit him not only with being able to navigate the kingdom's investment landscape adroitly as a skilled player of the international capitalist game, but managing to do so in a manner that has no counterpart among other wealthy Gulf Arabs. Beyond Saudi Arabia, Prince Al-Walid's impact as a businessman and investor has been as vast as it has been unique. An example is that he has remained for years the largest individual foreign investor in the American economy. His fortune, business acumen, and devotion to charity have helped refurbish for the better the many negative stereotyped images traditionally associated with ruling family personalities in Arabia and elsewhere. Certainly, few would deny his positive impact upon the way many have customarily viewed dynastic personalities vis-à-vis change amid constants, and constants amid change, alongside acts of charity and humanitarian goodwill benefiting Arab and Islamic societies.

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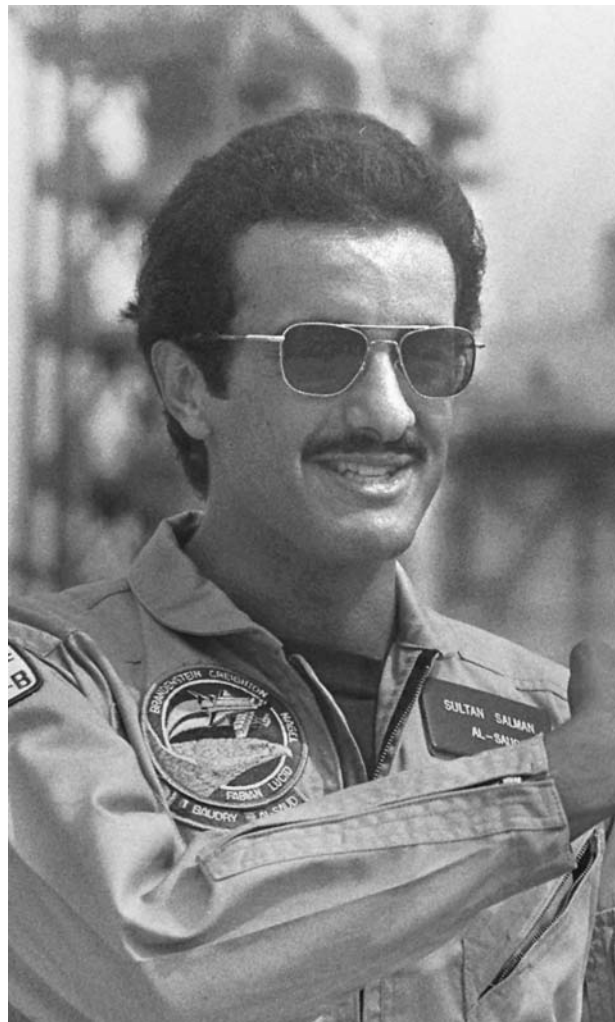
*John Duke Anthony*

## **AL SA'UD, SULTAN BIN SALMAN (1956–)**

Sultan bin Salman bin Abd al-Aziz Al Sa'ud is the first Saudi, first Arab, first Muslim, and first Middle Easterner in space.

#### **PERSONAL HISTORY**

Prince Sultan was born in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, on 27 June 1956. A prince of the Saudi royal family, he is the grandson of the founder of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia,



*Sultan bin Salman Al Sa'ud.* AP IMAGES.

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Sultan bin Salman Al Sa'ud

**Birth:** 1956, Riyadh, Saudi Arabia

**Family:** Married

**Nationality:** Saudi Arabian

**Education:** University of Denver; B.A., mass communications. Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs at Syracuse University; M.A., social and political science

### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1981:** Works in Saudi Ministry of Information
- **1985:** Fighter pilot, Saudi air force; astronaut aboard U.S. space shuttle *Discovery*; secretary general, Supreme Commission for Tourism

King Abd al-Aziz Al Sa'ud. His father, Prince Salman bin Abd al-Aziz, has been the governor of the Riyadh province since 1962, and is a very influential member of the royal family.

In 1981, Prince Sultan began working for the Department of International Communications of the Saudi Ministry of Information. He then worked as deputy director for the Saudi Arabian Olympic Committee beginning in 1984. Back at the Ministry of Information, he became acting director of the Department of Advertising in 1984. The following year, Prince Sultan joined the Royal Saudi Air Force. He eventually became qualified to fly the advanced American-made F-16 fighter-bomber. In 1996, Prince Sultan retired from the Saudi air force with the rank of colonel.

From 17 to 24 June 1985, Prince Sultan made history by becoming the first (and to date, only) Saudi astronaut, as well being as first Arab, the first Muslim, and the first Middle Easterner in space. He served as a payload specialist aboard the American space shuttle *Discovery* as a representative of the Arab Satellite Communications Corporation. As such, he helped launch the company's satellite, ARABSAT-1B, during the trip. Prince Sultan spent seven days, one hour, and thirty-eight minutes in space, and circled the earth 111 times. During the flight, he became the first person to pray Islamic prayers and read the Qur'an outside of the earth's atmosphere. Prince Sultan also spoke to Saudi Arabia's King Fahd from space, and conducted three experiments and two remote observation tasks. Despite the strict gender segregation back home in

Saudi Arabia, one of the space shuttle's crew members was a woman, Shannon Lucid.

Prince Sultan returned to a hero's welcome in Saudi Arabia. He was decorated and promoted to major in the air force. After his mission, Prince Sultan was one of a group of former astronauts who helped found the Association of Space Explorers, an organization whose membership is open to all former astronauts and cosmonauts from around the world. He also served on its board of directors, and brought former space travelers to conferences in Saudi Arabia.

Prince Sultan later devoted his energies to a number of nonprofit organizations and causes, particularly those related to the disabled. In 1989 and 1992, he served as chair of the Saudi Benevolent Association for Handicapped Children. He also chaired the board of trustees of the Prince Salman Center for Handicapped Research, and remained involved in the center for many years thereafter. He chaired the organizing committees for the First and Second International Conferences on Disability and Rehabilitation in Riyadh in 1993 and 2000, respectively. In 1997, Prince Sultan chaired the steering committee for Saudi Arabia's National Law for the Disabled. His interests extended in other directions, as well. From 1991 to 1998, the prince was honorary chair of the Saudi Computer Society and, from 1993 to 2000, honorary chair of the Al-Umran Saudi Association, which deals with architecture, historic preservation, and the built environment. From 2000 to 2001, Prince Sultan chaired the founding committee of the Saudi Aviation Club. Finally, he is general secretary and chair of the board of Saudi Arabia's Supreme Commission for Tourism.

### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

The prince's education in the United States and flight into space aboard an American space shuttle, as well as

## CONTEMPORARIES

Muhammad Ahmad Faris (1951-) was born in Aleppo, Syria, on 26 May 1951. A colonel in the Syrian air force specializing in navigation, Faris became the second Arab, the second Middle Easterner, and the first (and to date, only) Syrian to travel in space. In July 1987, he served as a research cosmonaut on the Soviet Soyuz TM-3 flight. He spent a total of seven days, twenty-three hours, and five minutes in space after blastoff from Baikonur, in the Kazakh Republic of the Soviet Union, on 23 July 1987.

## OPPORTUNITY AND EDUCATION . . . ARE THE KEYS . . . FOR OUR FUTURE

Looking at it [the earth] from up here, the troubles all over the world and not just in the Middle East look very strange as you see the boundaries and the border lines disappearing.

The Arab world is [1986] at a turning point. We have gone through the phases of oil, money and early technological development. The new generation is looking forward to joining the rest of the world by obtaining the most important things in that turnaround: opportunity and education. Together they are the keys that open the door for our future. My space flight is just a crack in that door.

SULTAN BIN SALMAN BIN ABD AL-AZIZ AL SA'UD, IN LAWTON, JOHN, AND PATRICIA MOODY. "A PRINCE IN SPACE." *SAUDI ARAMCO WORLD* (JANUARY-FEBRUARY 1986). AVAILABLE FROM [HTTP://WWW.SAUDIARAMCOWORLD.COM](http://www.saudiaramcoworld.com).

his record of military service and leadership in social issues in Saudi Arabia, were influenced by his family's commitment to state and social service domestically and maintenance of close relations with the United States diplomatically.

His space flight also contributed to a growing dialogue within the Islamic world in recent years about how the Islamic requirements of prayer and fasting can be carried out while in space. Prayer times, as well as the beginning and ending dates of the holy month of fasting, Ramadan, are set according to position of the sun and the moon as viewed from earth. How can this be accomplished in space? A believer also must wash with water prior to prayer, but how can this be done when water is rationed in space, and when astronauts function in a weightless environment? Prince Sultan's experience was surely on the mind of Malaysia's National Space Agency when it held a two-day conference on this topic in April 2006.

### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

While he became famous internationally because of his space flight, global attention has focused little upon Prince Sultan in the years since. The fact that two subsequent American space shuttle missions ended in disaster also has served to dim the memory of earlier space shuttle missions like the one involving Prince Sultan.

### LEGACY

Despite considerable attention given to Prince Sultan at the time of his 1985 space flight, little of lasting substance came of that particular space shuttle mission. His greatest international legacy will come from the fact that he was the first Saudi, first Arab, and first Muslim in space. His legacy within Saudi Arabia also will stem from his active involvement with the plight of the disabled in Saudi Arabia over the years since 1985.

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*Michael R. Fischbach*

## AL THANI, HAMAD BIN JASIM BIN JABR (1959–)

Hamad bin Jasim bin Jabr Al Thani (HBJ), Qatar's foreign minister, has served the state since 1982. In the 1980s, he took the sensitive job of overseeing the ruling family trust from oil revenues. He rose through the ranks rapidly; appointed minister of municipalities and agriculture, then acting minister of electricity and water, he became foreign minister in 1992 at the age of 33. His close personal ties with the crown prince, now emir, helped in this rise. From the beginning of his career he has exhibited a decisive personality as well as an ability to avoid controversy.

### PERSONAL HISTORY

HBJ was born in Doha in 1959. He is the cousin of the current emir, Shaykh HAMAD BIN KHALIFA AL THANI. His father, Jasim bin Jabr, who died in 2000, was a senior member of the Al Thani ruling family. (In his memory, HBJ, along with two of his brothers, established a multi-million-dollar charity fund.) After finishing high school in Doha, HBJ went to Egypt for further studies, but cut them short. He later went to Britain to study English.

In 1982, upon returning from Britain, HBJ was appointed director of the Office of the Minister of Municipalities and Agriculture. On 7 July 1989, he was promoted to minister. In this capacity he developed Qatar's fishing and agricultural sectors. In 1990, he was appointed deputy, and later acting, minister of electricity and water, in addition to his post as minister of municipalities and agriculture. He also sat on the boards of



*Hamad bin Jasim bin Jabr Al Thani.* AP IMAGES.

several high-level government institutions. These posts gave him working experience in Qatar's public and private sectors, but his real political breakthrough came at the end of the 1980s, when he was appointed head of the ruling family's oil-funded trust by the emir, Shaykh Khalifa bin Hamad Al Thani (in Qatar, as in other Gulf Cooperation Council [GCC] countries, the ruling family keeps a significant portion of the country's oil revenue). HBJ doled out monthly stipends, managing this delicate job very successfully. On 2 September 1992, Shaykh Khalifa, who was also prime minister, appointed HBJ foreign minister.

HBJ owes much of his success as foreign minister to his personal ties to the current emir, Shaykh Hamad. When Hamad was crown prince (1977–1995), he slowly began to increase his power and his grip on state affairs. By 1992, he was running the day-to-day affairs of the state, for all practical purposes. When his father, Shaykh Khalifa, appointed a new cabinet in September 1992, Hamad was able to place allies in sensitive ministries. Particularly important were HBJ and another cousin, Abdullah bin Hamad al-Atiyya, who became minister of energy, industry, water, and electricity. These men maintained their support for Hamad when he staged a bloodless palace coup against his father on 27 June 1995, making himself emir.

Relations between HBJ and al-Atiyya during the 1990s were competitive, clouding the political atmosphere, but these two remain the most powerful men in the government after the emir. In 2003, Shaykh Hamad rewarded both for their service and loyalty: In addition to their other posts, HBJ was named first deputy and al-Atiyya second deputy prime minister.

**Foreign Minister** One of the first tasks of HBJ as foreign minister was to deal with Saudi Arabia on border issues. These go back to the 1930s. In 1965, the two countries signed a border agreement, but the Qataris still feel that Saudi Arabia is holding territory belonging to them. (Qataris also resent what they consider to be Saudi Arabia's "big brother" attitude toward them and the other smaller GCC states.) Relations between Saudi Arabia and Qatar at this time were especially tense; there was a Saudi attack on a Qatari border post on 30 September 1992 and there were ill feelings among the ruling family as well as the Qatari population. HBJ was able to settle this particular dispute in a manner favorable to Qatar. In general, Qatar tries to balance its regional foreign policy by taking into consideration its biggest neighbors, Saudi Arabia and Iran.

Another important dispute that HBJ had to deal with was a border dispute over several offshore islands with Bahrain, which also goes back to the 1930s. This was finally settled peacefully on 16 March 2001 when the

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Hamad bin Jasim bin Jabr Al Thani

**Birth:** 1959, Doha, Qatar

**Family:** Two wives; eleven children, six boys and five girls

**Nationality:** Qatari

**Education:** High school, Qatar

### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1982:** Appointed director of the Office of the Minister of Municipalities and Agriculture
- **1980s:** Head of the ruling family's trust
- **1989:** Appointed minister of municipalities and agriculture
- **1990:** Appointed acting minister of electricity and water
- **1992:** Appointed foreign minister
- **2003:** Appointed first deputy prime minister



World Court granted Bahrain sovereignty over the Hawar Islands and Qitat Jarada shallows and gave Qatar Zubara and the shallows surrounding the Islet of Fisht al-Dibal. Both countries have agreed to abide by the ruling.

Besides being foreign minister, HBJ holds several other sensitive positions. He sits on the Supreme Defense Council, heads Qatar's Permanent Committee for the Support of al-Quds (Jerusalem), is a member of the Ruling Family Council, and served on the Constitutional Committee that drafted the 2005 permanent constitution. He also sits on the Supreme Council for the Investment of the Reserves of the State.

HBJ is known to be one of the wealthiest men in Qatar. He has a stake in many of the projects that have changed Doha from a sleepy town to a city with a high-rise skyline in the last few decades, including hotels, restaurants, and new commercial and residential real estate projects in the fashionable al-Dafna district near the Doha corniche and along the Persian Gulf shoreline. He is the owner of the widely circulated newspaper *al-Watan*, one of three Arabic language dailies in Qatar (the other two are *al-Raya* and *al-Sharq*).

Little is known about HBJ's private life. He has no history of controversial public behavior, unlike some members of the ruling family. He has two wives, one of them from the Al Thani family and the other a daughter of Abd al-Aziz bin Turki, a former minister of education, and eleven children.

#### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

HBJ was raised as a member of Qatar's establishment. He grew up when Qatar was already independent and most of its institutions had been established. His evident talents as well as his family connections contributed to his rapid rise.

His main contribution has been giving Qatar an international presence, using its oil and oil-derived wealth to offset its small size. After more than fourteen years, HBJ has proven himself to be one of the most astute and pragmatic foreign ministers in the Arab world. He promotes Qatar in international relations and travels extensively, sometimes mediating international conflicts, especially inter-Arab conflicts. He has helped make Qatar a venue for international meetings and conferences, including in recent years the summit of the World Trade Organization (WTO) in 2001 (the Doha Round), the meeting of the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC) in 2002, and the Asian Games in 2006. The emir and HBJ have also opened Qatar to political refugees in the Muslim and Arab worlds. These include former Iraqi Ba'athist leaders and even some members of SADDAM HUSSEIN's family who sought refuge in 2003. Qatar, against the wishes of other GCC states, was one of the first countries to restore diplomatic relations with Iraq after the Gulf War of 1991. In 1996, Qatar allowed the

## QATAR HAS TAKEN LONG STRIDES ON THE PATH OF DEMOCRATIZATION

The Qatar Foreign Minister hailed the positive and praiseworthy efforts being exerted by parliamentarians to mobilize the broader Middle East reconstruction process, as visualized by the NATO parliamentary group. "Such favorable endeavors should be viewed with due appreciation because they undoubtedly help the democracy-building orientations, already underway in the region..." He affirmed that the state of Qatar has embarked on and is still endeavoring to complete the construction of a modern, institutionalized state on the basis of the constitution and the rule of law to guarantee civil rights and to define the privileges and the obligations of citizenship in a society based on modernization, reform and development. "This policy... has been a home-grown outcome, visualized by H.H. the Emir Sheikh Hamad bin Khalifa Al Thani... years before any initiative to promote reform and democratization in the region was launched... The state of Qatar has taken long strides on the path of democratization and has gone a long way in broadening the scope of people's participation in running the country's affairs, by contributing to decision-making and to the building up of constitutional institution."

"QATAR HOSTS MEDITERRANEAN DIALOGUE SYMPOSIUM." NATO AND THE BROADER MIDDLE EAST. UPDATED 26 NOVEMBER 2005. AVAILABLE FROM [HTTP://WWW.QATAR-CONFERENCES.COM/NATO/NEWS4.HTML](http://www.qatar-conferences.com/nato/news4.html).

opening of an Israeli trade mission in Doha, the first Israeli mission of its kind to open in any GCC country. The Israelis were allowed to attend the WTO meeting in Doha in 2001 and several other Israeli delegations have visited Doha since then. During the Israel-Hizbullah war in Lebanon in July and August 2006, HBJ visited Israel to hold talks with Israeli officials before attending an Arab League foreign ministers' meeting in Beirut. Immediately after that war, Shaykh Hamad visited Lebanon with HBJ and praised the Lebanese resistance, promising a generous donation to help in the reconstruction of Lebanon, but at the same time asked all parties to engage in negotiations.

#### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

World perceptions of Qatar have generally been positive, especially in the United States. The active foreign policy of

Qatar and its disproportionately important place in the global capitalist economic order has led many foreign countries to open embassies and missions in Doha. Relations between Qatar and the United States are generally close, thanks to the efforts of HBJ and the emir. Both men have visited the United States several times and U.S. presidents Bill Clinton and George W. Bush have visited Qatar.

A constant headache for Qatar, and for HBJ in particular, is the criticism from foreign countries and leaders, both Arab and non-Arab, concerning its satellite TV station al-Jazeera. Al-Jazeera, established in 1996, is known for its daring reporting and its open criticism of foreign countries and leaders. Many governments have protested to HBJ about programs they consider offensive, and have sometimes withdrawn their ambassadors from Qatar, as Tunisia did in October 2006. The standard answer from HBJ to such protests is that al-Jazeera is independent and Qatar has no control over it. It should be noted, however, that the Qatar government still directly finances the station.

#### LEGACY

HBJ has, almost single-handedly, created the basis for modern Qatari diplomacy, aided by the vision of the current emir for a modern Qatar. Qatar's place in the international arena is due largely to his efforts.

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*Louay Babry*

## AL THANI, HAMAD BIN KHALIFA (1950–)

Hamad bin Khalifa Al Thani, known as Shaykh Hamad, is the ruler of the Emirate of Qatar.

#### PERSONAL HISTORY

The current emir of Qatar, the seventh to rule, is a descendant of the state's founder, Shaykh Muhammad bin Thani Al Thani, who in the 1870s defeated the Bahrainis who were then in possession of the region. Shaykh Hamad finished his primary and secondary schooling in Doha, and then attended the British Royal Military Academy, Sandhurst, where he completed a nine-month training program and was then commissioned a lieutenant colonel in the Qatari armed forces. His commission came just months before his father, Shaykh Khalifa bin Hamad Al Thani, then crown prince, overthrew the reigning emir, Shaykh Ahmad bin Ali Al Thani, on 22 February 1972, in a nonviolent palace coup whose cause is still not entirely clear. The reason given was the failure of Shaykh Ahmad to remove elements hindering Qatar's progress and modernization. Western observers in Doha reported that Shaykh Khalifa acted when he learned that Shaykh Ahmad was planning to replace him as crown prince with his son Abd al-Aziz.



*Hamad bin Khalifa Al Thani.* AP IMAGES.

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Hamad bin Khalifa Al Thani (Shaykh Hamad)

**Birth:** 1952

**Family:** First wife, Mariam Bint Hamad Al Thani; seven children; second wife, Mawza bint Nasir al-Misnad; seven children; third wife, Nura Bint Khalid Al Thani; seven children

**Nationality:** Qatari

**Education:** Primary and secondary school, Doha, Qatar; nine-month training program, British Royal Military Academy, Sandhurst

### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1977:** Appointed crown prince and minister of defense (31 May)
- **1989:** Establishes Higher Council of General Development
- **1995:** Declares himself emir after ousting his father in bloodless coup
- **1996:** Al-Jazeera begins broadcasting
- **1998:** Abolishes Ministry of Information, ending formal government control of the press; grants women the right to vote
- **1999:** Holds general election for first municipal council
- **2005:** Reconciles with father

During Shaykh Hamad's youth, there were profound changes in his country. The export of oil from Qatar on a regular commercial basis began in 1949 and Qatar's income began to rise. It was during this period that the first administrative institutions were created, beginning with the ministries of education (1957) and finance (1960); British civil servants and professionals came to Qatar to run the departments of water, electricity, police, and telecommunications, and in 1946 the first modern hospital was opened. The first primary school for boys was opened in 1951 and one for girls in 1954. By the 1960s, high schools were graduating many Qataris and authorities were sending students abroad to attend universities and colleges.

At that time, Qatar was an official protectorate of the British, based on a treaty signed in 1916. However, by the 1960s, Qatar began to replace British civil servants

with young, educated Qataris and other Arab nationals, laying the basis for a Qatari civil service. In 1968 the British government announced its intention to withdraw from the Persian Gulf and put forth a proposal to federate the principalities of Bahrain, Qatar, and the seven emirates that now constitute the United Arab Emirates (UAE). This proposal failed, and on 3 September 1971, Qatar officially announced its independence.

When the young Shaykh Hamad returned from Britain after his years at Sandhurst, he was made commander of Qatar's Army Mobile Brigade, which, with the help of foreign specialists, he developed into an elite force. He was later promoted to major general and appointed commander-in-chief of Qatar's armed forces. In this capacity, he oversaw an extensive program to expand and modernize the military. In 1975 when members of the Al Thani family staged a mutiny against the central government, Shaykh Hamad used his mobile brigade to march on them and suppress the uprising. On 31 May 1977, his father appointed him crown prince, and at the same time made him minister of defense.

Shaykh Hamad also showed a keen interest in developing youth organizations and expanding sports and athletic activities. He chaired the Higher Council for Youth Welfare, created in 1979, which opened clubs and sponsored youth activities, and established a military sports association. More significantly, in 1989 Shaykh Hamad established the Higher Council of General Development. The main task of this organization was to build the modern state of Qatar; it is still functioning today.

**Hamad Becomes Emir** In time, the duties and involvement of Shaykh Hamad in government affairs increased substantially. Gradually, his father, Shaykh Khalifa, took more time off, leaving his son in charge of affairs. As time went on, the emir became increasingly suspicious of people and was slow in making decisions on important issues, letting government files accumulate without action. On 27 June 1995, while the emir was vacationing in Switzerland, Shaykh Hamad seized power in a bloodless coup, ousting his father and declaring himself emir. News of the takeover did not come as a surprise to most Qataris, who believed that affairs could not continue as they were for much longer. The rest of the ruling family and other important personalities quickly gave their support to the new emir. One of the most important factors behind the coup was the slow pace of economic development even while Qatar was accumulating oil money. Shaykh Hamad soon began a modernization program.

Soon after the coup, Shaykh Khalifa returned from Europe and settled in the UAE, where he attempted to get help from neighboring countries to reinstate himself. On 20 February 1996, the Qatari government announced that it had foiled a coup attempt by "foreign-

backed saboteurs,” presumably in his support. Following this announcement, hundreds of people who were suspected of participating in the coup attempt were arrested and put on trial. This trial lasted several years. In February 2000, a verdict was announced: Some defendants were acquitted, some were sentenced to death, life in prison, or lesser sentences. However, by the end of 2006, no one had been executed. For years after the coup attempt, Shaykh Hamad remained suspicious of the al-Ghufran clan of the powerful al-Murrah tribe, many of whose members had participated in the coup. In 2005, the emir deported some 5,000 members of that clan to Saudi Arabia; they were fired from their jobs and stripped of their Qatari nationality. The deportation affected some 2.5 percent of the native Qatar population, totaling around 200,000. Some of the exiles have since been allowed to return; others remain scattered in the countries of the Gulf. The official reason for this act was that this large number of people held dual nationality—Saudi and Qatari—not permitted by Qatari law.

One of the complications of the 1996 coup was financial, as Shaykh Khalifa had kept billions of dollars in personal accounts, money that by right belonged to the state treasury. It took a good deal of maneuvering and negotiations for the new emir to get some of these funds back to Qatar in a deal reached in 1997. Finally, father and son reconciled, and the former emir returned to Qatar, where he has resided since 2005.

#### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Both Saudi Arabia and Qatar adhere to the strict Wahhabi sect of Islam. Shaykh Hamad, however, is liberal in the application of religion and does not impose his religious views on others. Since 2002 he has allowed at least two churches to open in the country. But even as crown prince, the emir did not hesitate to crack down on members of his family involved in cases of corruption.

Domestically, Shaykh Hamad rules a country with little political opposition to his regime. The al-Qa’ida terrorist organization and the Islamic extremists have shown few manifestations there. A noted exception, however, came in March 2005, when militants used a car bomb to attack a theater in Doha, killing a British citizen and twelve other people. Another worry over domestic stability comes from concern over the emir’s health; he has already had one kidney transplant.

Since the rise of modern Qatar in the 1870s, the position of emir has alternated among branches of the ruling family, rather than passing from father to son. This has made the appointment of the next emir a sensitive issue, one that has had to be agreed on by the entire family. Shaykh Hamad has put an end to this tradition. In Article Eight of the new permanent constitution, he has limited the succession to his direct line

of male descendants. The constitution, however, preserves some of the prerogatives of the Al Thani family by providing that the appointment of the crown prince should come after consultation and approval of members of the ruling family and notables. The tradition in Qatar is that members of the ruling family and other Qatari personalities visit the ruler and heir apparent after they assume these positions and pledge allegiance to them.

**Elections, Media, and the Role of Women** One of Shaykh Hamad’s most surprising reforms came in November 1995, when he announced his intention to hold general elections for the first municipal council in Qatar. These elections were held in March 1999, and were repeated in 2003. The 29-member Qatari Municipal Council was groundbreaking in two ways. First, although other Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) countries had municipal councils, the Qatari council was the first to be elected. Subsequently, other Gulf countries, such as Kuwait, Bahrain, and even Saudi Arabia, followed suit. Second, the emir gave both men and women the right to vote, the first time women in any GCC country were given the vote.

Shaykh Hamad also took steps to open up the media, with a remarkable impact, not only in Qatar but in the Arab world as a whole. The first step was to abolish the ministry of information on 13 March 1998, thus ending formal government control of the press. The second and more important was the establishment of the satellite TV channel, al-Jazeera. The idea of al-Jazeera was first conceived by Shaykh Hamad in 1994, while he was still crown prince. It began broadcasting in November 1996. Initially, the Qatari government donated about \$137 million to initiate al-Jazeera, hoping that in time it would become self-supporting. Ten years later, al-Jazeera is still dependent on the government for its financial support, but it has made a huge impact on the Arab world. Al-Jazeera operates independently of the Qatari government with frank and daring reporting; no other TV station is able to broadcast continuously without censorship. Many Arab and other international leaders have protested to the emir and to Foreign Minister HAMAD BIN JASIM BIN JABR AL THANI about its “unfair” reporting, but the Qatari government continues to support it. Other Arab satellite stations have tried to compete with limited success.

Shaykh Hamad has also supported the entry of women into the public sphere in Qatar. Women’s education has spread rapidly and today at Qatar University, an institution with more than 10,000 students, almost 75 percent are women. Qatari women now have the right to vote in municipal and national elections and are appointed to some top jobs. In May 2003, Dr. Shaykha al-Mahmud was appointed minister of education, the

first woman to hold a cabinet position in any GCC country. In July 2003, another woman, Dr. Shaykha al-Misnad, a professor of education at Qatar University, was appointed president of the university in 2003, another first for women in the GCC. Women and men sometimes work side by side in government offices and women receive equal salaries and pensions. The progress of Qatari women is due in part to the emir's second wife, Shaykha MAWZA BINT NASIR AL-MISNAD, who has encouraged her husband to serve the cause of women and is herself a role model. She campaigned hard to secure rights for Qatari women and she participates in important women's conferences in Qatar, the Gulf, and the world. She also heads the Qatar Foundation for Education, Science and Social Development, established in 1996. The foundation controls Education City, which includes branches of several major American and other Western universities. The emir's sister, Princess A'isha bint Khalifa Al Thani, is also active in public life.

The increasing role of women in Qatar has met with some resistance from Islamic conservatives who see the new role for women as contrary to Islamic teaching. When the Emir decided in 1998 to give women the right to vote, protests were heard from Islamists. One of these was Dr. Abd al-Rahman bin Umayr al-Nu'a'ymi, professor of history at Qatar University. He was so vocal that the emir had him arrested and put in jail, although they were friends. After a thousand days without a trial, Dr. Nu'a'imi was released, but he still expresses his conservative Islamic views and heads an important intellectual center.

**The Qatari Economy** Since the accession of Shaykh Hamad to power, Qatar has experienced enormous economic expansion, particularly in opening up private business and investment opportunities, especially in the development of its hydrocarbon resources. In 1971 Shell discovered Northfield, the world's largest maritime gas reservoir, about 55 miles northeast of Qatar, and by 2000 Qatar was the world's third largest producer of liquid gas (Qatar is believed to have the second largest reserves of natural gas in the world). Qatar has also made progress in the social and educational sectors and in building its infrastructure.

In the early 1990s, as crown prince, Shaykh Hamad developed a policy for the development of Qatar's oil and gas that has given the country one of the highest per capita incomes in the world (\$46,000 in 2005 and rising steadily). To achieve this development Shaykh Hamad allied himself with the oil giant Mobil, allowing the company to build new oil infrastructure and to acquire the shipping and marketing rights to Qatar gas. This relationship has made Mobil (now ExxonMobil) a leading partner in Qatar's hydrocarbon industry and integrated the country firmly into the global capitalist economy. The Qatar-Mobil oil and gas deals of the 1990s were influential in persuading

Shaykh Hamad to establish closer political and security ties with the United States. These ultimately led to the establishment of al-Udayd military base, one of the largest U.S. military facilities outside the United States.

Today Doha is one of the main centers for international conferences and meetings. For example, Qatar hosted the summit conference for the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC) in 2002 and the World Trade Organization (WTO) summit in 2001, now known as the Doha Round. Qatar also hosted the 15th Asian Games in December 2006. Work is underway to open roads, hotels, shopping centers, and skyscrapers which are rising in the fashionable al-Dafna area of Doha along the waterfront.

#### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

Shaykh Hamad has opened the doors of Qatar to political refugees from many countries in the Arab and Islamic worlds. Among them are former Ba'athist leaders, including members of SADDAM HUSSEIN's family who fled Iraq after the fall of the regime in 2003. Qatar is now playing an active role in regional and international politics. Despite Arab protests, the emir allowed Israel to open a trade mission in Doha in 1996, and since then a number of Israeli delegations have visited. The Qatari foreign minister has paid more than one visit to Israel. Qatar was also one of the first GCC countries to reestablish diplomatic relations with Iraq after the 1991 Gulf War. Qatar also frequently plays a role in mediating international disputes elsewhere in the Arab world. In 2003, Qatar also tried unsuccessfully to persuade Hussein to step aside and avoid a military confrontation with the United States. Shaykh Hamad was the only Arab leader to visit Beirut after the August 2006 war between Hizbullah and Israel; while there he created a stir when he praised the "Lebanese resistance" and offered generous donations to help reconstruct Lebanon. Qatar was the only Arab country to offer to participate in the United Nations (UN) international force to be stationed on the Lebanese-Israeli border in the aftermath of the war. In 2006, Qatar obtained a seat as a nonpermanent member of the UN Security Council.

Behind the new Qatari *weltpolitik* is, besides the emir, his foreign minister, Shaykh Hamad bin Jasim bin Jabir Al Thani. There is little doubt that this policy is costing Qatar money in donations, support for foreign countries and causes, and other expenses. In return, Qatar and its emir are getting a strong international image and recognition.

The Qataris under Shaykh Hamad have shown flexibility in solving one of the oldest of Qatar's problems—its border dispute with Bahrain over several offshore islands. This dispute goes back to the 1930s, but was finally settled on 16 March 2001 when the world court granted Bahrain sovereignty over the Hawar Islands and the Qit'at Jarada Shallows. Qatar was awarded sovereignty

over Zubara and the shallows surrounding the Islet of Fasht al-Dibal. Both Qatar and Bahrain have stated that they will abide by the court ruling.

#### LEGACY

It is too early to assess Shaykh Hamad's permanent legacy, but it is likely that he will be remembered for his work in helping Qatar become increasingly visible on the world stage as well as the strides toward modernization that Qatar has taken during his reign.

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*Louay Bahry*

## AL THANI, SA'UD BIN MUHAMMAD BIN ALI (1964–)

A native of Qatar, Sa'ud (also Saud) bin Muhammad bin Ali Al Thani has been described as one of the foremost art collectors in the world.

#### PERSONAL HISTORY

A cousin of the emir of Qatar, although from the rival al-Ahmad branch of the family, Al Thani was born in 1964.

### BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Sa'ud (Saud) bin Muhammad bin Ali Al Thani

**Birth:** 1964, Qatar

**Family:** Married; three children

**Nationality:** Qatari

#### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1997:** President, Qatar's National Council for Culture, Arts, and Heritage
- **2002:** Purchases more than £15 million on Islamic art on auction in Britain, including the Clive of India treasure
- **2005:** Dismissed from his post

#### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

By the turn of the twenty-first century, Shaikh Sa'ud had established an international reputation as an avid art collector, both for his own collection as well as those of several state-owned museums he oversaw in Qatar. As president of Qatar's National Council for Culture, Arts, and Heritage since 1997, he was entrusted with creating the collections to fill an ambitious program of world-class museums in Qatar, including a Museum of Islamic Art (designed by world-famous architect I. M. Pei), a combined Qatar National Library and Natural History Museum, a Museum of Photography, and a Museum of Traditional Clothes & Textiles.

Shaikh Sa'ud apparently bottomless pockets (one source estimated his purchases at U.S.\$1.5 billion) and the wide scope of his interests attracted headlines. He regularly competed with rival Kuwaiti art collector NASIR AL-SABAH AL-AHMAD AL SABAH for such purchases. By 2003, observers were describing him as the world's foremost buyer of art. In May 2004, his agents spent more than £15 million on Islamic art on auction in Britain, some of the pricier items being examples of Mughal jewelry. He also was known to snap up Turkish Iznik pottery, Mamluk glasswork, manuscripts, and metalwork, as well as Egyptian antiques and decorative artwork by Fabergé. His June 2002 purchase of the Jenkins Venus, a marble Roman statue of the goddess Venus, for £7,926,650, represented the highest price ever paid for an antiquity at auction. In April 2004, he paid £3 million for the Clive of India treasures, which formerly had been displayed at the Victoria and Albert Museum in London. The British art establishment was so concerned about the prospect of such a treasure leaving

Britain that the British government did not initially issue an export license for the item. Shaikh Sa'ud eventually stopped asking for a license, and the item remained in his possession but stayed in Britain.

Shaikh Sa'ud has also expressed an interest in wildlife preservation. He turned his estate at al-Wabra into a conservation center. In late February 2005, he was abruptly dismissed from his position and placed under house arrest for alleged misuse of public funds and his London office, the Islamic Art Society, was closed and liquidated.

#### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

The extravagant sums that Shaikh Sa'ud was willing to spend amassing Islamic art over the course of a decade starting in the 1990s made him a household name among international art collectors and prestigious auction houses such as Sotheby's and Christie's. His famous bidding wars with fellow collectors also drove up the price of Islamic art treasures to the extent that smaller collectors were edged out of the market. He once paid 113 times the estimated price for an object he wanted badly (a jewel-encrusted jade flask from Mughal India that was part of the Clive of India treasures, for which he paid £901,250). Within Qatar, his purchases sometimes raised eyebrows. This was particularly true with the Jenkins Venus, a sensual female nude statue, although the sums he spent also were the cause of some concern in Qatar.

#### LEGACY

Sa'ud bin Muhammad bin Ali Al Thani will be remembered for helping establish the Museum of Islamic Art in Doha as one of the premier collections of Islamic art in the world.

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J. E. Peterson

## AMARI, RAJA (1971–)

Raja Amari is a Tunisian film director.

#### PERSONAL HISTORY

Born in 1971 in Tunis, Tunisia, Amari trained as a belly dancer at the Conservatoire de Tunis (Tunis conservatory) and also received a degree in Romance languages with an emphasis on art history from the University of Tunis.

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Raja Amari

**Birth:** 1971, Tunis, Tunisia

**Nationality:** Tunisian

**Education:** Studied dance at the Conservatoire de Tunis (Tunis conservatory); graduated from the University of Tunis with a degree in Romance languages with an emphasis on art history; film studies in Paris at the Institut de Formation et d'Enseignement pour les Métiers de l'Image et Son (National higher institute for audiovisual media studies) between 1994 and 1998

#### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1995:** Releases film *Le bouquet* (The Bouquet)
- **1997:** *Avril* (April)
- **2000:** *Un soir de juillet* (One Evening in July)
- **2002:** *Satin Rouge* (Red Satin)

After working as a film critic for *Cinécrit* (1992-1994) she moved on to film studies in Paris at the Institut de Formation et d'Enseignement pour les Métiers de l'Image et Son (National higher institute for audiovisual media studies) between 1994 and 1998.

#### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Amari went on to become a film director. She lists as her influences Pier Paolo Pasolini, François Truffaut, and the new French cinema, as well as actresses from Egyptian musicals from the 1940s and 1950s, such as Samia Gamal, whose freedom and ability to shift between Oriental and Occidental styles reflect Amari's own love of dance.

Her short films include *Le bouquet* (The Bouquet; 1995), *Avril* (April; 1997), and *Un soir de juillet* (One Evening in July; 2000). Her award-winning, full-length film *Satin Rouge* (Red Satin; 2002) focuses on the transformative powers of self-expression, which a middle-aged Tunisian widow, the seamstress Lilia, discovers through belly dancing. Although it is common for Arab and Tunisian films to present women as being in conflict with society, Amari notes she was interested in how Lilia adapts to social hypocrisy, to the distance between individual desire and social mores, doing as she wishes while avoiding a frontal attack.

## THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

Amari became well known after the release of *Satin Rouge*. It won the Public Prize for the best African film at the 2002 Montréal Film Festival, the New Director's Showcase Award at the 2002 Seattle International Film Festival, and the Prize of the City of Turin for best international feature film at the 2002 Turin International Festival of Young Cinema.

## LEGACY

The world is still waiting for more to come from Amari, and it thus remains too early to assess her long-lasting legacy.

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Laura Rice

updated by Michael R. Fischbach

## AMER, GHADA (1963–)

Ghada Amer is an acclaimed Egyptian avant-garde artist working in New York, and one of the best known Arab contemporary artists working in the West today.

## PERSONAL HISTORY

Amer was born in 1963 in Cairo, Egypt, to a family of Muslim Egyptians. In 1974 her family moved to France, and she obtained a B.F.A. in 1986 and an M.F.A. in 1989 from École Pilote Internationale d'Art et de Recherche, Villa Arson, Nice, France. In 1991 she finished her studies at the Institut des Hautes Études en Arts Plastiques in Paris, and later studied at the School of the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston. In 1996, she moved to New York. Three years later Amer was an artist-in-residence at The Art Institute in Chicago, and a recipient of a United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) fellowship at the Venice Biennale in 1999. She currently is based in New York.

## INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

While traveling from France back to Egypt in 1988, Amer noticed how many more women were wearing veils, and also discovered the magazine *Venus*. It took photos of Western models and superimposed on them more conservative clothes, hairstyles, and veils, in order to depict the women in a more conservative, Islamically acceptable way. Inspired by the concept both of the odd juxtaposition of cultural attitudes toward women and the idea of superimposing one art medium onto another, she began experimenting with placing embroidery on top of paintings and

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Ghada Amer

**Birth:** 1963, Cairo, Egypt; resident of New York

**Nationality:** Egyptian

**Education:** B.F.A., 1986, and M.F.A., 1989, École Pilote Internationale d'Art et de Recherche, France; Institut des Hautes en Plastiques, France, 1991; School of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, MA

### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1988:** Sees a copy of *Venus* magazine, transforming her vision of her artwork
- **1995:** Featured at the Istanbul Biennale
- **1996:** Moves to New York
- **1999:** Artist-in-residence at The Art Institute in Chicago; recipient of a UNESCO fellowship at the Venice Biennale
- **2000:** Show at the Tel Aviv Museum of Art, the first-ever solo show for an Arab artist at the museum
- **2004:** Show at the Modern Art Institute, Valencia, Spain
- **2005:** Paints "Knotty But Nice" (later featured on the cover of *ARTNews* in September 2006)
- **2005:** *Global Feminisms* show at the Brooklyn Museum
- **2006:** Show at the Gagosian Gallery, New York

photographs. For her, painting always has been a male-dominated art form, whereas embroidery long has been understood as belonging to the world of women. She chose to combine the two media, symbolically feminizing a male space. Amer works with textile installations, embroidery, and paintings, and insists on calling her works embroidered paintings, in defiance of a French male professor who refused to teach her the masculine art of painting.

Called terms such as institutional feminist and a post-feminist by some art critics, Amer's work by and large deals with questions of women and sexuality. "All my work is about love, sexuality, the empowerment of women, it shows children with porn or erotic messages, because even when you are young, you are taught the same message, that one day the prince will come for you" she has said. She also has been quoted as saying, "The power of woman, I am fascinated by this power. Is it power or not power, what are



## CONTEMPORARIES

Contemporary visual artist Shirin Neshat was born to a Muslim Iranian family on 26 March 1957, in Qazvin, Iran. She left Iran in 1974 to study art in the United States, and by 1982, had obtained a B.A., M.A., and M.F.A. from the University of California at Berkeley. She is now based in New York. Her works address the experience of being a woman in Islamic societies, and also deal with her personal angst of being an Iranian living in exile. Her photographic portraits of women overlaid with Persian calligraphy, especially in her 1993 to 1997 *Women of Allah* series, were highly acclaimed. So were her videos, including *Turbulent* (1998) and *Rapture* (1999). *Rapture* was produced by the Galerie Jérôme de Noirmont, and was well received at its worldwide avant-première at the Art Institute of Chicago in May 1999. In 1999, she gained even more international attention when she won the Golden Lion at the Biennale of Venice with the two aforementioned videos. In 2002, she was able to display her work in Iran for the first time: a two-screen video installation called *Tooba*. The Universität der Künste in Berlin awarded her an honorary professorship in 2004.

the limits?" and "Feminism can be empowered by seduction." ("Art or porn? Artists push boundaries in Singapore." <http://www.reuters.com/>)

Amer has criticized feminism for squelching female sexuality in its reaction to male oversexualization of women. Some of her work undermines both the objectification of women in commercial male pornography, and the feminist reaction to it, by appropriating images from pornographic magazines and using them as the basis of paintings that assert the power of female sexuality. Works such as *Colored Drips/Figures en Zigzag* (2000), *Waiting for J* (1999-2000), *Coulores Noires* (2000), and *KSKC* (2005) depict women in various autoerotic positions, yet in an empowered manner. Such works revel in ambiguity. By deliberately employing images taken from pornographic magazines, what exactly is she saying about female sexuality, the objectification of women, and female empowerment? Adding to the confusing messages, Amer freely admits that the hardcore American pornographic publication *Hustler* is her favorite magazine.

Amer also has taken aim at dogmatic Islamic attitudes toward sexuality, and her attitudes and works dealing with female sexuality in particular are in part a reaction to growing Islamic conservatism in Egypt. Her

2001 work *Encyclopedia of Pleasure* was named after a medieval Arabic-language Islamic compendium of international literature about sexuality that has been banned in Islamic countries for centuries. Amer translated portions of it dealing with women's pleasure into English, and stitched them onto fifty-seven zippered, canvas boxes that were strewn about the gallery floor.

### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

Well known around the world for her confrontational artworks, Amer is one of the only Arab artists to achieve prominence in the field of international avant-garde artists. Her works have been featured in a number of one-person shows around the world, including at the Istanbul Biennale in 1995; Hanes Art Center, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill in 1996; Johannesburg Biennale in 1997; Espace Karim Francis, Cairo, in 1998; the Venice Biennale in 1999; the Institute of Visual Arts, Milwaukee, in 2000; The Short Century: Independence and Liberation Movements in Africa show in 2001; Ghada Amer: Reading Between the Threads show at the Henie Onstad Kunstsenter, Oslo, in 2002; Gagolian Gallery, Los Angeles, in 2002; the Indianapolis Museum of Art in 2003; the Looking Both Ways: Art of the Contemporary African Diaspora show in 2003; the Modern Art Institute, Valencia, Spain, in 2004; Gagolian Gallery, New York, in 2006; and the Global Feminisms show at the Brooklyn Museum in 2007.

In her native Egypt, some of her works are too provocative to be shown—public display or discussion of sexuality and nudity is not allowed—although she mounted a solo show at Espace Karim Francis in Cairo in 1998. Moreover, her 2000 show at the Tel Aviv Museum of Art in Israel—the first one-person show ever mounted by an Arab artist at the museum—was roundly condemned in Egypt by opponents of normalization of relations between Egypt and Israel.

### LEGACY

Ghada Amer will be remembered as a major expatriate Egyptian feminist artist, one of the few to break into the ranks of the internationally known avant-garde artists.

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*Michael R. Fischbach*

## AMIN, GALAL (1935–)

Galal (also Jalal) Ahmad Amin is a noted Egyptian economist, professor, author, and commentator.

### PERSONAL HISTORY

Amin was born in Egypt in 1935. His father, Ahmad Amin, was a prominent writer, judge, and professor. Galal Amin studied at Cairo University, receiving his LL.B. degree there in 1955, a diploma in economics in 1956, and a diploma in public law in 1957. Amin then traveled to Britain in 1958 to study on a government grant, and there he earned an M.S. (1961) and a Ph.D. (1964) in economics from the prestigious London School of Economics.

After returning to Egypt, Amin taught economics at Ayn Shams University from 1964–1974. He also served as an economic advisor for the Kuwait Fund for Economic Development simultaneously from 1969–1974. Amin taught for one year at UCLA from 1978–1979, and then commenced teaching economics at The American University in Cairo where he remains as of 2007. In addition to teaching, Amin regularly writes books and articles, as well as opinion pieces in the media. He is one of Egypt's most famous economists, and his lively and sometimes controversial opinion pieces have resulted in a large public following.

Amin has been a member of the Egyptian Economic Society since 1964, served on the board of directors of the Egyptian Economic Society from 1991 to 1994, and was on the board of the Arab Society of Economic Research and Research Coordinator from 1995 to 1997. He has also shown an interest in human rights. He has been a member of the Egyptian Society for Human Rights since 1978 and the Arab Society for Human Rights since 1985.

### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Amin was influenced by the secular intellectual analysis of his father. Moreover, as a young man he witnessed the July 1952 military coup in Egypt that overthrew the unpopular monarchy and replaced it with a republic, which was soon dominated by the charismatic figure of Jamal Abd al-Nasir (Gamal Abdel Nasser). As a college student, Amin observed Nasir in his heyday. Decades later, he recalled the euphoria he and other Arabs felt about their future at that time:

“I vividly remember the great mood of optimism that characterized this period in Egypt, the Arab world and indeed in the whole world. It looked as if the world was embarking upon a great new age of rapid economic development, greater equality within as well as between nations, helped by an international organization [the UN] in which

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Galal (also Jamal) Ahmad Amin

**Birth:** 1935, Egypt

**Nationality:** Egyptian

**Family:** Wife; children

**Education:** LL.B., 1955, economics diploma, 1956, public law diploma, 1957, Cairo University; M.S., 1961, Ph.D., 1964, London School of Economics

### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1964:** Begins teaching at Ayn Shams University
- **1969–1974:** Serves as economic advisor for the Kuwait Fund for Economic Development
- **1978:** Teaches one year at University of California Los Angeles
- **1979:** Begins teaching at the American University in Cairo

small countries would at last have a say in running world affairs. Foreign aid looked as if it was to continue to pour from the rich to the poorer countries of the world, to pay for past injustices of colonialism. Cultural differences would be respected and every national allowed to protect its national heritage, but groups of countries that have strong cultural and historical ties would be encouraged to get together to form new economic and political entities, after the example of the newly-formed European Common Market (established in 1957), allowing the new young countries a greater bargaining power vis-à-vis the more powerful nations. The Arab world was of course one of the most likely candidates for such economic and political integration, and the formation of the United Arab Republic was seen as just the beginning of a grand scheme of Arab unity.”

(“FROM SUEZ TO BAGHDAD” *AL-AHRAM WEEKLY*  
[NOVEMBER 1-7, 2006])

Nasir's state-centered economic and social policies aimed at the creation of a planned national economy and promotion of social justice impacted young Amin. So, too, did Nasir's attempts to defend Egyptian interests by confronting Europe, North America, and Israel, as well as his goal of keeping Egypt non-aligned. These ideas left their mark on Amin long after Nasir's death in 1970, and after the regimes of Anwar al-Sadat and HUSNI MUBARAK opened Egypt's doors to foreign investment capital, made peace with Israel, and became a close ally of the United States.

## MAN IS LOSING HIS SOUL

If you have a positive view of human beings, not a cynical one, if you think there is any real value to a human being, it certainly isn't this [modern technology]. There is the soul, there is emotion, there is sympathy. Man is losing his soul. It is not only rhetoric. We can express it in very concrete terms. Modern man is losing his soul. When you come back from work and throw yourself in an armchair in front of television, watching one program or soap opera after another until you sleep, what have you been doing during that period? You are practically nonexistent, except physically. You have delivered your soul somewhere else.

MAY 2004 INTERVIEW IN *EGYPT TODAY*

This has been a feature of the Egyptian economy for the last thirty years. The share of manufacturing in the local economy increased considerably in the 1960s. From the 1970s until now, the shares of services are growing, and there is a relative neglect in both manufacturing and agriculture. The service sector is growing for a number of reasons. One reason is that manufacturing in a developing country cannot grow rapidly [without] state support—and South Korea proves it. Manufacturing is absolutely vital for growth [but] tourism is looked at favorably by the foreign institutions because it brings in an easy foreign exchange to the country.

NOVEMBER 2006 INTERVIEW IN *BUSINESS TODAY.COM EGYPT*

As an academic writing about microeconomics, economic history, and other topics, Amin's contributions include more than thirty books in Arabic and English. He published his first two books in 1966: *Food Supply and Economic Development* (in English), and *Introduction to Economic Analysis* (in Arabic). He became widely known for two books on Egypt that were published in English in 2000 and 2006, respectively: *Whatever Happened to the Egyptians? Changes in Egyptian Society from 1950 to the Present*, and *Whatever Else Happened to the Egyptians?: From the Revolution to the Age of Globalization*. Both combine his penetrating insights with his trademark use of anecdotes from his family and from Egyptian society at large. Known for being intense and controversial, yet possessing a sense of humor, Amin also is a popular columnist in the Egyptian

press and is known for his hostility toward capitalism, globalization, and modern technology.

Amin has taken great pains to analyze the roots of the Arab world's economic backwardness, which he ties strongly to continued imperialist pressure from Western powers and Israel. He continues to look back fondly on Nasir's economic policies, although he is critical of some of his missteps. He supported Nasir's attempts at import substitution, industrial growth, and his attempt to preserve and expand a national Egyptian economy. Amin—whom some have called an economic nationalist—admits that it is hard today for a country within a globalized capitalist economic system to preserve cultural and economic forms that are distinct to it. "China is trying to do this," he noted in an interview with Egypt's *Daily Star*, "but China is in a very happy position because of its size and power. The small countries, like Bahrain and Kuwait, don't have the chance of cunning, of outwitting the West. Cunning requires power."

Amin came out strongly against the 2002 Arab Human Development Report issued by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP). The report listed a host of problems in the Arab world that its authors blamed for the region's malaise. Amin criticized the report harshly in a number of venues, arguing that, despite the presence of many of the internal Arab social and cultural problems highlighted in the report, the real factors behind the Arab world's weakness were external and largely political. In one opinion piece in the *al-Ahram Weekly*, he noted:

"It is also true that there are outside factors that dealt well-aimed blows to the economies of most Arab countries, regardless of what these countries did or failed to do. There is, for example, the Israeli aggression in 1967, the excessive slump in oil prices and revenues, the severe fluctuations in the revenues of tourism as a result of terrorist attacks that many, including myself, blame on foreign, not just local, schemes. There is also the reluctance of foreign private investment to come to the Arab region as smoothly as it flows into Southeast Asia or Latin America. Many, including myself, see political, and not just economic reasons for this reluctance. Some of these reasons, I believe, have nothing to do with our willingness to pamper foreign investors or satisfy their wishes."

### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

Amin has been recognized as one of Egypt's leading economists. The Egyptian government awarded him the State Prize for Economics in 1976, and President al-Sadat bestowed on him the Order of Merit for the Sciences and Arts in 1977. Amin also received the Award for Economics from the Kuwait Foundation for the Advance-

ment of Science in 1981. In addition to his broadsides against capitalism and globalization, Amin further is famous within Egypt as a staunch critic of modern technology. He argues that it is not technology per se to which he objects, but rather the fact that the poor expend precious resources trying to acquire it, further distorting the picture of a society in which modern technology coexists with grinding poverty and backwardness.

Outside Egypt, Amin was criticized by some in the West for comments he wrote in a piece in the 7 April 2004 edition of *al-Abram Weekly*. In it, he articulated his belief, one not uncommon in the Middle East, that there is no clear evidence that the 11 September 2001 attacks on the United States were the result of an Arab/Islamic plot:

“One is that there is still doubt that the September attacks were the outcome of Arab and Islamic terror. No conclusive proof to this effect is yet available. Many writers, American and European, as well as Arab, suspect that the attacks were carried out by Americans, or with American assistance, or that Americans knew about them and kept silent. Such doubts are strong and rest on damning evidence, but the U.S. administration forcefully censors them and bans any discussion of the matter—something that, by the way, makes one suspect the U.S. administration’s commitment to knowledge.”

#### LEGACY

Galal Amin will be remembered as a staunch opponent of Egypt’s increasing incorporation into the global capitalist economy since the early 1970s, as well as for a vigorous voice within Egyptian civil society’s public debates about the great issues facing Egypt today.

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Michael R. Fischbach

## AMIRALAY, UMAR (1944–)

Umar (Omar) Amiralay is a prominent Syrian filmmaker and producer as well as a civil rights activist. His distinctive and prolific body of work includes documentaries and feature films. Most of his films are potent critiques of the sociopolitical status quo in Syria and a few have been banned by that country’s government. Amiralay has been an outspoken critic of dictatorship and the lack of basic freedoms in Syria and has been active in civil rights initiatives.

#### PERSONAL HISTORY

Amiralay was born in 1944 in Damascus to an ethnically diverse (Circassian, Kurdish, Arab) family. He grew up in Damascus, close to the tomb of the Sufi master Ibn Arabi. His father, a former Ottoman army officer, worked as a policeman and died when Amiralay was only six. His mother was Lebanese. Amiralay was a very inquisitive and precocious child. He credits his brother, a painter, with his early exposure to art and music. He attended college in Syria before leaving in 1965 for Paris, where he first studied drama at the Théâtre des Nations and later cinema at the Institut des Hautes Études Cinématographiques (IDHEC), starting in 1967.

In 1970 Amiralay returned to Syria and launched his prolific career. His provocative and often controversial documentary films have made him a target of intimidation and harassment by the Syrian authorities. He was interrogated and briefly detained twice, in 2001 and most recently in 2006 after *A Flood in Ba’th Country* was shown on the al-Arabiyya satellite channel.

#### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Unlike the great majority of Syrian filmmakers, Amiralay did not study in Eastern Europe or the Soviet Union, but in Paris, during a politically tumultuous period that culminated in the 1968 student movement, in which he participated. Politically, Amiralay has always been and remains a Marxist. The loss of Palestine and the establishment of Israel in 1948 left an indelible mark on his formative years, which he explored in his 1997 film *A Plate of Sardines*. The Israeli occupation of the Syrian

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Umar Amiralay (Omar)

**Birth:** 1944, Damascus, Syria

**Nationality:** Syrian (dual Lebanese citizenship)

**Education:** Attended college in Syria; studied drama, Theatre des Nations; L'Institut des Hautes Études Cinématographiques (IDHEC)

### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1970:** Releases first film, *Nuhawwilu sadd al-Furat*
- **1976:** Signs petition protesting Syria's entry into Lebanon
- **2000:** Signs manifesto by ninety-nine Syrian intellectuals demanding freedom and lifting of emergency measures
- **2001:** Honored with retrospective by Cinéma du Réel International Documentary Film Festival, Paris
- **2001:** Establishes Arab Film Institute
- **2001:** Arrested by Syrian authorities, interrogated for thirteen hours, released the same day; barred from leaving country
- **2006:** Interrogated for two days about *A Flood In Ba'th Country*

Golan Heights in 1967 and the destruction of the town of al-Qunaytara when Israel withdrew from it in 1974 were also monumental events for Amiralay.

Amiralay launched his career with a laudatory documentary film about the Asad Dam on the Euphrates, *Nuhawwilu sadd al-Furat* (1970; Essay on the Euphrates Dam). The film is a celebration of modernization and technology. This was followed by a second film in 1974, *Al-Hayat al-yawmiya fi qaria Suriya* (Daily Life in a Syrian Village), which was critical of the effects of the project on the lives of citizens in a nearby village. Amiralay revisited the region more than three decades later in 2002 to make *A Flood in Ba'th Country*, a potent critique of indoctrination and propaganda in the Syrian school system.

One of Amiralay's most memorable films is *There Are Many Things Still to Talk About*. The narrative revolves around a series of interviews with Syrian playwright Sa'dallah Wannus (1941–1997), who was dying of cancer. Juxtaposing images of the wars with Israel and the Palestinian struggle for self-determination, Wannus revisits the dreams, disillusionments, and defeat of a generation of intellectuals.

Among Amiralay's many controversial works is *The Man with the Golden Shoes*, a documentary about the Lebanese prime minister and billionaire RAFIQ HARIRI, who was assassinated in 2005. Although diametrically opposed to each other politically, a friendship ensued between the two. Following Hariri's assassination, Amiralay signed a declaration by Syrian intellectuals calling for the withdrawal of Syrian troops from Lebanon.

### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

Amiralay is well regarded and respected as a filmmaker. In addition to praise from international critics and peers, he has been honored and celebrated in numerous international film festivals, with special retrospectives in Berlin, New York, and Paris. In 2001 the Cinéma du Réel International Documentary Film Festival in Paris honored him with a special career retrospective.

### LEGACY

Amiralay will surely be considered one of the most important Syrian and Arab documentary filmmakers of the last few decades of the twentieth century. His work has provided a unique insight into Syrian society and politics under the Ba'th, and maintained high aesthetic standards. What will further distinguish his legacy is his political activism and courageous interventions as an outspoken critic of dictatorship.

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### FILMS BY AMIRALAY

*Nuhawwilu sadd al-Furat* (Essay on the Euphrates Dam), 1970  
*Al-Hayat al-yawmiya fi qaria Suriya* (Daily Life in a Syrian Village), 1974  
*Al-dajaj* (The Chickens), 1977  
*An al-thawra* (On the Revolution), 1978  
*A Nation's Catastrophes*, 1981  
*The Scent of Heaven*, 1982  
*Love Buried Alive*, 1983  
*Video on Sand*, 1984  
*Intimate Enemy*, 1986  
*To the Attention of Miss Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto*, 1988  
*A Teacher*, 1992  
*On a Day of Ordinary Violence, My Friend Michel Seurat ...*, 1996  
*There are Many Things Still to Talk About*, 1996  
*A Plate of Sardines*, 1997  
*The Man with the Golden Shoes*, 1999  
*A Flood In Ba'th Country*, 2002

Sinan Antoon

## ANGAWI, SAMI (1948–)

Sami Muhsin Angawi is a Saudi Arabian architect and social activist.

### PERSONAL HISTORY

Angawi was born in Mecca, in the Hijaz region of Saudi Arabia, in 1948. He received a B.A. in architecture from the University of Arlington, Texas, in 1971, and an M.A. in architecture from the University of Texas in 1975. In 1988, he completed his Ph.D. in Islamic architecture from the School of Oriental and African Studies at the University of London. Angawi spent two years teaching and supervising graduate students at King Abd al-Aziz University in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia, and was a fellow at Harvard University in 1994–1995. He also is a *mutawwaf*—a guide, or organizer, of parties of pilgrims making the Islamic pilgrimage (*hajj*), a position that has been handed down through a small number of Hijazi families. Angawi also is a sufi (Islamic mystic) in a country that frowns upon such expression.

In 2001, he married his second wife, Fatina Anin Shakir (a well-known retired sociologist), with the approval of his first wife, a designer of traditional crafts and mother of their five children.

### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

In 1975, Angawi established the Hajj Research Center at King Abd al-Aziz University in Jeddah, and transferred it to Umm al-Qura University in Mecca in 1983. The center served as a planning consultant to the Saudi government on hajj affairs, with emphasis placed on cultural, environmental, and urban and architectural studies. It also created a database to gather all information about the hajj. Angawi served as the center's director from 1975–1988. He also founded the Ammar Center for Architectural Heritage in 1988.

### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

Since the 1970s, Angawi has established a reputation for condemning the destruction of historical sites in Saudi Arabia and particularly in Mecca and Medina. He contends that the conservative religious establishment in the kingdom has deliberately targeted holy sites for demolition as part of their belief that such sites conflict with Islamic worship of God and invite idolatry. Angawi argues that such actions lead to intolerance, which breeds Islamic extremism.

When his outspoken views caused him to lose control of the Hajj Research Center in 1988, he founded the Ammar Center for Architectural Heritage in Jeddah. This organization has focused on the preservation and restoration of prominent examples of traditional architecture, as well as constructing new buildings based on traditional

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Sami Mushin Angawi

**Birth:** 1948, Mecca, Saudi Arabia

**Family:** Married first wife; five children; second wife, Fatina Anin Shakir

**Nationality:** Saudi Arabian

**Education:** B.A. (architecture), University of Arlington, TX, 1971; M.A. (architecture), University of Texas, 1975; Ph.D. (Islamic architecture), School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 1988

### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1975:** Establishes Hajj Research Center at King Abd al-Aziz University in Jeddah
- **1988:** Founded Ammar Center for Architectural Heritage in Jeddah
- **1994:** Fellow at Harvard University

forms. In addition, Angawi regularly gave a series of illustrated lectures at his home in Jeddah chronicling the destruction of the country's architectural and religious heritage.

A recognized expert in traditional Islamic architecture, Angawi chairs UNESCO's International Commission for Traditional Architecture and Interior Design. He was awarded the Binladen Fellowship on Islamic Architecture for research at the Graduate School of Design at Harvard University in 1994–1995.

### LEGACY

Angawi's career is still ongoing, and it is too soon to speak of his legacy.

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*J. E. Peterson*

## ANTOON, SINAN (1967–)

Sinan Antoon (also Antun) is an Iraqi-born academic, poet, translator, and filmmaker.

## PERSONAL HISTORY

Born in 1967 in Baghdad to an Iraqi father and an American mother, Antoon completed his B.A. in English literature at Baghdad University in 1990. He left Iraq after the 1991 Gulf War, and moved to the United States. He completed a M.A. in Arab studies from Georgetown University's Center for Contemporary Arab Studies in 1995, and a Ph.D. in Arabic literature at Harvard University in 2006. He has taught at Dartmouth College, Indiana University, Harvard University, and Middlebury College. Since 2005, Antoon has been teaching at New York University's Gallatin School.

Long a critic of SADDAM HUSSEIN's regime, before and after the U.S. invasion of Iraq in 2003, Antoon assumed a public position at odds with that of pro-war Iraqis in the diaspora. Antoon's academic work focuses on pre-modern Arab and Islamic culture, and on contemporary Arab culture and politics. His poetry has been published in both Arabic and English forums, including *The Nation*, *Middle East Report*, *al-Ahram Weekly*, *Banipal*, the *Journal of Palestine Studies*, *al-Safir*, *al-Nahar*, and *al-Adab*, among others. He was one of a collective of filmmakers to produce the 2004 documentary *About Baghdad*, shot shortly after the U.S. invasion of Iraq in 2003.

## INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Antoon's contributions have been made in several areas. He is a senior editor for *Arab Studies Journal*, a member of PEN America, a contributing editor to *Banipal* (a magazine of Arabic literature in English translation) and a member of the editorial committee of *Middle East Report*. Antoon has published articles in *Middle East Report*, *al-Ahram Weekly*, and other English- and Arabic-language publications. His stand against the U.S. invasion of Iraq put him at odds with a number of other Iraqi public intellectuals in the diaspora, foremost among them being Kanan Makiya, the darling of American supporters of the war, about whom Antoon penned an article published in *The Nation* before the 2003 invasion.

Antoon's poetry has been anthologized in the volume *Iraqi Poetry Today* (Modern Poetry in Translation, 2002) and has appeared in *Banipal* as well. He has also contributed numerous translations of Arabic poetry into English. He co-translated a selection of Palestinian poet MAHMUD DARWISH's work, published under the title *Unfortunately it was Paradise*, and was nominated for a PEN Prize for the translation. In Arabic, he has published a collection of his own poems, *Mawshur Muballal bi'l-Hurub* (A Prism; Wet with Wars), the English translation of which, *Baghdad Blues*, was published in the United States in 2007. He also published a novel, *I'jaam* (Diacritics), which came out in English in 2007 as *I'jaam: An Iraqi Rhapsody*.

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Sinan Antoon (Autun)

**Birth:** 1967, Baghdad, Iraq

**Family:** Single

**Nationality:** Iraqi

**Education:** B.A., (English literature) Baghdad University, 1990; M.A., (Arab studies) Georgetown University, 1995; Ph.D., (Arabic literature) Harvard University, 2006

### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1991:** Leaves Iraq
- **2001:** Publishes *Mawshur Muballal bi'l-Hurub*; returns to Iraq for the first time since 1991, films *About Baghdad*; becomes one of the most prominent Iraqi expatriate anti-war commentators
- **2003:** Nominated for a PEN Prize for his co-translated volume of Mahmud Darwish's poetry; publishes *I'jaam*
- **2005:** Begins teaching at New York University's Gallatin School
- **2007:** Publishes *I'jaam: An Iraqi Rhapsody* and *Baghdad Blues*

## THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

Antoon's writing has been praised by some of the best-known Arab writers in the early twenty-first century. Noted Lebanese author ELIAS KHOURY extolled Antoon's novel *I'jaam: An Iraqi Rhapsody*, stating:

In this beautiful and brilliant novel, Sinan Antoon expresses the voice of those whose voices were robbed by oppression, stressing the fact that literature can at times be the only framework to protect human experiences from falling into oblivion. *I'jaam* is an honest and exciting window onto Iraq, written with both love and bitter sarcasm, hope and despair. It does not only illuminate reality in Iraq prior to the American invasion, but also the human experience in its insistence on resisting oppression and injustice (<http://www.citylights.com/CLpub4th.html>).

Antoon also has played an important, if somewhat marginalized, role in presenting an Iraqi voice against U.S. policy in Iraq within American public life. His wide range of creative and critical productions has reached

different audiences in both the United States as well as in the Arab world. However, the film *About Baghdad*, on which he collaborated and in which he is featured, has brought him to the attention of different audiences. *The New York Times*'s review of the film on 12 January 2005 stated, "About Baghdad' manages to present a true diversity of opinion. . .[it is] emotionally and intellectually challenging." The film also won the award for best documentary at the Big Apple Film Festival in 2004 and appeared at numerous film festivals around the world that year.

#### LEGACY

Although Antoon's literary work and his participation in the documentary *About Baghdad* have both had significant audiences, his work as an academic may also prove to be just as influential to a developing understanding of contemporary Arab and Islamic culture.

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*Kamran Rastegar*  
updated by *Michael R. Fischbach*

## AOUN, MICHEL (1935–)

Lebanese general-turned-politician Michel Naim Aoun was once the prime minister and acting president of Lebanon. He served under these titles from 22 September 1988 until 13 October 1990 when he was exiled by troops from Lebanon and Syria. Aoun returned to Lebanon on 7 May 2005, nearly two weeks after Syrian troops left. Once a military commander, now Aoun is a member of parliament and leader of the Free Patriotic Movement party.

#### PERSONAL HISTORY

Aoun was born on 17 February 1935 to a poor Christian Maronite family, in a mixed neighborhood of Muslims and Christians, in the suburbs of Haret Hreik, located on



*Michel Aoun.* AP IMAGES.

the outskirts of Beirut. He obtained his secondary education as a cadet officer at the College des Freres, a military academy, in 1956. Three years later he became an artillery officer in the Lebanese army. For one year, starting in 1958, he trained at Chalon-Sur-Mame, France. In 1966 Aoun went to the United States for further military training at Fort Still in Oklahoma. Aoun returned to France in 1978 to train at Ecole Superieure de Guerre for two years. He became the head of the Defense Brigade in 1980. Two years later he was given command of a new Eighth Brigade, which was a multi-confessional army unit. In 1988, the outgoing president, Amine Gemayyel appointed Aoun as a caretaker prime minister of Lebanon. Soon Aoun was fighting with the Lebanese Forces headed by Samir Geagea, the Syrian Army, and other Lebanese groups. Due to pressure from Syria and other Lebanese factions, Aoun was forced to go into exile in France, but returned to Lebanon after the assassination of the former prime minister. To the surprise of many, General Aoun joined the pro-Syrian camp, and served as the leader of the Free Patriotic Movement Party.

When Israel invaded Lebanon in 1982, Aoun led an army battalion to Baabda in order to defend the Presidential Palace in the event of an attack. In September of the next year, Aoun led his Mechanized Infantry Battalion (Eighth Brigade) in the battle of Souq el Gharb against Palestinian, Druze, and Muslim forces. Aoun was picked to be commander/brigadier-general and military chief of staff of the Lebanese army in June of 1984.



## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Michel Naim Aoun

**Birth:** 1935, Beirut, Lebanon

**Nationality:** Lebanese

**Education:** Lebanon, France and the United States; military academies

### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1950s:** Cadet and artillery officer at the Military Academy
- **1960s:** Military training at Fort Seale, Oklahoma
- **1970s:** Military training at Ecole Superieure de Guerre, France
- **1980s:** Head of Eighth Defense Brigade; brigadier-general and military chief of staff; appointed head of military government; made unconstitutional prime minister
- **1990s:** Exiled in France
- **2000s:** Returns to Lebanon and heads the Free Patriotic Movement Party

On 22 September 1988, the president dismissed the civilian government of the prime minister and put an interim military government of six in its place. It was half Christian and half Muslim. This act was unconstitutional, and Muslims rejected the offer, so Prime Minister Selim Al-Huss controlled west Beirut under a civilian government. Aoun became acting prime minister and led the mostly Christian east Beirut under a military government. Aoun had alliances with the Lebanese Forces army and militia, along with the National Liberal Party and even SADDAM HUSSEIN. In 1989, Aoun's alliance with the Lebanese Forces was ended as he tried to gain control of ports, especially the harbor in Beirut, in an effort to raise custom revenues for the government. A few months later, in Beirut, artillery fire was exchanged between Syria's and Aoun's army, which led to thousands of casualties on both sides.

With support from France and Iraq, Aoun declared a war of liberation on Syria, on 14 March 1989. During this time, Aoun received arms supplies from Iraq, which were used to kill and displace many civilians. To end this problem, the National Assembly met and wrote up the Ta'if Accord in October. Aoun boycotted the meeting and called all participants traitors to Lebanon. He made a

decree to dissolve the assembly, but failed. Although the accord had no timetable for the evacuation of Syrian troops, it would elect a new president within the next month. Elias Hawri was elected and appointed commander of the army and ousted Aoun.

The Syrian army was backed by the United States, who supported their mission in Lebanon. Aoun hid in the Presidential Palace, then fled, and later surrendered by a radio address. The Lebanese government offered Aoun conditional amnesty, and France offered him asylum. Months later, Aoun went to live in exile in France. He continued his efforts to end Syrian influence in Lebanon through the Free Patriotic Movement Party. The views of this party are liberal and secular, promoting values such as civil marriage, women's empowerment, citizenship laws, and corporate governance. After fifteen years, Aoun returned to Lebanon on 7 May 2005. He became involved in the parliamentary elections and his party won twenty-one of fifty-eight seats in the mostly Christian Mount Lebanon. He was also elected to be a member of the National Assembly. While in office, Aoun signed an agreement of understanding with Hezbollah on 6 February 2006, which resolved many long-standing differences. He also organized a National Dialogue Conference with representatives from all parties to resolve other disparities and plan for the future.

### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Aoun was deeply influenced by his childhood upbringing in the secular neighborhoods of Beirut. Due to the diversity of the city, Aoun understood the religious divide, and learned quickly how to avoid it, by working through consensus across the split. Aoun recalled having close friendships with many Muslims during his early years. "We never distinguished between Ali and Pierre, or between Hassan and Georges," he later said. "We ate together and slept at each other's homes." This made the future general and politician, serving in the national institutions such as the military, much more willing to cooperate and work through national consensus. He did this aiming to build national movements, and to maintain a free and independent Lebanon. Even before his return from exile, general Aoun and his Free Patriotic Movement Party launched the idea of organizing a National Dialogue Conference with representatives from all Lebanese factions. They formed a commission to visit all Lebanese leaders. This strategy was successful, especially when the speaker of parliament Nabih Berri invited fourteen representatives and religious leaders to meet at the National Assembly in order to settle differences and set a strategy for the future. The occupation and interference in Lebanon by foreign nations, especially Syria, Israel and others, means that this tiny nation has never managed to maintain its sovereignty and has always been dependent on others. Recognizing this weakness, Aoun

designed a platform that was liberal, secular, and democratic, and one wherein all Lebanese political parties and religious factions have a role to play. He argues in favor of allowing civil marriage, empowering women, changing the citizenship laws, establishing a system of corporate governance, and having external auditors help control the debt that Lebanon has accumulated since the beginning of the civil war.

#### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

Global perceptions of Aoun generally have been positive since his reemergence from exile on the political scene in May of 2005. He is perceived both as a pragmatist and a moderate, committed to a secular, independent, peaceful, united, and strong Lebanon with good relations with his former adversary, Syria. Aoun broke ranks with most Maronites by signing an agreement of understanding with Hezbollah on 6 February 2006. The agreement constitutes a first step toward resolving the main differences between Lebanon's political parties. This historical document allowed a bridging of the gap between the Free Patriotic Movement and Hezbollah. Aoun argued that the March 14th coalition was making a political mistake by trying to isolate Hezbollah. In fact, some Lebanese historical analysts argue that the isolation of the Kataeb party was one of the reasons behind the Lebanese Civil War in 1975. Aoun's alliance with Hezbollah came as a shock to both the United States and France, because both supported the Israeli invasion of Lebanon and did not count on his unconditional support of the Lebanese resistance to Israel's occupation of Sheba Farms.

#### LEGACY

It is premature to provide accurate perceptions of Aoun, because Lebanon is divided between pro- and anti-government forces and a return to civil war is a real possibility. In the current crisis, Aoun is calling for the removal of the current Lebanese president EMILE LAHOUD, whom he is seeking to replace. Although the perception of Aoun is continuing and changing, he has demonstrated his political skills by reaching across the Lebanese divide and narrowing the gaps in his country's confessional political landscape.

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*Khodr M. Zaarour*

## AR, MÜJDE (1954–)

Müjde Ar is one of the veterans and leading actresses of Turkish cinema. Ar's breakthrough came with her performance in Yavuz Turgul's *Fabriye Abla* (1984, Sister Fahriye), as it marks the liberation of female sexuality in mainstream cinema. She became a cult figure within Turkish society and is referred to as the intellectual sexual woman. Her portrayal of liberated, amoral, modern, independent, and revolting characters changed the stereotype about women in Turkish culture. Hence, Ar's film career and personal devotion to act in challenging film roles is closely linked to her own feminist endeavors to change the moral fabric of her time. Ar received several major film awards in Turkey and continues to be involved with cinema to enhance the quality of film as an art form within Turkish society. At the same time, she is often compared to Jane Fonda because of her tireless activism to publicly speak out on political, social, and environmental issues.

#### PERSONAL HISTORY

Born as Kamile Suat Ebremler on 21 June 1954 in Istanbul, Turkey, Ar is the oldest daughter of songwriter and theater performer Aysel Gürel, and newspaper reporter Vedat Akin. Her parents divorced when Ar and her sister Mehmetap were very young. In an interview with the newspaper *Radikal*, Ar describes her childhood as difficult and painful. The family lived in poor conditions. Ar, so she explains in the interview, had at times a tense relationship with her mother who, as a single parent, had to provide for her daughters through hard work at the theater. When her mother went to work, Ar says she had no one to leave the children behind with. In retrospect, Ar states that she understands now her mother's strict and sometimes abusive behavior toward her daughters:

"The reason is migration. We are migrants from Bulgaria and migration has always been part of our family's past and identity. But migration is characteristic of the Ottoman period too. The immigrants had always heard rumors of killing, hanging, slaughter and other crimes that were passed on through oral stories that expressed fear and anxiety. These were nothing but stories. . . . Then I recognized that the reason for my mother's strict demands toward her children derive from this anxiety. Since my childhood I have heard phrases in my mother's language but could never give meaning to them. I never saw any connection to history" (*Radikal*. 12 October, 2000).

Ar's acting career began when she was eight and attended the Oraloğlu Theater in Istanbul. She said that she always was passionate about reading and literature. Although financially unstable, her family was intellectually

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Müjde Ar (born Kamile Suat Ebrem)  
**Birth:** 1954, Istanbul, Turkey  
**Family:** First husband, Samin Değer; second husband, Ercan Karakas (m. 2005)  
**Nationality:** Turkish  
**Education:** University of Istanbul, incomplete M.A. studies, German language and literature

## PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1974:** Appears in *Aşk-i Memnu*
- **1975:** Appears in *Batsın bu Dünya*
- **1976:** Appears in *Tosun Paşa; Mağlup edilemeyenler; Adalı Kız; and Öyle Olsun*
- **1977:** Appears in *Vahşi Sevgili; Tatlı Kaçık; Sarmaşdolaş; Nehir; and Gülen Gözler*
- **1978:** Appears in *Töre; and Kibar Feyzo*
- **1979:** Appears in *Lanet; and Aşkı ben mi yarattım*
- **1981:** Appears in *Feryada gücüm yok; and Ah güzel İstanbul*
- **1982:** Appears in *Çirkinler de sever; and Şalvar davası*
- **1983:** Appears in *Aşk adası; and Aile kadını*
- **1984:** Appears in *Fabriye Abla*
- **1985:** Appears in *Adi Vasfiye*
- **1986:** Appears in *Kupa kızı; Asilacak kadın; and Aaah Belinda*
- **1987:** Appears in *Teyzem; and Afife jale*
- **1988:** Appears in *Kaçamak*
- **1989:** Appears in *Arabesk*
- **1994:** Appears in *Yolcu*
- **1998:** Appears in *Ağır Roman*
- **2000:** Appears in *Karakolda ayna var; and Dar alanda kısa paslasmalar*
- **2002:** Appears in *Komser Şekspir*
- **2003:** Appears in *Serseri aşıklar*
- **2005:** Appears in *Eğreti gelin*
- **2006:** Appears in *Kuş dili*

active and encouraged education. Ar successfully graduated from high school and attended the University of Istanbul where she studied for a master's degree in German language and literature. However, she interrupted her studies at age

twenty, worked as a model, took drama classes, and when she was 21 married TV director Samim Değer. Her role in Halit Refig's film series *Aşk-i Memnu* (1974) that was broadcast on Turkish TV made her known to a broader Turkish audience. She then turned to cinema with her role in *Babacan* in 1975. Until the early 1980s, she played in twenty-eight melodramas and romantic comedies. However, by the end of the 1970s, Ar portrayed more and more rebellious female characters through which issues such as gender politics, hierarchy, female obedience, and male dominance were addressed. Noticeably, her portrayal of real-life female characters changed the cinematic representation of women to such an extent that it affected the box office and won back female audiences to the movie theaters.

Ar is also an intellectual activist dedicated to the promotion of cinema. She was one of the founders and presidents of the Turkish Foundation of Cinema and Audiovisual Culture (Türkiye Sinema ve Audiovisual Kültür Vakfı, or short TÜRSAK), established in 1991, and as of 2007 consists of 275 members. This autonomous, nonprofit organization hosts yearly international environmental film festivals in Turkey and sets as its goal to spread the concept of cinema as an art form and contribute to the cultural enrichment of the Turkish public. At its earlier stages, Ar was involved in reinforcing and enhancing the study of film in Turkey's educational system. She also helped win the collaboration of the government and various private institutions to advance the art of cinema within Turkey.

## INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Ömer Kavur's *Ah Güzel İstanbul* (1981, Oh, Beautiful İstanbul) marks a turn in Turkish cinema as it is not only Ar's first role in which she acts nude and portrays female sexuality but also foregrounds a new image of the Turkish woman in cinema per se. The film is based on a story by the author Füzûzan and depicts the life of the prostitute Cevahir, who suffers societal ostracism. A truck driver, played by Kadir Inanir, falls in love with her and decides to marry her, despite her past and social background. However, the film's end, as film historian Agah Özgüç argues, denies such a happy ending because of contemporary Turkish cinema's reluctance to present its audience with such a daring proposition. As Özgüç further explains, female star icons of the Yeşilçam period, the so-called Turkish Hollywood, predominantly appeared in either stereotypical roles or complied with dominant notions of Turkish viewers who had certain expectations of its female film stars. The reason for such a portrayal is connected to the most productive Yeşilçam years, during which the film industry systematically typecast women. As filmmaker Yılmaz explains within this context:

## CONTEMPORARIES

One of Müjde Ar's contemporaries is Turkish film icon Türkan Şoray (1945–), the sultan of Turkish cinema, who was born on 28 June 1945 and began her film career in the 1960s. Her career evolved over time but her real breakthrough came with her role in *Acı Hayat* (1964), for which she received the first film award for best actress.

Those heroines lacked a psyche and they could never become characters. They represented certain masks similar to the masks worn in many traditions of Eastern art, such as the Kabuki theatre of Japan. The same can also be said for the heroes of that period. What is played with masks in the Eastern cultures was done live. For instance, if you look at the women characters of the period, Fatma Girik plays the 'manly' woman; Filiz Akin is the educated bourgeois girl; Hülya Koçyiğit represents the oppressed woman of our society; Türkan Şoray is the woman with sexuality who is also oppressed. Each of these types is as if created from a mask (Yılmaz, p. 143).

Within this context, Ar stands as a symbol for the sexual revolution in Turkish culture, as she is the pioneer of the sexual liberation of female characters and actresses in Turkish cinema. Ar's realistic and delicate portrayal of self-conscious female characters posed also the question of how women can escape and liberate themselves from structures of patriarchy and male dominance. Conversely, Ar's performance demonstrated that she no longer was willing to be the symbolic Other to men, nor to accept roles of passive, obedient women who need to be protected by men. Unlike her predecessors, she gave identity and sexuality to women and broke out of women's film as a leading rebellious actress who demonstrated that women can live economically independent from men in society. This meaning, so illustrates Özgüç, is brought to its extreme in Yuvuz Turgul's *Fabriye Abla* (1984, Sister Fahriye), Kartal Tibet's *Şalvar Davası* (1983, The Baggy Trousers Case), Şeref Gören's *Gizli Duygular* (1984, Secret Emotions), Atif Yılmaz's *Adi Vasfiye* (1985, A Woman Called Vasfiye), and Yılmaz's *Aaahhh Belinda* (1986).

In *Asilacak Kadın* (1987, A Woman to be Hanged) by Başar Sabuncu, for example, Ar plays the role of a young woman named Melek who is sold as a servant to a wealthy family after her guardian dies. Melek becomes the victim of the perverted sexual fantasies of the household's master who is much older than Melek. After his wife dies, he forces Melek to have sex with other younger men. The film

addresses issues of masculinity and voyeurism, and is an open critique of power structures embedded within the bourgeoisie. Sabuncu's controversial film was banned from the theaters after its release because of its open depiction of sexuality and noncompliance with moral codes.

Similarly, the film *Adi Vasfiye* (1985, A Woman Called Vasfiye), directed by Yılmaz and which brought the director the Best Film Award of the year, portrays the life of a disillusioned male author who is fascinated and seduced by the images of a singer. The drama centers on the life of Ar's character, who is idealized and yet exploited by men at the same time. The filmmaker Yılmaz remembers as follows:

Müjde Ar is memorable with many roles but especially as Vasfiye, a young woman with sexuality. She calls the doctor who is already infatuated by her pretending she is sick. When he says 'Will you undress please?' She asks with an innocent expression, 'Completely?' Müjde Ar's character is very different than all the weeping willows, the prostitutes, the vamps, the masks. . . . She is real although she does not have much chance either to change her destiny. I suppose it took longer for Turkish cinema to liberate women totally (Yılmaz, 146).

The above-portrayed evolution of Turkish cinema exemplifies the problems female actresses faced in a society that was Western-oriented yet deeply connected with Islam. Especially, the era following the military coup in 1980 reflected the rapid changes in the political, social, and economic arenas that affected the experience of women on different levels in reality. Paradoxically, the coup, as Gönül Dönmez-Colin points out, was of benefit for cinema. "The absence of the pressure to be politically engaged liberated the artists, and urban problems of the individual surfaced" (Dönmez-Colin, p. 11). Within this context, the focus shifted from male heroes to female heroines, and women's issues were addressed in cinema. In this sense, Ar's influence within Turkish cinema is unquestionably also connected to the innovation in Turkish cinema, as well as the feminist movement that gained ground during this time. Experienced and insightful film directors such as Yılmaz, Gören, and Zeki Ökten dealt with the question of how sexual relations could be visualized in cinema. Women had long repressed fantasies and desires because of the conservative ideas of a Muslim society and seemed to be starved to see a part of their lives on the screen.

In the past, cinematic images of women all lacked representations of intimate love and sex. Although these films aimed for a social critique, women were obeying chauvinistic attitudes and were unable to break with inherent cultural taboos on the silver screen. As an actor, Ar personified the young, courageous, and defiant woman. She presented these urban female characters in cinema

## AR SPEAKS

As long as Turkey does not reach the point at which it can sell films to the world, swim within these nets and reach world standards, nothing can be achieved in Turkey.

"ÇOÇUKLUGUNLA TANIŞMIŞ." RADİKAL. 12 OCTOBER 2000.  
AVAILABLE FROM [HTTP://WWW.RADIKAL.COM.TR](http://www.radikal.com.tr).

through which themes such as social class, widowhood, infertility, birth control, and even lesbianism were addressed.

### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

The changing imagery of women in Turkish films documents indirectly the development of a new feminist movement on an international and national level. During the difficult days of Yeşilçam cinema, the popular Turkish film industry struggled to obtain high box-office numbers and produced more soft-porn films in the 1980s and early 1990s, which lacked sophistication in technique, style, and narrative form. This cinema exploited sexuality and the presented images of women were problematic, as they became mere sexual objects for the visual gratification of its male spectators. Ar worked with a new generation of filmmakers such as Yılmaz who broke away from Yeşilçam conventions and gave women's issues a new distinction in cinema. Women searching for their true identity become a common theme in the cinema of Yılmaz and this young generation of film directors.

### LEGACY

As have many of her female predecessors, Ar played in many women-centered films with much more realistic characters and stories. What distinguishes her from other Turkish female stars of her time is her nuanced understanding of the political situation after the military coup in 1980. Ar's change of direction in her acting career is closely linked to her political engagement to deal with social issues concerning Turkey's current reality. Her determination to identify social problems is purposefully reflected in her characters through which a new stubborn and self-confident female identity is tunneled. Female stars such as Hülya Kociğit and Türkan Şoray renewed themselves on the screen and became more radical performers to present issues regarding female identity and sexuality in films such as Yılmaz's *Mine* (1982), Gören's *Fırar* (1984), and Ayca Engin's *Bez Bebek* (1988). Ar not only changed the perception of Turkish women in cin-

ema but also paved the way for future actresses to act in a vast array of female roles detached from societal oppositions. Her roles of self-conscious and contradictory characters such as prostitutes introduced controversial themes to the Turkish audience. This type of representation de facto challenged cultural values and interfered with the demeaning portrayal of women in cinema. The changing demographics are exemplified through Ar's body as she idealized the notion that a woman's sexuality is the natural outcome of her love and sensibility. In the early twenty-first century, Ar's involvement in politics as well as her contributions to the promotion of Turkish cinema singles her out from other female contemporaries of her time.

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Mine Eren

## ARAFAT, YASIR (1929–2004)

Yasir Arafat was for decades the leader of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and of its largest component group, Fatah. No other figure has been as closely identified with the Palestinian national struggle, nor were any nearly as colorful and widely known.

### PERSONAL HISTORY

Born Muhammad Abd al-Ra'uf al-Arafat al-Qudwa, "Yasir" became Arafat's nickname during his early guerilla days. He also went by the nom de guerre Abu Ammar. Arafat and his family always have insisted that



*Yasir Arafat.* AP IMAGES.

he was born on 4 August 1929, in his mother's family home in Jerusalem. Nevertheless, an Egyptian birth registration exists suggesting that he was born in Egypt on 24 August 1929. He is, in any event, of old Palestinian lineage. His father was a merchant trading in Gaza and Egypt; whether or not Arafat was born there, he spent many of his teenage years in Egypt and long had a detectable Egyptian accent. In 1942, his father returned to Cairo, and Arafat continued his schooling there.

During the first Arab-Israeli War of 1948, Arafat fought with a contingent from the Muslim Brotherhood that was attached to Egyptian army forces operating in Gaza. When Israeli forces triumphed, Israel was created on 77 percent of what had been Palestine. In the process, Palestinian Arab society was shattered, and approximately 750,000 Palestinian refugees fled or were driven out of their homes by Israeli forces. After the war, Arafat's family returned to Egyptian-controlled Gaza. Arafat studied at Fu'ad I University in Cairo (now Cairo University), graduating with a degree in civil engineering in 1956. He was

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Yasir Arafat (Muhammad Abd al-Ra'uf al-Arafat al-Qudwa; also Yasser, Abu Ammar)

**Birth:** 1929, Cairo, Egypt

**Death:** 2004, Clamart, France

**Family:** Wife, Suha; married c. 1991; one daughter, Zahwa

**Nationality:** Palestinian

**Education:** King Fu'ad I University, Cairo, 1956, B.S. in civil engineering

### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1948:** Fights in first Arab-Israeli war
- **1959:** Helps found al-Fatah
- **1969:** Becomes chairman, Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)
- **1970:** Takes part in "Black September" fighting between PLO and Jordanian army; relocates to Beirut
- **1974:** Addresses UN General Assembly
- **1982:** Evacuates Beirut along with PLO fighters; relocates to Tripoli, Lebanon
- **1983:** Evacuates Tripoli; relocates to Tunis
- **1988:** Officially renounces PLO terrorism
- **1992:** Survives plane crash in Libyan desert
- **1993:** Signs Oslo Accord in Washington
- **1994:** Enters West Bank as interim head of Palestinian Authority (PA); receives Nobel Peace Prize
- **1996:** Elected president, PA
- **2000:** Attends Camp David II summit
- **2002:** Besieged in Ramallah headquarters by Israeli army
- **2004:** Dies in France; is buried in Ramallah

reportedly a member of the Muslim Brotherhood and also became active as a Palestinian student organizer, heading the Union of Palestinian Students.

Arafat studied engineering further in Germany and then went to Kuwait. While working for the public works department there, he started his own contracting firm. This firm prospered, and Arafat reportedly became quite wealthy. Some accounts suggest that his personal wealth helped fund the beginnings of the group al-Fatah, which became the most important Palestinian political-

military organization of the twentieth century. Arafat and certain other Palestinian expatriates, including refugees from the 1948 War like Khalil al-Wazir (known as Abu Jihad) and Salah Khalaf (Abu Iyad), became convinced that they could not wait for the Arab world to liberate their homeland from Israeli control. Instead, they believed that Palestinians needed to take their future into their own hands and fight Israel themselves.

**Head of Fatah and the PLO** A number of likeminded Palestinians came together to form Fatah by about 1959. The nucleus of Fatah consisted of Arafat, al-Wazir, Khalaf, Khalid al-Hasan, and others who would become lifelong colleagues. Other longtime Fatah associates included MAHMUD ABBAS and Faruq Qaddumi. Arafat received some training in Algeria, it is believed, and in Syria, where Fatah's armed wing, al-Asifa (The Storm), was formed. Arafat became part of the ten-person Fatah Central Committee upon its formation in early 1963, and pushed his colleagues to begin armed activities against Israel despite some of their reservations. Al-Asifa's first armed incursion into northern Israel took place in January 1965.

After the disastrous Arab defeat in the 1967 War, Fatah's prominence increased greatly. The Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), originally created under Egyptian auspices in January 1964, was overshadowed by Fatah and other guerrilla groups that sprouted up at that time, groups that vowed to keep the Arab cause alive by continuing the fight against Israel. As they mounted more attacks against Israeli targets, these groups increasingly won control of the PLO's Palestine National Council (PNC). In March 1968 fighters (known as *fida'iyyin*, "those who sacrifice themselves") from Fatah battled an Israeli attack on their base in al-Karama, Jordan. The guerrillas, supported by units of the Jordanian army, inflicted a disproportionately heavy toll on the Israeli attackers despite their own massive casualties. Fatah's prestige soared in an Arab world starved for victory and desperate to regain its soiled honor.

In February 1969, Fatah and its allies won enough seats in the PNC to elect Arafat the new chairman of the PLO's executive committee. Arafat set up his headquarters in Amman, Jordan. As chairman of both Fatah and the PLO, his deft leadership skills allowed him to forge a basic semblance of unity within a PLO made up of various individuals and factions that possessed widely varying ideologies and opinions about strategy. One of Fatah's own early principles had been non-interference in the affairs of the Arab regimes. But the presence of between 30,000 and 50,000 armed Palestinians in Jordan by 1970 constituted an inherent challenge to the rule of Jordan's king, HUSSEIN BIN TALAL. Having just lost the West Bank in the 1967 war, Hussein was fearful that *fida'iyyin* actions could lead to further Israeli military

actions that would compromise his kingdom. Compounding his fear was the fact that some PLO groups began openly calling for the overthrow of what they called his "reactionary" regime. In September 1970, the PLO and the Jordanian army were drawn into open and bloody conflict when one of the PLO's member organizations, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), hijacked several aircraft, flew them to Jordan, and blew them up (after evacuating the passengers) under the full glare of the international media. In the ensuing ten days of vicious fighting, dubbed "Black September" by Palestinians, the PLO was driven out of Amman, and eventually routed from Jordan completely in 1971. It was Arafat's first major defeat.

Arafat managed to escape from Amman, and set up his new base in Beirut. The PLO began attacking Israel from southern Lebanon, while certain factions like the PFLP and Black September (generally believed to have emerged from Fatah) also conducted terrorist activities against Israeli and Western targets in Europe. Rebounding from its defeat in Jordan, Arafat and the PLO soon won two major diplomatic victories. The Arab League summit meeting in Rabat, Morocco, recognized the PLO as the "sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people" in October 1974. On 14 November 1974, Arafat addressed the General Assembly of the United Nations (UN). Wearing his trademark black-and-white checkered *kuffiyya* headdress, he stated that he came holding both "an olive branch and a freedom fighter's gun." The PLO subsequently was granted observer status in the General Assembly. The UN speech, coming on the heels of the PLO's diplomatic victory at Rabat, marked a high point for Arafat. However, his career took another turn downward with the outbreak of the Lebanese Civil War in April 1975. The PLO found itself fighting not only right-wing Maronite Christian forces but eventually Syrian forces that intervened to halt the war.

Other problems were to come. The November 1977 visit of Egypt's President Anwar Sadat to Jerusalem and the March 1978 peace between Israel and Egypt were further blows. With the Arab world's largest military power now out of the conflict, Israel invaded Lebanon in June 1982 to drive out the PLO. Israel not only occupied all of Lebanon up to Beirut but also (unsuccessfully) targeted Arafat personally. Arafat and 10,000 *fida'iyyin* were evicted from Beirut in August. An attempt to form a new base in Tripoli, Lebanon, failed due to Syrian opposition and an intra-Fatah mutiny, and Arafat and the PLO moved to Tunis.

**Shift Toward Diplomacy** The experiences of the 1970s and 1980s prompted a major shift in the strategic thinking of Arafat and other Palestinians: the move away from "total liberation" and "revolution until victory" toward a

diplomatic solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict that would feature a truncated Palestinian state in the Israeli-occupied territories of the West Bank and Gaza. In 1984, Arafat entered into negotiations with King Hussein of Jordan to seek a common ground for a joint Jordanian-Palestinian negotiating position with Israel—the so-called Jordanian Option. The effort failed, with Jordan blaming Arafat for the failure. In December 1987, the first intifada, or Palestinian uprising, broke out in the occupied territories. This focused attention on the territories as the logical place to establish a Palestinian state. Although Arafat's Fatah was a major player in the Unified National Leadership of the Intifada, it was local cadres, not the Tunis leadership, who were in charge of the actual uprising. This led many analysts to predict once again that Arafat's days were numbered and that the central PLO leadership had lost its relevance. Arafat was convinced that he needed to gamble on a moderate, pro-negotiation position despite the fact that this meant the more hardline factions now considered him a curse.

In late 1988, the PLO leadership agreed to recognize Israel, follow the principle of negotiating with Israel on peace in exchange for territorial withdrawal, and officially renounce terrorism. Arafat publicly renounced terrorism twice, on 13 and 14 December 1988. After some adjustment, the formula finally met the United States' preconditions for a direct dialogue with the PLO, something it had avoided since 1975 because it considered the PLO a terrorist organization. But the dialogue bore no direct fruit, and Arafat's public embrace of Iraq's SADDAM HUSSEIN shortly after the latter's August 1990 invasion of Kuwait drew American ire. When the United States co-hosted the Madrid Conference for Arab-Israeli peace talks in October 1991, Israel still adamantly refused to deal with the PLO, which it considered a terrorist organization. Therefore, the Palestinians were awkwardly represented in Madrid by a panel of moderate Palestinians who were part of a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation, all of whom were acceptable to the PLO but none of whom had been formally members of it. Bilateral Israeli-Palestinian talks continued in Washington throughout 1992 and 1993, but went nowhere.

Meanwhile, in April 1992, as Arafat was flying to Sudan in a private aircraft, his plane crashed in the Libyan desert, killing the pilots and several passengers. Arafat survived, but was badly injured and required surgery. His friends later indicated that his survival, when so many others had died, convinced him that he had been providentially spared for a reason. The lifelong bachelor who once said, "my bride is Palestine," also married around this time, further putting his guerrilla days behind him. In 1991 or early 1992, he privately married Suha Tawil (1963–), the daughter of a PLO activist and a lawyer. Tawil, who had served as Arafat's secretary, was a

Christian more than thirty years his junior. A daughter, Zahwa, was born to the couple in 1994. These factors may have helped prepare him for the decision that he soon would have to make.

Frustrated with the difficulties of the public negotiations with Israel in Washington, Arafat authorized secret back-channel negotiations with the Israelis via Norwegian intermediaries. Ultimately, the result was the dramatic Oslo Accord, signed by the two former enemies, Israel and the PLO, on the White House lawn on 13 September 1993. The accord called for an Israeli withdrawal from parts of the occupied territories, and establishment of an autonomous Palestinian government there. For the first time, Arafat—once denounced as a terrorist by American presidents and forbidden entrance into the United States after his 1974 UN speech—came to the White House to be greeted by a U.S. president, Bill Clinton. Arafat's dramatic handshake with Israeli Prime Minister YITZHAK RABIN on the White House lawn underscored the fact that Arafat had survived his enemies within the PLO as well as in Israel and the United States.

**Head of the Palestinian Authority** The Oslo Accord led to the establishment of a fragile Palestinian government,

## CONTEMPORARIES

Salah Khalaf (1933–1991) was born in Jaffa and was made a refugee by the 1948 Arab-Israeli War. He helped found al-Fatah in Kuwait in the late 1950s, and became one of Yasir Arafat's most loyal and powerful comrades in the Palestinian national movement. Khalaf, known as Abu Iyad, played a number of important roles within Fatah, including being responsible for its security apparatus. He was accused of forming the Black September terrorist group that carried out a number of assassinations and other acts between 1971 and 1974, including the infamous seizure and murder of eleven Israeli athletes at the Olympic Games in September 1972, although neither he nor other Fatah leaders ever admitted a link between Fatah and Black September.

Khalaf criticized the PLO's embrace of Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein during the 1990–1991 Gulf Crisis. He was assassinated in January 1991, reportedly by the pro-Iraqi dissident Palestinian group Fatah-Revolutionary Council, headed by the notorious Sabri al-Banna (Abu Nidal).



the Palestinian Authority (PA), which took over the government of Jericho and Gaza in the summer of 1994, and eventually more of the West Bank as well. Arafat's entry into Jericho as provisional head of the PA in June 1994—the first time he had set foot in any part of historic Palestine since his guerrilla days in 1967—marked a personal vindication for Arafat. Arafat was elected PA president in January 1996. At that point, he simultaneously held the posts of chairman of Fatah, chairman of the PLO, and president of the PA. He oversaw the growth of a PA bureaucracy and a number of security and intelligence agencies.

His leadership came under mounting criticism by Palestinians both inside and outside the PA, however, both for his autocratic style and the diplomatic compromises he was willing to make. The most intractable opponents were the Islamist movements Hamas and Islamic Jihad, both of which vowed to continue violent retaliation against Israelis in response to Israeli killings of Palestinians. These groups had support within the Palestinian community, and Arafat had to balance the support extended by the Palestinian street with his needs both to placate his Israeli and U.S. peace partners and to maintain his tight grip on power in the PA. Although he signed further peace agreements with Israel in the 1990s, continued Israeli settlement building and occupation in violation of international law, along with Palestinian resistance, sabotaged the Oslo peace process.

When the Camp David II summit hosted by Clinton in July 2000 failed to bring about a final status agreement between Arafat and Israeli prime minister Ehud Barak, Arafat took a public relations beating in the West. Even though Barak refused to compromise on certain key issues as well, it was Arafat who received the blame for the outcome by the Americans and Israelis. The subsequent Israeli-Palestinian violence during the second, or al-Aqsa, Intifada that started in October 2000 led to Israel's reoccupation of large parts of the PA, the destruction of its infrastructure, and the lengthy 2002–2004 siege of Arafat's compound, the Muqata'a, in the West Bank city of Ramallah. U.S. President George W. Bush declared Arafat "irrelevant," and further peace talks stalled. Arafat's dream of presiding over establishment of an independent Palestinian state once again seemed distant.

**Illness and Death** While besieged in the Muqata'a, Arafat came down with an unknown illness in October 2004. His doctors could not diagnose the problem, and he was flown to the Percy Military Training Hospital in Clamart, France, outside of Paris, on 29 October 2004. The circumstances behind his final illness and death were both confusing and dramatic. Arafat's wife, Suha, who had lived much of their married life apart from him in

France, arrived at the hospital and vigorously guarded access to the dying leader. Senior Palestinian leaders flew to Paris to be with Arafat only to be turned away by her. One of the only persons she allowed to see him was his nephew, Nasser al-Kidwa, the PLO's ambassador to the UN. Arafat's condition deteriorated and he died on 11 November. Egypt hosted a military funeral for him the following day, after which his body was flown to Ramallah. Because he long had wished to be buried in Israeli-controlled Jerusalem, he was buried in Ramallah in a "temporary" grave. Lifelong Fatah colleague Abbas became the new chairman of the PLO and, two months later, PA president.

Rumors flew that Arafat died of AIDS, or was the victim of foul play. Another controversy broke out over who could have access to the 558-page medical dossier on Arafat that was amassed by French doctors. French law dictated that the records of a deceased person could be released only to family members, and Suha Arafat insisted that only she should have access to them. But Palestinian leaders were anxious to see the file, too, given the importance of determining whether or not Arafat had been poisoned. They reached a compromise with French authorities by which al-Kidwa, as a relative of the dead leader, could obtain copies of the file. He flew to France and obtained the file on 22 November, which he handed over to interim PA President Rawhi Fattuh in the West Bank on 11 December 2004. The file never was released publicly. Reports from knowledgeable insiders that appeared in the French, American, and Israeli press spoke of various possible diseases that could have led to Arafat's death, including cirrhosis of the liver (but not caused by alcohol abuse, given that Arafat was a non-drinker).

## INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

While not technically a refugee from the 1948 War, Arafat was deeply influenced by the destruction and dispersal of Palestinian society in that year, and the Palestinians' subsequent lack of political independence. He was deeply and firmly committed to leading his people toward international recognition and statehood. Arafat's conservative Islamic middle class background also left its imprint on him. Despite his frequent use of the term "revolution," he never was committed to a Palestinian social revolution as some of the Marxist PLO groups were. And while PLO politics were at heart secular, Arafat, who remained a sincere Muslim, never shied away from invoking Qur'anic verses and references in his speeches.

Arafat's significance to Middle Eastern history generally, and Palestinian history in particular, is great. Under his leadership, the Palestinians jumped within a decade from being relatively anonymous "Arab refugees" to a nation-in-exile fighting for independence that had garnered the support of much of the world. No other

Palestinian—or indeed few other world statesmen in the twentieth century—has been so personally identified with his people’s cause. On the other hand, Arafat failed his people in many ways. Despite a robust culture of free speech and criticism from opponents, he ran Fatah, the PLO, and later the PA, as his own autocratic fiefdoms. The PA held elections that were freer than almost anywhere else in the Arab world, yet its nascent democratic experiment was tainted by Arafat’s reliance upon his secret police and intelligence agencies to stifle dissent. While he personally led a simple, even spartan lifestyle—he neither smoked nor drank alcohol, and always dressed in plain, military style clothing along with his trademark *kuffiyya*—he also tolerated a climate of corruption among his cronies and supporters that infected Palestinian government.

### THE WORLD’S PERSPECTIVE

To the end of his life, Arafat remained a polarizing figure. To most Palestinians, he remained *al-Khityar* (the old man), the almost mythical symbol of their drive for independence and dignity, who pulled together a dispersed and downtrodden people, turned them into a movement, and led them to the doorway of independence. To other Palestinians, he was a sell-out who bargained away cherished national rights in return for the illusion of independence. To many Arab leaders he was a nuisance at best and an enemy at worst, someone who symbolized the instability generated by the presence of

millions of Palestinian refugees in their countries anxious for their own independent state.

Globally, Arafat generally was seen as a statesman from the developing world who, like so many others, started out as a fighter in the struggle for independence only to turn in the end to diplomacy. In 1994, he won the Nobel Peace Prize along with Rabin and Israeli Foreign Minister SHIMON PERES as a result of their actions in bringing about the Oslo Accord. However, many Western countries in particular viewed him with considerable suspicion. Particularly in the United States and Israel, Arafat was vilified as the leader of an organization that first brought terrorist acts such as airplane hijackings to the Middle East. Israelis in particular vehemently demonized him as a deceitful terrorist, both before and after the Oslo peace process of the mid-1990s when they briefly had considered him a “partner for peace.”

### LEGACY

History ultimately is likely to judge Arafat as a man who more than any other elevated the Palestinian cause and brought them toward an independent state after the violent destruction of Palestinian society in 1948. Even he, however, ultimately was unable to deal with the myriad pressures on him from his people, Middle Eastern countries, the United States, and the world at large. And while there is plenty of blame to go around, Arafat also will be criticized for how he handled both the peace

## I HAVE COME BEARING AN OLIVE BRANCH AND A FREEDOM FIGHTER’S GUN

The difference between the revolutionary and the terrorist lies in the reason for which each fights. For whoever stands by a just cause and fights for the freedom and liberation of his land from the invaders, the settlers and the colonialists, cannot possibly be called terrorist. . . . I appeal to you, further, to aid our people’s return to its homeland from an involuntary exile imposed upon it by force of arms, by tyranny, by oppression, so that we may regain our property, our land, and thereafter live in our national homeland, free and sovereign, enjoying all the privileges of nationhood. . . . Today I have come bearing an olive branch and a freedom fighter’s gun. Do not let the olive branch fall from my hand. I repeat: Do not let the olive branch fall from my hand.

Peace is in our interest: As only in an atmosphere of just peace shall the Palestinian people achieve its legitimate ambition for independence and sovereignty, and

be able to develop its national and cultural identity, as well as enjoy sound neighborly relations, mutual respect and cooperation with the Israeli people. . . . Just as war is a great adventure, peace is a challenge and wager. If we fail to endow peace with the wherewithal to withstand the tempest amid the storm, if we fail to nurture peace so that it may gain in strength, if we fail to give it scope to grow and gain in strength, the wager could be wasted and lost. So, from this rostrum I call upon my partners in peace to speed up the peace process, to bring about an early withdrawal [from further Israeli-occupied territory in the West Bank], to allow elections to be held and to move on rapidly to the next stage, so that peace may become entrenched and grow, become an established reality.

YASIR ARAFAT, SPEECH ACCEPTING THE NOBEL PEACE PRIZE, 10 DECEMBER 1994.

process with Israel, and for the fractious political culture that has emerged among Palestinians.

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Michael Dunn

updated by Michael R. Fischbach

## A'RAJ, WASINI AL- (1954-)

Novelist and university professor Wasini al-A'raj is one of the most prolific of the second generation of post-independence Algerian writers. He is a prominent cultural activist and public intellectual in both France and Algeria. He is among the few Algerian writers writing in Arabic who have achieved fame both in the Mashriq (the Arab East; West Asia) and in the Maghrib (the Arab West; North Africa).

#### PERSONAL HISTORY

Al-A'raj was born in 1954 in Sidi Bou Jnan, in the eastern province of Tlemcen, Algeria. He earned a bachelor's degree in Arabic literature from the University of Algiers and received a government grant to study at the University of Damascus, where he received his M.A. and Ph.D. In Damascus he also met his wife, the renowned poet Zeinab al-A'waj; they have two children. Al-A'raj began publishing while still a graduate student at Damascus. Upon his return to Algeria, he taught at the University of Algiers until 1994, when death threats issued during the violent civil war in Algeria forced him to leave the country with his family. After a brief period in Tunisia, where his efforts to secure a teaching job were unsuccessful, he went to France. There he was appointed at the Université Paris III-New Sorbonne to teach modern Arabic literature. He continues to commute between the two shores of the Mediterranean, teaching, writing,

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Wasini al-A'raj (Waciny Laredj; Laaraj)

**Birth:** 1954, Sidi Bou Jnan, Algeria

**Family:** Wife, Zeinab al-A'waj; two children

**Nationality:** Algerian

**Education:** B.A., University of Algiers; M.A., Ph.D, University of Damascus

#### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1980:** Publishes first book, *al-Bawwaba al-Zarqa'* (The Blue Gate)
- **1981:** Publishes first novel, *Waqa'i min Auja' Rajulin Ghamara Sawb al-Bahr* (Facts from the sufferings of a man who ventured toward the sea)
- **1993:** Publishes *Faji'at al-Layla al-Sabi'a ba'd al-Alf, Raml al-Maya* (The Disaster of the Seventh Night after the One Thousand Night, Raml al-Maya) bridging tradition with the present
- **2001:** Receives Algeria's highest award for the novel
- **2004:** Publishes most recent book, *Kitab al-Amir, masalik abwab al-hadid* (The Prince's Book: The Paths of the Wooden Gates)
- **2005:** Work discussed at colloquium organized by the Algerian Centre de Recherche en Anthropologie Sociale et Culturelle (Center for Research in Social and Cultural Anthropology, CRASC) in Oran
- **2007:** Participates in international forum to honor Naguib Mahfouz at the Institut du Monde Arabe in Paris

and participating in public cultural activities. For a few years in the nineties, he produced a literary program on Algerian television called *Katib wa Kitab* (A Writer and a Book). He is a regular contributor to the literary section of the French Algerian newspaper *al-Watan*, in the section "Les Gens du livre" (People of the Book).

These activities have not hindered Al-A'raj's creative writing, as he continues to publish novels and short stories. Two of his novels, *La Gardienne des ombres. Don Quichotte à Alger* (Protector of the Shadows: Don Quixote in Algiers, 1996; *Harisat al-Dhilal, Don Quishotte fi'l-Jaza'ir*, 1999), translated by Zeinab al-A'waj and Marie Virolle, and *Les Miroirs de l'aveugle* (The Mirrors of the Blind Man; *Maraya al-Darir*, 1998), were published in French

before publication of the Arabic versions. Al-A'raj received Algeria's highest award for the novel in 2001.

### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

The weak distribution of Arabic-language publishers and poor publicity are partly to blame for the sense of isolation that many writers, especially in the Maghrib, experience, despite the high quality of their work. This situation is often cited as the reason behind the still-significant number of French-language works published in these countries. These books benefit from the financial subsidies and publicity services of French cultural centers that are eager to guarantee the survival of the French language in former French colonies.

For almost two decades after independence in 1962, Arabic-language Algerian novels were authored almost solely by Abd al-Hamid Ibn Haduqa (1925–1996) and AL-TAHER WATTAR (1936–). Al-A'raj, many of whose novels were published outside Algeria and benefited from wide circulation and publicity, is credited with changes in the stylistics of narrative forms, freeing the language of some archaic expressions that lingered in Haduqa's novels and those of other pioneering writers whose education was limited by the traditional teaching of the Qur'anic schools. (French colonial authorities forbid education in Arabic, and restricted education in French.) Al-A'raj's Arabic style is modern and has benefited from his in-depth exposure to Mashriqi Arabic during his student years in Syria. Previously, al-A'raj, like other members of his generation, came into contact with the Mashriq through the Arab teachers from that region who taught in Algerian schools and universities after independence in 1962, under the Arabization policy that Algeria had adopted. All those factors played a significant role in providing al-A'raj with a solid education in Arabic language and literature, and helped him put Algerian fiction on the path of innovation in form and content. Absent from his work were the long, heavy sentences and didactic tone of earlier Algerian Arabic fiction. Instead al-A'raj presented the reader with complex characters and metaphors that he left to the reader to uncover and interpret. His first novel, *Waq'a'i min Awja' Rajulin Ghamara Sawb al-Bahr* (Facts from the sufferings of a man who ventured toward the sea), first published in 1981 in Damascus, reflects this tendency. Other works followed, revealing a continued effort to innovate while tackling issues of interest to the Algerian reader, and using both Algerian oral heritage and classical Arabic texts to convey modern themes.

Al-A'raj quickly moved away from the trend in post-independence literature, in both Arabic and French, in which the liberation struggle and the war years provided the main themes. He adopted a more subjective approach, using his personal experiences as themes, and not feeling compelled, like the writers of the previous generation, to

## CONTEMPORARIES

Wasini's wife, Zeinab al-A'waj (Laouadj; Zineb Laouedj), is a renowned poet and translator. The couple contributed to an anthology on African literature in French. Al-A'waj is the author of the following works:

*Ya anta! Man minna yakrah al-shams* (Tell Me, Who among Us Dislikes the Sun?, 1979)

*Arfud an yudajjan al-afjal* (I Do Not Accept that the Children Become Domesticated, 1983)

*Mémoire blessée* (Wounded Memory, 1997)

*Mots-dire La Barbarie, témoignages vivants contre l'intégrisme religieux* (editor; Speaking of Barbarity: Living Witnesses against Religious Fundamentalism, 1999)

*Les Chants de la dernière colombe* (Songs of the Last Dove [selected poetry], 2006)

keep alive the flame of the revolution. It is possible to divide his literary production into three major thematic phases or periods. In all of them, he continued to experiment with new techniques, exploited the Arabic literary and folk heritage, and maintained a critical outlook on Algerian politics.

**Early Novels; First Period** Al-A'raj's early novels revolve around the struggle for survival against harsh natural conditions in rural societies. Despite their general concern with poverty and their reference to the failures of the political establishment in Algeria, the novels of this period enact a process of purgation of emotions dating back to the author's childhood during the years of the war of independence and the death of his father during the national struggle. The works of this period are *al-Bawwaba al-Zarqa'* (The Blue Gate, 1980), *Ma tabaqq'a min Sirat Lakhbdar Hamrush* (What Remains from the Biography of Lakhbdar Hamrush, 1982), *Nuwwar al-Lawz* (Almond Blossoms, 1983), and *Masra' Ahlam Maryam al-Wadi'a* (The Death of Tender Maryam's Dreams, 1984).

Allusions to the failed policies of the Algerian political establishment are obvious in *Nuwwar al-Lawz*, in which the writer uses a quotation from al-Maqrizi's *Ighathat al-Umma bi Kashf al-Ghumma* (Helping the community by examining the causes of its distress) to convey his message. It reads, "Whoever observes this incident from beginning to end and from top to bottom, knows that people's conditions are the result of the leaders' and administrators' actions and their disregard for the well-being of the people." Al-A'raj takes his novel a step further by confirming

the connection between al-Maqrizi's conclusion and the conditions in his own country, stating "that the events of the novel are fictitious... and any similarity with... any country in this world is not the result of coincidence." Al-A'raj recommends that readers consult "Taghribat Bani Hilal" (an epic in Arabic, recounting the conquest of Tunisia by Banu Hilal) before reading *Nuwwar al-Lawz*, for a better understanding of the novel.

The second period is characterized by the use of the Arabic literary heritage, both folk and classical. Here, al-A'raj relies heavily on symbolism derived from famous Arabic texts such as *Alf Layla wa Layla (Arabian Nights)* [The Book of A Thousand Nights and a Night]. His novel *Damir al-Gha'ib* (1990) marks a turning point in his technique, as he relies heavily on Algeria's history. His next two books, *Faji'at al-Layla al-Sabi'a ba'd al-Alf, Raml al-Maya* (The Disaster of the Seventh Night after the One Thousand Night, Raml al-Maya, 1993) and *al-Makhtuta al-Sharqiyya* (The Eastern Manuscript, 2002) clearly demonstrate his use of the interaction between old and new to address his country's growing problems. Like many major Arab writers before him, al-A'raj found in the *Arabian Nights* a source for the lost Arabic tradition of narration and tried to revive it in his own writing.

**National Tragedy** A plunge into the inferno of Algeria's national tragedy during the 1990s, and its impact on private and public life as well as the fate of the country, mark the work of al-A'raj's third period. The first novel of this period, *Sayyidat al-maqam. Marthiyyat al-yawm al-hazina* (Mistress of the Shrine: Elegies for a Sad Day, 1995), offers a critical look at the political establishment, a reference to the assassination of the country's writers and intellectuals, the failed cultural policy of the regime, and the activities of Islamist groups. The figure of Scheherazade can be perceived in the person of the protagonist, Maryam.

*Harisat al-Dhilal, Don Quishotte fi'l-Jaza'ir* (Protector of the Shadows: Don Quixote in Algiers, 1999), which appeared first in French as *La Gardienne des ombres. Don Quichotte à Alger* (1996), expressed horror at the bloodshed that was tearing the country apart. Despite the tragic conditions the novel provides a feeble glimmer of hope for a better tomorrow. Meanwhile, as the tragedy continued and the country catapulted toward the abyss, the author endured a painful exile, described in *Dhakirat al-Ma'* (The Memory of Water, 1997).

In 1998 al-A'raj published *Maraya al-Darir* (Mirrors of the Blind Man), followed by *Shurufat Bahr al-Shamal* (Balconies of the North Sea, 2001), in which the optimism for the future suggested in *Harisat al-Dhilal* proves slow to materialize. We encounter a despondent man, eager to forget his country's tragedies as he travels to a conference in Northern Europe. He refuses to read the press, in order

to forget the tragic events he left behind. Neat, orderly Amsterdam provides a painful reminder of the chaos in his own country. The protagonist's psyche is further conditioned by his underground life in Algeria, where he is forced to hide for his safety; the narrative reveals the destructive effect of this situation on him and others living like him. The book is an in-depth look at the negative psychological repercussions of the Algerian tragedy.

It is still too early to speak of a fourth period ushered in by *Tawq al-Yasamin, rasa'il fi'l-shawq wa al-hanin* (The Jasmine Necklace, 2004). This novel reveals a writer on a healing path, finding solace in the love of a woman and his love of his country, intermingled with the spiritual Sufism of Ibn Arabi. The book raises the issue of mixed marriages, as religion separates the lovers, the Christian Sylvia and the Muslim Id 'Ashshab. The author does not fail to refer to one of Arabic literature's major essays on love, quoting from Ibn Hazm's *Tawq al-Hamama* (The Dove's Necklace).

Al-A'raj's *Kitab al-Amir, masalik abwab al-hadid* (The Prince's Book: The Paths of the Wooden Gates, 2004) marks a return to Algeria's history, in an effort to restore the true image of one of the major figures of early Algerian resistance, Emir Abd al-Qadir al-Jaza'iri. Generally however, al-A'raj has adopted a rather skeptical and critical attitude toward official versions of Arab history. He tends to destroy the halo of sanctity that surrounds them. He explains his approach to the use of history in both *Kitab al-Amir* and *al-Makhtuta al-Sharqiyya* in these words:

History as a futuristic outlook, governed by a defeated past and a troubled present despite the efforts exerted, conveys a rather pessimistic view of the future. It is important that the Arabic novel questions the future in dealing with the history of the region. The mere process of posing the question would push us to confront ourselves more forcefully to avoid becoming the red Indians of the next century (*al-Sha'b al-Thaqafi*, February 2006, p. 7).

Al-A'raj's novels abound in the use of colloquial Algerian terms, mainly in the dialogue. Some of his novels of the third period contain French sentences which he translates to Arabic in footnotes. Nothing seems to explain or justify the incursion of this foreign language in the Arabic text. When Francophone Mahgribi writers studded their texts with Arabic terms and symbols, they were sending a clear message to their readers indicating how they differed from French writers. Theirs was a celebration of their Arab-Islamic heritage.

#### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

Al-A'raj has made his mark both on academia and Arab literary circles. He occupies an undeniable place among major Arab writers. Literary critics recognize his contribution to the development of the Algerian novel in

particular. His novels have also been the subjects of a significant number of university theses and dissertations in Algeria and Tunisia. In 2005, the Algerian Centre de Recherche en Anthropologie Sociale et Culturelle (Center for Research in Social and Cultural Anthropology, CRASC) in Oran, recognizing his literary status, organized a one-day colloquium at which his work was discussed and analyzed by prominent university professors.

#### LEGACY

Al-A'raj's numerous cultural activities and his academic career on two continents give him a degree of visibility that few of his contemporaries have achieved. His fluency in French has helped him spread his wings beyond the Arabophone countries. There is no doubt that this visibility and his immense contributions to cultural life in his country and Europe are making al-A'raj a role model for upcoming Algerian writers in Arabic. His successes show clearly that in the end it is the quality of the work that counts and not the language of expression.

The growing interest in al-A'raj's writings is visible in his participation in international forums, the latest in January 2007 at the Institut du Monde Arabe in Paris, in honor of NAGUIB MAHFOUZ. The publication of translations of a significant number of his books is a reflection of his importance and the interest of Western readers.

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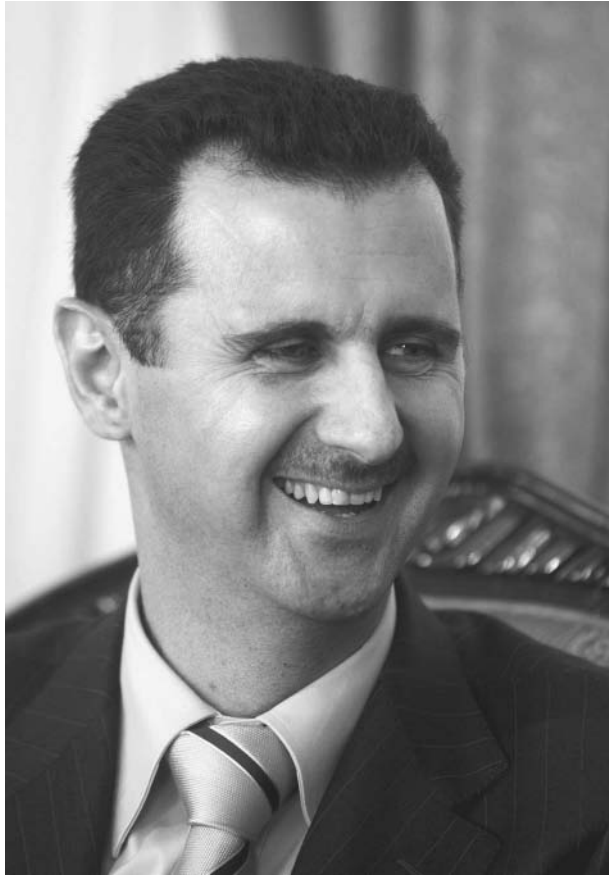
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Aida A. Bamia

#### ASAD, BASHAR AL- (1965–)

Bashar al-Asad (Bashshar al-Assad) is the president of Syria. A trained ophthalmologist, Asad entered politics only in 1994, succeeding to the presidency upon the death of his father, HAFIZ AL-ASAD, in 2000. Widespread anticipation that the youthful president would bring rapid and substantial economic and political change to Syria was soon dampened when his administration took steps to reassert the authority of the old regime.



*Bashar al-Assad.* AP IMAGES.

### PERSONAL HISTORY

Born in Damascus on 11 September 1965, Asad was the third surviving child and second son of Hafiz and Anisa al-Asad. He grew up with an older sister, Bushra, and an older brother, Basil, together with two younger brothers, Mahir and Majid. At the insistence of their father, all of the Asad children completed their early education in Syria. The ethos of the Asad household was somewhat puritanical. The children saw little of their workaholic father but were intensely loyal to him.

Asad completed primary and most of secondary school at the *Laique School*, now known as the *Basil al-Asad School*, completing the final two years of secondary school at *La Frère School*. At the University of Damascus, he studied medicine, specializing in ophthalmology and graduating in 1988. Following obligatory service in the military as an army doctor, he moved to the United Kingdom in 1992 to begin postgraduate training in ophthalmology at the *Western Eye Hospital* in London. During his two-year stay in the United Kingdom, Asad focused on his medical studies but also gained a far greater exposure to the West than most members of the Syrian elite.

### BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Bashar al-Asad (Bashshar al-Assad)

**Birth:** 11 September 1965, Damascus, Syria

**Family:** Wife, Asma Akhras; two sons, Hafiz and Karim; one daughter, Zayn

**Nationality:** Syrian

**Education:** *Laique School*, Damascus; *Le Frère School*, Damascus; University of Damascus, 1988, medicine; *Western Eye Hospital*, London, 1992–1994, postgraduate training in ophthalmology

#### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1988:** Graduates from University of Damascus Medical School
- **1992:** Begins postgraduate training in ophthalmology, London
- **1994:** Returns to Syria upon death of elder brother Basil; named chairman, Syrian Computer Society
- **1996:** Graduates with honors, command and general staff course, Higher Military Academy
- **1997:** Promoted to lieutenant colonel
- **1998:** Assumes responsibility for Syrian relations with Lebanon
- **1999:** Promoted to colonel
- **2000:** Promoted to lieutenant general; named supreme commander, armed forces; elected secretary general, Ba'th Party; assumes presidency on death of Hafiz al-Asad

The death of his older brother, Basil, in an automobile accident in January 1994 proved to be a life-changing event. Following Bashar's return to Damascus for the funeral, his father replaced Basil with Bashar as the presumed successor to the Syrian presidency. In what turned out to be a six-and-a-half-year period of preparation, the elder Asad worked to build his son's status within the military and security apparatus, at the same time enhancing his standing with the Syrian public and acquainting him with the substantive dimensions of his future role. Following completion of an army course for tank battalion commanders, Asad enrolled in the Higher Military Academy's command and general staff course, which he completed in mid-1997. Promoted to lieutenant

ant colonel, he was put in charge of the same elite Republican Guard brigade Basil had commanded earlier and promoted again in early 1999 to the rank of full colonel.

At the same time, Asad became the public face of a highly selective anticorruption initiative that enjoyed widespread public support even though it carefully avoided senior members of the regime. As chairman of the Syrian Computer Society, a nonprofit organization devoted to promoting the diffusion of information technology throughout the country, he also burnished his role as an informed and progressive leader interested in modernization. Asad later played a prominent role in a bureaucratic struggle in the late 1990s that led to a government decision to allow the Internet into Syria.

**Assumption of the Presidency** Following the death of his father from heart failure on 10 June 2000, Asad's succession to the presidency proceeded smoothly. On the day after his father died, he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant general and named supreme commander of the armed forces. Shortly thereafter, he succeeded his father as secretary general of the omnipresent Arab Socialist Resurrection (Ba'ath) Party. Elected to a seven-year term on 10 July 2000 with 97.29 percent of the official vote tally, he became the sixteenth president of the Syrian Arab Republic on 17 July 2000.

In his inaugural address, Asad set the tone for the early years of his administration, stressing the dual themes of continuity and change that have characterized his presidency. Calling for serious economic reform, including a greater role for the private sector, he also supported administrative reform and the modernization of laws. At the same time, he rejected Western democracy as a suitable model for Syrian political development and pledged himself to a peaceful recovery of the occupied Golan Heights.

Asad soon displayed notable political skill, gracefully eliminating potential political rivals and promoting younger officials dedicated to economic and technological modernization. He also made clear his distaste for the cult of personality, a prominent feature of his father's regime. One sign of a liberal inclination was his promise to reactivate the Progressive National Front, a coalition of political groups established in 1972 and dominated by the Ba'ath. Asad also granted amnesty to hundreds of political prisoners and decreed a 25 percent salary raise for public sector workers.

Known as the Damascus Spring, these early liberalization measures, which lasted seven months, were tarnished by steps taken to reassert the authority of the old regime, including a crackdown in 2001 on political discussion groups and the imprisonment of pro-democracy militants. Asad appeared to reverse course in mid-2003,

but the reform measures introduced in this period were dismissed by many as cosmetic. The regime published the final draft of a five-year economic reform program, Ba'ath officials were told to stay out of the day-to-day management of the country, three private banks were licensed, and two new private universities and four new radio stations were approved.

Economic reform appears to have held primacy in Asad's policy thinking from the outset; nevertheless, broader economic reforms were delayed, in part out of fear of possible political destabilization. Asad recognizes that economic, social, and political reforms are not sequential, that they must progress simultaneously, but he also has a sound strategic appreciation of the political risks involved in proceeding too quickly with any type of reform. Syrian society is characterized by ethnic and sectarian cleavages, together with widespread economic disparity and underdevelopment. It also shows signs of Islamist tendencies, especially within the Sunni Arab majority. A member of the Alawite minority, an obscure offshoot of Twelver Shi'ite Islam, Asad sees economic reform as the foundation for wider social reform, primarily through the emergence of a more robust civil society, probably an antecedent for political reform.

**International Developments** Over time, regional and international developments, including the second Palestinian Intifada in that began in September 2000, the 11 September 2001 terrorist attacks in the United States and the U.S. response in Afghanistan in 2001 and Iraq in 2003, diverted Asad's attention from domestic issues. The elder Asad had bequeathed his son a well-defined set of parameters for a just peace with Israel, including a comprehensive settlement and Israeli withdrawal from the Golan Heights. And the son has not departed appreciatively from the peace process developed by the father, balancing forces for resistance and peace. With peace with Israel the top national priority, Syrian foreign policy revolves around three axis: Egypt-Saudi Arabia-Syria, Iran-Syria, and Lebanon-Syria. Departures in Asad's foreign policy include an opening to Iraq, improved relations with Turkey, and support for the Palestinian Intifada. While nothing in Asad's actions suggests he is willing to settle for less than full Israeli withdrawal from the Golan Heights, Israel has steadfastly refused to negotiate on a territorial basis, demanding peace talks be preceded by a termination of Syrian support for both Palestinian militants and Hizbullah, the Shi'ite political grouping and militia in Lebanon.

The unresolved peace process with Israel, combined with the American occupation of Iraq and the War on Terror, continue to cloud the development of diplomatic relations between Syria and the United States. In the wake of the 11 September 2001 attacks, Damascus engaged for a



time in intelligence-sharing against al-Qa'ida, despite concern within the Bush administration that Syrian assistance could create a sense of indebtedness, affecting conduct appropriate to a state considered by the U.S. since 1979 to be a state sponsor of terrorism. Once it was in occupation of Iraq, the United States made Syrian support for Palestinian rejectionist movements and Hizbullah a policy priority. It also charged repeatedly that Syria was providing financial and military aid to Iraqi resistance forces, even though it provided little or no concrete evidence to support such charges.

Bush signed the Syrian Accountability and Lebanese Sovereignty Restoration Act on 12 December 2003, providing for selective sanctions against Syria. Two days earlier, the European Union (EU) and Syria had concluded a Euro-Mediterranean Association Agreement. Implementation of the accord was delayed until the parties could reach agreement on revised wording of its controversial weapons of mass destruction clause. Following the assassination of former Lebanese prime minister RAFIQ HARIRI in February 2005, Syria withdrew in mid-2005 armed forces it had deployed in Lebanon since 1976. Asad had reportedly threatened Hariri in the course of a late 2004 meeting; therefore, members of the international community remained concerned that Syria had been involved in his assassination and that Syrian influence in Lebanon had not ended.

In October 2005, a report submitted to the United Nations (UN) Security Council by an investigation team headed by the German judge and prosecutor, Detlev Mehlis, implicated Lebanese and Syrian officials in the assassination of Hariri, but did not reach a conclusive finding of guilt. An earlier unpublished version of the report was said to have listed the names of five senior Syrian officers, including the president's brother Mahir al-Asad. As the Mehlis report was being finalized, Ghazi Kan'an, a former Syrian intelligence chief in Lebanon who had been reassigned to Syria in 2002, apparently committed suicide. Given his intimate knowledge of Syrian activities in Lebanon, some observers suggested he was murdered or forced to commit suicide by Syrian authorities who feared he could implicate them in Hariri's assassination. In December 2005, the Mehlis commission submitted a follow-up report, which stressed that its earlier conclusions remained valid but again failed to produce conclusive evidence of guilt. Mehlis resigned in January 2006 and was replaced by Serge Brammertz, a Belgian prosecutor serving with the International Court of Justice, who continued the investigation. During the July 2006 Israeli invasion of southern Lebanon, Syria joined Iran in supporting Hizbullah militia forces; when the fighting was finished, Israel claimed that Syria had supplied missiles to Hizbullah.

In the end, the Syrian policies of most concern to both the European Union and the United States, namely

support for terrorism and weapons of mass destruction programs, are most likely to be resolved within the context of a broader Israeli-Syrian peace settlement. As former U.S. secretary of state Henry Kissinger once observed, the Arabs cannot make war without Egypt and they cannot make peace without Syria. Given the sensitive issues at stake, the timing for a resumption of peace talks is unclear. However, the key elements of a successful negotiation would appear to include a U.S. strategy of conditional engagement with Syria, together with the recognition by all involved parties of both Syrian and Israeli requirements for peace, including the return of the Golan Heights. In the interim, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the U.S. occupation of Iraq, and concerns of the War on Terror serve to reinforce the intransigence of the old guard in Syrian politics and remain a pretext for obstructing change in both external and internal policies.

## INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

The elder Asad was the primary influence on the personality and policies of Bashar al-Asad. The late president devoted considerable time and effort to grooming his son to succeed him. On the surface, his efforts were largely successful, but the regime he created has proved difficult for his son to master. The dominant political bodies are the military, the security apparatus, the Ba'th Party, and the civilian government, leaving institutions like the Council of Ministers, the legislative assembly, and even the presidency itself limited in power and influence. Asad has repeatedly complained since taking office that the executive office lacks the capacity to develop serious reform initiatives.

The personalized system of succession developed by the elder Asad has also made it difficult for his successor to chart a political course differing significantly from that of the old regime. A related influence has been the economic and political power of the Asad family. If Bashar fails to champion family interests or the broader stability of the regime, Asad family members in strategic positions can and will challenge the legitimacy of his claim to power. There is also a question of authority; it has proved difficult for Asad to duplicate the personal authority of his father, an authority based on longevity in office and the occasional use of decisive force. Finally, the established policymaking process, largely centered on a bureaucracy dominated by status quo-minded bureaucrats and Ba'th Party loyalists, has proved an impediment to the implementation of reform initiatives.

During his relatively short stay in London, Asad gained some exposure to the West, certainly more than most members of the Syrian elite. Whether or not he gained that deeper understanding of contemporary economic and political issues that might result in him implementing a full-fledged reform agenda in Syria remains unclear.

## WE ARE THE ONES CONCERNED WITH WAR AND PEACE

In other words, resistance and peace constitute one pillar rather than two pillars, and he who supports part of it has to support the other part. Whereas those who claim to have the experience and vision for peace . . . come and show us your achievements in the field of resistance. Apart from that, any experience is incomplete to learn from. And as we are living an exceptional and historic period, there is no room for courtesies, bargains or settlements. Rather, we have to speak frankly: we, in Syria, Lebanon and Palestine, still have occupied lands; this means we are the ones concerned with war and peace. In the first place, we want from our Arab brothers to stand with us, and we welcome anyone who wants to do so but only through our vision and evaluation of our interests. We were the ones who suffered in war and in peace negotiations in the last decades.

BASHAR AL-ASAD, SPEECH BEFORE THE FOURTH  
GENERAL CONFERENCE OF THE UNION OF JOURNALISTS,  
DAMASCUS, 15 AUGUST 2006.

### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

Perceptions of Asad have varied enormously since his inauguration in 2000. Little consensus exists as to his leadership skills, core domestic and foreign policy values, or the extent to which he actually controls and directs the internal and external politics of Syria. At the outset of his presidency, Asad generated considerable optimism in many circles, despite widespread recognition of the manifold challenges he faced, that he would differ from his father. Many observers felt that his brief exposure to the West would promote more progressive policies, while others saw a generational change in the Syrian elite transforming the regime. Consequently, there has been much disappointment that anticipated economic and political reforms have not been enacted as quickly as expected.

In this regard, the Tenth Regional Congress of the Syrian Ba'ath Party, held in early June 2005, appeared to mark a watershed in the Asad presidency. When faced with a make-or-break opportunity to promote desperately needed socioeconomic and political reforms, Asad chose to focus on the consolidation of his power within the sclerotic Ba'ath Party. He replaced much of the old-guard party leadership with new, younger faces, packing the newly elected Ba'ath Party ruling council with his supporters. The ruling party did open the door a crack

to increased political participation in the form of opposition political parties; however, it ruled out parties based on sectarian, ethnic, or religious grounds, closing the door to Kurdish separatist and Islamic fundamentalist movements.

A variety of explanations have been developed to explain why change in Syria has been much slower and less extensive than originally anticipated. One sees Asad as a closet reformer who wants to reform the economic and political system inherited from his father and improve diplomatic relations with the West, especially the United States. His progress in this regard is constrained, according to this viewpoint, by his dependence for political support on an old guard of senior officials opposed to reforms that undermine their authority or reduce opportunities for personal or family gain. A second sees Asad as the loyal son whose main concern is to protect the constituencies and core policies of his father's regime. This point of view concludes that he is part of the problem, not part of the solution. A third sees Asad as a political neophyte, simply not up to the job of being chief executive. As to which explanation is the most accurate, the available evidence provides some support for each, and all three probably contain elements of truth.

### LEGACY

It is too early to assess Asad's legacy, as it remains to be seen what kind of leader he will become in the long run. Something of a reluctant president, he assumed the role with gusto once in office. His longer-term success will depend on his ability to continue to balance internal forces for continuity and reform with external forces for resistance and peace.

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Ronald Bruce St John

## **ASAD, HAFIZ AL-** **(1930–2000)**

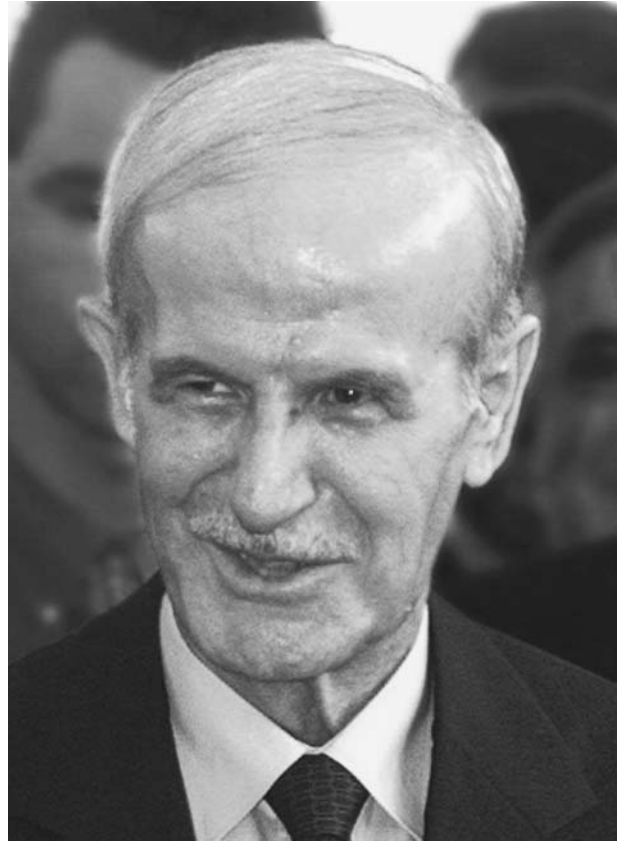
A member of the Syrian Baʿth Party since secondary school, Hafiz al-Asad (Hafez al-Assad) was a major factional leader within it until seizing power in a coup in 1970. He was the president of Syria from 1971 until his death in 2000.

### **PERSONAL HISTORY**

Asad was born in the small village of Qurdaha in the mountains of northwestern Syria, home to the Islamic minority known as the Alawis (or Alawites). Sent to school on the coast in Latakia (al-Ladhīqiya), he was one of a handful of village boys to receive a formal education as the French opened schools in more remote areas of Syria. Active in school politics, Asad joined the Baʿth Party in 1947 while a student in Latakia. During his school years, he was elected head of his school's student affairs committee and president of the nationwide Union of Syrian Students, notable achievements for himself, his community, and his political party. Graduating from secondary school with a baccalaureate in 1951, he entered the Syrian Military Academy at Hums and later the Air Force Academy at Aleppo, graduating as a pilot officer in 1955.

Enjoying politics, Asad plunged with enthusiasm into the intrigues of the highly politicized and faction-ridden Syrian officer corps, traveling to Egypt in 1955 and to the Soviet Union in 1958 for military training. Returning to Egypt in 1959, he joined four fellow military officers in founding a secret organization in 1960 called the Military Committee. Admirers of the Baʿth theorist Zaki al-Arsuzi, the five men opposed two other prominent Baʿthists, Michel Aflaq and Salah al-Din al-Bitar, whom they held responsible for the demise of the party after Syria entered into its ill-fated union, the United Arab Republic (UAR), with Egypt in 1958. Distrusting political parties and eager to control Syrian elites, Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser (Nassir) had made dissolution of the Baʿth Party a precondition for accepting union with Syria.

Because they were Baʿthists who aspired to positions of prominence in Syrian public life, Asad and his colleagues in the Military Committee were very careful not to reveal the existence of their organization to Egyptian intelligence. Nevertheless, Asad was jailed briefly in Egypt following the breakup in September 1961 of the UAR. Returning to Syria, he was granted indefinite leave from the air force and demoted to a low-paid clerk position in the Ministry of Economics. In March 1963, Asad played a leading role in the coup d'état that brought fellow Baʿthist officers to power; and following the coup, he was promoted to major general and made commander



*Hafiz al-Asad.* AP IMAGES.

of the air force. In 1965, he was named to the regional and national Baʿth High Command.

In the seven years following the 1963 coup, Asad busied himself mastering the political techniques necessary to survive and prosper in the factional struggles plaguing Syria. Siding with the radical party faction of Salah Jadid and Muhammad Umran, Asad made lasting friendships and permanent enemies. Umran kept an eye on the government, and Jadid ran the army. Asad's role was to extend the Military Committee network throughout the armed forces, ensuring loyalists occupied all sensitive commands.

In the wake of a bloody intraparty shootout, Asad in February 1966 was made minister of defense. Two years later, only twelve years after graduating as a pilot officer, he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant general. Throughout this period, Asad turned repeatedly to Zaki al-Arsuzi for ideological guidance and support. Providing political insight and direction, Arsuzi contributed editorials to the party and army press until his death in 1968. In February 1969, Asad gained control of both the government and the Baʿth Party command, retaining temporarily some of his adversaries in positions of power.

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Hafiz al-Asad (Hafez al-Assad)

**Birth:** 1930, Qurdaha, near Latakia, Syria

**Death:** 2000, Damascus Syria

**Family:** Wife, Aniseh (Anisa) Makhluף (m. 1958); four sons, Basil (d. 1994), Bashar al-Asad, Mahir (Maher), and Majd; one daughter, Bushra

**Nationality:** Syrian

**Education:** Primary school, Qurdaha; secondary school, Latakia, 1951; Syrian Military Academy, Hums; Syrian Air Force Academy, Aleppo, 1955; postgraduate military training, Egypt and the Soviet Union

## PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1947:** Joined Ba'ath Party
- **1953:** Enters Military Academy at Hums; transfers to Air Force Academy at Aleppo
- **1955:** Graduates from Air Force Academy as pilot officer
- **1964:** Promoted to major general, named commander of air force
- **1965:** Named to regional and national Ba'ath Party High Command
- **1966:** Appointed minister of defense
- **1967:** Promoted to lieutenant general
- **1970:** Seizes control of Syrian government in coup d'état known as the "Correctional Movement"
- **1971–2000:** President of Syria

In November 1970, he seized full control in a new "correctional movement," purging his opponents and detaining their leaders, including President Nur al-Din al-Atasi.

Asad's rise to power opened a new chapter in the domestic and foreign policies of Syria. Moving to establish a firm footing for his rule, he built stable state institutions and wooed disenchanted social classes with measures of political and economic liberalization. Socialism, retained as a tenet in the rhetoric of the ruling party, became étatism or state capitalism. Asad also relaxed restrictions on the private sector. Rapid economic growth, mostly generated through public expenditure, was the main objective of both economic and develop-

ment policies. The Syrian economy responded positively to this stimulus, expanding at an annual rate exceeding nine percent throughout the 1970s.

Socially, the Asad regime stressed the need for reconciliation and national unity. To strengthen the impression of a new beginning, he introduced a more liberal climate for writers and novelists and courted former Ba'athists who had fallen out of favor with the previous regime. He also worked to establish stable political structures. A People's Council or parliament was created in 1971, and the Progressive National Front, an institutionalized coalition of the Ba'ath Party and a number of smaller parties, was set up in 1972. In 1973, a new constitution was promulgated. Active in creating supportive political bodies, Asad allowed no opposition to his rule. Recognizing Islamist movements as a particular threat to the regime, he ruthlessly suppressed the Muslim Brotherhood, violently eliminating its resistance during the Hama uprising of February 1982.

At the same time, Asad worked assiduously to neutralize factional struggles within the army and the Ba'ath Party. The army, a multilayered intelligence network, formal state structures, and revitalized party congresses became the institutional pillars of his regime. The newly-created People's Council in March 1971 appointed Asad president, following his nomination by the Ba'ath command; thereafter, carefully controlled plebiscites regularly endorsed his reelection for seven-year terms. The political elite accepted state consolidation, together with the concentration of power in Asad's hands, as measures necessary to confront the threat the country faced following its defeat in the 1967 Arab-Israeli War. External resources were the key to Asad's state-building, with the Soviet Union providing the arms needed to rebuild the military and Arab oil money funding an expansion of the bureaucracy and the co-opting of the bourgeoisie.

In foreign policy, Asad openly questioned the radical policies of his predecessors, setting Syria on a more realist course that recognized Israel's military superiority. In the process, Syrian foreign policy passed through three distinct phases during the Asad years. In the first phase, 1970 to 1974, he moved to improve diplomatic relations with Egypt, which had been strained since the 1961 breakup of the UAR. He also joined in November 1970 the still-born federation of Egypt, Libya, and the Sudan, and set about returning to a friendly basis Syrian relations with Lebanon, Morocco, Saudi Arabia, and Tunisia. Due to these initiatives and others, the 1973 Arab-Israeli War, at least in part, was an efficiently coordinated Syrian-Egyptian-Saudi affair. While not a military success, it was a political victory for Asad. Although Syria failed to regain the Golan Heights, his regime derived a high degree of legitimacy and considerable political leverage from a credi-

ble challenge to the Israeli status quo as well as from the Arab oil embargo initiated in response to the war.

As he took steps to repair regional relations, Asad moved to convince the Soviet Union that Syria remained a reliable and valuable partner. Soviet arms deliveries in the early 1970s proved vital to Syria's relative success in the 1973 War. Egypt's separate peace with Israel in 1978 and Israel's invasion of Lebanon in 1982 stimulated additional arms shipments in later years. Consequently, Soviet military power expanded steadily during Asad's rule in an effort to give Syria sufficient parity with Israel to constitute a credible deterrent. The Soviet role as patron-protector also served as a deterrent to Israeli freedom of action against Syria. As for the United States, mutual hostility and mistrust kept the two countries diplomatically apart until the 1990s. Asad felt the United States biased the regional balance of power in Israel's favor both by ensuring its military superiority and by dividing the Arabs, notably by detaching Egyptian president Anwar Sadat's Egypt from the anti-Israel coalition.

The second stage, which lasted from 1974 to the end of the 1980s, saw three significant modifications to the early foreign policy of the Asad regime. The first was a major revision to its former alliance strategy with Egypt. Following the Egyptian peace agreement with Israel, Asad hoped to discredit Sadat, eliminating the possibility of a Camp David-type agreement between Israel and other Arab states. He also worked to bring neighboring Lebanon and Jordan, together with the Palestinians, into the Syrian orbit, struggling in 1983–1984 to kill the May 1983 Israel-Lebanon accord brokered by the United States. Soviet support for Syria was extremely important in this period as it strengthened Asad's resolve to challenge Israeli power and U.S. diplomacy in Lebanon following the 1982 Israeli invasion.

Another change in Syrian foreign policy in this second stage involved abortive attempts to improve diplomatic relations with neighboring Iraq. A number of difficult issues, including geopolitical rivalry and the Ba'ath Party schism, had long separated Asad and the Iraqi president, SADDAM HUSSEIN. Despite these differences, Asad journeyed to Baghdad in 1978, following Egypt's entente with Israel, in an unsuccessful search for common diplomatic ground. He again visited Iraq in June 1979 in a failed bid to promote federation between the two countries. Suspicious of the federation scheme, Hussein failed to greet Asad at the airport and later accused Syria of hatching a plot to overthrow him. When the Iran-Iraq war broke out in 1980, Asad condemned Iraq and backed Iran. Denouncing the Iraqi invasion of Iran as the wrong war at the wrong time with the wrong enemy, Asad rightly predicted it would detract Arab attention from the Israeli menace. Over time, Syria and Iran became increasingly close partners, much to the

displeasure of Saudi Arabia and the Gulf states, which viewed the Iranian revolution as a threat to their regimes as well as the territorial integrity of their states.

The third change in this second stage involved Syrian relations with Israel. In a major about-face, Syria in March 1972 accepted United Nations (UN) Security Council Resolution 242, a basic framework for regional peace adopted in November 1967. Previously, Asad had rejected Resolution 242 on the grounds that the Arabs must redress the military and political balance with Israel before they could force Israel to solve the Palestine question and withdraw from Arab territories. A more tangible step was the May 1974 disengagement agreement between Syria and Israel, negotiated under the auspices of the United States. A notable aspect of this agreement was the joint declaration that the disengagement of forces was only one step toward a just and durable peace based on UN Resolutions 242 and 338. In addition, Asad agreed to block guerrilla raids across the disengagement line.

The third stage in the foreign policy of the Asad regime, dating from the end of the 1980s to 2000, included entente with Egypt, participation in the U.S.-led alliance against Iraq, and subsequent involvement in the U.S.-sponsored Middle East peace process, beginning with the Madrid conference in October 1991. These events transpired at a difficult time for the Asad regime in which the negative impact of the decay of pan-Arabism was compounded by deteriorating economic conditions at home. Triggered by a sudden decline in oil prices and compounded by decreasing levels of foreign assistance, the economic problems of the Asad regime from 1985 to 1990 were rooted in a history of excessive military spending, stifling economic regulations, and political corruption.

In 1988 and 1989, Syria abandoned its policy of seeking "strategic parity" with Israel and entered into an alliance with the Egyptian government of President HUSNI MUBARAK, a pact involving de facto acceptance of the Camp David Accords. These moves led to Syria's participation, for the first time, in face-to-face negotiations with Israel. In the process, Syria dropped its insistence on an international peace conference under UN sponsorship, creating a climate for bilateral negotiations with Israel.

The end of the Cold War marked a period of necessary transition for Asad. Faced with a hostile international environment, he wisely, if begrudgingly, adapted to the new power balance. The implosion of the Soviet Union fully exposed Syria to Western animosity for its perennial opposition to the Middle East peace process. In response, Asad rightly concluded the struggle with Israel had become largely diplomatic and would require détente with the United States, which alone had leverage over Israel. The Gulf War coalition provided Asad with an opportunity to trade adhesion to the coalition for limited U.S. recognition of Syrian interests. In the process, Asad

hoped to influence the new world order rather than becoming its victim.

Syrian entry into the Madrid peace process in 1991 marked, not an abandonment of long-term goals, but their pursuit by other means. The containment of Israel remained center stage in Syrian strategic thinking. Through his participation in the talks, Asad hoped to maximize Syrian territorial recovery while minimizing concessions to Israel. Syria displayed newfound flexibility in the talks; nevertheless, negotiations eventually stalled over Israeli insistence on a surveillance station on Mount Hermon, which Asad considered an affront to Syrian sovereignty, and the 1996 Likud election victory. Talks with Israel resumed after the 1999 election of Ehud Barak but later broke down over control of Golan water resources and Israeli insistence on modifying the pre-1967 border around Lake Tiberias.

As Syrian foreign policy with Israel transitioned from a state of belligerency to one of coexistence, Asad initiated a new round of economic reforms at home. The decade of the 1990s witnessed a slow dismantling of the public sector and the socialist measures associated with it. Private investment overtook public investment with the agricultural sector becoming almost exclusively the domain of the private sector. At the same time, strong resistance to additional reforms, including vested interests in the bureaucracy, Ba'ath Party, and military, together with widespread patronage, waste, and corruption, remained serious obstacles to rational economic policies. The limited economic reforms also generated mounting pressures for increased political openness, but political liberalization, especially democratization, remained anathema to the Asad regime.

### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Asad's father, Ali Sulayman, was a peasant of Alawi origin. He was known for his strength, bravery, and chivalry, mediating quarrels and giving protection to the weak until his death in 1963. Asad inherited many important core values from his father. Rejecting the Damascene Ba'ath theorists Aflaq and al-Bitar, Asad embraced the ideas of Zaki al-Arsuzi.

Asad's most important contribution was to bring stability to Syria, an inherently unstable patchwork of ethnic and religious communities. Located in a turbulent region of the world, Syria underwent a series of regime changes, including a number of military coups, in the twenty-five years between independence and Asad's Correctional Movement in 1970. Events in Lebanon, torn apart by civil strife after 1975, stood as a warning to Syrians as to what might happen without Asad. At the same time, it was generally understood that his brand of stability, accompanied as it was by an absence of democratic accountability and a lack of respect for human rights, was designed not so much for the common good

## CONTEMPORARIES

Zaki al-Arsuzi (1899–1968) was a Syrian political activist and writer from Antioch (now the Turkish city of Antakya). A graduate of the Sorbonne, he returned to Antioch in 1932 to teach secondary school but was soon forced to leave by French authorities who objected to his nationalist ideas. He led the anti-Turkish movement in his home province in 1936–1938 and claimed to have been the first to use the word “ba'ath” (renaissance) in the name of a political faction. Settling in Damascus, Arsuzi in 1939 divided his supporters into a political group, the Arab Nationalist Party, and a cultural group, the Arab Ba'ath. An influential theoretician of Arab nationalism, his coterie never developed into a political movement. Eventually disillusioned with politics, Arsuzi moved first to Latakia and then to Tartous. Asad was a lifelong proponent of the Arsuzi stream of the Ba'ath Party from his earliest days as a student politician in Latakia. In the wake of the Sixth National Congress of the Ba'ath Party in 1963, Hafiz al-Asad arranged for Arsuzi to assist with Ba'athist ideological education in the army and later ensured that he was granted a state pension.

as it was to maintain the regime in power. Asad demanded full control and total respect, seldom seeking consensus and often resorting to savage repression.

### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

Asad, more than any Arab statesman of his time, represented the aspirations of the Arab people to be masters of their own destiny. His efforts in this regard were mostly frustrated; nevertheless, he was an articulate spokesperson for Arab rights and security. Rightly described by many as a man of 1967, he spent much of the next three decades working to overturn the verdict of the 1967 War, which he saw as defeat for all Arabs. A central element of his early regional policy was to block piecemeal agreements with Israel in the belief they confirmed Israeli supremacy. He believed the Arabs should insist on a comprehensive settlement of all issues or live with no peace at all. Widely respected in the Arab world for his insight and tenacity, his policies came to be seen by many as ineffective and obstructionist, if not anachronistic. Unable to orchestrate a comprehensive peace settlement and opposed to individual agreements like the Camp David Accords, his policies were viewed in the West,

especially in the United States, as obstinate and self-serving, if not malevolent. In the last decade of his rule, he took a more pragmatic approach to Israel and the role of the United States in the region, but the policy adjustments made in those final years did little to soften his reputation in or out of the Middle East.

#### LEGACY

Asad built an authoritarian regime as opposed to a totalitarian one. There was no all-encompassing ideology enforced by the ruling party or the state. Elements of Arab nationalism, Arab unity, and Ba'athism found their way into official announcements and public statements, but they never stood in the way of the realpolitik of the regime. To consolidate power, Asad restructured the state; within a few years, he was at the top of an interlocking structure of state power. Commander-in-chief of the armed forces, he was also secretary general of the regional and national command of the Ba'ath Party and head of the executive branch of government. With power, not ideology, most important to Asad, pragmatism became the hallmark of his domestic policy. In foreign policy, Asad proved a master player in regional and international politics, often able to extract maximum returns from difficult situations.

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Ronald Bruce St John

## ASHOUR, RADWA (1946–)

Radwa Ashour (also Ashur) is an Egyptian novelist, short-story writer, literary critic, and university professor.

#### PERSONAL HISTORY

Ashour was born on 26 May 1946 in Cairo, Egypt. She earned her B.A. in English from Cairo University in 1967 before moving on to complete her M.A. in comparative literature from Cairo University in 1972. Ashour

### BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Radwa Ashour (Ashur)

**Birth:** 1946, Cairo, Egypt

**Family:** Husband, Murid al-Barghuthi (Palestinian); one son: Tamim (b. 1977)

**Nationality:** Egyptian

**Education:** B.A. (English), Cairo University, 1967; M.A. (comparative literature) Cairo University, 1972; Ph.D. (African-American literature) the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, 1975

#### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1967:** Begins teaching at Ain Shams University
- **1972:** Helps establish the Higher Committee for Writers and Artists in Egypt
- **1985:** Publishes first novel, *Hajar Dafi*
- **1994:** Publishes *Gharnata*; it is declared best book of the year by the General Egyptian Book Organization
- **1995:** Wins first prize at Cairo Arab Women's Book Fair for *Gharnata*
- **2005:** Co-edits *The Encyclopedia of Arab Women Writers: 1873-1999*

obtained her Ph.D. in African-American literature from the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, in 1975. She began teaching at Ain Shams University in Cairo in 1967, where she remains professor of English literature. Ashour married noted Palestinian poet Murid al-Barghuthi in 1970 and briefly moved with him to Kuwait in 1971.

#### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Ashour's father was a lawyer, and she grew up in a house full of books and reading. After becoming a scholar and a writer, she produced academic literary studies in both Arabic and English as well as prize-winning fiction. Her novel *Gharnata* (Grenada, 1994), first of a trilogy on the Muslim community in Spain during the period of the Spanish Inquisition, has garnered much praise for its subtle historical focus, beautiful descriptive writing, and rendering of gender and generational relations; the second and third parts were published as *Maryama, wa'l-Rabil* in 1995. She had already published three novels that differed widely in technique and theme—*Hajar dafi* (1985), *Khadija wa Sawsan* (1989) and *Siraj* (1983)—and a travel memoir, *al-Rihla* (1992). Since then, she has published an autobiographical novel, *Atyaf* (1998) that plays with conventions of authorship and the inside/outside of the text, and a volume of linked short stories in the form of reports by an elusive narrator, playing ironically with the notion of an authorial double and perhaps with the still-prevalent critical tendency to equate the characters created by female writers with the author herself (*Taqarir al-Sayyida Ra*) (2001).

Ashour has published critical studies on West African literature, on the Palestinian writer Ghassan Kana-fani, on Lebanese-American writer Kahlil Gibran, and on William Blake; she has also published a collection of critical essays (*Sayyadu al-Dhakira*). Several of her short stories have been translated into English (*My Grandmother's Cactus*). She co-edited *The Encyclopedia of Arab Women Writers: 1873-1999* (2005), and supervised the translation into Arabic of volume nine of the *Cambridge History of Literary Criticism* (2006).

#### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

Ashour is a noted writer. In particular, her trilogy *Gharnata* won her considerable acclaim. The book won first prize at the Cairo Arab Women's Book Fair in 1995, and was declared best book of the year by the General Egyptian Book Organization in 1994.

#### LEGACY

Ashour is still active, and it remains too early to assign to her a legacy.

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Marilyn Booth  
updated by Michael R. Fischbach

### ASHRAWI, HANAN MIKHA'IL (1946–)

Hanan Mikha'il Ashrawi is a prominent Palestinian academic, politician, and human rights activist.

#### PERSONAL HISTORY

Ashrawi was born in 1946 in the West Bank town of Ramallah, just outside of Jerusalem, to a prominent Protestant Christian Palestinian family. Her father Da'ud Mikha'il was one of the founders of the Palestine Liber-



*Hanan Mikha'il Ashrawi*. AP IMAGES.



## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Hanan Mikha'il Ashrawi

**Birth:** 1946, Ramallah, mandatory Palestine

**Family:** Husband, Emile; two daughters, Amal and Zeina

**Nationality:** Palestinian

**Education:** American University of Beirut, 1968, B.A. and M.A. English literature; University of Virginia, 1971, Ph.D. medieval and comparative literature

### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1967:** Member of General Union of Palestinian Students and General Union of Palestinian Women in Beirut; unable to return to Ramallah
- **1968:** Works for Palestinian Information Office in Beirut
- **1973:** Granted permission by Israel to return to Ramallah; begins teaching at Birzeit University
- **1974:** Helps establish Legal Aid Committee at Birzeit University
- **1988:** Appears on ABC-TV's *Nightline* program with Ted Koppel
- **1991:** Participates in Palestinian talks with U.S. Secretary of State James Baker; official Palestinian spokesperson at the Madrid peace conference
- **1993:** Resigns all official Palestinian positions
- **1994:** Helps establish the Palestinian Independent Commission for Citizens' Rights
- **1996:** Elected to the Palestinian Authority's (PA) Palestinian Legislative Council; serves as PA minister of higher education
- **1998:** Resigns as minister; establishes MIFTAH
- **2001:** Becomes spokesperson for the Arab League

ation Organization (PLO). Her mother, Wadi'a As'ad, was of Lebanese ancestry and was a devout Christian.

Ashrawi attended the Friends Girls School, a Quaker institution in Ramallah, where her four sisters also went to school. She went on to study English literature at The American University of Beirut (AUB). While there, she was a member of the General Union of Palestinian Students from 1967 to 1970 and the General Union of Palestinian Women from 1967 to 1972. She also worked

in the Palestinian Information Office from 1968–1970. She completed both her Bachelor's and Master's degrees at AUB in 1968. In the 1967 Arab-Israeli War, Israel took control of the Sinai Peninsula, the Gaza Strip, East Jerusalem, and the West Bank, where Ashrawi's family lived. The Israeli government then passed a law designating anyone who was out of the country at the time an "absentee" without legal status and without the right to return to the newly occupied territories. Ashrawi was not allowed to return to her hometown, which was under Israeli military occupation. She was forced to remain outside the country, first in Lebanon and then in the United States.

She made use of the opportunity to continue her higher education. For the next six years, Ashrawi pursued graduate studies and obtained her doctorate in Medieval and Comparative Literature from the University of Virginia in 1971. Ashrawi went on to be awarded honorary degrees from Earlham College and Smith College.

While working on her graduate degree, Ashrawi also developed an interest in the women's movement and deepened her dedication to the Palestinian cause. She married Emile Ashrawi and has two daughters, Amal (b. 1977) and Zeina (b. 1981).

In September 1973, Ashrawi was finally granted permission to return to her home in Ramallah. She was offered the chairpersonship of the Department of English at Birzeit University and served in that position from 1973 to 1978 and again from 1981 to 1984. She later served as Dean of the Faculty of Arts from 1986 to 1990 and continued as a faculty member at Birzeit until 1995.

Ashrawi has published numerous articles on Palestinian culture and literature as well as politics. She also has written some poetry and short stories. Her major publications include the *Anthology of Palestinian Literature* (which she edited), *The Modern Palestinian Short Story*, and *An Introduction to Practical Criticism*. In July 2001, she became spokesperson for the Arab League.

### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Ashrawi gradually became one of the few Palestinians to transcend the media's popular stereotype of the Palestinian terrorist. She is a masterful spokesperson for Palestinian issues who can conduct press conferences and interviews with great poise and political savvy.

Ashrawi's political activism continued while she worked as a professor. The Legal Aid Committee she helped to establish in 1974 to pay the fines of students arrested by Israeli occupation authorities was a reflection of the suffering that Birzeit University and students faced under occupation. The intermittent closures that the Israeli military imposed on students and faculty and the university at large also impacted her and her work.

After a number of successful appearances on live American television during the first intifada, which began in December 1987, Ashrawi became involved with the Palestinian Diplomatic Service and a political committee she helped form in 1988 to muster support among Palestinians for the PLO's diplomatic moves. Beginning in April 1991, she was part of a team of West Bank and Gaza Palestinians who conducted a PLO-approved dialogue with U.S. Secretary of State James Baker and part of an U.S. peace initiative that led to the October 1991 Madrid peace conference among Arab states, Israel, and a joint Palestinian-Jordanian delegation. Because she held a Jerusalem identity card, Israel would not allow her to be a member of the joint delegation; however, she was one of seven members of the delegation's steering committee, which served as a liaison between delegation members in Madrid and the PLO leadership in Tunisia. She also served as the delegation's official spokesperson. Some say that the eloquent Ashrawi upstaged her Israeli counterpart at the Madrid Conference, BINYAMIN NETANYAHU, who later became the prime minister of Israel.

After the signing of the September 1993 Declaration of Principles (Oslo Accord) by PLO chairman YASIR ARAFAT and Israeli prime minister YITZHAK RABIN, Palestinian self-rule was established in parts of the West Bank and Gaza, and Ashrawi resigned from all official positions in December 1993. She headed the Preparatory Committee of the Palestinian Independent Commission for Citizen's Rights (PICCR) in Jerusalem, and later headed the PICCR until 1995. Ashrawi was elected to the Palestinian Authority's (PA) Palestinian Legislative Council in 1996.

She went on to become the PA's Minister of Higher Education in May 1996 and Head of the Political Committee, but resigned in August 1998 in protest of wide spread political corruption. In December 1998 she founded the Palestinian Initiative for the Promotion of Global Dialogue and Democracy, which is also known by the Arabic acronym MIFTAH (Arabic: key). The aim of the organization, which she continues to head, is to foster "principles of democracy and dialogue on the free and candid exchange of information and ideas". Its aim is also to provide accurate and reliable information. MIFTAH also represents Ashrawi's wish to end the Israeli occupation based on humanitarian grounds in addition to historical facts.

In 1995 Ashrawi published her memoir, *This Side of Peace: A Personal Account*, which was an immediate success. She also served on the international advisor board of the New York-based Council on Foreign Relations, and the board of trustees of the Carter Center at Emory University.

#### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

Ashrawi first came to international public prominence during the first Palestinian intifada that began in Decem-

ber 1987. As a well-educated woman speaking flawless, American-accented English, Ashrawi quickly caught the attention of the many international journalists who flocked to cover the intifada. She was one of four Palestinians (and the only woman) who participated with Israeli officials in an April 1988 broadcast of ABC-TV's celebrated *Nightline* show, with host Ted Koppel. She continued to be a darling of the media for several years during the intifada and during the period of the Oslo peace process between Israel and the PLO in the 1990s and proved herself to be one of the best—if not *the* best—Palestinian to explain Palestinian national ambitions to the world. She continues to receive worldwide recognition and was awarded in 2003 the Sydney Peace Prize in spite of a great uproar amongst conservative Australians who still called her an apologist for terrorism. In October 2005, Ashrawi participated in the Distinguished Joan B. Koc's Institute for Peace & Justice Lecture Series. Her speech was entitled "Content, Context, and Process in Peacemaking."

#### LEGACY

Ashrawi is still a leading Palestinian spokesperson, so it is too early to assess her ultimate legacy. Still, it is clear that she will be remembered as one of the best-spoken advocates for Palestine and an important voice in the international discussion of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict.

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*Mona Mikhail*

#### ASIMI, MALIKA AL- (1946–)

Moroccan poet, writer, university professor, and politician Malika al-Asimi is an outspoken critic of discrimination against women, especially in public service. She lost her first electoral bid to represent her Marrakech district in the Moroccan parliament, but won the seat on the second try.

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Malika al-Asimi

**Birth:** 1964, Marrakech, Morocco

**Family:** Husband; two stepdaughters and one daughter

**Nationality:** Moroccan

**Education:** B.A., M.A. (1987)

### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

**1970s:** Publishes *al-Ikhtiyar* (The Choice) and contributes to *al-Thaqafa al-Maghribiyya* (Maghrebi Culture)

**1988:** Publishes first collection of poetry, *Kitabat Kharij Aswar al-'Alam* (Writings Outside the Walls of the World)

**1989:** Publishes second collection of poetry, *Aswat Hanjara Mayyita* (Voices from a Dead Throat)

### PERSONAL HISTORY

Al-Asimi was born in Marrakech, in 1964. She received a Bachelor's degree in Arabic literature and a certificate in comparative literature. In 1987 she received her M.A. from the College of Arts and Sciences, usually referred to as College of Literature and Humanities, in Rabat. She is a faculty member at the Muhammad V University in Rabat.

Al-Asimi published a journal, *al-Ikhtiyar* (The Choice), in the early 1970s. She was a contributor to another journal, *al-Thaqafa al-Maghribiyya* (Maghrebi Culture). Most of her writing is poetry and is devoted to defending women's rights. She has published two collections of poetry, *Kitabat Kharij Aswar al-'Alam* (1988, Writings Outside the Walls of the World), and *Aswat Hanjara Mayyita* (1989, Voices from a Dead Throat). Another book, *al-Mar'a wa Ishkaliyyat al-Dimuqratiyya* (Women and the Ambiguities of Democracy) deals with political issues regarding women. She has also published a book on the history of Jam'i al-Fina, the famous square in Marrakech.

### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

A reading of al-Asimi's poetry is very revealing of her personality. It is clear that she would not be satisfied with the single role of a mother and wife. Though she uses her poetry to express disapproval of conditions in her country, both social and political, she is clearly convinced that direct involvement in political life is the best way to have

an impact on the system and bring about change. She summarizes her position in "Ru'ya" (Vision), the preface to her collection *Kitabat Kharij*: "Our role in this world is akin to that of a wrestler. We must always be ready to struggle against the many forces of injustice, to obtain our rights" (p. 14).

Al-Asimi's concern with the human condition encompasses a wide range, and is easily aroused whenever human dignity is trampled. Her position is that "We must learn to refuse to let our humanity be trampled. Dignity comes first . . ." (*Kitabat Kharij*, p. 14). Her passionate love of freedom is described in her poem "Ismi Matar" (My Name is Rain):

I have a baby girl named rain  
I love the breeze of freedom  
Like a unique cat  
Who runs from one jungle to another,  
To avoid people and chains.

(KITABAT KHARIJ, P. 59)

She has been true to her word as expressed in this poem and used her poems, and poetry readings throughout Morocco, to propagate her message and defend the causes she believes in.

In "Ta'asa" (Misery), al-Asimi sheds light on her country's many social problems, without the slightest effort to embellish reality or provide excuses.

Friends, if you only knew my country,  
Eccentricities and deviant behavior nest in it,  
People smoke hashish and opium, . . .  
In my country people gulp down alcoholic  
drinks,  
They steal and aggro.  
The children in every neighborhood have  
formed treacherous gangs,  
They lead a life of crime and disrepute, . . .  
They flee their dirty, dark caves,  
And stupid teachers  
Who do not know what children like.

(KITABAT KHARIJ, P. 49-50)

The heart of this outraged and often pessimistic poet beats fast in her love poems, as in "al-Qasida al-mas'ura" (The Mad Poem).

My friend,  
Your scent is still singing in my short hair locks,  
Filling my heart with hunger.  
A call, a yelp,  
Change my body into an erupting volcano,  
And my breasts into raging fire.

(KITABAT KHARIJ, P. 78-79)

In “Ziyarat al-Faris al-Qadim” (The Visit of the Ancient Knight), she recalls the powerful memory of a past love, writing,

Your tobacco, departed friend  
Visits me like a nostalgic breath,  
Though you, my departed friend, rarely pay me  
a visit.

(KITABAT KHARIJ, P. 88)

Al-Asimi’s ability to lead a public life and participate in the cultural activities of her country is a reflection of the understanding and respect that her husband, a judge, has for her. She appears free to express herself and to move around the country, to be in the spotlight whether as a poet, an academic, or a member of parliament.

Al-Asimi’s research interests are centered on the oral literature of Morocco. She studies the social history of Moroccan women through folktales. She considers those tales an expression of women’s creativity and the early foundations of women’s compositions. In them, she finds the values of her society preserved and transmitted from one generation of women to the next.

#### THE WORLD’S PERSPECTIVE

Al-Asimi is well known in the Maghreb and in the literary circles of the Arab world. She participates in local literary festivals, which are numerous in Morocco, such as the well-known annual Asila Festival and the Cultural Festival held every summer in Rabat.

#### LEGACY

Al-Asimi is without doubt a powerful role model for Moroccan women. She divides her time and energy between the duties of a wife, a mother, an academic, and a militant feminist. In a country where women are gradually acquiring greater freedom and a more significant role in political and social affairs, al-Asimi offers a positive example.

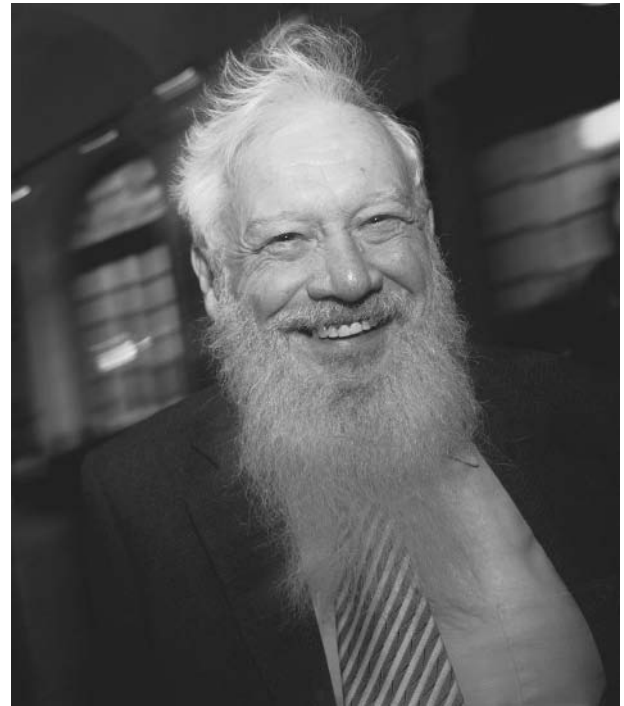
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*Aida A. Bamia*

## AUMANN, ROBERT (1930–)

Israeli mathematician and economist Robert (also known as Bob, Johnny, and Yisrael) Aumann has been a central figure in the founding of game theory and made signifi-



*Robert Aumann.* AP IMAGES.

cant contributions to the theory’s application to economics, for which he was awarded the Nobel Prize in economics in 2005. The Nobel Prize Committee noted that his work “enhanced our understanding of conflict and cooperation through game-theory analysis.” Aumann is the founder of the Center for the Study of Rationalism and a member of the Einstein Institute for Mathematics at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and a member of the United States National Academy of Sciences.

#### PERSONAL HISTORY

Aumann was born in Frankfurt-am-Main, Germany, on 8 June 1930. He grew up in an upper middle-class Orthodox Jewish family. In 1938, Aumann’s family fled Nazi Germany and moved to the United States, where they settled in New York. Aumann graduated from a Jewish religious school, where he excelled in mathematics, and obtained a B.Sc. in Mathematics at the City College of New York in 1950. At the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, where he pursued advanced degrees in mathematics under Professor George W. Whitehead, Aumann received a Ph.D. in 1955. In the fall of 1956 he took up a position as instructor of mathematics at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, where he still teaches.

Aumann’s main contribution is to the study of game theory, a science of strategy, which attempts to determine what actions different “players” in a given field—trading

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Robert John Aumann

**Birth:** 1930, Frankfurt am Main, Germany

**Family:** First wife, Esther Schlesinger, d. 1998;  
second wife, Batya Cohn; five children

**Nationality:** Israeli

**Education:** City College of New York, 1950,  
B.Sc. mathematics; Massachusetts Institute of  
Technology, 1952, M.Sc. mathematics, 1955,  
Ph.D. mathematics

## PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1956:** Publishes “Asphericity of Alternating Knots,” *Annals of Mathematics*
- **1956–present:** Teaches mathematics, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem
- **1959:** Publishes “Acceptable Points in General Cooperative  $n$ -Person Games”
- **2004:** Wins Israel Prize for Economic Research
- **2005:** Wins Nobel Prize for Economics

partners, employers, unions, even crime syndicates—should take to secure the best outcome for themselves. In particular, Aumann analyzed repeated games, in which players encounter the same situations over and over again. As a mathematician, early in his career he did a pioneering work in knot theory, a branch of algebraic topology inspired by observations of common knots. Recently his findings in knot theory proved useful in understanding the structure of some types of DNA. Aumann is an inveterate advocate of a unified view of rational behavior in many fields of human endeavor such as political science, biology, computer science, and religion. He chose the topic of “War and Peace” for his Nobel Prize lecture, in which he discussed a resolution of the conflicts in the Middle East. Aumann insisted that wars are rational and need to be studied like other phenomena.

## INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Aumann was deeply affected by his childhood experience of his family’s flight from Nazi Germany and loss of all possessions. He is a devoutly religious man. As a religious Zionist, he believes in a profound link between the Jewish people and the land of Israel and especially Jerusalem. One of his sons, Shlomo, was killed while serving in the Israel Defense Forces’ armored corps during the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982. Considered a hard-

liner with regard to the Middle East conflict, Aumann promotes his views in public lectures and articles. He is a member of Professors for a Strong Israel (PSI), a right-wing organization of American and Israeli academics. Aumann vehemently opposed the “disengagement” from Gaza in August 2005. In several speeches, Aumann claimed that it was a crime to forcefully remove Jewish settlers from the Gaza Strip and that the disengagement would undermine Israeli security.

## THE WORLD’S PERSPECTIVE

The work on game theory for which Aumann is best known was done in the 1960s, during the Cold War, when he applied the insights first developed by John Von Neumann and John Nash to nuclear arms race strategy. He later used a similar approach to the study of economic behavior. Aumann also used game theory to find a solution to the Talmudic “division problem” that provided the rationale for dividing the heritage of a late husband among his three wives, depending on the worth of the heritage (compared to its original value). Aumann was later involved in a scientific controversy because he supported Bible codes research (computer-aided statistical analysis of the text of the Hebrew Bible in order to find encrypted descriptions of historical personalities, events, and important dates). He originally vouched for the validity of the Great Rabbis Experiment (the alleged encoding of the birth and death dates of a set of rabbis in the Book of Genesis) but later discounted H. J. Gans’s claim regarding the existence of encoded text in the Bible.

## LEGACY

It remains too early to assess Aumann’s ultimate legacy. He certainly will be remembered as a mathematician who strove to apply theoretical concepts of rationality to diverse fields of science and politics.

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Alexander Murinson

## AWDA, SALMAN AL- (1955–)

Salman ibn Fahd ibn Abdullah al-Awda (Oadah) is a Saudi Arabian preacher whose sermons, widely distributed by audiotape, became influential among Islamist political thinkers at home and abroad during the 1991 Gulf War and much of the decade following. Incarcerated in the 1990s for opposition to the Saudi government, he is now a supporter of the regime.

### PERSONAL HISTORY

Al-Awda was born in 1955 in al-Basr, near the city of Burayda in Qasim Province, in central Saudi Arabia. He had a classical Islamic education in the Wahhabi tradition, beginning at the Burayda Institute, where he studied Arabic grammar, standard Wahhabi treatises, Hanbali jurisprudence and hadith under the personal guidance of local shaykhs. He completed a B.A. and M.A. in Islamic jurisprudence at Imam Muhammad bin Sa'ud University. Incarcerated for five years for inciting opposition to the Saudi government, al-Awda emerged rehabilitated in 1999 to become one of the kingdom's most respected religious spokespersons. With a television program and a Web site that disseminates opinion in four languages, he has also become a spokesperson for the regime, operating under its protection and in competition with the government-sponsored establishment ulama (clergy).

### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Al-Awda identifies himself with the Saudi Arabian *Sahwa* intellectual movement that arose in the 1970s. *Sahwa* (Awakening) is grounded in the Wahhabi doctrine of Sunni Islam that views true Islamic government as based on an equal partnership between ulama (clergy) and state, and Islamic law as derived solely from the Qur'an and Sunna (the customary behavior of the Prophet as illustrated in books of his collected sayings and deeds [Hadith]) According to Madawi al-Rasheed in her book *Contesting the Saudi State*, in al-Awda's view *Sahwa* specifically incorporates the idea of individual responsibility for carrying out the Qur'anic injunction to command what is good and condemn what is wrong, a responsibility that should not be abrogated in favor of state agencies and official ulama. While individuals who identify themselves with *Sahwa* neither subscribe to a particular polit-

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Salman ibn Fahd ibn Abdullah al-Awda (Oadah)

**Birth:** 1955, al-Basr, Saudi Arabia

**Family:** Married; twelve children

**Nationality:** Saudi Arabian

**Education:** Imam Muhammad bin Sa'ud University, B.A., M.A., Islamic jurisprudence

### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1990:** Teaches, Burayda mosque
- **1994:** Imprisoned for anti-government activities
- **2001:** Director, *Islam Today* website

ical organization nor express a uniform viewpoint, as a way of thought the movement is overtly political, underpinning a discourse of contestation that draws from religion to solve contemporary concerns.

Al-Awda's views on government and society were influenced by the circumstances of his birth. He was raised in an agricultural village near Burayda, which, like Qasim Province as a whole, is poor and underdeveloped in comparison to the capital region and the cities of the Hijaz, the northwest quadrant of the Arabian Peninsula. Burayda is known historically as a stronghold of Wahhabi conservatism and for its active opposition to some government-sponsored development projects that impact local cultural values, such as girls' education when that was first introduced in the early 1960s. Al-Awda's sermons from the start expressed an ideology of resistance to cultural challenges arising from globalization and development, as well as opposition to the monopoly of power held by Saudi Arabia's ruling family and its failure to invest in the economic development of Qasim.

The 1990–1991 Gulf Crisis and War, in which an American-led coalition of forces aligned against the Iraqi regime of SADDAM HUSSEIN in response to its seizure of Kuwait, proved an opportunity for al-Awda and others to tap into an already-existing current of discontent within the kingdom. When the then-Grand Mufti Abd al-Aziz bin Baz issued a fatwa lending Islamic justification for the regime to invite American forces to defend Saudi Arabia from Hussein, al-Awda raised questions about the incapacity of the Saudi military to defend the kingdom when so much of its resources had been invested in American-made weapons. During the war period al-Awda was a moving force behind two reform petitions addressed to the king. The first, in

## THE ABSENCE OF SOCIAL JUSTICE

Many of us talk among ourselves about the absence of social justice from our society. The problem lies in our failure to apply the rules of our religion (shari'a) which was sent with a comprehensive reform message that included the spreading of justice, equality and abolishment of state and societal oppression. The message was sent to address our needs and protect our dignity and rights. Under Islamic law, no one will have a right to insult another fellow being, oppress him in any way, spy on him, arrest him without just reason or invade his privacy... All of these rights would be protected under the Islamic shari'a.

AWDA, SALMAN AL-. "LETTER FROM BEHIND BARS, 1995."  
AVAILABLE FROM [HTTP://WWW.GEOCITIES.COM/SAUDHOUSE\\_P/LETTER2.HTM](http://www.geocities.com/saudhouse_p/letter2.htm).

1991, was known as the Letter of Demands and was signed by leading Saudi religious, mercantile, and socially prominent figures seeking changes in the form of government, notably the establishment of a Shura (consultative) Council. A year later, the second petition, known as the Memorandum of Advice, which was signed by more than one hundred religious scholars, including establishment ulama, called for individual freedoms and a Shura Council, but also media censorship under religious guidance and review of all the kingdom's laws to insure their conformity with shari'a. Both petitions expressed loyalty to the house of Sa'ud while opposing the lack of representation in the existing government. Meanwhile, audiotapes of al-Awda's sermons gained wide circulation and gave encouragement to other opposition voices during the years following the war, as the United States military settled in for a long stay at an airbase outside the capital.

**Arrest and Imprisonment** In 1994, al-Awda was arrested after refusing to cease his political activities and stop delivering sermons. His arrest and imprisonment, along with that of other Sahwa shaykhs, notably his colleague Safar al-Hawali, brought attention from the international media and energized Saudi opposition voices abroad. To their followers in Saudi Arabia, the personal sacrifice of the incarcerated Sahwa activists was inspirational. In the eyes of Saudi progressives and establishment ulama, however, some of these activists came to be suspected of responsibility for encouraging the kind of violence that erupted in the

kingdom, such as the bombing of a building housing American Air Force personnel in Al Khobar in 1996.

Al-Awda's views on the source and remedy for Saudi Arabia's problems are inconsistent, as Mamoun Fandy shows in his 1999 book, *Saudi Arabia and the Politics of Dissent*. Based on a reading of al-Awda's taped sermons from his pre-imprisonment years, he finds, on the one hand, al-Awda arguing that Saudi Arabia is likely to follow the course of Egypt and Algeria, mired in violence as a product of the existing Saudi dictatorship and the silencing of opposition. On the other hand, al-Awda seems prepared to accept the current regime if it would only reassert that partnership between religion and state which the Saudis claim as the basis for their legitimacy.

Implicit in his notion of partnership between religion and state is a form of representative governance that eschews the kind of corruption al-Awda sees in the Saudi regime. In his sermon "Why States Disintegrate," according to Fandy, al-Awda advocates government based on *shura* (consultation), which, while not democratic, is also not authoritarian. He praises the stability of western governments, but he thinks that Muslim governments derive authority for legislation from a higher source, the divine shari'a, and should therefore be able to insure stability and the free exercise of individual rights, if only there were not so much corruption.

Despite his criticism of the Saudi regime, al-Awda shows himself to be a Saudi nationalist. In another taped sermon analyzed by Fandy, al-Awda draws a connection between the Saudi state, its superior people, and its special brand of Islam. Foreigners and foreign behaviors he sees as culturally polluting, and he draws the boundaries of cultural exclusivity within the kingdom to exclude non-Wahhabi Muslim citizens of Saudi Arabia, especially Shi'ites, who, he thinks, should be expelled.

As a cultural purist, al-Awda is an opponent of women's driving, which he thinks necessitates an immoral exposure of their bodies. He also opposes abortion, and argued against Saudi participation in the 1994 United Nations Conference on Population and Development on the grounds that the conference was meant to undermine Islamic values under the guise of promoting human rights. Western promotion of birth control, for example, would encourage premarital sex, and is meant to reduce the growth of Muslim populations; calling for equality between men and women would contradict Islamic inheritance laws, which favor male heirs over female. In al-Awda's concern about insuring cultural integrity, Fandy shows, he endorsed censorship of satellite television programming and also of the local media, although at the same time he called for freedom of speech for himself and other conservative religious reformers.

On the issue of human rights, Fandy shows, al-Awda's sermons assert the superiority of Islam over western human

rights traditions. Expressing resentment at what he perceives to be double standards on the part of the West, he warns his audience not to be misled by human rights ideals touted by western critics of Islam, as these ideals are contradicted in practice. He notes, for example, discrimination against immigrants in France and Germany and support for the confessional system in Lebanon, while at the same time western powers disregard Muslim rights in Palestine and Bosnia.

**Influence on Usama bin Ladin** During the decade of the 1990s, the impact of al-Awda's ideas was felt beyond Saudi Arabia in one particularly important way: his influence on Usama bin Ladin. Bin Ladin adopted al-Awda's criticism of Saudi government corruption and pandering to the United States, and his critique of the establishment ulama, whom he saw as servile to the interests of the regime. He was especially energized by al-Awda's criticism of Grand Mufti bin Baz for his 1990 fatwa legitimizing Saudi Arabia's invitation to the United States to defend the kingdom. Bin Ladin was also influenced by al-Awda and his fellow Sahwa shaykh Safar al-Hawali in their concern about secular ideologies and cultural pollution coming from the west.

Bin Ladin acknowledges the influence of the two shaykhs in his 1997 interview with journalist Peter Arnett, in which bin Ladin states that their imprisonment compelled him to step into their place in order to fulfill the Islamic obligation of "commanding the good and forbidding the wrong." He would do this, bin Ladin says, by issuing critical declarations directed against the Saudi government. In this same interview, he repeats al-Awda's denunciation of the West's double standards in claiming support for human rights while intervening militarily in Muslim countries, and also takes up al-Awda's assertion of the legitimacy of jihad, in that Muslims who are under assault are entitled to defend themselves. Bin Ladin's remedy in advocating suicide bombing, however, was his own.

Al-Awda was compelled as a condition of his release from prison in 1999 to moderate his public speaking, or refrain from speaking at all. Having chosen the former, his output is now in the service of the state, a role that has taken shape in part because of fallout from the 11 September 2001 attacks in the United States. After the attacks, in the view of Saudi liberals and establishment ulama, the whole Sahwa movement was under suspicion, not for involvement in the attacks themselves but for having encouraged the kind of jihadist thinking that condones violence as a remedy for political grievance. At the same time, the Saudi regime and its Wahhabi religious establishment came under harsh criticism by the United States, accused of incubating a culture of terrorism through its schools and *da'wa* (missionary) programs. Sahwa shaykhs were as determined to prove to the regime their innocence of complicity

in acts of violence as the regime was determined to prove its innocence to the rest of the world. In this context al-Awda, a figure of exceptional prominence in the Sahwa movement, was able to serve both his own and the government's interests by denouncing jihadists while also inviting them to be rehabilitated under the tutelage of the regime.

Operating under the government's umbrella, al-Awda's voice has been amplified through a weekly television program and the Internet. He takes full advantage of the globalized media he once condemned as the conduit for cultural pollution, and he is well aware of the irony. "At one time," he writes on his website, *Islam Today* (Islamtoday.com), "our discussions surrounding mass media amounted to nothing more than condemning it and warning against it. This proved to be of no benefit, nor did it repel any harm." His goal in setting up his Internet site is "to serve our faith, defend it, and call to it, . . . and the Internet, with its immense, global potential . . . must be employed to its maximum potential." *Islam Today* is a sophisticated and expensive project, funded by Saudi donations, with pages in four languages—Arabic, English, French and Chinese—each section designed to appeal to a particular audience, and each reflecting the remade image of Islam that the Saudi government is promoting.

**Tolerance and Moderation** The English-language section, which is under al-Awda's personal direction, appears aimed at redefining Islam in a way that will mollify concerns of a Western audience inclined to see militancy and violence as built into the Islamic message. For example, an announcement posted on 17 February 2007 reads, "During his television program entitled 'First Monday' which airs weekly on NBC in Saudi Arabia, Shaykh Salman al-Awda was asked to comment on Valentine's Day. He said: 'We do not feel a need for this holiday, since it is foreign to the mores and values of our society, but we are definitely in need of love.' 'Love' al-Awda says, 'is an indispensable part of our very humanity. It is an indispensable aspect of our faith and our mores—and Muslim societies need more than ever to be reminded of the importance of love and affection.'"

On the same webpage is an article about tolerance, which is a "beautiful word in every language and according to every culture . . . a 'great Islamic principle'" that "needs to be inculcated in those who govern and those who are governed." Tolerance has its limits, however, when it comes to non-Wahhabi Muslims. "One of our most important objectives for this website," al-Awda says on his homepage, "is to present Islam in its pristine purity according to prophetic methodology." By this he means the Wahhabi method, which allows only the Qur'an and Sunni-approved versions of the Prophet's life (as preserved in canonical *Hadith*) as the source for Islamic judgments. Ecumenicism is not his goal. Al-Awda states that his "Web



site will remain free from the taint of heretical innovation, misguided sectarian ideas, blind imitation, and partisan bigotry." In other words, Shi'ite Islam and all its branches will not be tolerated on the Web site of toleration.

A series of bombings and shooting attacks against western targets in Riyadh in 2003 provided al-Awda an opportunity to display his loyalty to the state. In a statement issued in 2003, "The Bombings in Riyadh and What is Required of Us," posted on his website, al-Awda unequivocally condemns the use of violence, specifically violence in Saudi Arabia, because "we are all in the same boat. Any breach in the hull will drown us all. . . . Our sense of responsibility forces us to condemn what happened," he says, "no matter what excuse the perpetrators of the atrocities might have had." At the same time, however, he is sympathetic to the frustrations that give rise to such violence and manages to reiterate his own earlier criticisms of the Saudi government in the guise of advocating reform. "It is imperative that we create an atmosphere conducive to moderation," he says, "with justice, respect for human rights, and equal opportunity for all. We need to have the right to speak our minds, to publish, and to present our views freely."

While al-Awda is firm on repudiating violence as a means of solving problems in Saudi Arabia, he sees violence as a legitimate method of response in other places. In fact he encourages what he sees as defensive attacks wherever oppressed people have no other option. In 2004, for example, in the wake of United States military action in Falluja, Iraq, al-Awda joined twenty-five other shaykhs in signing a fatwa urging Iraqis to carry out "defensive jihad" against American "warriors of aggression" occupying their country. At the same time, despite his repeated calls for Muslim unity and a common defense, al-Awda discourages foreigners, particularly Saudis, from taking part in the Iraq fighting on tactical grounds, as they might sow confusion.

Similarly, al-Awda supported the Lebanese political group Hizbullah in the summer of 2006 in its conflict with Israel, despite Hizbullah's being a Shi'ite movement. "This is not the time to express our differences with the Shi'ites," he wrote on his website, "because we are all confronted by our greater enemy, the criminal Jews and Zionists."

Al-Awda's ambivalence about political violence extends to his views on terrorism, which he rejects in principle, but then endorses as a militant response of last resort. "Terrorism," he says on his website, "is a form of warfare whereby innocent people are specifically targeted to instill fear in a population . . . [since] targeting civilians is strictly prohibited by Islamic Law . . . terrorism is categorically prohibited in Islam." Yet al-Awda is not categorically against suicide bombings where civilians may be present. A transcript of a *New York Times* interview in 2001 with Douglas Jehl posted on al-Awda's Web site

quotes the shaykh responding to a question about a suicide attack in Jerusalem. "Regardless of whether the attacks were against civilians," he says, "the fact [is] that they were within the realm of resisting occupation. Is there any international law that denies the people the right to resist with any means they can?"

**Gender Relations and Dialogue with the West** When it comes to gender relations, some Sahwa shaykhs continue to insist on the "anatomy is destiny" approach, defining women as weak and nervous and consigning them to home and family as the only means for them to attain happiness. These same men have opposed women's right to vote, and have insisted on the power of male guardianship over women's movements, challenging, for instance, the right of university women to live in dormitories or teachers to live away from their male guardian. Al-Awda, however, has moderated his views on women. According to al-Rasheed, he has adopted the Islamic modernizers' argument that there is a distinction to be made between religious rulings and social custom, a distinction that, when ignored, results in unwarranted restrictions on things women are entitled to do. Al-Awda has not, however, repudiated his earlier objections to women's reproductive rights, women's driving, or inheritance reform.

When it comes to trying to engage in dialogue with the West, al-Awda, as evidenced by his website, has been an important player. In 2002, he collaborated on a response to an Institute for American Values (a right-wing "think tank") statement entitled "What We're Fighting For," which laid out a moral basis for the United States' "war on terror" as necessary to defend "universal human morality" against "organized killers with global reach." Al-Awda joined 153 Saudi professors, religious scholars, businessmen, and writers, men and women, in signing a statement entitled, "How Can We Coexist?" which called for dialogue as an "alternative to the language of violence and destruction." The statement also notes that terrorism comes not from ideology, but from human experience of injustice when neither political channels nor an appeal to international humanitarian law produces redress of grievance. To underscore the potential for fruitful dialogue between Islam and the West, the statement lists examples of moral values that the two sides share in common, including the inherent worth of the individual and his right to life, regardless of religion, color or ethnicity; freedom of religion; morality and justice in human relations; environmental protection; and individual responsibility for one's actions, as opposed to collective punishment.

#### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

Al-Awda is now on the liberal edge of Saudi Arabia's conservative Sahwa movement, and has been an influential

spokesperson for cultural conservatives as well as for those who oppose government corruption and the regime's monopoly of power. As such, he appeals to a broad swath of Saudi society. He has enjoyed the toleration of the state-funded ulama, and, since his release from prison, the toleration of the regime as well. Before imprisonment, the establishment ulama benefited from the presence of al-Awda and other Sahwa shaykhs, because their anti-government rhetoric made the state more reliant on ulama support. At the same time, the Sahwa conservative social agenda proved a useful bogeyman to scare social progressives into moderating their demands for liberalizing rules of social conduct, especially in regard to women's rights.

At the time of the Gulf War of 1990–1991, criticism of the Saudi regime and the West by al-Awda and others was viewed unfavorably by the United States, whose military alliance with Saudi Arabia and other Arab states in the region was put at risk. As of 2007, however, al-Awda represents the face of Islamic moderation with which the United States can feel comfortable.

#### LEGACY

In 2007, al-Awda and other Sahwa shaykhs who have modulated their critique of government were funded and protected by the regime. Having broken the monopoly over religious interpretation once held by the establishment ulama, they function in competition with them for the ear of the Saudi rulers and for the hearts and minds of the Saudi people and Muslims abroad. Al-Awda, says al-Rasheed, given his far-reaching media access, appears positioned for eminence in the Saudi religious hierarchy.

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*Eleanor Abdella Doumato*

## AYHAN, SÜREYYA (1978–)

National middle-distance athlete and world championships runner Süreyya Ayhan Kop won her first gold medal for Turkey at the European championship in Munich in 2002. At age twenty-three, she set a new world record for 1,500-meter distance running and beat the Romanian world and Olympics champion Gabriela Szabo with 3 minutes, 58.79 seconds. It has not been since Ruhi Sarialp's success in winning the bronze medal in the triple jump in 1950 that Turkey has celebrated such a victory in athletics. In 2003, a silver coin and stamp were released in Turkey in commemoration of Ayhan's achievements and in recognizing one of the finest Turkish woman athletes of all time. Ayhan is a national heroine for many young women in Turkey today.

#### PERSONAL HISTORY

Ayhan was born on 6 September 1978 in the Turkish town Korgun, Çankiri. Her father Yaşar Ayhan, a former athlete and cross-country champion, was a role model



*Süreyya Ayhan*. AP IMAGES.

and guiding figure throughout Ayhan's childhood. Ayhan's love for running began when she was a little girl. Ayhan's career began when she was fourteen. As a junior high school student she started running competitively at the Athletics Training Center in Çankiri in 1992. She was discovered by her present coach and husband Yücel Kop at one of these local championships.

After high school, Ayhan attended the Sütçü Imam University in Kahramanmaraş and received a degree in physical education. Because of her limited financial situation after graduation, Ayhan received great support by the mayor of Gaziantep, Celal Doğan, and Boğaziçi University Professor Deniz Gökçe who found sponsors to promote Ayhan's career, such as the Turkish bank Yapı Kredi.

Ayhan held victories in the 800-meter (2:00.64) and 1,500-meter (4:03.02) races in Turkish competitions and ran in the semifinals at the Summer Olympic Games in Sydney, Australia. She became the first Turkish woman to win a gold medal for Turkey in 1,500-meter distance running at the Eighteenth European Championships in Munich, Germany. As of 2007, she is still an athlete of the Gaziantep Metropolitan Municipality.

Also during these successful years, Ayhan received much attention from the public because of her relationship with her coach Kop, who was married at that time. Their love affair became a subject for parliamentary debate when an Islamist deputy criticized Kop's behavior as a coach and raised questions of moral values and responsibility. Zeki Çelik insisted that Kop should be fired for his amoral and irresponsible behavior and replaced by another coach. After the ministry began an investigation of Kop and Ayhan, the two wed in order to save their careers. Although Kop's wife refused initially, she gave in later and agreed to sign the divorce papers.

At the same time, Turkish women's right activists heavily criticized this conservatism of public officials toward Ayhan. As a result, Vivet Kanetti's book *Kaş Süreyya Kaş: Şampiyon Olacağız* (2002, Run Süreyya Run) was published in support of the athlete and to question the attitude of the public toward its national heroine.

In 2004, another allegation against the athlete surfaced in the media regarding a doping scandal. During training in German, Ayhan withdrew from the competition because of an injured tendon. The allegations came from the International Amateur Athletics Federation (IAAF) that found Ayhan guilty in cheating on a pre-Olympic doping test and refusing to be tested on certain substances. The allegations were cleared but the incident resulted in the athlete's withdrawal from the 2004 Athens Olympics. Because Ayhan did not comply with the testing procedures of WADA (World Anti-Doping Association), the IAAF suspended her from participating in competi-

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Süreyya Ayhan (Süreyya Ayhan Kop)

**Birth:** 1978, Korgun, Çankiri, Turkey

**Family:** Husband, Yücel Kop

**Nationality:** Turkish

**Education:** M.A. in Sports, Sütçü Imam University, Kahramanmaraş, Turkey

### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1993:** Turkish Stars Indoor Champion in 800 meter distance running, Izmir, Turkey
- **1996:** Places first at Israeli Championships, Tel Aviv, Israel
- **1999:** 1,500-meter winner at Turkish Athletics Championship, Izmir, Turkey
- **2000:** 800-meter winner at Clubs National Athletics Championship, Istanbul
- **2001:** Places first at Second Leg Competitions, Trabzon, Turkey; wins 1,500-meter race at Universiade, Beijing, China
- **2002:** Sets Turkish National and European record of 1,500-meter distance running at Eighteenth European Athletics Championship, Munich, Germany; winner of 1,500-meter race and sets Turkish national record at Memorial van Damme, Brussels, Belgium (Golden League); places first at Sixty-first ISTAF 2002, Berlin, Germany (Golden League); comes in first at Ninth IAAF World Cup in Athletics, Madrid, Spain
- **2003:** Places first at European Nations Cup; comes in first in the Seventy-fifth Weltklasse, Zurich, Switzerland (Golden League); first at Memorial van Damme, Brussels, Belgium (Golden League); places first at First IAAF World Athletics Final, Monaco

tions for two years. Ayhan will be competing in the IAAF world championships in Osaka, Japan in August 2007.

### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Turkey lacks a tradition of female distance running. When Ayhan ran the fastest time of the year and won in the 2002 the European and World Athletics Championship, Tur-

key's history regarding this profession and women's sports changed ineradicably. As Ergün Yurdadön argues regarding Ayhan's success and the emergence of this Turkish Olympic prodigy, "misconceptions about sport, the abilities of women and the religion of Islam have been hit hard by her unique accomplishments." According to Yurdadön, a well-known Turkish scholar and chair of Recreational Management at the United States Sports Academy, Ayhan is a "great painter who successfully integrates all contrasts and colors of religion, culture and politics." Ayhan has not only become a national icon in Turkey, she is also a role model for many girls in the Middle Eastern world.

### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

As Yurdadön describes, Ayhan was born in a country that does not give much attention to women's sports. She is one of 1,632 licensed women athletes in Turkey. Her rise to prominence in world sports has raised questions of gender discrimination in sports in Turkey. The women's right activist Filiz Koçali argues "In Turkish sports women's branches are ignored. Football dominates the scene. Süreyya's victory is therefore extraordinary. This is the victory of her own will" (Mater, Kürkcü).

Ayhan is seen as a real Turkish delight having been declared, at the age of twenty-four, the European Female Athlete of the Year in 2002 after winning the European and World Championship in the rubric of track and field.

### LEGACY

Ayhan has become a role model for Turkey's female athletes and youth. She is the first national female athlete and middle distance track runner to bring home a gold medal and has entered Turkey's history of world records and thus changed the public's opinion about athletics for the future. Her legacy manifests itself in the efforts of different organizations (such as the Turkish company Vestel) and their involvements in increasing the participation of Turkish youth in athletics and sports. To support young athletes on all levels, such projects provide scholarships and activities to further widen the popularity and interest toward athletics in Turkey.

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## AZZAWI, DIA AL- (1939-)

Dia al-Azzawi, an Iraqi-born painter, is an outstanding and world-class artist, art consultant, and author. He has written several articles about Iraqi contemporary art and Arab art. He is a prominent artist of the Iraq school who played a role in the promotion of Iraqi and Arab art to wider audiences, notably through numerous publications and exhibitions of his and his contemporaries' works. In 1969 he formed the art group New Vision along with other artists such as Rafa al-Nasiri, Mohammed Muhriddin, Ismail Fattah, Hachem al Samarchi, and Saleh al-Jumaie. Al-Azzawi joined the One Dimension group that Shakir Hassan al-Said initiated but remained within the fold of New Vision until 1972. Beyond painting, Al-Azzawi's work includes sculptures, prints, and drawings, as well as books through which visual art interacts with prose and poetry. He has exhibited extensively in the Middle East, North Africa, United States, India, Brazil, and Europe, including a retrogressive exhibition, "Dia Azzawi," at the Institute du Monde Arabe (IMA) in Paris in 2002. In 1976, Al-Azzawi relocated to London to work as an art consultant at the Iraqi Cultural Centre.

### PERSONAL HISTORY

Al-Azzawi was born in Baghdad, Iraq in 1939. Seven years before his birth, Iraq was already an eminent center of intellectual art studies with the establishment of the British School of Archaeology in 1932. The school was established as a memorial to the life and works of the British explorer and diplomat Gertrude Bell. The school encouraged, supported, and undertook research into the archaeology of Iraq and other Arab countries from the earliest times to roughly 1700 CE. Before the Second World War, the School carried out excavations in Iraq. After the Second World War, the school operated until 1990 when the political imbroglio that followed the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait resulted in the school's closure.

Until it was looted in April 2003 in the wake of the American invasion of Iraq, the Iraq Museum in Baghdad was rich in the famous monumental works of Mesopotamian and Islamic art. Such works included the Uruk Vase of 3300 BCE that appears in every art survey textbook and in narrative works of art. The beautifully carved marble female head presumably represents the great Sumerian goddess Inanna from the sacred precinct at Uruk in southern Iraq.

This rich cultural heritage, along with monuments, historical artifacts, and works of art as agents of memory and identity significantly influenced al-Azzawi's career. His paintings and other works of art were enfolded with memory and identity. His works created an inseparable link between monuments and memory. He studied art

*Mine Eren*

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Dia al-Azzawi

**Birth:** 1939, Baghdad, Iraq

**Nationality:** Iraqi

**Education:** Baghdad University, 1962, B.A. archaeology; Institute of Fine Arts, Baghdad, 1964

### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1968–1976:** Works with Department of Antiquities, Baghdad, Iraq
- **1977–1980:** Art Consultant at the Iraqi Cultural Center in London
- **1978–1984:** Art Director of *UR: The International Magazine of Arab Culture*, London
- **1981–1982:** Design director of *Funun Arabia* Art Magazine, London
- **1988–1994:** Member of the Editorial Board of *Mawakif*, London
- **1992–present:** Member of the Editorial Board of *Jusoor*, Washington, D.C.

and archaeology at Baghdad University, graduating in 1962. In 1964 he graduated from the Institute of Fine Arts, Baghdad. Al-Azzawi held several one-man exhibitions in Baghdad, Kuwait, Beirut, Frankfurt, Libya, and Casablanca.

### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

After his 1964 graduation, al-Azzawi overwhelmingly contributed to the intellectual development of painting and arts in the Middle East. Since his participation in the one-man shows at al-Wasiti Gallery in Baghdad in 1965, he remains an unstoppable painter. His collections are held in several prestigious art centers and museums, such as Vienna Public Collection; British Museum, London; Victoria and Albert Museum, London; Gulbenkian Collection, Barcelona; The World Bank, Washington D.C.; Library of Congress, Washington D.C.; Institut du Monde Arabe, Paris; Museum of Modern Art, Paris; Bibilothèque Nationale, Paris; Pier Gardin Collection, Paris; Museum of Modern Art, Baghdad; Museum of Modern Art, Damascus; Museum of Modern Art, Tunis; Arab Museum of Modern Art, Doha; Adel Mandil Collection, Riyadh; The Saudi Bank, London; Jeddah International Airport, Saudi Arabia; Riyadh International Airport, Saudi Arabia; The United Bank of Kuwait,

London; Development Fund, Kuwait, Una Foundation, Morocco; Jordan National Gallery of Fine Arts, Amman; and British Airways Collection, London. As an engaging intellectual painter and artist, al-Azzawi has more than fourteen publications. His books and articles in journals and periodicals constitute an important resource at all levels of education. His works are equally important for tourism and the media. His editorship of international magazines has promoted Arab culture in the United Kingdom and the United States.

### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

Throughout the Middle East and the Western world, the works of al-Azzawi are highly valued for their uniqueness and cultural value. He became globally recognized as an artist and painter with participation in more than sixty-four exhibitions, which promoted Islamic and Arab art. He participated in many international exhibitions, such as the Mobile exhibition of Arab art in the Arab countries, in London, and in Rome. He also participated in the First Triennial of International Art in India in 1974; the Fourth and Fifth International Biennales of Posters in Yugoslavia; the International Caginess Sur Mer exhibition in France and the Venice Biennale in 1976; and the international exhibition of drawing in New York in 1977.

## CONTEMPORARIES

Shakir Hassan al-Said (1925–2004) was a celebrated Iraqi artist who received several awards for his numerous exhibitions worldwide. Al-Said attended the Higher Institute of Teachers, Baghdad, where he studied social sciences. He then studied art at the Institute of Fine Arts, graduating in 1954. He co-founded the Baghdad Modern Art Group in 1951 along with Jawad Salim, who taught him art history. Between 1955 and 1959, al-Said studied in Paris at the Academie Juien, the École des Arts Decoratifs and the École Supérieure des Beaux Arts. He returned to Baghdad to teach art history at his alma mater, the Institute of Fine Arts, from 1970 to 1980. He wrote extensively on art, including *The Contemplative Art Manifesto*, published in 1966. By 1971, al-Said had formed the One Dimension group of which Dia al-Azzawi was a member. The group focused on the exploration of different values of the Arabic script—graphic, plastic, linguistic, and symbolic—in modern art.

## LEGACY

Al-Azzawi influenced the emergence of other Iraqi artists such as Maysaloun Faraj. He has also received several awards for his outstanding works. These include first prizes at the International Summer Academy, Salzburg, Austria (1975), and at the first Arab Contemporary Art Exhibition, Tunis (1981), and the Jury Prize at the International Cairo Biennale (1992).

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*Rasheed Olaniyi*

## AZZAWI, FADHIL AL- (1940–)

Prolific Iraqi poet and novelist, Fadhil al-Azzawi is a member of the influential Kirkuk Group of poets and writers, which had an important impact on the development of Iraqi literature and culture in the last three decades of the twentieth century. Azzawi grew up in Kirkuk, but moved to Baghdad to study and later work as a journalist and editor. He became famous in the 1960s for his poetry, which was radical in form and content, and was imprisoned twice for political reasons. He left Iraq in 1977 and has since lived in exile in Berlin.

## PERSONAL HISTORY

Azzawi is of Turkmen descent. He was born in 1940 in Kirkuk, in northern Iraq, and grew up there. He later moved to Baghdad, where he studied English at the University of Baghdad. He started composing and publishing poetry at the age of fifteen while still in Kirkuk. His radical politics and daring writings resulted in his arrest and imprisonment for two years between 1963 and 1965. This experience inspired him to write the novel *The Fifth Castle* (1972). His resistance to the rising totalitarianism of the Ba'th Party in the 1970s intensified the harassment and intimidation against him. Having earned a scholarship to study in East Germany in 1976, Azzawi left Iraq the following year to study journalism at the University of Leipzig, and settled in East Germany (now Germany), where he still lives. He continued his political activities abroad by co-founding an association for Iraqi culture in exile in Beirut and speaking out against the dictatorship in Iraq. The Iraqi authorities pressured the East German government to deport him,

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Fadhil al-Azzawi

**Birth:** 1940, Kirkuk, Iraq

**Family:** Wife, Salima Salih

**Nationality:** Iraqi

**Education:** B.A, University of Baghdad, 1966;  
Ph.D., University of Leipzig, 1983

## PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1963–65:** Imprisoned
- **1969:** Publishes a literary journal, *Shi'r 69* (Poetry 69), which is banned after four issues
- **1969–1976:** Editor, later managing editor, *Alif Baa* weekly
- **1971:** Imprisoned after reciting controversial poem
- **1972:** Publishes novel based on prison experience, *The Fifth Castle*
- **1977:** Leaves Iraq for East Germany
- **2003:** English-language edition of selected poems, *The Miracle Maker*, published in United States
- **2007:** Complete poems published in Cairo; *The Last of the Angels*, a novel, published in English by American University in Cairo Press

and when it did not, refused to renew his Iraqi passport; Azzawi had to travel on a passport issued by the Democratic Republic of Yemen. In East Germany, Azzawi worked in journalism and translation, continued to write poetry and fiction, and finished a doctorate in journalism at the University of Leipzig in 1983. He then moved to East Berlin.

## INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Azzawi's hometown, Kirkuk, left an indelible mark on his genesis as a writer and intellectual. In the 1940s and 1950s, the city was a melting pot of ethnolinguistic diversity. Arabs, Kurds, Turkmen, and Assyrians coexisted in relative peace. The presence of the Iraq Petroleum Company influenced the city's culture and society through interaction with its English-speaking employees. In addition to Arabic, Turkish, Persian, and Assyrian, the local library provided access to English-language books. All of the above, coupled with Azzawi's interaction with other members of the Kirkuk Group, provided him with

THE PLACE WHERE I CAN  
SIT AND WRITE AND THINK  
FREELY IS MY HOMELAND

I went to Germany to study and that was one of my goals, but the main one was to write freely. I lived long years of exile, even when I was in Iraq. They were dangerous years, but I do not wish to wax tragic and mope. Therefore I say: The place where I can sit and write and think freely is my homeland. Writing itself is my homeland... I have refused to return to what resembled a homeland in the past, so how can I return now to a wasteland? I cannot do that. I have no conditions except that Iraq itself is a country once again. What exists now is occupation and warring sectarianisms. It is a total destruction of all the bases. When Iraq is Iraq again, then I will return. I see myself as if in a storm. I plunged into it without thinking of gains or losses. I don't know where I am or how far I will get, but I know that the adventure alone is worth it all.

FADHIL AL-AZZAWI, INTERVIEW WITH  
AKHBAR AL-ADAB, AUGUST, 2007.

a uniquely rich cultural environment. After moving to Baghdad, Azzawi, not unlike other intellectuals of the 1960s generation, immersed himself even further in world literature, especially Anglophone literature. His access to English put him in a favorable position. The global revolutionary spirit of the 1960s inspired him to break radically with all traditions and seek a new space for creativity. It was insufficient, in his view, to break away from meters and rhymes to write a different and modern poem; a genuinely modern poet had to possess a radical worldview and must be independent and free from ideological constraints. This, of course, was antithetical not only to the Ba'athists who believed that cultural production must be at the service of grand political goals, but also to some in the Iraqi Communist Party—a very potent political and social force at the time—who deemed Azzawi's calls for the intellectual's total independence from power a dangerous deviation. In 1969 Azzawi founded and published a radical journal, *Shi'r 69* (Poetry 69), but it was banned by the authorities after its fourth issue.

In addition to his unique prose poems, Azzawi wrote an "open text" where an unprecedented fusion of genres and blurring of the lines that separate them was achieved. The style, content, and even title (*The Beautiful Creations*

of *Fadhil al-Azzawi*) took the Iraqi and Arab literary scene by surprise.

Along with many other progressive intellectuals, Azzawi was imprisoned after the first Ba'athist coup d'état of 1963. The two years he spent in prison helped to sharpen his critical sensibilities and insights and provided the material for his important prison novel, *The Fifth Castle*. After prison, Azzawi returned to finish his college degree in English in 1966 and worked as a journalist and editor on various publications. He was very open and allowed younger writers and poets to publish in the journals and magazines he edited. In 1971 he was detained briefly after reciting a controversial poem. Realizing that the increasing pressure on independent intellectuals would lead to prison or elimination, al-Azzawi decided to leave Iraq and used a scholarship to study in East Germany as a pretext.

Azzawi remained active in exile and continued to work and write. In the 1980s, the SADDAM HUSSEIN regime, aided by massive oil revenue, had succeeded in buying and co-opting large segments of the Arab press and Arabic-language press in Europe. Azzawi and other dissident intellectuals were blacklisted from most Arab publications throughout the years of the Iran-Iraq war (1980–1988) when the West and its Arab allies were backing Hussein's regime. Azzawi persisted and produced two novels and five collections of poetry, as well as numerous translations from German and English. He also continued to critique the Iraqi regime and its vicious policies and practices in the few journals where such criticism was welcome, especially the London-based *al-Naqid*.

In addition to poetry, novels, and essays, Azzawi contributed two important works of literary criticism in the 1990s. The first, *Deep into the Forest* (1994), was a critical study of poetic modernism. Azzawi exposed some of the misreadings and mistranslations of modern Arab poets and critics and provided a more sober narrative of the evolution of the prose poem in the Arab world and its problems and challenges. The second book, *The Living Spirit* (1997), was a cultural history of the 1960s generation in Iraq; this generation had been maligned and misrepresented inside Iraq, since many of its members were not Ba'athists and had refused to be co-opted by the new regime. Based primarily on his own recollections and impressions, the book celebrated and saluted the rich contributions of that generation and its influence on the Iraqi and Arab scene.

#### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

The slow accumulation of translated texts and the increased interest in the literature and culture of the Arab-Islamic world has allowed for a better appreciation of the work and contribution of Azzawi. Since the late 1990s, but especially after the publication of his poems

and novels in English, Azzawi has been receiving the critical attention he deserves. He has been invited to read his poetry in various international festivals and venues in Tokyo, Paris, London, Cairo, and Beirut, just to name a few. In 2005, he was invited to participate in the P.E.N. festival, World Voices, in New York.

#### LEGACY

Azzawi's rich and complex body of work, his impact on the Arabic prose poem, and the inspiration he has been to younger poets and writers will surely sustain his status as one of the pioneers of the genre. His career has been marked by uncompromising independence from ideological constraints and a consistent struggle for social justice and liberty, without ever compromising his aesthetic standards. His epic novels have distilled the complex

sociopolitical realities of key epochs in Iraq's history, together with the rich vernacular culture of the city of Kirkuk.

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*Sinan Antoon*





B

## BAKRI, MOHAMED (1953–)

Mohamed (Muhammad, Mohammad) Bakri, a Palestinian citizen of Israel, is one of the most prominent actors and directors in both Palestinian and Israeli cinema and theater. He has been associated with the Palestinian-Israeli civil rights movement and has been the target of an Israeli campaign to discredit and marginalize him.

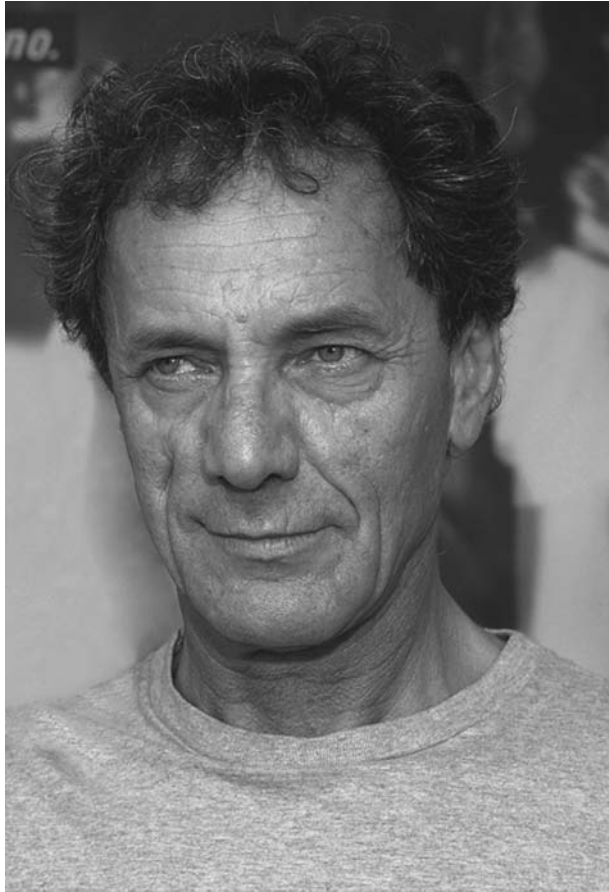
### PERSONAL HISTORY

Bakri was born in the Galilee village of al-Bi'na, Israel, in 1953, one of twelve siblings. His father was an early supporter of the Israeli Communist Party, one of the few major Israeli political organizations to serve Palestinian Arab as well as Jewish citizens of Israel. After studying theater at university, he began professional work in the late 1970s, then began acting in cinema. He attracted attention in two prominent roles in the 1980s, in Constantine Costa-Gavras's *Hanna K.* (1983) and in the Jewish Israeli director Uri Barbash's *Beyond the Walls* (1984). More recently he appeared in the Italian production, *Private* (2004, directed by Saverio Costanzo), for which he won the Best Actor award at the 2004 Locarno International Film Festival. Bakri has disavowed his performance in the Hollywood film *The Body* (2001), as the editing made his character "flat and fanatical, as in all propaganda films" (Assadi, 2004, p. 43).

### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

In his youth, Bakri was close to the Palestinian-Israeli author and member of the Knesset EMILE HABIBI, eventually taking as his signature role the protagonist Saeed in the 1986 theatrical adaptation of Habibi's groundbreaking 1974 novel *Saeed the Pessoptimist*. Despite this intimate association with a prominent political and cultural figure, Bakri has rarely made partisan political stands, even as his insistence on his Palestinian identity has been viewed by Jewish Israeli society as highly political.

Bakri was an early participant in the independent Palestinian cinema movement that arose in the late 1980s. He has starred in many productions by Palestinian directors, including Michel Khleifi's *Hikayat al-Jawahiri al-Thalath* (The tale of three jewels, 1994), Rashid Masharawi's *Haifa* (1996), Ali Nassar's *Darb al-Tabanat* (The Milky Way, 1997), and Hanna Elias's *Mawsam al-Zaytun* (The olive harvest, 2001). Bakri cites *Haifa* for one of his best roles, a deranged Palestinian refugee in Gaza, a former driver who wanders through his camp calling out "Yaffa, Haifa, Akka!"—the route he had driven before the 1948 War—even as the news of the Oslo Accords (which made no provision for the refugees) is beginning to spread among the residents.



Mohamed Bakri. AP IMAGES.

After the beginning of the second intifada in 2000, controversies over Bakri changed Israeli perceptions of him, while bringing him greater international attention. After gaining success as an actor, Bakri had turned to directing documentary films. His first work, *1948* (1998), focused on the Palestinian experience of the *nakba* (Arabic: “disaster,” referring to the events of 1948–1949) through first-person recollections of the war. After the major Israeli incursions into the Palestinian territories in 2002, he took his camera to the West Bank to record the testimonies of those who witnessed the destruction and killings by Israeli forces in the Jenin refugee camp. (During production of this film, its producer Iyad Samoudi was shot dead by Israeli forces while trying to escape his West Bank village during a military incursion.)

*Jenin Jenin* (2002) raised a storm of controversy for its inclusion of refugee camp interviews describing an Israeli massacre. It was banned in Israel, and Bakri was the target of vitriolic attacks in the Israeli media and in the Knesset. Although he eventually succeeded in overturning the ban through a long court fight, his delicate position in Israeli society was further threatened by the

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Mohamed Bakri (Muhammad, Mohammad)

**Birth:** 1953, al-Bi’na, Israel

**Family:** Married; five children

**Nationality:** Israeli (Palestinian citizen)

**Education:** B.A., Tel Aviv University, 1976

### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1973–1976:** Studies theater and Arabic literature, Tel Aviv University
- **1977–1981:** Acts in Israeli theater productions
- **1981:** Begins career as film actor
- **1998:** Directs first film, *1948*
- **2002:** *Jenin Jenin* banned in Israel
- **2004:** Wins Best Actor award, Locarno Film Festival, for role in *Private*

conviction of two of his nephews for assisting a suicide bombing. “Virtually blacklisted” by many of the Jewish Israeli cultural figures who had previously worked with him, Bakri struggled to remain active (Assadi, 2004, p. 41). In 2005, he released *Min Yawm Ma Ruht* (Since the day you left), a reflection upon these and other personal experiences framed as a letter to Habibi. Addressing his mentor in the grave, Bakri attempts to make sense of the direction of his life after *Jenin Jenin*.

### THE WORLD’S PERSPECTIVE

Bakri has enjoyed international recognition rare for an Arab artist. Beyond the recognition for his work in Israeli and Palestinian productions, he has been sought out for roles in European and American films.

### LEGACY

Bakri’s legacy lies primarily in his large body of work as an actor and director in the theater and cinema. The controversies over *Jenin Jenin* and his commitment to the civil rights of Palestinian citizens of Israel will no doubt continue to color the way he is regarded by both supporters and detractors.

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*Kamran Rastegar*

## BANNIS, MOHAMMED (1948–)

Mohammed Bannis (Bennis) is a Moroccan poet and critic.

### PERSONAL HISTORY

Bannis was born in 1948 in Fez, Morocco. He received his Ph.D. in modern Arabic poetry from the University of Rabat in 1989, and since 1980 has been a professor of Arabic literature at Muhammad V University in Rabat. He is the founding director of the House of Poetry, established in Casablanca in 1996.

### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

The famous Syrian poet Adonis (ALI AHMAD SA'ID) first published Bannis's poetry in 1969, following correspondence between the two of them. Bannis since has published many books of literary criticism and poetry, as well as an Arabic translation of ABDEL KEBIR KHATIBI's *La Blessure du Nom Propre (al-Ism al-Arabi al-Jarib* [1980]). An avant-garde poet, Bannis's interests extend from poetics to graphic arts, and his writings are deeply rooted in Moroccan life and culture.

Bannis is closely involved in the political life of Morocco, and favors the involvement of the individual in changing society; otherwise, the written word is equivalent to a dead word, as he suggests in his poem "Belonging to a New Family." He is among the group of poets who changed the structure of the poem and presented a new interpretation of reality: dynamic and optimistic. His collection of poetry, *Hibat al-Faragh* (1992; Gift of leisure), clearly reflects these structural and thematic changes. Another experimental technique is employed in *Mawasim al-Sharq* (1986; Festivals of the east), in which he combines poetic prose with free verse. The poems adopt the shapes of the ideas they embody. In *Kitab al-Hubb* (1995; Book of love) Bannis delves into the world of dreams to understand the emotions of love, whereas in *al-Makan al-Wathaniyy* (1996; Pagan place) the poet seeks a close connection with nature.

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Mohammed Bannis (Bennis)

**Birth:** 1948, Fez, Morocco

**Nationality:** Moroccan

**Education:** Ph.D. (modern Arabic poetry),  
University of Rabat, 1989

### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1969:** First poetry published
- **1974:** Establishes journal *al-Thaqafa al-Jadida*
- **1980:** Professor of Arabic literature at Muhammad V University, Rabat
- **1985:** Helps establish Dar Tuqbal publishing house
- **1996:** House of Poetry established in Casablanca

Bannis founded the journal *al-Thaqafa al-Jadida* in 1974. It was an important journal until it was banned following political disturbances in 1984. In 1985 Bannis joined with others in establishing the publishing house Dar Tuqbal for poetry. Bannis also is a translator. In particular, he has translated the French-language works of fellow Moroccan ABDELWAHHAB MEDDEB into Arabic, who in turn has translated Bannis's Arabic language poetry into French.

### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

Bannis's poetry is well regarded. A collection of his poems, translated into French as *Le don du vide* (1992), led to his being awarded the Moroccan literary award "Grand prix du livre" in 1993. He is considered, along with Ahmed Mejjati, as being the avant-garde poet who did the most to advance Moroccan poetry and establish modern traditions for it.

### LEGACY

Still productive, Bannis will be remembered as one of Morocco's great avant-garde poets.

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*Aida A. Bamia*  
*updated by Michael R. Fischbach*

## BARAK, AHARON (1936–)

Aharon Barak is Israel's most prominent legal scholar and jurist. His precedent-setting rulings while serving on the Israeli Supreme Court established the court as a powerful and independent institution whose decisions have helped to shape public debate. Barak's innovative legal concepts have influenced judicial thought world-wide.

### PERSONAL HISTORY

Born in 1936 in Kaunas, Lithuania, Barak was the only son of Leah, a teacher, and Zvi, an attorney. In 1941, after the Nazi occupation of the city, Barak and his parents were forced into the Kaunas ghetto. In 1944, with the help of a local farmer, Barak and his mother fled, living in hiding for six months. At the end of the war, after a difficult journey through Hungary, Austria, and Italy, Barak and his parents arrived in Rome, where they spent the next two years. The family received travel papers and arrived in Palestine in 1947. Following a short period in a *moshav* (a rural village) Barak joined his parents in Jerusalem.

In 1958 Barak completed his studies at the School of Law of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. He received a master's degree in law, while simultaneously studying at the department of economics and the department of international relations. During the years 1958 to 1960 he served in the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) in the office of the economic adviser to the chief of staff and the Budget Office of the Defense Ministry. After completing his army service he worked as a teaching assistant at the School of Law at the Hebrew University, teaching jurisprudence, contracts and torts.

In 1963 Barak received his doctorate in law, graduating cum laude with a thesis titled "On Vicarious Liability in Torts." In the same year, he was appointed lecturer at the School of Law. In 1968 he was appointed associate professor and four years later was accorded the rank of full professor. At the age of thirty-eight, in 1974, Barak was nominated as dean of the School of Law.

From 1975 to 1978 Barak served in the prestigious, independent, nonpolitical position of attorney general. His term of office was marked by his decisions in several well-known cases to indict public officials for political corruption. In 1977 Barak's decision to indict the prime minister's wife for holding an illegal foreign bank account in Washington, D.C., led the prime minister, YITZHAK RABIN, to resign from office. Barak viewed his mission as attorney general to be not only an adviser to the government, but also "adviser" to the citizens of Israel in protecting their civil liberties.

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Aharon Barak

**Birth:** 1936, Kaunas, Lithuania

**Family:** Wife, Elisheva (Elika); three daughters, Ester, Tamar, Michal; one son, Avner

**Nationality:** Israeli

**Education:** M.A. in law, 1958; Ph.D. in law, Hebrew University, Jerusalem

### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1968:** Appointed associate professor, School of Law, Hebrew University
- **1972:** Appointed full professor, School of Law, Hebrew University
- **1974:** Appointed dean, School of Law, Hebrew University
- **1975:** Awarded Israel Prize in Legal Sciences; appointed attorney general
- **1978:** Appointed justice, Supreme Court
- **1995:** Appointed president, Supreme Court
- **2006:** Retires from Supreme Court

In 1978 at the age of forty-two, Barak was appointed a justice of the Supreme Court. Before assuming his new position as the youngest Supreme Court justice in Israel's history, Barak consented to a special request from Prime Minister Menachem Begin and took an active part in formulating the peace treaty between Israel and Egypt at the Camp David summit. (His contribution to the understandings achieved there were singled out by former President Jimmy Carter during an event in honor of Barak's seventieth birthday in September 2006 at Yale University.) In 1995 Barak was appointed president of the Supreme Court. Throughout his years on the court he remained active in academia, through ongoing teaching relationships with the Hebrew University and Yale. Barak retired in September 2006 upon turning seventy, as required by Israeli law.

Barak has been accorded numerous prizes and honorary degrees from universities around the world. In 1975, at the age of thirty-nine, Barak was awarded the Israel Prize (in legal sciences), the state's highest award. Barak is married to Elisheva Ososkin, former vice president of the National Labor Court. They are the parents of three daughters and one son, all trained in the law.

## INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Barak's life experiences have had a profound influence on his philosophy and his deep commitment to civil liberties. During World War II most of his family was murdered in the Kaunas ghetto. The majority of the children in the ghetto were either shot to death or killed in Auschwitz. On various occasions Barak analyzed the impact his early life experiences have had on his judicial perceptions and beliefs. Rather than instilling a hatred toward or hopelessness about human nature, the Holocaust contributed to his conviction of the importance of the State of Israel and its security to the survival of the Jewish people as well as an abiding love of humankind. It is his strong belief in the innate potential of the human being and in the right of a person to life and dignity that has guided Barak's view of civil liberties. Barak has defined the safeguarding of dignity and equality as the north star that guides him as a judge.

This deep respect for basic values and principles such as morality and justice led Barak to believe that the rule of law and democracy must prevail, not only in times of peace but also in times of war and terror. Barak searched for the appropriate balance between the needs of society and those of the individual. This point of view made him see the famous saying "When the cannons speak the muses are silent" as erroneous. He stressed this belief in his last decision as a justice of the Supreme Court in 2006. In that decision the court decided that "targeted killing" is sometimes allowed and sometimes forbidden, depending on the circumstances and the real necessity of using such dramatic measures. Barak forcefully expressed his longstanding view that laws and judicial review are largely called upon in times of war and that it is then that the law should speak loudest.

Barak has said that every battle a country wages against terrorists or any other enemy should be executed according to rules and laws, accepting that sometimes a democracy should fight with one hand tied behind its back. Democracy and the rule of law and the protection of minorities are a daily fight; neither should be taken for granted. Referring to the Nazi era, Barak believes that the idea that "it cannot happen to us" can no longer be tolerated. If democracy was corrupted and destroyed in the Germany that produced Immanuel Kant, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, and Ludwig van Beethoven, it can happen anywhere. If we do not protect democracy, democracy will not protect us. "With this spirit," he said, while receiving a doctor *honoris causa* from Brandeis University in May 2003, "I enter my courtroom every day."

**Influence on the Israeli Legal System** Barak's influence on the Israeli legal system is unsurpassed. He has contributed to the development of Israeli law as a leading legal scholar in a number of different fields, especially in

## EXPLORING

■

Hillel Neuer on Barak and the inherent tension between Israel as a Jewish state and Israel as a democratic state:

By downplaying the significance of Jewishness as a source of the state's values, Aharon Barak is doing far more than thwarting the intention of the legislators. He is essentially redefining Israel's values, not only in theory but in practice as well. For if the court makes its decisions with little reference to particularist Jewish values, then such principles, in area after area of Israeli life, come to matter less and less. An Israeli court which rules on the basis of the same set of ideas as that of its American, Canadian or German peers cannot sustain the particularist Jewish laws and framework set up by Israel's Zionist founders. And, given the centrality of the Supreme Court in Israeli life, the idea that Israel's Jewish character ought not influence its decision makers is likely to be adopted by other branches of government, and by a growing segment of the citizenry as well.

Israel has long prided itself on having a "professional" judiciary spared from the complications wrought by politicization. But recent developments have eroded this tradition, and make its utter dissolution seem inevitable. Rejoicing over the new Basic Laws, Aharon Barak waves his "non-conventional" weapon of judicial review which, together with a hefty conventional arsenal of wide-open standing and justiciability rules, threatens the Israeli public with an unprecedented centralization of power among a handful of like-minded judges. As President Barak himself has written, there is a zone where "the decision is made according to the personal worldview of the judge . . ." and "his outlook on society, law, judging and life is what directs his path." Israelis may have good cause for concern in discovering that this subjective zone—and with it the politicization of the court—is likely to grow apace, an inevitable result of the Barak approach.

HILLEL NEUER, "AHARON BARAK'S REVOLUTION." SHALEM CENTER, JERUSALEM. AVAILABLE FROM [HTTP://WWW.DAAT.AC.IL/DAAT/EZRACHUT/ENGLISH/HILLEL.HTM](http://www.daat.ac.il/daat/eZRACHUT/ENGLISH/HILLEL.HTM).

the law of torts and in commercial and corporate law. As a justice of the Supreme Court, Barak devoted much of his work to constitutional and administrative law, which he found of basic importance in the protection of human

rights. It could be said that he has contributed to every single field of Israeli law.

In his judgments and scholarship Barak developed the concept of “purposive interpretation,” according to which laws are interpreted not literally but rather on the basis of principles of substance and goals appropriate to a democracy. Barak adhered to the concept of “wide standing,” opening the gates of the Supreme Court, sitting as a High Court of Justice, to plaintiffs who raised ideological issues relating to the rule of law and the preservation of principles of public ethics. Plaintiffs who did not have a specific personal interest in the outcome of a controversy were accorded standing before the court, which viewed itself as the protector of the rule of law in general. Thus, matters of vital public importance could be reviewed by the court. Barak’s “open-door” policy made the Supreme Court an important player in enforcing broad principles of constitutionality, legality, reasonableness, and proportionality in actions taken by the other branches of government.

This concept corresponded with the principle of the wide justiciability of sensitive matters, which included, inter alia, security considerations. Barak’s rulings (2004–2006) on the Israeli separation fence in the Occupied Territories intervened in security matters in order to prevent disproportionate harm to local populations. These rulings constituted a breakthrough in the establishment of the principle of judicial review of executive branch decisions.

Barak’s contribution to the Israeli law is noted in various fields. In public law, he developed the concepts of reasonableness and proportionality as bases for intervention in government decisions. A reasonable decision, in Barak’s view, should not only weigh relevant considerations, but should also establish a proper balance between these considerations.

This concept led Barak to decide, for example, that the attorney general acted manifestly unreasonably when deciding not to indict high-ranking bank executives on the ground of lack of “public interest,” because they were already standing before a public Commission of Inquiry (1990). The same concept was applied when Barak annulled the military censor’s decision to prevent the publication of an article on grounds of danger to state security. Barak had adopted a judicial interpretative principle that freedom of expression could be limited in the interests of state security and public order only when the injury to the public order is severe and substantial. Only then could security considerations justify curbing freedom of expression. The probability of injury that would justify limiting freedom of speech must amount to “near certainty” (1989).

**Israel’s “*Marbury vs. Madison* Period”** The concept of proportionality was central to the decisions handed down by Barak in the series of cases referred to above relating to

the separation fence in the Occupied Territories (2004–2006). Proportionality, according to Barak, required that the means used by an administrative body injures individuals to the least possible extent. The test of proportionality compares the advantage of an administrative act with the damage that results from it. Barak explained that the principle also applies to the exercise of authority by a military commander in an area under hostile occupation. Thus, in several decisions Barak ordered the government to reroute the fence in order to avoid unnecessary harm to the local inhabitants.

These decisions made clear that “security” is not a magic word that bars judicial review by the Supreme Court. It was Barak’s observation that “Israel is not an isolated island. It is a member of an international system. . . . The military operations of the IDF are not conducted in a legal vacuum.” The application of judicial review over a wide range of security matters distinguishes Israel among leading democracies. Barak was the leading exponent of this principle, which has been followed by the current president of the Supreme Court, Justice Dorit Beinisch, and most of Barak’s former colleagues who still serve on the court since his retirement.

In addition, it should be noted that in the area of constitutional and administrative law, Barak’s rulings established, inter alia, the duty of public officials to avoid conflicts of interest; the duty of officials to permit demonstrations unless it is evidently clear that a demonstration will lead to violence; limitation of the discretion of the attorney general not to indict based on “lack of public interest”; limitation of the permissible methods of interrogation by the General Security Service (GSS) on individuals suspected of committing crimes against Israeli security; and the duty of the state not to discriminate against Israeli citizens of Arab origin in allocation of state-owned lands.

In 1995, when Barak was appointed president of the Supreme Court, he led it in deciding that Israeli courts have the power to declare statutes passed by the Knesset unconstitutional if they contradict civil liberties recognized by the Basic Laws. The court took this position in spite of the fact that the Israeli Basic Laws do not include express provision for judicial review of statutes. Referring to the similar lack in the U.S. Constitution, Barak said, “we are in our *Marbury vs. Madison* period.”

In the area of contract law, Barak stressed especially the duty of the parties to a contract to act in good faith, and the concept that a contract should be interpreted while considering the aims, interests, and plans of the parties. In his judgment meaning should be deduced not only from the letter of a contract but also from external circumstances. He developed the concept of a wide duty of care in the law of torts. In family law Barak shaped the concept of shared property in marriages.

In criminal law Barak's interpretations gave weight to the rights of individuals to due process. This was exemplified by Barak's readiness to accord the right to a new trial on grounds of a change in the interpretation of a law after conviction under it. Barak developed the idea that a conflict of interest constitutes the *actus reus* (guilty act) in the offense of "breach of confidence," because such a conflict damages the confidence of the public in its officials.

### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

Barak is as influential a legal scholar as he is a judge. His academic writings relate to legal theory and to the role of judges in a democratic society. Many of his decisions in the Supreme Court have been translated into English, as have some of his books. Barak has received honorary doctorates of laws from many universities around the world.

Barak was invited to contribute the foreword to the *Harvard Law Review's* annual U.S. Supreme Court issue in November 2002. In this essay, "A Judge on Judging: The Role of a Supreme Court in a Democracy," Barak focuses on the supreme courts in legal systems that belong to the common law tradition, such as England, the United States, Canada, and Australia, and a number of mixed jurisdictions, such as South Africa, Scotland, and Israel. He explains his understanding of the role of a supreme court as going beyond deciding the particular disputes put before it. He stresses the central role of such a court in bridging the gap between law and society. Barak regards the judge as a partner in creating the law. As a partner, Barak explains, the judge must maintain the coherence of the legal system as a whole. Additionally, Barak finds that a major task of a judge, and his duty, is to protect the constitution and democracy. The judiciary and each of its judges and justices must safeguard both formal democracy, as expressed in legislative supremacy, and substantive democracy, as expressed in basic values and human rights.

Barak has published numerous books and articles in Hebrew as well as contributed academic articles in English to legal journals in the United States and Britain. His most recent books in English translation are *Purposive Interpretation in Law* (2005) and *The Judge in a Democracy* (2006). In this latest book Barak has articulated his credo as a judge. He writes, inter alia:

I regard myself as a judge who is sensitive to his role in a democracy. . . . As a judge I do not have a political platform. I am not a political person. Right and Left, religious and secular, rich and poor, man and woman, disable and non-disabled—all are equal in my eyes. All are human beings, created in the image of the Creator. I will protect the Human Dignity of each.

## THE PRINCIPLE OF PROPORTIONALITY

The problem of balancing between security and liberty is not specific to the discretion of a military commander of an area under belligerent occupation. It is a general problem in the law, both domestic and international. Its solution is universal. It is found deep in the general principles of law, including reasonableness and good faith. . . . One of those foundational principles which balance between the legitimate objective and the means of achieving it is the principle of *proportionality*. According to it, the liberty of the individual can be limited (in this case, the liberty of the local inhabitants under belligerent occupation), on the condition that the restriction is proportionate. This approach crosses through all branches of law. In the framework of the petition before us, its importance is twofold: first, it is a basic principle in international law in general and specifically in the law of belligerent occupation; second, it is a central standard in Israeli administrative law which applies to the area under belligerent occupation.

THE SUPREME COURT SITTING AS THE HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE, *BEIT SOURIK VILLAGE COUNCIL V. THE GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL*, 2004.

He ends his declaration by saying:

"I do not aspire to power. I do not seek to rule. I am aware of the chains that bind me as a judge and as the President of the Supreme Court. . . . I am aware of the importance of the other branches of government—the legislative and the executive—which give expression to Democracy. Between those branches are connecting bridges and checks and balances." (*The Judge in a Democracy*, pp. 314–315)

### LEGACY

While Barak's contribution to public and civil law is unparalleled, his leadership of the Israeli Supreme Court was not always welcomed by the public at large. He found himself sometimes in the minority, especially in cases where he gave special preference to freedom of speech over other interests, but all his opinions cited above are majority decisions. Barak emerged as a consensus builder among the justices in expanded panels that dealt with cases of high constitutional importance, such as the constitutionality of laws. His opinions, often characterized as "activist" due to

their intervention in executive branch actions, were nearly always majority decisions.

Barak led the Israeli Supreme Court on a path of defending the civil liberties of Israeli citizens, upholding the rights of individuals against the interests of the state. Barak has portrayed the judicial system as an orchestra of individual musicians who create different legal norms. The Supreme Court, in his view, is the conductor who assures coordination and harmony. He established the Supreme Court's unprecedented power as an independent institution, shaping, to a large extent, various volatile ideological debates in Israeli society over such issues as security and freedom of expression, equality, and state and religion.

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*Zeev Segal*

## BARGHUTHI, MARWAN (1959–)

Marwan Barghuthi (Barghuti, Barghouthi, Barghouti) is the secretary-general of the Fatah Higher Committee in the West Bank and an elected member of the Palestinian Legislative Council (PLC). Born and raised in the West Bank, he joined Fatah as a young man and cofounded the Fatah Youth Movement (al-Shabiba). He has been arrested and jailed numerous times and learned Hebrew while in Israeli prison. Despite his jail time, he completed his studies at Birzeit University in the West Bank. Expelled by Israel in 1987, he returned following the Oslo Accords in 1994 and was elected to the PLC. A clear supporter of a negotiated, two-state solution (Israel and Palestine within sovereign borders), he became disillusioned following the



*Marwan Barghuthi*. AP IMAGES.

Oslo Accords due to continued Israeli settlement activity and violence, both of which violated the spirit and agreements at Oslo. He has been a supporter and some say leader of the al-Aqsa intifada, which started in 2000. After Barghuthi survived an Israeli assassination attempt in 2001, he was arrested in 2002 and convicted in a civilian court of being responsible for ordering the attacks that resulted in the deaths of five people, and he is serving five consecutive life sentences in jail. Despite this imprisonment, Barghuthi continues to play a significant role in Palestinian politics from jail, including being reelected to the PLC, and he is the most significant political prisoner whose release is being negotiated in a prisoner exchange between the Israelis and Palestinians.

#### PERSONAL HISTORY

Born on 6 June 1959 in Kubar in the Ramallah district of the then-Jordanian occupied West Bank, Barghuthi comes from a very large and well-known family, which includes such distant relatives as physician and PLC member Mustafa Barghuthi and Husayn Barghuthi, a poet and novelist. Marwan Barghuthi received a B.A. (history and



political science) in 1994 and an M.A. in international relations in 1998 from Birzeit University in the West Bank. He began his undergraduate studies in 1983, but his frequent arrests delayed his timely completion of his degree. In 1984 he married Fadwa Ibrahim, also a student, who is now a lawyer. They have four children.

#### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Barghuthi was a founder of the Fatah Youth Movement (al-Shabiba) and he was also elected head of the Birzeit University Student Council while enrolled there. During the first intifada (December 1987–1993) when Palestinians were actively resisting the Israeli occupation of the

### BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Marwan Barghuthi (Barghuti, Barghouthi, Barghouti)

**Birth:** Kubar, West Bank, 1959

**Family:** Wife, Fadwa Ibrahim; three sons: Qassam (b. 1986), Sharaf (b. 1989), Arab (b. 1991); one daughter: Ruba (b. 1987)

**Nationality:** Palestinian

**Education:** Birzeit University, West Bank, Palestine. B.A., history and political science (1994), and M.A., international relations (1998)

#### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1980s:** Founds Fatah Youth Group (al-Shabiba)
- **1987:** Expelled from West Bank to Jordan by Israel
- **1994:** Returns to West Bank and founds West Bank Fatah Higher Committee
- **1995:** Fatah Tanzim founded, eventually assumes leadership
- **2000:** Leads support for the second intifada and opposition to the Oslo Accords. Refuses to call for a halt to the violence as a condition of negotiations unless also Israel agrees to halt the violence
- **2002:** Arrested by Israel
- **2003:** Sentenced to five consecutive life terms in prison in connection with attacks that lead to the deaths of five people
- **2006:** Elected to the Palestinian Legislative Parliament (while still in Israeli jail)

### WE CANNOT TRUST THE ISRAELIS

“[I]t has been our experience that we cannot trust the Israelis. Since the Madrid conference till now—almost ten years—we were going to the negotiating table, thousands of meetings, not hundreds, believe me, but thousands of meetings on a lot of issues like politics, economics, security, etc. And what happened while we’re negotiating? The Israelis used the time...used the umbrella of the negotiations to build new settlements. Israel, since the 1967 war to 1993, built roughly 25,000 housing units during the 26 years of Israeli occupation. Since 1993 until the eve of the Intifada—in a period of seven years—they built 23,400 new housing units. So I think the Israelis laugh at the Palestinians and use the negotiations to advance their own goals. And so I think it would be a disaster for the Palestinians to end the Intifada as a condition for returning to the negotiating table. The best and shortest way to stop the Intifada will be Israel’s full withdrawal from the Occupied Territories—like what happened in Lebanon.”

BARGHUTHI, MARWAN. INTERVIEW. *MEDIA MONITORS*, 31 JULY 2002.

West Bank and Gaza, Barghuthi was in Jordan and Tunis. In May 1987 Ehud Barak, then commander of the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) Central Command, expelled him to Jordan. In exile, Barghuthi first worked as a liaison officer and then became a protégé of Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) official Khalil al-Wazir (Abu Jihad), who was assassinated by Israeli agents in Tunisia in April 1988. Barghuthi remained in exile until the signing of the Declaration of Principles (the Oslo Accords) between the Israelis and Palestinians in 1993, following which he and many other PLO members were allowed to return to the West Bank and Gaza.

As a leader for reform within Fatah, the PLO, and the Palestinian Authority (PA), Barghuthi has also advocated a greater role for younger activists and for the growth of civil society. This position brought him into conflict with YASIR ARAFAT, the president of the Palestinian Authority and head of Fatah, and also with Arafat’s successor, MAHMUD ABBAS, who, although supportive of the reforms, does not want to alienate his supporters and base among the old guard in Fatah. Barghuthi has also

taken the lead in corruption and human rights abuses campaigns against the PA security services and officials. Because Barghuthi is critical of Fatah and the PA's performance and leadership, he has enjoyed rising popularity among Palestinians who are increasingly disillusioned by the ineffectualness of Fatah and PA officials.

Barghuthi was a supporter of the Oslo Accords and of a two-state solution based on the 1967 borders (a Palestinian state in the West Bank [including East Jerusalem] and the Gaza Strip and an Israeli state within the pre-1967 Israeli borders). In a *Washington Post* editorial he wrote:

[S]ince 1994, when I believed Israel was serious about ending its occupation, I have been a tireless advocate of a peace based on fairness and equality. I led delegations of Palestinians in meetings with Israeli parliamentarians to promote mutual understanding and cooperation. I still seek peaceful coexistence between the equal and independent countries of Israel and Palestine based on full withdrawal from Palestinian territories occupied in 1967 and a just resolution to the plight of Palestinian refugees pursuant to UN resolutions. I do not seek to destroy Israel but only to end its occupation of my country." (16 January 2002)

But as settlements continued to be created and expanded, despite Oslo's interdiction against this behavior, and as no progress was made toward the creation of an independent Palestinian state, by 1998 Barghuthi began to publicly criticize the unsuccessful implementation of the Oslo Accords and to question Israel's intent to abide by them and end the occupation.

The popularity Barghuthi enjoys as a leader is due to his willingness to criticize both parties in the conflict. He criticizes both Israel's failures to abide by its agreements, and also what many see as the spinelessness of Fatah and PA leadership in continuing negotiations with Israel despite the high costs and lack of results. In the wake of the many fruitless negotiations with the Israelis that the Palestinian leadership kept publicly advocating and participating in, Barghuthi's public criticisms reflected the majority sentiment of Palestinians that the leadership was focused on the negotiations process as such rather than the objective of ending the occupation. As a result, Barghuthi has led many public demonstrations as a grassroots leader and by all accounts is able to mobilize Palestinian sentiment on the street.

Barghuthi is the head of the Fatah militant Tanzim group that was established in 1995. As the leader of the Tanzim, he stands as one of the leaders of the al-Aqsa intifada. Israeli authorities also believe that he is the leader of the al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades, a group affiliated with Fatah that has carried out attacks in the West Bank and Gaza on Israeli soldiers and settlers, and from 14 January 2002 onward, suicide bombings inside Israel.

He was the target of an Israeli assassination attempt in August 2001 and went underground. In September 2001 a warrant was issued for his arrest and he was captured in April 2002 during Israel's reoccupation of West Bank cities. Israel declared that they would try him in a civilian court on charges of financing or instigating thirty-seven attacks that had killed twenty-six people. Barghuthi refused to recognize the authority of the court to try him and instead issued his own indictment against Israel. In the court he declared:

We have been suffering under your sinister military occupation for over thirty-six years during which you killed us, tortured us, destroyed our homes and usurped our land. You made our life an enduring hell. We have an inherent moral and legal right to resist your occupation of our country. If you were in our shoes, you most certainly would do the same as we are doing. You would resist. [...] I am against killing innocent people, against murdering innocent women and children. All the time I said I was against military operations, but one must fight the Israeli occupation of our homeland. We are a people like all other people. We want freedom and a state just like the Israelis. [...] How could Jews who suffered and survived the Holocaust allow themselves to indulge in insufferable persecution of another people? (*al-Abram Weekly* [October 2003], pp. 2–8)

He was convicted of playing a role in the deaths of five people and sentenced to five consecutive life sentences.

Yet, even from jail he has played a significant role in Palestinian politics. His support for Fatah leaders Abbas and MUHAMMAD DAHLAN was essential for persuading President Arafat to give more powers to the position of prime minister (which Abbas assumed in February 2004). He also played a role in bringing about the July 2004 cease-fire between Israel and Fatah, Hamas, and Islamic Jihad. He initially ran as an independent presidential candidate for the elections held in January 2005, but withdrew in December and put his support behind Abbas. He also assisted in drafting the Prisoners' Document of May 2006, intended to build a platform of reconciliation in the political struggles between Fatah and Hamas. His role in running for president and calling for democratic primaries to elect nominees to run as Fatah representatives in the 2006 elections rankled the old guard Fatah officials who returned post-Oslo and who control the party. In the primary elections to create the Fatah electoral lists, which were halted due to factional violence, local activists swept the elections out of the hands of the old guard. However, when Fatah Central Committee created an elections list with the names of the old guard members, Barghuthi announced he and others would form a new party, al-

Mustaqbal (the Future). Abbas prepared a compromise Fatah list and the split was averted, but the specter of favoritism, partisan action, and corruption plagued Fatah and led to serious losses to Hamas in the January 2006 elections.

#### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

As one of the most senior members of the PA and Fatah who supported the intifada and, by extension, Palestinians' right to resist the occupation (whether violently or nonviolently), Barghuthi condemned the position of PA leaders Abbas and Saeb Erekat, who acted based on their beliefs that the Israeli occupation would end through negotiations, as naive. Barghuthi declared that "I am not a terrorist, but neither am I a pacifist. I am simply a regular guy from the Palestinian street advocating only what every other oppressed person has advocated—the right to help myself in the absence of help from anywhere else" (Barghouthi, 16 January 2002). He did, however, "strongly oppose attacks and the targeting of civilians inside Israel" and said that suicide bombings were "not correct." He said in an interview with Israeli journalist Gideon Levy in 2001:

I would really like all the organizations to concentrate on the territories. But I understand why they carry out actions inside Israel. Why should you feel secure in Tel Aviv when we don't feel secure in Ramallah or Bethlehem? [...] If you want security in Tel Aviv, give security to Ramallah. [...] Why should the Israelis have the right to fire shells and send in 15 tanks, while if a Palestinian goes into Israel, it's a big deal? (*Ha'aretz*, 12 November 2001)

His trial was condemned by Palestinians and by the Inter-Parliamentary Union which, in a report issued during its 173rd session, concluded that "[t]he numerous breaches of international law recalled in this report make it impossible to conclude that Mr. Barghuthi was given a fair trial." James A. Baker, the former U.S. secretary of state, appeared on CNN shortly after Arafat's death in 2004 and called on the Israeli government to release Barghuthi in order to allow more moderate leaders take roles to counteract Hamas's influence among the population.

#### LEGACY

As a young modernizer and democratic thinker, Barghuthi's experience within Fatah inspired him to push for reform within the party. Upon his return, he established the West Bank Fatah Higher Committee. One of his goals is to hold the internal Fatah elections for the Fatah Central Committee, which has not occurred since 1989.

Barghuthi is probably one of the most popular leaders in Palestine today, and his imprisonment and con-

tinued activities from jail have enhanced his standing. During his arrest and subsequent trial, polls placed him as the second-most popular Palestinian leader, behind Arafat. There is endless speculation over his name in lists for prisoner exchanges, including most recently the prisoner exchange negotiations that began over the Israeli soldier Gilad Shalit who was captured in Israel and taken to Gaza in June 2006. Hamas included Barghuthi and Ahmad Sa'adat (the leader of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine [PFLP], who is accused of coordinating the assassination of an Israeli minister of tourism in 2001) among the Palestinian political prisoners that they want released; this shows not only the respect these two hold among Hamas members, despite their being Fatah and PFLP officials, but it also shows the degree of unity with which Palestinian political figures see their struggle against Israel. According to media reports and historical precedents, Barghuthi's release in a prisoner exchange will most certainly occur. One sign of this is that more Israelis are willing to try and clear him. For instance, Israeli Knesset member and former Shin Bet chief Ami Ayalon said that "Marwan Barghuthi led a campaign of terror, but he himself does not have blood on his hands." (*Arab News*, 14 April 2007)

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*Rochelle Anne Davis*

## BARNEA, NAHUM (1944–)

A guru of Israeli journalism, Nahum Barnea combines both provocative and compassionate characteristics in his professional activities. He remains the most influential journalist shaping public opinion and foreign policy in Israel. The Labor movement in Israel and its commitment to democratization influenced Barnea, a journalist



**Nahum Barnea.** DAVID RUBINGER/TIME LIFE PICTURES/GETTY IMAGES.

of radical persuasion. In order to get to the roots of crises between Israel and its neighbors, Barnea carried out field-works in the center of social disputes, war, and terror attacks while putting his own life at risk. Barnea has used his journalism profession to challenge Israeli prime ministers. He is the political columnist of Israel's largest circulating daily newspaper, *Yediot Aharonot*.

#### PERSONAL HISTORY

Barnea was born in 1944 in Petah Tikva, mandatory Palestine. His sojourn into journalism began at the Hebrew University's student newspaper, *Pi ha-aton*, while studying for a B.A. in history and political science. Before his university education, Barnea had served in the Israel Defense Forces (IDF)'s Nahal combat unit. Barnea was also the deputy spokesman for the Israeli Ministry of Communications. Barnea is the political columnist of the Israeli's largest circulating daily newspaper, *Yediot Aharonot*. He served as the editor in chief of the weekly *Koteret Rashit*. Between 1973 and 1982, he worked with the Histadrut Labor Federation's *Davar* daily newspaper in various capacities as a correspondent, columnist, and Washington bureau chief. In 1982 he became the editor of the weekly *Koteret Rashit* where he worked for seven years until the paper shut down. He joined *Yediot Aharonot* and serves as the daily's star reporter. He also wrote

for the media affairs bimonthly *ha-Ayin ha-Sbi'it* journal. In 1981 Barnea was the recipient of the Sokolov Prize for Journalism. In 1998 he was chosen as the most influential Israeli journalist in the country's fifty years existence. He is a recipient of the prestigious Sokolov Award for Journalism and the Ynon Kreiz Visiting Fellow at the Brookings Institution.

#### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

In several forums and in the media, Barnea has presented influential perspective on the Israeli-Lebanese crises. At the Brookings Saban Center Briefing on the Gaza/Lebanon Crises in 2006, Barnea spoke along with Hisham Milhem, a Washington correspondent for the Lebanese newspaper *an-Nahar*, who presented the Lebanese perspective; Shibley Telhami, Saban Center non-resident senior fellow, and Anwar Sadat Professor at the University of Maryland offered views from the Arab world; and Martin Indyk, director of the Saban Center, presented U.S. policy option on the crisis. According to Barnea, both Israel and Hizbullah were astounded at developments in July 2006. In particular, Israel was surprised by Hizbullah's cross-border raid and the use of an unmanned drone to attack an Israeli warship. Other sources claimed that Hizbullah used an antiship missile. Barnea posited that Hizbullah was equally shocked by the magnitude of the Israeli response to its attack on the Israeli warship. The violent situation, according to Barnea, presented an opportunity. Contrary to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the Israeli-Hizbullah crisis did not boomerang into conflicts between citizens of both countries. The Lebanese public denounced Hizbullah. In addition, as Barnea observed, there was no disagreement

#### BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Nahum Barnea

**Birth:** 1944, Petah Tikva, mandatory Palestine

**Family:** Wife; three children

**Nationality:** Israeli

**Education:** Israel; Hebrew University, B.A.; Ynon Kreiz Visiting Fellow at the Brookings Institute

#### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1967–1982:** Writes for *Davar* daily newspaper
- **1982:** Editor, *Koteret Rashit*
- **1982–present:** Writes for *Yediot Aharonot*

## THE ROLE OF A LEADER IN ISRAEL IS FULL OF CONTRADICTIONS

What is Sharon's legacy? Is it the outposts he built or the outposts he evacuated? Is it the norms of demanding warfare he bequeathed the Israeli Army in the early 1950s? The battle he waged in Umm Katef in 1967? Crossing the Suez Canal in 1973? Or is it this entanglement in Lebanon in 1982? Is it the tenacious sticking to the soil of Israel, to everything that grows and lives there, or is it the disregard for law and order and for the rules of the game, which reached a peak in the family violations of the election laws?

The role of a leader in Israel is full of contradictions. Every day people are killed because of orders he gives, decisions he makes. He must acquire a degree of alienation and obtuseness. He must be fanatically loyal to the basic idea that put the Jewish state here, in the heart of a hostile region. And yet he must prove to his voters and to the world that he is pragmatic, that he is willing to compromise, wants calm, stability. This makes it very difficult to form a "legacy."

BARNEA, NAHUM, "ARIEL SHARON: THE MAN AND THE MYTH,"  
*INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE*, 5 JANUARY 2006.

between Israel and Lebanon over territory. According to Barnea, there was a rare opportunity for the United States and the international community to jointly promote an immediate cessation of violence and its lasting solution. Barnea cautioned that Israel's demand for the removal of Hizbullah from southern Lebanon would not alter Israel's security situation. This is due to Hizbullah's possession of long-range missiles, and that it does not need to be stationed along Lebanon's southern border to attack Israel. Barnea presented Israel's two principal objectives: the return of the kidnapped soldiers and the intervention of the United States and European Union. In the past, Israel has been mistrustful of international involvement. In this way, Israel's military response to the kidnapping of soldiers was to force international intervention that could dismantle Hizbullah's military infrastructure.

From leadership, security, and governance, Barnea has written a wide range of issues affecting the Israeli nation. According to him, Israeli prime minister ARIEL SHARON's 2006 stroke illustrated to Israelis how much they needed him in governance due to his competence.

For many Israelis, including the supporters of the rival parties, Sharon was the conclusive authority on security matters. Barnea argues that the settlers' goal was not to institute a legacy but a trauma so big that no Israeli government would dare to repeat in the future.

In September 2001, he conducted an interview with MARWAN BARGHUTHI, the leading spokesman for the Palestinian intifada. Barghuthi serves as the secretary general of the Fatah Party in the West Bank. Barnea considers Barghuthi to have taken radical perspective to Palestinian politics due to his firm opposition to what was referred to as the peace process. He explains that Barghuthi's position was because the peace process was nothing less than a guise for Israel to consolidate its control over the Occupied Territories through the construction of an intricate network of settlements, by-passing Arab roads, and cantonizing the Palestinian population, which led to the formation of intifada. Barnea cautioned that Barghuthi's populist radicalism should not be construed as working for the Palestinian Authority, but as indicative of an increasing process of radicalization that Fatah itself is undergoing, with or without the blessing of the Palestinian Authority. He explained that, in August 2001, Barghuthi survived an Israeli assassination attempt from the nearby Israeli settlement. Thereafter, Israel formally requested of the Palestinian Authority that Barghuthi should be handed over to Israel due to his prominent role in the intifada. Barnea, who had traveled with an Israeli army unit in south Lebanon, compared the battle to the famous Tom and Jerry cartoons, whereby the powerful Israeli military played the role of the cat Tom, and the resourceful Hizbullah guerrillas played the mouse Jerry. Barnea concluded that, in every conflict between them, Jerry wins.

### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

Barnea is widely acknowledged as a guru of journalism. However, many commentators consider his opinions to be highly controversial. His views on the International Solidarity Movement (ISM) and other expressions of alternative tourism to Israel were criticized on the basis that many leftists of Gush Shalom are waging war in the courts in order to prevent the government from expelling ISM activists. It was also noted that ISM announced planned to bring one thousand supporters to Israel, and of those thousand who went, only twenty were barred from entering the country.

Journalists are said to have catapulted EHUD OLMERT, the Israeli prime minister, to power and the dysfunctional government. In the run-up to the 2006 elections, Olmert was considered as a weak candidate. The media was equally accused of indirectly causing the July–August 2006 war with Hizbullah, the patterns of its management, and the human loss encountered. In this way, Israeli senior and influential journalists were blamed for the

resounding failure of their profession. Among the senior journalists were Barnea and Dan Margalit. Barnea had in the past been reported to have made lives miserable for most Israeli prime ministers, owing to his leftist ideology. But his professional orientation was considered to have shifted since Olmert became prime minister. In his 10 March 2006 interview, along with Shimon Shiffer, he compromised his profession by treating him as an associate. He also assured his readers that "Olmert is imbued with the experience and the self-confidence a leader requires." Barnea is considered to have laundered the image of Olmert in his columns. Barnea was Olmert's former neighbor and they are still good friends, and Barnea was accused to have allowed friendship to come in the way of journalism, reportedly protecting Olmert despite obvious discrepancies in his administration.

According to the Israeli Prize for Journalism headed by journalist Moti Kirshenbaum, Barnea "is a journalist with a unique style that combines a knack for writing with fieldwork. . . . Barnea had accompanied the Israeli experience for dozens of years."

#### LEGACY

Barnea radically influenced Israeli media, public opinion, and international relations in the Middle East. He affected and promoted the development of journalism cum diplomacy in Israeli. His columns clearly explain how Israel can deal with the crises in the Middle East and the need for international intervention. From a leftist perspective, Barnea admitted that most of the Israeli media acted more as a guard dog of a disengagement plan than of democracy. According to Barnea, "There is no argument that the tone in the Israeli media is pro-disengagement. Were the media just supportive, or also enlisted?" The legacy of Barnea in Israeli journalism remains his undying campaign for the deepening of democratic governance. He has challenged journalists to report, expose, criticize, educate, and influence public opinion. Barnea advocated against the pervasion of the media. To him, the media's conscription in the disengagement process was a fatal mistake. Barnea has been honored with Israeli Prize for Journalism because of his special way of capturing Israeliness, talent, and courage. In the early twenty-first century, every young reporter in Israel aspires to be like Nahum Barnea.

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Rasheed Olaniyi

## BARRA, MUBARKAH BENT AL- (1957-)

Mubarkah (Batta) Bent al-Barra is a Mauritanian poet and teacher writing primarily in Arabic. She is very active in the cultural and literary life of her country, and has achieved some renown elsewhere in the Arab world. She frequently takes part in literary festivals in other Arab countries.

#### PERSONAL HISTORY

Al-Barra was born in al-Madhardhara, Mauritania, in 1957. She studied in public schools. She graduated with a degree in education from the Teachers High Institute in Nouakchott in 1983. She received an M.A. in Maghrebi and Andalusian literatures from Muhammad V University in Rabat, Morocco, in 1987 and teaches in the Teachers High Institute, in Nouakchott, the capital of Mauritania. Al-Barra is bilingual with a solid knowledge of Arabic and French, but writes primarily in Arabic.

Al-Barra's interests are social issues facing her country and literature, and she writes about both. She published a collection of poetry, *Taranim li-Watanin Wahid* (Chants for a country for all) in 1992. She has published research papers on oral poetry, specifically the *tibra'*, a form of amorous poetry recited by women in closed gatherings attended only by women, popular in both Mauritania and the Western Sahara. She has also published translations of *tibra'* poems in French. Al-Barra is the author of a book on Mauritanian poetry, titled, *al-Shi'r al-Muritani al-Hadith, min 1970 ila 1995* (Modern Mauritanian poetry, 1970–1995), published in 1998.

Al-Barra published a children's book, *Hikayat Jaddati* (My grandmother's tales) in 1997. She is the coauthor of another book on Mauritanian oral literature, *al-Hikayat al-sha'biyya al-Muritaniyya* (Mauritanian folk tales, n.d.)

#### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

In the country of the million poets, as Mauritania is often referred to, al-Barra belongs to the third generation of poets. Like many of this group, she resorted to the use of dialogue in her poems and a narrative style to address the realities of Mauritanian society. Like the other poets of her group, al-Barra uses free verse in some of her poems. She borrows images from religious texts, ancient Arab history and classical Arabic texts to portray conditions in her country. The symbolism of the religious stories is particularly effective in a country deeply rooted in Arab-Islamic traditions. Al-Barra uses both free verse and rhymed poetry, borrowing images from her own environment, which explains the frequent use of palm trees and sand.

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Mubarkah Bent al-Barra (Batta Bent al-Barra)

**Birth:** 1957, al-Madhardhara, Mauritania

**Nationality:** Mauritanian

**Education:** Bachelor's degree, education, Teachers High Institute, Nouakchott, 1983; M.A., Maghrebi and Andalusian literatures, Muhammad V University, Rabat, Morocco, 1987

## PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1988:** Participates in al-Mirbad poetry festival in Iraq
- **1992:** Publishes poetry collection, *Taranim li-Watanin Wahid*
- **1993:** Reads her poem "Kayfa Abharta?" on the radio to welcome Palestinian poet Mahmud Darwish to Mauritania
- **1997:** Publishes children's book, *Hikayat Jaddati*
- **1998:** Publishes book on Mauritanian poetry, *al-Shi'r al-Muritani al-Hadith, min 1970 ila 1995*

In "Intizar" (Waiting), the poet defends the cause of the villagers who seem forgotten by the political regime. The poem refers to the rural population who moved to the capital and established shantytowns at the outskirts of the city, awaiting a solution to their problems. In the meantime, they were leading a life of misery and humiliation due to their poverty. The poet chooses human situations involving children and elderly people to create a dramatic effect.

Like the poor people exhausted from waiting at the periphery of the capital, al-Barra is tired of waiting for the improvement of conditions in her country. She expresses feelings of sadness and despair in "al-Qafila" (The Caravan):

Once I wanted my poetry and myself  
To become pouring rain,  
To quench the thirst of the sands.  
I wanted, in the people's name, to eliminate  
dust,  
To erase weak will  
To see the sad evenings disappear,  
And also the cobwebs and the suffering of  
children,  
To allow the muzzled to break their chains  
To wait no more.

I am tired of waiting  
I am tired of seeing the caravans (*al-Shi'r*, p. 262)

The caravans the poet refers to are those of the poor beggars roaming the city. Natural conditions in Nouakchott, with an overwhelming presence of sand that covers the streets, add to the dramatic effect created by the human suffering described in her poems.

Al-Barra's collection *Taranim li-Watanin Wahid* is characterized by a strong nationalistic tone. She defends Mauritanian and Arab causes, with a special attention to the Palestinian problem. Her support for Palestine is clear in "Kayfa Abharta?" (How did you sail?), a poem she wrote to welcome the Palestinian poet, MAHMUD DARWISH, on his visit to Nouakchott in 1993. With the same concern for the suffering of her people she expresses her compassion for the suffering of the poet who carries the burden of his homeland on his shoulders:

You are the one carrying the pain of the land inside  
your body, Gaza and Galilee,

She then invites him to rest a little in her country,  
saying,

Relax a little on these sands, for you the thorns  
and the palm trees blossom, And speak to its  
friendly inhabitants in a time when friends are  
scarce. (*al-Adab*, p. 67)

Al-Barra is particularly concerned with the problems of Mauritanian women. She takes a strong stand against those who view them as an object of pleasure.

A MOTHER WATCHING  
THE STARS

## HOW DID YOU SAIL?

How is she called, she who remains a  
dream, she who's impossible to embrace

How is she called, she in whose love a  
generation is consumed, and another is born?  
Breathless, you were passionately eager to meet  
her, while memories stood erect:

The scent of a martyr's blood, a mother  
watching the stars, and killers and victims,

The remains of a *mawwal*, sung in her  
honor, late at night, by a weary voice.

("HOW DID YOU SAIL?" *AL-ADAB*, p. 67)

## THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

Al-Barra's poetry has not been translated into any foreign language, which limits the circle of her readers to her own country and the Arab world. She has been quite involved in literary festivals taking place in various Arab countries. She participated in al-Mirbad poetry festival in Iraq in 1988. The festival was held annually until the war in Iraq interrupted it.

Al-Barra is very active in the cultural and literary life of Mauritania, as exemplified by the aforementioned poem in honor of Mahmud Darwish, which she read on Mauritanian radio in April 1993. The poem is published in its entirety, in the Lebanese journal *al-Adab's* (Literature) special issue on Mauritanian literature. The choice of her poem from all those submitted reflects al-Barra's importance. The wide circulation of *al-Adab* has certainly given her visibility outside her own country.

## LEGACY

Al-Barra's active literary life and her prominence in Arab literary circles make her a role model for Mauritanian women. In a country where most writers endure extreme hardships to publish their writings in book form, al-Barra succeeded in publishing a collection of poetry in Nouakchott and a book on modern Mauritanian poetry in Damascus.

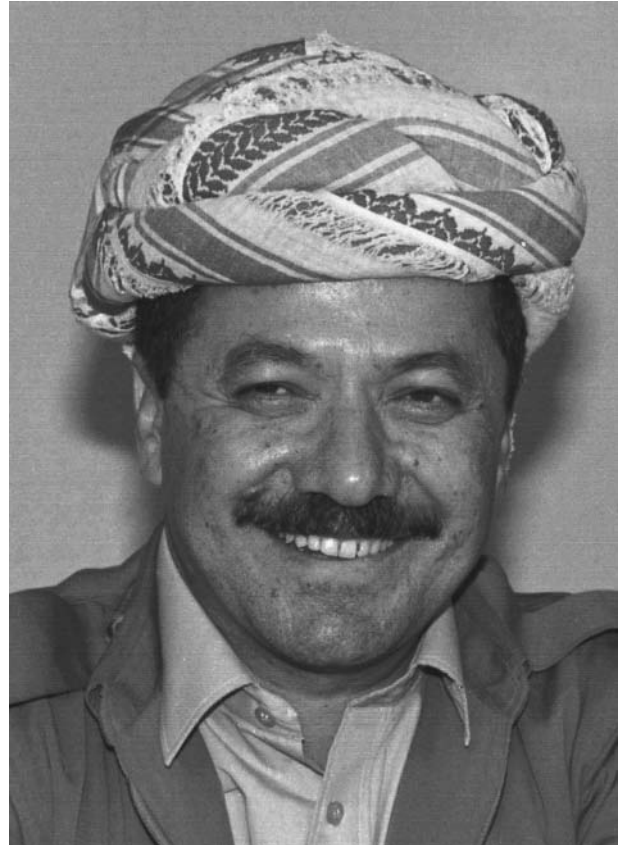
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*Aida A. Bamia*

## BARZANI, MAS'UD (1946–)

Mas'ud Barzani (also Massoud, Masoud) is president of the Kurdistan regional government in Iraq and president of the Kurdistan Democratic Party, one of the two dominant Kurdish parties in Iraq. Barzani is the son of the most revered modern Kurdish leader, Mullah Mustafa Barzani, and has been a key leader in the historic Kurdish transition from a rebellious and repressed minority in an isolated and backward area of Iraq to a prosperous and legitimately recognized autonomous region of the country following the 2003 demise of the Ba'th regime. Barzani was a member of the postinvasion Iraq Governing Council and served as president of the council in April 2004. He was elected president of the Iraqi Kurdistan region by the regional parliament in June 2005.



*Mas'ud Barzani*. AP IMAGES.

## PERSONAL HISTORY

Barzani was born on 16 August 1946 in Mahabad, Iran, where his father was commander of the fighting forces of the Kurdish Republic of Mahabad. His birthday also coincided with the founding of the Kurdish Democratic Party (KDP) by his father, Mullah Mustafa Barzani (1903–1979), and others. The first and only Kurdish republic, the Mahabad Republic lasted only a year, but the KDP, later renamed the Kurdistan Democratic Party to include all of the Kurdistan region's ethnic residents, has survived through tumultuous history for more than sixty years. Mas'ud Barzani likewise survived and guided the Iraqi Kurds to its post-Ba'th regime position as a relatively prosperous, secure and autonomous region.

Following the collapse of the Mahabad Republic, Mullah Mustafa lived in exile in the Soviet Union and was called the Red Mullah, although he was not a communist. Young Mas'ud was under the care of his wealthy maternal grandfather in Iraq until he was reunited with his father after the end of the Iraqi monarchy and the establishment of the republic in 1958. His mother, Hamayl, was Mustafa's third wife and was from the rival Zebari tribe; the marriage was apparently a political



## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Mas'ud (Massoud, Masoud) Barzani

**Birth:** 1946, Mahabad, Iran

**Family:** Married; eight children

**Nationality:** Iraqi Kurd

**Education:** Iraqi primary and high school; education ended at age of 16

## PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1970s:** Takes reins of KDP from father with half-brother Idris.
- **1979–present:** Elected and then reelected president of the KDP
- **2003–2004:** Member of the postwar Iraq Governing Council
- **2004:** Serves as president of the council
- **2005:** Elected president of the Iraqi Kurdistan Region

union, common among the Kurds. Mas'ud had five brothers and two sisters and an array of half-siblings from Mullah Mustafa's other wives.

The Barzani family hails from the village of Barzan in the rugged arid lands of Badinan north of the Greater Zab River in northern Iraq. The family first gained prominence as minor landowning *aghas* and religious leaders: Several Barzani men were Naqshbandi shaykhs of the Shafi'i school of Sunni Islam. The Barzanis gained reputations as tough fighters but also as a tolerant tribe that welcomed Christians and other refugees into their village. With the end of the British-created monarchy in 1958 and the creation of the Iraqi Republic, Mullah Mustafa and his followers were allowed back to Iraq and Mas'ud was reunited with his father. Mas'ud's schooling ended when his father, who had at first joined the government, started the 1961 to 1963 Kurdish rebellion against the new republic.

In 1970 Mas'ud participated in the Kurdish talks with the Ba'th government which resulted in the 11 March agreement under which the central government was to grant autonomy to the Kurds within four years. The agreement was never implemented and another Kurdish rebellion began in 1974 with the support of Iran and the United States, intent on harassing the Ba'th regime in its movement toward the Soviet orbit. The rebellion collapsed when Iran and Iraq reached the 1975 Algiers Agreement, which, in part, gave Iran access to the Shatt al-Arab waterway in

exchange for withdrawing military support of the Iraqi Kurds. Iran immediately withdrew supplies and the rebellion was crushed. Many Kurds were killed and many more forced into exile. Mullah Mustafa was devastated and the KDP was left in disarray. Mas'ud and his half-brother Idris took over the reins of the party. Mas'ud was primarily a politician and Idris directed intelligence and military elements. Mas'ud was elected the president of the KDP at the ninth party congress in 1979 and was repeatedly reelected. Idris died in 1987.

In the wake of the failed 1974–1975 revolt, left-leaning members of the KDP formed the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK). The union of several parties evolved into a single party led by JALAL TALABANI, former protégé and then challenger to Mullah Mustafa. Talabani considered the Barzanis feudalists steeped in tribal mores, and the fierce and often treacherous rivalry between the KDP and PUK marked most of the ensuing decades and generally prevented a united Kurdish stance against the ruthless Arab Ba'th regime in Iraq.

Barzani spent much of the period from 1976 until 1991 in exile, mostly in Iran and in the United States during his father's illness. The KDP was not terribly active in Iraq during this time and Barzani focused mostly on the political aspects of party building. Following the Islamist revolution in Iran in 1979, the KDP often cooperated with Grand Ayatollah Ruhollah Mosavi Khomeini's regime, even fighting Iranian Kurdish parties on the government's behalf. Later, during the Iran-Iraq War of 1980 to 1988, the KDP occasionally facilitated Iranian incursions into northern Iraq. The PUK was more active in Iraq at the time and also facilitated Iranian incursions. The KDP and the PUK's cooperation with Iran to engage Iraqi troops in the Kurdish areas increased the threat the Kurds posed to the government during the Iran-Iraq War. In 1983 as many as eight thousand Barzani males were rounded up by government forces from internment camps, taken to Baghdad and paraded through the streets, and never seen again (they presumably were executed).

Still, by 1987, the Kurds, supplied by Iran, controlled most of Iraqi Kurdistan. In 1988 during the waning days of the war, the Ba'th regime instituted the Anfal (from the Qur'anic notion of the spoils of war) genocide campaign against the Kurds headed by President SADDAM HUSSEIN's cousin, ALI HASAN AL-MAJID (Chemical Ali). Nearly 100,000 Kurds were killed outright, perhaps another 100,000 disappeared, and several thousand villages and towns were destroyed. Hundreds of thousands of people were herded into collective towns. Chemical weapons were used in at least forty separate attacks that have been fully documented; the Kurds claim many more. Barzani's pleas for relief to the United Nations (UN) and the world community fell on deaf ears. The genocide devastated the Kurds and Barzani,

who declared an end to the struggle against the Iraqi regime, echoing his father's demoralized 1975 call to end that rebellion. "We cannot fight chemical weapons with bare hands," Mas'ud Barzani's order said. "We just cannot fight on" (Randal, 1999, p. 217).

Prior to the Anfal, in May 1987, Barzani and Talabani had met in Tehran and announced the formation of the Kurdistan Front consisting of the KDP and the PUK and other Iraqi Kurdish parties. The Front shifted to guerrilla tactics to harass Iraqi forces in Kurdistan while pursuing a political settlement with the government.

Iraq's ill-fated invasion of Kuwait in 1990 offered a new opportunity for the Kurdish movement, and for Barzani, who returned to Iraqi Kurdistan from Iran and has remained since. The Arab Shi'ite and Kurdish uprisings that followed Iraq's 1991 defeat at the hands of an American-led coalition was brutally put down by the Iraqi government. The United States responded to the resulting humanitarian crisis by establishing a safe haven and no-fly zone in part of Kurdistan. After failed negotiations between the Iraqi government and the Kurdistan Front, Saddam Hussein withdrew all government presence in three Kurdish governorates and the Kurds were left to themselves.

The Front organized elections in May 1992 and established the Kurdistan Regional Government. The KDP and PUK each captured fifty seats in the assembly, with another five going to Assyrian and Turkoman parties. What became known as the 50-50 gridlock soon ensued with each party blocking the other's efforts. By 1994 political fighting between the two parties, largely over revenues collected by the KDP at the Turkish border, descended into fratricide that left thousands dead and perhaps 160,000 displaced.

In the midst of the internal war, in 1996 Barzani invited Iraqi government troops into the capital city, Irbil, (Erbil, Arbil, Hewlêr in Kurdish) to help the KDP retake it from the PUK who then fled to Sulaymaniyya. Iraqi troops withdrew quickly but rounded up some thousand five hundred Kurdish and Arab members of the Iraqi opposition based nearby and left behind intelligence operatives. From then until after the 2003 U.S. invasion of Iraq, Barzani and the KDP were based in Irbil and administered the north-western portion of Iraqi Kurdistan, while rival Talabani and the PUK administered the southeast portion from Sulaymaniyya. The 1998 Washington Accords formally ended the fighting but the two parties remain wary of each other. They did, however, work together in the run-up to the 2003 war and displayed a united front in the Kurdistan Alliance of parties in the Iraq national elections in January and December 2005, winning 20 to 25 percent of the votes.

New parliament members for the Kurdistan Regional Government were elected during the first Iraqi election in January 2005, and the two administrations officially united into one government in January 2006. Barzani was elected

## EXPLORING

As the largest ethnic group in the Middle East after the Arabs, Turks, and Persians, the Kurds were left without their own country at the breakup of the Ottoman Empire and found themselves a large, unwanted, and threatening minority in several countries striving to forge unified nations of disparate ethnic nationalities in the mid-twentieth century.

Weak regimes in Iraq, Iran, Syria, and Turkey have always read Kurdish demands for autonomy as calls for independence and have responded with various forms and degrees of cultural, social, economic, and political repression. These governments, and powerful international actors, generally viewed the Kurds as, at best, problematic pawns to be exploited for pressuring competing interests.

president of the Kurdistan region by the parliament in June 2005. The Iraqi National Assembly elected Talabani president of Iraq in April 2005 and in April 2006.

Kurdistan was not bombed in the 2003 invasion and was spared the chaos, looting, and violent insurgency that engulfed much of Iraq in the aftermath, although Kurdish forces were involved in the fighting. The relative stability spurred rapid economic growth as international and Iraqi businesses quickly moved into the area, creating a construction boom and labor shortage.

## INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Barzani was undoubtedly heavily influenced by his family's heroic position in Kurdish history. In particular, his father's role as both a tribal head and as the dominant leader in the Kurdish nationalist movement shaped the thinking of the president of Iraqi Kurdistan. At his father's side through much of his early adulthood, Barzani learned at an early age of the Kurdish quandary as a large, unwanted, and threatening minority seeking self-determination in several countries dominated by larger ethnic groups.

The Iraqi Ba'th regime's repression and ethnic cleansing that culminated in genocide against the Kurds, and the callous manipulation of the vulnerable Kurdish position by regional and international actors left the Kurdish leader questioning the usefulness of powerful patrons. In particular, the willingness of the United States to sacrifice Kurdish lives in 1975 must have left an indelible impression.

The lessons of 1975 were repeated in 1991 when the United States stepped aside and watched the Kurds and Shi'ites of Iraq slaughtered by the Ba'th regime following the 1991 uprising. More than a year before the 2003 U.S. invasion of Iraq, in relation to possible Kurdish cooperation with possible U.S. covert action against the Ba'th regime, Barzani was leery and referenced the U.S. betrayal of the Kurds in 1975. "One who has been bitten by a snake will be afraid of a rope," he said quietly. For Barzani, the lessons were clear: the Iraqi Kurds indeed have "no friends but the mountains," as goes the oft-repeated Kurdish expression.

#### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

Barzani is seen as a cautious, thoughtful, and pragmatic politician who is credited with guiding the Iraqi Kurds through perhaps the most delicate, promising, but potentially threatening, period in modern Kurdish history: the 2003 U.S. invasion and Iraqi regime change. Building on the political and economic foundations established in the late 1990s and early 2000s when the Kurdish civil war abated and the UN-created oil-for-food money flowed, Barzani worked closely with his long-time adversary Talabani, who mostly focused on national politics. They led the Kurdish area into becoming a recognized autonomous region in Iraq with full national rights while continuing to advocate for a full federal system. Within a few years of the invasion, Iraqi Kurdistan was the most economically prosperous and politically stable it had perhaps ever been.

A polite, soft-spoken, and thoughtful man whose small stature does not detract from his powerful presence, Barzani tends to value the advice of those around him and is not prone to rash decision making. The KDP is reputed to operate on fairly democratic principles with regular party conferences and elections of individuals to decision-making positions. However, accusations of KDP corruption, mass accumulation of family wealth, and nepotism are accurate, at least in part.

Barzani's detractors say he is tribal, conservative, and unworldly. He does, in fact, still play many of the traditional roles of a tribal *agha*; but tribes have a significant role in Iraq and cannot be ignored by political leaders. And under his leadership in the late twentieth century into the early twenty-first, the Barzani administration based in Irbil effectively built modern transportation and utility infrastructures, attracted foreign business interests and emphasized education.

#### LEGACY

It remains too early to assess Barzani's ultimate legacy. The violent instability in Iraq and the region threatens the enormous gains the Kurds seemed to have achieved within a few years of the end of the Ba'th regime. The unification of the two Kurdish administrations into one government could unravel at any time with decades-old

rivalry and suspicion between the KDP and PUK barely kept in check. Undeterred dreams of a greater independent Kurdistan threaten neighboring Turkey and Iran, either of which would likely invade Iraqi Kurdistan following any move toward independence.

Certainly Barzani will go down in history for carrying on the struggle for Kurdish self-determination championed so fervently by his father, and as one of the paramount Kurdish leaders who, at least initially, successfully steered the Iraqi Kurds through the minefield of a post-Ba'th Iraq.

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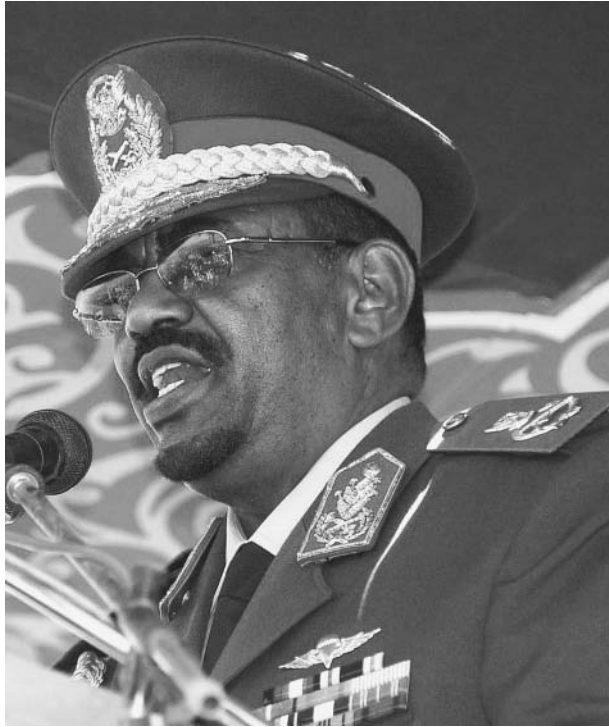
Maggy Zanger

#### BASHIR, OMAR AL- (1944–)

Omar (also Umar) Hasan al-Bashir has ruled Sudan longer than any previous leader in the nation's modern history. He has dominated Sudanese history and politics since 1989 when he overthrew the civilian rule of Sadiq al-Mahdi. With HASAN AL-TURABI, he implemented an Islamist agenda and elements of *shari'a* law (Muslim law) that many secularists and Southern Sudanese rejected. His career has been marked by civil war in both Southern Sudan and Darfur, including power struggles with both Turabi (a prominent Sunni Muslim and oftime ally) and John Garang (the late leader of Southern Sudan).

#### PERSONAL HISTORY

Al-Bashir was born on 1 January 1944 in Hosh Bannaga, a small village in northern Sudan near the town of Shendi. Reared in a poor family, he belonged to the Khatmiyya Sufi religious sect, attended Ahlia Middle School in Shendi for his middle school education, and completed his secondary school education in Khartoum. In the early years of his career, he claimed that he did not belong to a religious party but was simply a pious Muslim and a good officer in the military.



Omar al-Bashir. AP IMAGES.

In 1960 he joined the armed forces, where he trained as a pilot. He graduated from the Sudan Military Academy in 1966 and earned two master's degrees in military science from the Sudanese College of Commanders. He studied counterinsurgency in Malaysia as well. During the 1973 Arab-Israeli War he served along the Suez Canal as second in command of a Sudanese paratrooper unit attached to Egyptian forces. It was during this phase of his military career that he began to be thought of as an officer with distinct political ambitions.

Al-Bashir was a military attaché to the United Arab Emirates from 1975 to 1979. He served as a garrison commander from 1979 to 1981, a senior battlefield commander in southern Kordofan, and the head of the armored parachute brigade in Khartoum from 1981 to 1987. In 1988 he was given command of the 8th Brigade in Southern Sudan and was based in Unity State, where the main oil fields of Sudan are located. He was a military liaison there with a major southern Sudanese antigovernment armed force. These contacts were used in expanding the role of militias in the civil war. Up to this point, as a mid-level military figure, he was not well known within nor outside of Sudan.

**National Figure** On 30 June 1989, al-Bashir, at that time a colonel, led the coup that overthrew the government of Prime Minister Sadiq al-Mahdi. He created the Revolu-

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Omar (Umar) al-Bashir

**Birth:** 1944, Hosh Bannaga, Northern State, Sudan

**Nationality:** Sudanese

**Education:** Graduated from Sudan Military Academy, 1966; M.A. (military science), Sudanese College of Commanders

### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1960:** Joined Sudanese armed forces and finished secondary education in Khartoum
- **1966:** Graduated from Sudan Military Academy
- **1973:** Fought in 1973 Arab-Israeli War
- **1975–79:** Military attaché in United Arab Emirates
- **1981–87:** Commanded armored parachute brigade in Khartoum
- **1988:** Appointed to a command in the Southern Sudan
- **1989:** Led coup to overthrow Prime Minister Sadiq al-Mahdi and proclaimed head of Revolutionary Command Council (RCC)
- **1993:** Declared president of Sudan
- **1996:** Elections held and Bashir elected with 75.7 percent of vote
- **1999:** President; Bashir and Turabi set up National Congress Party
- **2000:** Reelected with 86.5 percent of vote
- **2003:** Conflict in Darfur begins
- **2005:** Comprehensive Peace Agreement with Southern Sudan signed

tionary Command Council for National Salvation as the central executive force in Sudan, proclaiming himself its chairman. He also declared himself a general. All political parties were banned and many government and military officers were arrested. Al-Bashir insisted that the new government was nonsectarian and nonpartisan, but he nonetheless abolished the constitution, National Assembly, and trade unions and closed down many private newspapers. It is clear that a major reason for the coup was to prevent the signing of a peace treaty with Garang's Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM). Al-Bashir

opposed the plan, which would have allowed secular law instead of the *shari'a* (Islamic law) in South Sudan. Later in 1989 fresh talks with the SPLM collapsed, in particular over issues with *shari'a* and emergency laws. Al-Bashir periodically promised a return to civilian government.

In 1990 al-Bashir, increasingly influenced by the radical Islam of al-Turabi, reorganized the government, trying to expand the influence of the Islamists. An attempted coup soon after resulted in the execution of many suspect officers; later attempted coups against his government were similarly crushed. Al-Bashir engineered the passage of the Criminal Act (passed in 1991), implementing *shari'a* in all provinces except the South. A National Transitional Assembly was created in 1992, which led to the Revolutionary Command Council being dissolved in 1993 and the appointment of al-Bashir as president. Al-Bashir received 75.7 percent of the votes in the elections that were held in 1996. In 1998 some limited reforms were introduced that allowed, conditionally, the formation of political parties and some steps toward democracy. Al-Bashir was re-elected in 2000 with an even larger majority but with a major boycott by the opposition.

#### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Al-Bashir, the third major military ruler of Sudan, has advanced the Islamist's agenda further than any of his predecessors. He believed that a military solution was possible to the "Southern Problem"—the antigovernment insurrections in southern Sudan—and found that even after the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) of 2005 with the SPLM that center periphery tensions spread from the South to Darfur, the Nuba Mountains, and the East.

#### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

Opposition to al-Bashir's government has grown both domestically and internationally. He attempted, especially after the 11 September 2001 attacks, to turn away from al-Turabi's advice and moderate his position toward the United States and Europe and toward the opposition in Southern Sudan and the rest of the periphery. International pressure assisted in obtaining the CPA with Southern Sudan in 2005, but the conflict in Darfur and tensions elsewhere in Sudan increased. Rapidly growing oil revenues and close ties to China, the major importer of Sudanese oil, seem to continue to provide substantial support for al-Bashir's regime.

Al-Bashir and his regime have received considerable criticism for the Darfur crisis, which the U.S. government labeled a genocide in September 2004. *Parade* magazine has thrice listed him as "the world's worst dictator," most recently in 2007.

#### LEGACY

Al-Bashir's legacy is controversial. The conflict in Darfur remains; lasting peace with Southern Sudan is fragile.

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Peter Garretson

## BASMA BINT TALAL (1951–)

Princess Basma bint Talal is the sister of the late HUSSEIN BIN TALAL, the king of Jordan. Over the past three decades, Princess Basma has worked to advance the rights of women and develop sustainable human development at the local, regional, national, and global levels.

#### PERSONAL HISTORY

Princess Basma was born on 11 May 1951 in Amman, Jordan, to King Talal bin Abdullah and Queen Zein Al Sharaf. She had three brothers, King Hussein I, Prince Muhammad, and Prince Hassan. Just months after her birth, on 20 July 1951, her grandfather, King Abdullah I, was assassinated. Her eldest brother, Hussein, was present at the attack. Following her grandfather's death, her father ascended to the throne. However, King Talal struggled with mental illness and was prone to bouts of extreme paranoia and violence.

After just thirteen months, the parliament asked for King Talal's abdication, with which he complied. He moved to Istanbul, Turkey, to receive treatment for his illness (diagnosed as schizophrenia) and died in 1972. Hussein thus took the throne in 1952, although he was not officially crowned until a year later when he turned eighteen years old; he ruled until his death in 1999. The princess's mother died in 1994.

Princess Basma received her primary education at the Ahliyya School in Amman, Jordan. During her teen years, she attended an all-girl boarding school, Benenden School, in England. On completing her secondary education she enrolled at Oxford where she specialized in



*Basma bint Talal.* © ALI JAREKJI/REUTERS/CORBIS.

languages. She is fluent in English as well as her native Arabic; she also speaks French and Spanish. Princess Basma completed her studies in May 2001 when she was awarded a Ph.D. from Oxford.

In 1970 Princess Basma married Timoor Daghestani, with whom she had two children: Farah (born 25 March 1971) and Ghazi (born 21 July 1974). In 1980, following her divorce from Daghestani, she married Walid Al Kurdi, with whom she also had two children: Saad (born 8 November 1982) and Zein Al Sharaf (born 1986).

#### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Although Princess Basma's father was absent most of her life, her mother, Queen Zein, was a strong woman who took up charitable causes and advocated for women's rights. The queen assumed an important leadership role in the country during her husband's short reign, as well as served as the head of the Regency Council that officially ruled the country during the period between King Talal's abdication and King Hussein's eighteenth birthday in May 1953. During this time, Queen Zein helped rewrite the constitution, giving full voting rights to women for the first time.

Following in her mother's footsteps, Princess Basma made economic development and women's issues central to her work. In 1977 she officially entered public life when her brother, King Hussein, asked her to create the Queen Alia Fund for Social Development, which was subsequently

renamed the Jordanian Hashemite Fund for Human Development (JOHUD). As chair of JOHUD, Princess Basma has pioneered the use of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) to advance Jordan's sustainable development.

JOHUD operates through a network of fifty Community Development Centers throughout Jordan. Working with local community groups, JOHUD offers educational and training programs aimed at tackling a broad range of social and economic problems, including unemployment, relocation transition, poverty, nutrition, family planning, and illiteracy. Princess Basma has taken a particular interest in the needs of children and advancing the leadership role of women. For example, through JOHUD, Princess Basma instigated a national effort to increase the number and quality of preschools in the country, which are aimed at meeting young children's need for nutrition, education, and recreation.

#### BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Basma bint Talal (Princess Basma)

**Birth:** 1951, Amman, Jordan

**Family:** First husband, Timoor Daghestani (1970; divorced 1980); two children, Farah (born 25 March 1971), Ghazi (born 21 July 1974); second husband, Walid Al Kurdi (1980); two children, Saad (born 8 November 1982), Zein Al Sharaf (born 1986)

**Nationality:** Jordanian

**Education:** Oxford University, Ph.D., 2001

#### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1977:** Founds and chairs Queen Alia Fund for Social Development (subsequently renamed the Jordanian Hashemite Fund for Human Development)
- **1991:** Institutes first National Goodwill Campaign
- **1992:** Founds and chairs the Jordanian National Committee for Women
- **1994:** Establishes Queen Zein Al Sharaf Institute for Development
- **1999:** Named honorary president of the General Federation of Jordanian Women
- **2001:** Appointed goodwill ambassador for the United Nations Population Fund

## WE MUST LEARN TO NURTURE ... THE EFFORTS AND ASPIRATIONS OF THE POOR

The bounty of the earth is not inexhaustible. As it nourishes, so must it be nourished. If agriculture and rural development are to be sustainable—as they can be—ecological mechanisms must be understood and respected. We must learn to nurture and not undermine the efforts and aspirations of the poor and hungry, to nurture and not violate the natural resources upon which their livelihoods and lives depend.”

“INVESTING IN THE RURAL POOR A CHALLENGE FOR THE 21ST CENTURY.” *UN CHRONICLE*, FALL 2000.

“Much of the success and acceptance of women’s participation results from there having been a process of attitudinal change within society, especially at the grassroots level. Policies alone could not achieve such a change. Women themselves have had to carve out their own space in community life, demonstrating their skills and a conviction that it is their right to increase their public involvement.”

SPEECH AT THE INTERNATIONAL UNESCO CONFERENCE ON CULTURE AND DEVELOPMENT, SEPTEMBER 1997, LILLEHAMMER, NORWAY.

Princess Basma has been instrumental in establishing numerous other NGOs and institutes that advance national issues of sustainable development as well as meeting local needs. As an example, she was at the forefront in the establishment of the National Goodwill Campaign in 1991, which distributes basic necessities such as food and clothing for families below the poverty line and also provides development funds to small business start-ups. By the beginning of the 2000s, the campaign had helped more 250,000 Jordanians. In 1994, following her mother’s death, she established the Queen Zein Al Sharaf Institute for Development (ZENID). ZENID offers training and programs to extend the skill base of workers in NGOs, volunteer groups, and government agencies who are involved in development in the region.

A well-known advocate for women’s issues, Princess Basma established the Jordanian National Committee for Women (JNCW) in 1992, which has successfully placed women’s issues on the country’s agenda. As chair of JNCW, Princess Basma helped set a precedent in the Arab world with the creation of a National Strategy for Women

in 1993 that outlined development strategies for women in six areas: political, legislative, economic, social, educational, and health. Princess Basma’s other leadership roles related to women’s issues include serving as chairperson of the Jordanian National Forum for Women, a grassroots women’s advocacy movement. She also inspired the creation of the Princess Basma Women’s Resource Center at ZENID in 1996 and was named honorary president of the General Federation of Jordanian Women in 1999.

### THE WORLD’S PERSPECTIVE

Princess Basma has advocated for human development issues within the global community and has with strong ties to the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) and the World Health Organization (WHO). Since the early 1990s she has served a variety of positions, including membership on the Advisory Board to the former United Nations (UN) secretary-general BOUTROS BOUTROS-GHALI, WHO’s Global Commission on Women’s Health, the Earth Council, Honorary Board of the Green Cross International, UNESCO’s International Panel on Democracy and Development, and the International Advisory Board of the International Council on Social Welfare. She has also served as a goodwill ambassador for the UN Population Fund and the UN Development Fund for Women, and as honorary human development ambassador for the UNDP.

### LEGACY

Situated in the war-torn Middle East, Jordan will continue to struggle to develop its resources, maintain its political balance, and provide for the needs of its underprivileged citizens, as well as the increasing flow of displaced persons coming into the country. For over thirty years Princess Basma has worked to better the lives of women and children and to create sustainable economic development within Jordan and around the world. Her legacy will be in the advancements in women’s rights and the expansion of their leadership roles with society, the workforce, and the government, along with the foundation she has helped lay to build community organization and support to address national issues of poverty and unemployment.

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*Alisa Larson*

## **BAYANUNI, ALI SADR AL-DIN** **(1938–)**

Ali Sadr al-Din al-Bayanuni (also Sadreddin Bayanouni) is an exiled Syrian politician and the head of the Muslim Brotherhood.

### **PERSONAL HISTORY**

Al-Bayanuni was born in 1938 in Aleppo, Syria. Both his father and grandfather were well-known Sunni Muslim scholars. He joined the Muslim Brotherhood in 1954. The brotherhood was first established in 1928 in Egypt by Hasan al-Banna and soon spread to other Arab countries. It was a political and social movement seeking to create an Islamic state and revitalize society by encouraging ordinary Muslims to live more dedicated religious lives.

After training as a lawyer, Bayanuni eventually was arrested by the Syrian government, which took a dim view of the brotherhood. After release from prison, Bayanuni went on to become the deputy leader of the brotherhood in Syria in 1977. In 1979 he went into exile in Jordan and was there during the vicious suppression of armed Islamic militants in the Syrian city of Hama in February 1982 and the subsequent crackdown on all Islamic-based opposition groups, including the Muslim Brotherhood. Bayanuni was elected the head of the Muslim Brotherhood in 1996. After being expelled from Amman, Jordan, in 2000, he took up residence in London.

### **INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS**

Bayanuni and the Muslim Brotherhood have shifted strategy over the past two decades, away from violent opposition to the secular Ba’th Party government of President HAFIZ AL-ASAD and, after 2000, his son, President BASHAR AL-ASAD. Bayanuni is largely associated with having overseen this shift. He has claimed that the brotherhood is willing to work within a democratic, secular system in Syria. He has foresworn the forced application of *shari’a* (Islamic law), and the brotherhood has ceased its denunciation of Alawite Muslims (who hold power; the Asads are Alawites) as non-Muslims. Bayanuni has called for the formation of a broad-based government made up of different parties and factions to rule in place of the Ba’thist government.



*Ali Sadr al-Din al-Bayanuni.* JOHN D. MCHUGH/AFP/GETTY IMAGES.

Bayanuni has taken steps to form such a coalition. In May 2005 he reportedly tried to start a dialogue with the Bush administration through Farid al-Ghadri, head of the Reform Party of Syria, which is based in the United States. In October 2005 the Muslim Brotherhood signed the Damascus Declaration with other opposition groups, which called for the establishment of a liberal democracy in Syria. After the defection of high-ranking Ba’thist official ABD AL-HALIM KHADDAM in January 2006, Bayanuni reportedly met with him and agreed to join forces in a common front, despite having denounced Khaddam just weeks earlier for his long-time role in the regime.

### **THE WORLD’S PERSPECTIVE**

Bayanuni is much more familiar to Syrians today than any past Muslim Brotherhood leader because of television. He appears on al-Jazeera and communicates with followers in Syria via e-mail. He and the brotherhood are not only more recognized in their home country than in the past but have been described as the best-organized opposition group within the country.



## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Ali Sadr al-Din al-Bayanuni (Sadreddin Bayanouni)

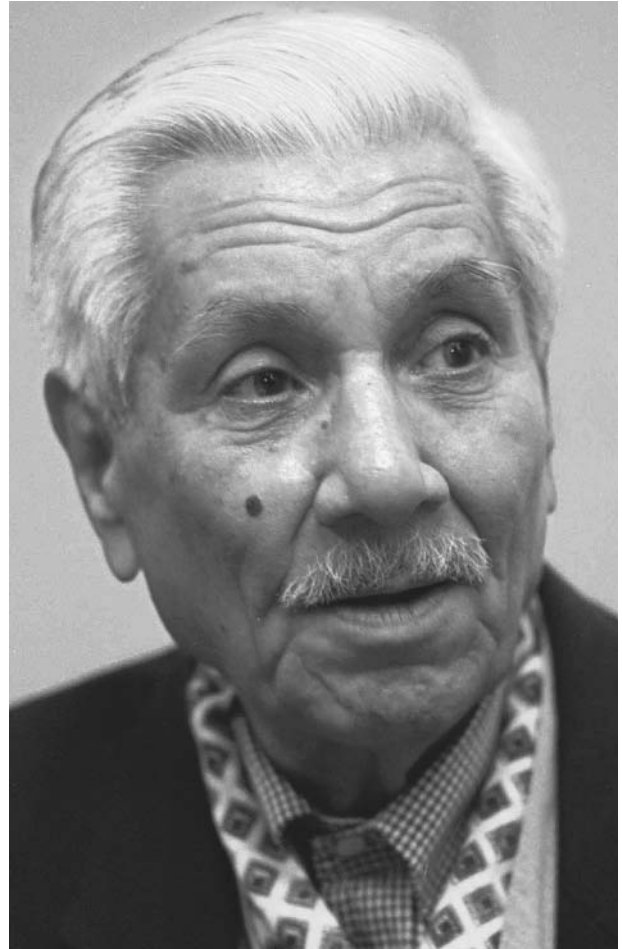
**Birth:** 1938, Aleppo, Syria

**Nationality:** Syrian

**Education:** Trained as a lawyer

### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1954:** Joins the Muslim Brotherhood
- **1977:** Becomes deputy leader of the brotherhood
- **1979:** Goes into exile in Jordan
- **2000:** Expelled from Jordan, moves to London
- **2005:** Brotherhood signs the Damascus Declaration
- **2006:** Reportedly meets with exiled ex-Ba'ath Party official Abd al-Halim Khaddam



*Abd al-Wahhab al-Bayati.* AP IMAGES.

### LEGACY

Bayanuni is still active in Syrian politics today but surely will go down in history as a man who shifted the wider purpose of the brotherhood in a more moderate direction. He has sought to make the Muslim Brotherhood more relevant and accessible to those in Syria seeking to change the Ba'ath Party system that has run Syria since 1963.

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*Michael R. Fischbach*

## BAYATI, ABD AL-WAHHAB AL- (1926–1999)

Abd al-Wahhab al-Bayati (Abdul Wahab; also known as Abu Ali) was one of the most important Arabic poets of the

twentieth century. Bayati was a pioneer, breaking with traditional forms and classical Arabic and opening up new avenues for the development of poetry in Arabic. He and his fellow Iraqi poets Badr Shakir al-Sayyab (1926–1964), NAZIK AL-MALA'IKA (1923–), and Buland al-Haydari (1926–1996), are considered the founders of modern Arabic poetry.

### PERSONAL HISTORY

Bayati was born in 1926 in Baghdad and grew up in a traditional environment in the suburb of Bab al-Shaykh, where the shrine of the twelfth-century Sufi mystic Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani is situated. He studied Arabic language and literature and graduated from Dar al-Mu'allimin al-'Aliya (Higher Teachers' Institute) in 1950. In the same year, he began teaching in public secondary schools. At the same time, he took part in editing the most popular Iraqi cultural magazine, *Al-Thaqafa Al-Jadida* (The new culture), a publication representing a leftist social and

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Abd al-Wahhab al-Bayati (Abdul Wahab; also known as Abu Ali)

**Birth:** 1926, Baghdad, Iraq

**Death:** 1999, Damascus, Syria

**Family:** Wife, Hind; two daughters, Asma' and Nadiya (died 1990); two sons, Ali and Saad

**Nationality:** Iraqi

**Education:** B.A., Arabic language and literature, Higher Teachers' Institute, Baghdad, 1950

### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1950–1954:** High school teacher in Ramadi, Iraq; editor of journal *Al-Thaqafa Al-Jadida* (The new culture)
- **1954:** Fired from teaching post over political activities; leaves Iraq
- **1958:** Returns to Iraq after overthrow of monarchy; receives post in Ministry of Education
- **1959–1961:** Cultural attaché, Iraqi embassy, Moscow
- **1968:** Returns to Iraq; leaves Iraq to escape political repression
- **1972:** Returns to Iraq
- **1980–1990:** Cultural attaché, Iraqi embassy, Madrid
- **1999:** Dies in Damascus, 3 August

political position. Bayati had been involved in the Iraqi Communist Party since his early years, and in 1954 was dismissed from his teaching position for his political activities. He left Iraq for the first time in 1954 for four years of wandering in Lebanon, Syria, and Egypt, where he worked for a while as an editor at the newspaper *Al-Jumhuriyya* in 1956.

He returned to Iraq when the monarchy was toppled by a military coup under the command of General Abd al-Karim Qasim in 1958. The new republic gave him a post in the Ministry of Education and, shortly thereafter, in 1959, he was sent to Moscow as a cultural attaché. He stayed in this post until 1961, when he resigned to teach for a few months at the Asian and African Peoples' Institute of the Soviet Academy of Sciences. He then began wandering again in various Eastern European countries.

He returned to Iraq for the second time after the 1968 coup, when the Ba'ath Party seized power. The Ba'ath government launched a massive campaign against all Iraqi parties, particularly those of liberal or leftist character, mainly the Iraqi Communist Party. Bayati had to escape again in order to avoid the brutality of the new regime. But he returned to Iraq in 1972. In 1980 the regime felt it necessary to make a gesture to him: SADDAM HUSSEIN himself assigned him as cultural attaché at the Iraqi embassy in Madrid. He stayed at that post until the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait on 2 August 1990. He then sought refuge in Jordan, and moved to Syria in 1996. Although his views suggest an opposition to all governments, he was able to avoid provoking them. This might explain why he was never condemned by the Iraqi government and his books were not censored inside Iraq. Bayati died on 3 August 1999 in Damascus. At his own request he was buried near the shrine of the Sufi saint Ibn 'Arabi, in the Cemetery of Strangers in that city, his first and last place of exile.

### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Bayati's poetry can be divided into three periods. His early poems were apparently influenced by both English and Arabic romanticism. His poems of this type appear in the collection *Mala'ika wa Shayatin* (Angels and devils, 1950). Although he was late to join the free verse movement, his collection *Abariq Muhashshama* (Smashed pitchers, 1954), was a revolutionary book within that movement, earning him the prominent place in Arabic poetry that he occupied for the rest of his life.

As a leftist, Bayati threw himself into the revolutionary struggle of the period. As a poet involved in popular radical politics, he started, in the early 1950s, writing poems with communist ideas and slogans, welding poetry and ideology and gaining significant fame throughout the Arab world. His poetic reputation rose hand in hand with his political involvement.

Bayati was a prolific poet and his subsequent collections, such as *Risala ila Nazim Hikmat wa qasa'id ukhra* (1956; Letter to Nazim Hikmat and other poems), *Al-Majd li'l-afal wa'l-zaytun* (1956), *Ash'ar fi al-manfa* (1957), *Isbrun qasida min Berlin* (1959), *Kalimat la tamut* (1960), *Muhakama fi Nisabur* (1963), *Al-Nar wa'l-kalimat* (1964), and *Sifr al-fuqr wa'l-thawra* (1965), implied that he deeply enjoyed a power and self-confidence derived from, and enjoyed displaying his genius in public. The Egyptian Nobel Prize-winner NAGUIB MAHFOUZ once gave Bayati a copy of his novel *al-Shahbadh* (The mendicant) with the inscription "To Bayati who is fascinated by his genius." Bayati said in his autobiography *Yanabi' al-Shams* (Springs of the sun, 1999) that "Mahfouz was really truthful in his note."

## CONTEMPORARIES

Badr Shakir al-Sayyab (1926–1964) is the pioneer of modern Arabic poetry whose poems had established the solid basis of the free verse movement since the late 1940s. Bayati found him the bitterest rival over the exploration of new poetic ways. Born in Abu al-Khasib, a small village near Basra (Iraq), al-Sayyab played a key role in opening up wide vistas for Arabic poetry to enter the age of modernity. He died young after a long battle with a chronic disease, but he left more than ten collections of poems that established him as a founder of modern Arabic poetry. Badr Shakir al-Sayyab revolutionized the static structure of Arabic poetry since pre-Islamic age. Hence he was not only a modernizer of Arabic poetry, but also of the Arabic culture in general. His world of poetry, his talent along with his extraordinary suffering from poverty and numerous diseases set him up as a most popular figure in the twentieth-century Arab world.

Among his famous poetic collections: *Azhar Dhabila* (Wizened flowers, 1947), *Haffar al-Qubur* (The grave digger, 1952), *al-Mumis al-'amiya'* (The blind prostitute, 1954), *al-Asliha wa'll-Atfal* (Weapons and children, 1954), *Azhar wa Asatir* (Flowers and myths), *Inshudat al-Matar* (Rain song, 1960), *Manzil al-Aqnan* (Slave house, 1963) and *A'sir* (Hurricanes, 1972).

For bringing decisive new developments to Arabic poetry, Bayati was called “Prometheus” (after the mythological Greek fire-thief who paid profoundly for trying to possess knowledge and deliver it to humans). Likewise, Bayati described his attempts to disclose knowledge as a responsibility toward the poor and the oppressed. He conceived the struggle against tyranny and dictatorship as a poetic function. He later tried to explain that struggle as a tendency peculiar to the conditions of the 1950s and 1960s, and distanced somewhat from his past on behalf of his later vision. “I remained independent,” he stated. “I must admit that in the 1950s and early 1960s, during the rise of the left, my poetry was somewhat affected by politics, but only indirectly. Because I experience life and live among people, and I have to think about whom I address. For example, I do not write for people who pray in a mosque. I write for people who live and die in society, and I have to offer them my vision.” (Rakha, 1999).

Like his contemporaries, Bayati was profoundly influenced by Western poetry. The critic Ehsan Abbas made a connection between Bayati’s poetics and English-language

modernists, especially Ezra Pound and T. S. Eliot. Both of them depended on everyday language, creating new poetic rhythms and an emphasis on poetic images. In Moscow from 1959 to 1964, he was occupied with poems and theories of French surrealism, and the work of such poets as André Breton, Louis Aragon, Paul Eluard, and the Spanish poet Federico García Lorca. In the 1960s Bayati also became interested in poetic masks. “I found these masks in history, symbol and myth,” he wrote in *Tajribati al-shi’riyya* (1968; *My poetic experience*). “It was so difficult to choose some of the historical and mythological personalities, cities, rivers and traditional books to express through a mask the social and universal ordeal. And it was not by accident that I chose that, it was a result of a bleary and long journey.” Some of these masks: the Sumerian Dilmun Myth, Babylonian Tammuz, Arcadia, Egyptian Osiris, Greek Orpheus, Ishtar, Ophelia, Diana, Khuzama, A’isha, Waddah of Yemen, Al-Ma’arri, Al-Mutanabbi, Gilgamesh, Ashur, Albert Camus, al-Hallaj, Abu Firas, García Lorca, Nazim Hikmat. Like Prometheus, Bayati wanted to shed light on dark life.

Bayati’s late poems were influenced by Sufi figures and historical personalities in general. He often mixed these figures and personalities with nostalgia and high poetic language. These poems reflected the influence on him of Sufism. This period in his poetry began when Bayati left Moscow for Cairo in 1964. In Cairo he turned to Sufi figures such as Ibn ‘Arabi, Ibn al-Fariz, al-Hallaj, al-Sahrawardi, Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani, and Ibn Shibil. Ultimately, he combined these influences to create his new poetics. *Sifr al-faqr wa'l-thawra* (1965; *The book of poverty and revolution*) was his first collection of this period; *Qamar Shiraz* (1976; *Shiraz’s moon*) was its masterpiece.

Although he returned several times to Iraq and stayed there briefly, Bayati spent more than half of his life away from his homeland. Portrayed as an expatriate, he was actually self-exiled. He described this condition as a “tormenting experience”; it left a great impact on his poetry and writing in general.

Buzzing with people and flies,  
I was born in it, and  
On its walls I learned exile and wandering

That was what Bayati declared in “Elegy to the Unborn City.” “Since I was a child (my early years),” he later said in *Yanabi’ al-Shams*, “I have started thinking of the secrets of death, exile and silence. Dreaming about traveling to other cities and remote countries, I’ve resorted to my books meditating the birds and clouds wrapping the sky in winter’s days.”

Bayati was a traveler who never stayed any place for a long time. It is difficult to separate his exile from his traveling since he imagined and philosophized them together. “I do not travel for the sake of tourism and entertainment,” he said, “nor to settle down. It is rather a cure for the soul, it is

## AWAITING THE PROPHECY OF A FORTUNE-TELLER

### ELEGY TO THE UNBORN CITY

Buzzing with people and flies,  
I was born in it, and  
On its walls I learned exile and the wandering.  
Love and death and the isolation of poverty  
In its underworld and at its gates.  
In it my father who taught me to navigate and to  
read:  
The rivers, the fires, the clouds, and the mirage  
He taught me to know sadness, rebellion, and  
perseverance  
To sail, and to orbit the houses of the saints of God,  
Searching for the light and the warmth of a  
future spring  
Which still lives at the bottom of the earth  
And in the sea shells,  
Awaiting the prophecy of a fortune-teller.  
In it he taught me to wait for the night and the  
day  
And to search for a hidden, enchanted city  
On the map of the world  
Similar to my city  
In the color of its eyes and in its sad laugh,  
But not wearing  
The tatters of the wandering clown,  
Nor does its summer buzz with people and flies.

(TRANSLATED BY BASSAM K. FRANGIEH)

### A SIGH IN BAGHDAD

I am looking for a cloud  
A green cloud that wipes my depression  
Transports me  
To my homeland's wilds  
To lilies fields  
Grants me  
A butterfly, a star  
A water drop drenches my thirst and a word  
That the Tigris waters were muddy

And it flowed  
To flood dams and villages  
So, who is that?  
Whose water bathes me?  
Bury me under a palm tree's shadows  
Chant me in a verse line after a thousand years  
That my homeland is distant  
And these dusky nights disunite us  
Ink and papers as well  
And the wall of longings ...

(TRANSLATED BY HASSAN NADHEM)

### SECRET OF FIRE

On the last day  
I kissed her hands,  
Her eyes / her lips.  
I said to her: you are now  
Ripe like an apple  
Half of you: a woman  
The other half: impossible to describe.  
The words  
Escaped me  
And I escaped them  
Both of us collapsed.  
Now I pray  
For the childhood of this light face  
And for this ripe, burning body  
I bring my face closer  
To this gushing spring,  
Thirsty.  
On the last day, I said to her:  
You are the fire of the forests  
The water of the river  
The secret of the fire  
Half of you cannot be described  
The other half: a priestess in the temple of  
Ishtar.

(TRANSLATED BY BASSAM K. FRANGIEH)

the spiritual nourishment that allows me to go on writing in a genuinely creative way" (Rakha, 1999).

### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

Bayati's poetry has been studied by many critics and specialists in Arabic poetry around the world and has

been the subject of many academic theses and dissertations. His work as a diplomat, in addition to his travels and residence in many countries, afforded him the opportunity to acquaint himself with many groups and individuals. His poetry has been translated into many languages. In his native country, Iraq, and the Arab world

his name has always been associated with innovation and the modernization of Arabic poetry.

### LEGACY

Bayati will be remembered first and foremost as a pioneer in the free verse movement. Over the course of his life, he published some twenty collections of poetry as well as a three-act play. He translated poems by Eluard and Aragon, published studies about them and others as well as a memoir titled *Tajribati al-shi'riyya* (1968; My poetic experience). Bayati moved between his homeland and the rest of the world, and gave his exile political and philosophical dimensions. In his poetry, he employed elements of history, legend, and ritual, dialogues, and a multitude of voices; he also drew on material from the rich literary legacy of the great Sufi mystics. His work is characterized by its deep historical sense, the use of conversation, and his commitment to the revolutionary struggle of the workers and the poor.

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- Risala ila Nazim Hikmat wa qas'id ukhra* (Letter to Nazim Hikmat and other poems, 1956).
- Al-Majd li'l-atfal wa'l-zaytun* (Glory is for children and olives, 1956).
- Ash'ar fi al-manfa* (Verses in exile, 1957).
- Isbrun qasida min Berlin* (Twenty poems from Berlin, 1959).
- Kalimat la tamut* (Immortal words, 1960).
- Muhakama fi Nisabur* (A trial in Naisabur, 1963).
- Al-Nar wa'l-kalimat* (Fire and words, 1964).
- Sifr al-faqr wa'l-thawra* (The book of poverty and revolution, 1965).
- Alladhi ya'ti wa la ya'ti* (What comes and does not, 1966).
- Al-Mawt fi'l-Hayat* (Death in life, 1968).

- Tajribati al-shi'riyya* (My poetic experience, 1968).
- Buka'iyya ila shams haziran wa'al-murtaziqa* (Elegy to the Sun of June and the mercenaries, 1969).
- 'Uyun al-kilab al-mayyita* (The eyes of dead dogs, 1969).
- Al-Kitaba ala al-Tin* (Writing on mud, 1970).
- Yaumiyyat siyasi muhtarif* (Diary of a professional politician, 1970).
- Qasa'id hubb 'ala bawwabat al-'alam al-sab* (Love poems on the seven gates of the world, 1971).
- Sira dhatiyya li sariq al-nar* (Autobiography of the fire thief, 1974).
- Kitab al-bahr* (The book of the sea, 1974).
- Qamar Shiraz* (Shiraz's moon, 1976).
- Mamlakat al-Sunbula* (Kingdom of the grains, 1979).
- Sawt al-Sanawat al-daw'iyya* (Voice of the light-years, 1979).
- Bustan 'A'isha* (A'isha's garden, 1989).
- Al-Bahr Ba'id, Asma'uh Yatanabhad* (The sea is distant, I hear it sighing, 1998).
- Yanabi' al-Shams* (Springs of the sun, 1999; autobiography).
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- Poet of Iraq: Abdul Wahab al-Bayati* (1976; translated, with an introductory essay, by Desmond Stewart).
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- Love, Death, and Exile* (1990; translated by Bassam K. Frangieh).

Hassan Nadhem

## BAYYUD, IN'AM (1953–)

A trilingual Algerian scholar specializing in translation, In'am Bayyud teaches translation and interpretation at the University of Algiers. In 2004 she was nominated minister plenipotentiary by the Arab League, and appointed director of the High Arab Institute for Translation located in Algiers, Algeria.

### PERSONAL HISTORY

Bayyud was born in Damascus, Syria, on 24 January 1953 to a Syrian mother and an Algerian father. She spent her childhood and early adolescence in Damascus, but in 1966 her family moved to Algiers, Algeria, where Bayyud pursued her high school education at the Egyptian school. She later decided to study architecture in Damascus, a field closely connected to art, which remains her first love. She left Damascus in 1973 and enrolled in the École des Beaux Arts in Algiers. She finally opted for a degree in translation and interpretation and received a bachelor's degree in 1979 followed in 1992 by a master's degree in

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** In'am Bayyud

**Birth:** 1953, Damascus, Syria

**Family:** Divorced; two daughters: Abla, Aida

**Nationality:** Algerian

**Education:** B.A. (interpretation and translation),  
École des Beaux Arts, Algiers, 1979; M.A.  
(translation), École des Beaux Arts, Algiers, 1992

### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **2003:** Publishes collection of poetry, *Rasa'il lam Tursal*
- **2004:** Publishes novel, *al-Samak la Yubali*; nominated minister plenipotentiary by the Arab League; appointed director of the High Arab Institute for Translation

translation. Bayyud is a divorced mother of two girls, Abla and Aida, to whom she dedicated her collection of poetry.

Bayyud began writing poetry at an early age. She published her first poems in the Algerian press, *al-Jaza'ir-iyya*, *al-Sha'b*, and *al-Mujahid*. She more recently wrote two books: a collection of poetry titled *Rasa'il lam Tursal* (2003; Letters that were not sent), and a novel, *al-Samak la Yubali* (2004; The fish do not care). The latter received the Malek Haddad Award. Samira Negrouche translated her collection of poetry into French under the title *Poste Restante*. Bayyud is also a painter whose artistic gift for painting manifested itself at a young age. She organized her first exhibit for oil paintings and drawings at age eleven.

While teaching translation and interpretation at the universities of Oran and Algiers, Bayyud translated pedagogical books, art books, children's books, novels, film scenarios, short films, and documentaries. Parallel to her literary activities she pursues her passion: painting. In 1975 she took part in a collective exhibit when still a student. Other exhibitions followed, some collective, others individual.

The year 2004 was a turning point in Bayyud's life when she assumed the directorship of the High Arab Institute for Translation. Two years after her appointment to the position, the institute opened its doors to students wishing to receive a master's degree in translation and interpretation. The mission of the institute is primarily geared toward the translation of scientific texts and the use of technology-based translations. In the few years since its establishment, the teaching faculty at the institute published four books, a result of their collective activity. Moreover, the institute is in charge of a trans-

lation project that includes one hundred titles from Algerian literature as part of the preparation for the celebration of "Algiers, Capital of Arabic Culture for 2007."

Much of Bayyud's early childhood memories are detailed in her semiautobiographical novel *al-Samak la Yubali*. The novel tells the story of friendship and coexistence among the various religious communities in Damascus. It sheds light on the attachment of young In'am, represented by Nur in the novel, to her Syrian culture. The second half the novel takes place in Algiers and makes faint allusions to the events of the black decade in Algeria, against the background of a love story. The protagonist, similar to the author, is a painter who finds peace and comfort in her work, a peace often shattered by the tragic events of the 1990s. Bayyud is undoubtedly speaking for many Algerian intellectuals when she refers to the feeling of guilt her protagonist experienced by being alive while famous personalities, renowned thinkers, writers, lawyers, and doctors were assassinated. In the rare direct mention of the tragic events, she condemns strongly and unambiguously the killing of innocent people, especially children "slaughtered on the altar of ignorance, a sacrifice to a crazy and savage paganism that acquired a false name and a diabolical mien" (2004, p. 39). Those sentiments are echoed in her poem "Tariquna" (Our path), where she writes,

Oh martyrs, we apologize  
For being alive. (p. 61)

Despite the tragedy she maintains an optimistic outlook on life as she writes in *Al-Zaman al-Mutasabhir* (Desertification of time):

My voice will one day be free  
I will install a tribune above the tomb of  
science/knowledge  
I will shout to the face of those who accuse us of  
blasphemy:  
The voice of reason will win over the way of the  
sword,  
Because on this good land,  
All that is dry, is green. (p. 71)

The novel freely and openly describes the romantic and sexual experiences of the characters, in line with a growing trend among Arab women writers. Despite her audacious approach Bayyud does not fall in the trap of vulgarity that is sometimes seen as part of the freedom displayed in love stories. She shows taste and sensitivity handling a topic that could have easily become crude in the name of emancipation and realism.

Bayyud's poetry reveals a deep delicacy in emotions and a transparency in the expression. One of the many poems that command the reader's attention in the collection is titled, "A Letter to Jesus." Skillfully, she sides with

Christ and expresses her love for him based on the recommendations of her own Muslim religion; she wonders,

How he permits love to die  
in his country  
with a quiet conscience. (pp. 18–19)

#### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Bayyud's work in the field of translation helps disseminate knowledge and establish links in Algeria where the existence of two parallel languages and cultures still divide the citizens of the country. Thus, the availability of translated books in the two languages—French and Arabic—give each side the opportunity to know the other, rather than the two living as enemy brothers.

Her published translations include two novels, RACHID BOUDJEDRA's *Fascination* (2002) and YASMINA KHADRA's *L'écrivain* (2003). She translated Boudjedra's collection of poetry, *Pour ne plus rêver* (1980), and a book on painting by Nadera Lagoune, *Alger dans la peinture* (2000). Bayyud also published a book on the theory of translation, titled *La traduction littéraire: problèmes et solutions*.

#### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

Bayyud is certainly contributing to her society's culture through her teaching at the University of Algiers and at the High Arab Institute for Translate, forming a multilingual generation with an appreciation for languages. Her individual and collective translation projects provide the monolingual Arab reader access to Western thinking and knowledge. She is working on the publication of a multilingual art book that highlights the universal values of Islam throughout the centuries. Her aim is to project the image of a tolerant and a peaceful Islam at a time when that religion is maligned and misrepresented.

Bayyud has a far-reaching impact on her readers through her poetry readings organized throughout the country. She is an excellent interpreter of her poems and renders their meaning effectively.

#### LEGACY

As a creative writer, Bayyud is sure to leave a legacy through her work. Despite her late beginning, she managed, with one collection of poetry and a single novel, to attract the attention of readers and critics. Her work to date demonstrates an ability to address the issues of the moment through her writing. For example, in her poem "A Letter to Noah," she calls for a flood to wash away the blood that flows in the streets of Algeria; she uses strong, poignant words to make a point about current events in her country. Additionally, Bayyud's work as a translator of Algerian Arabic and French work has helped Algerians cross cultural boundaries within their own country. More

books are forthcoming in the professional life of a creative active writer and academician.

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Aida A. Bamia

## BEHBAHANI, SIMIN (1927–)

Simin Bebbahani (née Khalili) is an Iranian poet known both for her prolific body of poetry and innovations in literature, as well as her participation in campaigns for social and cultural change, freedom of expression, and women's rights issues.

#### PERSONAL HISTORY

Prolific Iranian poet Bebbahani was born in 1927 in Tehran to parents who were poets and progressive cultural producers in their own right. Her father, Abbas Khalili, born in Najaf, Iraq, in 1893, was a poet, literary translator, writer, and editor for the newspaper *Eghdam*. He composed poetry in both Arabic and Persian. He also translated eleven hundred verses of the *Shahnameh* (*Book of Kings*), the epic written by Iranian national poet Ferdowsi, from Persian into Arabic. Bebbahani's mother, Fakhrazami Orghuni, was similarly accomplished. She had been privately educated in Persian, Arabic, and Islamic jurisprudence and had been tutored in French, later serving as a French teacher in the Iranian education system. Similar to her daughter, Orghuni was known in her time as a progressive poet and activist. She was a member of the Association of Patriotic Women, the Democratic Party, and the Women's Society. Orghuni also worked as an editor for the *Ayand-e Iran* newspaper. She met Bebbahani's father as a result of writing a fiery patriotic poem that was published in *Eghdam*.

Bebbahani's parents divorced when she was four years old, after seven years of marriage. She is twice married herself. Before finishing high school, she married Hassan Bebbahani. After sixteen years of marriage and having three children, the marriage ended in divorce. Many years later, she married Ali Kooshyar. She was a high school teacher for twenty-nine years and she produced many of her voluminous works of poetry at the same time as she was employed full time, raising three children, and running a household.

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Simin Behbahani, (née Khalili)  
**Birth:** 1927, Tehran, Iran  
**Family:** First husband, Hassan Behbahani, divorced, three children; second husband, Ali Kooshyar  
**Nationality:** Iranian  
**Education:** B.A., legal studies, University of Tehran

## PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1951:** Publishes first book *Tar-e Shekaste* (Broken string)
- **1953–present:** Publishes over a dozen books of poetry, develops her innovations to the style and content of the traditional ghazal
- **1991:** Publishes the autobiography/memoir *An Mard, Mard-e Hamrah* (That man, my companion)
- **1997:** Nominated for Nobel Prize in Literature
- **1998:** Wins Human Rights Watch Hellman/Hammett Award
- **1999:** Receives Carl von Ossietzky Medal; named president of Iranian Writers Association

## INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Behbahani wrote and published her first poem at the age of fourteen. It was her mother who first discovered that Behbahani was secretly writing poetry and encouraged her to continue doing so. Her mother also introduced her to Parvin Etesami, Iran's then-greatest living poet, to whom she read Behbahani's poetry. Etesami, who would die the year following this meeting, warmly received Behbahani and praised her poetry. Behbahani went on to publish her first book, *Tar-e Shekaste* (Broken string), in 1951 when she had just turned twenty-four years old. Between 1953 and 1983, she produced six other books of poetry. In 1991 she published *An Mard, Mard-e Hamrah* (That man, my companion), an autobiography/memoir. Since then she has published a number of other volumes of poetry, some of which are available in English translation.

For many years, Behbahani's work was overshadowed by that of her contemporary modernist colleague Forugh Farukhzad (1935–1967), who received much of the attention of the literary establishment and the youth-

ful audience. It was not until the 1990s that Behbahani's work began to garner the recognition it merited. Up to that point, her work was largely missing from anthologies of Persian literature and her poetry had not been translated into English.

Initially employing the Chahar Parh style of Iranian modernist poet Nima Youshij, Behbahani later turned to the *ghazal*, a poetic form consisting of couplets that share a rhyme and refrain. Behbahani made innovations in the *ghazal* that give her poetry a unique and distinguishable style. The changes she introduced revolutionized the *ghazal* in both content and form. She became known for employing this new form of *ghazal* from the mid-1970s onward. Whereas the classical *ghazal* form incorporates its theme in fragments, Behbahani maintained a progressing theme from the beginning until the end of the poem. She also introduced the practice of incorporating conversations and daily events into the poems and succeeded in making the *ghazal* a vehicle for political and feminist testimonials. Behbahani's *ghazal*'s overturned the conventions of producing women as objects of the male gaze, thereby according women agency as the holder of the gaze. Traditionally, *ghazal*'s were written as love poems for and about women who were the subjects and audience of that poetry. Behbahani's work seized the position of woman as producer of the love poem and consigned men to the position of the gazed-at-beloved about whom lyrics are composed.

Due to the bold and transgressive nature of her poetry and the innovations she employed therein, she is sometimes called the Nima of the *ghazal* in reference to Iranian poet Youshij, who broke traditions of form and content in creating a new style of poetry known as Sher-e No (New poetry) or Shere-e Nimai (Nima poetry) and is credited as being the founder of modern Iranian poetry. Behbahani's mobilization of classical traditions in the service of producing new styles has been noted as an eloquent synthesis that both revitalizes existing traditions and gives rise to new ones; her work resists any reactionary tendencies of either wholesale rejection of or submission to classical traditions. Known for reconciling the old with the new, Behbahani has also been noted for merging the personal with the universal. She is often able to address personal subjects in ways that are contextualized within and speak to broader political and social issues.

In addition to considering a broad range of issues such as those pertaining to gender and discriminatory practices against women, social inequalities, and poverty, Behbahani is one of the rare few poets of prominence that have directly addressed the eight year Iran-Iraq War and the death and difficulties that resulted.

Beyond her contributions to revolutionizing Iranian literary forms and taking up important social and political issues in her work, Behbahani has been an active figure in the public sphere in support of women's rights



## IT'S TIME TO MOW THE FLOWERS

It's time to mow the flowers,  
don't procrastinate.  
Fetch the sickles, come,  
don't spare a single tulip in the fields.  
The meadows are in bloom:  
who has ever seen such insolence?  
The grass is growing again:  
step nowhere else but on its head.  
Blossoms are opening on every branch,  
exposing the happiness in their hearts:  
such colorful exhibitions must be stopped.  
Bring your scalpels to the meadow  
to cut out the eyes of flowers.  
So that none may see or desire,  
let not a seeing eye remain.  
I fear the narcissus is spreading its corruption:  
stop its displays in a golden bowl  
on a six-sided tray.  
What is the use of your ax,  
if not to chop down the elm tree?  
In the maple's branches  
allow not a single bird a moment's rest.  
My poems and the wild mint  
bear messages and perfumes.  
Don't let them create a riot with their wild  
singing.  
My heart is greener than green,  
flowers sprout from the mud and water of  
my being.  
Don't let me stand, if you are the enemies of  
Spring.

FROM *STRANGE TIMES, MY DEAR: THE PEN ANTHOLOGY OF  
CONTEMPORARY IRANIAN LITERATURE*. EDITED BY NAHID  
MOZAFFARI AND AHMAD KARIMI HAKAK. TRANSLATED  
BY FARZANEH MILANI AND KAVEH SAFA. NEW YORK:  
ARCADE PUBLISHING, 2005.

and the freedom of expression and assembly. She has also advocated on behalf of political detainees and activists. Her outspokenness for social and political justice dates back to before the 1979 Iranian Revolution. In those days, her poetry often addressed topics pertaining to poverty, orphans, and corruption. She has noted that she has suffered due to censorship practices both before and after the overthrow of the Pahlavi monarchy in 1979.

In the decades after the revolution, Behbahani continued to take up social and political issues in her work, but she also became more active in addressing her concerns outside of her poetry. When Iranian writer Ali Akbar Saidi Sirjani died in prison under mysterious circumstances after having been indicted on politically motivated charges, Behbahani joined 133 of her colleagues in writing an open letter protesting his suspicious death. Her activities with the Iranian Writers' Association have also included issuing a number of statements protesting the persecution of writers and activists. She has participated in vigils outside of Iran's Evin Prison to call for the release of political prisoners such as Nasser Zerafshan. As a result of being outspoken in promoting the freedom of the press and criticizing repressive governmental practices, her works have at times been censored or banned. Former political prisoner and prominent dissident Akbar Ganji has identified her as a heroine for her courage in breaking taboos in literature and openly speaking out in defense of civil liberties whenever they are trampled in Iran.

Behbahani has also been active in various aspects of the women's rights movement in Iran. The feminism apparent in her poetry and the feminist contributions she has made in developing new styles and spaces for women's expression in literature has been supplemented by her activism in the larger public sphere. She has been involved in numerous gatherings in support of women's rights campaigns. Her participation in one such event, a peaceful demonstration in Tehran marking International Women's Rights Day in 2006, resulted in her being hit by one of the security officers attempting to break up the gathering. The fact that the renowned seventy-something poet had been treated with such disrespect sparked anger among Iranian commentators and contributed to the attention the event garnered in the international press.

Behbahani has insisted on maintaining her independence when participating in the public arena. In the lead-up to Iran's 2005 elections, she publicly expressed her dissatisfaction that a presidential candidate had used the lyrics of one of her poems, "Dobare-e Misazamet Vatan" (Homeland, I will rebuild you), as part of his campaign.

### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

As Behbahani's Iranian audience and literary circles have since the 1990s accorded her work the attention and praise it merits, so too have her achievements attracted broader international interest. Over 102 of her poems have been translated into both English and German, and international symposia have been held in her honor. Her contributions to literature and social and political activism have also been recognized in the form of prestigious awards. In 1997 she was nominated for a Nobel Prize in

Literature. The following two years, her work for freedom of expression was recognized first by the Human Rights Watch Hellman/Hammett Award in 1998 and then by the Carl von Ossietzky Medal in 1999.

#### LEGACY

Behbahani's revolutionary contributions to Iranian literature have ensured her legacy as an innovative poet whose developments of the *ghazal* form of poetry opened new spaces of expression for women previously closed by prevailing styles of classical poetry. Her eloquent uses of both the modern and traditional styles have belied the notion that the two are incompatible, thus laying the groundwork for further innovations in style and content.

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*Niki Akhavan*

## BÉJI, HÉLÉ (1948–)

A Tunisian author of several essays, books, and articles, Hélé Béji (born Ben Ammar) uses writing to explore some of the problematic circumstances of her country: a nation in the process of politically, socially, and culturally rebuilding itself since its independence from France in 1956. In *Désenchantement national: essai sur la décolonisation* (1982) and *L'imposture culturelle* (1997), she addresses the crises that Tunisia and its citizens face in recovering national and cultural identities. Then in *Une force qui demeure* (2006), she focuses on the social issues that touch Tunisian women at the start of the twenty-first century. On top of offering such critiques, she demonstrates poetic sensitivity in her books *L'œil du jour* (1984) and *Itinéraire de Paris à Tunis* (1992) comparable to that of Marcel Proust.

#### PERSONAL HISTORY

Born in Tunis in 1948 when Tunisia still remained under French regime, Béji grew up with her younger brother, her anticlerical mother of Christian background, her liberal Muslim father, and her devout Muslim grandmother. Due to the theologically unimposing attitudes of her parents, Béji explains in *Une force qui demeure* that she enjoyed freedom from any fear, torment, or intimidation concerning religion. In turn, her grandmother modeled the life of a dedicated believer who resisted hypocrisy. The neighborhood community of Béji also mirrored her family's multidimensional tolerant religious perspective, sustaining nonjudgmental amicable relationships between Jews, Christians, and Muslims. Unlike the dogmatic theological mentalities that Béji notices at the beginning of the twenty-first century, the friends of her youth made no distinctions of differences between beliefs and considered everyone blessed.

While appreciating this religiously harmonious environment, Béji had never felt predestined for a domestic existence. In order to ensure that Béji could fully focus on her studies and partake in leisure activities, the grandmother saved her from all domestic duties. Therefore, rather than envisioning the home as a prison of an archaic lifestyle, Béji favorably remembers her childhood residence. It remained a place where she could embrace a modern existence while simultaneously cherishing its rich and poetic qualities.

Liberated from the burden of customs, Béji ambitiously pursued her intellectual endeavors. She spent time in Paris in literary studies and obtained her professorship title (*agrégée*) before working at the University of Tunis as a professor of literature. Subsequently, she worked as an international official for United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). Maintaining a global outlook, she founded the Collège international de Tunis in 1998: a literary society that hosts meetings and debates. While presiding this association, she continues to write and make trips to Paris for academic projects.

#### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Three major influences on Béji include her religiously and intellectually tolerant home, her exposure to Tunisian and French academic institutions, and the experience of watching her nation transition from a colonized territory to an independent state. In the home, Béji first learned to develop progressive views on social customs and religion. Observing the rebellious personality of her blond-haired, blue-eyed mother, she associated this parent with moral disobedience. Béji claims to have acquired her own insubordinate disposition from this maternal figure. She developed both pity and aversion to submissive women, questioning their reason for accepting their subservient

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Hélé Béji (born Ben Ammar)  
**Birth:** 1948, Tunis, Tunisia  
**Nationality:** Tunisian  
**Education:** Studied in Paris and received professorship title (*agrégée*) in modern literature

## PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1982:** Publishes *Désenchantement national*
- **1984:** Publishes *L'oeil du jour*
- **1992:** Publishes *Itinéraire de Paris à Tunis*
- **1994:** Publishes *L'art contre la culture: Nûba*
- **1997:** Publishes *L'imposture culturelle*
- **1998–present:** Presides over the Collège international de Tunis
- **2006:** Publishes *Une force qui demeure*

role. Submission signified the only and true image of sin and incited Béji to aggressively fight against cowardice and injustice.

Béji's father differed from her mother by exemplifying a gentle personality. He demonstrated benevolence toward humankind rather than acting as a domestic dictator. Carrying himself with poise and nobility, he charmed even the most misanthropic or troubled of individuals, changing them into friendly and generous people (Béji, *Une force*, 2006, p. 22). With respect to Islam, the father rejected extreme ritual practices linked to fury, punishment, and suffering. Such zealous conduct appeared superstitious and disrespectful to God by minimizing divine authority to a childish comedy fabricated by humans.

In addition to supporting these liberal attitudes of her parents, she also respected the committed faith of her Muslim grandmother. She felt fascination rather than alarm when watching the devotions of this grandparent. While observing her grandmother deep in prayer, the narrator in *L'oeil du jour* notices an order and clarity in the spiritual elsewhere to which this woman prays. During this ritual, the granddaughter discovers an unexplainable source of nourishment: Inspired by the metaphysical aura, she abandons herself to all sorts of daydreams. Like the narrator of this novel, Béji appreciated her grandmother's spirituality as an outside observer.

Béji's educational and work experiences at universities in Paris and Tunis formed an intellectual position that

combined the two academic perspectives. With this binational instruction, Béji explains that she thinks in the Orient but expresses herself in the Occident. In her opinion, these two figurative territories of her mind resemble inseparable twins who would perish if divided. Each reflects both the image of the other and also of the self. With this double standpoint and comparative insight, Béji recognizes the challenges and inconsistencies within her society and within the theoretical assumptions of other scholars.

With her cross-cultural awareness, Béji makes perceptive sociopolitical critiques of decolonized Tunisia. *Désenchantement national* and *L'imposture culturelle* focus on exposing the tensions and paradoxes in a country seeking to reinstate its collective identity. In the former text, Béji notes the irony of how her nation endures yet another form of oppression while seeking freedom. The government imposes a national ideology upon its people and uses this patriotic mentality as an instrument of power. This circumstance perpetuates the same civilizing message of the colonizer by subjecting the citizens to another system of domination for the sake of establishing a national identity. Although state authorities re-create a sense of nationalism based on the common people, effective communication lacks between the two groups. The resulting gap of misunderstanding that separates the governing from the governed adds to the nation's discontentment.

In the essay *L'imposture culturelle*, Béji examines the emergence of a global culture at the turn of the twenty-first century. This anonymous civilizing entity proposes mysterious common characteristics between the Orient

## TO BE FREE IS A CREATIVE ACT OF THE MIND

Examining the socio-political changes that Tunisian women have undergone in the past, Béji shares her vision for the future: "If the twentieth century had been [the century] of liberation for woman, the twenty-first century perhaps will be [the century] of her freedom. Liberation was the break from the former order; liberty will not fear rethinking, reconsidering the former, not as an order to which one must submit, but as an experience that one must carry. To liberate oneself is an act of sovereignty of the body; to be free is a creative act of the mind. Women must face[,] not the conquest of their liberation, but the true concept of their freedom."

BÉJI, HÉLÉ. *UNE FORCE QUI DEMEURE*. PARIS: ARLÉA, 2006. P. 152.

and Occident. Creating an ambiguous sense of international alliance in the name of modernity while maintaining a notion of tradition that evokes plurality, a new universal civilization takes form. Despite the presence of this figurative global society, individuals find themselves in a terrible condition of feeling nationless. As do many of her fellow citizens, Béji suffers from an identity crisis of feeling displaced or unrooted, even within her homeland. By pointing out these dilemmas of the modernizing society of Tunisia, Béji indicates how government leaders and intellectual figures need to reconsider their approach to rebuilding the nation.

Béji develops an insightful sociocultural perspective and also proves her artistic proficiency as a writer in *L'œil du jour*, *Itinéraire de Paris à Tunis*, and *L'art contre la culture: Nûba*, a novel, satire, and essay respectively. The first two books offer critiques of conformist and superficial lifestyles that influence Tunisian and Parisian societies. Additionally, the poetic description with which Béji portrays persons and scenes in *L'œil du jour* and *Itinéraire de Paris à Tunis* illustrates a narrative vision similar to that of Proust. For example, in *L'œil du jour* Béji ascribes euphoric characteristics to the grandmother while representing the home as a havenlike intimate space of comfort. Then, in *L'art contre la culture: Nûba*, Béji describes stirring aspects of the musical-theatrical performance *Nûba*, especially regarding the interconnections between music, dance, beauty, imagination, and art, and emphasizes her passion for the arts both as a spectator and as an author. Believing art to represent the most archaic of human activities, Béji stresses its importance in expressing a spiritual message of joy by finding inspiration in beauty.

Engaging issues that touch scholars and popular culture of Tunisian and occidental societies, Béji presents a thought-provoking viewpoint in *Une force qui demeure*. In this semiautobiographical text, she voices the ambivalence and confusion that she observes among Tunisian women who dismiss tradition in order to adopt a modern lifestyle and mind-set. Honoring the foundation that previous generations of women have established, she insists that feminists of the twenty-first century must also recognize the archaic resistance that preceded them in fighting for their rights. Béji thus presents a unique feminist position that defends the traditional values of women in Tunisia. By preserving this continuous link between the past and present, women can effectively develop and embrace a genuine modern identity.

#### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

Literary critics analyze the book *L'œil du jour* from a socio-cultural viewpoint, revealing how Béji's illustration of space can represent gender and the notion of home. Other commentators praise the mastery of descriptive detail and Proustian imagery with which Béji writes *Itinéraire de Paris*

à Tunis and *L'œil du jour*. Encouraging dialogue on the problematic notions of archaic and modern in *Une force qui demeure* Béji provokes feminist intellectuals to reconsider their position with respect to the modern woman. Yet despite the notable contributions that Béji makes in promoting awareness of pressing political, social, and cultural matters, she still receives insufficient recognition for her work.

#### LEGACY

Writing on decolonization and on identity crises afflicting the people of Tunisia, Béji already proves herself to be a politically, socially, and culturally engaged academic. Moreover, with her keen attention to aesthetic subtleties of everyday life, she demonstrates a poetic perceptiveness. Through the literary society that Béji presides, Collège international de Tunis, she proves to be an involved intellectual and citizen, ready to confront future issues that concern both her country and the world.

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C. Wakaba Futamura

#### BENAÏSSA, SLIMANE (1943–)

An Algerian playwright, scenographer, and actor, Slimane Benaïssa, after devoting most of his life to the writing and production of plays in Algeria, exiled himself

in France in February 1993 following threats on his life by radical Islamists. A former collaborator of Algerian writer Kateb Yacine, Benaïssa is known for being the first playwright to bring colloquial Algerian dialects on stage.

### PERSONAL HISTORY

Benaïssa was born on 11 December 1943 in the town of Guelma in the eastern part of Algeria, to a family of Berber origin. He received technical training in mathematics and electrical engineering but was eventually drawn to literary studies when he discovered theater in Algeria in the early 1970s, eventually obtaining a degree in mathematics and a second degree in Arabic literature. In 1977 he became head of the Regional Theater in Annaba, and in 1979 was appointed to the direction of theaters under the sponsorship of the Algerian Information and Culture Ministry. He quit that same year to establish Algeria's first independent theater troupe. He adapted and translated plays by Bertold Brecht, Aeschylus, and most notably Kateb Yacine from French into everyday Algerian Arabic. As an actor, he performed widely throughout Algeria for two decades before exiling himself to France in 1993, where he began to stage his own plays, written in French.

His play *Au-delà du voile* (1991; *Beyond the veil*), written first in Arabic and then translated into French, enjoyed an unprecedented success in Algiers. It also made him well known to the French public, particularly following the Festival International des Francophonies in Limousin. This play was followed by *Le conseil de discipline*, produced by the Magasin d'Écriture Théâtrale in Brussels, and was widely represented throughout Belgium and France, thanks to the initiative of the Ligue de L'Enseignement. In *Marianne et le marabout*, a piece created in October 1993 together with youngsters from immigrant backgrounds at Epinay-sur-Seine, France, Benaïssa reflects on the issues of immigration and exile through the voice of the main character, an Algerian woman residing in France.

Benaïssa is most well known for his play *Les fils de l'amertume* (*Sons of bitterness*), created at the Festival d'Avignon by the GRAT/Jean-Louis Hourdin company. *Les fils* narrates the parallel lives of a radical Islamist and a journalist whose life is under threat. At Avignon, Benaïssa himself played the character of journalist Youcef. More recently, his play *Prophètes sans dieu* (*Prophets without a God*), presented at the Théâtre International de Langue Française (TILF) in Paris, has also met with worldwide success. The play was staged in Paris and at the Festival d'Avignon in 2001. It presents a conversation between Moses, Jesus, and the author as they await the absent Muhammad. Benaïssa received the Grand Prix Francophone de la SACD in 1993 and his work has won the recognition of institutions such as the Commission Internationale

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Slimane Benaïssa

**Birth:** 1943, Guelma, Algeria

**Nationality:** Algerian; lives in exile in France

**Education:** B.A. (mathematics, Arabic literature)

### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1977:** Head of the Regional Theater in Annaba, Algeria
- **1979:** Director of National Theaters; Establishes Algeria's first independent theater troupe
- **1991:** Writes *Au-delà du voile* (novel)
- **1993:** Moves to France; writes his first play in French; wins Grand Prix Francophone de la SACD
- **1994:** Writes *Le conseil de discipline* (play)
- **1995:** Writes *Marianne et le marabout* (play)
- **1996:** Writes *Les fils de l'amertume* (play)
- **1997:** Writes *Un homme ordinaire pour quatre femmes particulières* (play)
- **1999:** Writes *Prophètes sans dieu* (play), *L'avenir oublié* (play; with André Chouraqui), *Les fils de l'amertume* (novel)
- **2000:** Writes *Ailleurs, ailleurs* (play); named to the Haut Conseil de la Francophonie
- **2001:** Writes *Mémoires à la deriva* (play), *Le silence de la falaise* (novel)
- **2002:** Writes *Noir-Hamlet* (play)
- **2003:** Wins Prix Méditerranée for *La dernière nuit d'un damné*
- **2004:** Writes *Les Confessions d'un musulman de mauvaise foi* (play), *The Last Night of a Damned Soul* (novel, English translation)
- **2005:** Writes *Les Colères du silence* (novel); granted an honorary doctorate from the Sorbonne

des Francophonies, the Association Beaumarchais, and the Maison du Théâtre et de la Danse d'Epinay-sur-Seine. In the year 2000, French president Jacques Chirac named him to the Haut Conseil de la Francophonie. As an actor, he has participated in *C'était pas la guerre* (2003; *It was not the war*), *Le Harem de Mademoiselle Osmane*

(2000; The harem of Miss Osmane), and *L'Autre Côté de la Mer* (1997; The other shore), which deals with the aftermath of the Algerian war of liberation. On 22 November 2005 he was granted an honorary doctorate from the Sorbonne in Paris. His honorary speech revolved around oral languages threatened with extinction, poetry, and peace and reconciliation among peoples.

Following the eruption of the Algerian civil war (1990–1998) that claimed between 80,000 and 120,000 lives, Benaïssa exiled himself in France permanently in 1993. Both the Islamist threat and the openly political orientation of his drama made his work increasingly difficult in the Algerian theater scene that was dominated by a hegemonic state-sponsored culture. Benaïssa then decided to write in French, and began staging his plays abroad. In an interview, Benaïssa defined exile as “perhaps what you feel when you can’t express the freedom that you feel within yourself.” In 1997 in France, he received death threats and needed bodyguards following the presentation of his play *Les Fils de l’Amertume* (Sons of bitterness), a play about a terrorist who kills a journalist in Algeria. *Les fils* was his first play written in French, and he explained his choice of French as a way to reach multiple audiences. As a practitioner of an activist brand of theater, Benaïssa sees his plays as a way for Algerians in France to provide the French public with an opportunity to understand the true nature of the Algerian conflict and of Algeria as a pluralistic nation.

His novel *La dernière nuit d’un damné* (*The Last Night of a Damned Soul*), written in the aftermath of the 11 September 2001 terrorist attacks, explores the psychological, spiritual, and religious dimensions of terrorist acts. In this novel, Benaïssa denounces the perversion of religious motives and beliefs and explores the dynamics that lead to the rise of religious fanaticism and the attraction of Muslim youth in the West to radical ideologies amid their experience of unrootedness and alienation. The novel earned recognition in France, winning the Prix Méditerranée 2003. In his 2005 novel *Les Colères du silence*, Benaïssa explores the issues of exile and the search for identity through the stories of Hassan and Hussein, two Siamese brothers separated at birth who struggle to find their own identities.

### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Benaïssa’s writings and plays have been viewed as examples of exilic theater because of their exploration of the traumas and memories associated with the experience of exile. His writings and theatrical plays bring to the fore the conflict of postcolonial Algeria and the inheritance of French colonialism in the context of postcolonial hybridity. Benaïssa’s theater uses the conventions and techniques of traditional popular theater, with a clearly political content. According to one critic, Benaïssa’s “dramatic

## THE LOSS OF PLURALITY LEADS TO FEAR OF THE OTHER

I come from Southern Algeria. I am the result of three cultures: Berber, Arab, and French. I see this mixture as something positive, but I think that the linguistic problem has been badly dealt with. Popular culture has been negated and power has closed on itself. This policy has led to the rupture of dialogue, which in part explains the current situation. The loss of plurality leads to fear of the other.

BENAÏSSA, SLIMANE. “LE PEUPLE ALGÉRIEN DEVIENT ADULTE.”  
LE WEB DE L’HUMANITÉ. AVAILABLE FROM  
[HTTP://WWW.HUMANITE.FR](http://www.humanite.fr).

The most terrible risk is to remain silent. I think theater must be attuned with conflict. It must be contemporary. Theater is about not passing above people’s heads, or below their feet, but to target their hearts and spirits. There is no demagoguery in this: it simply means to accept the public as it is. For one does not choose his public. If this were to be the case, I would certainly think differently.

CHOLLET, MONA, AND ANNE-SOPHIE STAMANE. “SLIMANE BENAÏSSA: DRAMATURGE ALGÉRIEN.” PÉRIPHÉRIES. AVAILABLE FROM [HTTP://WWW.PERIPHERIES.NET/ARTICLE211.HTML](http://www.peripheries.net/article211.html).

TAHER DJAOUT and Abdelkader Alloula were my friends. In four years in exile, I have lost thirty of my colleagues, all of them very dear to me. Fundamentalists take aim at our generation more than any other. We are the special witnesses of Algerian history. We are the children of the war, the sons of Independence. We are a transition generation truly important for the memory of Algeria. This is what they are trying to eradicate.

MULLER, MICHEL. “SLIMANE BENAÏSSA: ‘ON LIQUIDE LA MÉMOIRE.’” LE WEB DE L’HUMANITÉ. AVAILABLE FROM [HTTP://WWW.HUMANITE.FR](http://www.humanite.fr).

process relies on an intermingling of voices (multiple characters), temporal frames (past, present, future), discourses (narration, dialogue, music), and styles (serious, lyrical, comic).” *Les fils*, *Prophètes* and *Mémoires à la dérive* were conceived as a trilogy that explores that intersection of history, religion, and memory. The plays expose the subjective and personal experiences of individual characters and their search for identity through the juxtaposition of multiple narrators. On the question of language and as a speaker of Arabic, Berber, and French, Benaïssa has explicitly

advocated the defense of Algeria's plurilingual legacy and denounced the excesses of monolingualism. He has defended the status of French as part of the historical heritage of Algeria and has denounced Algeria's refusal to join other Francophone countries in the promotion and use of French as a way to modernize itself.

### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

Benaïssa's work has received worldwide attention and recognition since he started to stage his plays in France and other countries such as Canada. He is recognized today as one of the most important playwrights to have emerged from the Arab world and one of the most important representatives of politically engaged manifestations of exilic theater, thanks to his poignant examination of issues such as immigration, identity, and the clash of cultures in the postcolonial world.

### LEGACY

Benaïssa's most important contribution is his role as a creator and renewer of the Arab-Berber Algerian theater scene. As an author, he has successfully integrated traditional conventions and oral dialects in his plays. His commitment to the diffusion and use of oral dialects and his defense of minority languages is also a hallmark of his work. Finally, Benaïssa will most definitely be known for being one of the most important representatives of exilic forms of theatrical productions in the world.

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*Vanesa Casanova-Fernandez*

## BEN ALI, ZEIN AL-ABIDIN (1936–)

Zein al-Abidin Ben Ali (Zayn El Abidine Ben Ali, Zine el-Abidine Ben Ali) has been president of Tunisia since 1987.

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Zein al-Abidin Ben Ali (Zayn El Abidine Ben Ali, Zine el-Abidine Ben Ali)

**Birth:** 1936, Hammam-Sousse, Tunisia

**Family:** First wife, Naima Kefi (divorced 1992); three daughters: Ghazwa, Dorsaf, and Cyrine; second wife: Leila Trabelsi; two daughters, Nessrine and Halima; one son, Mohamed Zine El Abidine

**Nationality:** Tunisian

**Education:** Military studies at InterArms School, École Spéciale Militaire de Saint-Cyr Academy, Coëtquidan, France; French army artillery school, Châlons-sur-Marne, France; U.S. army staff courses, Fort Bliss, Texas

### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1964:** Head of Tunisian military security
- **1974:** Military attaché to Morocco
- **1977:** Head of national security
- **1980:** Tunisian ambassador to Poland
- **1984:** State secretary for national security
- **1985:** Appointed to Tunisian cabinet
- **1986:** Minister of interior
- **1987:** Appointed prime minister in October; ousts president Habib Bourguiba in November, assumes the presidency
- **1988:** Signs national pact with opposition leaders
- **1989:** Receives Man of the Year Award from French Center for Political and Society Studies
- **1991:** Bans the Hizb En Nahda party
- **1994:** Elected president
- **1996:** Presented the Olympic Merit Award by the Association of National Olympics Committees; receives "Health for All" gold medal from the World Health Organization
- **1999:** Reelected president
- **2004:** Reelected president

### PERSONAL HISTORY

Ben Ali was born on 3 September 1936 in Hammam-Sousse, Tunisia, to a Muslim Tunisian family of modest

means. At that time Tunisia was a French protectorate. A member of the anti-French independence Neo-Destour movement since his teens, Ben Ali acted as a runner between local Neo-Destour activists in his town and anti-French guerrillas operating nearby. When his activities were exposed, Ben Ali was expelled from school and denied admittance to any French-administered school in Tunisia.

After Tunisian independence in 1956, Ben Ali was rewarded for his support of the now-victorious Neo-Destour Party by being chosen for advanced education. He was selected to go to France to study to become a military officer, and sent to the InterArms School at the École Spéciale Militaire de Saint-Cyr Academy in Coëtquidan, France. He then attended artillery school at Châlons-sur-Marne and took classes at the U.S. Army base at Fort Bliss, Texas. Back in Tunisia, Ben Ali was the head of Tunisian military security from 1964 until 1974, when he became a military attaché in Morocco. Returning to Tunisia three years later, he was appointed the head of national security, and ambassador to Poland in 1980. In 1984 he was appointed state secretary for national security and a cabinet minister in 1985. He suppressed disturbances in 1978 and 1984; in 1986, when he became minister of the interior, he set out to eliminate the Mouvement de Tendence Islamique (MTI; Islamic Tendency Movement), a group that opposed President Habib Bourguiba's secularist reforms.

Despite two periods of disfavor between 1974 and 1984, Bourguiba appointed Ben Ali prime minister in October 1987. He also served as secretary-general of the Parti Socialiste Destourien (PSD; Destour Socialist Party). Many considered Bourguiba, who had ruled Tunisia for thirty years since independence from France in 1956, unfit to govern. His health was at a point where he no longer could make rational decisions on a continuous basis. One month after Ben Ali became prime minister, he ousted Bourguiba in a peaceful coup on 7 November 1987 and assumed the presidency.

#### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Initially Ben Ali claimed he would ease some of Bourguiba's stern political measures concerning opposition movements, particularly the Mouvement des Démocrates Sociaux (MDS; Social Democrat Movement) and the MTI. His interest in a multiparty system led to the signing of a national pact with opposition leaders in 1988. Nevertheless, he maintained strong ties with the ruling party, the old PSD, renamed the Rassemblement Constitutionnelle Démocratique (RCD; Constitutional Democratic Rally) in 1987. He pursued strong links with other North African states through the Arab Maghreb Union, founded in 1989. As head of the RCD, he was elected president in 1994 and reelected in 1999 and 2004 with more than 99 percent of the vote.

Ben Ali's repression of Islamist and opposition leaders, as well as human rights activists, increased through

## CONTEMPORARIES

Rached Ghannouchi (1941–) was involved with the Society for the Preservation of the Qur'an in the 1970s. He was a founding member and head of the Mouvement de Tendence Islamique (MTI; Islamic Tendency Movement), which was renamed the Hizb En Nahda in 1989. Ghannouchi was an Islamist politician who decried Tunisia's Westernized values, and argued instead for *shari'a* (Islamic law) to guide national life. The government imprisoned him from 1981 to 1984, and again in 1987. President Zein al-Abidine Ben Ali pardoned him in May 1988, and he left the country into self-imposed exile in London in April 1989.

the 1990s. In 1991 Ben Ali banned the Hizb En Nahda (Renaissance Party), an offshoot of the MTI that tried to legalize its party status, and severely restricted the actions of its leader, Rached Ghannouchi. On 12 July 1992 one of the harshest court cases in Tunisian history was launched against Hizb En Nahda's members; 280 were accused of taking part in a plot and fifty were threatened with the death penalty. This case caught the attention of Western countries and international human rights groups, who exerted pressure to release the defendants. Thirty defendants were sentenced to life in prison. It was not just Islamists who found themselves in Ben Ali's sights, either. In 1994 Moncef Marzouki, general of the League of Human Rights, was jailed for considering a run against Ben Ali, the only presidential candidate. When press agencies such as *Le Monde* and *Libération* showed concern, they were banned. More recently, in 2006 Ben Ali's government began enforcing a 1981 ban on women wearing headscarves in public places such as schools and government offices.

During the late 1980s and early 1990s, Tunisia faced serious economic problems, such as chronic unemployment, a balance of payment deficit, and an unwieldy state subsidy and price control system. Despite drought conditions, Tunisia's economy has improved, with gross domestic product up 6 percent in 2001, tourism up 3.5 percent in 2000, and direct foreign investment up 144 percent to US\$768 million. Despite the privatization of thirty-five of forty-one firms, with an average 5 percent improvement in their turnover, unemployment remains high at 15.6 percent. In 1999 Ben Ali created a plan for eliminating poverty and providing adequate housing for the poor. For example, the National Solidarity Fund, popularly known as 2626, created housing projects.



## THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

Initially some around the world felt that Ben Ali was set to liberalize the political system in Tunisia. In 1989 the French Center for Political and Society Studies gave him the Man of the Year award for his work in promoting human rights in Tunisia. The following year, the U.S. Department of State asked Congress for authorization to increase funds for assistance to Tunisia for fiscal year 1990. The American perception, as expressed by official opinion, was that Ben Ali was trying to revitalize a nation that had been in serious economic trouble.

Despite Ben Ali's promise to improve human rights and his introduction of a more liberal press law, Human Rights Watch continued to denounce the government's human rights record. From 1990 to 1992, Ben Ali emphasized Tunisia's stand against extremism and terrorism. In what he described as measures beyond simple considerations of security, he used swift police actions to deal a blow to militant Islamic groups, sending their leaders into exile. Tunisia had more than one thousand political prisoners, was listed as one of the ten countries in the world most hostile to a free press, and is among the State Department's list of countries that use excessive stress and duress interrogation tactics. Ben Ali's government defends its policies. After the terrorist attacks in the United States on 11 September 2001, foreign minister Habib Ben Yahia visited London, where he spoke on the alleged danger of Tunisian Islamists abroad and called for the extradition of Hizb En Nahda leadership.

Ben Ali has received various honors and awards. For his longtime support of youth sports and promotion of Olympic values, he was presented the Olympic Merit Award in 1996 by the Association of National Olympic Committees. During the same year he received the Health for All gold medal from the World Health Organization.

## LEGACY

As the second president of independent Tunisia, Ben Ali will also be remembered as one who continued his successor's moderate, pro-Western orientation, and who used an iron fist to crush the political Islamist movement in his country.

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*updated by Michael R. Fischbach*

## BENAYOUN, YOSSI (1980–)

Yossi Benayoun is one of the most outstanding Israeli football (soccer) talents ever. Playing as an attacking midfielder, he became famous for his dazzling dribbles and brilliant passes. At the start of his career, Benayoun was nicknamed "the kid" by the Israeli press, both for his boyish looks and due to his senior debut being made when he was only seventeen.

## PERSONAL HISTORY

Benayoun was born on 5 May 1980 in Dimona, an underprivileged immigrant town located in the Israeli Negev desert, to parents David (Dudu) and Zary. As a child, Benayoun had an extraordinary gift for football and he started playing in the local Ha-Po'el Dimona kids club when he was eleven. As a teenager, he played in Ha-Po'el Be'er Sheva club where he excelled in the youth squad. Because his family could not afford the bus fare,



*Yossi Benayoun.* IAN WALTON/GETTY IMAGES.

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Yossi Benayoun

**Birth:** 1980, Dimona, Israel

**Family:** Wife, Mirit Ben Yosef; one daughter, May.

**Nationality:** Israeli

### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1996:** Voted MVP of the UEFA championship for youth under 16; joins the Ajax Amsterdam football academy
- **1997–1998:** Top scorer for Ha-Po'el Be'er Sheva, Israel
- **1999:** Transfers to Haifa; becomes first Israeli footballer to play simultaneously in three national teams (senior, Olympic, and youth)
- **2000–2001:** Voted MVP of the Israeli league while playing for Maccabi Haifa
- **2002:** Transfers to Santander
- **2005:** Transfers to West Ham; participates in the FA Cup finals; nominated captain of the Israeli national team

Benayoun and his father used to hitchhike from Dimona to Be'er Sheva almost on a daily basis.

In September 1995, when Benayoun was fifteen, he met Mirit Ben Yosef, who later became his wife. The two studied together in the same class in high school. "After knowing her for only two days, and dating her once, I told her that we would get married, be happy, and have kids together," Benayoun recalled (Marlin-Rosenzweig, 2006).

When Benayoun was eighteen he joined the Israel Defense Forces (IDF), as military service is mandatory in Israel. He served as a sports instructor in the navy for three years. Because army service is flexible for professional athletes, Benayoun's career as a footballer was not compromised and he continued to play in the Israeli league.

Benayoun and Ben Yosef married on 14 May 2002 in a lavish wedding that was covered extensively in the local media. In November 2003 the couple's first child, May, was born in Spain, where they were living at the time. In the summer of 2005 the family moved to London, England.

## INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

In May 1996 Benayoun made his first impact in the world of professional football in the Union of European Football Associations (UEFA) championship for youth under sixteen. Benayoun led the Israeli team to the third place in the tournament, and was also titled most valued player (MVP) of the event. Consequently, he was invited to join the football academy of the renowned Dutch club Ajax Amsterdam.

Benayoun moved to the Netherlands with his family and girlfriend Mirit, and was offered a four-year contract as a first team player. Meanwhile, his family returned to Israel, and Benayoun, who felt homesick and lonely, declined the offer. He returned to Dimona after only eight months in Ajax, and the Israeli sports media criticized him for giving up on what was referred to as a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity.

During the football season of 1997–1998, Benayoun returned to Ha-Po'el Be'er Sheva's senior team and was their top scorer with fifteen goals. The club's survival in the top division came down to two matches on the final day of the league. In the last minute, a penalty for Be'er Sheva gave the club an opportunity to beat the rival team, Maccabi Haifa football club, but only seventeen-year-old Benayoun was brave enough to take it. With tears streaming down his face, he stepped up to the challenge. The goalkeeper blocked the kick, but Benayoun followed up and kicked the rebounding ball straight into the net. Benayoun collapsed in tears when news arrived that a late goal in another game meant they would be relegated anyway.

After that season, Benayoun was transferred to Maccabi Haifa, where he played four consecutive seasons between 1998 and 2002. During these seasons the club won the national championship twice, and in his third season Benayoun was voted MVP of the league.

## THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

Benayoun left for Racing de Santander football club, a first division club in Spain after his success in Haifa. Benayoun's high-quality performance helped to arrest the club's slide toward relegation, and he became one of the club's biggest stars and scorers.

After three seasons in Santander Benayoun decided it was time to move on, and in July 2005 he transferred to British West Ham United Football Club. The move was accompanied by criticism of the Bolton Wanderers Football Club, who also held negotiations with Benayoun for his transfer. With Benayoun's contribution, West Ham finished in the respectable ninth place in 2005–2006 premier league season, and secured a place in the UEFA Cup as the runner-up group of the Football Association Challenge Cup (commonly known as the FA Cup).

In conjunction with his international career, Benayoun also became a key figure in the Israeli national

team. In 1999 he became the first Israeli footballer to play simultaneously in three national teams: senior, Olympic, and youth. During the World Cup 2006 qualifiers, Benayoun became the leading player of the team after equalizing against Cyprus at home and scoring twice against Switzerland. In the summer of 2006 Benayoun became captain of the national team. "This is the biggest event, a tremendous achievement in my career," he later said of the nomination in the article "Benayoun: 'Becoming Captain Is the Biggest Achievement of My Career'" on YNET.

#### LEGACY

Once doubted because of his slender physical appearance, Benayoun has managed to surprise many football fans and critics with his agility and clever dribbles. While his career is continuing to develop, Benayoun has established himself as an international football player of exceptional flair, creativity, originality, and character.

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*Or Rabinowitz*

## BEN JELLOUN, TAHAR (1944–)

Tahar Ben Jelloun (also Tahir, Taher Benjelloun) is a leading Moroccan poet, novelist, essayist, and journalist whose rich intellectual and creative production now spans more than four decades. Most of his books are available in fifteen or more languages; the most popular have now been translated into forty-three languages.

#### PERSONAL HISTORY

Ben Jelloun was born in Fez on 1 December 1944. His autobiographical essay *La soudure fraternelle* (1994; Fraternal bonds) provides an important source of information on his early childhood and adolescence. In particular, Ben Jelloun recalls his arid apprenticeship at the local Qur'anic school as well as his premature confrontation with the experience of a classmate's death. Ben Jelloun has also fondly evoked the nurturing familial

### BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Tahar Ben Jelloun (also Tahir, Taher Benjelloun)

**Birth:** 1944, Fez, Morocco

**Family:** Wife and daughter

**Nationality:** Moroccan

**Education:** 1956–1963, Fez (*Lycée*); 1963–1966, Muhammad V University in Rabat (philosophy); 1971–1975, Ph.D., psychology, University of Paris

#### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1971:** Publishes first collection of poems, *Hommes sous linceul de silence* (Men under a shroud of silence)
- **1972–present:** Correspondent for the French daily *Le Monde*
- **1978:** Elected to Académie Mallarmé in Paris
- **1987:** Wins Prix Goncourt for *La nuit sacrée* (The sacred night)
- **1991:** Wins Prix des Hémisphères for *Les yeux baissés* (With downcast eyes)
- **1994:** Wins Prix Méditerranée for *L'homme rompu* (Corruption) and Grand prix littéraire du Maghreb for totality of his work
- **2004:** Wins International IMPAC Dublin Literary Award for *Cette aveuglante absence de lumière* (This blinding absence of light)

atmosphere of his home, where devout Muslim parents raised him in a spirit of religious tolerance and freedom.

In 1955 Ben Jelloun's parents moved to Tangier, and several of his novels abundantly address, through fictionalized accounts and historical mediation, his anti-theoretical vision of the two cities. Ben Jelloun lived in Tangier until the age of eighteen. He has portrayed himself as a timid and studious adolescent whose passion for cinema—the films of John Ford, Howard Hawks, and Orson Welles, for instance—started at that time. It is thus while still at his *lycée* (high school) in Tangier, at the age of fourteen, that Ben Jelloun saw Alain Resnais's *Night and Fog* for the first time, an event instrumental in developing his own historical and philosophical comprehension of genocide. His love affair with cinema also led

to his first visit to Paris, in July 1961, where he attended a film series on the New Wave cinema.

His educational career subsequently took him to the Muhammad V University in Rabat, where he sat in on ABDEL KEBIR KHATIBI's lectures in sociology. His first exposure to philosophy, particularly Friedrich Nietzsche, also dates from his years in Rabat. He describes *Thus Spake Zarathustra* as an effective alliance between poetry and philosophy. Equally crucial was his involvement with the founders of the avant-garde review *Anfas/Souffles* (Spirits, 1966), in which his very first published poem appeared. The group included not only Khatibi but also such major figures of intellectual resistance as ABDELLATIF LAABI, Mostefa Nissaboury, and Mohammed Khaïr-Eddine. These were also years of deep political unrest that led to the politicization of the *Souffles* movement, which Ben Jelloun and Nissaboury would later leave.

The ruthless repression that met popular unrest in Morocco, particularly young people's dissatisfaction with the monarchy's failure to respond to essential educational and economic needs, is well-known. In March 1965 Rabat and Casablanca had become centers of dissent. The year 1965 was also when the opposition figure Mehdi Ben Barka was kidnapped and murdered in Paris. General Mohammed Oufkir's sudden institution of compulsory military service resulted in Ben Jelloun (and many others) being drafted and sent to the disciplinary barracks of El Hajeb in the Meknes area. He was subsequently transferred to the NCO school of Ahermoumou, from which Commander Muhammad Ababou would launch his coup against King HASSAN II in 1971. The memories of the humiliations the young men had to endure, an experience Ben Jelloun once referred to as incarceration disguised as military service, later found their way into some of the most unforgettable pages of *L'écrivain public* (The public writer, 1983). Upon completion of his military service, Ben Jelloun went to teach philosophy at the *lycée* Charif Idrissi in Tetouan. His transfer to the *lycée* Muhammad V in Casablanca in 1970 was not the geographical promotion he had hoped, owing to the constant student unrest and numerous strikes that created havoc with his professional aspirations. Of Casablanca Ben Jelloun remembers unwelcome family pressures to get married, general ennui, and his revolt against the petit-bourgeois mentality that seemed to prevail. In Casablanca, however, he remained in contact with the *Souffles* movement. He frequented the studio of the painter Mohamed Chebaa (1935–), where he composed the first pages of his novel *Harrouda* (1973). Ben Jelloun's first collection of poems, *Hommes sous linceul de silence* (Men under a shroud of silence), was also published in Casablanca in 1971.

The same year, Ben Jelloun interrupted his career as a philosophy teacher in order to continue his education

in Paris. He earned a master's degree in sociology the following year, when he also published his second collection of poems. In June 1975, he defended a doctoral dissertation in social psychology at the University of Paris VII. The dissertation later evolved into a case study of the wretched condition of North African immigrants, then a political taboo. It is the thirty-some volumes that have so far followed the publication of *Harrouda* and *La réclusion solitaire* (Solitary confinement) in 1973, however, that have established him as a poet and novelist of international repute. His literary career fully matured from the later seventies to the present, especially as a fiction writer who significantly renewed the novel as an esthetic and political genre. *L'enfant de sable* (1985; *The Sand Child*, 1987) and *La nuit sacrée* (1987; *The Sacred Night*, 1989), the collection of short stories *L'ange aveugle* (1992; The blind angel), as well as *Hospitalité française* (1984; *French Hospitality: Racism and North African Immigrants*, 1994), are the works for which he is perhaps best known. Ben Jelloun lives in Paris with his wife and daughter. As many North African novelists, he writes in a French language profoundly molded by transnational sources and influenced by Arab traditions. His collection of poems on the first Gulf War, *La remontée des cendres* (1991; The return of the ashes) was actually published in both Arabic and French.

#### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

The period 1973 to 1987 clearly remains the most significant in Ben Jelloun's life, in that his creative talents came to fruition through a series of novels, from *Harrouda* to *The Sacred Night*, which have left their esthetic mark on North African as well as international writing. In *Harrouda*, for instance, Ben Jelloun started questioning the creative parameters of the modern novel and completely reconfigured its form, the better to adapt it to the narrator's metaphysical exploration and political questioning.

Ostensibly hermetic, the text in fact subversively reverses the negative conditions of personal and political experience and transforms them into a positive force of contention, in a discourse of which the novel's narrator says that it was meant to create havoc. Creation and desire, central to Ben Jelloun's works, also ceaselessly reshape the narrative of *Harrouda*, a novel about dispossession, both individual and collective. Indeed, the themes of bodily suffering, of the infliction of violence, of the psychic wound conveyed through ubiquitous images of wound, fissure, and rupture, reflect preoccupations upon which the whole edifice of Ben Jelloun's writings reposes.

Poetry in particular plays a crucial role in *Harrouda*, not only in the form of free verse spontaneously exploding the novel's narrative flow but also through the high

## CONTEMPORARIES

Tahar Ben Jelloun belongs to a constellation of Moroccan academics and creative writers who have made internationally acclaimed contributions to the post-independence literary renaissance of Morocco and to world literature as a whole. A prominent figure in this group is Driss Chraïbi (1926– ), the author of *Mother Comes of Age* (1972 and 1998), and *Flutes of Death* (1981 and 1997). Another is the famed sociologist and liberal Muslim writer Fatima Mernissi (1940– ), the author of *Dreams of Trespass* (1994) and of *The Veil and the Male Elite* (1991). The group also includes the prolific poet Abdellatif Laabi (1942– ), former political prisoner and the founder in 1966 of the review *Anfas/Souffles*; the art critic, literary theoretician, and novelist Abdelkebir Khatibi (1938– ), the author of *Tattooed Memory* (1971) and *Love in Two Languages* (1987); as well as the poet and fiction writer Mohammed Khair-Eddine (1941–1995), and the painter Ahmed Cherkaoui (1934–1967).

degree of figurative disruption and inventiveness that Ben Jelloun's poetic syntax at times shares with surrealism. Unfolding as a narrative of passage and migration, the five movements of *Harrouda* thus dismantle the borders of the traditional novel in order to permit language to transcend the ceaselessly receding perimeter of its boundaries. At the same time, the life of Harrouda, the novel's elusive female protagonist and the precursor of another rebel, the eponymous Moha in the 1978 novel *Moha le fou, Moha le sage* (Moha the madman, Moha the wise man), symbolically binds up not only with the collective lives of other characters but with those of personalized cities too: Fez and Tangier in particular, antipodal cities that came to play a crucial role in Ben Jelloun's subsequent novels.

Another important book, the polyphonic story of a long and painful meditation on humiliation and death, *La prière de l'absent* (1981; The prayer of the absent), written both in French and Arabic, also conflates religious and historical themes with metaphysical ones. It concerns—perhaps in self-parody—the life of a teacher of philosophy, a native of Fez and a man of modest ambition. Aspiring to effacement but not quite liberated from history and the materialism he wishes to transcend, the anonymous protagonist grapples with the same kind of anguished nostalgia that later haunts the pages of both

*L'écrivain public* and *Jour de silence à Tanger* (1990; *Silent Day in Tangier*, 1991).

But the book also tells a story of origins, that of the birth of an ordinary, voiceless child by the name of Mohammed Mokhtar against a backdrop of epidemic, death, and political unrest. It is about an experience of voluntary self-effacement and amnesia that leads the narrator, through the medium of the matriarchal and political voice of Lalla Malika, a grandmother and midwife, to free himself from the consciousness of failure, to heed Fez's history of resistance and insurgency, and to journey southward to Semara, a site of an early twentieth century upheaval against French colonialism, in the company of three other characters in search of political liberation.

An ensuing narration then weaves the legendary story of Ma al-Aynayn (1830–1910), the tribal chief, mystic, warrior, and self-proclaimed imam who organized resistance against French conquest in Southern Morocco. This narration clearly aims at relativizing the four characters' tribulations, as if their destinies were intimately bound up with the saga of the legendary figure. But one of the narrators' failure to acknowledge the political and historical limitations of the hagiographical story she is reconstructing foreshadows at the same time the political limits of the group's pilgrimage. Indeed, like previous ancestral narratives, Yamna's account does not address the issue of Ma al-Aynayn's feudal, slave-owning and authoritarian rule.

As Yamna nears death, Lalla Malika's voice now clearly proceeds from a higher political and philosophical plane. It is she who strategically reminds the reader of still another, more significant historical figure, that of the legendary Abd El Krim. Even more important, Lalla Malika's "response" to her grandchild's quandary expounds philosophical concerns central to Ben Jelloun's system of thought: the dialectic of appearance and illusion, of being and becoming, and his ethics of action and commitment. Lalla Malika evokes the inevitable conflict, the essential fall, the sudden philosophical crisis that will unmask the complacency of any life devoid of risk and engagement.

*The Sand Child and The Sacred Night* The diptych of *The Sand Child* and *The Sacred Night* constitutes Ben Jelloun's best-known conflation of storytelling and politics. Together these books address the issue of the dissolution of the self (sexual, social, and psychological) that results from the denial of one's identity and the usurpation of another, a parable that concomitantly explores, in the relationship between social reality, self, and writing, the disruptive and liberating empowerment of language.

*The Sand Child* is the story of a young girl, Zahra, forced by her father to assume the identity of a male child called Ahmed. The ever-widening scene of the novel is a rich construct of social consciousness, a playful narrative

space, a ritual apprehension of individual dispossession, and above all, an at times quasi-magical verbal experiment. A creative contrivance that makes for tremendous narrative and figurative elaboration, the novel's unconventionality goes nonetheless hand in hand with the persistent evocation of key sociopolitical issues. The motifs of child exploitation, misogyny, sexual corruption, and violence are inseparable from Ahmed-Zahra's story, but so are those of colonialism, patriarchy, social corruption, and injustice, forms of political repression that appear time and again in the text. Ben Jelloun depicts a social cauldron where a pattern of repression and repercussive violence spares no one, neither dominator nor dominated. Psychopolitical allusion is subversively stitched into the fabric of an otherwise predominantly fabulous story: individuals labor under the implacable dynamics of domination and revenge, and the novel's closing chapter explicitly evokes the plight of adolescents whose revolt has been crushed by military repression, remarking in scathing understatement on the futility of death by a stray bullet.

*The Sacred Night* is a sequel to *The Sand Child*. As Zahra, "Ahmed" of the preceding novel, now assumes her natural identity, spatial markers clearly punctuate her confessional and initiatory itinerary through a story that evolves symbolically, as if through the opening of successive doors, toward narrative postponement and mystical resolution. Symbolic territories mark Zahra's itinerary: a public square; her father's dilapidated house; the cemetery under blinding light; the perfumed garden that shelters a self-sufficient republic of children; the solitary forest paths where Zahra encounters faceless rape; the equivocal shelter of the *hammam* (Turkish bath); the "one-person street," both lovers' lane and sinister space of decay and corruption; a consul's two-story house "of darkness"; the cosmic contiguity of the terrace's nocturnal space; the blue warehouse and the subterranean cellar-library in the consul's dream; the bordello's mixed space of infernal and ecstatic sexuality; the jail; and, finally, the holy man's shrine: the novel's vivid social and symbolic landscape makes for one of the richest modern political parables ever written.

#### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

Ben Jelloun now ranks with the most recognizable and popular writers from the Middle East and North Africa. The critical reception of his works has been spectacular.

As early as 1978, he was elected to the Académie Mallarmé in Paris, a membership he did not seek. In subsequent years, he has received several prestigious awards: the Prix Goncourt (France) in November 1987 for *The Sacred Night*, the Prix des Hémisphères (Guadeloupe) in 1991 for *Les yeux baissés* (1991; *With Downcast Eyes*, 1993), the Prix Méditerranée (France) in 1994 for *L'homme rompu* (1994; *Corruption*, 1995), and the

### THE MOON [IS] REPRESENTED BY A LIGHT BULB

The book is like a house in which each window is a district, each door a town, each page a street; it is only a sham house, a theatrical set in which the moon and sky are represented by a light bulb and a blue sheet held between two windows.

(*THE SAND CHILD*. TRANSLATED BY ALAN SHERIDAN. SAN DIEGO, CA: HARCOURT, BRACE, JOVANOVICH, 1991, PP. 81–82.)

One cannot imagine writing without a ceaseless reflection on the status, the possibilities and the limits of writing.

(“DE LA DIFFÉRENCE.” *ETHNOPSICOLOGIE* 2, NO. 3 [1973]: 221.)

It is through the betrayal of appearances, in wringing the neck of evidence that creative artists have not only been able to understand but also to make us understand a parcel of the real.

(*QUINZAINES LITTÉRAIRES* 606 [1–15 AUGUST 1992]: 3.)

Grand prix littéraire du Maghreb (Nourredine-Aba Foundation, Algeria) in November 1994 for the totality of his work. In 2004 he won the International IMPAC Dublin Literary Award for *Cette aveuglante absence de lumière* (2001; *This Blinding Absence of Light*, 2002), the story of the ordeal of a survivor of Tazmamart, the notorious Moroccan hard labor camp for political prisoners under the late King Hassan II.

#### LEGACY

Ben Jelloun's legacy is no less historical and political than literary and aesthetic. During the 1970s, Ben Jelloun became a correspondent with the daily *Le Monde* soon after his arrival in Paris, a position he has held to this day. He has also written for *Il Corriere della Sera* of Milan and has become a pugnacious intellectual presence through countless other media contributions on human and political issues for newspapers in Italy (*La Repubblica*, Rome; *L'Espresso*, the Milan weekly), Spain (*El País*, Madrid; *Lavanguardia*, Barcelona), and Sweden (*Aftonbladet*, Stockholm). His interventions, literary and journalistic, have addressed such issues as the Shoah, the Palestinian condition, the Algerian civil war, political corruption, the Arab world, Islam, immigration, and racism. In 1991 he

published a collection of poems titled *La remontée des cendres* on the anonymous victims of the Gulf War.

Ben Jelloun is a sociopolitical writer whose narratives astutely intertwine the traditions of the Orient and the West, Arabic and French, contemporary politics and popular storytelling, political consciousness and metaphysical mysticism, poetic fables and historical realism. Lesser-known but equally important works also testify to Ben Jelloun's urgent sense of sociopolitical commitment and broad range of creative temperament. A meditative text by Ben Jelloun, for instance, accompanies Philippe Lafond's collection of photographs documenting the life of Imazighen in the High Atlas Mountains of Morocco (*Haut-Atlas: l'exil de pierres*, 1982). His collaboration with the photographer Thierry Ibert resulted in a 1986 collection of black-and-white photographs of barren and destitute life in the devastated La porte d'Aix district in Marseille, which Ben Jelloun's comments poetically enrich. The photographs were taken as the historic Vieux Quartiers were being demolished, and Ben Jelloun's text is reprinted in his 1995 *Poésie complète: 1966–1995* (*Complete poetry: 1966–1995*). He has written texts for several other photography volumes on the Sahara, Fez, and for *Medinas: Morocco's Hidden Cities*.

Ben Jelloun's meditation on Alberto Giacometti's art (*Alberto Giacometti and Tahar Ben Jelloun*, 1991) is a seminal essay that draws a revealing cartography of the esthetic preoccupations and philosophical affiliations that marks all his writing. The affinities with Giacometti and the kinship between flesh and bronze the text describes are easy to perceive. Ben Jelloun observes that such art attempts to convey life "with complex simplicity" and to bring out its singularity. Giacometti's predilection for places of passage, furthermore, underscores the deep sense of temporariness and ontological loss that lies beneath the itinerant quest of so many of Ben Jelloun's characters. As for Giacometti's belief in "the passion and patience of the gaze," able to see "something unknown emerge, each day, in the same face," it mirrors Ben Jelloun's own use of the thematic of looking hyperbolized in *The Sacred Night* by the figurative transference of the consul's gaze into tactile visibility. Gazing once at the deeply furrowed and "immensely" sad face of an immigrant worker in the Paris subway, Ben Jelloun goes on to reflect on the state of alienation from reality, on the drama of exile, confrontation, and solitude of which Giacometti's sculpted beings seem so uncannily a projection. The text on Giacometti is not only crucial as an expression of Ben Jelloun's poetic art but also for its many philosophical insights. It contains, furthermore, important comments on fellow creators and intellectuals: Giacometti, of course, but also Miguel de Cervantes, Friedrich Nietzsche, Franz Kafka, Antonin Artaud, Rene Char, Samuel Beckett (whom he once encountered on a deserted beach in Tangier), and above all Jean Genet, whose aimless and unmat-

erialistic existence becomes the benchmark for a simultaneous engagement in metaphysical solitude and presence in the world.

**Writing as Commitment** A resolutely postmodern novelist, poet, and critic, Ben Jelloun conceives of writing as a "violent practice [ . . . ] that does not consider itself as center, origin, exclusive site of knowledge of imagination [but remains] open to all differences" ("De la différence," 1973), that is to say a disruptive and politically creative form of commitment. The comment underlines the key concerns of a writer who, as a Moroccan and an Arab writing in a language that was once a tool of colonization, strives to displace creativity to the margins of dominant models, deconstructing the processes of domination that often lie hidden in cultural encounters. The novelist thus clearly desires to challenge the very nature and legitimacy of established cultural models but simultaneously to engage fiction in a discursive process of reflection on its very modes of functioning and representation.

Ben Jelloun's assertion in a 1992 editorial in the French publication *La Quinzaine Littéraire* that realism per se does not exist also sheds an important light on the poetics and politics of his storytelling. If Ben Jelloun willingly places himself within a creative tradition akin to that of magical realism, the literary figures with whom he finally claims intellectual affinity are a heterogeneous group. In the same editorial, he mentions for instance the names of Jorge Luis Borges, Juan Rulfo, and Gabriel Garcia Marquez, but also those of James Joyce, Saint-John Perse, Arthur Cayley, Constantine Seferis, Giorgos Rimbaud, and the mystic Al Hallaj.

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- La nuit sacrée* (1987; *The Sacred Night*, 1989)

*Les yeux baissés* (1991; *With Downcast Eyes*, 1993)  
*L'ange aveugle* (1992; *The blind angel*)  
*L'homme rompu* (1994; *Corruption*, 1995)  
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*Amours sorcières* (*Bewitched love*, 2003)

*Bernard Aresu*

## BESCHIR, KHALIL (1982–)

Khalil Beschir (Bashir) is a Lebanese driver on the international A1 auto racing circuit, one of the first Arabs and certainly the most successful in this sport.

### PERSONAL HISTORY

Beschir was born 18 June 1982 in Khersaf, Lebanon. His father and mother currently have a sports shop in the mountain town of Bikfaya. Beschir does not come from a wealthy background, and has often not been able to race because of lack of sponsorship. He has said that despite emotional support and encouragement, his family did not encourage him to enter the very expensive world of international auto racing.

As a young man, Khalil became enthralled with racing, and in particular Michael Schumacher, the German Formula 1 series driver, who is considered one of the best drivers in the world. He became Beschir's inspiration, although, at the urging of his parents, he originally pursued a more realistic career goal. He received a degree in marketing and business management, as well as elementary math, at the Collège des Soeurs Antounine Roumieh in Beirut. With his dream of racing still alive, he published a racing magazine, putting out eleven issues before having to halt its production when he began to compete professionally, leaving no time to devote to the magazine. He then opened a business involved in racing clothing and equipment, but this too failed. Despite these setbacks, and the unstable economic conditions in Lebanon, Beschir maintained his interest in motor sports.

### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

In 1998 Khalil first began to realize his dream. He began kart racing—by far the least expensive form of auto racing—and in his first race came in an impressive fourth. He raced on the kart circuit for one season, gaining knowledge and experience. After the season was over, he enrolled in a Formula 3 race-car driving school in Magny Cours, France, and graduated at the top of his

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Khalil Beschir (Bashir)

**Birth:** 1982, Khersaf, Lebanon

**Family:** Single

**Nationality:** Lebanese

**Education:** Collège des Soeurs Antounine Roumieh, Beirut.

### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1990s:** Publishes racing magazine; owns racing clothing and equipment business
- **1998:** Enrolls in Formula 3 race-car driving school in Magny Cours, France
- **2004:** Lebanese national A1 Grand Prix team created
- **2005:** Team Lebanon competes in its first international race at Brands Hatch in England

class. This brought him to the attention of the Belgian F3000 team Astromega, which offered him a job. (The F3000 circuit was a training ground, from 1985 to 2004, for young drivers needing to gain the experience to make the jump to the Formula 1 racing circuit.) Astromega was famous for training young hopefuls who went on to be successful Formula 1 drivers. Unfortunately, Beschir was unable to obtain sponsorship or funding and was unable to take the position. Luckily a successful Lebanese businessman saw potential in the young man from his home country and decided to sponsor him. He competed in the Hockenheim Formula Renault 2 circuit. He made a good impression and was then picked up by Astromega's Formula Renault 1600 team. This move finally catapulted him into international racing.

Beschir finished sixth in France, and eleventh and thirteenth in two separate Italian Formula 3 races. He was then asked to join the fledgling Lebanese team on the A1 circuit, in which the competitors are national teams rather than commercial teams or individual drivers.

The A1 Grand Prix, in which Team Lebanon competes, was created in 2004 by Shaykh Maktum Hashir Maktum Al Maktum, a member of the ruling family of Dubai, in the United Arab Emirates. It was sanctioned by the Federation Internationale de l'Automobile (FIA), and held its first race at Brands Hatch in England in September 2005. (In this race, Beschir rolled and crashed his car



in an impressive but decidedly painful display.) It is an international series with twenty-five national teams competing for seven months a year from September through March. The A1 Grand Prix is important for Middle East racing fans, and is made more so by the participation of the only Arab entry, Team Lebanon.

#### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

Beschir is perceived in the Middle East both as a national symbol of success and unity and a pioneer in auto racing, which has no tradition in Lebanon. Middle East Online (an English-language Web site based in London), has commented that "A1 Team Lebanon has the passionate support of its nation, the Arab world, and the Lebanese all around the globe." It is a source of national and international pride, which extends through the entire Arab world. It is important to note that the team's drivers are diverse religiously, as is their country: Beschir is a Christian, and the other three drivers are Muslims.

#### LEGACY

Although it might be premature to assess Beschir's racing career, he will certainly go down in history as the first Arab athlete to bring auto racing to the hearts and minds of the Arab world.

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*Khodr M. Zaarour*

## BIN LADIN, USAMA (1957–)

The Saudi militant and global jihadist Usama bin Ladin (Osama bin Laden, Abu Abdullah, "the Shaykh") is the founder of al-Qa'ida, the movement accused of perpetrating numerous acts of terrorism since the 1990s. Active in the anti-Soviet jihad in Afghanistan during the 1980s, bin Ladin became an outspoken critic of the Saudi royal family and religious establishment and a supporter of both the Islamic government in Sudan and the Taliban in Afghanistan during the 1990s before formally launching a global jihad against Christian "crusaders" and Zionist Jews with other jihadist organizations in 1998.

#### PERSONAL HISTORY

Bin Ladin is believed to have been born on 10 March 1957 in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia. (Many of the details of his



*Usama bin Ladin.* AP IMAGES.

life are not known for certain.) He spent his childhood and received his education in Saudi Arabia.

Bin Ladin's father, Muhammad bin Awad bin Ladin, was of Yemeni origin. He founded a commercial construction company, the Saudi Binladin Group, in 1931. A friend and trusted business partner of both King Abd al-Aziz and King Faysal, Muhammad won the exclusive rights for renovations of Islam's three holiest sites—the Grand Mosque in Mecca, the Prophet's Mosque in Medina, and al-Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem. Although he did not spend much time with him, Usama bin Ladin has stated that the most important lessons he learned from his father were the importance of prayer and service to God, particularly in jihad, a deep love and concern for the Palestinian people, and the importance of hard physical work. Muhammad was killed in a plane crash in 1967 when bin Ladin was ten years old. Bin Ladin was the only child born of his father's union with his mother, Aliya Ghanim. His mother remarried and had several other children with whom bin Ladin was raised.

As a child, bin Ladin is recalled as an avid soccer player and lover of horseback riding, mountain climbing, and riding and driving in Jeeps in the desert, all activities

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Usama bin Ladin (Osama bin Laden, Abu Abdullah, “the Shaykh”)

**Birth:** 1957, Riyadh, Saudi Arabia

**Family:** Wives, Najwa Ghanim (known as Umm Abdullah, m. 1974); Umm Ali (div. 1994); Umm Khalid; Umm Hamza; Amal al-Saddah (m. 2000); believed to have at least 11 sons; unknown number of daughters

**Nationality:** Saudi Arabian (stripped of citizenship in 1994)

**Education:** King Abd al-Aziz University, Jidda, Saudi Arabia (no degree)

### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1979–1989:** Serves in anti-Soviet jihad in Afghanistan
- **1988–1989:** Founds al-Qa‘ida to carry out “jihad against infidels” and provide support for Arab Afghan veterans and their families
- **1990–1997:** Grows from critic to opponent of Saudi royal family and religious establishment
- **1998:** Joins with other jihadist organizations to declare global jihad through World Islamic Front for Jihad against Crusaders and Jews, emerging as threat to United States
- **2001:** Held responsible by United States for terror attacks on New York City and Washington, D.C.

in which he remained active as an adult. He is described as introverted, cultured, polite, a careful observer, and a good listener who led by example, rather than by giving orders, all traits he carried into adulthood. His early education took place at al-Haqr School in Jidda where his classmates included the sons of then-Crown Prince (later King) Faysal. Although he speaks only Arabic in his video messages and interviews with Western journalists, bin Ladin’s study of English as a child has led some to speculate that he speaks and understands English. It is unclear whether bin Ladin has traveled to the West.

Bin Ladin entered King Abd al-Aziz University in Jidda in 1976 as a student of economics. Although he has a lifelong interest in religion, has independently studied theology and Islamic law, and has mastered both classical

Arabic and Arabic poetry, as reflected in his speeches, he received no formal religious training and is not a religious scholar. Consequently, he is dependent on formally trained religious scholars to sanction his positions.

Bin Ladin left the university in 1979 at the age of twenty-two without completing his degree in order to join the jihad against the Soviet Union in Afghanistan. He remained there until the withdrawal of the Soviet Union in 1989. Bin Laden’s participation in the Afghan jihad was pivotal in developing his worldview and sense of purpose.

**Criticism of Royal Family** Bin Ladin’s return home to Saudi Arabia in 1990 was followed shortly by SADDAM HUSSEIN’s invasion of Kuwait. Believing that the defense of Islam’s homeland and holiest cities was the religious duty of Muslims alone and because of the close relationship he had long shared with the Saudi royal family, bin Ladin offered the services of his Arab Afghans for the defense of Saudi Arabia. When King Fahd elected to allow in 500,000 U.S. troops to defend the kingdom instead, bin Ladin protested. Initially, his criticism followed the classical Wahhabi framework of providing advice and guidance to the king about his error in forming an alliance with “infidels” to fight against fellow Muslims, expecting that the king would also abide by the Wahhabi framework by changing his course of action. When the king did not, bin Ladin declared that both the royal family and the establishment religious scholars (*ulama*) who supported him had abandoned their faith for political reasons. He left Saudi Arabia to call for reform from abroad.

In either 1991 or 1992, bin Ladin went into exile in Sudan. He established his Advice and Reform Committee (ARC), based in London, to continue his call for Saudi domestic reform, implying the threat of military action within Saudi Arabia if his demands were not met. Following several unsuccessful attempts by envoys and family members to bridge the divide between bin Ladin and the royal family, bin Ladin was stripped of his Saudi citizenship in 1994. Several assassination attempts were made against him in 1994, some of which are believed to have been orchestrated by Saudi intelligence.

Reports vary about bin Ladin’s relationship to the Sudanese state, although a consensus exists that he established profitable business ventures there that are believed to have helped provide cover for and finance ongoing jihadist endeavors. International pressure on Sudan led to bin Ladin’s return to Afghanistan in 1995 or 1996, where he earned the protection of the Taliban regime in exchange for his provision of financial, administrative, and technical support in rebuilding and running the country. Although the Saudi royal family again attempted to have bin Ladin returned to Saudi Arabia, these attempts were unsuccessful

and are believed to have resulted in another assassination attempt in 1998.

**Jihad against the West** On 23 August 1996 bin Ladin declared a jihad against the United States in pursuit of his long-standing goal to remove American troops from Saudi soil. Initially limited to the territory of Saudi Arabia and specific military targets, the jihad against the United States was expanded into an uncompromising global struggle in 1998 with the formation of the World Islamic Front for Jihad against Crusaders and Jews. Claiming a global conspiracy of the West, led by the United States and Israel, against Islam and the Muslim world, the World Islamic Front called for the destruction of “American-Jewish” power and asserted that pushing out the American occupier was the most important duty after belief in God. Muslims were told to destroy American military and financial power in order to prevent the United States from destroying Iraq; fragmenting Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and Sudan; and taking over Mecca, Medina, and Saudi Arabia’s oil supplies. This declaration is believed to have inspired a series of terrorist attacks, including those on the U.S. embassies in Tanzania and Kenya in 1998, the bombing of the USS *Cole* in Yemen in 2000, and the 11 September 2001 attacks in New York and Washington, D.C. A campaign of attacks targeting the Saudi government also occurred in Saudi Arabia between 2003 and 2005.

Bin Ladin’s exact role in these attacks remains a matter of debate. By his own admission, he had advance notice of major attacks “against American and Israeli interests,” approved the provision of support for them, and took pride in their execution. At the same time, he denied personal responsibility for having planned the 11 September 2001 attacks, in particular. Bin Ladin’s role may best be clarified by sources within al-Qa’ida indicating that it implements a method of “centralization of decision and decentralization of execution” in which bin Ladin provides political objectives and goals to senior leaders, but leaves the methods and execution to field commanders. Thus, in the case of the 11 September 2001 attacks, the master planner is believed to have been Khalid Shaykh Mohammed, while bin Ladin is believed to have provided financial and logistical support for the goal of a major attack against the United States.

Following an American bombing campaign in Afghanistan beginning in October 2001, bin Ladin’s whereabouts have been unknown. He is believed to be hiding somewhere along the border between Afghanistan and Pakistan, although reports from French intelligence of injury and illness have led to speculation that he may have died in 2006.

## INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

As for many of his generation, the Afghan jihad was a formative experience for bin Ladin. He was particularly influenced by his mentor, Dr. Abdullah al-Azzam, a Palestinian militant whom he first met in 1984 and with whom he cofounded the Services Office in Pakistan that, with the help of Pakistan’s military intelligence service and the American Central Intelligence Agency recruited and trained Muslims from other countries for the Afghan jihad. In Afghanistan, bin Ladin gained military experience, arms, and experience in and facilities for training recruits in both conventional and unconventional methods of warfare.

During the early years of the Afghan jihad, bin Ladin’s role consisted largely in providing financial and logistical support to the Afghan mujahideen through a combination of personal finances, donations acquired through his connections in the Persian Gulf states, and the transfer of engineers and equipment from his construction company in Saudi Arabia to Afghanistan in order to build roads, a medical center, training facilities, arms depots, and a complex of tunnels with elaborate

## CONTEMPORARIES

Dr. Abdullah al-Azzam (1941–1989) was a Palestinian cleric, ideologue of militant pan-Islamic global jihad in Afghanistan, and mentor to Usama bin Ladin. Educated in theology at Damascus University and Islamic jurisprudence at al-Azhar University in Cairo, al-Azzam taught Islamic law at the University of Jordan, King Abd al-Aziz University in Saudi Arabia, and the Islamic University of Islamabad, Pakistan. His *fatwa* “Defending Muslim Lands” and his essay “Join the Caravan” called for defensive jihad to be engaged in as a compulsory individual duty aimed at killing “infidels” and expelling non-Muslims from historically Muslim lands, including Palestine, southern Spain, and portions of the then-Soviet Union. Unlike his radical Egyptian contemporaries, he restricted his call to jihad to combating non-Muslims, rather than fighting against Muslims or nominally Muslim governments. His contributions to the Afghan jihad include charitable and educational work among Afghan refugees and the publication of *Jihad* magazine, which served as a major tool for fund-raising, global recruiting, communicating with Arab youth, and building transnational networks. Al-Azzam was assassinated by unknown assailants in Pakistan in November 1989.

facilities that are believed to have helped him escape from U.S. forces. He acquired folk-hero status due to his reportedly simple and austere lifestyle in the trenches with his fellow mujahideen, financial generosity, and piety.

By 1986 bin Ladin sought to become more actively involved in the military aspect of jihad. Arab Afghan associates attribute this change in perspective to a combination of a quiet breaking away from al-Azzam and growing contact with Egyptian militants, particularly Dr. Ayman al-Zawahiri (believed to be second-in-command of al-Qa'ida), Abu Hafis al-Misri (a.k.a. Muhammad Atif, who served as military chief of al-Qa'ida until he was reportedly killed in a U.S. air strike in November 2001), and Abu Ubayda al-Banjshiri (drowned in 1996). In 1987 bin Ladin established his own exclusively Arab Afghan military base, al-Masada (the Lion's Den), and launched his career as a militarily active *mujahid*. He believed that having an Arab military force willing to engage in self-sacrifice to the point of martyrdom would provide an important psychological victory that would lead to the defeat of the Soviets. His unit fought and won for the first time against a Soviet force in spring 1987, despite being outnumbered.

**Founding of al-Qa'ida** The ultimate victory over the Soviets in Afghanistan led bin Ladin to expand his vision of jihad beyond the Afghan borders to a global jihad designed to restore Islam to political power. In 1988 or 1989, he founded al-Qa'ida (Arabic: "the Base") as an organization dedicated to carrying out "jihad against infidels" beyond Afghanistan and to care for Arab Afghan veterans and their families. Bin Ladin envisaged the jihad's moving to southern Yemen to liberate the Muslims of his father's homeland from the socialist government in power, but al-Qa'ida was unable to reach a consensus about where to take the jihad next. Bin Ladin's Arab Afghans returned to their home countries where many engaged in opposition to their domestic governments.

The second major influence on bin Ladin's career was his rising disillusionment with the Saudi royal family and religious establishment. Following his departure to Sudan in 1991 or 1992, bin Ladin continued his calls for Saudi domestic reform through his ARC. He demanded the eradication of injustice and corruption and the revival of the *hizba* system, which permits citizens to bring charges against state officials, justifying them within the classical Wahhabi framework of education, reinterpretation of the Qur'an, *Sunna* (example of the Prophet), and teachings of the major scholars of the Wahhabi tradition, Ibn Taymiyya, Ibn al-Qayyim al-Jawziyya, and Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab. Because he remained within the established religious structure, he expected the support of the religious establishment, whom he asked to guide the process. The failure of the

religious establishment to take on this role led to bin Ladin's increasing criticism of senior *ulama* (religious scholars) and support for younger, more critical and politically daring scholars, particularly Safar al-Hawali and SALMAN AL-AWDA.

Between 1995 and 1997, bin Ladin shifted from calling for the resignation of King Fahd and the grand mufti to calling for the overthrow of the Saudi monarchy altogether. At the same time, although he consistently addressed domestic Saudi issues, he expanded his vision to the international stage, calling for resolution of issues of major international concern for the Muslim community, such as the ongoing devastation of Iraq due to economic sanctions, ongoing violence against and ill-treatment of Palestinians, and denunciation of American foreign policy in the Middle East, in an attempt to stir up popular support for a global jihad. His formation of the World Islamic Front with other jihadist organizations in 1998 marks the concretization of this globalized vision.

The third major influence on bin Ladin's career was his contact with Egyptian radicals, beginning with his first contact with al-Zawahiri in 1986. A dedicated jihadist against the Egyptian government who experienced imprisonment and severe torture at government hands, al-Zawahiri is believed to have not only played a major role in expanding bin Ladin's vision of jihad, but also to have driven a wedge between bin Ladin and his mentor, al-Azzam. The depth of bin Ladin's relationship with al-Zawahiri became apparent by 1998 when al-Zawahiri aligned his Egyptian Jihad group with al-Qa'ida in forming the World Islamic Front. Although there appears to have been some disagreement between bin Ladin and al-Zawahiri about targets (the "far enemy," the United States, for bin Ladin or the "near enemy," Arab governments, for al-Zawahiri) and tactics (sticking to military and government targets for bin Ladin or expanding to civilians deemed culpable by association for al-Zawahiri), both sought to globalize the jihad.

The exact relationship between bin Ladin and the late al-Qa'ida in Iraq leader ABU MUSAB AL-ZARQAWI is unclear, although Zarqawi is known to have resisted initially pledging his allegiance to bin Ladin until late 2004. In addition, al-Zawahiri had probably rebuked Zarqawi for his tactics in Iraq in October 2005.

## THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

Although there are many Muslims who sympathize with bin Ladin's causes, particularly in Iraq and Palestine, the overwhelming majority rejects his tactics and has denounced terrorism as a violation of Islamic beliefs and values. Scholars have noted major differences between classical interpretations of jihad and bin Ladin's tactics, including the classical prohibition against attacking civilians, particularly women and children; the classical

## EXPLORING

The Afghan struggle to liberate Afghanistan from the 1979 invasion by the Soviet Union was an important training ground in jihad and political activism for many Arab youth. Both the United States and Arab governments supported the Afghan mujahideen. Because the Afghan jihad was portrayed as the struggle of Islam against atheistic communism, the ultimate withdrawal of the Soviet Union in 1989 led many of the mujahideen to believe that God had granted Islam ideological victory over communism. This victory emboldened some foreign fighters, known as “Arab Afghans,” to return to their home countries to engage in various levels of jihad against parties or governments considered to be either un-Islamic or insufficiently Islamic. The scope of this phenomenon remains a matter of scholarly and political debate, but its impact during the 1990s was clear in the civil war in Algeria, rising clashes between extremists and the government in Egypt, and the demand for political and religious reforms in Saudi Arabia.

restriction of jihad to the defense of a specific geographical location and specific group of people under attack or threat of imminent attack; and the classical purpose of jihad being to bring a conflict to conclusion, whether by military victory or by the establishment of a truce or treaty relationship. They have further noted that the Qur’an frequently speaks of the desirability of positive and cooperative relations among Muslims, Christians, and Jews, rendering a declaration of jihad against all Christians and Jews a violation of Qur’anic teachings. Because bin Ladin’s global jihad is uncompromising, unending, and unrestricted geographically, as well as providing no vision beyond fighting, both scholars and laypeople have denounced bin Ladin’s global jihad as un-Islamic, if not downright heretical.

### LEGACY

Although bin Ladin has declared his desired legacy to be one of bringing world attention and, ultimately, resolution to issues of immense pain and concern to Muslims, it is more likely that bin Ladin’s legacy will be framed in terms of the offshoots of his al-Qa’ida organization and vision of global jihad that continue to proliferate and mutate. Although the exact nature of bin Ladin’s role in various terrorist attacks remains a matter of debate, it is

clear that he has deliberately sought to inspire others to carry out his global jihad and that he has been successful in this regard.

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Natana J. DeLong-Bas

## BIRET, IDIL (1941–)

Idil Biret is a Turkish pianist who has been called one of the greatest pianist prodigies of the twentieth century.

### PERSONAL HISTORY

Biret was born in Ankara, Turkey, on 21 November 1941, and displayed an outstanding talent for music from the age of three. Biret was sent to Paris with her parents by the Turkish government—the Turkish parliament passed a special law enabling her to go—when she was seven. Trained at the Paris Conservatory by Nadia Boulanger, Biret performed Wolfgang Amadens Mozart’s *Concerto for Two Pianos* with Wilhelm Kempff at Théâtre des Champs-Élysées under the baton of Joseph Keilberth in 1953 when she was only eleven. At age fifteen she graduated from the Paris Conservatory with three first prizes. Biret continued studying piano with Alfred Cortot and was a lifelong disciple of Kempff.

### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Biret’s mother played the piano rather well and, with other musical members of the family, there was always chamber music at home. Even though Boulanger never encouraged her to enter competitions, Biret’s concert

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Idil Biret

**Birth:** 1941, Ankara, Turkey

**Nationality:** Turkish

**Education:** Trained at the Paris Conservatory

### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1953:** Performed Mozart's *Concerto for Two Pianos* with Wilhelm Kempff at Théâtre des Champs-Élysées, under the baton of Joseph Keilberth
- **1963:** Made her American debut. Played Rachmaninov's *Piano Concerto no. 3* with the Boston Symphony Orchestra, conducted by Erich Leisendorf
- **1986:** Launched a colossal project of recording all of Beethoven's nine symphonies' piano transcriptions by Franz Liszt
- **1995:** Received Grand Prix du Disque Chopin prize in Poland

career started very early. She was invited to the Soviet Union for an extensive concert tour when she was sixteen years old by recommendation of Emil Gilels. Her debut in the United States, with the Boston Symphony Orchestra conducted by Erich Leisendorf, where she played Sergey Rachmaninoff's *Piano Concerto No. 3*, unfortunately took place on the day of President John F. Kennedy's assassination in November 1963. The following year she performed the same work with the London Symphony Orchestra conducted by Pierre Monteux.

In 1986 Biret launched a colossal project of recording all of Beethoven's nine symphonies' piano transcriptions by Franz Liszt. In the same year she performed the nine symphonies in a series of four concerts at the Montpellier Festival in France. Since this outstanding event she has continued to record the complete solo piano works and piano concertos of Frédéric Chopin, Johannes Brahms, and Rachmaninoff. Biret has completed the recording of the Études of György Ligeti and the piano transcription of Igor Stravinsky's *Firebird*. Her latest project is recording Ludwig van Beethoven's thirty-two sonatas for the piano.

### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

Biret has received numerous awards from around the world, including the Grand Prix du Disque Chopin prize in Poland in 1995. That same year her recording of the

Pierre Boulez sonatas won the annual Golden Diapason award and was selected among the best recordings of the year by the French newspaper *Le Monde*.

### LEGACY

Biret has been a major influence on the musical life in Turkey. Generations of young people were encouraged by her example and chose music as their profession. Such younger Turkish pianists as Gulsin Onay, Huseyin Sermet, FAZIL SAY, Ozgur Aydin, and Emre Elivar followed the example of Biret toward international reputation.

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*Filiz Ali*

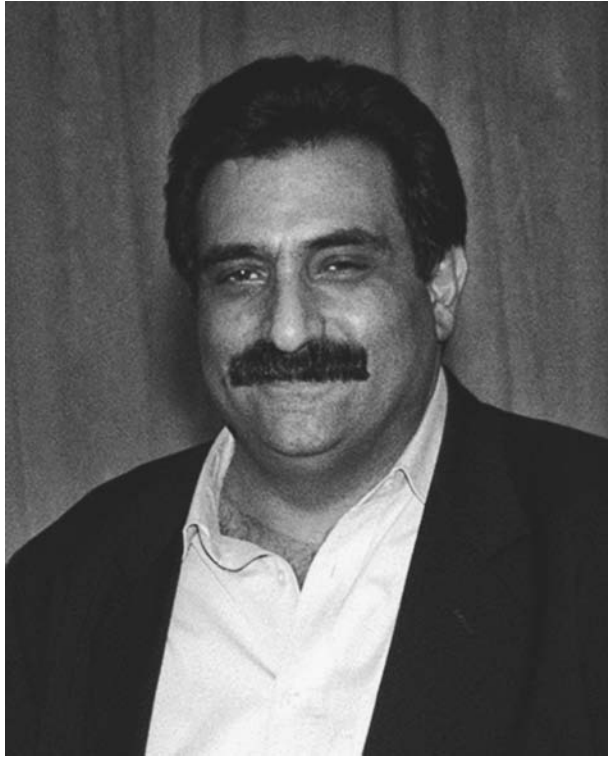
*updated by Michael R. Fischbach*

## BISHARA, AZMI (1956–)

Azmi Anton Bishara is a Palestinian thinker and politician from Israel, known for his deep and comprehensive writings in the political and literary fields. Until April 2007 Bishara was a member of the Israeli Knesset (parliament) and leader of the National Democratic Assembly, a party representing the national movement among the Palestinians living in Israel. For his contact with leaders from the Arab world he was accused of spying by the Israeli General Security Service and had to leave the country and live in the Arab world. Bishara is the most well-known and central figure in the leadership of the Palestinian community in Israel. He managed to penetrate the Israeli and the Arab public arenas and introduce a new political discourse based on his liberal national worldview. He presents a comprehensive critique of Zionism and of Israeli policies toward the Palestinian people. His political thought fast became the most dominant in the Palestinian community in Israel, despite his remaining a disputed figure inside his own community.

### PERSONAL HISTORY

Bishara was born on 22 July 1956 to Anton and Munira Bishara, a lower-middle-class Palestinian Christian family from Nazareth, Israel. He went to elementary and Baptist high school in Nazareth, and in 1974, while still eighteen, he established the National Union of Arab High School Pupils. This union became active within RAKAH (the New Communist List), the party that was rising to prominence inside the Arab community and that became the main representative of its basic interests vis-à-vis the state. Upon his enrollment at Haifa University he became



**Azmi Bishara.** LOUAI BECHARA/AFP/GETTY IMAGES.

active in the Union of Arab Students and in mobilizing students for political activity. Bishara represented the Union of Arab Students for the Committee for the Defense of Arab Lands, which was established in 1974 to protest and oppose the massive Israeli policies of Arab land confiscation that intensified in the early 1970s. Already then he was well known for his clear political vision and sharp rhetorical capabilities. He continued this political activity at the Front of Communist Students–Campus at the Hebrew University where he became the chair of the Arab Students Union.

Being a member of the communist party, he won a stipend to study for a Ph.D. in philosophy in East Germany. He enrolled in Humboldt University in 1980 and completed his studies in 1986. His Ph.D. dissertation was titled “Methodology in the *Kapital* of Karl Marx: The Myth of the Unity between the Logical and the Historical.” During his stay in Germany Bishara was politically active and discussed the inequality status of the Arab community in Israel and the Israeli occupation of the Palestinian territories of the West Bank and Gaza.

Upon his return to the Middle East in 1986, he taught at Birzeit University in the West Bank and remained there until 1996. In the years 1990 to 1992 he chaired the Philosophy and Cultural Studies Department. In 1992 he became one of the principle founders

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Azmi Bishara

**Birth:** 1956, Nazareth, Israel

**Family:** Wife, Rana; one son, Umar; one daughter, Wajd

**Nationality:** Palestinian citizen of Israel

**Education:** Ph.D. (philosophy), Humboldt University, Berlin, 1986

### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1974:** Establishes and heads the National Union of Arab High School Pupils
- **1978:** Heads Arab Student Union at Hebrew University
- **1980–1986:** Studies for Ph.D. at Humboldt University in Berlin–Germany
- **1986–1996:** Lecturer at Birzeit University
- **1996:** Establishes and heads the Arab party National Democratic Assembly
- **1996–2007:** Member of the Israeli Knesset
- **2001:** Visits Syria
- **2006:** Visits Syria and Lebanon
- **2007–present:** Lives in exile

of Muwatin—the Palestinian Institute for the Research of Democracy. In the years 1992 to 1996 Bishara was a senior researcher at the Van Leer Institute in Jerusalem and was one of the principle founders of the social sciences journal *Theory and Criticism*. During his period at Van Leer he led the research project “Europe in the Middle East,” which gathered a large group of Jewish and Arab intellectuals to discuss basic philosophical and political ideas and their impact on the worldview of people in the Middle East region.

Bishara’s intellectual activity never stopped him from being politically active. In 1991 he left RAKAH—the Communist Party—after strong debates with his colleagues regarding the impact that the disintegration of the Soviet Union should have on the structure and ideology of the party. He fought for reform and fundamental change in the leadership of the communist party. He also emphasized the need for greater emphasis on national issues in its platform. He left the party after he was convinced that such a reform was not possible in the given circumstances. He immediately became active

in establishing the Equality Contract, a union of Jewish and Arab academics to promote liberal political thinking in Israel and improve the status of the Arab community in Israel.

He was a key founder of the political party that he has represented since the late 1990s in the Israeli Knesset and the National Democratic Assembly (NDA, known as Balad). This party was established when Bishara joined forces with veterans of the Progressive List for Peace—an Arab-Jewish party that entered the Knesset during 1984 to 1992—and with activists from the Abna al-Balad (Sons of the Village) movement, and established a new political party that represented the voice of the Arab national movement in Israel. Fearing that the party might not pass the threshold set by the Israeli election laws, Bishara joined forces with the RAKAH-led Democratic Front for Peace and Equality (known by the Hebrew acronym Hadash) and entered the Knesset. After a short time his quarrels with Hadash members led him to split and establish his own faction in the Knesset. In the 1999 Knesset elections he joined forces with the Arab List for Change, led by Ahmad Tibi. Both leaders had to lead a well-orchestrated campaign to retain their legal right to run for Knesset election in spite of the allegation that their political platform negates section 7a of the Basic Law: Knesset. Despite that the Central Elections Committee denied them the right to run for election, the Israeli High Court overturned the disqualification decision. Bishara decided to utilize the Israeli law of split ballot in 1999 and run for the office of prime minister, who could be elected directly by the public. At the last moment Bishara gave up his campaign for prime minister and lent his support to the candidate of the Labor Party, Ehud Barak. After being elected Bishara and Tibi were not able to work together for a long time and they split into two different factions in the Knesset. In 2003 Bishara decided that his party, Balad, was ready to run alone for the Knesset elections and he proved to be right. The party won three seats in the Knesset and became the largest Arab party in the Israeli parliament. In 2006 he led the party for another election and maintained the power of the party, which again won three seats.

Israeli officials, who were determined to outlaw Bishara's party, accused him of illegal activities. The Israeli attorney general decided to pursue prosecution procedures against Bishara for violating the law to combat terror and for helping other Arab citizens visit Arab countries, such as Syria, that officially were defined as enemy states. On 7 November 2001 the Knesset withdrew Bishara's parliamentary immunity. The procedure enabled Bishara's prosecution in a trial that later ended in a whimper. Before the elections to the Sixteenth Knesset, held 28 January 2003, the attorney general petitioned the Central Election Committee to disqualify Bishara and his party from running for election. One of the justifica-

tions the attorney general provided was that the idea that Israel should be a state of all its citizens—meaning a non-religious, nonethnic state—which constitutes a central point in Bishara's thought, and is an essential principle of NDA's political platform, violates Israeli law and is opposed to the definition of Israel as a Jewish state. The attorney general's position was well received by the Central Elections Committee, which decided to disqualify Bishara and his party from participating in the elections. However, the High Court of Justice overturned this decision, and denied the attorney general's recommendation. These two efforts by the attorney general, in addition to the decision of the Central Elections Committee, which ratified Bishara's disqualification on 31 December 2002, reflected the antagonism held by the political and legal establishment toward Bishara and the ideas he represents. The concept of a state of all its citizens became target for attacks from intellectuals as well as the establishment.

These attempts to disqualify Bishara's political thought reached a new peak in April 2007 when rumors were published that Bishara was being interrogated by the police for treason during the time of the July–August 2006 war between Israel and Hizbullah. The rumors were translated into official accusations by the Israeli General Security service, released officially on 2 May, claiming that Bishara was accused of treason and espionage. The charges reportedly center on Bishara's alleged contacts with members of Hizbullah during Israel's attack on Lebanon in 2006. As a result of these accusations Bishara resigned his position in the Knesset and left Israel. On 26 April 2007 the Israeli police and General Security Service searched his house in Haifa, his apartment in Jerusalem, and his offices in Nazareth. Some documents and his computers were taken for further investigation. Bishara compared his situation to that of Captain Alfred Dreyfus, a French Jewish army officer who was also accused of treason in late nineteenth-century France and proved to be innocent and that his identity as Jew was the main reason for such allegations.

## INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Bishara is an intellectual who has utilized critical theory to assess reality and present alternatives. He proved to be a theoretician of praxis, who connects theory with reality through normative analytical tools in order to show social pathologies and offer solutions using ethical philosophy. He chooses a material epistemology, which views ideas as an expression of material relationships that preserves power and dominates relations. He explains historical development in neo-Marxist terms. Through these concepts, Bishara criticizes hegemonic ideas in Israeli political culture and offers alternatives that destabilize existing power relations and encourage the liberalization of the State of Israel. In suggesting that Israel transform itself from a Jewish state to a state for all its citizens (including



## CONTEMPORARIES

Ahmad Tibi (1958– ) is a Palestinian citizen of Israel who was born in al-Tayyiba, Israel. He received his M.D. from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in 1983, and practiced at Hadassah Hospital in Jerusalem. In the 1980s he became a major contact for Israelis seeking to meet with YASIR ARAFAT and other officials of the Palestine Liberation Organization at a time when it was illegal for Israeli citizens to do so. In the early 1990s, he became a major “back channel” link between Arafat and Israeli government officials during the secret Israeli-Palestinian talks that led to the 1993 Oslo Accord. Despite various legal troubles he faced from the Israeli government for his activities, Tibi was elected to the Knesset in 1999 and has remained there since.

the 20 percent of Israelis who are Palestinian Arabs), Bishara criticizes Jewish ethnic nationality and the ideology that promotes it: Zionism. The idea of a state of all citizens was presented by him to counter the ethnic identity of the Israeli state, reflecting his attempts to transform the identity of the state and thus change power relations within it.

As an Arab, Bishara promotes a national worldview that is an expression of modern political communitarianism and, in this way, he expresses his loyalty to the Western project of enlightenment. He utilizes the idea of the civic nation, which is derived from republican sources, to promote a liberal national perception. He adopts the concept of equal citizenship as a guiding political principle, viewing citizenship as equal and full participation of all individuals and national groups in the definition of the political rules of the game in every national framework they belong to. He combines liberal and communitarian thinking in one theoretical framework that reflects the relevancy of the multicultural political models as constitutional solutions in societies that are undergoing national and cultural conflicts.

Bishara deconstructs dominant worldviews in the material existence surrounding him. He oversteps the limits of critical theory, which is satisfied in only destabilizing oppositional consciousness, and puts forth a political program for mobilization. He therefore proposes solutions, rather than merely criticizes. Bishara’s thinking revolves around a number of tensions. A central tension is concerned with the relationship between Bishara’s lib-

eralism and between his adoption of nationality as a political principle. In his early writings, his liberal perception is dealt with in-depth, and he also discussed nationalism extensively. In recent years, a multicultural aspect is found in his writing but is not sufficiently emphasized. His strategic placement within the two identities—the Palestinian and the Israeli—reflects his hybrid identity.

Unlike other Israeli and Palestinians theoreticians, who preoccupy themselves with their existence from the point of view of their peoples alone, Bishara succeeds in presenting a valid criticism toward his dual existence and toward the two nationalities—Jewish and Arab—and their politics in an effort to promote the project of modernity. He does not surrender to the complicated reality and is willing to live with its paradoxes as an integral part of its transformation. For this purpose, he offers a sociological and conceptual basis for understanding history, politics, and the dominant ideology in Arab society in Israel, while offering a clear warning not to be trapped into the analytical concepts and models of Jewish-Israeli thinkers that act from within the logic of the Jewish state.

Although Bishara has not specifically discussed the concept of multiculturalism until recently, both the solution of a bi-national state, and the solution of a cultural autonomy combined with equal citizenship that he offers, are based on the multicultural and liberal principle that necessitates the existence of liberal citizenship and the rights derived from it, alongside ensuring the rights of national minorities to preserve their national culture.

This model is presented as a substitute for two other models of citizenship, expressed separately in the Israeli citizenship discourse: liberal citizenship, that does not distinguish between different characteristics of the citizens for the purpose of their citizenship; and republican citizenship, that is measured according to the contribution of the individual to the promotion of the shared social good and bestows only second-class citizenship to those who are not part of the collective. The model that arises out of Bishara’s thought reconciles existing tensions between the atomistic liberalism that sanctifies civil equality, and the human need for belonging to a national collective.

### THE WORLD’S PERSPECTIVE

Bishara is respected for his intellectual contributions, both theoretical and literary. He raised a serious intellectual and public debate on his ideas concerning Islam, democracy in the Arab world, and the identity of the Israeli state as a Jewish state. He raised much debate in Israel concerning his struggle to transform Israel into a state of all its citizens, not just a state for its Jewish majority population. Despite the disagreements surrounding him, and perhaps because of them, Bishara

WE FACE LEGAL,  
INSTITUTIONAL AND  
INFORMAL DISCRIMINATION  
IN ALL SPHERES OF LIFE

When Israel was established in 1948, more than 700,000 Palestinians were expelled or fled in fear. My family was among the minority that escaped that fate, remaining instead on the land where we had long lived. The Israeli state, established exclusively for Jews, embarked immediately on transforming us into foreigners in our own country. For the first 18 years of Israeli statehood, we, as Israeli citizens, lived under military rule with pass laws that controlled our every movement. We watched Jewish Israeli towns spring up over destroyed Palestinian villages. Today we make up 20 percent of Israel's population. We do not drink at separate water fountains or sit at the back of the bus. We vote and can serve in the parliament. But we face legal, institutional and informal discrimination in all spheres of life. More than twenty Israeli laws explicitly privilege Jews over non-Jews. The Law of Return, for example, grants automatic citizenship to Jews from anywhere in the world. Yet Palestinian refugees are denied the right to return to the country they were forced to leave in 1948. The Basic Law of Human Dignity and Liberty—Israel's "Bill of Rights"—defines the state as "Jewish" rather than a state for all its citizens. Thus Israel is more for Jews living in Los Angeles or Paris than it is for native Palestinians. Israel acknowledges itself to be a state of one particular religious group. Anyone committed to democracy will readily admit that equal citizenship cannot exist under such conditions.

BISHARA, AZMI, "WHY ISRAEL IS AFTER ME," *LOS ANGELES TIMES*,  
3 MAY 2007. AVAILABLE FROM [HTTP://WWW.LATIMES.COM](http://www.latimes.com).

has quickly infiltrated into the Israeli political consciousness. He succeeded, within a short period, in establishing a political movement that has gained wide support. Bishara struggles to fulfill his principles and has become a central figure in the Arab world, especially after leaving Israel in 2007. These processes have called great attention to his political thinking and made him an admired intellectual in many cities around the world. His lectures in the United States, in Europe, and in the Arab world are attended by hundreds of people. He won the Ibn Rushd Prize for Democratic Thinking in Germany in 2002.

Among many Israeli Jews, however, Bishara is the *bête noire* of Palestinian politicians in Israel. That he was intellectual, articulate, and forceful in presenting his arguments for turning Israel into a state for all its citizens only increased Jewish fears and distrust of him. Bishara was seen as a symbol of Arab attempts to de-Zionize Israel, to change its very character as a Jewish state. His high-profile visits to Syria in 2001 and 2006, and Lebanon in 2006—legally considered enemy states—combined with his public comments praising Arab politicians and movements such as Hizbullah, only fueled Jewish anger toward him.

#### LEGACY

Bishara is a well-known political thinker and critic. He has reshaped the political discourse of the entire Arab community in Israel and has great impact on the intellectual discourse in the entire Arab world. He has written extensively on various topics, such as democracy, civil society, modernity and identity, nationalism, and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Among his books are: *A Contribution to the Critique of Civil Society* (1996), *The Fragmented Political Discourse* (1998), and *From the Jewishness of the State to Sharon* (2005). All three books were published in Arabic and several parts of them were translated into other languages.

He edited several books in Hebrew, including *Between the I and the We* and *Enlightenment—An Unfinished Project?* (1999). These two books formed an important academic resource for Israeli students. Since the 2000s Bishara started publishing his literary writings. He published two stories out of a trilogy: *The Checkpoint: Wajd in the Checkpoint Land* (2004) and *Love in the Shadow's Zone* (2005) Both books were published in Arabic and are being or have been translated into other languages.

The books, besides the dozens of academic papers and hundreds of journalistic articles, reflect Bishara's abilities as an active political thinker and critic. He addressed various issues that have to do with the complexity of human reality in the age of the modern national state, something that makes him one of the most prominent Arab thinkers not only in Israel but also in the whole Arab region.

Bishara will also be remembered as the Arab politician who most pushed for changing the Jewish character of Israel in such a way that its non-Jewish citizens could fully identify and feel at home within in. By doing so not through the usual parochial Arab nationalist, Islamic, or Marxist discourses that characterized Arab politics in Israel over the years, but rather through more universalist approaches, Bishara laid an important theoretical basis for the ongoing internal debates about the character of

the Israeli state that continue to take place among both Jews and non-Jews in Israel.

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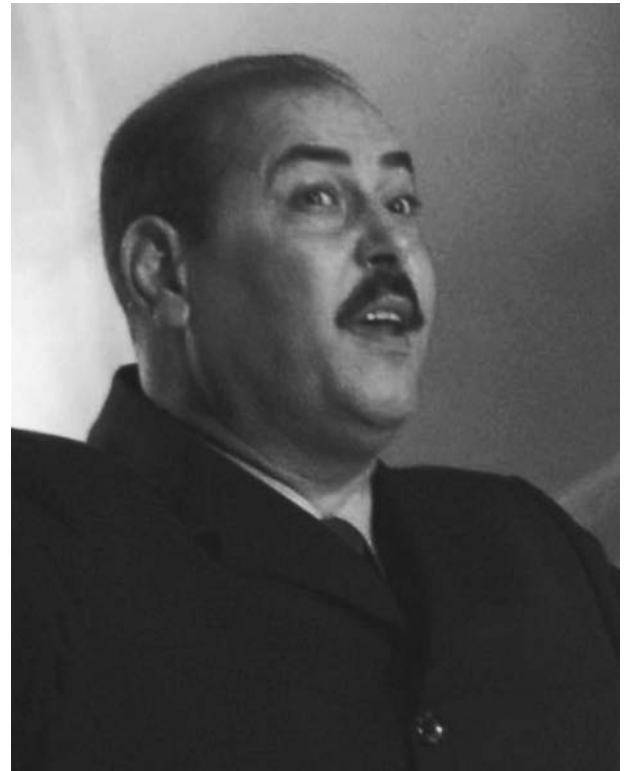
*Amal Jamal*

## BOUCHNAQ, LOTFI (1954–)

Tunisian Lotfi Bouchnaq (also Lutfi Bushnaq, Boushnak, Bouchnak) is a composer, oud (ud) player and singer whose vast repertoire of Arabic music extends from secular Egyptian popular music or Algerian-inflected Rai music, to sacred music and derived compositions. He is famous, in particular, for introducing Tunisian *ma'luf* (Andalusian music) to the outside world via his modern renditions of the old art form. Considered one of the stars of Arabic music, he has performed on all continents and made several records with diverse ensembles and partners in a variety of musical genres. In 2004 he became peace ambassador for the United Nations. A versatile artist, he has composed the soundtrack for several films, become an actor in Tunisian films, performed his own poetry and exhibited his photography in *Le Damier*, a gallery in Tunis, titled “Chants de Vision” (Songs of vision).

#### PERSONAL HISTORY

Bouchnaq was born in Tunis, Tunisia, in 1954. His family name in Arabic means “Bosnian,” suggesting that his family may have arrived in Tunisia from Europe as slave-soldiers from Bosnia during the period of Ottoman Turkish rule. He has no formal musical education, and cannot read music. Bouchnaq learned to sing *ma'luf* in youth choruses that rehearsed at the National Conservatory and the Maison de Culture Ibn Khaldun in Tunis, Tunisia’s capital, as well as from listening to recordings of the Rashidiyya musical ensemble that were played on the radio.



*Lotfi Bouchnaq.* MOHAMMED MAHJOUR/AFP/GETTY IMAGES.

#### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Bouchnaq went on to become a singer with a presence on not only the Tunisian and Arab stages, but also the world stage. He credits his first influence to be Egyptian singing star UMM KULTHUM, to whom he would listen growing up, and to all the twentieth-century songs and music Egypt generously shared with its Arab neighbors. Bouchnaq first became famous for his performance of Egyptian standards both in Tunis and in Cairo. As an example, his singing an old song such as “al-Ward Jamil” (Flowers are beautiful)—composed for the 1946 Egyptian musical *Fatima*, starring Umm Kulthum herself—always provoked great enthusiasm in his audiences whether at home or abroad in the 1980s.

But Bouchnaq was also deeply influenced by the revival of “Tunisian *ma'luf*” that was taking place in Tunis while he was growing up, thanks to two phenomena: the frequent performances of the *ma'luf* by the Rashidiyya ensemble in Tunis (especially on the Tunisian radio through the 1940s), and the institutionalization of *ma'luf* by the government at Tunisia’s independence from France in 1956. In 1934 the Rashidiyya was created by a group of intellectuals and musicians as a music school to revive the Andalusian *ma'luf*, seen as a historical Tunisian musical form, in order to oppose the growing impact of Egyptian

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Lotfi Bouchnaq (also Lutfi Bushnaq, Boushnak, Bouchnak)

**Birth:** 1954, Tunis, Tunisia

**Nationality:** Tunisian

**Family:** Married

### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1991:** Released first album, *Salam Allkoun* (Peace be upon you)
- **1993:** Released breakthrough album *Ma'luf Tunisi/Malouf tunisien* (Tunisian *ma'luf*)
- **2004:** Named an ambassador for peace by the United Nations
- **2006:** Awarded the November 7th Prize for Creativity by Tunisian President Zein al-Abidin Ben Ali

music generously exported to Tunisia at the time. The Rashidiyya comprised an ensemble of musicians charged with performing the *ma'luf*, seen by its director, Mohamed Triki, as the basis of all Tunisian music. The group also created an institute along the model of a European music conservatory where traditional or “classical” Tunisian music would be taught, and transcribed all *ma'luf* music known to the various shaykhs of Tunis in Western musical notations. *Ma'luf* (literally “customary”) is said to have originated in Andalusia, and traveled to the shores of Northern Africa when the Moors were expelled from Spain in the late fifteenth century. However, this form of music survived only in Tunisia. Hence, it is therefore prized as a central piece of Andalusian cultural heritage not only by Tunisians but also by other Maghrebis (North Africans). It derives from the *nuba* in its structure (alternating various modes and moving from one musical song to the next via an instrumental passage).

In the past the *ma'luf* had been an elitist form of poetry composed in literary Arabic and put to music to entertain palace dwellers; it included verses composed in Tunisian dialect and was performed in Sufi *zawiyas* (lodges) and cafés. It slowly became synonymous with Tunisian homegrown music, a fact not lost on the first president of independent Tunisia, Habib Bourguiba, eager to (re)construct and project a national identity. To that end, he created various cultural institutions. In 1958, for instance, a presidential decree delineated a curriculum for the Conservatory of Music in Tunis that

demands the study of Egyptian *turath* (classical or canonical music) and Tunisian *ma'luf*.

In 1961 Bourguiba created a Ministry of Culture (Ministère de la Culture et de la Défense du Patrimoine) to propagate Tunisia’s cultural heritage. To that end, it founded the *maisons de la culture/dur al-thaqafa*, or cultural centers in all major urban areas, endowed with a varied culture agenda (to put on plays, house a film club, organize exhibits, have lectures, etc.). In 1961 the ministry declared *ma'luf* national heritage, to be taught in the various *dur al-thaqafa* scattered throughout the country. That same year, the Rashidiyya transcriptions were edited in a nine-volume series titled *al-Rutath al-Musiqi al-Tunisi* (Tunisian musical heritage) and sent to all cultural centers. The *ma'luf* was definitely anchored in music training. This is how the *ma'luf* became a national institution, with an academic status. Simultaneously, however, it also remained a popular practice and form of entertainment performed by Sufi (Islamic mystic) brotherhoods locally, with their own variations. As such, it started to spread in various forms and acquired a following that delighted in its popular renditions as the latter were quite distinct from the more purist forms dictated by Rashidiyya and its performances. It is this *ma'luf* vernacular that one could hear in cafés or after a Sufi ritual outside the *zawyia* (Sufi lodges). A music that originated in the Sufi practices, this *ma'luf* survived despite governmental policies meant to shut down the *zawiyas* that kept on being performed through the 1980s and influenced Bouchnaq’s own *ma'luf*.

The fact that Bouchnaq recorded his seminal CD, *Ma'luf Tunisi/Malouf tunisien* (Paris: Maison des Cultures du Monde) in 1993 speaks volumes about his mastery of the singing of the *ma'luf*. He skillfully transcended the difference between popular and classical to take the *ma'luf* to its global dimension, as he blurred the lines encircling the official old-fashioned *ma'luf* and gave the traditional form new, contemporary inflections. He has, since then, exported the *ma'luf* everywhere: His recitals take him to

## CONTEMPORARIES

Bouchnaq has worked with several other Tunisian musicians and singers, including singer Sonia M'barek, with whom he has performed at the Carthage festival; composer and *ud* player Anouar Brahem who composed songs for him; Ali Sriti who was his *ud* and voice master; and his brother, Hamid Bouchnaq, with whom he has performed.

Cairo, Paris (Institut du Monde Arabe), Berlin, London, Seoul, Montreal, and Tokyo. He has done so much to spread Tunisian *ma'luf* through his various recordings and concerts that President ZEIN AL-ABIDIN BEN ALI bestowed upon him the November 7th Prize for Creativity in 2006, thus burying the old war hatchet between the purists of the 1930s and today's popular musicians.

Bouchnaq can claim mastery in another Andalusian song form, the *muwashsha*, which he studied in the 1970s under the late *ud* master Ali Sriti, who was both a consummate lute-player, agile with the Arab scales/moods or *maqamat* and a chant and *muwashsha* instructor. The *muwashsha* is a form of composition and poetry attributed to Muqaddam Ibn Mu'afa (end of the tenth century). Its etymology (the name derives from the *washa*, an ornate sash worn diagonally from shoulder to waist) hints at the brevity of its strophic form: Each stanza is composed of three lines, with a rhyme introduced at the beginning of the stanza. However, each stanza is its own world, has its own complete meaning and rhymes, separated from the next by a recurring chorus. Choosing this form of composition and poetry written entirely in classical Arabic indicates a definite return to the Andalusian roots of music and poetry: "It is said that the interwoven rhymes of the *muwashsha* represent the exact auditory-rhythmic counterpart of the interlacing arches in the Great Mosque of Cordova" (Salloum), 2005. Whether the glorious past of al Andalus is deeply engrained in the musical form itself or not, the choice to compose and perform *muwashshas* is not innocent. It points to the desire of the Tunisian musician to add to his repertoire something else besides the Egyptian popular musical forms that had flooded the Mediterranean world in the twentieth century, and that included such Egyptian classics as "al-Ward Jamil" (flowers are beautiful) written for the 1946 musical *Fatima*.

Very soon, under Sriti's tutelage, Bouchnaq became known for his talented vocal solos and attracted the attention of such composers as Anouar Brahem who started to compose songs for him. Bouchnaq has, undoubtedly from his Qur'anic schooling, a superior mastery of not only classical Arabic, but also diction and recitation accentuation. Every word is clearly articulated, and projected with power and nuances to audiences that fill up theaters and amphitheatres in North Africa and elsewhere.

### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

Bouchnaq's public is drawn to him not only for the range and timbre of his tenor voice or his delicate musicianship, but also, and perhaps even more so, because of his eloquence, the clarity of his elocution, and the quality of his poetry. These superlative qualities have earned him his stature as one of the most famous and beloved singers in the Arab world, in league with late Egyptian star Umm Kulthum in terms of notoriety, musicianship and charisma.

For it is his charisma that all audiences report after a concert by Bouchnaq, a phenomenon he explains to Westerners as "sharing his soul with his audience until the end, to the dregs," ending up in a trancelike state shared by his listeners. This particular height of magical charisma clearly illustrates the old Arabic concept of *tarab*, a brand of "enchantment" (in the truest sense of the term: to be in another state, to leave one's conscious state to be "in" the world of the song, of music), amply described by al-Isbahani, for instance, as early as the tenth century, in *The Book of Songs (al-Kitab al-Aghani)* as the apex of musical pleasure that every musician wants to reach for his listeners. Umm Kulthum, and more recently, FAYRUZ or Sabah Fahri, for instance, are known for transporting their audiences into *tarab*.

The United Nations nominated Bouchnaq as an ambassador for peace in 2004, a role he takes seriously both on and off stage, giving concerts for various causes (one for the victims of Israeli bombardments in summer 2006, for instance). As an artist, he has also chosen to collaborate with a variety of interesting groups from outside Tunisia in order to reach a global audience (his repeated performances in the 1990s with the al-Kindi group, for instance, allowed him to reach a Western audience). A pious Muslim, he has appeared several times at the Fez (Morocco) Sacred Music festival, and recorded sufi songs with Abidah Parvin, as well as performed the ninety-nine names of Allah. His contributions to the world of sacred music are perhaps more significant than his performances of the Egyptian standards which earned him his fame at the beginning of his career. In 2006 Tunisian president Ben Ali awarded Bouchnaq the November 7th Prize for Creativity.

### LEGACY

Bouchnaq is still performing, but will be remembered as modern Tunisia's most adroit and famous singer.

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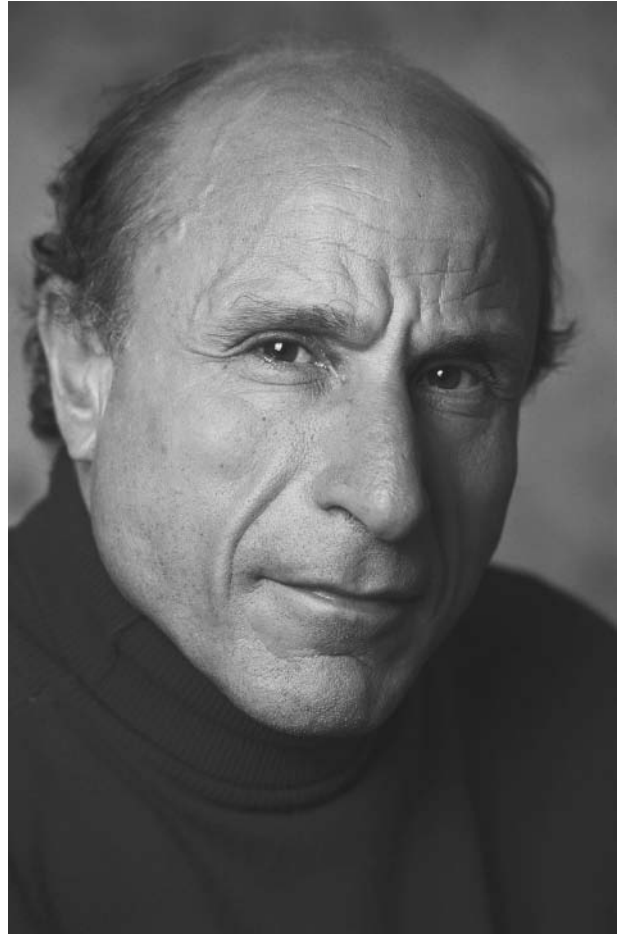
*Florence Martin*

## **BOUDJEDRA, RACHID** **(1941–)**

Rachid Boudjedra, an Algerian novelist and essayist, is one of the most important contemporary North African writers, in both French and Arabic. His work is characterized by the use of language, imagery, and technique that draw from European and Arab-Muslim cultural traditions. Boudjedra has been an active opponent of political Islam, denouncing it as “fascist” and totalitarian, and a firm supporter of the Algerian state and army.

### PERSONAL HISTORY

Boudjedra was born into a middle-class family on 5 September 1941 in Aïn Beïda, near Constantine, Algeria. He began his studies in Constantine, then moved to Tunis to pursue his studies at the Lycée Sadikia. From 1959 onward, Boudjedra became active in the Algerian movement of independence against the French. He joined the *maquis* (Algerian resistance fighters) and became a representative of the FLN (Front de Libération Nationale or National Liberation Front) abroad, traveling throughout Eastern Europe and Spain. Following independence in 1962, he returned to Algeria, where he resumed his studies and became a trade unionist. He studied in Algiers and Paris, where he obtained a degree in philosophy at the Sorbonne in 1965 with a thesis on the French writer Louis-Ferdinand Céline. He married a



*Rachid Boudjedra*. © SERGIO GAUDENTI/KIPA/CORBIS.

French woman and returned to Bida to become a teacher. Following the seizure of power by Houari Boumédiène in 1965, Boudjedra left Algeria. He lived in France from 1969 until 1972, then in Rabat, Morocco, where he taught until 1975. Upon his return to Algeria, he became an adviser to the Algerian Information and Culture Ministry while teaching at Algiers University. He went on to contribute to the journal *Révolution africaine* and became a founding member of the Ligue Algérienne pour la Défense des Droits de l'Homme (Algerian League for the Defense of Human Rights). In 1981 he was appointed to lecture at the SNED (Société Nationale d'Édition et de Diffusion), a government-run publishing company that promoted local literary production, countered French editorial hegemony and established a monopoly on imports and distribution.

During the Algerian civil war of the 1990s, Boudjedra was a vocal opponent of the Algerian FIS (Front Islamique du Salut, or Islamic Salvation Front) and became one of the most prominent Algerian intellectuals

to publicly denounce political Islam, which he—along with other authors like Rachid Mimouni—saw as an obstacle to social, cultural, and technological progress. Boudjedra welcomed the 1992 intervention of the military in the Algerian political process as a kind of salvation for the Algerian nation. In 1994 he published a book, *Le FIS de la haine* (The son of hatred), in which he portrayed the FIS as a fascist, totalitarian movement comparable to the German Nazis, whose participation in the democratic process was nothing but a ploy to seize power and which lacked a real commitment to democratic ideals. He has described the behavior of Islamists as “pathological” and has blamed the West, specifically France, for seeking revenge on postcolonial Algeria through the imposition of neocolonial policies that have in turn generated resentment amongst formerly colonized peoples.

Boudjedra responded negatively to the criticism raised by French intellectuals such as Pierre Bourdieu and Pierre Vidal-Naquet, who denounced in a public statement the excesses of the Algerian army against the civil population during the war against Islamist factions. He has equally criticized the role of the French press—which he accuses of being fascinated by the rise of “green fascism”—and accused it of “manipulating” the Algerian conflict. Boudjedra has rejected the accusations of genocide made against the Algerian army and has been outspoken in his opposition to any kind of political agreement with Islamist parties

## EXPLORING

On 17 October 1961, close to the end of the Algerian War of Independence (1956–1962), the French police swiftly and violently attacked a peaceful demonstration of Algerian immigrants who had been drawn to the streets by the FLN (Algeria’s National Liberation Front). Both living and dead victims were thrown into the River Seine, clubbed while emerging from the Métro, or shot or beaten to death in the courtyard of the Préfecture de Police. The massacre, estimated to have claimed two to three hundred lives, went practically unreported in French mainstream media and was officially unacknowledged for decades. Following the 1997 trial of the French war criminal Maurice Papon, the French minister of culture, Catherine Trautmann, announced the declassification of the official papers relating to the incident. In May 1998, the French government raised the official death count to a total of eight.

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Rachid Boudjedra

**Birth:** 1941, Aïn Beïda, Algeria

**Nationality:** Algerian

**Education:** Lycée Sadikia, Tunis; degree in philosophy, Sorbonne, Paris, 1965

### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1959:** Joins Algerian *maquis* in war against the French
- **1960–1962:** Represents FLN in Europe
- **1969:** Publishes first novel, *La Répudiation*
- **1975:** Advises Algerian Information and Culture Ministry; founds Algerian League for the Defense of Human Rights
- **1981:** Begins writing in Arabic
- **1990–present:** Vocally opposes political Islam in Algeria

and organizations. He has also been critical of Hocine Aït Ahmed, a former FLN member and founder of the secular Berber party FFS (Front du Forces Socialistes or Socialist Forces Front) and the main figure behind the so-called Rome platform, an opposition initiative against the Algerian government that included Islamist parties and factions.

## INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Boudjedra’s first published work was a collection of poems, *Pour ne plus rêver* (1965; No more to dream), illustrated by the Algerian painter Mohamed Khadda. Boudjedra is best known for his writings as a novelist. His first novel, *La Répudiation* (1969; The repudiation) brought instant attention and became the subject of many polemics due to his radical questioning of social conventions and traditions through a myriad of extremely complex characters set against a nightmarish background. A *fatwa* or religious legal opinion calling for his death was issued following publication. Other novels include *L’Insolation* (1972; Sunstroke), *Topographie idéale pour une agression caractérisée* (1975; Ideal topography for an aggravated assault), *L’Escargot entêté* (1977; The obstinate snail), *Les 1001 années de la nostalgie* (1979; 1001 years of nostalgia), and *Le Vainqueur de coupe* (1981; The prizewinner). In both *La Répudiation* and *L’Insolation*, Boudjedra’s characters suffer from episodes of disorientation and dissociation

similar to the ones in some of Kateb Yacine's novels. In *Topographie* and *Le Vainqueur*, Boudjedra seems to be influenced by the memory of the 1961 massacres of Algerians in Paris, during the War of Independence. At that time, between two and three hundred Algerian demonstrators were massacred by French police and thrown into the River Seine; this was followed by a police cover-up. The violent anti-Algerian episodes of the early 1970s provided a second influence. *Topographie* narrates the story of a character who is lost in the Paris Métro because he cannot read the maps; the association between place and memory and disorientation and amnesia eventually lead to his bloody end. *Topographie* is a novel about disorientation and uprootedness as well as the impossibility of Algerian immigrants' finding their place in the French metropole.

In 1981 Boudjedra decided to write in Arabic, although his first Arabic novel *al-Tafakkuk* (The Falling Apart, 1982) appeared in French the same year, as *Le Démantèlement*. Other Arabic novels by Boudjedra that have been translated into French are *al-Mart & La Macération* ([Maceration], 1984), *Laylat Imra'a Ariqa* (1985; *Journal d'une femme insomniaque* [Journal of a sleepless woman], 1987), *La Pluie* (The Rain, 1987), *La Prise de Gibraltar* (The Taking of Gibraltar, 1987) and *Fawda al-Ashya* (1990; *Le désordre des choses* [The disorder of things], 1991). Eventually, Boudjedra returned to writing in French with his novels *Timimoun* (1994), *La vie à l'endroit* (1997), and *Fascination* (2000). His works also include a second collection of poems (*Greffe*, 1985) and a play (*Mines de rien*, 1995). He has also collaborated as a movie scriptwriter on *Chronique des années de braise* (Chronicle of years of ashes), which won the Palme d'Or at Cannes in 1975, and *Ali aux pays des mirages* (Ali in the land of mirages), which won the Tanit d'Or at the Carthage Festival in 1980. He is also the author of numerous essays, among which the most prominent are *La Vie quotidienne en Algérie* (1971; *Everyday life in Algeria*), *Naissance du cinéma algérien* (1971; *Birth of the Algerian cinema*), *Journal palestinien* (Palestinian journal, 1972), *Lettres algériennes* (Algerian letters, 1995), and *Peindre l'Orient* (1996; *Portraying the East*), along with *Le FIS de la haine*. Boudjedra's literary style is characterized by its complexity, reminiscent of authors like the Colombian Gabriel García Márquez.

**The Problem of Language** Boudjedra began his writing career in French, although the author himself has translated many of his works into Arabic with the purpose of "modernizing" the Arabic novel. A speaker of both French and Arabic, his juggling with both languages bears witness to the difficulties that North African writers face in dealing with the question of "la Francophonie," or the use of French as a means of expression. North African writers

must confront a legacy in which language has become a political tool for the different ideologies that have dominated the postcolonial era. As the "language of the oppressor," French has been seen as a symbol of domination, an obstacle in the path of national emancipation. Calls for the rejection of French have occasionally led to the implementation of aggressive linguistic policies that favored classical Arabic as a language of communication not only over French but also over Berber dialects and regional colloquial Arabic as well. In this context, the question of what language to write in has rarely been a neutral one. Concern over the continued involvement of France in the cultural politics of the former colonies have raised suspicions against North African writers who have chosen French as a means of expression. Critics of Francophone Maghrebi (Arab North African) writers have often argued that the use of French contributes to the perpetuation of the unequal relationship between former colonizer and the former colonized in the postcolonial era. Thus the question of language is not exclusively linguistic, but one that encompasses questions of culture, identity, territory, and power, while simultaneously raising the thorny question of what the role of the writer is in the postcolonial nation, as well as questions regarding the political involvements of individual writers. The use of French creates a gap between writer and audience, while simultaneously allowing Maghrebi literature to enter the world literary scene in ways that would be impossible for work written in Arabic. Thus, for Boudjedra and other North African writers, French is in itself a useful tool that can contribute to the spread of Maghrebi culture and serve to project the concerns of Algerians onto the international scene without fear of marginalization.

Boudjedra's trajectory clearly illustrates the problematic relationship Algerian writers, citizens of a former settler colony, have had with the French language. France's aggressive colonization policies in Algeria led to the establishment of educational programs that favored French over classical Arabic and Berber dialects. Many young writers of the early postindependence period were thus insufficiently acquainted with classical Arabic, while writing in Berber dialects remained an unpalatable choice. Boudjedra himself has characterized the situation of postindependence Algeria, with its Arabization programs by Francophone native elites, as one of "social dyslexia." Boudjedra, whose works reflect a singular manifestation of postcolonial cultural syncretism and miscegenation, wrote his first six novels in French; when he eventually turned to writing in Arabic in 1981, he contributed considerably to the revitalization of the Arabic-language novel. He did not, however, abandon French; each of the six novels he wrote in Arabic before 2000 was followed by a translation into French. His French novels have also been translated into Arabic with the collaboration of his Lebanese mentor and friend, Antoine Moussali.



The simultaneous use of Arabic and French reflects a division between two worlds in conflict, the European and the Arab-Muslim. Boudjedra's Arabic style reflects a highly innovative approach to classical grammatical structures through the creation of new words and the twisting of existing ones. Critics have pointed to the fact that translations of Boudjedra's works often differ significantly from their originals, offering different versions with variations in style and content (for instance, references to drinking, same-sex relations, and offensive language are often left out of Arabic versions of the French-language novels, while explicit references to colonialism and anticolonialist sentiments in some of his Arabic novels are omitted in the French versions). At the same time, his French novels contain explicit references to notable characters from Islamic history and classical Arabic literature, which some critics see as an attempt to reassert his Arab-Muslim cultural heritage. Boudjedra's work has also drawn the attention of critics who study intertextuality, that is, the allusive reference by a literary text to other texts as a way of appropriating and incorporating (and perhaps changing) their meanings. Critics have argued that the use of intertextuality allows Boudjedra to call into question all forms of authority, both literary and historical, as well as to create a personal universe which calls into question national mythologies.

Along with the works of other North African writers of his generation, such as Yacine, ABDEL KEBIR KHATIBI, and Driss Chraïbi, Boudjedra's novels reflect the dilemma of the postcolonial search for identity. They explore the possibilities of cultures' coming together and trying to coexist in the context of a nation-building process that could potentially lead to the building of culturally and politically pluralistic and heterogeneous societies in the former colonies. Boudjedra's novels explore the reshaping of and conflicts between history and memory, at both individual and collective levels. He has also remained, throughout his career, an open advocate of women's rights. The denunciation of the excesses of patriarchy, particularly in novels like *La Répudiation*, has featured prominently in his novels.

#### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

Global perceptions of Boudjedra have remained largely positive regarding his literary influence, but the jury is still out as to his open defense of the actions of the Algerian army during the Algerian civil war of the 1990s. He is widely acclaimed as one of North Africa's most important writers, particularly in France, where he has developed much of his literary career. He has earned the respect of many through his commitment to exploring key issues of exile communities and his support for multiculturalism and women's issues. On the matter of politics, secular nationalists have praised Boudjedra for his firmness against

### VIOLENCE IN THE TERRAIN OF SECURITY

He asked himself if he had not already lived through this striking situation, combing the topography of space with that of memory, even confusing the two and mixing them through a strange phenomenon which the voyeur loses no time in pompously calling "paramnesia," but which escapes the traveler who is half knocked out, wiped out, and panicked by the female smell impregnating his body, his clothes, his suitcase, and even the cave-like atmosphere in which he was still struggling, asking himself if he had not already lived through this.

RACHID BOUDJEDRA, *TOPOGRAPHIE*, PP. 137–138.

The concepts of national and civil reconciliation have allowed terrorists today to regain their place in the political scene and of violence in the terrain of security.

RACHID BOUDJEDRA, INTERVIEW WITH RACHID MOKHTARI, *LE MATIN* (PARIS), 22 FEBRUARY 2001.

Between the fire at the Reichstag in 1933 and the fire in the little apartment in Ouargla in 1989 [the house of a widowed woman suspected of receiving male guests was set on fire, costing the life of her baby and causing third degree burns to her face], there is more than an analogy. There is the whole world of barbarity and insanity.

RACHID BOUDJEDRA, *LE FIS DE LA HAINE*, P. 141.

radical Islamist organizations and his open denunciation of Islamist-perpetrated atrocities in the 1990s, but large sectors of Algerian society and the French left have criticized him for his support of the army's violence and suppression of democratic processes.

#### LEGACY

Rachid Boudjedra will certainly go down as one of the most prominent North African writers of the twentieth century, together with figures such as the Algerian Yacine and the Moroccan Chraïbi.

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- La Répudiation* (1969; The repudiation).
- La Vie quotidienne en Algérie* (1971; Everyday life in Algeria).
- Naissance du cinéma algérien* (1971; Birth of the Algerian cinema).
- Journal palestinien* (1972; Palestinian journal).
- L' Insolation* (1972; Sunstroke).
- Topographie idéale pour une agression caractérisée* (1975; Ideal topography for an aggravated assault).
- Chronique des années de braise* (1975; Chronicle of years of ashes [screenplay]).
- L' Escargot entêté* (1977; The obstinate snail).
- Les 1001 années de la nostalgie* (1979; 1001 years of nostalgia).
- Ali aux pays des mirages* (1980; Ali in the land of mirages [screenplay]).
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*Vanesa Casanova-Fernandez*

## BOULLATA, KAMAL (1942–)

Kamal J. Boullata (Bullata) is a prominent Palestinian modern artist.

### PERSONAL HISTORY

Boullata was born to a Christian Palestinian family in Jerusalem, mandatory Palestine in 1942. He graduated from the Accademia di Belle Arte in Rome in 1965 and attended the Corcoran Academy for the Fine Arts in

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Kamal Boullata (Bullata)

**Birth:** 1942, Jerusalem, mandatory Palestine

**Family:** Wife, Lily Farhoud

**Nationality:** Palestinian; American citizenship

**Education:** Accademia di Belle Arte in Rome, 1965; studies at the Corcoran Academy for the Fine Arts in Washington, 1968–1971

### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1968:** Settles in Washington, D.C.
- **1990:** Publishes *Faithful Witnesses: Palestinian Children Recreate Their World*
- **1993:** Receives Fulbright Senior Scholar Fellowship to research Islamic art in Morocco
- **2001:** Receives Ford Foundation grant to pursue research on the influence of post-Byzantine art on Palestinian painting

Washington, D.C., from 1968 to 1971. Boullata stayed in Washington thereafter, teaching at Georgetown University and producing his art. In 1993 and 1994 he received a Fulbright Senior Scholar Fellowship to research Islamic art in Morocco, with the result that in the 1990s, he lived in both Morocco and France.

### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Growing up in Jerusalem, Boullata studied with the artist of Orthodox Christian icons, Khalil Halaby (1889–1964). The experience influenced Boullata tremendously. He also was fascinated by Arabic script, particularly the square, geometric style of lettering known as Kufic. Boullata recalled spending hours growing up in Jerusalem, sketching the calligraphy he saw on the Dome of the Rock shrine.

Boullata used the Kufic style of calligraphy in his signature form of art: silk screens that are fragments from Christian and Islamic writings that wrap around the canvas, all the while painted in translucent colors. He described his art form in this way:

In [my] later acrylics, all association with script disappeared. Doubling and dissecting quadrangles generated geometric compositions, still based on the square. Oppositional color contrasts heighten the ambiguity of seeming symmetries, and the fragmentation of angular forms reveals prismatic refractions. Colors thrusting forward and backward

in shifting sequences traverse illusionary distance. The eye-crossing demarcations between inside and outside transcend simple reciprocities. Through geometry—whose Greek roots mean “measurement of land”—the exiled artist, half a world away from Jerusalem, relentlessly charts the transition from memory to imagination. (Kamal Boullata. “Art.” 2005)

Other examples of Islamic calligraphy and ceramics have inspired his work, as well. Script on the tiles of the Alhambra in Spain served as the inspiration for his twelve-piece 1996 work, “Twelve Lanterns for Grenada.” Not that calligraphy is his only style of work; in 2006, he was hard at work designing the stained glass windows of Saints Peter and Paul Church in Potomac, Maryland, outside of Washington, D.C.

Boullata is also an author, editor, and researcher. He wrote *Faithful Witnesses: Palestinian Children Recreate Their World in 1990*, which was published in Arabic, English, and French. *Recovery of Place: A Study of Contemporary Palestinian Painting: 1847–1997* was published in 2001 in Arabic. His scholarly articles about Palestinian art have appeared in a variety of journals, including *Middle East Report* and *Journal of Palestine Studies*, and his chapter “Art” in *The Encyclopedia of the Palestinians* (2000; rev. ed., 2005) is a brilliant and detailed exposition of the history of modern Palestinian art and artists.

#### THE WORLD’S PERSPECTIVE

His work is well regarded around the world, and Boullata is considered one of Palestine’s great modernist artists. His work has been shown in the United States, France, and the Middle East, including at the Musée du Palais Carnoles and the Galerie d’art Contemporain Palais de l’Europe, Menton, the Musée du Chateau Dufresne, Montreal, and Galerie Claude Lemand, Paris. He also has received significant research grants. In addition to the Fulbright Senior Scholar Fellowship he received in 1993–1994 to research Islamic art in Morocco, Boullata received a Ford Foundation grant in 2001 to pursue research on the influence of post-Byzantine art on Palestinian painting.

#### LEGACY

Boullata is still active, but surely will be remembered as a foremost Palestinian modernist artist, as well as a scholar of the history of Palestinian art.

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Michael R. Fischbach

## BOULMERKA, HASSIBA (1968–)

Hassiba Boulmerka distinguished herself in track and field as an Algerian middle distance runner. At the Olympic Games held in Barcelona, Spain, in 1992 she won a gold medal, the first ever earned by an Arab and African woman in her event. This accomplishment was achieved at considerable cost. Because she trained and competed in men’s shorts, Islamists condemned her dress and deportment. For others, she became a symbol of a new Arab woman and a feminist hero. Boulmerka is renowned for her competitive and courageous character and her outspoken convictions.

#### PERSONAL HISTORY

Some of the most famous women in modern Algerian history are associated with Algeria’s War of Independence, such as Zohra Drif and Djamilia Boupacha. Boulmerka remains engaged in a different kind of struggle. She has contested traditional women’s social and athletic roles in Algerian, Muslim, and global societies.

The fourth-born in a family of seven, she was born on 10 July 1968, and grew up in Constantine, Algeria. Her father was a truck driver and her mother a housewife. At school, Boulmerka displayed athletic talent and her supportive parents allowed her to participate in races. As the years passed, she evinced an exceptional athletic future. Endowed with speed and stamina, she pursued her dream to become an international track athlete. Nevertheless, even at this early stage in her career, she faced growing opposition from relatives and strangers. Her athleticism was not acceptable because she transgressed traditional gender borders by exposing her arms and legs while training. She was spat upon and pelted with stones. Despite risking personal injury, Boulmerka dauntlessly persevered. Indeed, Boulmerka’s story contains a subtext that involves the imagination of Algeria as a nation and, especially, the role of Islam and gender in Algerian society.

In 1988 Boulmerka began to achieve her athletic goals. At the African Games she won the 800-meter and 1,500-meter races. She failed, however, to qualify for the Olympic Games. Nonetheless, she learned what she had to do to compete at the highest levels. The greatest single sporting achievement in Algeria’s history



*Hassiba Boulmerka.* AP IMAGES.

occurred on 1 September 1991 at the Track and Field World Championship competition in Tokyo, Japan. On that day, Noureddine Morceli and Boulmerka both won gold medals in their respective 1,500-meter races. Whereas the renowned Morceli was expected to win, no one anticipated Boulmerka's success. In the last turn of her race, she seized the lead and held off the formidable Tatyana Samolenko Dorovskikh of the USSR, the 3,000-meter champion. After Boulmerka crossed the finished line she recalled in *Sports Illustrated*: "I screamed for joy and of shock, and for much more. I was screaming for Algeria's pride and Algeria's history, and still more. I screamed finally for every Algerian woman, every Arabic woman" (Moore, 1992). This was the first time that a nation had both men's and women's world or Olympic 1,500-meter champions. Boulmerka was also the first African woman to earn an athletic world championship.

A throng welcomed the world champions at Algiers's Houari Boumédiène Airport. A parade followed in the Algerian capital. President Chadli Benjedid awarded each champion the prestigious Medal of Merit. Politicians commended the athletes for improving the political climate in the country. One told Boulmerka that she helped

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Hassiba Boulmerka

**Birth:** 1968, Constantine, Algeria

**Nationality:** Algerian

**Education:** secondary school education

### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1988:** Wins 800-meter and 1,500-meter races in African Games
- **1991:** Wins 1,500-meter at Track and Field World Championship in Tokyo, Japan
- **1992:** First Arab woman (and African) to win gold medal in Olympic history in Barcelona, Spain
- **1993:** Wins bronze medal at world championship in Stuttgart, Germany
- **1995:** Earns another gold medal at Track and Field World Championship in Gothenburg, Sweden
- **1996:** Sprains ankle in 1,500-meter semifinals at the Olympics in Atlanta, Georgia
- **1999:** Elected to the Athletes' Commission of the IOC

unify Algeria. Sadly, the national celebration would be a short one, as Algeria was on the brink of its greatest crisis in its postcolonial history.

The rise of the Islamic Salvation Front (Front Islamique du Salut/FIS) signaled the sudden growth of Islamism as a political as well as social and cultural ideology. Electoral success in local elections in June 1990 was followed in the first round of parliamentary elections in December 1991. The prospect of a FIS-dominated government alarmed military and civilian elites, who overthrew Benjedid's government in January 1992 before the second round of voting and canceled the elections. A provisional High Committee of State (Haut Comité d'Etat/HCE) took over under the leadership of Mohammed Boudiaf. This led to protests and soon violence among governmental and Islamist forces—a tragedy that cost over 150,000 Algerian lives. In June 1992, Boudiaf was assassinated.

In the Olympic Games in Barcelona, Spain, Boulmerka again distinguished herself. In the 1,500-meter finals, Lyudmila Rogacheva of Russia led the field, but 200 meters from the finish, Boulmerka pounded past her

and finished comfortably ahead with an astounding time of 3:55.30. Indeed, four women finished under 4:00. As Boulmerka slowed down, she pointed repeatedly at her jersey displaying her country's flag—a demonstration of her national pride. She dedicated her gold medal to the fallen Boudiaf.

Although now one of the most famous Algerians in the world, Boulmerka could no longer train at home. Constantly denounced and menaced by death threats issued by radical Islamists, bodyguards accompanied her everywhere. She continued, however, to have a distinguished track career. In 1993 she earned a bronze medal in the 1,500-meter competition in Stuttgart, Germany. Two years later, she astonished the track world again in Gothenburg, Sweden, by earning her second gold medal in the event. During the 1,500-meter semifinals at the Olympic Games in Atlanta, she lost her footing, sprained her ankle, and failed to advance. She retired in 1997.

Nevertheless, Boulmerka remained outspoken in her opposition to any form of oppression of women. She openly supported President Boudiaf and the HCE and later Liamine Zeroual's candidacy in the November 1995 presidential elections. She continuously condemned Islamist extremism and especially restrictions placed upon women, particularly in athletics. She captured international attention in 1999 by specifically accusing Mexico and Pakistan (and other Muslim countries) of discriminating against women athletes. She appealed to the International Olympic Commission (IOC) to campaign to stop what she called terrorism against women. Later that year, she was among the first Olympians directly elected to the Athletes' Commission of the IOC.

Boulmerka now lives a private, secluded life. She occasionally grants interviews. In December 2006, speaking with François Ruffieux, she recalled how, since she was a little girl, she always endeavored to overachieve. Acknowledging the importance of mental and physical power, she asserted that "most important, is to believe in oneself." She remains sensitive to the plight of the Algerian woman: "That which is forbidden by the law is forbidden by tradition. That which is forbidden by tradition is forbidden by religion." She is especially distressed by the lack of budgetary attention given to sports: "Some reproach me for being a politicized athlete. But it is difficult to advance without political support. We are living in a bitter period. I am sorry for Algerian sports." Although Boulmerka found athletics to be "a source of inspiration," she also recognizes that her dedication and ambition to succeed have also come at a steep personal price, her isolation from her family and country. She has lived in Italy, France, and the United States.

#### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Boulmerka grew up in a political culture that extolled the Algerian revolution (1954–1962), including the contributory roles played by women in the liberation of Algeria

## CONTEMPORARIES

Noureddine Morceli (1970–) set both indoor and outdoor world records for the 1,500-meter. He capped his career by winning a gold medal in the 1,500-meter competition in the 1996 Olympics in Atlanta. He also won three 1,500-meter World Championship gold medals. At one time he held the 1,000-meter, 1,500-meter, 2,000-meter, and 3,000-meter world records.

Nouria Merah-Benida (1970–) earned silver medals in the 800-meter and 1,500-meter competitions at the All-Africa Games in Johannesburg in 1999. In a stunning surprise, she won the 1,500-meter gold medal at the 2000 Summer Olympics in Sydney.

from France and colonialism. Nevertheless, she has profoundly experienced the contradictions between revolutionary idealism and patriarchal reality. In many ways, Boulmerka's pursuits exemplify the revolution's objective of creating a free and egalitarian civil society. Although her athletic achievements distinguish her life, it is Boulmerka's championing the potential of women that marks her greatest contribution.

#### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

As her 1999 IOC election indicated, the world community esteems Boulmerka. *Sports Illustrated* named Boulmerka among its "Top 100 Women Athletes" list. Although many exploit her contention with Islamism as a means to castigate Muslim culture, Boulmerka regards her differences as interpretative rather than doctrinal. She considers herself a good Muslim and equates Islam with peace and toleration. Her life has also been the subject of postmodern studies. According to William J. Morgan, "Athletic stories like Boulmerka's can be rendered as social texts, as forms of discourse" (Morgan, 1998, p. 346). In many ways, she represents the pride and paradox of postcolonial Algeria.

#### LEGACY

Inspired in part by Boulmerka's courageous legacy and her presence in the stands, Algeria's Nouria Merah-Benida won the gold medal in the 1,500-meter competition during the 2000 Olympics in Sydney, Australia. After her victory, she said in the *Observer* of London, "This is for the Arab women so they can develop like other women in the world." She added, "I'm very happy that Arab women

now have the chance to run at the Olympics. It wasn't easy to get here." Indeed, Merah-Benida's success was decisively influenced by Boulmerka's ambition and audacity. Boulmerka's pioneering imitative and her suffering have permitted more women to participate in athletics from Muslim countries. In addition, there are now efforts to tailor athletic uniforms for Muslim women to conform to tradition without losing competitive edge. This too is indirectly a result of Boulmerka's agonizing achievement. Sports have provided Hassiba Boulmerka with an opportunity to express her aspirations for women and for society, which are not simply Algerian or Muslim, but global. As Morgan reflected, "If Boulmerka's athletic narrative succeeds in doing anything, it succeeds in drawing us (Westerners and Easterners) out of our ethnocentric crannies and getting us to consider alternative ways of living and of morally sizing up the significance of our lives" (p. 349).

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Phillip Naylor

## BOURAOUI, NINA (1967–)

Franco-Algerian novelist Nina Bouraoui (daughter of an Algerian father and a French mother) was considered a prodigy by many of her contemporaries. She wrote her first novel, *La Voyeuse interdite* (1991; *The Forbidden Vision*, 1995), at the age of nineteen; it was later published by Gallimard, one of the most prestigious French publishing houses. Her subsequent books, dealing with themes of sexuality and identity in an Algerian social and cultural context, have made her one of the best-known of contemporary North African novelists.



Nina Bouraoui. JACQUES DEMARTHON/AFP/GETTY IMAGES.

#### PERSONAL HISTORY

Born in Rennes, in Brittany, Bouraoui moved to Algeria in 1970, where she lived until 1980 with her family. During one summer in France, her mother announced that they would not go back to Algeria. This constituted a first emotional and cultural fracture and sharply marked Bouraoui's memory. Later on, she moved to Switzerland and the United Arab Emirates where she attended Francophone educational institutions. These frequent relocations gave her an impression of exile, which led to questions of identity and affected her later writing. After graduating from high school, she went to Paris to pursue university studies.

Lonely and ostracized from Algerian society as a child, she found refuge in writing at a young age. Writing became her means of exploring and expressing her emotions, as well as a way to escape being trapped between Algerian and French cultures: "I was a wild child, introverted and solitary, and I started to write about myself to compensate for the loss of the second language, so that others would like me, so that I could find my space in this world. Writing is my real country, the only one in which I can exist, the only land that I control," Bouraoui said in a 2004 interview with Dominique Simonnet for *L'Express*. Today, her output is impressive considering her young age. Her most famous works are *La Voyeuse interdite*, *L'âge blessé* (1998; *Blessed age*), *Garçon manqué* (2000; *Tomboy*, 2007), *La Vie heureuse*, and her latest, *Mes mauvaises pensées* (2005; *My impure thoughts*).

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Nina Bouraoui

**Birth:** 1967, Rennes, France

**Family:** Single

**Nationality:** Franco-Algerian

**Education:** University in Paris

## PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1991:** Wins Prix du Livre Inter for *La Voyeuse interdite*
- **2005:** Wins Prix Renaudot for *Mes mauvaises pensées*

## INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Bouraoui is known for her tortured and introspective style. Combining autobiography, poetry and fiction, she writes as a painter might paint, with short sentences, fast rhythm, and small strokes. Often described as a wounded, solitary, and violent novelist, she confesses many fears—of darkness, of height, of emptiness, of solitude—which all surface in her writing. Her texts also bear the narrative and stylistic influences of modernist French writers like the symbolist Charles Baudelaire and the feminist and *nouveau roman* author Marguerite Duras. Like Baudelaire, she writes poetry that combines softness with violence and monstrosity, grotesque and sublime. Carcasses and distorted characters are one of Bouraoui's common leitmotifs. Even love seems to be absent; sex is associated with death and love with pain. Baudelaire once said that love meant the loss of innocence and wrote in *Les Fleurs du mal* that to make love was to harm. Similarly, in *La Vie heureuse*, Bouraoui compares screams of sexual bliss to the ones of someone who is being murdered. The author justifies her style thus: "I am a female voyeur; nothing escapes me, neither odors, colors, or breaths. I steal certain details from reality and propel them into another reality: that of my characters. I oscillate between the true and false, between reality and illusion." The result creates the appearance of dysfunctionality and disorganization. Her words surge, a stream of consciousness similar to that of the *nouveau roman* of the 1950s. As a result, time is never linear or continuous. Bouraoui lures the reader into her retrospective thoughts and confuses her audience as she moves from present to past and past to present without transitions or textual indications. The work of Bouraoui is never serene.

*Le Jour du séisme* (1999; The day of the earthquake), and *L'âge blessé*, much like her other novels, combine fiction, reality and memories. Bouraoui has admitted to often not knowing what is real and what is fictional. *La Voyeuse interdite* is inspired by Bouraoui's life, by imagination and by authentic testimonies of the sexual tensions felt by both women and men in Algeria. In order to express women's displacement and unwanted presence, she creates Fikria, who witnesses the gender separation and anonymity that women face in Islamic society. And yet her personal experience in Algeria clearly inspires the novel. Her character identifies with the subdued and socially desolate inside life she describes. She explains that she is a clandestine spectator of a city to which she is forbidden access. Separated from society, she remains inside behind curtains and doors. Bouraoui also mentions in *Mes mauvaises pensées* that early in Algeria she had noticed men's gaze on her and her body. Ostracized and lonely, she experienced then a life of segregation and difference because of both her Franco-Algerian culture and her gender. In *L'âge blessé*, the protagonist almost drowns at the end of the novel, exactly as Bouraoui did during her childhood. *Garçon manqué* is a direct narration of the encounter of her Algerian father and French mother, which once again reveals the clear interrelation between the author's real life and her fictional characters. In her writing, the "I" is autobiographical.

Bouraoui's books are marked by multiple recurring themes. Exile, identity quest, gender issues and sexual ambiguity, and death constantly surface in her texts. *Le Bal des murènes* (1996; The dance of the morays) takes place in a cemetery and the main character is this burial ground's guardian. Every night, this character forecasts a premature departure and orchestrates her death: "I can see myself leave halfway in my construction, I desert my path. . . . I will leave before I age." Her work overflows with images of death and ghosts of prisoners once tortured by sadistic executioners. Even *La Vie heureuse*, which could forecast a happy story, starts with this sentence: "Klaus Noma died from AIDS today," and one of the protagonists suffers from cancer.

**Men, a Source of Pain and Discrimination** In her novels, Bouraoui also highlights men as a source of oppression and despair. Men gaze, judge, and condemn, accentuating the exclusion women face everyday. Men are described as carnivores and carcass eaters. Their gazes are sharp, like razors (*L'âge blessé*). They fragment and distort the female body and reduce women to a set of sexual features and body parts. In *L'âge blessé*, the protagonist almost drowns in an attempt to run away from men and their gaze, an event that symbolizes men's responsibility for women's oppression. Bouraoui offers a critical commentary on the way women are oppressed and perceived as sexual objects in a society governed by Islamic laws. She insists on the

lack of communication that exists between men and women and denounces the difficulty of being female in a patriarchal society.

As a result of male sexual stereotyping and obsession with the female body, Bourouai's characters tend to develop an ambiguous sexuality. They reject their femininity, adopt androgyny, and have unclear sexual preferences. In her perspective femininity and masculinity often become blurred. The very title of her novel *Garçon manqué* (Tomboy) reveals the confusion experienced by the characters. In her novels, women are stripped of their stereotypical feminine and exotic characteristics. The mother of *Le Bal des murènes* does not like her children and embodies the anti-mother. She is repulsed by her children's skin and nudity. "It is obvious, she does not like me," says the main character. Interestingly, the only male character of *Le Bal des murènes*, one who traditionally would proudly flaunt his masculinity, dreams of becoming a woman. His description of himself reveals a desire for femininity or bisexuality: "I am aware of the fragility of my body," he says, "I, too, would like to bleed"; "My sex, I feminise it and I become coquettish. I feel like a girl." Men put on makeup and wish to become similar to their mothers. Bourouai here transgresses the traditional norm and reverses the usual gender portrayal and hierarchy found in North African literature, in which girls may disguise themselves as men in order to succeed in society.

Bourouai's work also reveals a fascination with and attachment to Algeria. She often admits that her novels are long declarations of love, to "life, to Algeria, to France and to writing." However, Bourouai displays more than just nostalgia for Algeria. In *Le jour du séisme*, the country is destroyed by an earthquake, which symbolizes the social and political fractures and civil wars that have torn Algeria apart. "My land is trembling. It protests." The imagined physical devastation epitomizes the social and cultural destruction from which Algerians have suffered. Bourouai presents a land and citizens united in their pain. The fictional earthquake is an accusation against those who have divided society, including the colonizers who have transformed the land and its heritage: "The earthquake takes my childhood place. It transforms. . . . It covers under another land, foreign and unnecessary."

Bourouai's contributions to Algerian, Maghrebi, and the wider Francophone literature have been numerous. With other Maghrebi women writers such as Malika Mokkeddem, ASSIA DJEBAR, and Eliette Abecassis, Bourouai indicates a shift, a revival of a female voice in postcolonial North African literature. As she places women and sexuality at the center of her concerns, she offers a social and cultural commentary on Algerian society from a feminist perspective and establishes new themes, moving away from the traditional colonialist exoticism and romanticism. She

offers scenarios of chaos that allow for new social configurations and demand the abolition of female passivity. By asserting her complex sexuality and by playing on the bisexuality of her characters, she revolts against the traditional Islamic image of genders. She creates protagonists whose deprivation—whether based on a dark historical past in *Le Bal des murènes*, social segregation in *La Voyeuse interdite*, identity and sexual quest in *Poing mort* (1992; Dead fist) and *La Vie heureuse*—incites them to dream of a world where they could openly live their differences, whether sexual or cultural. She creates a possibility for the construction of a society that would allow women to be heard, seen, and ultimately valued.

#### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

The perceptions of Bourouai's work have been generally positive since her first publication. *La Voyeuse interdite* sold 140,000 copies and was awarded the Prix du Livre Inter in 1991; *Mes mauvaises pensées* won the Prix Renaudot in 2005. Her exceptional talent and style have been praised by many critics. She has been considered one of the leading storytellers of Algerian origin. Many doctoral theses and books have been published on her literary production. Yet because of her alternative ideas about sexuality and her largely autobiographical characters' tendencies toward autodestruction, she has become a controversial figure in the literary world. Additionally, because she often portrays femininity as a fault or disadvantage, Bourouai is sometimes seen as a misogynistic writer.

#### LEGACY

Bourouai is still a young writer and most of her work has yet to be translated into English. Her receipt of two prestigious awards testifies to her talent, but it is too early to assess her ultimate legacy at this point. However, it is reasonable to say that Bourouai will remain a valuable witness of the Maghreb and a strong female voice in Francophone literature, particularly because of her style, the attention given to North African literature from a postcolonial perspective, and the interest in the increasing tensions in Islamic societies.

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*Mes mauvaises pensées* (My impure thoughts, 2005).

Sandrine Teixidor

## BOUTEFLIKA, ABDELAZIZ (1937–)

Abdelaziz Bouteflika (‘Abd al-Aziz Butaflia, Boutaflika) is one of the most prominent statesmen in the history of postcolonial Algeria. During the War of Liberation from French rule (1954–1962), he joined the Front de Libération Nationale (FLN; National Liberation Front) and served in the Armée de Libération Nationale (ALN; National Liberation Army). After Algeria attained independence, Bouteflika distinguished himself as his country’s foreign minister from 1963 to 1979. Subsequently accused of corruption, he endured a self-imposed exile from 1982 to 1987. Eventually charges were dropped and Bouteflika resumed a political career. He was elected president in 1999 and reelected in 2004.



Abdelaziz Bouteflika. AP IMAGES.

### PERSONAL HISTORY

Bouteflika was born in Oujda, Morocco, on 2 March 1937. His family had migrated from Tlemcen, Algeria. Bouteflika received a secondary education in Morocco before joining the FLN, which had initiated Algeria’s War of Liberation against France in November 1954. Enlisting in the ALN in western Algeria, he rose to the rank of major and served on the general staff under the command of Colonel Houari Boumédiène. As a confidant of Boumédiène’s, Bouteflika was entrusted in 1961 with gauging the support of imprisoned FLN leaders in Aulnoy, France, as a power struggle loomed between the general staff and the civilian Gouvernement Provisoire de la République Algérienne (GPRA; Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic). After Algeria attained independence in July 1962, Bouteflika sided with the Bureau Politique (Political Bureau) led by Ahmed Ben Bella, one of the ex-Aulnoy detainees, and Boumédiène. The General Staff supported the Bureau Politique rather than the GPRA, although some units of the ALN continued to serve and defend the GPRA. The Bureau Politique overpowered the GPRA after a brief conflict. Bouteflika was subsequently elected a representative from Tlemcen to the National Constituent Assembly.

Ben Bella became prime minister in September 1962 and selected Bouteflika to be his minister of youth, sports, and tourism. After the assassination of Mohamed Khemisti in 1963, Bouteflika accepted the foreign affairs portfolio. As foreign minister, he dealt with the repercussions of

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Abdelaziz Bouteflika ('Abd al-Aziz Butaflīqa, Boutaflīka)

**Birth:** 1937, Oujda, Morocco

**Family:** Wife, Amal Triki wife (m. 1990); no children

**Nationality:** Algerian

**Education:** Secondary school

### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1960:** Promoted to general staff of the ALN
- **1962–1963:** Minister of Youth, Sports, and Tourism
- **1963–1979:** Minister of foreign affairs
- **1965–1979:** Member of Council of the Revolution
- **1974:** President of the 29th United Nations General Assembly
- **1975:** President, Seventh Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly
- **1979:** Counselor to the president
- **1981:** Removed from Political Bureau and Central Committee of the FLN
- **1982–1987:** Self-imposed exile
- **1994:** Refuses to be considered for president
- **1999:** Elected president of Algeria
- **2004:** Reelected president
- **2005:** Algerians approve Charter for Peace and National Reconciliation

the nationalization of abandoned French lands and properties. In 1964 Bouteflika began difficult negotiations regarding the future of French oil concessions in the Sahara. In addition, he was also involved in another pressing issue, the disputed border with Morocco, which provoked the brief "War of the Sands" in late 1963. The Organization of African Unity (OAU; today's African Union or AU) mediated a cease-fire, but the frontier's demarcation remained unresolved.

Concurrently, relations worsened between President Ben Bella (elected in 1963) and Vice President and Minister of Defense Boumédiène. Apprehensive of his rival's mounting ambitions, Ben Bella decided to purge Boumédiène's allies in his government. The president's

attempt to remove Bouteflika contributed to inciting Boumédiène's coup in June 1965 that deposed Ben Bella. Bouteflika retained his position as foreign minister and sat as a civilian on the military-dominated Council of the Revolution chaired by Boumédiène.

**After the Coup** The coup occurred on the eve of a scheduled African-Asian conference (Bandung II) in Algiers, which consequently did not take place. In July 1965, however, the innovative Algiers Accords regarding hydrocarbons were signed with France. Although the stipulations preserved French concessions, Algeria received significantly higher royalties than other oil producers. In addition, France pledged joint cooperation in the hydrocarbons sector as well as investment in Algeria's industrialization.

From 1965 to 1971, Bouteflika dealt with a variety of international issues including the severing of relations with Washington as a result of the Arab-Israeli War of 1967 (relations were restored in 1974). Algeria also championed and identified with liberation movements such as the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). In particular, Algeria asserted itself in the anticolonial and anti-imperialist Non-Aligned Movement (NAM). In October 1967, Bouteflika welcomed the first ministerial conference of the Group of 77, an organization of developing countries, in Algiers. Boumédiène hosted a summit of leaders of developing nations in September 1973. This meeting led to the convening of the Sixth Special Session of the United Nations (UN) General Assembly in April 1974 and the framing of the Declaration on a New International Economic Order (NIEO). Given Bouteflika's significant involvement in these proceedings, he was elected president of the General Assembly for 1974–1975. In addition, he presided over the Seventh Special Session of the General Assembly in September 1975.

Bouteflika again engaged the French in hydrocarbons negotiations from 1969 to 1971, which inevitably encompassed the entire postcolonial relationship. When President Boumédiène nationalized the French concessions in the Sahara in February 1971, Bouteflika feared that the whole relationship would be jeopardized. However, after his cordial discussions in Paris in July 1973, relations improved significantly, as highlighted by President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing's visit to Algeria in April 1975. Nevertheless, continuing trade imbalances, emigrant worker issues, and France's support of Morocco and Mauritania regarding Spanish (Western) Sahara extinguished the hope of reinstating a privileged relationship.

The decolonization, or more accurately, the "de-administration" of Spanish Sahara caught Algeria unprepared. The tripartite Madrid Accords of November 1975 excluded Algeria as Spain agreed to the partition of Spanish Sahara between Morocco and Mauritania. In

turn, Algeria supported and supplied the Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el Hamra y Río de Oro (POLISARIO; Popular Front for the Liberation of Saguia el Hamra and Río de Oro), the Saharawi nationalist organization. When Algeria recognized the Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic (SADR) in 1976, Morocco broke relations (they were restored in 1988).

In December 1978, President Boumédiène died from a rare blood disease. Observers assumed that Bouteflika would succeed his political mentor, but the FLN was rife with rivalry. The party and the military finally agreed on a compromise candidate and successor, Chadli Benjedid. Bouteflika was awarded the title of “counselor to the president,” but he exercised little power or influence. In 1981 a government accounting office contended that Bouteflika had mismanaged foreign ministry allocations, eventually estimated to be 60 million dinars (US\$12 million). By the end of the year, Bouteflika was expelled from the FLN’s Political Bureau and Central Committee. He left Algeria in 1982 for a self-imposed exile. During his exile in Paris, Geneva, and Abu Dhabi, Bouteflika reputedly became very wealthy as a political and economic consultant brokering transactions between European and United Arab Emirates enterprises.

**Return from Exile** Notwithstanding his success in the business world, Bouteflika persuaded President Benjedid to permit him to return to Algeria in 1987. The charges against Bouteflika eventually were dropped. His gradual political rehabilitation was marked by his reinstatement to the FLN’s Central Committee. However, the party was discredited by the violent October 1988 riots. Bouteflika signed the “Motion of 18,” a document condemning the severe suppression of the riots and signaling the fragmentation of the FLN. The destabilization of the government led to the liberalization of the Algerian political system. Bouteflika campaigned for FLN candidates, although the party fared poorly in local (June 1990) and national (December 1991) elections. Instead, the Front Islamique du Salut (FIS; Islamic Salvation Front) emerged victorious. Before the second round of national elections, which would have brought the FIS to power, alarmed military and civilian elites (members of the “Pouvoir” or power establishment) overthrew President Benjedid’s government in January 1992. Subsequently, Islamists were arrested, while others took up arms. Algeria began its dark decade of insurgency and civil strife (*fitna*) that cost approximately 150,000 to 200,000 lives.

As the violence escalated, Bouteflika did not play a public political role, but he remained a presence. The interim ruling Haut Comité d’Etat (HCE; High Committee [Council] of State) considered Bouteflika as a presidential candidate in 1994, but he declined. The HCE then appointed Liamine Zeroual as president. After impressively

winning the elections of November 1995, Zeroual began a “redemocratization” of Algeria and inaugurated new political institutions such as a bicameral legislature. Nevertheless, the Pouvoir was divided between the conciliators, those who wanted to open discussions with the insurgent Islamists, and the eradicators, those who wanted the rebels eliminated. Furthermore, the raging brutality alienated the world community. In September 1998 Zeroual announced that for reasons of health he would leave the presidency before the end of his five-year term.

The Pouvoir (principally the army) approached Bouteflika and persuaded him to run for president. He accepted and was immediately considered the power establishment’s candidate. A day before the April 1999 elections, Bouteflika’s six opponents withdrew, citing voting fraud within the military (traditionally allowed to vote earlier). Although Bouteflika won by default (officially receiving 73.79 percent of the vote), the elections tarnished his image and that of his government. He worked quickly to alter this public impression by offering a “Civil Concord” initiative, which offered amnesty to Islamic insurgents willing to turn in their weapons. A national referendum was held in September that asked: “Do you agree with the president’s approach to restoring peace and civil concord?” With 85 percent of the voters participating, the referendum received a 98 percent affirmative vote. Although Islamists remained in the field, the FIS’s Armée Islamique du Salut (AIS; Islamic Salvation Army) dissolved itself. Furthermore, unlike the April elections, the referendum served to legitimize Bouteflika’s presidency. The referendum was an important step toward national reconciliation as violence waned in the tormented country.

**Bouteflika as President** Bouteflika especially exploited his knowledge of foreign affairs to strengthen his presidency and his independence from the military. As interim president of the OAU, he hosted a summit of African leaders. Then in December 2000, he helped negotiate the end of the border war between Eritrea and Ethiopia. Along with presidents Olusegun Obasanjo of Nigeria and Thabo Mbeki of South Africa, Bouteflika inaugurated the New Partnership for Africa’s Development (NEPAD). He was the first Algerian president to attend a Franco-African summit, held in Yaoundé, Cameroon, in 2001; traditionally, Algerian leaders had refused to participate in such affairs.

The relationship with France improved rapidly. President Jacques Chirac accorded Bouteflika a state visit to France in June 2000. The Algerian president spoke before the National Assembly and at the World War I battlefield in Verdun, where many Algerians had lost their lives. In March 2003, Bouteflika reciprocated and Chirac received a very warm welcome in Algeria. Once again the relationship was again seemingly headed toward a privileged level.

Indeed, 2003 was celebrated throughout France as the “Year of Algeria” and featured numerous cultural events. Nevertheless, in February 2005, the French Parliament passed legislation that urged educators to teach the “positive” aspects of colonialism. This act provoked a sharp Algerian response. As Algeria commemorated the sixtieth anniversary of the Sétif Revolt of 1945, an incident in which thousands of Algerians were killed by colonial forces after a nationalist demonstration, Bouteflika demanded a French apology for colonial abuses and atrocities in Algeria. Despite these recent problems, the two governments share a pragmatic understanding of the practical importance of the bilateral relationship.

Under Bouteflika, the United States became an important political, military, and economic partner. Algeria was among the first nations to express sympathy and solidarity after the 11 September 2001 terrorist attacks in New York City and Washington, D.C., and emerged as an increasingly strategic partner in the War on Terror. The American and Algerian military have also participated in joint maneuvers. In 2004 the United States became Algeria’s principal trading partner, importing large volumes of hydrocarbons.

Not surprisingly, Bouteflika also addressed Mediterranean and Maghrebi affairs. An Association Agreement was signed with the European Union in 2001. Bouteflika cemented strong relations with Italy and Spain, two important natural gas importers, the latter especially politically important regarding Western Sahara. Bouteflika hosted the Arab League summit meeting in March 2005 and met briefly with Morocco’s King Muhammad VI. Their conversations were not enough to break the bilateral deadlock over Western Sahara, as Algeria remains a supporter of the SADR. It is generally understood that the Algerian government pressured the Sahrawis to agree to the UN-sponsored “Baker Plan” proposal in 2003. Morocco adamantly refused to subscribe to it.

The greatest threat to Bouteflika’s presidency occurred in the spring of 2001 when a Kabyle (Berber) youth died in April while in police custody. The Kabyle are the most numerous Berber tribe in Algeria and have been especially resistant to postcolonial Algerian policies of Arabization. This death led to violent protests leaving over one hundred dead. News reports claimed that Bouteflika considered resigning. The Berbers presented the Kseur Platform, which called for economic development and increased political and civil rights, demands that resonated throughout Algeria. Bouteflika’s government met with Kabyle leaders and in 2002 recognized Tamazight, the Berber language, as a national, though not official, language.

Bouteflika also promoted the resurgence of the FLN as a dominant political party. Under the leadership of Prime Minister Ali Benflis, the FLN won local and parliamentary elections in 2002. Benflis also had presidential aspirations,

which eventually split the party between his supporters and Bouteflika’s. However, the April 2004 elections resulted in a landslide victory for Bouteflika over Benflis and four other candidates. The size of the mandate (85 percent with 58 percent of eligible voters participating) was unexpected and impressive.

In October 2004 Bouteflika proposed another step toward reconciliation. He presented the Charter for Peace and National Reconciliation in August 2005. Like the Civil Concord initiative, the charter hoped to draw remaining Islamic insurgents from the field, especially those belonging to the Groupe Salafiste pour la Prédication et le Combat (GSPC; the Salafist Group for Preaching and Combat), which is ideologically aligned with al-Qa’ida and is now called “al-Qa’ida in the Maghreb.” In September 2005, with 79.76 percent of the voters participating, the charter achieved a 97.35 percent endorsement. Its effect has been mixed, although Islamists have been released from prison and others have given up their arms.

In November 2005 Bouteflika was hospitalized for surgery in France. He resumed his schedule about five weeks later, but his illness raised questions about his health and succession. A planned revision of the constitution of 1996, designed to increase presidential power, was to have been put to a national vote in 2006, but the referendum was postponed.

## INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Bouteflika was profoundly influenced by Algeria’s decolonization struggle. During the War of Liberation, he became protégé of Boumédiène, the major influence of his political career. Under Ben Bella, but especially under Boumédiène and Bouteflika, Algeria pursued “postcolonial decolonization,” the removal of neocolonial interests from Algeria (one step toward this goal was the nationalization of French oil concerns in February 1971) and developing nations as well as support for liberation movements. The French legislation of February 2005 and the struggle in Western Sahara exemplify, from Bouteflika’s perspective, incomplete decolonization.

Critics claim that during Bouteflika’s tenure as foreign minister, Boumédiène, not he, was the true architect of Algerian foreign policy. Nevertheless, that policy’s implementation intimately involved Bouteflika, as evinced by his negotiations with the French and leadership in the NAM and NIEO movements. As foreign minister, Bouteflika personified Algeria’s international engagement as he effectively represented his country in numerous international meetings. Furthermore, he developed an impressive corps of diplomats, including future prime ministers Redha Malek and Ahmed Ouyahia as well as prominent UN negotiators Ahmed Sahnoun and Lakhdar Brahimi.

## CONTEMPORARIES

Ali Benflis (1945–) was minister of justice from 1989 to 1991. He managed Bouteflika's presidential campaign in 1999 and was appointed prime minister in 2000. Benflis became secretary general of the FLN in 2001 and led that party's remarkable political resurgence. His political ambitions rivaled Bouteflika's, who dismissed him as prime minister. Benflis ran for president but received only 6.4 percent of the vote in the presidential elections of 2004. Consequently, Benflis resigned as the FLN's secretary general.

Abdelaziz Belkhadem (1945–) served as foreign minister under Bouteflika from 2000 to 2005. He organized opposition to Benflis within the FLN and succeeded him as secretary general. In May 2006 Belkhadem was appointed prime minister. A devout Muslim, Belkhadem has the respect of Islamists and seems strategically positioned within the *Pouvoir* to succeed Bouteflika.

As president, Bouteflika has restored Algeria's international presence. He has participated in G8 meetings and has tried to ameliorate differences within the Arab League. He has also attempted to develop a cordial relationship with Morocco. Furthermore, because of his success in foreign affairs, Bouteflika has reduced the army's political influence, a major achievement. He also moderated the patriarchal Family Code of 1984, although not to the extent desired by feminists. In contrast, as indicated by the proposed constitutional amendment, Bouteflika aims to further strengthen the presidency at the expense of other branches of government. He believes that "security and order" must first be established before democracy can flourish.

Bouteflika's presidency has elevated Algeria's international profile, but national reconciliation remains unachieved. The decline of violence can be attributed, in part, to Bouteflika's Civil Concord and Charter for Peace and National Reconciliation referenda and legislation. Despite his conciliatory endeavors, it is unlikely that Bouteflika will allow transparency regarding the causes, course, and consequences of the civil strife, since it risks repoliticizing the military while raising expectations that are unlikely to be allowed to be met. Nevertheless, national reconciliation needs to be openly addressed as a means to enhance the development of a democratic civil society. An exclusive rather than inclusive reconciliation also poses political perils.

Under Bouteflika, the Algerian economy has benefited from rising hydrocarbon prices. He has offered an ambitious program to address multiple issues such as chronic unemployment, services, and infrastructure. In part, his presidency will be judged upon his efforts to improve the social condition of the Algerian people as well as in reforming and diversifying an overwhelmingly hydrocarbons-based economy.

## THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

Civil and human rights organizations have criticized Bouteflika's antidemocratic tendencies, as illustrated by the planned referendum to amend the constitution. In addition, his government has targeted the press and jailed journalists. There were few opportunities for public debate regarding the Civil Concord and Charter for Peace and National Reconciliation. In general, however, Bouteflika's statesmanship is highly regarded, and he is given credit internationally for securing internal stability, despite occasional outbreaks of violence (e.g., the shocking bombings in Algiers on 11 April 2007 perpetrated by al-Qa'ida in the Maghreb (ex-GSPC), which killed thirty-three and wounded fifty-four.

## LEGACY

Bouteflika's legacy will be identified with his activism as foreign minister and his efforts as president to restore Algeria's international image and promote national reconciliation. He will also be credited with asserting civilian

## EXPLORING

The text of the Charter for Peace and National Reconciliation stated that the civil strife, or *fitna*, was a "pseudo-jihad." It praised government forces against the Islamic insurgents. Alternatively, it offered amnesty to insurgents still in the field and to Islamists in exile. Critics contend that the charter is too conciliatory toward Islamists, or that the charter offers a blanket amnesty to state forces. The families of the many "disappeared" are unsatisfied. The lack of transparency, such as could be provided by a "truth and reconciliation" process akin to that in South Africa, is also a common criticism. To many observers, the charter proposes that Algerians forgive and forget rather than conscientiously investigate culpability, which would be a more effective means of realizing national reconciliation.

government. In contrast, his growing authoritarianism risks his positive achievements as an effective and enterprising postcolonial leader. The efficacy of his social and economic policies will also measure the success of his presidency.

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*Phillip Naylor*

## BOUTROS-GHALI, BOUTROS

(1922–)

Egyptian politician and diplomat Boutros Boutros-Ghali (also Butrus Butrus Ghali) is best known as the United Nations (UN) secretary general from 1992 to 1996.

**PERSONAL HISTORY**

Boutros-Ghali was born on 14 November 1922 in Cairo, Egypt, to a family of Coptic Christians. He was the son of a former minister of finance and the grandson of Boutros Pasha Ghali, who served as prime minister from 1908 until he was assassinated in 1910. Boutros-Ghali earned an LL.B. from Cairo University in 1946 and a Ph.D. in international law from the University of Paris in 1949. He was a Fulbright scholar at Columbia University from 1954 to 1955.

**INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS**

Boutros-Ghali started his career as a professor of international law and international relations at Cairo University in 1949, where he also served as chair of the political science department and as head of the Center for Political and Strategic Studies. He was a founder of *al-Siyasa al-Dawliyya*, which he edited until 1991, and the economic weekly *Al-Ahram al-Iqtisadi*, which he edited from 1960–1975.

When President Anwar Sadat decided to launch his peace initiative with Israel, Boutros-Ghali was appointed Sadat's minister of state for foreign affairs after Isma'il Fahmi, then foreign minister, resigned in protest to Sadat's peace moves. Boutros-Ghali left his position at

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Boutros Boutros-Ghali (also Butrus Butrus Ghali)

**Birth:** 1922, Cairo, Egypt

**Family:** Married, wife: Leia Maria (née Nadler)

**Nationality:** Egyptian

**Education:** LL.B. (international law), Cairo University, 1946; Ph.D. (international law), University of Paris, 1949

**PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:**

- **1949:** Professor of international law and international relations, Cairo University
- **1960:** Begins editing *al-Ahram al-Iqtisadi*
- **1977:** Becomes Egyptian foreign minister
- **1978:** Takes part in Israeli-Egyptian negotiations at Camp David
- **1992:** Elected UN secretary-general
- **1996:** Ends term as UN secretary-general
- **1997:** President of La Francophonie
- **2003:** Chairman of the board of South Centre

Cairo University and accompanied Sadat on his historic trip to Jerusalem in November 1977.

Throughout the negotiations with Israel that eventually led to the Camp David Accords in September 1978 and the subsequent Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty in March 1979, Boutros-Ghali was one of the principal Egyptian negotiators. In 1991 he was appointed deputy prime minister for foreign affairs.

Javier Pérez de Cuéllar decided in 1991 to step down as secretary-general of the UN after two terms. Boutros-Ghali immediately began actively campaigning for the position, something that had never been done before. He was elected on the first ballot. During his term as secretary-general, the UN went through a transition from a world dominated by the U.S.-Soviet rivalry to a more multipolar political environment. This has meant a greater role for the world body in peacekeeping and peace-making. Boutros-Ghali attempted to expand the mission of the UN to make it more relevant in solving ethnic conflicts and to redefine the use of UN forces in solving inter- and intranational conflicts.

After he failed to be reelected as UN secretary-general in 1996, Boutros-Ghali was president of La Francophonie,

an association of French-speaking nations, from 1997 to 2002. From 2003 to 2006, Boutros-Ghali was chairman of the board of South Centre, a research organization dealing with developing countries. He currently serves as president of the Curatorium Administrative Council of the Hague Academy of International Law.

#### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

Boutros-Ghali was the most controversial UN secretary-general since Kurt Waldheim in the 1970s. The UN's transition into its greater role as a peacemaker was not easy, as the difficulties the UN faced in brokering peace in Somalia and the former Yugoslavia demonstrated in the 1990s. Nor was there international consensus on what the role of the UN should be in the post-Cold War world. Moreover there were criticisms over waste and abuse in the UN bureaucracy.

Principal among the critics of both the UN and Boutros-Ghali personally was the United States, which regularly withheld financial contributions. During his tenure as secretary-general, Boutros-Ghali pleaded that

without the necessary resources, the UN could not fulfill its historic mission. As a result of American opposition, Boutros-Ghali became the first UN secretary-general not to be reelected to a second term. He was replaced by Kofi Annan.

#### LEGACY

Despite his many scholarly publications and service as an Egyptian diplomat, Boutros-Ghali largely will be remembered for his one-term tenure as UN secretary-general during a time in which the world was changing into a unipolar world dominated by the United States, which did not appreciate his efforts at bolstering the UN's global diplomatic mission.

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*Bryan Daves  
updated by Michael R. Fischbach*



## ÇETİN, HIKMET (1937–)

Turkish minister Hikmet Çetin's political career began in 1977 when he was elected and later became head of the Republican's People Party (Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi; CHP). He served as Turkish foreign minister from 1991 to 1994, as Speaker of the Turkish Parliament (1997–1999), and occupied many other ministerial positions in different governments in Turkey. Çetin was elected to lead the efforts of the Alliance in Afghanistan as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) senior civilian representative and concluded his work in 2006. Throughout his political career, Çetin's mission and dedication to support the peace efforts in the Middle East brought him international reputation and distinguish him from many contemporary political leaders of his time.

### PERSONAL HISTORY

Çetin was born in Lice, a province of Diyarbakir, Turkey, in 1937. He attended elementary school in Lice and continued with his high school education in Ankara. In 1960 he received a B.A. in economics and finance. During the same year, he started working as a specialist for the State Planning Organization (SPO) of Turkey (Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı [DPT]). During this time, Çetin spent some time in the United States and other countries to conduct further research in this field. He also received a M.A. in economics with a thesis on "Economics of Development" during his stay in the United States. In 1968 Çetin went to California and began research on planning models at Stanford University. He returned to Turkey to do his military service which he completed in 1970. From 1970 to 1977, Çetin worked as the head of the Economic Planning Department at the SPO, while being part-time faculty at the Middle East Technical University in Ankara.

Çetin's political career began with the general elections in 1977 when he was elected as deputy to Istanbul and representative for CHP in Parliament. From 1978 to 1979, he was appointed deputy prime minister in Bülent Ecevit's cabinet. After the military coup in 1980 that banned political parties, Çetin was involved as a planning consultant for the Yemen government. His return to politics is marked by the elections in 1987, when he was reelected as deputy of Diyarbakir to the Parliament and represented the Social Democratic People's Party (Sosyal Demokratik Parti; SHP), which was a new formation of the banned CHP. During this time, he acted as an executive on different levels, one of which entailed the position of the secretary general. In the elections on 20 October 1990 Çetin was elected as a member from SHP for the third time into Parliament as deputy of Gaziantep, a city in the east of Turkey. During the coalition government under Prime Minister Süleyman

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**Hikmet Çetin.** SHAH MARAI/AFP/GETTY IMAGES.

Demirel, which was formed in 1991, Çetin became minister of foreign affairs. He continued serving in this position when Tansu Çiller, the first female prime minister of Turkey, was elected and created a coalition government based on cooperation between the SHP and Doğru Yol Partisi (DYP; True Path Party). Çetin resigned from this position on 24 July 1994. When both left-wing political parties (the CHP and SHP) merged in 1995, Çetin was elected head and chairman of this joint convention on 18 February 1995. He resigned from this position on 9 September 1995. After the general elections in 1995, Çetin was reelected to Parliament. In 1997 he served as the speaker of the Turkish Grand National Assembly (TBMM), a position that he held until 18 April 1999.

Çetin's career as a diplomat began on 19 November 2003 when he was chosen to be NATO senior civilian representative (SCR) for Afghanistan. He was the first Turkish politician to be appointed this position. He took office in Kabul on 26 January 2004 and was in charge of the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) for two consecutive terms until 24 August 2006.

#### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Characteristic for Çetin's political career is that he served several times as deputy to the Turkish Parlia-

### BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Hikmet Çetin

**Birth:** 1937, Lice, Diyarbakir, Turkey

**Family:** Wife, Inci Çetin; two daughters

**Nationality:** Turkish

**Education:** High school in Ankara; B.A. in economics and finance, Ankara University, School of Political Science, 1960; M.A. in economics of development, Williams College, Williamstown, Massachusetts

#### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1977:** Deputy of Istanbul representing the Republican's People Party (Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi)
- **1978–1979:** Minister of state and deputy prime minister
- **1987:** Deputy of Diyarbakir representing Social Democratic People's Party (Sosyal Demokratik Parti, SHP)
- **1990:** Deputy of Gaziantep representing SHP
- **1991–1994:** Minister of foreign affairs
- **1995:** Head and chairman of CHP
- **1997–1999:** Speaker of the Turkish Parliament (TBMM)
- **2004–2006:** NATO senior civilian representative for Afghanistan

ment. During this time, he made every effort to improve Turkey's relations with its neighboring countries. Especially, his modesty and diplomacy toward improving the Greek-Turkish relations impressed West European diplomats, as did his efforts with the European Union regarding the full customs union on manufactured goods.

Çetin's nomination to serve as NATO senior civilian representative for Afghanistan marked the first time Turkey had taken on such responsibility. In an interview with Nühket Kantarci for the Turkish magazine *Ekonometri*, Hikmet points to the fact that this responsibility was new for Turkey, for Çetin, as well as NATO. For the first time, as Çetin points out, NATO had stepped out of its geographical and operative realm and took responsibility for a country such as Afghanistan. Çetin received great support from Turkey, from NATO's supreme allied commander, General James L. Jones, as well as Afghanistan's

president HAMID KARZAI. In a presentation held at the NATO school, Çetin referred to the significant progress that had been made since the Bonn Summit of December 2001 in Afghanistan. This progress can be recognized in the arrangement of presidential elections, followed by the election of the National Assembly Line, and the Provincial Councils. Çetin made also clear that the future and the country's stability depended on further support of the NATO and the international community. He stated, "The Alliance cannot turn its back on the call for assistance and partnership with the Afghans" (*M2 Presswire*, 9 February 2006).

After his service ended in Afghanistan, Çetin expressed his sympathy for the Afghani people in saying that half of his heart is still with its people. In the interview, Çetin also points out that although attempts have been made to improve the country's impoverished situation, it is terrorism and the illicit opium trade in Afghanistan that must immediately come to an end. However, to eradicate poppy cultivation in Afghanistan would rob its farmers of their livelihoods. The dilemma also lies in the fact, as Çetin remarked, that after decades of war, Afghanistan is left no irrigation networks and markets that would provide farmers a basis to cultivate more traditional crops. "Now for the farmers, [poppies have] day by day became the only crop, the only source of income. [...] And farmers get only \$1 billion every year on average from opium, but its [worth] ... is maybe \$40 billion in the European market" (Lobjakas, 2005). He also stressed that one has to make every effort to win the heart and mind of the Afghani people which can only be achieved through economic and social help. He also mentioned that important steps have already been made and we will see more outcome from these efforts in the future.

#### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

When NATO became involved in the peacekeeping mission in Afghanistan, it marked a turning point both in the European Union as well as NATO's history. With this decision, NATO became a key component in the mission of the international community to assist the Afghan authorities to maintain peace and establish stability and security in its country. On the other hand, when Çetin became NATO's civilian representative, he also became part of the most difficult challenge the world had at the time: keeping peace in the country and to overcome the obstacles that the Afghani people face. As Çetin remarks, since NATO's involvement in the war against terrorism, thirty-two of its soldiers were killed on land and fourteen in airplane accidents in Afghanistan. The war, which lasted for twenty-three years in Afghanistan, destroyed the country's economy, political system, infrastructure, and society. As Çetin describes, when in 2001 the world turned its attention to Afghanistan, it was at a zero-hour stage as it

had no income, budget, government, or police or military force. The education rate was the lowest in the world. Only 14 percent of its female population was literate. Perhaps one will remember, says Çetin, when the Taliban regime took power from 1994 to 2000, not only girls but nobody was allowed to walk on the streets without permission. Women could step outside only with first-degree relatives, their husbands, and fathers. "This is the Afghanistan the world went to and took over from this point. If we look back today, six million people are in primary school education of which two million are made up by girls. Succeeding in establishing these figures does not undo the still many difficulties the country faces. For many years the world and NATO cannot leave Afghanistan. In other words, it cannot leave before it succeeds" (2006)

In many references, it is mentioned that during his service in Afghanistan, Çetin was referred to as "Hikmet Abi" (literally "Brother Hikmet"), which expresses the respect and friendship that the public and officials felt toward this politician.

#### LEGACY

Being from Turkey, Çetin indirectly represents a country that because of its strategic importance on the world map plays a pivotal role in promoting peace and development in the Middle East. Çetin's dedication and commitment to transform this goal into his politics won him a distinctive place among Turkish politicians. He not only is interested in developing positive bilateral relations with its neighboring countries but also to maintain peace, stability, and progress in this part of the world. His involvement in the reconstruction of Afghanistan has tied both countries closer together. Turkey and Afghanistan are nations that have already had close relations since the 1920s.

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*Mine Eren*

## CEYLAN, NURI BILGE (1959–)

Turkish photographer, filmmaker, screenwriter, and producer Nuri Bilge Ceylan is considered to be one of the leading “new wave” auteurs of Turkish cinema. Ceylan is the winner of both the prestigious Grand Jury Prize (2002) and Fipresci Movie Critics’ Award (2006) at the Cannes Film Festival. He, along with filmmaker Zeki Demirkubuz, and ORHAN PAMUK, the 2006 Nobel Prize winner in literature, are considered among the most important artists and intellectuals who have questioned and artistically explored Turkish identity and culture.

### PERSONAL HISTORY

Ceylan was born in Istanbul on 26 January 1959. In 1961 Ceylan’s parents moved to the countryside and returned to the city when Ceylan was ten years old. This period of rural upbringing shaped Ceylan’s experience and is reflected in his films. His mother Fatma Ceylan and father Mehmet Emin Ceylan, an agricultural engineer, have parts in Ceylan’s first three films.

Ceylan’s interest in photography began when he was given a camera as a present at age fifteen. His interest in art and film eventually led him to the study of cinematography at Mimar Sinan University in Istanbul. (He had already graduated with a degree in electrical engineering from Boğaziçi [Bosphorus] University, but never worked as an engineer.) Cutting short his studies, Ceylan left after two years and decided to learn filmmaking by watching movies and making them. “In school they are too slow and I was not young so I had to be very quick. I just went into it with my imagination, figuring out what the best way for me was” (Shrikent, 1999a, p. 23). With *Koza* (Cocoon, 1995), a fourteen-minute short film, Ceylan’s career as a film director began. He was thirty-six then and had already established himself as a commercial photographer. Ceylan vehemently refused to work in the advertisement business, because, as he said in an interview with the film critic Jonathan Romney, “you steal from yourself, from your own ideas, when you do that” (2004, p. 21). By then he was divorced and remarried to Ebru Ceylan, who plays the lead role in *İklimler* (Climates, 2006). Now an acclaimed film director, Ceylan continues to produce his films on a low budget and refuses to give up his small-scale approach to filmmaking.

### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

For a number of reasons, including competition from television, the ubiquity of Hollywood films, and the “oppressive political and social atmosphere created by



Nuri Bilge Ceylan. VALERY HACHE/AFP/GETTY IMAGES.

the military regime” in the aftermath of the 1980 coup, Turkish filmmaking had been in decline, and its audience stagnant, for years before the 1990s. “Apart from a handful of ‘serious’ social realist films that received international critical acclaim . . . the term ‘Turkish film’ had become a joke, synonymous with bad taste and banality” (Suner, 2004, p. 306). In the 1990s, however, economic and political changes paved the way for a new generation of filmmakers who created a revival, offering new levels of technical and artistic innovation. The local audience increased and box-office records marked a new level of success.

Ceylan belongs to this “new wave.” His films have a sublime and observational style of art-house quality. Ceylan has been influenced by Fedor Dostoevski and Anton Chekhov as well as influential modernist film directors such as Yasujiro Ozu, Robert Bresson, Ingmar Bergman, Michelangelo Antonioni, and Andrei Tarkovsky. His passion for photography can be recognized in the photographic sensibility through which Ceylan introduces audiences into his story world.

Ceylan’s first, short, black-and-white film *Koza* won the Caligari Prize at the Berlin Film Festival in 1998. Shot mainly on location in a small town in the Marmara region of Turkey, it portrays a divorced couple who, years after

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Nuri Bilge Ceylan

**Birth:** 1959, Istanbul, Turkey

**Family:** Wife, Ebru; son, Ayaz

**Nationality:** Turkish

**Education:** B.S. in electrical engineering, Bosphorus University, Istanbul; studied film at Mimar Sinan University, Istanbul

## PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1998:** *Kasaba* wins Caligari Prize, Berlin Film Festival, and Fipresci and Special Jury Prize, Istanbul Film Festival
- **2003:** *Uzak* wins Grand Jury Prize, Cannes Film Festival, and Fipresci Grand Prize for Best Film of the Year
- **2006:** *İklimler* wins Fipresci Prize, Cannes Film Festival
- **2007:** *İklimler* wins Best Film Prize, Istanbul Film Festival

separating, meet again and attempt to live together. *Koza* is about the relationship between this couple in their seventies, played by Ceylan's parents, and a child. Ceylan's goal was to show differences in human behavior as well as the juxtaposition of two different worlds as perceived in childhood and adulthood. Events are minimized and we watch the couple's irreconcilable differences resurface as their ineffective attempts to unite bring back the painful emotions of their past.

*Kasaba* (1997, The small town), Ceylan's first feature film, is not too different from *Koza*. In an interview, Ceylan declares that during the preproduction phase his application for financial support was rejected by the Turkish Ministry of Culture, forcing him to raise the full amount—\$15,000—by himself. This low-budget film is based on the short story "Cornfield," by Ceylan's sister Emine Ceylan, and gives an autobiographical account of events from Ceylan's childhood. It is narrated from the point of view of two children. Ceylan also shows the seasonal changes in the small town in which they live. The whole world represented in *Kasaba* seems to slow down, and because of this the audience is invited to focus on single objects that inhabit the world of these children. Through these children's eyes we experience a world of

microscopic detail encompassed by the sights, sounds, and rhythms of the rural milieu. The film depicts the lives, stories, dreams, and frustrations of a three-generation extended family and sensitively evokes the idea of a lost world.

**Trilogy** *Kasaba* and Ceylan's next two films, *Mayıs Sıkıntısı* (Clouds of May, 2000) and *Uzak* (Distant, 2004), can be read as a trilogy, as all three reflect on childhood and adulthood, urban and rural life, the present and past. *Mayıs Sıkıntısı* tells the story of Muzaffer, a film director, who returns to his small town to make a film. Not only are we exposed to the socioeconomic reality of this locale, but also witness how Muzaffer has to adjust his urban habits and expectations to the rhythms of the rural location. Emin, his father and a landowner, informs Muzaffer about the attempts of the authorities to confiscate the woods that he has cultivated on his property. At the same time, we are introduced to Muzaffer's rebellious cousin Saffet, a self-

## CONTEMPORARIES

Another outstanding Turkish "new wave" auteur is Ceylan's close friend Zeki Demirkubuz (1964–). *Masumiyet* (Innocence, 1997), Demirkubuz's second feature film, and *Üçüncü Sayfa* (The third page, 1999) have been critically acclaimed and screened at many international film festivals. His and Ceylan's latest films, according to Turkish film critic Atilla Dorsay, suggest a new type of Turkish film that is concerned with the inner and psychological world of its characters. Jonathan Romney, in contrast, argues that this type of film "reflects the crisis of an educated middle class losing its bearings and skidding towards materialistic *embourgeoisement*" (Romney, 2004, p. 23).

Demirkubuz was born in Isparta in 1964 and graduated from the Department of Communications of Istanbul University. He spent three years in prison, jailed by the military regime in 1981 at the age of seventeen for his leftist political beliefs, an experience that affected his art. He began his film career as an assistant to director Zeki Ökten in 1986. Demirkubuz has made his films mainly from his own screenplays. His consciousness of the social impact of modernity and his exceptional way of storytelling raise questions regarding contemporary Turkish life and society.

absorbed and bored young man, who abhors his rural existence. Muzaffer, who wants to help Saffet realize his dream of moving to Istanbul (a burning desire that Saffet so passionately outlined in *Kasaba*), offers him a role in his film.

Ceylan's impressionistic view continues to shape the mise-en-scène in *Uzak*, his most autobiographical work so far. Loneliness, dysfunctional relationships, lost ambitions and desires, and lethargy toward life are all themes woven around the figure of Mahmut, a professional photographer who lives in Istanbul. Mahmut is divorced, living a lonely life, and is occasionally visited by a woman with whom he has no connection other than to satisfy his sexual needs. His seclusion and unsociability can also be seen in his relationships with his sister and mother, whose phone calls he does not return. Yusuf (played by Mehmet Emin Toprak, who played Saffet in Ceylan's previous two films), visits Mahmut in Istanbul after losing his factory job in his village and stays with him until he finds a job on a ship. After a short time, Yusuf's visit becomes problematic, as the communication between him and Mahmut fails, resulting in Mahmut's attempts to get rid of Yusuf in order to regain his privacy. In the words of Jonathan Romney, Mahmut's apartment is a "sour single man's kingdom" (2004, p. 23).

All in all, it is a grim scenario that Ceylan offers regarding Mahmut's character. The viewer comprehends that everything Mahmut does is routine, nor he does not care; he does not desire a listener because he seems to have lost the belief in happiness. It is as if Mahmut's condition pulls him outside the world, where he has no interest in relationships with human beings. Mahmut's life is filled with secrets; he is dishonest with the people close to him, incapable of communicating with them. While conventional cinema would tell us how its characters are driven into such situations, Ceylan offers no clues. The viewer is left to ponder why Mahmut lives in a cage of dual realities and betrays himself and everyone around him on a daily basis. The final scene in *Uzak* gives us a close-up of Mahmut looking into the distant landscape of Istanbul. This image, a long take, is intertwined with natural sound and invites its audience to meditate, to turn its consciousness inward and reach a moment out of time and filled with stillness. One possible meaning of this lyrical and spiritual ending is to let the viewers notice the cocoons they have built around themselves, leaving them in seclusion. The question posed at the end, therefore, is how to liberate ourselves from this distance we have created for ourselves.

*Iklimler* (Climates, 2006), Ceylan's latest film, recalls the cinema of Italian director Antonioni and portrays the troubling final days of the unhappy relationship of two lonely people. According to the official film description

## I LIKE ORDINARY STORIES OF ORDINARY PEOPLE

I do not like marginal stories. I also do not like extraordinary stories which happen to ordinary people. I like ordinary stories of ordinary people.

NURI BILGE CEYLAN IN SHRIKENT, INDU. "ORDINARY STORIES OF ORDINARY PEOPLE." *CINEMAYA: THE ASIAN FILM MAGAZINE* 43 (1999): 22-23.

He hasn't yet achieved the poetry of Ozu's film language, or the intensity of Tarkovsky's, but he's recognizably working towards what Paul Schrader once called a "transcendental style." It could be that the only thing holding him back is his insistence on the ordinary.

ROMNEY, JONATHAN. "A SILKY SADNESS." *SIGHT & SOUND* 14, NO. 6 (JUNE 2004): 23.

on Ceylan's Web site, this couple is "dragged through the inner ever-changing climate of their inner selves in pursuit of a happiness that no longer belongs to them."

Isa, a middle-aged professor, and his girlfriend Bahar (played by Ebru Ceylan, Ceylan's wife), a television producer, spend their vacation on the Aegean coast. Their relationship implodes and becomes cold and distant. Through time, their trust in each other has faded, which is also their reason to separate. After living the consequences from this decision, Isa follows Bahar to Agri to win her back. Film critics have stated that *Iklimler* is Ceylan's most outstanding film in the way it depicts the fragility and complexity of human relations. *Iklimler* was nominated for the Golden Palm at the 2006 Cannes Film Festival and won the Fipresci Prize the same year.

### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

Response to Ceylan's work has been generally very positive. This may derive from the fact that his characters are not bound to one locale or Turkish milieu and do not represent important figures in society. On the contrary, Ceylan's characters live ordinary lives, experience ordinary problems, and deal with challenges that are not unfamiliar to cinemagoers: Ceylan's films reveal universal problems that confront people of our time. Because of Ceylan's unique observational style, his films bring us back to the rhythms of life and nature from which we have distanced ourselves.

Ceylan and his work have drawn international attention with his unconventional cinematic style and exceptional

use of symbolism in portraying present-day Turkish life and culture. His films explore questions of emotional estrangement, loneliness, and the communication gap between genders; they question modernity and its impact on the human condition. The dialectic between the urban and the rural, working class and bourgeois existence, materialism and antimaterialism, social consciousness and the desire for personal happiness, structure Ceylan's films. "Chekhov taught me how to look at life—how to see the details in human relationships" (Romney, 2004, p. 23). Ceylan lifts moments of our mundane life into the realm of art, making his themes universal.

### LEGACY

Turkish cinema experienced a remarkable revival in the 1990s: the creation of a new popular cinema and the emergence of an auteur cinema, to which the work of Ceylan belongs. His success at many national and international festivals has put Ceylan among the most important contemporary filmmakers in the world. *Uzak* can be seen as a modern masterwork. His brilliance and mastery in portraying urban and rural life have made him a geographer of the modern era.

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### FILMS BY CEYLAN

- Koza* (Cocoon, 1995)
- Kasaba* (The small town, 1997)
- Mayis Sikintisi* (Clouds of May, 1999)
- Uzak* (Distant, 2002)
- Iklimler* (Climates, 2006)

## CHACOUR, ELIAS (1939–)

Bishop Elias Chacour (also Ilyas Shakur), also known as Father Chacour and Abuna Chacour, is the first Palestinian bishop to be born, raised, and educated in the Palestinian Arab sector of Israel. Chacour rose to international prominence in Europe, North America, Australia, and the Middle East as a peacemaker, educator, and founder and president of Mar Elias University and its related educational institutions in Ibillin, a Palestinian Arab village located in the Galilee between Haifa and Nazareth. As a recipient of numerous international awards and three-time nominee of the Nobel Peace Prize, Chacour began to be recognized by Israeli leadership as a prominent educator and advocate for the underprivileged Arab sector of Israel. Chacour is the author of three books that highlight his life story, including his work to build the various schools and university that comprise the Mar Elias educational institutions. His writings also tell of his philosophy and theology of nonviolence and work to transform the impoverished Palestinian Arab communities of the central Galilee through education of the youth of the region. Moreover, his commitment to reconciliation and collaboration among the four major religious communities of the Holy Land (Judaism, Christianity, Islam, and Druze) continues to leave a legacy of peaceful coexistence, not only in the Galilee, but globally.

### PERSONAL HISTORY

Chacour was born on 29 November 1939 in the village of Bir'am, in the upper Galilee of Palestine to a Palestinian Christian family of the Melkite Catholic Church, the Byzantine Eastern rite church in communion with Rome. When he was eight years old Chacour and his entire village were evicted by Israeli soldiers during the 1948 Arab-Israeli War and became refugees in their own land. The Chacour family fled with most residents of Bir'am to Jish, a neighboring village in the Galilee. After two years of legal appeals to the government of Israel, the residents of Bir'am were allowed to return in order to celebrate Christmas in their original homes. But in September 1953, the Israeli military destroyed the village just before the refugees tried to return. As they reached the top of the hills overlooking their village, they could see the smoke rising from their former homes.

The Chacour family placed a premium on education and remained close to the church. By the age of eleven, Elias was convinced he wanted to become a priest. After completing his primary and secondary education in Haifa and Nazareth he was sent to Paris by the Melkite Church where he studied for the priesthood, graduating with a degree in theology and biblical studies

*Mine Eren*

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Elias Chacour (Ilyas Shakur)  
**Birth:** 1939, Bir'am, mandatory Palestine  
**Nationality:** Palestinian; citizen of Israel  
**Education:** B.A., Sorbonne University (Paris), 1965; M.A., Hebrew University (Jerusalem), 1968; Ph.D., University of Geneva (Switzerland), 1971

### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1965:** Ordained to the priesthood in the Melkite Catholic Church; parish priest in Ibillin, Galilee
- **1982:** Founds Mar Elias High School in Ibillin
- **1995:** Founds Mar Elias Technological College in Ibillin
- **1997:** Founds Mar Elias Teachers' Resource Center in Ibillin
- **1998:** Founds Mariam Bawardi Elementary School in Ibillin
- **2003:** Mar Elias College becomes Mar Elias University
- **2006:** Elected Melkite Catholic bishop of Galilee

from the Sorbonne University in 1965. A few months after completing the degree Chacour was ordained a priest in the Melkite Catholic Church and was promptly sent by his bishop to the village of Ibillin. It was envisioned as a temporary one-month transition, but has now become a lifetime assignment.

In 1968 Chacour received his master's degree in Bible and Talmudic studies from the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, the first Palestinian Arab to receive such a degree in that department. Returning to Ibillin, he concentrated on the youth of Ibillin, establishing a youth center and summer camp in addition to his regular priestly duties at the church. However, Chacour noted that his ministry would need to be enlarged beyond that of a village priest. From his own youth, Chacour knew that most of the Arab villages did not have adequate schools, libraries, or playgrounds, and that a university education was beyond the reach of over 90 percent of the population. With over 50 percent of the Palestinian Arabs in the Galilee under sixteen years of age, Chacour decided to focus his educational mission on several Arab villages in central Galilee, such as Jish, Tarshiha, Mi'liya,

Shefa Amr, and Isifya, in addition to Ibillin. Within three years he established kindergartens, public libraries, tutorial programs, and youth centers in the six villages. Additionally, each summer he organized regional youth camps that involved up to five thousand youth.

Chacour completed his Ph.D. in ecumenical theology at the University of Geneva (Switzerland) in 1971 and again returned to focus on his work in Ibillin and the neighboring Galilean towns. After several years of planning, fund-raising, construction, and appeals to the Israeli Ministry of Education for a building permit, Chacour opened the Mar Elias High School with eighty students in 1982, but without a building permit. Chacour's persistence, combined with international pressure from his many friends in Europe and North America, eventually secured the permit and official status for the school. Enrollment has steadily grown to approximately fifteen hundred students, with the high school receiving numerous academic awards, including taking first place in the Hebrew language (10th and 11th grades) in the entire country of Israel in 2003.

In 1984 Chacour published his first book, *Blood Brothers*, which describes his personal journey from the time of his expulsion from Bir'am to the process of building Mar Elias High School. The volume has been translated into twenty-seven languages.

Chacour was elected in 2006 as the Melkite Catholic bishop of the Galilee. The Melkite Catholic community represents the largest body of Christians in the Holy Land with the majority living in the Galilee.

### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Chacour was nurtured in the Christian faith and by his devout parents, simple peasants who were active in the Melkite Catholic Church. From an early age Elias learned the centrality of peace, justice, reconciliation, and a strong sense of *sumud* (Arabic: steadfastness), for his people, as was modeled and taught by Jesus of Nazareth in the Sermon on the Mount, from whom Chacour drew inspiration and vision. The tragedies that befell his people and his family's ordeal in losing their home and possessions in 1948 became the seeds for his eventual commitment to serve the underprivileged Palestinian Arab youth of Galilee through the educational institutions and programs he established throughout his career.

### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

Since the late 1970s and each successive decade, Chacour has traveled the globe spreading his message of peace and reconciliation while also appealing for support for the Mar Elias schools. His growing notoriety in religious and peace circles brought a steady stream of international visitors to

Ibillin, many to spend several weeks in a volunteer service capacity, others for a short visit to see Abuna Chacour and the high school. Churches and peace organizations throughout Europe, North America, Australia, and India have hosted Chacour where he has been welcomed as a popular lecturer, as evidenced in the many awards and citations. He has been nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize on three occasions: 1988, 1989, and 1994. Also in 1994, Chacour received the prestigious World Methodist Peace Award. Among the previous recipients were former U.S. president Jimmy Carter, Egypt's Anwar Sadat, and Nelson Mandela of South Africa.

In 1999 Chacour received two honors in France as he was awarded the Chevalier de la Legion d'Honneur by the president of France, and later in the same year the Marcel Rudloff Peace and Tolerance Award in Strasbourg. This was followed in 2001 by the Niwano Peace Award from Japan, which came with a cash prize that helped build the Niwano Peace Auditorium on the Mar Elias campus. The auditorium opened in 2004 with a seating capacity of fifteen hundred the largest in the Galilee.

Beginning in 1995, Chacour's vision for additional institutions of higher learning began to be fulfilled with the opening of Mar Elias Technological College in October 1995. The college was fully accredited by the Israeli Ministry of Education and authorized to offer degrees in education and computer technology. In 1997 the Mar Elias Resource Center opened, offering both training and resources for educators throughout Galilee, also the first for the Arab population. In the fall of 1998 another school was added to the growing Mar Elias group as the Mariam Bawardi Elementary School opened with the first-grade class. Each year a grade has been added with the full six grades now in full operation.

The next stage of the vision was realized in October 2003 as the college became Mar Elias University, the first Arab Christian university in Israel. Mar Elias offers three degree programs with U.S. accreditation as a branch of the University of Indianapolis. The university continues to serve the four religions of the Holy Land: Jews, Christians, Muslims, and Druze, and its faculty also represents the four religions. The university received accreditation from the Israeli Ministry of Education's Committee on Higher Education, with authorization to grant degrees in computer science, communications and marketing, and environmental science and chemistry.

In April 2002 Chacour authored his third book, *J'ai foi en nous*, published by Hommes de Parole, Paris. The international awards continued, such as the prestigious Peacemaker in Action Award in August 2002 from the Tannenbaum Center for Inter-religious Understanding in New York City. In December 2002 he was awarded the

Dante Alighieri Peace and Human Rights Award in Rome. In 2003 Chacour was appointed by the Vatican as consultant to the Holy See Commission for Religious Relations with the Jews, and later received the Prix Méditerranée pour la Paix from the Accademia del Mediterraneo, Naples, Italy. On 20 May 2003 he was voted Man of the Year by the Lions Club of Israel.

The next building on the Mar Elias campus was a long-term dream of Chacour, realized in the fall of 2005 with the opening of the Church of the Sermon on the Mount. The majestic sanctuary is a testimony to peace, reconciliation, and the inclusion of all religions and people. The church quickly became the center of the burgeoning campus of the Mar Elias Educational Institutions. Later in 2005 Chacour received the coveted Americas First Freedom Award in Richmond, Virginia.

### LEGACY

Chacour is the first Palestinian Arab bishop in the Melkite Church to be born, raised, educated, consecrated, and a citizen of Israel. The new bishop was quick to point out that he will retain his duties as the president of the Mar Elias Educational Institutions, where he envisions an expanded campus with a student enrollment of five thousand students from the entirety of Israel, continuing his commitment to an inclusive student body of Muslim, Jewish, Christian, and Druze students and faculty. Having started in 1982 with eighty-two students in a building without a permit or electricity, the Mar Elias Educational Institutions now serve over four thousand students. It continues to be the only private campus in the history of Galilee where all of the religions of the region study together with the vision of creating a common future built on respect and justice for all. No other primary, secondary, or higher education institution in Israel can make that claim.

As an educator and man of peace, Bishop Elias Chacour has pioneered an educational model of interreligious education among the Christian, Druze, Muslim, and Jewish youth of the Galilee. His capacity to dream large and solicit funding from multiple international bodies have enabled him to build a significant system of institutions within the Mar Elias complex. The true legacy of his work are the thousands of young lives that have received not only an education and vocational training skills, but a respect for each others' religions and cultures, and a model for successfully negotiating their differences through nonviolent conflict transformation.

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*Donald Wagner*

## CHAHINE, YOUSSEF (1926–)

Youssef Chahine (Yusuf, Yusif Shahin) is a prominent Egyptian filmmaker, producer, actor, and screenwriter. His films touch on deep social problems of the society in which he lived, raising considerable controversy at different times. Youssef Chahine won the Grand Prix of the Carthage Film Festival (1970), the Special Jury Prize of the Berlin Film Festival (1979), and the Prix de Cinqtieme of the Cannes Film Festival (1997). Chahine is credited with discovering the talent of Omar Sharif, a famous film actor, who started his career by starring in Chahine's film *Sira fi'l-Wadi* (*Struggle in the Valley/Blazing Sky* [or Sun in a different interpretation]) in 1954.

### PERSONAL HISTORY

Chahine was born on 25 January 1926 in Alexandria, Egypt. Born into a Christian family of a Lebanese father, who was a prominent lawyer, and Greek mother, Chahine began his education in friar's school. His father hoped to secure his son's success by first sending him to the Catholic primary school and then a boarding school in England. Upon finishing his studies in prestigious Victoria College, Chahine entered Alexandria University to study engineering. After one year, Chahine managed to persuade his family to send him to the Pasadena Playhouse to study acting. There Chahine became acquainted with Robert Preston and Victor Jory.

After graduating in 1948, Chahine returned to Egypt where he started an apprenticeship with the Italian documentary filmmaker Gianni Verniccio. While working with Verniccio, he also met the cameraman Alvisi Orfanelli, who introduced Chahine to film production.

In 1950 Chahine shot his first film *Baba Amin* (*Papa Amin*). It was a drama about a middle-class pensioner and was inspired by his own father's life. In 1951 Chahine made the film *Nile Boy*, which earned him an invitation to the Cannes Festival. *Nile Boy* was about the life and problems of Egyptian peasants.

Chahine made a film in 1954 that introduced Omar Sharif as an actor. The film *Sira fi'l-Wadi* was about the life of Egyptian peasants and their difficult relations with the landowners. Sharif played the role of Ahmad, the son of an estate manager, who is working for Amal, a rich



*Youssef Chahine.* AP IMAGES.

landowner. Amal, who had paid for Ahmad's education in agriculture, felt betrayed, after Ahmad decided to spread the education among peasants. The film's plot was based on the conflict between the rich landowner and Ahmad's family, who try to fend itself from the nasty plots of the rich landowner's son. In 1956 Chahine made another film *Sira fi'l-Mina* (*Dark Waters*), which was another similar attempt to tackle the social problems of the Egyptian society.

Youssef Chahine attracted international attention in 1958 by filming *Bab al-Hadid* (*Cairo Station* or *Cairo Main Station*), a film in which he starred. Chahine played the role of Kinawi, a crippled newspaper seller, who is hopelessly in love with the beautiful but indifferent Hanuma, who is a lemonade seller in the same station. Swept away by his obsession, Kinawi kidnaps the object of his passion, which results in tragic consequences. Chahine's film brought into the light the issues of sexuality and repression, obsession and violence among the marginalized part of the Egyptian society. *Bab al-Hadid* received much attention at the Berlin Film Festival and raised much controversy in Egypt. As a result of the controversy, the film was a box-office failure in Egypt.

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Youssef Chahine (Yusuf, Yusif Shahin)  
**Birth:** 1926, Alexandria, Egypt  
**Nationality:** Egyptian  
**Education:** Victoria College (U.K.), Alexandria University (Egypt), and Pasadena Playhouse (U.S.)

## PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1948:** Returns to Egypt from the United States, begins a professional career in filmmaking
- **1950:** Debuts film *Baba Amin*
- **1951:** Invited to Cannes Film Festival for *Nile Boy*
- **1954:** Introduces Omar Sharif in *Sira fi'l-Wadi (Struggle in the Valley/Blazing Sky)*
- **1958:** Earns reputation as strong filmmaker in Egypt and beyond with *Bab al-Hadid (Cairo Station)*
- **1964:** Voluntarily exiles himself to Lebanon due to conflicts with the government-backed film industry
- **1968:** Returns to Egypt, directs first Soviet-Egypt coproduction *al-Nas fil-Nil (People of the Nile or People and the Nile)*
- **1970:** Earns Grand Prix of the Carthage Film Festival
- **1973:** Forms his own production Misr International Productions; Directs *al-Ufzur (The Sparrow)*
- **1976:** Suffers heart attack after the box-office failure of *Awdat al-ibn al-dhal (Return of the Prodigal Son)*, has open heart surgery in London
- **1978:** Directs an autobiographic film *Iskandariyya ... Leih? (Alexandria ... Why?)*
- **1979:** Awarded the Special Jury Prize (Silver Bear) at the Berlin Film Festival for *Alexandria ... Why?*
- **1985:** Writes and directs *Adieu Bonaparte* about Napoléon's Egypt campaign
- **1994:** Writes and directs *Emigrant* about the life of prophet Joseph, based on biblical motives
- **1996:** The Locarno Film Festival holds a thirteen-day retrospective of all Chahine films
- **1997:** Awarded the Prix de Cinquatieme at the Cannes Film Festival
- **1999:** Screens *al-Akhar (The Other)* at the New York Film Festival
- **2001:** Screens *Silence... We Are Rolling* at the New York Film Festival

Also in 1958, Chahine produced another film, bold and full of controversy and political statements: *Jamila Buhrayd (Jamila the Algerian)*. The film depicted the problems of an Algerian woman who had to pass through violence and deprivations during the resistance movement of Algeria against the French occupation. The film introduced a different point of view from the traditional attitude toward a woman and her role in society.

In 1961, because of the illness of filmmaker Ezzedine Zulfigar, who was intended to shoot a film on Saladin, the epic Muslim ruler who fought the Crusaders, Chahine was invited by the government to make the film. The film *Saladin* was produced in 1962. Chahine added his own views to the twelfth-century ruler's story, emphasizing tolerance toward other religions. The primary purpose of the film was to echo the contemporary efforts of Egyptian president Gamal Abdel Nasser to unite the Arab countries against foreign influence. After having defeated Richard the Lionhearted, Saladin pledges that Arab Jerusalem would be open to the pilgrims of all religions. The film was successful as the greatest historic epic of the Egyptian cinema. Chahine himself played one of the main roles in this film.

During the several following years Chahine found himself increasingly in conflict with the government-backed film industry of Egypt and its heavy political restrictions in filmmaking. In 1964 he voluntarily went into exile to Lebanon, where he shot two musicals: *Bayya al-Khawatim (1965, Ring Seller)* and *Rim al-Dhahab (1967, Sands of Gold)*. *Ring Seller* became one of the best musicals of Arab cinema, bringing success to Youssef Chahine, whereas *Sands of Gold*, due to delays in shooting and its box-office failure, forced him to quite his work in Lebanon and return to Egypt.

In Egypt Chahine shot his first joint Soviet-Egyptian film called *al-Nas fil-Nil (People of the Nile or People and the Nile)*. The film was about the Aswan Dam and Chahine used the plot of the film to uncover the problems of the contemporary Arab society, featuring the rural Egypt and the issues surrounding the idea of building the huge dam over the Nile. The film was ready in 1968. Neither the Soviet nor the Egyptian governments were satisfied with the ideological taking of the film, and *al-Nas fil-Nil* showed up in cinemas only in 1972.

In 1969 Chahine directed *al-Ard (The Land or The Earth)*, featuring rural Egypt of the 1930s and the competing interests over controlling the land, which drew parallels with contemporary Egypt. The Sadat government of Egypt banned the film. However, Chahine was awarded the Grand Prix (Tanit d'Or) of the Carthage Film Festival for this work in 1970.

Chahine in 1973 directed the film *al-Ufzur (The Sparrow)* about the 1967 War. The film, which blamed the

failure of the war on the internal problems of the Egyptian society, was also banned by the Egyptian government.

In 1976 he released the film *Awdat al-ibn al-dhal* (*Return of the Prodigal Son*). This film was the first Algerian-Egyptian joint film and symbolized the changes in Arab society. According to the film, the Arab activist Ali is arrested, and while he was suffering in jail his brother was tyrannizing his family. The family eagerly awaits the return of Ali, their only hope against the tyranny of his brother. Nobody recognizes Ali when he finally returns to a big party at his house after long sufferings, and to everybody's surprise shortly after his return he sides with the tyranny of his brother. After the box-office failure of this new film, Chahine suffered a heart attack and had open heart surgery in London.

In 1978 Chahine directed an autobiographic film, *Iskandariyya ... Leih? (Alexandria ... Why?)*. The plot takes place during the struggle between German and British military forces in Egypt during World War II. A young Arab student, Yahya, who is Chahine's avatar in this case, falls in love with another man, a British soldier. Yahya loves William Shakespeare and dreams of studying filmmaking. The division between his world and the West, as well as his sexual awakening, forces him to seriously reevaluate his identity and allegiances. The film won the 1979 Silver Bear prize in the Berlin Film Festival. The themes tackled in this film, including the homosexual relations depicted, were regarded as highly controversial in Egypt. Chahine turned this film into a biographical quartet, continuing the film with *An Egyptian Story* (1982), *Alexandria, Again and Again* (1990), and *Alexandria ... New York* (2004).

Chahine presented the film *al-Muhajir (Emigrant)* in 1994, prepared on the biblical story of the prophet Joseph. The mere fact that a religious figure was depicted in the film created a controversy in Egypt.

In 1997 Chahine directed the film *al-Masir (Destiny)*, in which he attacked the fundamentalism in Islam by describing the problems of the twelfth-century philosopher Ibn Rushd (Averroes), who called for studying the teachings of the classic Greek philosophers and was opposed by the orthodoxy of his time. The same year he received the lifetime award of the Cannes Film Festival (Prix de Cinquatieme). This topic of radical religious orthodoxy and its impact on the society was further developed in his film *al-Akhar* (1999, *The Other*).

Chahine has directed over forty films and has served as a member of the jury in a number of film festivals (Cannes, Berlin, and Geneva).

#### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Chahine was deeply influenced by the fundamental political processes going on in Arab countries—the process of

### TRIUMPH AND NO ALIBIS

Egyptian director Youssef Chahine single-handedly disproves the stereotypes of political film. He triumphs over all the disadvantages, and uses none of the alibis, of Third World cinema while showing that a director can make personal films on controversial subjects and still reach large audiences.

FUJIWARA, CHRIS. *JACQUES TOURNEUR: THE CINEMA OF NIGHT-FALL*. BALTIMORE, MD: JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY PRESS, 1998.

establishment of independent countries in the Middle East, the Arab-Israeli wars, and the domestic political struggles over the political systems in these countries, including the confrontation between the conservative traditionalism and the modern political, and civic values and the East-West divide in the Arab communities. Many of his films were marked by the huge controversies they caused in Egypt, and some of his films were banned in his home country for the same reason.

Unlike many film directors in Egypt who operated within the confines of local tradition and political restraints, Chahine used his films as an art of self-expression, which recognized no restrictions or boundaries. This brought his films into numerous conflicts with local tradition (*Cairo Station* and *Jamila the Algerian* in 1958, *Dawn of a New Day* in 1964, *Return of the Prodigal Son* in 1976, *Alexandria... Why?* in 1978, *Emigrant* in 1994 and the *Destiny* in 1997), as well as the government policies (*People and the Nile* in 1968, *The Land* in 1969, the *Sparrow* in 1973).

Chahine seemed to have his own independent view on the social and political processes going around him and his country, and in some of his films one could see an ambition to use cinema as a tool of change in society.

#### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

Chahine gained international recognition for the consistently high standards he maintained in his films, and his courage to stand up for his ideas even when his views represented the minority in his society. The awards that he received in the Carthage (1970) and Berlin (1979) film festivals, and the demonstration of a thirteen-day retrospective of all Chahine films at the Locarno Film Festival, all coincided with the period when Chahine was under ideological attacks at home for the controversies his films were creating in Egypt.

## LEGACY

Chahine's opposition to the marginalization and violence in traditional societies (depicted in the movies *Cairo Station*, *The Land*), propagation of religious tolerance and opposition to religious hostilities (*Saladin*), opposition to the usage of extreme religious ideology as a political tool (*Emigrant*, *Destiny*, *The Other*), and many other values of tolerance, peace, and love, resonating with Western liberal ideas earned him much respect among the international audience.

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*Adil M. Asgarov*

## CHALABI, AHMAD (1944–)

Controversial even before the United States invaded Iraq in 2003, Ahmad Abd al-Hadi Chalabi more than any other Iraqi was associated with the American decision to invade Iraq and topple the government of SADDAM HUSSEIN.

## PERSONAL HISTORY

Chalabi, a member of a Shi'ite Muslim banking family with close ties to the Hashemite kingdom installed by the British imperial authorities in Baghdad, Iraq, after World War I, was born in Baghdad on 30 October 1944. His father, Abd al-Hadi Chalabi, was a cabinet member under the monarchy. Because of their close ties to the monarchy, Chalabi and his family fled Iraq in July 1958 during the bloody military coup that established a republic. Ahmad Chalabi obtained a B.S. in mathematics from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) in 1965, and a Ph.D. in mathematics from the University of Chicago in 1969. He taught mathematics at the American University of Beirut thereafter until 1977.

## INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

In 1977 Chalabi left Lebanon and founded Petra Bank in Jordan. When the Jordanian government announced

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Ahmad Chalabi

**Birth:** 1944, Baghdad, Iraq

**Family:** Married, wife: Leila Osseiran (Lebanese); four children

**Nationality:** Iraqi

**Education:** B.S. (mathematics), Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1965; Ph.D. (mathematics), University of Chicago, 1969

## PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1977:** Establishes Petra Bank in Jordan
- **1989:** Flees Jordan when Petra Bank collapses
- **1992:** Sentenced in absentia to twenty-two years in prison by Jordanian military court; establishes Iraqi National Congress (INC)
- **1996:** Iraqi offensive uproots INC headquarters in Irbil
- **2003:** United States invades Iraq
- **2004:** Iraqi government issues warrant for his arrest
- **2005:** Minister of oil, deputy prime minister in the Iraqi government

in August 1989 that all Jordanian banks needed to deposit 30 percent of their reserves with the Central Bank of Jordan, Petra Bank was the only one that did not. Chalabi fled the country; the bank collapsed when it was discovered that it had a more than \$200 million deficit, and he subsequently was tried and convicted in absentia of bank fraud by a Jordanian military court in 1992.

Chalabi turned to Iraqi politics after his bank collapsed in 1989. He became a leading but controversial opponent of Iraqi president Saddam Hussein who, in June 1992, helped found the Iraqi National Congress (INC) in London. Until Chalabi's Pentagon-staged return during the U.S. invasion of Iraq in 2003, he had lived in exile for forty-five years. When he studied at MIT and the University of Chicago, he developed connections that would later serve his ambitions. He had relative success lobbying the U.S. halls of power for "regime change" in Iraq, particularly among so-called neoconservatives who were out of power during the administration of President Bill Clinton in the 1990s. Clinton did support Chalabi, however. The Central

Intelligence Agency (CIA) poured millions of dollars into the INC, which by the mid-1990s had a small army in the autonomous Kurdish region of northern Iraq. An INC-planned military offensive in March 1995 failed, and the following year, Iraqi army forces pushed the INC out of northern Iraq, capturing and executing dozens of its leaders. An attempted March 1996 military coup against Saddam also failed.

Despite such setbacks, Chalabi persisted. He claimed credit for passage of the February 1998 Iraqi Liberation Act by the U.S. Congress, which provided for \$97 million to be provided for the overthrow of Saddam. Much if not most of this ended up going to the INC. Chalabi's critics allege that he promised to privatize Iraqi oil and privilege U.S. companies in return for U.S. assistance in grabbing power in Baghdad. Doubts were being expressed about Chalabi's reliability in the halls of power in Washington, but he had influential friends in the Pentagon and the media. His sources provided much of the information about alleged Iraqi weapons of mass destruction upon which the administration of President George W. Bush relied in making the case for invading Iraq to the American people and the world, information that later was found to be faulty and often downright false. Chalabi also assured the Americans that the Ba'athist regime would topple quickly, and that the Iraqi people would welcome the Americans as liberators. After the 2003 U.S. invasion of Iraq, the United States appointed him to the Iraqi Governing Council that was formed to help American occupation officials run the country.

#### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

Chalabi proved to be one of the most divisive and controversial figures associated with the American-led war against Iraq. He and the INC had negligible support within the country, both before and after the invasion. His support among the U.S. State Department and intelligence professionals waned even more after the invasion, when the Pentagon's predictions about Iraq, based mostly on intelligence provided by the INC, turned out to be inaccurate. However, he continued to have the support of the Pentagon. Even this began to fade. In addition to doubts expressed about the quality of the supposed intelligence he had been supplying before the war, questions were raised about the INC's finances. In May 2004, American troops raided the INC's offices in Baghdad as part of an investigation into the group. In August 2004, the Iraqi government issued an arrest warrant against him, but he was out of the country at the time.

The government never did go on to prosecute Chalabi, who eventually went on to serve as minister of oil in the interim Iraqi government in April–May 2005 and again in December 2005–January 2006. He also was

deputy prime minister from May 2005 until May 2006. In the December 2005 parliamentary elections in Iraq, the INC did not win a single seat. He went on to head Iraq's Supreme National Commission for De-Ba'athification.

#### LEGACY

Chalabi will forever be remembered as a key figure behind the American decision to invade Iraq in 2003.

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*Karim Hamdy  
updated by Michael R. Fischbach*

## CIECHANOVER, AARON (1947–)

An Israeli biologist who in 2000 was awarded the Albert Lasker Award for Basic Medical Research, Aaron (Aharon) J. Ciechanover was also a corecipient of the 2004 Nobel Prize in Chemistry for the discovery of ubiquitin-mediated protein degradation.

#### PERSONAL HISTORY

Ciechanover was born on 1 October 1947 in Haifa, mandatory Palestine, to Yitzhak and Bluma (née Lubashevsky) Ciechanover, Jews from the Polish city of Ciechanów (hence his surname) who moved to Palestine in the mid-1920s. He received an M.S. in 1971 and an M.D. in 1974 from the Hadassah Medical School of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Ciechanover later received a D.Sc. in medicine in 1982 from the Technion (Israel Institute of Technology) in Haifa. He did postdoctoral research on lasialoglycoprotein and transferrin receptors at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology from 1981 to 1984, and currently is a professor in the Unit of Biochemistry and director of the Rappaport Family Institute for Research in Medical Sciences at the Technion. Since 2003 he also has been a visiting professor in the division of pulmonary and critical care medicine at Northwestern University's Feinberg School of Medicine in Chicago.

#### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Ciechanover grew up in a middle-class family that valued education and learning. In October 1972, Ciechanover



*Aaron Ciechanover.* AP IMAGES.

began his M.D. thesis research with the Israeli biochemist AVRAM HERSHKO. That began a three-decades long collaboration between the two. From 1972 to 1973 Ciechanover did research, prior to his three years military service from 1973 to 1976. He decided that research, not clinical medical practice, was what really interested him, and in November 1976 he began graduate studies with Hershko at the Technion. He and Hershko also collaborated with American Irvin A. Rose from the Fox Chase Cancer Center in Philadelphia, a collaboration that led to their pioneering work in the ways that unnecessary proteins are destroyed (protein degradation).

#### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

The caliber of Ciechanover's work can be seen in the fact that he belongs to several important organizations and has received several prestigious awards over the years. From 1996 to at least 2007, he has been a member of the council of the European Molecular Biology Organization. In 1997 he won the Henry Taub Prize at the Technion for Excellence in Research, followed two years later by the Wachter Prize of the University of Innsbruck, Austria (which he shared with Hershko). Capping off his career, Ciechanover, along with Hershko

### BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Aaron (Aharon) Ciechanover  
**Birth:** 1947, Haifa, mandatory Palestine  
**Family:** Wife, Menucha; one son, Yitzhak (called Tzachi)  
**Nationality:** Israeli  
**Education:** M.S., the Hadassah Medical School, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1971; M.D., the Hadassah Medical School, Hebrew University of Jerusalem 1974; D.Sc. (medicine), Israel Institute of Technology (the Technion), Haifa, 1982

#### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1972:** Begins collaboration with Israeli biochemist Avram Hershko
- **1973:** Begins three years service in the Israeli military
- **1981:** Begins three-year postdoctoral fellowship at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology
- **1996:** Member of the council, European Molecular Biology Organization
- **1997:** Awarded the Henry Taub Prize at the Technion for Excellence in Research
- **1999:** Awarded the Wachter Prize of the University of Innsbruck, Austria (along with Hershko)
- **2003:** Becomes visiting professor in the division of pulmonary and critical care medicine, Northwestern University's Feinberg School of Medicine, Chicago
- **2004:** Awarded Nobel Prize in Chemistry (along with Hershko and Irwin Rose)

and Rose, won the 2004 Nobel Prize in Chemistry—the first time that Israelis had won a Nobel Prize in science. In making the award, the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences noted:

Proteins build up all living things: plants, animals and therefore us humans. In the past few decades biochemistry has come a long way toward explaining how the cell produces all its various proteins. But as to the *breaking down* of proteins, not so many researchers were interested. Aaron Ciechanover, Avram Hershko and Irwin Rose went against the stream and at the beginning of the 1980s

*Ciechanover, Aaron*

discovered one of the cell's most important cyclical processes, regulated protein degradation. For this, they are being rewarded with this year's Nobel Prize in Chemistry.

**LEGACY**

In addition to his important scientific contributions, Ciechanover, along with Hershko, will be remembered as the first Israelis ever to win a Nobel Prize in science.

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*Michael R. Fischbach*

## DAHLAN, MUHAMMAD (1961–)

Muhammad Yusuf Dahlan is a Palestinian activist, security official, and politician in the Palestinian Authority.

### PERSONAL HISTORY

Dahlan was born on 29 September 1961 in the Khan Yunis refugee camp in Gaza. His parents were Palestinian Arab Muslims from Hammama, Palestine, and became refugees during the 1948 War. In 1981, Dahlan helped establish Shabiba, the Fatah Youth Movement in Gaza, and was an activist fighting against the Israeli occupation there. Israeli occupation authorities jailed him eleven times by the time he turned twenty-five, and he learned to speak Hebrew fluently as a result of his time in prison. Dahlan was initially active in the first Palestinian intifada that began in late 1987, but was deported to Jordan by the Israelis in 1988.

After traveling to the headquarters of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) in Tunis, Tunisia, Dahlan became a protégé of YASIR ARAFAT, chairman of both Fatah and the PLO. Arafat assigned him to work on organizing the ongoing intifada protests in the Occupied Territories of the West Bank and Gaza. When the Oslo peace process led to the creation of the Palestinian Authority (PA) in part of the West Bank and Gaza in 1994, Arafat selected Dahlan to head the Gaza branch of a new PA security agency, the Preventative Security Force (PSF). Dahlan thus became one of the most powerful men in Gaza. He regularly met with Israeli security officials as part of the ongoing peace process, and had good contacts with Egyptian leaders and the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) as well. The PSF in Gaza soon grew to over 20,000 men, and suppressed anti-Arafat dissent ruthlessly. Arafat ordered Dahlan to arrest Hamas militants after a series of suicide bombings against Israeli targets in early 1996, and Dahlan rounded up some 2,000 of them. Gaza was sometimes nicknamed “Dahlanistan.”

Dahlan also was a leader of the “young guard” of Fatah activists in the West Bank and Gaza, native activists who had fought against and suffered under the Israeli occupation. They resented the power and corruption of the “old guard” Fatah members who also arrived with Arafat in 1994, most of whom were not native to Gaza and who had never experienced the occupation. Some of the old guard also profited handsomely in their new posts through corruption. While Dahlan was accused of this as well, the Gaza public generally spared him the same level of criticism leveled at the outsiders.

Arafat brought Dahlan along during Israeli-Palestinian negotiations in the late 1990s. He was part of the Palestinian negotiating team at the Wye River talks in October 1998, the Camp David II talks in July 2000, and the Taba



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# D





**Muhammad Dahlan.** UZI KEREN/LIAISON/GETTY IMAGES.

talks of January 2001, where he was a specialist on security issues related to Israeli redeployments, prisoner releases, and other topics. Unlike the other Palestinian negotiators, who spoke English with their Israeli counterparts, Dahlan would engage the likes of Israeli chief of staff (and later defense minister) Shaul Mofaz in private tête-a-têtes in Hebrew.

The outbreak of the second (or al-Aqsa) intifada in October 2000 marked the effective end of the Oslo peace process, as well as Dahlan's easy relationship with the Israelis. Israeli forces even bombed his PSF headquarters in November 2000. In mid-2001, Israeli forces "accidentally" fired on his motorcade after he returned from a session of talks with other Israelis about how to end the violence. Despite this, Dahlan worked to keep his PSF forces from participating in the fighting with the Israelis. He also tried to expand his influence among PSF officers in the West Bank, the territory of rival PSF commander Jibril Rajub. A vicious turf war broke out between the two until Rajub was sidelined in March 2002. When the Israeli army reoccupied large parts of the PA territory that month, Rajub surrendered his PSF headquarters without a fight, and suffered a public relations beating from the Palestinian public. Arafat, too, was sidelined for a different reason: The Israelis besieged him in his compound in Ramallah, the Muqata'a. Dahlan joined with four other

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Muhammad Dahlan

**Birth:** 1961, Khan Yunis refugee camp, Gaza

**Family:** Wife, Jalila; four children

**Nationality:** Palestinian

**Education:** Business administration studies, Islamic University of Gaza; did not complete because he was deported in 1988

### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1981:** Helps establish Shabiba, Fatah Youth Movement
- **1988:** Deported to Jordan by Israeli occupation authorities
- **1994:** Becomes head of PA's Preventative Security Force (PSF) in Gaza
- **2000:** Part of Palestinian negotiating team at Camp David II summit
- **2001:** Part of Palestinian negotiating team at Taba summit
- **2002:** Resigns as PSF chief in Gaza
- **2003:** Becomes minister of state for security affairs in PA
- **2006:** Elected to Palestinian Legislative Council
- **2007:** Becomes head of PA's Palestinian National Security Council

Palestinian leaders—Hanan Asfour, Nabil Shaath, Saeb Erekat, and Muhammad Rashid (the "Gang of Five")—in effectively running the PA from March to May 2002.

**Struggles over the Security Apparatus** Dahlan harbored hopes that he could become the leader of a new, unified security force that would replace the several different agencies created by Arafat. American and Israeli officials had criticized the multiplicity of PA forces as well, and also demanded that someone other than Arafat control them. Dahlan also angered Arafat by calling for reform within the PA. He resigned as Gaza PSF head in June 2002, hoping to be appointed to a position in control of all security forces, but Arafat refused to go along with the idea. However, he did appoint Dahlan his national security adviser, a post that did not carry any control over the security apparatus. Three months later, Dahlan resigned from the new position.

Under pressure from Israel and the United States, Arafat eventually agreed to create a prime minister's position in the PA, a post that would include control over the security forces. The first PA prime minister, MAHMUD ABBAS, tapped Dahlan in April 2003 to become minister of state for security affairs in order to reorganize these forces. But Arafat still refused to maintain control over them, and countered Abbas's appointment of Dahlan by selecting his bitter rival, Rajub, to the new post of national security adviser to the president. Dahlan continued his work anyway, and arranged for Hamas to agree to a cease-fire (which soon fell apart). But he soon exited the cabinet when Abbas resigned as prime minister in September 2003 and the new prime minister, Arafat loyalist Ahmad Qurei, refused to reappoint him.

Dahlan's supporters in Gaza were angered and staged protests. Dahlan himself continued his calls for reform within Fatah and curbing the power of the old guard outsiders. He eventually was appointed minister of civil affairs. Reports also surfaced that he was involved in secret talks with Israel and the United States over the possibility of his assuming control over PA security forces in Gaza following the Israeli withdrawal from all of Gaza that took place in August 2005. Even though Dahlan no longer formally controlled the Gaza PSF, he retained influence within the group. He also was engaged in rivalries with other security officials there—what some Israeli commentators called a turf struggle among “warlords”—including Nasir Yusuf, Ghazi Jabali, and Musa Arafat, a relative of Yasir Arafat. When Musa Arafat was assassinated in September 2005, some accused Dahlan of being behind the murder. Some claim that the rivalries were less about politics than about real estate and other lucrative business activities and rackets.

In January 2006, Dahlan was elected to the Palestinian Legislative Council. Despite opposition from the Hamas-led PA government, PA president Mahmud Abbas reconstituted the Palestinian National Security Council in March 2007, and appointed Dahlan to head it.

#### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Dahlan no doubt was strongly influenced by his upbringing as a Palestinian refugee in overcrowded and underdeveloped Gaza. Not even seven years old when Israel occupied Gaza in June 1967, his formative years as an adolescent and teenager were spent under the heel of a foreign occupation. As a young adult, he cut his teeth fighting the occupation and spending considerable time in Israeli prisons. It therefore comes as no surprise that his adult years were spent involved in the rough-and-tumble world of warfare and security matters. By the 1990s, however, he came to appreciate the need for a negotiated settlement with Israel for the sake of the Palestinians'

### CONTEMPORARIES

Jibril Rajub (1953–) was born in Dura, near the West Bank town of Hebron to a Muslim Arab Palestinian family. Rajub joined Fatah as a teenager. He spent seventeen years in Israeli prisons for his activities until he was released in an Israeli-Palestinian prisoner exchange in 1985. A major Fatah leader in the West Bank, Rajub later was deported by Israeli authorities in 1988 during the first Palestinian intifada. At PLO headquarters in Tunis, he helped guide the intifada as a deputy to Fatah security chief Khalil al-Wazir (Abu Jihad).

With the establishment of the Palestinian Authority (PA) in 1994, Rajub headed the West Bank branch of the PA's Preventative Security Force (PSF). As such, he became one of the most powerful figures in the PA, as well as a bitter rival of Muhammad Dahlan, head of the PSF in Gaza. PA President Yasir Arafat dismissed him in April 2002, but reconciled with Rajub in 2003 and later appointed him national security adviser. He continued in this position under PA President Mahmud Abbas, who later appointed Rajub to the senior Fatah leadership in December 2006.

future. As PSF head in Gaza, the base of Hamas and Islamic Jihad, he worked hard to curb violent opposition to Arafat and the Oslo peace process. Yet in doing so he helped foster a climate of violence and rule by force in the PA, rather than rule by law. And despite his calls for reform within Fatah and the PA, he also has been associated with corruption and strong-arm tactics.

#### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

Palestinian opinion about Dahlan has varied over the years. He has long been considered a popular “hometown boy made good” in Gaza, who proved himself by his early years in Israeli prisons. But after the peace process turned sour, and as Hamas in particular gained more popularity in the PA territory, his close association with Arafat and his heavy-handed tactics against Hamas worked against him. So, too, did his close cooperation with Israeli and American security officials.

Israeli and American negotiators generally considered him a pragmatic, even charismatic figure. President George W. Bush once famously said of him at the Aqaba summit in 2003, “I like that young man.” Many in the

## NOTHING TANGIBLE WAS ON THE TABLE

[At the 2000 Camp David II summit] President Bill Clinton was serious and conscientious and had high hopes of ending the conflict between the two peoples. However, the state department and White House team in charge of the file always viewed the issue in terms of Israeli demands. They thought that every time the Israelis conceded something, this should be enough for the Palestinian side. It had nothing to do with the logic of justice or a fair solution. The logic was that anything Israel was ready to relinquish, you Palestinians should just take.

(MUHAMMAD DAHLAN IN *BITTERLEMONS*. "A PALESTINIAN VIEW: NOTHING TANGIBLE WAS ON THE TABLE. AN INTERVIEW WITH MUHAMMAD DAHLAN." *BITTERLEMONS* 26 [15 JULY 2002]. AVAILABLE FROM [HTTP://WWW.BITTERLEMONS.ORG.](http://www.bitterlemons.org))

Middle East and the world considered Dahlan a possible replacement for Yasir Arafat, although that did not materialize after the veteran leader's death in late 2004.

### LEGACY

Muhammad Dahlan remains an important force within the PA, and it is too early to assess his legacy other than to say that he surely will be remembered as one of the significant political figures in the early years of the PA.

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*Michael R. Fischbach*

## DARRAJ, FAISAL (1942–)

One of the foremost Palestinian literary and cultural critics writing in Arabic today, Faisal Darraj publishes widely in Arabic newspapers, journals, and magazines. In addition to writing about literature and culture, Darraj

also comments on issues affecting Palestinian and Arab politics, in particular globalization, culture loss, and the crises facing intellectuals in the Arab world. His primary perspective is that of a Marxist who is highly critical of the U.S., European, and Israeli governments for what he sees as their colonialist foreign policies.

### PERSONAL HISTORY

Darraj was born in 1942 in al-Ja'una, a village in the Galilee area of Palestine. The village was emptied of inhabitants and destroyed in the 1948 War. His family took refuge in Damascus, Syria, where Darraj studied for a B.A. in philosophy. He later received his Ph.D. in philosophy from Toulouse University in France in 1974 and published a dissertation titled "Alienation and Religious Alienation in Karl Marx's Philosophy." Darraj returned from France to Beirut, where he worked from 1975 to 1979 at the Palestinian Research Center, affiliated with the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). He lived in Beirut until the 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon. He then moved to Damascus where he

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Faisal Darraj

**Birth:** 1942, al-Ja'una, Palestine

**Family:** Married with children

**Nationality:** Palestinian

**Education:** B.A. in philosophy, Syria; Ph.D. in philosophy from Toulouse University (France).

### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1948:** Moves to Damascus when village is destroyed in 1948 War
- **Early 1970s:** Moves to France to study philosophy at Toulouse University
- **1975–1979:** Works at Palestinian Research Center in Beirut
- **1982:** Moves to Damascus following Israeli invasion of Lebanon
- **1998–1999:** Serves on Prize Committee for Sultan bin Ali Al Owais Cultural Awards
- **2002:** Wins Best Arab Book at the Advent of the Third Millennium at the Cairo International Book Fair and the Palestine Literary Prize for *Nathariyat al-Riwaya w'al-Riwaya al-Arabiyya*

## ABUSE OF DIGNITY

What makes a Palestinian youth, no more than 17, rush eagerly to his death? The more religious might answer it is the promise of paradise. But what turns a 27-year-old professional woman, who has no connection to any religious discourse, into a suicide bomber? The answer, like so much in this catastrophe, has nothing to do with a “terrorist essence,” and has everything to do with dignity, or in this case the need to avenge the abuse of dignity, degraded each and every day for half a century.

Some Arab and Islamic governments, of course, have developed an addiction to condemning “extremism,” by which they mean religious forces. One must remember, however, that these same governments are well practiced in the exercise of economic, political and ideological extremism. Whatever these governments do, though, [Israeli Prime Minister ARIEL] SHARON does better—i.e. more systematically, more bloodily—and is encouraged to do so by a lamentable Arab feebleness, fostered by U.S. political pressures and weapons, and by the Americanisation of the global decision-making process.

For years Israel has imposed the very conditions guaranteed to push Palestinians into rebellion, or more dangerous still, into rebellious despair. And when Palestinians respond as their tormentor intends, Israel brands that response terrorist, and then uses its own definition of the response as an excuse to employ the massive force of Tel Aviv’s artillery and warplanes. Israel’s racist settlement policy, indeed, can only exist if this vicious cycle of oppression, rebellion and punitive response to expected rebellion is maintained. As if peace, or even the prospect of peace, constitutes a devastating threat to Israel’s identity and to its overwhelming superiority in the Middle East, or as if peace can only be founded on Palestinian annihilation, or at least the annihilation of the sense of dignity of the Palestinian, Israel’s version of the Native American.

FROM AN OPEN LETTER BY FAISAL DARRAJ TO FRENCH  
PHILOSOPHER ÉTIENNE BALIBAR ADDRESSING BALIBAR’S  
COMMENTS ABOUT “SUICIDE BOMBING NOT BEING THE  
RIGHT FORM OF RESISTANCE.”

continues to live and work, although he commutes regularly to Amman, Jordan, where his family is located.

### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Marxism and French sociological theory play a major role in Darraj’s thinking. Among Darraj’s works (in Arabic) are: *Marxism and Religion* (1977); *Reality and Utopia: A Contribution in Literary Politics* (1989); *The Misery of Culture in the Palestinian Institution* (1996); *The Future of Arabic Criticism* (1998); *The Theory of the Novel and the Arabic Novel* (1999); *Memory of the Defeated: Defeat and Zionism in the Palestinian Literary Discourse* (2002); *The Novel and the Hermeneutics of History* (2004); and *Retreating Modernity: Taha Hussein and Adonis* (2005). He publishes regularly in Arabic in newspapers such as *al-Hayat* (London), *al-Dustur* (Jordan), *al-Safir* and *al-Nida* (Lebanon). His literary criticism is regularly featured in literary magazines and journals throughout the Levant, and appears occasionally in English in such journals as *al-Jadid Magazine: A Review and Record of Arab Culture and Arts* and *Banipal: Magazine of Modern Arabic Literature*. In the past he wrote for *al-Hadaf*, the publication of the leftist Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine that was founded by the Palestinian writer and intellectual Ghassan Kanafani.

He has also been active in distributing and promoting the scholarly work of other writers in journals and edited volumes. Between 1979 and 1982 he supervised the publication, in cooperation with the Arabic literature scholar Ihsan Abbas (a Palestinian scholar, poet, and translator), a six-volume publication of *Hasad al-Fikr al-Arabi* (The harvest of arab thought). In the years 1989 to 1994, he and Sa’dallah Wannus (a Syrian playwright) and Abd al-Rahman Munif (an intellectual, oil economist, and novelist) published a cultural journal called *Qadaya wa Shahadat* (Issues and testimonies). In conjunction with Jamal Barut, Darraj edited a six-volume series called *Masa’ir al-Hizb al-Siyasi fi’l-Alam al-Arabi* (The future of political parties in the Arab world). The series was published by the Arab Center for Strategic Studies, and included such titles as *Arab Nationalist Parties and Movements* (2 vols. 1997) and *Islamic Parties and Groups* (2 vols. 2000).

Darraj has also been interested in intellectual history of leftists, European theorists, and Palestinians. He supervised the translation of works by French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu and French anthropologist Claude Levi-Strauss into Arabic. He contributed to the special folio dedicated to Edward Said of *al-Karmil*, the Palestinian quarterly out of Ramallah edited by poet MAHMUD DARWISH (issue

no. 78, Winter 2004). He also wrote about Edward Said in an edition of *Alif: A Journal of Comparative Poetics* (no. 25, 2005), discussing Said's intellectual debt to the Italian communist Antonio Gramsci, who also combined political activism and theoretical writing. In December 2005, Birzeit University in the West Bank hosted Darraj via a videoconference session titled "Questions on the Intellectual and Meaning Production." His talk on "The Dilemma of the Arab Intellectual from Birth to Extinction" focused on the transformation of the role of the Arab intellectual in modern times. He has also regularly held a teaching position at the University of Damascus's Higher Institute of Theatre Arts.

#### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

Darraj has been recognized as writing some of the most sophisticated criticisms of modern Arabic literature. His book *Nathariyat al-Riwaya wa'l-Riwaya al-Arabiyya (Theory of the Novel and the Arabic Novel)* won the Palestine Literary Prize in 2002 and the prize for Best Arab Book at the Advent of the Third Millennium at the Cairo International Book Fair. He has served on the Prize Committee for 1998–1999 of the Sultan bin Ali Al Owais Cultural Awards, as a jury member of the Cairo Prize for the Arabic novel, and on various award committees in Tunisia, Palestine, Syria, and Jordan. Darraj is a member of a number of organizations, including the Association of Literary Critics.

Faisal Darraj has a rather pessimistic view on the current world situation. He writes extensively on what he calls *al-bu's al-thaqafi* (cultural misery), a concept he adapted from Karl Marx's work titled "The Misery of Philosophy." Darraj believes that globalization is equivalent to Americanization and that such globalization is "cultural standardization aimed at creating a single cultural norm on a global scale, standardization being the generalization of American cultural values and rejection of all other values" (Zabbal).

Darraj's criticism of repressive regimes, Arab and Western, extends into public criticism in the form of protest petitions. He signed the Affirmation of the Palestinian Right of Return, a document signed by one hundred Palestinians and which was presented to the United Nations secretary-general, the heads of Arab and European governments, and the PLO, among others. Another petition Darraj signed was part of what was called The Statement by 99 Syrian Intellectuals and was concerned with democracy and human rights in Syria. It called on the state to end martial law and the state of emergency, to pardon publicly all political detainees and exiles, and to establish a rule of law that respects freedoms of press, expression, and assembly, among other issues.

#### LEGACY

Few of his works have been translated into English, and thus Darraj is little known in the United States or the United Kingdom. Although he does publish in French, Darraj writes largely for an Arabic audience. Darraj is well known for taking strong stands on political issues and for his criticism of the powers that be. He has more recently been addressing the issue of Palestinian political plans, the role of the Palestinian intellectual, and the influences of the fighting and destruction in Iraq. He remains a secularist, and in public forums maintains that religious reform can only come as part of more comprehensive political and cultural reform.

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Rochelle Anne Davis

## DARWISH, MAHMUD (1942–)

Darwish is one of the leading Arab poets of the early twenty-first century and certainly the most eminent Palestinian poet since the late 1950s.

#### PERSONAL HISTORY

Darwish was born on 13 March 1942 to a landowning Muslim Sunni family who fled to Lebanon when their village, al-Birwa, was destroyed during the first Arab-Israeli war that led to the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948. Internationally recognized for his poetry of strong affection for a lost homeland, Darwish has become the main voice for the Palestinian struggle for independence. His poetry is simple in terms of style and vocabulary, but uses everyday words for effective expressions and profound feelings.

Darwish's village of Birwa in Galilee was razed to the ground by Israelis in 1948. At a later point his family



*Mahmud Darwish.* AP IMAGES.

chose to return to their homeland, and he grew up within the borders of Israel in the village of Dayr al-Asad to become an activist and briefly joined the Israeli Communist Party beginning in 1961. He then decided to pursue his higher education in the Soviet Union and he attended Moscow University in 1970 for a year. Darwish's political advocacy brought him a great deal of negative Israeli attention, which included harassment and house arrest. After he left Israel and completed a year of study in the USSR, he went to Egypt to work for the *al-Ahram* newspaper in Cairo. He then moved to Beirut, Lebanon.

#### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Darwish made his living as a journalist, worked for the Palestine Liberation Organization's (PLO) research center in Beirut starting in 1973, and edited a prestigious monthly magazine called *Shu'un Filistiniyya* (Palestinian affairs). He meanwhile was also publishing his poetry, which began to gain notoriety. His simple vocabulary and direct discourse about his uprootedness and exile marked most of his writings.

### BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Mahmud Darwish

**Birth:** 1942, al-Birwah, mandatory Palestine

**Family:** Twice divorced. First wife: Rana Qabbani (Syrian). Second wife: Hayat Heeni (Egyptian)

**Nationality:** Palestinian from Israel

**Education:** Secondary school; brief study at Moscow University, 1970

#### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1960:** Releases first collection of poetry, *Asafir Bila Ajniha* (Birds without wings)
- **1964:** Second poetry collection, *Awraq al-Zaytun* (Olive leaves)
- **1971:** Leaves Israel, moves to Egypt
- **1973:** Begins working for Palestine Liberation Organization's (PLO) research center in Beirut
- **1982:** Leaves Beirut for Tunis
- **1984:** Becomes president of the Union of Palestinian Writers and Journalists
- **1987:** Elected to PLO executive committee
- **1993:** Resigns from PLO executive committee
- **1995:** Settles in Ramallah, West Bank, in territory governed by the Palestinian Authority

By the time Darwish went to work for *al-Ahram* in Cairo, he by then had established and upheld a reputation as one of the leading poets of resistance. Many of his poems have been converted to music and were memorized not only by Palestinians, but Arabs everywhere.

His first collection of poems, *Asafir Bila Ajniha* (Birds without wings) appeared in 1960 when he was still a teenager. His collection *Awraq al-Zaytun* (Olive leaves; 1964) shaped his reputation as the a leading poet of Palestinian resistance. Love, politics, and the fate of his homeland were the major themes that dominated his writings. Open wounds, stones, and mirrors (the shape of the soul in a mirror) are recurring images in his works that merge the love for a woman with the love for the land that was lost.

In his prose writings as well as his poetry, Darwish has pondered the conflict between Israelis and Palestinians and qualified it as a struggle between two memories. His poems in many ways are chronicles of the tragic events within the Arab Middle East, and the many conflicts that afflict that

## CONTEMPORARIES

Adonis Samih al-Qasim (1939–). Born in al-Zarqa, Jordan, of a Palestinian family from al-Rama in the Galilee region of Palestine. He grew up in Nazareth and received his education there. His poetry expresses the resistance of Palestinian Arabs to Israeli rule, and because of that he was imprisoned on several occasions. He was one of the founders of the nationalist al-Ard organization in the late 1950s and early 1960s. He now lives in Haifa, and his collections include *Mawkiḥ al-Shams* (*Processions of the Sun*; 1958) and *Suqut al-Aqniya* (*The Fall of Masks*; 1969), and *Marathi Samih al-Qasim* (*Elegies of Samih al-Qasim*; 1973).

part of the world. “Qasidat Bayrut, a Poem for Beirut” chronicles the Israeli siege of Beirut during the summer of 1982. During that period Beirut was relentlessly bombed from June to August by the Israelis in an effort to oust the PLO out of the city. Ultimately the group left to temporarily settle in Tunisia, and Darwish relocated there as well.

In his poem “Memory of Forgetfulness,” published later in English in 1995, he reconstitutes painful memories in a fragmented text that refracts the war-ravaged scenes on the streets of Beirut, and hopes that “a jet fighter may not miss me.” In almost a hallucinatory incantation he relives the infernal dawns:

The sea is walking in the streets.  
 The sea is dangling from the windows and the  
 branches of shriveled trees.  
 The sea drops from the sky and comes into the room.  
 Blue white, foam, waves.  
 I don't like the sea.  
 I don't want the sea, because I don't see a shore,  
 or a dove.  
 I see in the sea nothing except the sea. (from  
 “Memory of Forgetfulness”)

### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

The sorrows of dispossession and of exile permeate all his poetry. His complex feelings are yet transmitted in simple accessible language. Workers, children, literati, and intellectuals memorize his lyrics. His poetry has gained great sophistication over the years and has gained international fame. He has published more than thirty collections, which have been translated into thirty-five languages. He is currently the editor in chief and founder of the prestigious literary review *al-Karmil*.

In 1998 he published a poetry collection (*Sarir al-Ghariba; Bed of the Stranger*), considered his first collection of love poems. In 2000 he published *Jidariyya* (*Mural*), a book consisting of one poem about his near-death experience in 1997. In 2002 his collection *Stage of Siege* was received with great enthusiasm throughout the Arab world and was selected as Readers Club Selection in 2003.

Darwish was granted the French Order of the Arts and Letters in 1993. He is also an honorary member of the Khalil Sakakini Cultural Center in Ramallah. He received the Lotus Prize from the Union of Afro-Asian Writers in 1969, the Lenin Peace Prize from the Soviet Union in 1983, the Prize for Cultural Freedom from the Lannan Foundation in 2001, and the Principal Award from the Prince Claus Fund for Culture and Development in 2004.

His earlier poems, read to Arab audiences in coffee houses on street corners and in village squares through Galilee, were memorized by all segments of the Palestinian population living within the Jewish state. The impact of his poetry, which places him at the vanguard of Palestinian poets, won him in 1969 the International Lotus Prize for poetry. Two years later Darwish chose exile to constant harassment by the Israeli authorities, including imprisonment and house arrest.

His volumes of poetry include *Asafir Bila Ajniha* (*Birds without wings*), *Awraq al-Zaytun* (*Olive leaves*) *Ashiq min Filastin* (*A lover from Palestine*), *Akhir al-Layl* (*The end of night*), *al-Asafir Tamut Jalil* (*Birds die in Galilee*), *Habibati Tashu min Nawmiha* (*My beloved wakes up*), *Uhibbuki, aw la uhibbuki* (*I either love you or I don't love you*), *Muhawala Raqm 7* (*Attempt no. 7*), *Tilka Suratuha wa hadha Intihar al-Ashiq* (*That is her picture and this the lover's suicide*), and *A'ras* (*Weddings*).

## A LOVER FROM PALESTINE

Your eyes are a thorn in my heart  
 Inflicting pain, yet I cherish that thorn  
 And shield it from the wind  
 I sheath it in my flesh, I sheathe it protecting  
 it from night and agony, and its wounds  
 lights the lanterns,  
 Its tomorrow makes my present  
 Dearer to me than my soul.  
 And soon I forget, as eye meets eye  
 That once, behind the doors, there were two  
 of us . . .

DARWISH, MAHMUD. *SELECTED POEMS*. MANCHESTER, ENGLAND:  
 CARCANET PRESS, 1973.

Darwish's works have been translated into English, Dutch, French, Italian, German, Polish, Japanese, Persian, Hebrew, Spanish, Russian, Malay, and Danish, to name a few languages. English translations of his work have appeared in the *International Poetry Review*, *Paintbrush*, *Mundus Artium*, and the *Journal of Arabic Literature*.

Among anthologies that include selections from his work are *A Lover from Palestine and Other Poems*, *Selected Poems: Mahmoud Darwish*, *The Anthology of Modern Arabic Poetry*, *Modern Arab Poets*, and *Splinters of Bones*.

Darwish has read his poetry to capacity audiences in many international cities, including Rotterdam, Damascus, Cairo, Prague, Tokyo, Moscow, Paris, New Delhi, London, Tunis, Belgrade, and Rome. He also held memorable appearances throughout the United States, mainly at major universities, as well as at the United Nations in New York.

In Darwish's masterpiece, *A Lover from Palestine*, the speaker, a true Arab who seeks answers in the wisdom of the forefathers, sings the elegy "of our homeland." He also finds salvation in the theme of his songs. Palestine remains "a virgin garden" as long as songs are sources of fertility that bring life to the land. The speaker in the poem becomes "the poet-warrior" of classical Arabic poetry, such as the ancestral Antar (529–619 CE) or the great al-Mutannabi (915–965 CE).

## LEGACY

Darwish will be remembered as the Palestinian poet laureate of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, as well as one of most significant poets anywhere in the Arab world during that time period.

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*Mona Mikhail*

## DAYAN, ASSI (1945–)

As a writer-director, Assaf ("Assi") Dayan is one of Israel's most prominent, controversial, and brilliant artists, who in his films criticizes some of his country's national values and myths. As an actor, he personifies



*Assi Dayan*. TIM BOXER/GETTY IMAGES.

first the myth and then the de-mystification of the Sabra, that is, the so-called Israeli new Jew whose good looks match his bravery and combat skills. Dayan's name was tied with repeated drug addictions as well as several failed marital adventures. He is also the author of several novels (*Table of Contents*) and popular songs.

## PERSONAL HISTORY

Dayan was born on 23 November 1945 in Nahalal, Palestine. He was the youngest son of Moshe Dayan, who was Israel's chief of staff and who later on, as minister of defense, was responsible for the victory against the Arab states in the 1967 War. His grandfather, Shmuel, was also a member of the Knesset (Israeli parliament) from Mapai Party, and his uncle, Ezer Weizman, was an air force commander, minister of defense, and the seventh president of the State of Israel. His older sister, Yael, is an author who was also in the Knesset and is a strong supporter of gay rights. It was probably this familial biography that turned Assi's filmic persona into the ultimate image of the Sabra, an image from which he most desperately tried to differentiate himself, both as an actor-director and in his persistently rebellious personal life and public statements.

After studying philosophy and English literature at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Dayan made his first screen appearance in *He Walked in the Fields*



## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Assaf (“Assi”) Dayan

**Birth:** 1945, Nahalal, Palestine

**Family:** Aarona Malkind (divorced; one daughter, Amalia and one son, Avner), Caroline Langford (divorced; 1 son, Lior), Smadar Kilchinsky (divorced), Vered Tandler-Dayan (separated), Augusta Noiman (never married; 1 child, Assia Noiman)

**Nationality:** Israeli

**Education:** Philosophy and English literature, the Hebrew University, Jerusalem

## PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1967:** Makes first screen appearance in *He Walked in the Fields*
- **1973:** Directorial debut
- **1992:** *Life according to Agfa* is awarded best picture by the Israeli film academy. Wins best director and screenplay awards
- **1996:** Best actor and screenplay awards for *Mr. Baum*
- **2006:** Best actor award for the TV series *BeTipul* and best actor award for appearance in *Things behind the Sun*

(1967). Based on Moshe Shamir’s classic novel that tells the story of Uri, a young kibbutz member who is torn between his love of Mika, a young immigrant, and his patriotic duties to the soon-to-be-established State of Israel (the book and the film take place in 1947, about a year before the foundation of Israel). This was one of the most successful films in the wave of nationalist-heroic films that appeared mainly after the 1967 War, and depicted young Sabras fighting and dying for their country.

The traumatic 1973 War, which shattered the heroic image of the Israeli army as well as the Israeli smugness after the victory in the 1967 War, also destabilized the heroic image of the Sabra. The Israeli invasion of Lebanon in June 1982 (which was not considered a purely defensive act) divided the Israeli society for the first time between those who supported the war and those who opposed it and further undermined the Sabra image. Dayan’s persona both on and off screen expressed this demystification.

In Uri Barbash’s *Beyond the Walls* (1984), nominated for an Academy Award as best foreign language film, Dayan

plays a political prisoner sentenced for anti-state actions (his character here is based on Udi Adiv, a leftist radical who in 1973 was tried and imprisoned for meeting Palestine Liberation Organization leaders in Damascus and forming an anti-Israeli Arab-Jewish underground). In *Till the End of the Night* (Eithan Green, 1985) Dayan portrays an ex-military commander in the Lebanese war who was disgracefully discharged, and in *Real Time* (Uri Barbash, 1991) he plays a colonel who was also discharged for making hasty and erroneous decisions under fire during the 1973 War and is now insistently fighting for his complete acquittal.

Dayan’s growing popularity as an Israeli film star led him to his directorial debut. *Invitation to Murder* (1973) was a local film noir, which told the story of an unusual police detective tracking a serial killer in the streets of Tel Aviv. Though not a significant film in the history of Israeli cinema, the film depicted Dayan’s nihilistic-surrealist approach toward contemporary life in Israel, which became clearer in his later films.

His next film, *Feast to the Eyes* (1975) is a black comedy in which a failed poet decides to put an end to his life in a remote northern Israeli town. Here too, Dayan’s obsession with death not only emphasized his own existentialist view but also served as a metaphor to the collective Israeli psyche whose endless obsession with death resulted in the mystification of martyrdom and the heroic self-sacrifice in the battlefield. In this film, Dayan corresponded with the same nationalist-heroic films in which he gained his stardom.

In 1976 Dayan wrote and directed *Giv’at Halfon Doesn’t Answer*, a kind of Israeli *M.A.S.H.*, that is one of most popular Israeli films ever made. It stars Ha-Gashash ha-Hiver, a mythological comic trio, and its absurd plot focuses on their adventures during reserve duty in the Sinai Desert. It was the first film to ridicule the Israeli army in a time—just after the traumatic 1973 War and prior to the political upheaval of 1977 in which the dominant Labor Party lost the Knesset elections for the first time—when a general feeling that the basic foundations and beliefs of the Israeli society has been severely shaken.

In the years following *Giv’at Halfon*, Dayan has made several low and common comedies (among them is the brilliantly funny social satire *Shlager* [1979] which also starred the Gashash trio). Mainly, these films did not attract either critical acclaim or special public attention. The only exception is *Final Exams*, a tender though didactic teen film about the unexpected pregnancy of a high school student.

In the 1990s Dayan made what one might call his Nihilist Trilogy, starting with the much acclaimed *Life according to Agfa* (1992), an apocalyptic film shot in stark black-and-white that uses the locale of a dirty Tel Aviv pub as a microcosm of the current Israeli society—decadent, violent, aimless, and hopeless. The Zionist utopia depicted was on the verge of a collective nervous

breakdown. Its clients consisted of the archetypal Zionist images: lonely and dependent women (Dalia, the pub's owner, played by Israeli leading actress, GILA ALMAGOR, or Ricky, a troubled young woman who left her husband and little boy in the kibbutz and was lost in the big hostile city), vulgar and aggressive military men (for example, Nimrod, a broken legged warrior who, along with his unit friends, provides a distorted and parodic image of the heroic male Sabra), and the Palestinian kitchen workers whose so-called otherness is manifested in the closed and unseen territory they inhabit. Dayan had himself reflected through Tcherniac (played by Israeli blues singer, Danny Litani), the pub's local musician who, through his satiric songs, expressed Dayan's own disparaging view of the Zionist dystopia.

The film, which gained critical and commercial success and was the subject of many arguments over its pessimistic views critical tones, ends with a violent outburst when Nimrod and his subordinates return to the pub (from which they were brutally expelled earlier) and start massacring most of the protagonists. Thus, Dayan's apocalypse depicts Israeli militarism and inherent violence as the basis for this society's own destruction that is due within "a year from now" as a caption at the beginning of the film says.

Next came *Electric Blanket* (1995), a surreal fantasy that follows a homeless person, a Romanian prostitute, and her philosopher pimp (who first appeared in *Agfa*) in a Dantean journey throughout a cemetery, prostitute beach, and finally an emergency room in the hospital. "No purpose. Just living, period," is a repeated motive in this film. Though a commercial and critical failure, there are some who consider the film to be one of the best Israeli films of the 1990s. Completing the trilogy is *Mr. Baum* (1997) which unfolds, in real time, in the last ninety two minutes in the life of Micky Baum (played by Dayan), a successful businessman who suffers from an incurable disease.

*Mr. Baum* fully represents the tension between the personal and the national that exists in all of Dayan's works—a tension that is represented by his own biography and screen persona. Thus, Micky Baum himself turns into national figure. A surrealist exhibition publicly displays a magnified and detailed re-creation of several objects—a half-eaten apple, a parking ticket—that are related to Baum's last moments. In that way, Micky Baum's life and death become a myth: a pungent satiric comment on a militant society that lives on the rituals of heroic-manly death. In a powerful scene of full frontal nudity toward the end of the film, Dayan's character takes his clothes off in order to have one last shower. His wretched body and bald forehead symbolize the above-mentioned decadence of the Sabra myth. In the end, it is not only Micky Baum who dies, but also the sum of the cinematic images incorporated in Dayan's own screen persona, a function of his familial identity as the son of one of the military architects of the glorious victory of the 1967 War.

## EXPLORING

Sabra is a slang term used, as from the 1930s, to define an Israeli-born Jew. It was also used by the Zionist movement to distinguish between the exilic Jew and the so-called new Jew who either left the Diaspora and emigrated to Israel, or was born there. Unlike the so-called old Jew in Europe who lived under the benevolence of his Gentile neighbors, the Sabra is identified by his strong body and good looks, and is capable of hard land work and of defending himself. He is mostly depicted as a kibbutz member and a heroic warrior. The term *Sabra* in Hebrew refers to the cactus plant. Its use in this specific cultural and social relation is attributed to the Israeli journalist Uri Keisari.

It may therefore come as no surprise that Dayan's next film was titled *The Gospel according to God* (2004). Dayan plays the title role, the Almighty, a dysfunctional father to adolescent son Jesus, as if referring to his complicated relationship with his own father while acknowledging his fundamental position in Israeli cinema and culture as creator of the filmic image of the mythological Sabra.

In 2004 Dayan portrayed his own father in the television film *Silence of the Sirens*, about the crucial days preceding the 1973 War.

## INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Dayan's films are positioned between two poles identified in Israeli cinema. On the one hand, there is personal-elitist cinema that was dominant in the sixties, much influenced by European modernists such as Michelangelo Antonioni and the French New Wave; films that, in the 1980s, transformed into and manifested the political-critical stance. And on the other hand, there were popular, low-brow comedies and melodramas that were mainly received with hostility and abhorrence by the cultural establishment.

As far as popular comedies are concerned, Dayan created a new jargon based on verbal absurdities and caricaturizations of ethnic accents as well as on ridiculing high culture. Many of those citations (taken mainly from *Giv'at Halfon* and *Shlager*) are frequently quoted and are an integral part of popular culture.

## THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

Early in his acting career, Dayan appeared in several foreign productions. Among them were John Huston's medieval melodrama *A Walk with Love and Death* (1969),

in which he played a young French scholar who falls in love with the noble Anjelica Huston; and Jules Dassin's *Promise at Dawn* (1970) where he portrayed the young Romain Gary (alongside Melina Mercouri). He also appeared in several Israeli-European coproductions, such as the action-thriller *The Uranium Conspiracy* (1978), directed by Israeli veteran Menachem Golan and starring Italian Fabio Testi.

#### LEGACY

Assi Dayan has made a distinguished career both as an actor and as a writer-director. He uses his popularity in the media (Dayan is a much desired and sharp interviewee) to tackle with issues that do not seek to flatter common audiences, as well as confronting existential ideas—the meaning of life and death, for example—which are not frequent themes in Israeli cinema. In that sense, Assi Dayan is that rare and unique combination of filmmaker and philosopher.

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*Amr Diab.* AMR NABIL/AFP/GETTY IMAGES.

#### *Shmulik Duvdevani*

## DIAB, AMR (1960–)

Amr Abd al-Basit Abd al-Aziz Diab (also Diyab) better known as Amr Diab, is an Arab singer and musician who is popular in Egypt and the Middle East. Several songs of his became hits and gained popularity in Europe and North America, as well. Diab also acted in several movies produced by Egyptians and participated in several advertisement clips with celebrities of the West such as Jennifer Lopez, Britney Spears, Pink, and Beyoncé Knowles.

#### PERSONAL HISTORY

Diab was born on 11 October 1960 in Port Said, Egypt. Diab's father Abd al-Basit Diab was the chairman of Marine Construction and Shipbuilding at the Suez Canal Corporation. Diab's father was the first person to notice that he had a talent for singing; when Diab was only six years old his father took him to the 23 July festival at Port Said, where Diab sang the national anthem of Egypt and Egyptian radio broadcast it. During that event Diab received his first prize, which was a guitar presented to him by the governor of Port Said.

After finishing school Diab entered the Cairo Academy of Art where he studied at the music department. Upon his graduation from the academy (1986), Diab issued his first music album *Ya Tariq/Hey, Road*. This album became an instant success and lay the foundation for his successful career in music with fifteen more albums, all of which brought popularity and fame to him. Diab became the first Arab musician to make a video for his songs.

Diab dabbled in the film industry, as well, and his appearance in *Dahabk wa La'ab/Laughter and Fun* together with the Egyptian actor Omar Sharif contributed to his fame. This film, directed by the Egyptian filmmaker Tarek al-Masani, opened the Egyptian Film Festival in 1993. Diab starred in a second film, *Ice Cream Fe Glim*, directed by Khayri Bishara.

Diab's album *Nur al-Ayn/The Light of the Eye*, released in 1996, became famous not only in the Middle East, but also in other countries of the world. The title song of the album and its English version, "Habibi/Sweetheart," became famous in India, Europe, and North America. The album also became the best-selling disk ever produced by any Arab singer. In 1997 Diab won three awards at the Annual Arabic Festival (for Best Video, Best Song, and Artist of the Year).

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Amr Diab (or Diyab)

**Birth:** 1960, Port Said, Egypt

**Family:** Married. First wife: Sherine Rida. One daughter: Nour (b. 1990). Second wife: Zina Ashour. Two sons, Abdullah and Kenzy (both b. 1999), one daughter: Jana (b. 2001)

**Nationality:** Egyptian

**Education:** Cairo Academy of Art 1986

## PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1983:** Releases his first album *Ya Tariq*
- **1993:** Stars with Omar Sharif in the movie *Dahabk wa La'abl/Laughter and Fun*
- **1996:** *Nur al-Ayn* became an international hit
- **1997:** Wins three awards at the Annual Arabic Festival
- **1998:** Receives Triple Platinum Award for the sales of *Nur al-Ayn*, receives the Worldwide Music Award
- **2000:** Releases *Tamalli Ma'ak*, blending Spanish and Arabic music styles

In 1998 Diab received a Triple Platinum Award for the sales of *Nur al-Ayn*, and received the Worldwide Music Award in Monaco on 6 May 1998 under the patronage of Prince Albert II of Monaco. The event was also attended by Gloria Estefan, Céline Dion, Mariah Carey, the Backstreet Boys, and Steven Seagal.

In 2000 Diab released his album *Tamalli Ma'ak/Let's Take a Walk*, where he introduced Spanish guitar into his Arab music. The novelty was a big success and the title song of the album became an international hit. Diab's other successful albums include *Awaduni (Come Back to Me, 1998)* and *Alam Albi (My Heart's Pain, 2003)*.

## INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Diab revolutionized Egyptian show business in several respects, and some of his biographers have referred to him as rebellious, because he challenged everything in Middle Eastern show business, starting from the hairstyle and appearance and ending with the music style, presentation, and financial scale of his projects.

Diab's blending of Western rhythms with Mediterranean and Middle Eastern music styles created a new

music style, referred to as Mediterranean music. His song "Tamalli Ma'ak"/"Let's Take a Walk," wherein he introduced Spanish guitar, is a good example of the genre.

He became the first Arab singer to make a video to accompany his songs. Diab's project *Nur al-Ayn* was the most expensive project in the music industry of the Middle East. The video for this song was the most lavish and expensive project in the Arab music production field and it set a new standard of video-making for his contemporaries.

## THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

Diab is one of the most popular and acclaimed Arab pop singers of the modern age. In 1997 he won three awards at the Annual Arabic Festival: one for Best Video, for Best Song, and for Best Artist of the Year. The following year Diab received a Triple Platinum Award for the sales of *Nur al-Ayn* and also received the Worldwide Music Award in Monaco.

## LEGACY

Diab will be remembered as a giant of Egyptian and Arab pop music, one of the top male singers of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries Arab world.

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Amr Diab's fan club. Available from <http://amrdiabnews.1forumer.com/>.

*Adil M. Asgarov*

## CONTEMPORARIES

Born in Cairo, Hani Shakir (1952–) is a popular Egyptian male singer and one of the most famous Arab singers of recent decades. He studied music at the prestigious Egyptian Conservatoire. His first big hit, "Halwa Ya Duniya" (It's a wonderful life), came in 1972. He has issued more than twenty albums since then.

Born in Kafrun, Syria, George Wassouf (1961–) moved to Beirut at a young age and became a Lebanese citizen. He became hugely popular in the Arab world when he was only sixteen years old, earning accolades for his fine voice. He has released more than thirty albums.

## DJAOUT, TAHER (1954–1993)

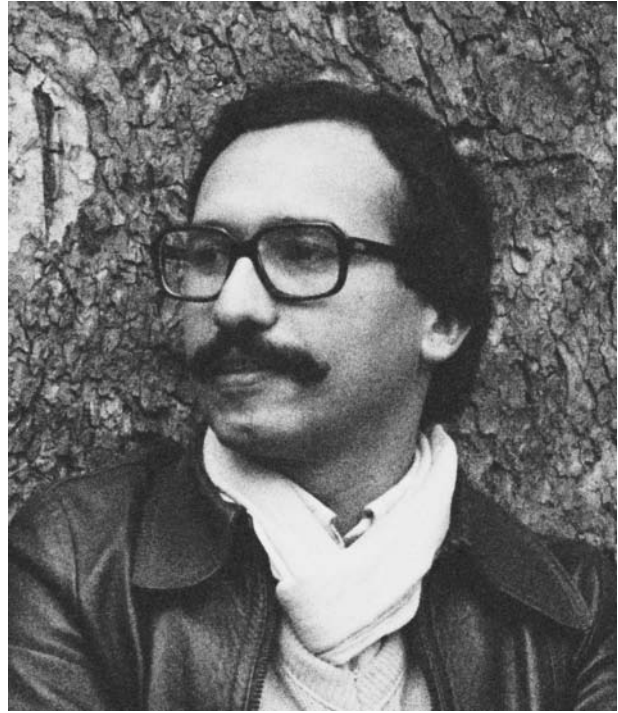
Algerian novelist, poet, and journalist Taher Djaout was one of the most notable literary activists to emerge in postrevolutionary Algeria. His work was highly critical of both the post-revolutionary government and the increasingly powerful Islamist movements. In 1993 Djaout was assassinated by Islamist militants, two years after he was awarded the Prix Méditerranée for his novel *Les Vigilies* (*The Watchmen*).

### PERSONAL HISTORY

Djaout was born on 11 January 1954 in the heavily Berber and secular city of Azeffoun, in Algeria's Kabyle province. It was in Azeffoun that he completed his primary and secondary schooling. Djaout attended the University of Algiers, where he studied mathematics and science in addition to journalism, graduating in 1974. By the age of twenty-two he had had a number of poems and stories published in Algeria, Tunisia, Belgium, and France. It was also at the age of twenty-two that Djaout began a career as a journalist, writing for the weekly *Algérie-Actualité*. Djaout would write with a most prolific pen over the next seventeen years, becoming one of the Maghreb's most articulate intellectuals representing Berber and Algerian Francophone identity.

Like many great works to emerge from political and sociocultural urgencies, the writings of Taher Djaout present a stark portrayal of the tensions in the postcolonial Maghreb. His writings convey a sense of immediacy as they denounce the loss of rational thought and rise of extremism. In this sense, the greatest influence on the writings of Djaout was the political situation in which Algeria was embroiled in his short lifetime. The fact that Djaout wrote exclusively in French led critics to question his Algerian identity. Despite the criticism, Djaout attacked these issues directly, incorporating themes of ethnic identity and historical memory into all of his works.

On 26 May 1993 Djaout was shot in the head by members of either the Groupe Islamique Armé (GIA; Armed Islamic Group) or the Front Islamique du Salut (FIS; Islamic Salvation Front)—reports are conflicting—outside his residence in Bainem. He slipped into a coma and died days later on 2 June in Algiers. His assassins fled the scene in Djaout's own automobile. Two of the three alleged murderers were killed by police; the third was apprehended and is credited with stating: "He wrote too well; he wrote with an intelligent pen; he was able to touch men; he was a danger to Islamist ideology." Besides being viewed as an enemy intellectual, Djaout was criticized for writing in French and not Arabic. For Islamists and Arabists, French-speaking intellectuals had no credibility within postcolonial Algeria,



Taher Djaout. © SOPHIE BASSOULS/CORBIS SYGMA.

devaluing their lives to the point where assassination was deemed justified. Djaout was thus a manifold danger to Islamism and the Algerian government, for not only was he critical of these militant groups, undermining their authority, but his writings in French were reminders of Algeria's colonial past, serving as a barrier to Arabization and Islamic purity.

Djaout's assassination was part of a larger slaughter of intellectuals critical of the myriad Islamist organizations that operated within Algeria in the 1990s. More complex than a civil war, the struggles within Algeria seemed to be those of a nation consuming itself, destroying its inner core. Others lost in this string of murders included sociologist Mohammed Boukhobza, who was brutally killed in front of his daughter; journalist Rabah Zenati, who was murdered in front of his parents' home; and the editor of the *Algérie-Actualité*, Abdelhamid Benmenni, who was killed in front of his family by fundamentalists disguised as police.

### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

In a more peaceful, heterogeneous Algeria, Djaout would have been recognized as a great young writer, akin to his fellow Berber Mouloud Mammeri. Writings by both would serve the resistance to the desire of the Algerian government to marginalize ethnic minorities. Djaout's

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Taher Djaout  
**Birth:** 1954, Azeffoun, Algeria  
**Death:** 1993, Algiers  
**Nationality:** Algerian  
**Education:** Bachelor's degree, University of Algiers, 1974

## PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1975:** Publishes volume of poems, *Solstice Barbelé*
- **1976:** Begins writing for weekly *Algérie-Actualité*
- **1981:** Poems, most notably "Africanité Ma Peau" (Africanness my skin), included in anthology of young Algerian poets
- **1983:** Publishes volume of short stories, *Les Rets de l'oiseleur*
- **1984:** Publishes novel, *Les Chercheurs d'os*
- **1986–1987:** Receives grant to study from the University of Oran; memoirs of this period published in 2004 as *Fragments d'itinéraire journalistique*
- **1987:** Publishes novel, *L'Invention du désert*
- **1991:** Awarded *Prix Méditerranée* for novel, *Les Vigiles*

novel *L'Invention de désert* (The invention of the desert, 1987) is his clearest expression of Berber sentiment, as he retraces the history of the Maghreb to demonstrate the importance of the Berbers to the region that would become Algeria. Like Mammeri, Djaout expressed a desire to maintain Berber identity amid growing cultural and religious homogeneity.

As a writer Djaout was a dexterous, expressive author who achieved fame first as a poet, then as a journalist, and finally as a novelist. His poetry is most stark in its expressions of postcolonial conflict, noting the tensions between Algeria's heterogeneous cultural landscapes. As a cultural outsider and intellectual, the Berber Djaout provided a keen journalistic eye during a tumultuous period in Algeria's history. His journalistic voice was one of a number of dissenters struggling against what they perceived as an abandonment of the ideals of the Algerian Revolution. His poetry was much more personal, expressing a desire to find and maintain his identity amid the struggles of postcolonial Algeria.

Although he was a prodigious poet and journalist, two works serve as exemplars of his recurrent themes of identity, reason, and the preservation of individualism. Djaout's 1984 novel *Les Chercheurs d'os* (The bone seekers) centers on a variety of characters searching for the remains of family members killed in the revolution against France. It is a meditation on history and memory, as the bones symbolize Algeria's past. More than anything, the book is critical of those—including the government—who have corrupted the memory of the 1954 revolution. The search for the bones of the dead not only represents a desire by Algerians to lay claim to their shared revolutionary past but is also a means to increase their status by demonstrating a tangible connection to a gloried era. The work makes clear Djaout's desire for a more objective, rational view of history, combating the monolithic official version of the past promoted by those in power.

Djaout's final novel was published posthumously from an unfinished manuscript found among his papers. Titled *Le Dernier Été de la raison* (1999; *The Last Summer of Reason*, 2001) this work contains what is perhaps his most

## EXPLORING

By the late 1980s the Algerian government had become increasingly authoritarian in its efforts to control the nation amid worsening economic problems. Many young, educated, and unemployed Algerians embraced Islamism as a response to both authoritarianism and the memory of French colonialism. Disturbances occurred throughout Algeria in 1988 due largely to worsening economic conditions, and compelled the government to legalize opposition parties. In 1990, in a major rebuke to the government, run by the National Liberation Front (FLN) since 1962, the Islamic Salvation Front (Front Islamique du Salut, FIS) swept local elections. In an attempt to prevent the FIS from winning control of the national government, the FLN redrew parliamentary districts for the national elections scheduled for 1991. The FIS won the first round of those elections anyway; a military coup then forced the cancellation of the elections, in addition to outlawing the FIS. This instability emboldened such groups as the Armed Islamic Group (GIA), which targeted intellectuals and foreigners in its desire to overthrow the "secular" Algerian government. The civil war that engulfed Algeria in the 1990s is estimated to have claimed as many as 200,000 lives.

direct and unveiled attack on Islamic fundamentalism. Indeed, much of the language is so vague that one could easily extrapolate his criticism into a critique of any form of extremist thought. The book is comprised of events narrated by a bookstore owner named Boualem Yekker, who, among other events, dreams of killing his extremist son and engages in Socratic-like dialogues with Islamists in an effort to destroy what he views as a limited, illogical, and dangerous worldview. As bones of dead revolutionaries serve as symbols of a tangible past in *Les Chercheurs*, books serve the same purpose in *Le Dernier Été*. Boualem questions whether it would be best to burn his books so that extremists could not steal them, thus corrupting logic and reason. Like Djaout's, Boualem's voice was dangerous, and a martyr's death ensured that the memory of what he stood for would persist.

### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

Djaout attained a high level of prestige and respect among French-speaking Algerian and Berber intellectuals during his lifetime. His writings were not well-known beyond North Africa and the Francophone world until his assassination was reported in the international media. It was only after his death that two of his novels—*Le Dernier Été de la raison* and *Les Chercheurs d'os*—were translated into languages other than French. Following Djaout's death, a number of articles were dedicated to his memory, and a documentary on his life, featuring an introduction by Salman Rushdie, was broadcast in 1993 by the BBC.

The year 1998 saw the publication of an anthology of essays dedicated to the memory of Djaout titled *Littérature et Tolérance* (Literature and tolerance). This anthology demonstrates two important aspects of Djaout's legacy—his struggles against intolerance and his martyrdom. Some viewed his death as an unfortunate yet important sacrifice to the cause of preserving cultural heterogeneity and such democratic ideals as freedom of expression and religion.

### LEGACY

It is nearly impossible to fully comprehend the complexities of his works without some knowledge of the events that surrounded Djaout's existence. The irony of the situation in Algeria was that the intellectual became the voice of the dominated—that is, for those struggling against homogeneity. Whatever Algeria's future, the fact that works by such people as Djaout have been published ensures that the dissenting voice will never be silenced. Moreover, Djaout's assassination, along with those of other North African intellectuals, resulted in an increased awareness of the dire situation in Algeria by people in other parts of the world. Within his lifetime, Djaout's representations of events in Algeria, in his journalism and

his fiction, challenged the idea of a homogeneous politics and society being promoted by extremists.

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- L'Arche à vau l'eau* (The ark on the current, 1978).
- Insulaire et Cie* (Islander & Co., 1980).
- L'Exproprié* (The expropriated, 1981).
- Les Rets de l'oiseleur* (The bird-catcher's traps, 1983).
- Les Chercheurs d'os* (The bone seekers, 1984).
- L'Invention du désert* (The invention of the desert, 1987).
- Les Vigiles* (1991; *The Watchers*, 2002).
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Kenneth Shonk

## DJEBAR, ASSIA (1936–)

Assia Djebar (born Fatima-Zohra Imalhayen) is an Algerian writer and filmmaker. The author of numerous novels, collections of poetry, plays, short stories, and essays and director of two critically acclaimed films, she is one of the most important literary and cultural figures of the Arab and Francophone worlds. For over half a century, she has been a vocal advocate of the emancipation and advancement of women in Arab Muslim societies. She is also a pioneer for a better appreciation of the culture and history of Islam and a promoter of the dialogue between the Arab world and the West.

### PERSONAL HISTORY

Djebar was born in Cherchell, Algeria, on 30 June 1936 (some sources say 4 August). She studied history in



Assia Djebar. AP IMAGES.

Paris—she was the first Algerian woman to study at the École Normale Supérieure—and published her first novel in 1957. At a young age, she participated in the Algerian war of liberation against French colonialism. After the independence of her country in 1962, she combined her activity as a novelist with that of a teacher. In this capacity, for many years, she taught history at the University of Algiers. In the late 1960s, she moved to France where she worked in the Algerian Cultural Center, while continuing to publish. While living and traveling extensively in the West and the Arab world, she maintained her affiliation with Algeria, where she resided regularly, set her books, and made two documentaries on the condition of women. In 1996 Djebar won the prestigious Neustadt Prize for contributions to world literature. In 1997, she received the Marguerite Yourcenar Prize and in 2000 the Friedenspreis des Deutschen Buchhandels. In 1997, Djebar was appointed professor and director of the Center for French and Francophone Studies at Louisiana State University. Since 2001 she has been Silver Professor of Francophone Literature and Civilization at New York University. Djebar is also a member of the Académie Royale de Langue Française de Belgique. Her major novels have not been translated into Arabic, but most

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Assia Djebar (born Fatima-Zohra Imalhayen)

**Birth:** 1936, Cherchell, Algeria

**Family:** Married and divorced twice; one daughter.

**Nationality:** Algerian

**Education:** Sorbonne, Paris; École Normale Supérieure, Paris; Université Paul Valéry, Montpellier; University of Algiers

### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1957:** Publishes first novel, *La Soif*, under pen name Assia Djebar
- **1958:** Studies at École Normale Supérieure, Paris
- **1977:** Directs first film, *La Nouba des femmes du Mont Chenoua*
- **1980:** Appointed to Algerian Cultural Center in Paris
- **1985:** Publishes *L'Amour, la fantasia*, first novel in planned tetralogy
- **1996:** Receives Neustadt Prize for Contributions to World Literature
- **1997:** Receives Yourcenar Prize; takes up appointment as professor and director of Center for French and Francophone Studies, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge
- **2001:** Appointed Silver Professor of Francophone Literature and Civilization, New York University
- **2005:** Elected to French Academy

are available in several languages, including English. She has become a widely read and studied author in North Africa, Europe, and North America. In June 2005, she became a member of the French Academy, the first person from a former French North African colony to be elected. In recent years, Djebar has been mentioned as a candidate for the Nobel Prize in Literature.

### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

In order to measure the full meaning of Djebar's enterprise, it is necessary to establish its broader historical, social, and political context. During the Algerian War (1954–1962) and, more particularly, following the Soummam Congress (1956),



## THE SILENCES OF A WOMAN IN EXILE

Desert, or solitude, of which, I think, every new beginning partakes: suddenly to start writing—too young, I expect—during the Algerian war (the other one, the war of my twenties); and what is more, not nationalist essays, no lyrical or polemical profession of faith (this was the kind of witness expected of me), no, but novels, which seemed gratuitous, and which I considered a form of verbal architecture. To me they brought, along with the pleasure of their conception, the parenthesis of a few months; a change, in short, from my seriousness of the time, that of a student algérienne, and later from the silences of a woman in exile.

In this way I entered literature, through the sheer joy of invention, of opening out around me—I was outwardly rather constrained, in company, because of my Muslim upbringing—a space leavened by the imagination, a breath of pure oxygen. . . .

While I sketched out the beginning of my writer's life, Algerian literature flowered in the shadow of a quartet of elders: Feraoun, Mammeri, Dib and Kateb. . . .

All the same, this is how I would have liked to begin: to recall the moment when I felt that I—witness, gaze, or scribe—might, in the world outside, be truly commingled with my folk, “my own”—tribes, fractions, generations dead and alive of my far-off land (in short, “my nation”; rather, my community of origin)—yes, be mingled and lost among them and imagine that I might leave some trace . . . for them, for us.

To write, not exactly at first onset: to grow wakeful above all by looking—a wholly neuter gaze, neither man nor woman's, rather that of a woman bursting forth into the sunlight—a voracious gaze. . . .

I remember . . . I had just turned forty (at the time, I would sing out, insolently—in a society where at forty you are marrying off your eldest sons, where you settle into the respectability of matriarchy)—forty, for me, was being twenty a second time round!

ASSIA DJEBAR, FROM *THESE VOICES THAT BESIEGE ME*. TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH BY CHRIS MILLER.

military oligarchs seized control of a revolutionary movement that began with widespread popular support. After the independence of their country in 1962, they sought to legitimate their own rule in the name of nationalism and patriarchy, a gesture which culminated in 1980 when the Algerian government launched a campaign to write the modern history of Algeria. While most writers complied, Djebar responded with a double transgression. In her work, she challenges the dominant discourse of nationalism by denouncing the structural and fratricidal conflicts within the Algerian Revolution and regime and by presenting a more subtle and complex analysis of the relationship among Algeria, France, and the West. At the same time, she constructs the modern history of Algeria from the perspective of those whom the official ideology excluded by reducing them, against all evidence, to a secondary role: women.

In regard to her novel *L'Amour, la fantasia* (1985; *Fantasia: An Algerian Cavalcade*, 1993), in an interview published in 1988, Djebar declared that

In *Fantasia*, which is the first of a novelistic series, history figures as a quest for identity. It concerns not only the identity of women, but also that of the country as a whole. . . . I approach the nineteenth-century past through my research on writing, on French language writing. In this way a relationship is established between the

history of the nineteenth century written by French officers and the oral narrative of today's traditional Algerian women. (Mortimer, 1988)

On this same occasion, when asked about the objective of *Ombre sultane* (1987; *A Sister to Scheherazade*, 1989), intended as a sequel to *L'Amour, la fantasia*, she added: “I posed the question: ‘What does it mean, in a Muslim country, to have four wives?’” (Mortimer, 1988, p. 205).

Djebar's work is deeply informed by the condition of women in Arab Muslim societies, colonial and post-colonial history, and the problematic relationship between woman and writing. It is through writing that Djebar asserts her freedom. And it is on the basis of writing, conceived as a junction between the individual and the community, that she feels committed as an Algerian to revisit the history of her country and as a woman to rewrite it from a feminine point of view, with and for all other women. As a consequence, in her work the process of writing, reading, and rewriting becomes the very motor of the text. *Fantasia* represents this tripartite process by embedding Arabic idioms in a French-language text. When asked why her fourteen-year-old daughter is not veiled, for example, the narrator's mother answers, “She reads,” an expression that, in Algerian dialect, designates simultaneously the practice of reading

and that of going to school. In the novel, then, on the basis of this process, the reading of history corresponds to the progressive mastery of the text by women.

**Writing and History** Since *Femmes d'Alger dans leur appartement* (1980; *Women of Algiers in Their Apartment*, 1999) Djebar has continued to describe the structure of the harem and to produce new representations of Arab Muslim women. For her, the situation of women in the Arab Muslim world has not fundamentally changed. Despite the loosening of restrictions against women during the anti-French Resistance and the promise of the first few years of independence, women in the present are again subject to the repressiveness that plagued women in centuries past. Djebar's reading of the contemporary situation accounts for the prominence in her more recent works of dualistic oppositions such as man-woman, shadow-light, and exterior-interior. It also accounts for their mirrored structure. Finally, Djebar's view of the present corresponds to the social, ideological, and theoretical fields to which the second period of her production is linked: the struggle of women at the national and international levels. To challenge the reimposition of conservative norms that restrict the position of women—both in Algeria and in the Arab Muslim world more generally—Djebar's own textual strategies have evolved.

The exploration of the relationship between writing and history is pursued further in *Ombre sultane*, where the author deepens her use of intertextual strategies, namely through the technique of the palimpsest and the structuring of her narrative in counterpoint with the classic *The One Thousand and One Nights*. However, this novel published two years after *Fantasia* does not approach this central theme as directly. The emphasis of *Ombre sultane* is rather on the structure of the harem and on female enclosure, and on the principle of solidarity between women. It is with *Vaste est la prison* (1995; *So Vast the Prison*, 2001) the third book of Djebar's Algerian tetralogy, that the inherent link between writing and history is more intensely pursued. This time, it is experienced as even more tragic because of the immediacy of the bloody conflict in Algeria. In this novel, the autobiographical project is renewed with less reserve and the meditation on the historical genesis of Algeria as a country and as a nation is carried out with the same systematic dissection of facts and reinterpretation of decisive events as in the previous books, and more critical accounts of the fates of its major protagonists. Every page is a painful expression of the division, the dismantling, and the despair of this country with which the writer identifies not only her life but also her practice as a writer. Describing *Fantasia* in *Transfigurations of the Maghreb*, Winifred Woodhull writes: "Djebar's novel is a work of painstaking and often painful excavation" (Woodhull, 1993, p. 81). In compar-

ison, *Vaste est la prison* is an incommensurable expression of loss in which the author wonders whether her own writing itself has not always been marked by blood. From this perspective, Djebar compares her practice as a writer to that of the archaeologist who unveils the hidden zones of the past, with the difference that she cannot distance herself from the violence eroding her country's present.

**Algeria's Cultural Identity** In an enterprise in which the historian supports the creation of the novelist and the imagination and sensitivity of the writer constitute the foundation of the historian's hypotheses and rigor, Djebar goes back, as a surveyor of time and space, to the remote past of North Africa. She tries to reassess the genesis of its repressed, forgotten, and nearly totally eradicated original language. In doing so, she reveals the contours and approaches the character of the culture that carried it and transmitted its message. On the one hand, this scrupulous investigation is enriching, since it allows the historian-novelist to demonstrate that her people and their culture were just as ancient, valuable, and civilized as the most sophisticated societies, a fact that contradicts colonial discourse. On the other hand, it is an account of the systematic destruction and annihilation of which her country and people have been the victims. Finally, and most importantly, in this powerful narrative, the author implacably uncovers the self-destructive dimension of her society and puts a salutary emphasis on the fact that not only colonialism, the military regime, or the various political forces, but all Algerians are responsible for the present situation, in which socio-ideological chaos and blind violence wreck one of the originally most promising developing countries.

The results of this search contribute to the rewriting of the history of the Algerian nation with, as a consequence, a redistribution of the roles in the constitution of its cultural identity. In a conjugation of the historical approach and the literary expression, Djebar proposes a new vision of her country's past in order to comprehend its present. At this point, the historical search corresponds to the autobiographical project, since the unfolding and better understanding of her country's history contribute to the lucidity of her story as a woman.

The outcome of this search and quest is a courageous and painful account of the successive invasions, oppressions, betrayals, and attempts to eradicate identity that define both Algerian history and the condition of women. Nevertheless, this personal and intellectual experience bears many positive values, since both her country and women appear not just as victims, but also simultaneously as historical actors and central elements of resistance and change.

In her recent work, Djebar meditates on the relationship between the violence of history and the meaning death gives to human experience. Books such as *Le Blanc de l'Algérie* (1996; *Algerian White*, 2001) respond to the

urgency of Algeria's situation, to the necessity to remember, testify about, and pay homage to the victims of the war that factions of the political and financial elites, activists from all social classes, and Islamist fanatics have been waging against their compatriots. The population as a whole has been taken hostage, and intellectuals in particular have been targeted by terrorist commandos serving hidden and most of the time undeclared masters. In *Le Blanc*, taking as a starting point her immediate emotional response, the author widens her initial scope and develops a meditation on the fate of writers and intellectuals in recent Algerian history, analyzing the status of writing and culture from the 1954 revolution to the present. She concludes that in this society the writer and the educated individual in general has been singled out as the object of sacrifice of an apparently structural hatred of culture, and that his dead body has become the site par excellence for the expression of social conflict.

**History and Violence** This discursive framework changes the scope of the work because the author evokes the death and life of several who were close to her, and is then led to give the same treatment to intellectuals who died in the past. This process renews Djebar's autobiographical project and links it to the history of Algerian literature, a theme rooted in the wider Algerian history. Indeed, the author ties the events of today's Algeria to the era of the resistance against French colonialism. By means of this linkage, she writes one of the first historical assessments of the relationship between, on the one hand, the revolution and the post-independence FLN (Front de Libération nationale, or National Liberation Front) regime and, on the other hand, the nation's intelligentsia. Transcending her own mourning, she starts a journey into the dark zones of Algerian history. The juxtaposition of the killings, achievements, aspirations, and fates of the 1990s with the 1950s writers and intellectuals creates a new map of Algerian reality. Djebar unfolds the facts around the death of each and conducts, for most, a pitiless, nearly scientific, investigation into how they were assassinated and who killed them. In so doing she succeeds in reopening many cases that Algerian official historians had classified and closed. The result is a new evaluation of what happened in the country during the last four decades and a corrosive denunciation of the regime and its apparatchiks. Djebar reopens the scars of her people and offers them a vision of themselves that they do not want to see. The mythical foundations of the Algerian nation collapse in a dissection that reveals the revolutionary past as partly rotten and impure because of systemic and internecine struggles, betrayals, shameful sacrifices, and successive killings.

This portrait in turn seems to throw a light on the present. The author's rereading and reinterpretation of the revolution, with its divisions, power struggles, and

injustice, establishes a dramatic continuity between the revolutionary attempts to eliminate those who advocated diversity and tolerance and the current attempts to eradicate all forms of free intellectual activity and a political life based on democracy. For example, she recalls one of the most tragic episodes of the Algerian Resistance. In 1956, manipulated by the French secret services, the Algerian resistance leader Colonel Amirouche Aït Hamouda and his men, who controlled the Kabylie region, were led to believe that all educated Francophone Algerians worked for the French army and that they joined the resistance in order to destroy it from inside. As a consequence, more than two thousand educated youths who had just joined the guerrilla war against French occupation were beheaded by their own comrades. In spite of this well-known event, Colonel Amirouche is still considered a national hero in official Algerian history.

In brief, according to Djebar, the fact that Islamist political radicalism seeks to disrupt the process of modernization that the FLN started should not mislead one into thinking that their ideologies are opposed. The only thing that distinguishes them is that one group has the power and the other wants to wrest it from them. In fact, beyond their momentary political contradictions and their struggle over a diminished economy, there is a continuity, less evident at the level of politics, economic structures, and social policy, but strikingly clear in the realm of culture. It is this continuity which explains the regime's and the Islamists' deadly focus on women and intellectuals, and the ultimate act of censorship represented in the physical extermination of "transgressive" thinkers.

#### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

In the work of Djebar, the genealogical and historical theme is matched by another whose aim is to restore women's reality and her nation's genuine identity. To the discourse that the socialist regime and masculine power want to impose on her country, the writer opposes the voice of those who were forgotten by official discourse and the rhetoric of revolution, that is to say women and ordinary citizens. In this, her enterprise is faithful to her continuous challenge to colonial and neo-colonial ideology and the authoritarian discourses that dominate postcolonial Algeria.

At the core of Djebar's work has been a constant preoccupation with the relationship between the individual and society, the status of women, and the importance of history in producing a meaningful discourse (not only about the past). What has linked these concerns together is the role of writing, both as a discipline in its own terms and, because of its place in the construction of individual and collective memory, its status as the very basis of culture. In her recent work, Djebar radically transcends the autobiographical limits that framed her earlier novels.

At present, Djebbar seems to be directly committed not only to herself, her people and the fate of her country, but also to the very principle embodied in writing.

### LEGACY

In her books, the author affirms the basic function of literature and the responsibility of the intellectual in an arena where knowledge has been declared dangerous and necessary to erase. The strength of her attempt lies in its ability to intertwine extremely personal reactions with an unsparing exploration of recent Arab Muslim history. Djebbar has not tried to separate her country and her writing as if they were independent spheres. Because writing is a decisive element in the constitution of culture, a nation's very soul, for Djebbar it becomes the site of memory and survival. Finally, her work is an exemplary attempt to transcend the cultural barriers between different peoples and a remarkable illustration of the humane values common to the Arab Muslim world and the West.

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### WORKS BY DJEBBAR

#### BOOKS

- La Soif* (1957; *The Mischief*, 1958)
- Les Impatients* (*The Restless*, 1958)
- Les Enfants du Nouveau Monde* (1962; *Children of the New World*, 2005)
- Les Alouettes Naïves* (*The Innocent Larks*, 1967)
- Femmes d'Alger dans leur appartement* (1980; *Women of Algiers in Their Apartment*, 1999)
- L'Amour, la fantasia* (1985; *Fantasia: An Algerian Cavalcade*, 1993)
- Ombre sultane* (1987; *A Sister to Schehrerazade*, 1989)
- Loin de Médine* (1991; *Far from Medina*, 1994)
- Vaste est la prison* (1994; *So Vast the Prison*, 2001)
- Le Blanc de l'Algérie* (1996; *Algerian White*, 2001)
- Oran, le langue morte* (1997; *The Tongue's Blood Does Not Run Dry*, 2006)

*Les nuits de Strasbourg* (1997; *Strasbourg Nights*, 2003)

*Ces voix qui m'assiègent: En Marge de ma Francophonie* (*These Voices that Besiege Me: Outside my French-Speaking World*, 1999)

*La Femme sans sépulture* (Woman without a grave, 2002)

*La Disparition de la langue française* (The disappearance of the French language, 2003)

#### FILMS

*La Nouba des femmes du Mont Chenoua* (*The Nouba [festival] of the Women of Mount Chenoua*, 1977)

*La Zerda ou les chants de l'oubli* (*La Zerda: Songs of Oblivion*, 1979)

Hafid Gafaiti

## DÜNDAR, CAN (1961–)

Prominent liberal Can Dündar is a columnist in the centrist *Milliyet*, one of the major newspapers in Turkey. Known for his clear, crisp, buoyant, and confident voice, Dündar has established himself as an outstanding journalist, documentarian, and prose and lyric writer in the Turkish media and public. His prolific work varies from political commentary, books, and documentaries on Turkish historic, political, and public life, to lyrical accounts. His views, poems, and cultural critique represent the modern Turkish mind as well as the spirit of his time.

### PERSONAL HISTORY

Born on 16 June 1961 in Ankara, he was the only son of Ali Rıza Dündar. His parents were both civil servants. He attended the Mimar Kemal elementary and middle schools, and went to the Atatürk Lisesi (high school) in Ankara. He studied social sciences and journalism at Ankara University and graduated in 1982. His career as a journalist began in 1979. Dündar worked for various Turkish newspapers, magazines, and TV programs such as *Yankı* (1979–1983), *Hürriyet* (1983–1985), *Nokta* (1985), *Haftaya Bakış* (1987), *Söz* (1987–1988), and *Tempo* (1988). During this time, he also completed his education at the London School of Journalism in 1986. He has an M.A. and a Ph.D. in political science from the Middle East Technical University in Ankara. The first he received in 1988, the latter in 1996. From 1988 onward, Dündar established a reputation for independence and excellence, and his editorial career in broadcast journalism progressed quickly, landing him in TV programs such as *32. Gün* (*The 32<sup>nd</sup> Day*; 1989–1995), *Çapraz Ateş* (*Crossfire*; with Mehmet Ali Birand, 1993–1994), *40 Dakika* (*40 Minutes*; 1996–1998), and *Neden* (*Why*;

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Can Dündar

**Birth:** 1961, Ankara, Turkey

**Family:** Married; one son, Ege

**Nationality:** Turkish

**Education:** London School of Journalism; B.A. in Social Sciences and Journalism, Ankara University; M.A. in politics from the Middle East Technical University; Ph.D. in politics from the Middle East Technical University (1996)

## PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1979–1983:** Appears on television program *Yanki*
- **1983–1985:** Writes for Turkish newspaper *Hürriyet*
- **1985:** Becomes political writer for *Nokta*
- **1986:** Joins London School of Journalism
- **1987:** Appears on television program *Haftaya Bakış*
- **1987–1988:** Appears on television program *Söz*; writes for political magazine *Tempo*
- **1989–1995:** Appears on TV program *32. Gün*
- **1993–1994:** Appears on TV program *Çapraz Ateş* with Mehmet Ali Birand
- **1994–1998:** Works as columnist for newspaper *Yeni Yüzyıl*
- **1994–2004:** Works as columnist for magazine *Aktuel*
- **1996–1998:** Appears on TV program *40 Dakika*
- **1999–2001:** Works as columnist for newspaper *Sabah*
- **1995–present:** Works as independent documentarian
- **2001–present:** Becomes columnist for *Milliyet*
- **2006–present:** Appears on TV program *Neden?*

since 2006). Since 1995 he has been working independently as a documentarian and, since 2001, as an editorial staff member for the renowned Turkish newspaper *Milliyet* for which he writes political columns.

## INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

A great deal of Dündar's work has undergone the translation from journalism to book. He reins in his style; his

language is rich and flows naturally. His writings capture readers' attention with their passionate but fearless and detailed analyses. Much of Dündar's work traces Turkey's evolution into a modern nation and provides historical and political detail regarding crucial events, debates, and conflicts. For example, *Demirkirat: Bir Demokrasinin Doğuşu* (1991), a collaborative work with Mehmet Ali Birand and Bülent Çaplı, investigates the roots of Turkish democracy covering the time from the 1930s until the 1960s. Through the eyes of several contemporary witnesses it gives an account of the challenges the young Turkish nation had to face during this time, its transformation from a one-party to a multiparty system, and the rise and fall of the Turkish Democratic Party (Demokrat Parti), which was overthrown and banned after the first military coup d'état on 27 May 1960. The book title "Demirkirat" refers to an iron-gray horse, which according to old legends represented Turkish leaders since the Middle Ages. When the word *democrat* was adopted into the Turkish language and affixed to a political party, illiterate peasants confused it with Demirkirat, the legendary horse. The Turkish prime minister Adnan Menderes, who was the leader of the Democratic Party and was executed after the military coup, used this symbol in order to create a meaningful connection between Turkish heroism and his political party.

Dündar's expertise is also evident in his biographical treatments of significant historical and political figures in Turkey. Among his work are titles profiling Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, founder of the Turkish republic (*Sarı Zeybek*, 1994; *Gölgedekiler*, 1995; *Yaveri Atatürk'ü Anlatıyor: Salih Bozok'un Anıları*, 2001; *Yükselen bir Deniz*, 2002; and *Mustafa Kemal Aramızda*, 2003); İsmet İnönü, commander during the Turkish War of Independence, diplomat, and Turkey's first prime minister (*İsmet Paşa*, 2006); Nazım Hikmet, distinguished and exiled Turkish poet (*Nazım Hikmet*, 2005); Sedat Alp, Turkey's first specialized archaeologist in Hittitology (*Sedat Alp: İlk Türk Hititoloğun yaşam öyküsü*, 2004); Nejat F. Eczacıbaşı, the pharmacist who established the first pharmaceutical company in Turkey and founder of the Istanbul Foundation for Culture and Arts (*Bir yaşam iksiri: Nejat F. Eczacıbaşı*, 2003); Vehbi Koç, one of the wealthiest men in Turkey and founder of the Koç Group (*Özel arşivinden belgeler ve anılarıyla Vehbi Koç*, 2006); and Turkish politician, writer, poet, and journalist Bülent Ecevit (*Karaoğlan*, 2006).

At the same time, Dündar's politically themed books (*12 Mart: İhtilalin peşesinde demokrasi*, 1994; *Hayata ve Siyasete Dair*, 1995; *Benim Gençliğim*, 1999; *Köy Enstitüleri*, 2000, *Nereye?*, 2001; *Savaşta ne yaptın baba?*, 2003) raise questions about current political and social affairs by putting history back under the microscope. These stories also form the platform for Dündar's documentaries in

## DÜNDAR SPEAKS

If Turkey has not been an instrument for the bloodshed in its neighbour in an unfair occupation, it can only feel pride but not an embarrassment because of that... US Foreign Secretary Condoleezza Rice asked for the assistance of Prime Minister (Tayyip) Erdogan to 'correct the negative opinion of the Turkish people about the USA.' My modest suggestion for them is to end the occupation in Iraq... The defeat of Bush fundamentalism will be a good lesson for the occupationist policies. This is what will correct the USA's relations not only with Ankara but with the whole world.

MILLİYET (10 FEBRUARY 2005) FROM BBC MONITORING INTERNATIONAL REPORTS, 1 MARCH 2005.

which he untangles the secularist ideas and struggles of a time and topic through interviews and archival footage.

## THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

Dündar is a fervent defender and advocate of secularism in Turkey. He questions the dwindling of secularist believers in the political spectrum of the Middle East. The principle of secularism, which has been at odds with many neighboring and European countries' perceptions of Turkey, is continually publicly endorsed by Dündar who argues:

Turkey is not a model only to countries of the region but to the entire world. Turkey demonstrates its difference to the world by welcoming the pope, who once fomented a fanatical conflict between the two faiths. Even if it has some problems, Turkey's secularism is not a weak one. Even if Europe excludes Turkey, it will continue with it in peace with traditional values. And I'm sure that the world will need this type of secularism more than ever in a clash of civilizations. From the Vatican to Iran. (*Milliyet*, 4 December 2006)

In the early 2000s, Dündar's writings have emphasized Turkey's prospects of becoming a part of the Western world. Turkey's entry into the European Union (EU) as the first Muslim nation has become the most controversial issue on Turkey's and the Europeans' agenda. The negotiations regarding Turkey's membership, in tandem with Europe's negative responses, have fueled fears and uncertainties in the Turkish public life. The consequence has been a national backlash and a growing tendency towards isolationism. Dündar poignantly expresses the

disappointed and disillusioned mood in Turkey about the European dream:

The train we took with enthusiasm has derailed only after a few kilometers. We are so hurt that we are ready to take the first train back into the opposite direction. For 150 years we praised Europe. The West was a kind of dream land. We admired and imitated them, we learned their languages. We imported their dresses. We imported their letters, their hats, and their constitutions in order to become like them. We joined beauty and music contests and when we did not win, we were devastated. Because we believed more in Europe than probably the Europeans themselves did. Now this admiration has made way to a disappointment, which is typical for lovers whose affections weren't returned. (*Milliyet*, 14 October 2006)

The disappointment stems not from the belief that democratic roots are firm within Turkish society, but rather the hope of Turkey's compatibility with "Europeanness."

## LEGACY

Dündar shares his opinions and beliefs through a rich repertoire of knowledge, using the language of a historian and journalist. His intellectual goal is to resolve and uncover through various archival records the manners, the truth, and the lives lived in his culture. He has emerged as a public figure whose purpose and inspiration is deeply connected to democratic ideas that value human life.

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- 2004: *Önce İnsan...! İnsan hakları belgeseli*
- 2004: *Yüzyilin Aşkları*
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- 2006: *Çalıklar: Notre Dame de Sion'un Çocukları*
- 2006: *Yetiştik çünkü biz...! Mülkiye Belgeseli*

**Mine Eren**



E

## EBADI, SHIRIN (1947–)

Shirin Ebadi is an Iranian lawyer, human rights and peace advocate, teacher, and writer. She received the Nobel Peace Prize in 2003 for her pioneering efforts to promote democracy and human rights, especially women's and children's rights. She is the first Iranian and the first Muslim woman to receive the Nobel Prize. Ebadi's contributions to the causes of human rights, peace, justice, and democracy give her the distinction of being one of the most prominent and resolute voices of justice and human rights in Iran and beyond.

### PERSONAL HISTORY

Ebadi was born on 21 June 1947 in the city of Hamadan in central western Iran. Her family moved to Tehran when she was a year old. Ebadi was raised in an educated, cultured Muslim family filled with love. Her mother dedicated herself to her four children. Her father, Mohammad-Ali Ebadi, was the city's chief notary public, one of the pioneers of the modern Census and Recording (Sabt-e Asnad) of the city of Hamadan, and one of the first instructors of commercial law in Iran. Ebadi grew up with two sisters and a brother, all of whom, like herself, achieved degrees in higher education.

Ebadi attended Firooz Koochi elementary school. She attended high school at Anooshiravan Dadgar and then at Reza-Shah Kabir, where she received her diploma. In 1966 she was admitted to the University of Tehran and began her studies in law. Ebadi received her bachelor's degree in three-and-a-half years and immediately took part in the Judicial Training. Following a six-month internship, she began her career as a judge in March 1970. In the meantime, she continued her studies and in 1971 received her master's degree with honors from the University of Tehran.

While serving in the judiciary branch of the government, Ebadi held different positions. She became the district chief judge of the 24th precinct in 1975. She was the first woman in Iranian history to achieve chief judicial status.

In 1975 Ebadi married Javad Tavassolian, an electrical engineer, and they have two daughters: Negar (born in 1980) and Nargess (born in 1983). Negar received her degree in telecommunications engineering from Canada's McGill University and Nargess graduated from the law school of the University of Tehran and is currently studying for a master's degree in law at McGill University.

Following the 1979 Revolution and inception of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Ebadi and her fellow female colleagues were dismissed from their positions and given clerical duties. Under the new government's interpretation of Islam, women were not allowed to be judges and





*Shirin Ebadi.* AP IMAGES.

Ebadi was demoted to a secretary position at the branch where she previously presided. She and her female colleagues protested their demotions and were subsequently given somewhat higher positions as legal advisers. Ebadi found her situation intolerable and took early retirement in 1984.

The independent Lawyers Association had been out of commission for years in Iran and law licenses were under the supervision of the judiciary branch of the Islamic government. Ebadi's application for a law license, therefore, was repeatedly rejected, rendering her homebound for several years. During this time, she wrote books and articles for various journals and publications. Her writings, critical of the ruling law and *shari'a* (Islamic law), made her renowned. In 1992 Ebadi was finally allowed to obtain a license to practice as an attorney. Her law office became an advocacy center for civil and human rights.

#### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Ebadi was first exposed to politics in 1953, the year before starting grade school. Ebadi found her parents and her grandmother "in a terrible mood," sitting

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Shirin Ebadi

**Birth:** 1947, Hamadan, Iran

**Family:** Married, husband: Javad Tavassolian (m. 1975); two daughters: Negar (b. 1980), Nargess (b. 1983)

**Nationality:** Iranian

**Education:** B.A. (law), University of Tehran, 1969; M.A. (law), University of Tehran, 1971

#### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1970:** Begins working as a judge
- **1975:** First woman in Iran to achieve rank of chief judge
- **1984:** Retires
- **1987:** Publishes *The Rights of the Child: A Study of Legal Aspects of Children's Rights in Iran*
- **1992:** Becomes a lawyer
- **1994:** Helps found the Society for Protecting the Rights of the Child, also known as the Association for Support of Children's Rights in Iran
- **1996:** Human Rights Watch awards her with the Official Monitor of Human Rights
- **2000:** Arrested by the Iranian government
- **2001:** Helps establish the Defenders of Human Rights Center; receives Rafto Human Rights Award
- **2003:** Receives Nobel Peace Prize
- **2004:** Publishes *Iran Awakening: A Memoir of Revolution and Hope*
- **2006:** Along with other female Nobel Peace Prize laureates, helps establish the Nobel Women Initiative for Peace, Justice and Equality

around a battery-operated radio listening to the trembling voice that announced the fall of Prime Minister Mohammad Mossadegh. She later learned that after four days of turmoil in Tehran, the popular and democratically elected Mossadegh (a secular nationalist) had been toppled in a coup supported by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and British Intelligence Service. As reflected in her memoir (Ebadi, 2006, p. 4), this turning point in Iran's modern history left a lasting impact on

## WHEN WE HELP ONE ANOTHER WE'RE STRONGER

Human rights are indivisible. All defenders of human rights are members of a single family. When we help one another we're stronger. What's important is to give aid to democratic institutions inside despotic countries. But when the United States undertakes a military invasion of another country, the situation for human rights activists can deteriorate. In Iran, for example, every time we speak of defending human rights, we are asked: "Do you want to be like Iraq?" I know very well that what they say is not right—it's merely an excuse. But I don't want anything to happen that might weaken our situation.

"A SINGLE FAMILY: SHIRIN EBADI SPEAKS," OPEN DEMOCRACY (17 JUNE 2004). AVAILABLE FROM [HTTP://WWW.OPENDEMOCRACY.NET/DEMOCRACY-THINK\\_TANK/ARTICLE\\_1962.JSP](http://www.opendemocracy.net/democracy-think_tank/article_1962.jsp).

The [Iranian] government claims that the unsatisfactory laws that prevail in the country are, in fact, Islamic laws, and that's how they justify it, but I studied Islamic text and law very carefully and my efforts are geared towards proving to the government that they are, in fact, basing the law on a wrongful interpretation of Islamic law and that indeed that there are other interpretations. The cases that I generally work on are those that I try to focus on the practical results of, to show the people what the practical results of law are, to show that to society. Oftentimes when I take a case to trial I invite reporters to come and write about the case beforehand and to raise public awareness of the results. By creating that awareness people put pressure on the government and demand the change in laws. By carrying out this technique I've, in fact, succeeded in changing a number of laws.

HARRY KREISLER, "THE STRUGGLE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN IRAN: A CONVERSATION WITH SHIRIN EBADI," CONVERSATIONS WITH HISTORY (10 MAY 2006). AVAILABLE FROM [HTTP://GLOBETROTTER.BERKELEY.EDU/PEOPLE6/EBADI/EBADI-CON0.HTML](http://globetrotter.berkeley.edu/people6/ebadi/ebadi-con0.html).

Ebadi's political views. As a secular yet devoted Muslim, Ebani's feminism is intertwined with her nationalist and anti-imperialist tendencies rooted in years of her people's struggles and aspiration for an independent and progressive modern nation.

Through her writings and practice, Ebadi soon emerged as a leading advocate in the human rights and civil rights movements in Iran. In the meantime, Ebadi

also taught law at the University of Tehran as a part-time lecturer, mentoring international students in human rights internship programs. During these years, she was among the academic and intellectual circles that paved the way to the reform movement manifested in the May 1997 landslide presidential election of the reformist MOHAMMAD KHATAMI. As an attorney, Ebadi defended many cases concerning human rights and freedom of expression of political prisoners, challenging the religious authorities' interpretations of Islam while demonstrating the need for an overall reform of the Iranian religious courts and justice system.

Ebadi has established two important nongovernmental organizations, the first one focusing on children. In 1994, along with a number of other women, Ebadi founded the Society for Protecting the Rights of the Child (SPRC), also known as the Association for Support of Children's Rights in Iran. This organization has lobbied the Majles (parliament) to introduce legal reforms in accordance with the United Nations (UN) Convention on the Rights of the Child. Ebadi represented victims of various cases of violence and child abuse, including the mother of Arian Goleshani, who was not granted custody of her child (an eight-year-old boy) and witnessed his death due to abuse from his stepmother. This blatant case of child abuse drew national and international attention to the unjust nature of the law. Subsequently, Ebadi drafted the original text of a bill against physical abuse of children, which was passed by the Iranian parliament in 2002. She has also directed or helped with several UNICEF (United Nations Children's Fund) research projects concerning children's rights and well-being in Iran.

Among many victims of human rights violations Ebadi has defended in court, some were cases of prominence at the national level. For instance, in 1998 Ebadi was the defense lawyer for the families of the victims of the political assassinations (known as the Chains Murders) of dissident intellectuals, writers, and activists such as Dariush Forouhar and Parvaneh Eskanadri Forouhar (the prominent couple found stabbed to death at their home). This was part of a terrorizing attempt by the extremist hard-liners determined to put a stop to the more liberal climate fostered by the reform movement and election of Khatami. The murders were found to be solicited by a team of the agents of the Iranian Ministry of Intelligence led by Saeed Emami, who allegedly committed suicide in jail before being brought to the court of justice.

Ebadi also represented the family of a young man, Ezzat Ebrahimnezhad, who was murdered during the attack on a university dormitory in July 1999. He was the only officially accepted case of murder in the widespread Iranian student protest of that year. Antagonized by Ebadi's resolute and vocal style of defense of the victimized students, the Iranian Islamist judiciary arrested her in June

2000. She was accused of producing and distributing a videotape that allegedly “disturbs public opinion.” This was the videotaped confessions of Amir Frashad Ebarahimi, a former member of one of the main suppressive vigilante groups known as Ansar-e Hezbollah. Ebarahimi implicated certain senior officials and high-level conservative authorities from whom the group received orders to attack supporters of the reform movement and commit atrocities against the reform-minded members of Khatami’s cabinet. Ebadi argued that she had videotaped Ebarahimi’s confessions only in order to present them to the court as she had already given the tape to Khatami and the head of the Islamic judiciary. In order to discredit this videotaped deposition, hard-liners who had been controlling the judiciary system named the case “Tape Makers” (Navar Sazan) and arrested Ebadi and one of her colleagues (Mohsen Rohami). They were tried in closed court and sentenced to five years in jail and suspension of their law licenses. However, a court of appeal overturned these sentences and Ebadi was released from the jail after three weeks of solitary confinement.

Ebadi has also defended various cases concerning freedom of press and freedom of expression in relation to banning of newspapers and periodicals (including the cases of Habibollah Peyman, Abbas Marufi, and Fraj Sarkouhi). To better coordinate and strengthen the defense of victims of such human rights violations, Ebadi founded a second nongovernmental organization. In 2001, along with other lawyers, she established the Defenders of Human Rights Center (DHRC). On 10 December 2003 Ebadi was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for that year.

**Post-Nobel Activities and Contributions** Ebadi has continued to speak out on a number of topics after receipt of the Nobel Prize. She has repeatedly and explicitly rejected military intervention in Iran. At a press conference shortly after the Nobel Prize announcement and in many subsequent media appearances and lecture presentations at different universities, Ebadi has stated that “the fight for human rights is conducted in Iran by the Iranian people, one cannot import democracy through cluster bombs.”

The most serious problem in Iran today, Ebadi argues, is the misuse of religion and that judges must be independent of the Islamic government. She points to that fact that women in Iran are becoming better educated than men as they make up more than 60 percent of the university enrollments and are playing increasingly more active roles in socioeconomic and cultural life. Yet the legal and overall sociopolitical status, individual freedoms, and choices of women have actually regressed since the Islamic Revolution.

In her post-Nobel years Ebadi has utilized her high profile to garner global awareness about and international

support for the women’s rights, pro-democracy, and human rights activists in Iran. Yet like many other feminists and pro-democracy activists in Iran, she seeks social transformation from within through cultural, ideological, and political changes. The main obstacle to change, says Ebadi, is “an incorrect and fundamentalist interpretation of Islam,” which is reinforced by the paternalistic culture and patriarchal political structure in Iran and in the rest of the Middle East. She believes Islam can and must be interpreted differently in order to adapt to modern realities and the universal declaration of human rights.

Despite her increased fame since receiving the Nobel Prize, Ebadi has retained a sense of humility arguing that she is a “simple defense lawyer who has no golden key to enable her to open the doors of the prisons in order to free all the prisoners of conscience.” She warns against the danger of personality cults and maintains that she has no desire to be a spokesperson or role model for Iran’s 70 million citizens. She does not consider herself the leader of the opposition nor would desire any partisan role and governmental positions. According to First Run Icarus Films, she is and will remain “a simple lawyer,” committed to pursuit of peace, justice and human rights.

Ebadi has remained a “courageous” defense lawyer, as the selection committee praised her, not “heeding the threat to her own safety.” Ebadi has continued representing the prisoners of conscience and victims of human rights violations mostly on a pro-bono basis, including some of national and international significance. In November 2003, for example, she represented the family of the murdered Zahra Kazemi, a Canadian-Iranian freelance photographer. In summer 2006 during the prolonged hunger strike of Akbar Ganji, a prominent investigative journalist imprisoned for six years, Ebadi continued her legal representation of him despite the authorities’ threats and intimidations against her involvement. On 17 May 2007 Ebadi announced that she would defend the Iranian American scholar Haleh Esfandiari, who has been jailed in Tehran since early May. Ebadi and her colleagues have also provided sustained legal representations to more than forty women’s activists in Iran arrested during 2007 because of their roles in women’s rights organizations or participation in the One Million Signature Campaign for Equal Rights.

In addition to sustained efforts in representing victims of human rights violations inside Iran, Ebadi has been in great demand for speaking engagements internationally. She frequently appears in the media; travels extensively to present lectures or deliver the commencement addresses at major universities; and consults with research institutions, think tanks, human/women’s rights organizations, and the UN agencies in Asia, Africa, North America, and Europe.

## THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

In recognition of Ebadi's resolute and sustained struggle for human rights and democracy, especially the rights of women and children, she has received many awards and honors. One of her books, *The Rights of the Child: A Study of Legal Aspects of Children's Rights in Iran*, was selected as the Outstanding Book of the Year by the Ministry of Islamic Culture and Guidance. In 1996 Human Rights Watch awarded her with the Official Monitor of Human Rights and in 2001 she received the Rafto Human Rights Award from Norway. On 10 December 2003 Ebadi received the Nobel Peace Prize for that year.

When on 11 October 2003 the Norwegian Nobel Committee announced Ebadi as the recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize, the news filled Iranians all over the world with happiness. Except for the ruling conservatives, people in Tehran started congratulating each other in the streets. The timing and choice of this prize have placed the state of human rights in Iran under a spotlight and thereby affected the politics of Iran's international relations.

Honoring a feminist Muslim woman with the Nobel Prize has highlighted the issue of women's rights in the Islamic societies in general and under the Islamist regime of Iran in particular. It has provided more legitimacy and credence to the cause of the women's movement in Iran led by many activists and feminist lawyers for more than hundred years. As evident in the growing activism and expanding networking of women activists in Iran since 2004, the women's movement has actually been galvanized by the Nobel Prize. Symbolizing international support, the Nobel Prize has boosted the self-esteem and self-confidence of feminist activists in Iran. Through the current women's campaigns to illegalize and stop violent practices such as stoning and especially the One Million Signature Campaign for Equal Rights, one can detect the positive and inspiring impact, directly or indirectly, of the Nobel Prize and Ebadi's national and international efforts.

While thousands of jubilant women (along with many men) wearing white scarves and holding red roses rushed to the airport in Tehran to welcome back Ebadi after her trip to accept the Nobel Prize, some conservatives and fundamentalists called it political mischief. Iranian state media waited hours to report the Nobel committee's decision. Even the moderate Khatami downgraded the historic significance of the prize by stating that although the scientific Nobels are important, the Peace Prize was political and therefore not important.

Some Iranian dissidents have been critical of Ebadi for her avoidance of a strong confrontational position against the Islamic regime. They argue that Ebadi has not made the most of the Nobel Prize to mobilize the opposition against the repressive regime. The state of

human rights has deteriorated under President MAHMOUD AHMADINEJAD while Ebadi is still using a reformist and compromising approach, especially insisting on rejection of U.S. and European military intervention in Iran.

Ebadi has received more than a dozen honorary doctorate degrees from major universities in the United States and Europe and has been awarded several new human rights prizes, including the Légion d'honneur from French president Jacques Chirac in the Elysée Palace in Paris in November 2006; the Lipentz Freedom of Expression Prize (from German reporters); Lila's Prize for the most Courageous Woman from German readers; and the Best Women's Writers Prize from Al-Zahra University, Iran. In 2005 Ebadi was voted the world's twelfth leading public intellectual in the 2005 Global Intellectuals Poll by *Prospect Magazine* (U.K.).

Ebadi's latest book, *Iran Awakening: A Memoir of Revolution and Hope* (with Azadeh Moaveni), was published in several languages in 2006 and has been well received internationally. A reading of the book was serialized as BBC Radio 4's *Book of the Week* in September 2006. Her memoir would have not passed the censorship office in Iran to receive a permit for publishing in Iran. It was therefore crafted mainly for an international audience. Ironically she was also faced with restrictions in the United States due to the U.S. Department of Treasury's trade laws that included prohibitions on writers from embargoed countries. Supported by some other writers, Ebadi sued the Department of Treasury in 2004 arguing that the law infringes on the first amendment. After a long legal battle, Ebadi was finally able to publish her book in the United States in 2006.

## LEGACY

Without shying away from the term *feminism*, Ebadi identifies herself as a Muslim feminist, an identity that may sound oxymoronic to the ears of some puritanical secularists as well as antifeminist Muslim fundamentalists and traditionalists. But Ebadi represents the creativity in women's ways of fighting patriarchy, the multiplicity of women's voices, and the diversity in the women's movement and feminisms in Iran as in many other societies living under religious laws and traditionalist rules. Ebadi indeed symbolizes the paradoxical status of Iranian women and a growing women's rights movement and feminist consciousness in Iran and the Middle East. As a staunch advocate of universality of human rights, Ebadi debunks cultural relativism. She boldly criticizes not only certain laws and state policies in Iran, but also the patriarchal and chauvinistic foundations of Iran's culture and traditions.

Along with five other women Nobel Peace laureates—Jody Williams (United States), Wangari Maathai (Kenya),

Rigoberta Menchú Tum (Guatemala), Betty Williams (Ireland), and Mairead Corrigan Maguire (Ireland)—Ebadi initiated the formation of a transnational organization called the Nobel Women Initiative for Peace, Justice and Equality (NWI). Registered in Canada and inaugurated in April 2006 at the headquarters of the Feminist Majority Foundation in Los Angeles, this new organization aims at spotlighting and promoting the efforts of women's rights activists, researchers, and organizations working to advance peace, justice, and equality. Aung San Suu Kyi (Myanmar) is the only imprisoned Nobel Peace Prize laureate who remains under house arrest in Myanmar (Burma) whose release has been among the campaigns the NWI has been pursuing. The NWI's First International Women's Conference ("Women Redefining Peace in the Middle East & Beyond") took place in Galway, Ireland, from 29 to 31 May 2007. More than eighty leading women activists and researchers from thirty-seven countries participated in this conference during which Ebadi and other female Nobel Peace Prize laureates pledged to become "a global voice in tackling violence against women and in peace advocacy."

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Nayereh Tohidi

## EBNOU, MOUSSA OULD (1956–)

Moussa Ould Ebnou, a Mauritanian writer and scholar, is bilingual, speaking and writing in both Arabic and French.

#### PERSONAL HISTORY

Ebnou was born in Boutilimit, Mauritania, in 1956. He pursued his higher education in France, receiving a Ph.D. from the Sorbonne in Paris and a diploma in journalism from the High Institute of Journalism in Paris. He teaches at the University of Nouakchott in Mauritania and is the cultural advisor to the president of the republic.

Ebnou published two novels in French, titled *L'Amour impossible* (1990; The impossible love) and *Barzakh* (1994; Isthmus). He published an Arabic version of *Barzakh*, *Madinat al-Riyah* (The windy city) in 1996.

#### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Ebnou is an example of the educated and sophisticated Mauritanian, who is up-to-date on the latest theories of the novel and whose fiction works tackle complex issues of time. In his science-fiction novel *L'Amour impossible*, the action does not progress in a linear manner but instead moves in a cyclical fashion. The past, the present, and the future are not considered according to their traditionally known occurrence. The events take place in the future while some subheadings such as "During that Time" and "Once upon a Time" refer to the past. Ebnou's characters lack liveliness as the symbolism of their roles overpowers their human comportment, making it difficult for the reader to establish a connection with them and sympathize with their ordeal. They are too distant in their experience to provoke the reader's compassion. Critics

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Moussa Ould Ebnou

**Birth:** 1956, Boutilimit, Mauritania

**Nationality:** Mauritanian

**Education:** Ph.D. (philosophy), the Sorbonne, Paris; diploma in journalism from the High Institute of Journalism, Paris

## PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1990:** Publishes *L'Amour impossible* (The impossible love)
- **1994:** Publishes *Barzakh* (Isthmus)
- **1996:** Publishes *Madinat al-Riyah* (The windy city)

consider the overpowering presence of the writer in his novel a shortcoming, as it gives the impression that the various characters in his novels speak with the same voice. In his article "Le roman impossible?" the critic Jacques Bariou said, "Dans le roman, il y a une seule voix: celle de l'auteur" ("In the novel, there is only one voice, that of the author," 1993–1994, p. 50).

In a philosophical approach to the subject of love that is shaped by the traditions of a conservative society where the relations between men and women are heavily restricted, Ebnou offers a solution in *L'Amour impossible*. A man has to live in a woman's body in order to preserve the purity of his love, and the reverse is true for a woman. This is what Adam, the protagonist of the novel, decides to do, despite a great deal of apprehension and doubt on his part. The woman whose body he acquires is called Eve. The symbolism of the names is clear here. When the transformed Adam finally finds his beloved Maniki, he/she explains the reason for the transformation he underwent in these words, "I wanted to lose myself, to die for love, in order to survive eternally in the beloved" (p. 129). It must be mentioned however, that although the Mauritanian woman is present as an active member of her society, her body, as explained by Aline Tauzin in *Figures du féminin dans la société maure*, is considered "inaccessible and perfect" (2001, p. 13).

Ebnou's *Madinat al-Riyah/Barzakh* falls in the science-fiction genre, with an effort to place the action within the field of Muslim traditions. It is a quest for a better life on the part of the protagonist Vara, who is dissatisfied with his present life. Al-Khudayr visits him in a dream and offers him the opportunity to travel into the future in

SELECTIONS FROM *THE IMPOSSIBLE LOVE*

People resorted to in vitro fertilization to choose the sex of their children. This led to an imbalance between males and females, as most husbands preferred males. Women objected seeing in this attitude a threat to their gender. They demanded a fair division of fetuses prepared to be implanted. Soon the women's liberation movement became a movement for the defence of feminine fertilization.

*L'AMOUR IMPOSSIBLE (THE IMPOSSIBLE LOVE)*, P. 9-10

Soon after the mobilization for the defence of feminine fertilization, the old balance was reversed and the male subjects were threatened.

*L'AMOUR IMPOSSIBLE (THE IMPOSSIBLE LOVE)*, P. 10

A long time passed before it was decided to put an end to this fatal war. Both men and women reorganized relationships enacting new rules for procreation. The balance of the sexes was reestablished, the rights of men and women were announced, the family system was canceled and relations between the sexes were banned. New regulations were established determining the life of people in two separate societies, with rights and duties set for each group.

*L'AMOUR IMPOSSIBLE (THE IMPOSSIBLE LOVE)*, PP.10–11.

search of a better society. Vara enthusiastically agrees to the experience, but later discovers that the future does not hold a better life than the present and the society he is moved to is worse than the one he left.

Some of the characters of *Madinat al-Riyah* seem trapped in an unidentifiable location, and dream of salvation at the hands of a Mahdi who would come to reward good and punish evil. The announcement of an approaching day of deliverance is made near the end of the novel by a bearded man who announces the coming of the Mahdi, saying, "Mais le jour est proche où l'Imam de ce temps, le Mahdi, viendra pour exterminer les mauvais et réhabiliter les justes" ("The day will come when the Imam of this century, the Mahdi, will come to exterminate the evil doers and reinstate the good ones," p. 161).

Those who are kept in a state of slavery decide to revolt against their masters, in a movement motivated by the Qur'anic recommendation regarding the liberation of

slaves. The novel clearly reflects the author's dissatisfaction with various aspects of his own society where abuses of power, corruption, and exploitation abound, and hints at Mauritania's recently banned slave system. To convey the ugliest aspect of the slave system, Ebnou chooses the burial of a slave to highlight its negative character. The event reveals that even in death the distances between master and slave must be maintained. "Les esclaves sont enterrés dans les cimetières qui leur sont réservés, loin des cimetières des hommes libres. Les esprits des esclaves ne doivent pas troubler les esprits des maîtres" ("Slaves are buried in their own cemeteries, far from the cemeteries of the free men. The spirit of the slaves should not trouble the spirit of the masters," p. 19).

The novel has a strong African content and in many ways reflects the realities of the Mauritanian society where Arabs and Africans from neighboring Senegal coexist.

#### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

It is a little problematic to speak about world perspective when discussing Mauritanian writers, for reasons that have nothing to do with the quality of their works. Intellectuals in Mauritania are isolated from the Arab world because of distances and difficulties in the circulation of publications. Some Mauritanian writers, especially the Francophone ones, are better known in France where authors sometimes publish their work; Ebnou published his novel *Barzakh* there. Furthermore, the journal *Lire* published a special issue on Mauritanian culture long before the Arab world paid attention to the most removed Maghrebi (North African) country. The Lebanese *al-Adab* was the first Arab journal to devote a special section to Mauritanian literature in its spring 1997 issue. This effort helped shed some light on a little-known literature. In his introduction to that special section, the editor of *al-Adab*, Suhail Idris, recognized the specific efforts exerted by Ebnou in bringing the project to fruition. Idris was well aware of the isolation of Mauritanian writers and the need to introduce them to the Arab reader when he wrote, "We do not pretend that this special folder gives a comprehensive or sufficient description of modern Mauritanian literature, . . . but it opens the door for Mauritanian writers to contribute to the vaster movement of Arabic literature" (*al-Adab* 1997, p. 35). Slowly but surely, Mauritanian writers and researchers are becoming involved in the Arab cultural scene through their participation in literary conferences and because of the growing number of Mauritanians enrolled in Arab universities.

#### LEGACY

In a country where poetry, and especially rhymed poetry, is prized over other literary genres, fiction writing was slow to find a place of importance in Mauritania's literary

circles. Ebnou was among the first in his country to be recognized as an important fiction author. His Arabic novel, *Madinat al-Riyah* was the fourth published Mauritanian novel. In many ways, he is a pioneer in the field of fiction writing, preceded only by Mauritania's other major writer, AHMAD BEN ABD AL-QADER.

As one of the first Francophone fiction writers, Ebnou is bound to be a role model for his country's aspiring young writers.

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Aida A. Bamia

### EBTEKAR, MA'SUMEH (1960–)

Ma'sumeh Ebtekar (also Massoumeh) is an Iranian feminist and politician who first came to international attention as the spokesperson for the students who overtook the U.S. Embassy in Tehran in 1979.

#### PERSONAL HISTORY

Ma'sumeh Ebtekar was born in 1960 in Tehran, Iran. She spent part of her childhood, from age three to nine, in the United States, but received most of her education in Iran: a B.S. in medical technology from Shahid Beheshti University, in Tehran, in 1985; an M.S. in 1989; and a Ph.D. in immunology from Tarbiat Modarres University, in Tehran, in 1995.

#### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

As one of the Iranian students who participated in the takeover of the U.S. embassy in Tehran in 1979, Ebtekar came to be known as Mary, the spokesperson for the student militants to the U.S. media. She appeared on almost every U.S. television program that was aired during the 444 days of the hostage crisis. Twenty-one years later, she wrote a book, *Takeover in Tehran: The Inside Story of the 1979 U.S. Embassy Capture*, in order "to set the record straight" about what happened. From 1981 to 1983 she was editor of the English-language paper *Kayhan International*.

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Ma'sumeh Ebtekar  
**Birth:** 1960, Tehran, Iran  
**Family:** Married, two children  
**Nationality:** Iranian  
**Education:** B.S. (medical technology), Shahid Beheshti University, Tehran, 1985; M.S. (immunology), Tarbiat Modarres University, Tehran, 1989; Ph.D. (immunology), Tarbiat Modarres University, 1995

## PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1979:** Participates in takeover of American embassy in Tehran
- **1980:** Spokesperson for students holding the embassy
- **1981:** Editor, *Kayhan International*
- **1985:** Attends Third World Conference on Women in Nairobi as part of Iran's delegation
- **1986:** Helps founds Center for Women's Studies and Research
- **1989:** Teaches at Tarbiat Modarres University School of Medical Science
- **1994:** Founds and edits *Farzaneh: Journal of Women's Studies*; directs the Women's NGOs (nongovernmental organizations) Coordination Office
- **1997:** Selected to be a cabinet member and vice president of Iran
- **2006:** "Friend of the Earth" award from UN
- **2007:** Elected to Tehran city council

Aside from a few articles on immunology, most of Ebtekar's writings and professional activities have been in the area of women's studies, particularly on issues related to the integration of women into the processes of socioeconomic development. She was a member of the official Iranian delegation to the 1985 Third World Conference on Women, in Nairobi, and vice chair of the national committee for the 1995 Fourth World Conference on Women, in Beijing. She was a founding member and has been a member of the board of directors of the Center for Women's Studies and Research since 1986; a faculty member of the Tarbiat Modarres University School of Medical

Science from 1989 to 1995; editorial director and license holder of *Farzaneh: Journal of Women's Studies* since 1994; and director of the Women's NGOs (nongovernmental organizations) Coordination Office since 1994.

Appointed by President MOHAMMAD KHATAMI in 1997 as vice president and head of the Department of Environment, Ebtekar became the first woman in the cabinet since the Iranian Revolution and the first female vice president in Iran's history. She is a member of the Islamic Iran Participation Front, and in early 2007, was elected to the Tehran city council.

## THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

Ebtekar first came into global prominence during the American hostage standoff, where she employed the fluent English she learned in the United States as a press spokesperson for the students in the embassy. She went on to garner attention as the first female cabinet member in postrevolutionary Iran and its first female vice president. In 2006 the United Nations named her one of that year's "Friends of the Earth" for her environmental work.

## LEGACY

Ebtekar has yet to make her full mark on Iranian history, but will be remembered as the first woman to attain cabinet rank in the Islamic republic.

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*Nareyeh Tobidi*  
*updated by Michael R. Fischbach*

ELBARADEI, MOHAMED  
(1942–)

Mohamed (Mostafa) ElBaradei (Muhammad al-Baraday) is an Egyptian diplomat, the director of the International Atomic Energy Agency, and a co-winner of the 2005 Nobel Peace Prize.

## PERSONAL HISTORY

ElBaradei was born in Cairo, Egypt, on 17 June 1942 to a family of Muslim Egyptians. His father, Mostafa, was a lawyer who served as president of the Egyptian Bar Association, and his maternal grandfather, Ali Haydar Hijazi, sat on Egypt's supreme court. Mohamed ElBaradei received





*Mohamed ElBaradei.* AP IMAGES.

his B.A. in law from Cairo University in 1962. He began working with the Egyptian foreign ministry in 1964, and served with the Egyptian delegation to the United Nations (UN) in New York. While there, he received an LL.M. (1971) and a J.S.D. (1974) in law from New York University, and was in charge of the international law program at the UN's Institute for Training and Research. After completing his doctorate, he returned to the Egyptian foreign service and was posted with Egypt's delegation to the UN in Geneva. From 1974 to 1978 he was the special assistant to Egyptian foreign minister Ismail Fahmy.

In 1980 ElBaradei started working with the UN's Institute for Training and Research in New York. The following year, he also began teaching as an adjunct professor at New York University's law school. In 1984 ElBaradei began working with the Vienna-based International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) as its legal adviser and was tasked with opening its new office in New York. In 1993 he became its assistant director general for external relations, and on 1 December 1997 he became the IAEA's director general, replacing the Swedish diplomat Hans Blix. As of 2007, he remains in the post.

#### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

During his tenure as IAEA director general, ElBaradei has had to weather a number of difficulties and important challenges to international arms control. Throughout, he

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Mohamed ElBaradei (Muhammad al-Baraday)

**Birth:** 1942, Cairo, Egypt

**Family:** Wife, Aida Elkachef; one son, Mostafa; one daughter, Laila

**Nationality:** Egyptian

**Education:** B.A. (law), Cairo University, 1962; LL.M. (law), New York University, 1971; J.S.D. (law), New York University, 1974

#### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1974:** Named special assistant to Egyptian foreign minister Ismail Fahmy
- **1980:** Begins working with the United Nations' Institute for Training and Research in New York
- **1984:** Begins working as legal adviser with International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA)
- **1993:** Appointed IAEA assistant director general for external relations
- **1997:** Made IAEA director general
- **1998:** Iraq expels IAEA weapons inspectors
- **2002:** Returns to Iraq with IAEA weapons inspectors; North Korea expels IAEA monitors; IAEA announces that Iran possesses a secret uranium enrichment program
- **2003:** Issues two reports on Iraqi compliance with IAEA inspectors
- **2005:** Wins Nobel Peace Prize; elected to third term as IAEA director general
- **2007:** Travels to North Korea for talks; announces that Iran is three to seven years away from being able to develop nuclear weapons

has demonstrated impartiality, integrity, an insistence upon detail, and—to the annoyance of certain powers such as the United States—a reluctance to force certain countries with which the IAEA is negotiating into a corner from which they may feel they have no way out but to go nuclear.

One such challenge for ElBaradei dealt with the lingering question of UN arms inspections in Iraq. In August 1998 Iraq stated that it was suspending cooperation with the arms inspectors, including those from the

IAEA. IAEA inspectors, whose job since 1991 had been to search for evidence of Iraq's nuclear programs in order to certify that Iraq was without such a program to the UN Security Council, left Iraq in December 1998. In September 2002, with American-Iraqi tension rising, Iraq agreed to allow inspectors to return. On 27 January 2003, ElBaradei reported to the Security Council that, although IAEA inspectors could not definitively certify that Iraq had not restarted a nuclear weapons development program, it found no evidence that the Iraqis had resumed such a program after the IAEA-supervised destruction of its nuclear infrastructure in the early 1990s. Two months later, on 7 March 2003, ElBaradei—*anxious to avoid a war against Iraq*—again reported to the Security Council that there was no reason to believe that Iraq possessed any nuclear weapons capability, noting that there was “no evidence or plausible indication of the revival of a nuclear-weapon program in Iraq.” Several days later, the United States and Britain invaded Iraq, regardless. ElBaradei later called it the saddest day of his life.

In December 2002 ElBaradei faced another challenge when North Korea told the IAEA that it was resuming its nuclear program and was expelling the IAEA inspectors who had been monitoring the program. Almost four years later, in October 2006, the communist nation announced that it had successfully tested a nuclear bomb, the first time a country demonstrably had broken through the nuclear threshold since Pakistan's nuclear tests in May 1998. Although the IAEA could not be blamed for the test—its inspectors had left several years earlier in January 2003—it still came as a blow to the concept of international efforts to stop the proliferation of nuclear weapons. Later, in March 2007, ElBaradei traveled to North Korea for talks on its nuclear program in the wake of an international agreement on the issue reached among North Korea, the United States, China, and other parties.

Finally, Iranian nuclear ambitions provided a challenge to ElBaradei and the IAEA. In August 2002 the IAEA reported that it had discovered that Iran had a secret uranium enrichment program. Despite efforts to verify whether this program was for peaceful purposes, as Iran claimed, or was for a clandestine nuclear weapons program, as some suspected, ElBaradei was unable to make a definitive judgment. In a January 2006 interview published in *Newsweek* he stated, “For the last three years we have been doing intensive verification in Iran, and even after three years I am not yet in a position to make a judgment on the peaceful nature of the [nuclear] program.” (Dickey, 2006). As with Iraq, ElBaradei was anxious to avoid a diplomatic showdown with Iran that could provide certain powers such as the United States the pretext for employing hostile action against Iran that could trigger a wider crisis.

The tension escalated when Iran removed IAEA seals from its enrichment equipment on 10 January 2006. ElBaradei and certain members of the IAEA board of governors did not wish to see the IAEA formally report Iran to the UN Security Council, which could trigger automatic Security Council sanctions on Iran and potentially lead to a crisis. Instead, the IAEA merely told the Security Council about Iranian noncompliance. The Security Council eventually imposed certain economic sanctions on Iran in December 2006 and again in March 2007.

At times it almost seemed as if the IAEA had its hands as full dealing with the government of the United States as it did dealing with Iran. In February 2006 ElBaradei publicly discussed a compromise deal with Iran whereby it would limit its enrichment program—which is allowed under the provisions of the 1970 Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty—in return for importing nuclear fuel from Russia. The United States refused to

## A CLEAR ROAD MAP FOR NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT SHOULD BE ESTABLISHED

Of course, a fundamental part of the non-proliferation bargain is the commitment of the five nuclear States recognized under the non-proliferation treaty—Britain, China, France, Russia and the United States—to move toward disarmament. Recent agreements between Russia and the United States are commendable, but they should be verifiable and irreversible. A clear road map for nuclear disarmament should be established—starting with a major reduction in the 30,000 nuclear warheads still in existence, and bringing into force the long-awaited Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty. . . . We must also begin to address the root causes of insecurity. In areas of longstanding conflict like the Middle East, South Asia and the Korean Peninsula, the pursuit of weapons of mass destruction—while never justified—can be expected as long as we fail to introduce alternatives that redress the security deficit. We must abandon the unworkable notion that it is morally reprehensible for some countries to pursue weapons of mass destruction yet morally acceptable for others to rely on them for security—and indeed to continue to refine their capacities and postulate plans for their use.

ELBARADEI, MOHAMED, “SAVING OURSELVES FROM SELF-DESTRUCTION,” *NEW YORK TIMES*, 12 FEBRUARY 2004. AVAILABLE FROM [HTTP://WWW.NYTIMES.COM](http://www.nytimes.com)

consider such an arrangement, and continued to press for stronger action against Iran. Relations between the IAEA and Washington began to sour even more. The IAEA stated that a U.S. congressional report on the Iranian nuclear issue that was released in August 2006 contained incorrect information and was misleading. IAEA officials in general claimed that intelligence provided to them by the U.S. had been unreliable. ElBaradei also once stated that with the money that the United States spent not finding weapons of mass destruction in Iraq after the invasion of Iraq in 2003 the IAEA could be fully funded for thirty years.

In May 2007 ElBaradei stated that Iran was three to seven years away from being able to develop a nuclear weapon, and urged ongoing talks to avoid a crisis. The United States, however, continued to push for increased sanctions against Tehran within the Security Council.

#### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

ElBaradei is widely disliked within the administration of U.S. president George W. Bush. When ElBaradei's second term as IAEA director general was nearing completion, the United States went out of its way to have him replaced with someone else. On 12 December 2004, the *Washington Post* published a story indicating that the American government had secretly been tapping ElBaradei's phone, perhaps in the hopes of finding information to use against him. U.S. delegate to the UN John Bolton decried ElBaradei and his efforts at compromise, going so far as calling him an apologist for Iran. But ElBaradei was selected to fill the post for a third term in June 2005.

Much of the world, however, respects ElBaradei as a conscientious international civil servant. In a move that many considered a deliberate slap in the face of the Bush administration, ElBaradei received the Nobel Peace Prize jointly with the IAEA on 10 December 2005. In January 2006 Egyptian president HUSNI MUBARAK issued a decree conferring the Great Nile Medal on ElBaradei.

#### LEGACY

ElBaradei will be remembered as a well-respected and tireless worker for nuclear disarmament through negotiation during some of the IAEA's most trying times.

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*Michael R. Fischbach*

## EL MOUTAWAKEL, NAWAL (1962–)

Moroccan athlete Nawal El Moutawakel, who is the first Arab, African, and Muslim woman to win an Olympic gold medal in the 400-meter hurdles, did so at the Los Angeles summer games in 1984. El Moutawakel became an Arab symbol of women's liberation and empowerment. Since her Olympic gold, El Moutawakel has been an active member of national and international sports organizations; she served as secretary of state for Sports and Youth, and has marketed her image as a social activist involved in fighting illiteracy among rural girls and enhancing public awareness of the environment.

#### PERSONAL HISTORY

El Moutawakel was born on 15 April 1962 in Casablanca, Morocco. She grew up in a modest urban environment. Her parents, employees at the Banque Marocaine du Commerce Extérieur (BMCE), were part of the budding Moroccan middle class that started to take shape during the postcolonial era. They accepted modern cultural urban lifestyles and had a keen interest in sports, especially volleyball and judo. El Moutawakel's father, Mohamed El Moutawakel, encouraged her to a certain degree to partake in a modern way of life without forsaking traditional Moroccan values. Local perceptions of female social roles limited the extent of the freedom El Moutawakel could have in her modern mode of living. As a young girl, El Moutawakel was expected to engage in housework activities in preparation for marriage. Her parents were concerned about social stigma that would result from having a daughter influenced by Western values, and were careful to check that El Moutawakel adhered to the main cultural rules of traditional Moroccan society.

Despite these social pressures that faced El Moutawakel's parents during the 1960s, they did not refrain from supporting her schooling. While at school, El Moutawakel received much support from her parents and started to compete at the high school level in national and regional sports meetings. By the age of sixteen, El Moutawakel burst into Moroccan, Arab, and African prominence, becoming



**Nawal El Moutawakel.** BRYAN BEDDER/GETTY IMAGES.

the Moroccan champion between 1977 and 1987 in the categories of 100-, 200-, and 400-meter hurdles; champion of the Arab world in the same categories, and African champion in 400-meter hurdle during the Cairo meetings of 1983. This performance brought El Moutawakel widespread reputation as a rising woman athlete in Africa, the Mediterranean, and the Arab world.

In 1983 El Moutawakel received her *baccalauréat* (high school diploma) in *sciences économiques* in Casablanca. Her athletic performance caught the attention of European and American universities, who courted the young Moroccan star by offering her scholarships. El Moutawakel enrolled at Iowa State University in Ames, Iowa, where she demonstrated high levels of performance and broke many National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) records. In 1984, as a member of the Iowa State University's track and field team, El Moutawakel was declared champion of the U.S. NCAA tournament in the category of 400-meter hurdles. She won the same title during World University tournament in Yugoslavia in 1987.

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Nawal El Moutawakel (Nawwal al-Mutawakkil)

**Birth:** 1962, Casablanca, Morocco

**Family:** Husband, Mounir Bennis; Two children

**Nationality:** Moroccan

**Education:** B.S. (physical education), Iowa State University, Ames, 1988

### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1984:** Wins Olympic gold medal, Los Angeles Games
- **1995:** Becomes council member of International Association of Athletics Federations (IAAF)
- **1997:** Named secretary of state for sport and youth
- **1998:** Becomes member of the International Olympic Committee (IOC)
- **1998–2003:** Executive director, BMCE Bank Foundation for Education and Environment

After her graduation from Iowa State University, where she earned a B.S. degree in physical education in 1988, El Moutawakel worked as an assistant coach for the Iowa State University athletic team. In 1989 she returned to Morocco and was appointed inspector at the Ministry of Sport and Youth, as well as the national sprint and hurdle coach. In 1997 she became the secretary of state for sport and youth. From 1998 to 2003, El Moutawakel joined the BMCE Bank Foundation for Education and Environment as executive director. She is also an active member of many international sport organizations. She is a member of the International Olympic Committee (IOC) and was a council member of International Association of Athletics Federations (IAAF).

### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

The athletic performance of El Moutawakel triggered Moroccan and Arab public support of women's participation in athletics. Her trailblazing achievement inspired other Moroccan and Arab women to compete in track and field regionally and worldwide. El Moutawakel opened the door for Arab women's participation and success in the Olympic games. In 1992 HASSIBA BOULMERKA of Algeria took the gold in the 1,500 meters at the Barcelona Olympics. GHADA SHOUBA of Syria followed the same course,

winning the gold in the heptathlon during the Atlanta Olympics of 1996.

However, one of the main contributions of El Moutawakel remains her role in changing Arab and Islamic perceptions in regard to women's participation in sports. Despite the support of her father and of King HASSAN II who saw in her a symbol for his politically liberal policies, it was a groundbreaking event for an Arab woman to go against certain traditional cultural codes of behavior. On the one hand, many Muslims criticized her dress, which went against the customary social rules. On the other hand, she also broke the Western stereotypes of the Arab woman's participation in the public life. El Moutawakel built on her success in the United States by serving as an agent of change in her male-dominated society. In 1993 she organized the first Moroccan women's 5K race in Casablanca to inspire women through sports. The event has been held ever since and attracts more than twenty thousand participants. In addition to her role in changing societal attitudes toward women, El Moutawakel also inspired Moroccan women to be involved in administrative positions and to take social responsibilities as activists in fighting AIDS and illiteracy and in raising awareness about environmental issues.

#### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

Since her Olympic title, El Moutawakel has gained a positive worldwide reputation as a symbol of women's liberation in the Arab and Islamic world. El Moutawakel has been hailed for breaking down barriers for women, especially in Africa and the Middle East, and for inspiring young girls.

#### LEGACY

As a Moroccan athlete, El Moutawakel's legacy is not only felt in her home country as the first Arab and Muslim woman to win an Olympic gold medal, she is also an international sports female icon. The IOC has utilized her positive image to improve athletics, mainly in Africa and the Middle East. In the United States, El Moutawakel was named an All-American citizen of Ames, Iowa, in 1984 and was inducted into the Iowa Sports Hall of Fame in 1994.

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*Aomar Boum*

## EL SAADAWI, NAWAL (1932–)

Nawal El Saadawi (Nawwal al-Sa'dawi) is a leading Egyptian feminist, a medical doctor who specialized in psychiatry, an activist, and a militant writer on Arab women's oppression and their desire for self-expression. She is one of the most widely translated contemporary Egyptian writers and her work is available in thirty languages.

#### PERSONAL HISTORY

El Saadawi was born in 1931 in Kafr Tahla, a small village outside of Cairo, in the Nile Delta region of Lower Egypt. Her family was relatively traditional, and yet somewhat progressive. Her father was a government official in the Ministry of Education; his integrity as a man opposed to corruption gave El Saadawi a model of independent thinking and also taught her self-respect. Against the common practice, her father insisted that all of his nine children should be educated and sent them all to school. El Saadawi's mother came from an upper-class family; she died when El Saadawi was twenty-five, and soon afterward, El Saadawi's father died. El Saadawi said about her mother that she would have been an early fighter for women's rights, if she had not buried her beliefs in her marriage.

In 1949 El Saadawi entered medical school; she received her M.D. in 1955 from the University of Cairo, and a master's degree in public health from Columbia University, New York, in 1966. Immediately after her graduation, El Saadawi practiced psychiatry at the University Hospital in Cairo and eventually rose to become Egypt's director of public health. Since she began to write she has focused on women, particularly Arab women, and even more specifically on their sexuality and legal status. For some time she published nonfiction, such as *al-Mar'a wa'l-Sira al-Nafsi* (1976, *Woman and Self-Struggle*), a text about women and psychological conflict, and *The Hidden Face of Eve* (1977), in Beirut. *Woman at Point Zero* (1975) was partly based on material about women's mental health that she had collected at Ayn Shams University. *Memoirs from the Women's Prison* (1983) was published in London.

During the period 1973 to 1978, El Saadawi was a writer at the High Institute of Literature and Science. She was also a researcher at Ayn Shams University's Faculty of Medicine in Cairo, worked for the United Nations as the director of African Training and Research Center for Women in Ethiopia (1978–1980), and as adviser for the United Nations Economic Commission for West Africa in Lebanon. El Saadawi has denounced the patriarchal grounds of all great religions, including Islam, Christianity, Judaism, Buddhism, and Hinduism. Typically, her



**Nawal El Saadawi.** MOHAMMED AL-SEHITI/AFP/GETTY IMAGES.

narrative combines fiction with nonfiction elements: her own knowledge of medical sciences, autobiographical details, and depiction of social ills.

As a result of her literary and scientific writings El Saadawi lost her job in the Egyptian government in 1972. The magazine *Health*, which she had founded and edited for more than three years, was closed down. Long viewed as controversial and dangerous by the Egyptian government, El Saadawi was arrested in September 1981, along with many other objectors to the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty, by President Anwar Sadat's regime. She was imprisoned for two months in Qanatir Women's Prison under the Egyptian Law for the Protection of Values from Shame. She was released one month after Sadat's assassination in October 1981. After her novel *The Fall of the Imam* (1987) was published in Cairo, she began to receive threats from fundamentalist religious groups. She lived in exile for five years with her husband in the United States, where she taught at Duke University and at Washington State University. In 1996 she returned to Egypt.

On 15 June 1991 the government issued a decree that closed down the Arab Women's Solidarity Association (AWSA) over which she presided, and handed over its funds to the association called Women in Islam. Six

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Nawal El Saadawi (Nawwal al-Sa'dawi)

**Birth:** 1932, Kafr Tahla, Egypt

**Family:** Husband, Sherif Youssef Hetata; one daughter; one son

**Nationality:** Egyptian

**Education:** M.D., Cairo University, 1955; master's degree in public health, 1966, Columbia University

### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1966:** Named director of the Health Education Department, Ministry of Health, Egypt
- **1968:** Founding member and chief editor of the magazine *Health*
- **1971:** Founds the Egyptian Writers Women's Association
- **1974:** Wins literary award from the Supreme Council for Arts and Social Sciences, Cairo, Egypt
- **1978:** Named UN adviser for the Women's Program in Middle East (ECWA) and in Africa (ECA)
- **1982–present:** Founds and directs the Arab Women's Solidarity Association (AWSA)
- **1993:** Visiting professor at diverse universities in the United States and in Barcelona, Spain
- **2003:** Named international writer of the year, International Biographical Center, Cambridge, England
- **2004:** Candidate for presidential elections in Egypt

months before this decree, the government closed down the magazine *Noon*, published by the AWSA. El Saadawi was editor in chief of this magazine. In 2004 Cairo's al-Azhar University, the most influential seat of Sunni Muslim learning in the world, banned her novel *The Fall of the Imam*. Her new novel, published in Cairo and titled *al-Riwaya* (2004), was also banned by al-Azhar and by the Coptic Church in Egypt. Her convictions led her to take action in politics: She ran for president of Egypt in the December 2004 elections.

### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

El Saadawi was influenced by what she experienced in her life as a woman, as a professional, as a writer, and by the

## WHEN YOU ARE CREATIVE YOU ARE FOR JUSTICE

You can not be creative in a system that is very unjust, like the system we live in, unless you are a dissident. Because when you are creative you are for justice, for freedom, for love. [...] You become angry, if this injustice is happening to you or to others. [...] You want to change the system that created this hunger. . . . I open up to understand the connection between international, national and family oppression. And why we have poverty. It's social, political. [...] It's made by the political system, internationally and nationally. So if you are creative, you will feel these children who are beggars, you will be angry, and you'll fight to make them eat. So I do not separate between writing and fighting. So what I do is make the connections. To undo the fragmentation of knowledge. Because the knowledge we receive in university is very fragmented. I try to undo this fragmentation.

EL SAADAWI, NAWAL. "A CONVERSATION WITH DR. NAWAL EL SAADAWI." INTERVIEW BY STEPHANIE MCMILLAN. *TWO EYES* (1999). AVAILABLE FROM [HTTP://HOME.EARTHLINK.NET/TWOEYESMAGAZINE](http://home.earthlink.net/twoeyesmagazine).

witnessing of humiliating and unfair practices. This has led her to speak out in support of political and sexual rights for women and constantly reiterate women's power in resistance. For example, at age of six, El Saadawi's family forced her to undergo a clitoridectomy, and as an adult she wrote about and criticized the practice of female and male genital mutilation. Her early work is considered pioneering in modern feminist fiction in Arabic. Since the 1970s she began to criticize openly the patriarchal system and tackle taboo problems: female circumcision, abortion, sexuality, child abuse, and different forms of women's oppression.

### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

El Saadawi is perceived positively both in the Arab countries and in Western countries. She has received several awards, including High Council of Literature Award (1974), the Literary Franco-Arab Friendship Award (1982), and the Literary Award of Gubran (1988). However, Western feminist readers have criticized her fiction as repetitive in theme and programmatic. Also, she said in an interview with Stephanie McMillan for the magazine *Two Eyes* that, in the United States, "capitalists,

right wing, Christian fundamentalists, and their media" (1999) attacked her because of her points of view.

### LEGACY

El Saadawi is well known in Arab countries and in many other parts of the world. Her novels and other writings on the situation of women have had a deep effect on following generations of young women over the last four decades. In addition to writing, she participates in other forms of political struggle, such as her campaign against female and male circumcision; against the United States aggression of the Gulf War; against social and economic injustice. She has also contributed to the Report on U.S. War Crimes against Iraq to the Commission of Inquiry for the International War Crimes Tribunal that was written by former U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark and others, and she served on a mission to bring medical aid to Iraq in defiance of U.S. sanctions. She is currently active in the Egyptian Women's Union, which has been declared illegal in Egypt by the government.

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Laura Ruiz

## EL SAHER, KAZEM (1961–)

One of the Arab world's most popular stars of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, Kazem El Saher (Kazim al-Sahir; Kathem al-Saher, Kadhem) is a highly respected musical artist in the Middle East and a cultural ambassador to the West.

### PERSONAL HISTORY

El Saher was born in northern Iraq on 12 September 1961 and grew up in the city of Mosul. As a boy, he listened to and emulated the great singers of Arab music, including Muhammad 'Abd al-Wahhab, 'Abd al-Halim Hafiz and the great Iraqi *maqam* singer, Muhammad al-Qabbanji. He reportedly traded a bicycle for his first musical instrument, a guitar, and began learning to play



**Kazem El Saher.** KARIM JAAFAR/AFP/GETTY IMAGES.

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Kazem El Saher (Kazim al-Sahir; Kathem al-Saher, Kadhem)

**Birth:** 1961, northern Iraq

**Nationality:** Iraqi

**Education:** Baghdad Academy of Music, 1982–1987

### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1998:** Receives UNICEF award for song “Tadhakkur” (Remember), lamenting the effects of sanctions on Iraq’s children; performed it for United Nations and U.S. Congress
- **2002:** “Ana wa Layla” (Layla and I) chosen number six worldwide in BBC poll
- **2003:** Records “The War Is Over” with British singer Sarah Brightman; collaborates with Lenny Kravitz on antiwar songs

the oud at around age twelve. He enrolled at age twenty-one in the prestigious Baghdad Academy of Music, in which he studied for six years.

El Saher wanted to become a singer, but producers were unwilling to allow him to perform his own material. In 1987 his song video “Ladghat al-Hayya” (Snake bite) created a stir when it was broadcast, reportedly without permission, on Iraqi television. Iraqi authorities demanded that El Saher change the song’s lyrics, which they interpreted as a critique of the Iraqi political climate following the Iran-Iraq War. El Saher refused—a move that earned him respect and expanded his audience. In 1989 he released the album *Ghazal* (Love songs) which included the acclaimed hit “Abart al-Shatt” (I crossed the river) and started performing throughout the Arab world. After a hiatus due to the 1991 Gulf War and its aftermath, he picked up his career again in 1993—this time outside of Iraq, in Lebanon and later Egypt.

Releasing numerous albums and touring extensively, El Saher has become both a high-grossing superstar and a respected musical artist. His reputation has continued to grow through collaborations with European and North American artists, including Sarah Brightman and Lenny Kravitz. He continues to live abroad, residing alternately in Cairo, Dubai, Paris, and Toronto.

## INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Before he entered the Baghdad Academy of Music, El Saher’s self-education through the radio had given him a firm grounding in the rich repertoire of mid-twentieth-century Arab vocal music. He became deeply familiar with both classical Arab music, whose main representatives were Egyptian and Lebanese, and the Iraqi *maqam* repertoire, a local art form featuring vocal virtuosity and a vast repertoire. This solid grounding in traditional musical styles informs his work as both a singer and a composer.

El Saher has been likened to the great singers of the mid-twentieth century for his live performances. In contrast to the synthesizer-heavy small ensembles that back other Arab stars, he performs with an orchestra of twenty to thirty musicians on Arabic percussion, oud, *qanun*, *nay*, and a full complement of strings (violin, cello, and bass). While some of his work makes use of electronic musical sounds, he avoids the use of synthesizers to imitate acoustic instruments. His work frequently features Iraqi folk instruments, rhythms and melodies.

El Saher’s music stands out from most Arab popular music for its depth and sophistication as well as for the fact that he composes and arranges his own music. El Saher is known for using melodic modes, or *maqamat*, that are rarely used in pop music (most Arab pop music uses the few *maqamat* that are compatible with Western scales, in order to include harmony and fixed-pitch instruments,



such as the piano and accordion, in their arrangements). In an era in which the vast majority of Arab pop singers release short love songs in regional colloquial Arabic (usually Egyptian or Lebanese dialect), El Saher writes and performs substantially longer songs based upon poems in classical Arabic. El Saher has set to music works of leading contemporary poets, most extensively the Syrian poet NIZAR QABBANI.

#### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

El Saher has become perhaps Iraq's leading cultural ambassador since the 1991 Gulf War, particularly after the invasion of Iraq in 2003 by the United States and its allies. He has consistently refused to make expressly political statements about the powers that have ruled Iraq, and has focused instead upon the humanitarian toll of conflict and sanctions. He regularly donates concert proceeds to groups that aid Iraqi children.

El Saher has a huge fan base worldwide, including but not limited to Iraqis in the diaspora. Numerous fan Web sites in Arabic, English, and Farsi post up-to-the-minute news on his concerts and musical output. At a time when Iraqi society has been nearly destroyed, El Saher has become a public figure around which Iraqis in exile can unite.

#### LEGACY

Since he is at the height of his popularity, it is too early to discuss Kazem El Saher's legacy. It is clear that he will be remembered as a leading figure in Arab popular music in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, as well as one of Iraq's most significant musicians of the modern period.

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*Hafiyat al-Qadimayn* (Bare feet). Jidda: Rotana, 2003. Includes "The War Is Over" with Sarah Brightman.

*Intaha al-Mishwar* (The quest has ended). Jidda: Rotana, 2005.

*Anne Elise Thomas*

## EL SARRAJ, EYAD (1944–)

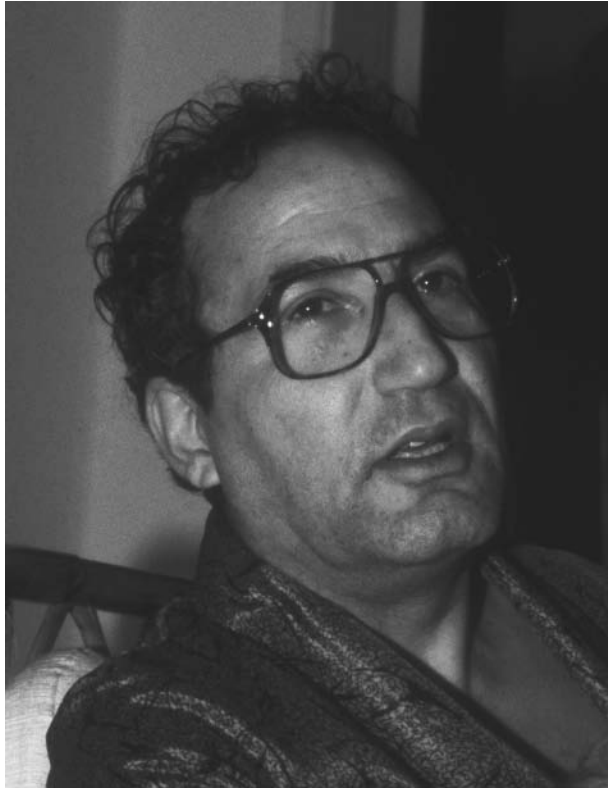
Eyad Rajab El Sarraj (also Iyad al-Sarraj) is an internationally recognized Palestinian psychiatrist, researcher, and human rights advocate.

#### PERSONAL HISTORY

El Sarraj was born in Beersheba, mandatory Palestine, on 27 April 1944, to a family of Palestinian Arab Muslims. His family arrived in the Gaza Strip in 1948 as refugees during the 1948 War, and, like most of the over seven hundred thousand other such refugees, were never allowed to return to their homes by the Israeli government. He grew up and attended school in Gaza, which was controlled by Egypt after the war. In 1963 he left to study medicine at Alexandria University in Egypt, and eventually received his M.B. and B.Ch. degrees in 1971. Thereafter, he returned to Gaza, which had been occupied by Israel in 1967. He worked in 1971 and 1972 in pediatrics at Shifa Hospital in Gaza, and in psychiatry at Bethlehem Mental Hospital in the Israeli-occupied West Bank.

After four years of study at the University of London's Institute of Psychiatry, El Sarraj received his D.P.M. degree in 1977. He returned to Gaza and worked with the Department of Health under Israeli military authorities from 1977 to 1981 before becoming director of Mental Health Services from 1981 to 1988. He returned to Britain on two occasions in the 1980s for further study, including a research fellowship at Oxford University's Refugee Studies Programme in 1989–1990. Back in Gaza, he founded the Gaza Community Mental Health Programme in April 1990 and remains its general director today.

Cognizant of the link between oppression, violence, and hopelessness and mental illness from his years living under Israeli military occupation, El Sarraj also became a human rights campaigner. The Israeli government once imprisoned him for refusing to pay taxes to its occupation authorities. After Israel ceded control of most of Gaza to the Palestinian Authority (PA) in 1994, El Sarraj served as commissioner general of the new Palestinian Independent Commission for Citizens' Rights from 1995 to 1999. However, his outspoken criticism of the new Palestinian government landed him in prison in December 1995, May 1996, and June 1996. His May 1996 imprisonment, which included torture, lasted for seventeen days, despite international outcries and demands for his release. PA leader YASIR ARAFAT ordered him arrested again in early 2001 for publicly criticizing his government, but El Sarraj managed to hide until such time as Arafat was convinced to rescind his order. El Sarraj also continued to decry oppressive Israeli policies and actions in Gaza and the West Bank.



*Eyad El Sarraj.* DAVID RUBINGER/TIME LIFE PICTURES/GETTY IMAGES.

El Sarraj has been a member of a number of medical, psychological, and human rights organizations, both at home and on the international level. These have included the Arab Medical Association (in the PA), the American Psychiatric Association, the World Federation of Mental Health, the Campaign against Torture in the Middle East, the Palestine Center against Violence, the International Federation for Health and Human Rights, and the International Federation of Physicians for Human Rights.

El Sarraj also has been involved in politics. He was a member of the Palestinian National Council, and served as an adviser to the Palestinian negotiating team at the Camp David II talks in the United States in July 2000. He also unsuccessfully ran for election on the Wa'ad List (also known as the National Coalition for Justice and Democracy) in the January 2006 elections for the Palestinian Legislative Council.

#### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Growing up as a Palestinian refugee in Gaza, and continuing to live and work among the refugee community, has given El Sarraj a unique perspective into mental health and

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Eyad Rajab El Sarraj (Iyad al-Sarraj)  
**Birth:** 1944, Beersheba, mandatory Palestine  
**Family:** Wife; two sons, Sayf and Wasim  
**Nationality:** Palestinian (dual British citizenship)  
**Education:** M.B., B.Ch., Alexandria University (Egypt), 1971; D.P.M., Institute of Psychiatry, University of London, 1977

#### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1963:** Begins medical studies, Alexandria University
- **1971:** Practices pediatrics, Shifa Hospital, Gaza, and psychiatry, Bethlehem Mental Hospital, West Bank
- **1974:** Begins psychiatric studies, Institute of Psychiatry, University of London
- **1977:** Begins work with Department of Health, Gaza
- **1981:** Director of Mental Health Services, Department of Health, Gaza
- **1989:** Begins nine months as research fellow, Refugee Studies Programme, Oxford University
- **1991:** Cofounds Gaza Community Mental Health Programme
- **1995:** Commissioner general, Palestinian Independent Commission for Citizens' Rights
- **1997:** Awarded Physicians for Human Rights Award
- **1998:** Awarded Martin Ennals Award for Human Rights Defenders
- **2000:** Adviser to Palestinian negotiating team, Camp David II talks
- **2006:** Unsuccessfully runs for election to Palestinian Legislative Council

human rights, as well as the link between them. His work documenting the effects of war and violence upon children is well known, particularly how impact trauma or the witnessing of trauma affects a child's later development and proclivities toward rage and violence. His scholarly articles have been published in prestigious journals around the world. El Sarraj's work on Palestinian suicide bombings also goes beyond the sensationalistic and simplistic views

## DON'T FORGET ME

Receiving this award reminded me of one of the persons I left behind in prison. He said to me: "Don't forget me . . . please . . . don't forget me." In the detention centers which I have to visit in my capacity as the Commissioner General for Human Rights in Palestine (a position which also put me in detention), in every prison, in every detention center I visit in Israel or Palestine, I always call out, with these haunting memories of the sounds of people bleeding: "don't forget me."

REMARKS AT THE MARTIN ENNALS AWARD FOR HUMAN RIGHTS DEFENDERS, CEREMONY, NOVEMBER 1998.

Let me tell you first that the people who are committing the suicide bombings in this intifada (2000–) are the children of the first intifada (1987–1991)—people who witnessed so much trauma as children. So as they grew up, their own identity merged with the national identity of humiliation and defeat, and they avenge that defeat at both the personal and national levels. . . . During the first intifada, studies showed that 55 percent of the children had witnessed their fathers being humiliated or beaten by Israeli soldiers. The psychological impact of this is stunning. The father, normally the authority figure, comes to be seen as somebody who is helpless, who can't even protect himself—let alone his children. So children have become more militant, more violent. People are the products of their environment. Children who have seen so much inhumanity—basically the Israeli occupation policies—inevitably come out with inhuman responses. That's really how to understand the suicide bombings.

EYAD EL SARRAJ IN BUTLER, LINDA. "SUICIDE BOMBERS: DIGNITY, DESPAIR, AND THE NEED FOR HOPE. AN INTERVIEW WITH EYAD EL SARRAJ." *JOURNAL OF PALESTINE STUDIES* 31, NO. 4 (SUMMER 2002).

about Islam and Palestinians often propagated in the West, and locates the phenomenon of such attacks within the culture of violence that war and occupation have created for Palestinian youth in recent decades.

He also has campaigned for human rights, nonviolence, and accountable government. In this way, El Sarraj has contributed vitally to the development of a vibrant civil society among Palestinians, both under occupation and under the authority of the PA.

## THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

El Sarraj is an internationally known mental health practitioner and researcher, as well as a champion for human rights, democracy, and nonviolent conflict resolution. He also is viewed as a man of integrity, equally vocal in his denunciation of Israeli and Palestinian human rights abuses and outrages. He twice has been awarded prestigious international awards for his human rights work, earning the Physicians for Human Rights Award in 1997 and the Martin Ennals Award for Human Rights Defenders in 1998. Fluent in English, El Sarraj is a frequent commentator in the Western press, and also frequently appears in documentary films on subjects such as suicide bombings.

## LEGACY

Eyad El Sarraj's ultimate legacy will be measured through the lives he has helped heal through his mental health work, his scholarly contributions through research conducted under adverse circumstances of war and occupation, his efforts toward building an empowered Palestinian civil society, and his unwavering commitment to human rights and nonviolence in a region torn by war.

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Michael R. Fischbach

## ERDOGAN, TAYYIP

(1954–)

Tayyip Erdogan is a Turkish politician who has been engaged in the Turkish Islamic political movement since the mid-1970s, and from the late 1990s he has become one of the principal politicians on the national scene. Under his leadership since the early twenty-first century, the Turkish Islamist movement carried out a transition from a relatively narrow, religiously oriented base, to a conservative movement as the Justice and Development Party that is more similar to European Christian Democratic parties. This political reorientation helped to secure, for the first time in 2002, enough votes for this movement to form a government by itself. As a result, Erdogan became the prime minister of Turkey in 2003.

### PERSONAL HISTORY

Erdogan was born 26 February 1954 in the Kasimpasa district, a lower-middle-class neighborhood situated at the heart of Istanbul, Turkey. His father, Ahmet Erdogan, was employed at the Turkish Maritime Lines as a coastal captain, and his mother, Tenzile Erdogan, was a housewife. He attended to Piyale Pasa primary school in Kasimpasa, and after primary school he continued his education at the Istanbul Imam Hatip middle and high school, from which he graduated in 1973. Erdogan then attended Marmara University's faculty of economics and trade and received his degree in 1981. He was married in 1978 and has four children. Between 1969 and 1982 he played soccer at various levels, and after 1980 he started working in the private sector. Subsequently, he worked for several different private corporations in various managerial positions.

His political career started as early as 1969 during his high school and university years where he was an active member of the National Turkish Students Association (Milli Türk Talebe Birliği) which, at that time, was in the process of transitioning from a conservative to an Islamist organization. In 1976 he became the chair of the National Salvation Party's (Milli Selamet Partisi) Beyoglu (a district in Istanbul) youth branch, and that same year was promoted to the position of chair for the Istanbul youth branch of the party.

The National Salvation Party was the second political party formed under the auspices of the National Outlook Movement (Milli Gorus Hareketi), which promoted an Islamist ideology and was led by Necmettin Erbakan. This movement brought about Turkey's first Islamist political party in 1970, organized under the name of the National Order Party (Milli Nizam Partisi). However, with the 1971 military memorandum, the party was banned and was subsequently reorganized under the name of National Salvation Party. The party remained as a relatively small



*Tayyip Erdogan.* SEAN GALLUP/GETTY IMAGES.

religious party, albeit playing key roles during the coalition governments of the 1970s, reaching its highest vote percentage of 11.8 in the 1973 national assembly elections. The military authorities that came into power after the military coup of 12 September 1980 banned the party again. The successor party of the National Outlook Movement was reinitiated in 1983 under the name of the Welfare Party (Refah Partisi). It was with this new party that Erdogan restarted his political life. He became the party's Beyoglu district chair in 1984, and in 1985 he became the chair of the Istanbul city branch. He was Welfare Party's mayoral candidate for the Beyoglu district in 1989, and the national assembly candidate for 1986 and 1991; in all three cases, he failed to get elected.

Erdogan's fortunes began to change with the rise of the Welfare Party in Turkish politics. In the 1994 mayoral elections across Turkey, the Welfare Party experienced a surge in their national standings, and in Istanbul—Turkey's social and economic capital—Erdogan won the mayoral election with 25 percent of the total city votes. From 1994 to 2002 Erdogan's party (the Welfare Party) went through tumultuous times, and along with it so did Erdogan's political career. However, through it all Erdogan managed to become the strongest political leader of the nation. The Welfare Party continued to grow after 1994, and in the 1995 national parliamentary elections it received the most votes nationally of any party (21.3%), securing 158 of the 550 parliamentary seats.

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Tayyip Erdogan

**Birth:** 1954, Istanbul, Turkey

**Family:** Wife, Emine; two sons, Ahmet Burak, Necmettin Bilal; two daughters: Esra, Sumeyye

**Nationality:** Turkish

**Education:** Istanbul, Marmara University, Faculty of Economics and Trade, 1981

## PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1970s:** Becomes member of the National Turkish Students Association
- **1976:** Chairs the National Salvation Party (MNP) youth branch
- **1984:** Chairs the Welfare Party (WP), Beyoglu district
- **1985:** Chairs the WP, City of Istanbul
- **1994:** Elected mayor of Istanbul
- **1999:** Imprisoned for four months
- **2003–present:** Prime minister and chair of Justice and Development Party

In 1996, after the breakup of the coalition government run by the two central-right parties of Turkey, the Welfare Party formed a coalition government with one of the central-right parties. As a result, Erbakan, the founder of the National Outlook Movement and its leader for close to thirty years, became Turkey's first Islamist prime minister, albeit of a coalition government. However, on 28 February 1997, the Turkish military intervened in the democratic political process with an implicit coup, arguing that laicism (a Turkish version of secularism that prescribes a level of state control over religion) was under threat. This intervention culminated into the political developments that led to the fall of the Welfare Party's coalition government and to the formation of another coalition government between central-right and left parties.

During the period known as the 28th of February process, the Welfare Party was shut down by the Constitutional Court (January 1998) and Erdogan was sentenced to jail for four months. His conviction was not directly related to the ban on the Welfare Party, but it was definitely associated with the heightened secularist sentiments of the times. He was convicted for reading a

poem in Siirt in December 1997, which, under article 312/2 of the Turkish penal code, was connected to inciting religious and racial hatred among people as well as trying to establish a religious state. With the conviction, Erdogan was forced to give up his mayoral position. The conviction also stipulated a political ban, which prevented him from participating in parliamentary elections. He completed his sentence on 24 July 1999. In the meantime, anticipating the closure of the Welfare Party and attempting to circumvent potential legal problems, the followers of the National Outlook ideology yet again reorganized, this time under the name of the Virtue Party (Fazilet Partisi). The Virtue Party participated in the 1999 general assembly elections, but its vote decreased to 15.4 percent, which placed it as the number three-ranked party in the nation.

Following his prison sentence, Erdogan became active in the Virtue Party. The party, however, had been struggling with conflicts between renewalists (*yenilikciler*) who tried to reorient the party in a conservative democratic direction, and traditionalists (*Gelenekciler*), who were more committed to the Islamist National Outlook ideology. Erdogan was instrumental in this struggle, siding with the renewalists as one of its principal agents. On 14 May 2000, the renewalists failed to win the party presidential elections by a small margin, and this loss increased the tensions between the two sides. In the meantime, the party was being tried by the High Court's chief prosecutor in the Constitutional Court for being a continuation to the Welfare Party. On 22 June 2001, the court decided that the Virtue party was unconstitutional. After the closure of the Virtue Party, the renewalists were organized under the leadership of Erdogan into the Justice and Development Party (JDP—Adalet ve Kalkinma Partisi), and the traditionalists formed the Felicity Party (Saadet Partisi).

The JDP was formed in August 2002, and under Erdogan's leadership the new party was reoriented from its Islamist past (its National Outlook roots) to a conservative, democratic one. "The political party of which I am the leader, the AK Party [JDP], represents a new political style and understanding in Turkish political life. I believe that this new approach, based on a political identity I call 'conservative democrat', has a significance." (January 2004). Rather quickly, the JDP became the principal party in the nation by receiving the most votes in the November 2002 national elections (34.6%). Also, because only two political parties were able to overcome the national threshold of 10 percent of the votes, the JDP ended up acquiring 363 of the 550 seats in parliament (the secularist Social Democratic RPP received the remainder). Immediately after the elections, the JDP initiated a constitutional change that lifted the political ban on Erdogan, and he was elected to the parliament in March 2003 in a by-election. As a result, he assumed the

## RELIGION IS A SACRED AND COLLECTIVE VALUE

We also believe that secularism needs to be crowned with democracy in order for fundamental rights and freedoms to be accorded constitutional guarantees. This allows secularism to function like an arbiter institution and provides an environment for compromise. While attaching importance to religion as a social value, we do not think it right to conduct politics through religion, to attempt to transform government ideologically using religion, or to resort to organizational activities based on religious symbols. To make religion an instrument of politics and to adopt exclusive approaches to politics in the name of religion harms not only political pluralism but also religion itself. Religion is a sacred and collective value. This is how we should interpret it, how we should understand it. It should not be made the subject of political partisanship causing divisiveness. Therefore, it is important that conservatism—as a political approach which accords importance to history, social culture, and in this context, religion as well—reestablished itself on a democratic format. This is our opinion.

ERDOGAN, TAYYIP. SPEECH GIVEN AT THE AMERICAN ENTERPRISE INSTITUTE, 29 JANUARY 2004.

post of prime minister, a post that, as of 2007, he continues to hold.

### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Erdogan, during both his tenure as mayor and prime minister, formed his image as a person of Turkey's periphery by emphasizing his authentic and natural values in opposition to the elitist, status-oriented culture of the center that holds the power in the Turkish establishment. Two factors were particularly important in establishing this image: his neighborhood and lower-middle-class family, and his religiosity.

His neighborhood (Kasimpasa) is known to have its own moral codes. When he was growing up, Kasimpasa was a lower-middle-class neighborhood, and its inhabitants faced with a strong communal solidarity the socioeconomic challenges that cosmopolitan Istanbul presented. This solidarity was substantiated by certain codes of behavior that can be described in two ways: on the one hand as a requirement of principled conduct, or having a backbone (*delikanlilik*), and on the other hand as male bravado and

machismo (*kabadayilik*). Throughout his career, Erdogan's style of politics has reflected both of these features. As an example of the latter, he was reported to have told a citizen who was seeking a job that, "the state is not a place to distribute jobs, the prime minister is speaking here, be respectful" (*Radikal*, 17 August 2003, author's translation). In his commitment to principled conduct, he describes his ideal politician one who "never lies to the nation, never hesitates, is not at all hypocritical. . . . You [the politician] should stand behind firmly behind the values that you believe in, you should have a backbone. You should not complain, you should not cheat, you should be a *delikanli* in its fullest sense" (*Zaman*, 11 April 2007, author's translation).

Erdogan was a devout Muslim from early on, however, his attendance at the Imam Hatip high school (vocational schools to train imams [prayer leaders]), accentuated his proclivities. He was reported as saying, "I owe everything to the Imam Hatip school that I attended, my life was predestined in that school. There I have learned patriotism, love for fellow human beings, service for the country, the worship of God, environmental sciences, the spirit of solidarity, and wishing for others what I want for myself" (Heper and Toktas, 2003, p. 162). Additionally, his relatively low-income background completes the picture of his political image as an authentic representative of the Turkey's cultural periphery, which also constitutes the majority of Turkish citizens. Notably writing in the plural rather than the singular, he has stated that "everybody should know that like our style of politics, our way of life, is the way of life our nation" (*Zaman*, 29 May 2007, author's translation).

Describing Erdogan's transformation from an Islamist to a conservative democrat can best summarize his most notable contributions. Erdogan is a politician who comes from the Islamist National Outlook tradition (the leader of which had been Erbakan). Until the formation of JDP in 2001, his entire political career had been within the political parties that were formed under the auspices of the ideology of the National Outlook (in historical order, National Salvation Party, Welfare Party, and Virtue Party). However, since the mid-1990s, Erdogan began to give up many important facets of this ideology. Erdogan, until the mid-1990s, a good student of Erbakan, was anti-market economy, anti-European Union (EU), and anti-laicism (anti-Turkish secularism); he has subsequently transformed his position on each of these issues.

First, one of the most dramatic changes was in his understanding of economic development. Erbakan's National Outlook was anti-International Monetary Fund (IMF), pro state-regulated economy with relatively controlled borders, and also emphasized the development of heavy industry and the better distribution of income. On the other hand, Erdogan, perhaps more than any other

Turkish politician, has become a free-market fundamentalist in the last decade. That is, he believes in self-regulating markets (minimal state intervention into the economy), an open economy, and his emphasis is on making the Turkish economy friendly to foreign investment and anti-inflationist policies. Additionally, throughout his tenure since 2003, he has fully carried out all IMF prescriptions.

Second, the National Outlook ideology believes that the EU (then the European Economic Community) is a plan to dissolve Turkey into Christian Europe. Erbakan believed that the EU was a union of Catholics, as well as a Zionist trick. However, since gaining power, Erdogan's JDP has put forth an unprecedented effort to carry out a range of constitutional and democratic reforms to fulfill Turkey's accession to EU. In fact, during Erdogan's government, the EU accepted the start of negotiations for full membership with Turkey.

Third, the National Outlook tradition and the Erdogan of the past, has always had a tense relationship with laicism. In fact, bans of political parties formed after this tradition stemmed from their violation of this constitutional principle of Turkey. However, in the early twenty-first century, Erdogan appears to have taken a much more prudent attitude toward laicism and has repeatedly emphasized the significance of laicism as a fundamental good for democracy. However, on this issue, Erdogan has not been able to fully convince the Turkish public that he is truly laic (secular). A significant portion of the Turkish population fears that he is engaging in *Takiyye* (hiding one's true beliefs) on this issue. This fear became apparent during the presidential election quarrels in April and May 2007. When the possibility that Erdogan, or one his closest associates (Abdullah Gül) would become the president presented itself, several times in different cities millions of people protested in order to save laicism. In other words, although Erdogan's transformation on this issue is significant, it is not significant enough for a noteworthy segment of Turkish population.

#### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

At the time of his first ascendancy into the Turkish national political arena after winning Istanbul's mayoral elections 1994, Western perceptions of Erdogan were generally cautious, given his party's anti-Western stance and its Islamist roots. However, over time, a significantly more positive outlook has replaced this caution. This shift has been prompted in part by the court's decision to convict him in 1998, which received much Western criticism as being undemocratic. Also, since the

beginning of his government, Erdogan's push for democratic reforms in Turkey's bid for EU accession has increased his global appeal. Romano Prodi, the EU commission president in 2004, "commented laudably on Turkey's efforts, and called Erdogan one of the three greatest leaders of Turkey. These leaders are Kemal Atatürk, Turgut Özal, and Tayyip Erdogan" (Duran, 2006, p. 300).

In the United States, Erdogan's image received a blow after the Turkish parliament refused to accept North American troops on Turkish territory for the war in Iraq (1 March 2003). However, Erdogan's economic and political stance on critical issues makes him appealing to the United States. For example, President George W. Bush, "praised Turkey's democracy as 'an important example for the people in the broader Middle East,'" and said that he is grateful to Erdogan because of Erdogan's support for the Broader Middle East Initiative (8 June 2005, info.state.gov).

#### LEGACY

It is too early to elaborate on Tayyip Erdogan's legacy as he is, as of 2007, still the prime minister of Turkey. However, with his leading role in reorienting his party from an Islamist to a conservative democratic program, he may be instrumental in the long run in the creation of less conflictual Turkish democratic development, at least with respect to debates about values. This would be a progressive move toward the consolidation of Turkish democracy. However, for the time being, his party's rule seems to be intensifying value-based political conflicts in Turkey between skeptical secularists and his government.

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*Yunus Sozen*

## FADLALLAH, MUHAMMAD HUSAYN (1935–)

The Lebanese Shi'ite Muslim cleric Muhammad Husayn Abd al-Ra'uf Fadlallah has been a leading religious and political leader in Lebanon since the 1980s.



### PERSONAL HISTORY

Fadlallah was born in al-Najaf, Iraq, on 16 November 1935. However, his roots are in Lebanon; he is the son of the late Abd al-Ra'uf Fadlallah, a major Shi'ite Muslim cleric who left Aynata in southern Lebanon in 1928 to travel to Iraq to study at its famous Shi'ite religious seminaries. As a young man Fadlallah followed in his father's footsteps and trained in the seminaries of al-Najaf, where he mastered the arcane intricacies of religious law by studying under some of the most famous Shi'ite grand ayatollahs of the twentieth century. These included Muhsin al-Hakim, Abu'l-Qasim al-Khu'i, Husayn al-Hilli, and Mahmud al-Sharawadi. He eventually was certified as a *mujtahid* (a Shi'ite cleric competent to independently interpret religious law). Fadlallah started teaching in al-Najaf, entering into the polemical debates between Marxists and their rivals that were common in Iraqi politics at the time.

Bearing the title "Sayyid," he returned to Lebanon in 1966, settling in the Nab'a suburb eastern Beirut. During his first decade in Beirut he devoted much of his time to scholarship and authored several books in Arabic. He established the Usrat al-Ta'akhi Society, an Islamic cultural association. He also founded the Islamic Shari'a Institute that he continues to head. Fadlallah argued that Islamic jurisprudence should be freed from its abstract formulations and expressed in a language that could be understood by laypeople. His literary taste is also evident in his poetic language. In Beirut, he witnessed the eruption of the Lebanese Civil War in 1975 and the progressive disintegration of the Lebanese state. He himself became a victim of the war when he was kidnapped by Christian militiamen and forced to leave Nab'a. He went to Harat Hurayk and eventually to Bir al-Abd in Beirut's southern suburbs.

**The Rise of the Shi'ites** The 1950s and 1960s were times of growth and concern among the learned men of Shi'ism. In Iraq as in Lebanon, young Shi'ites were becoming increasingly active in politics, but they were more attracted by the revolutionary rhetoric of the Left than the seemingly anachronistic language of Islam. In both countries the Shi'ites found themselves at the bottom of the socioeconomic ladder, and communist ideology that emphasized class exploitation rang true. In reaction to the

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*Muhammad Husayn Fadlallah.* AP IMAGES.

successes of the Left, some of the leading religious scholars of al-Najaf created the Hizb al-Da'wa (the Party of the Call), and it is entirely possible that Fadlallah was an influential voice within the party. Notwithstanding the creation of Da'wa, it was not until the Iranian Revolution that toppled the imperial government in 1979 that the potential for Shi'ism as a force for revolution was understood.

For many years Fadlallah lived in the shadow of Sayyid Musa al-Sadr, the Iranian cleric of Lebanese descent who began to organize the Lebanese Shi'ites in the early 1960s. But al-Sadr disappeared in 1978 during a visit to Libya, and his still-unexplained disappearance left a gaping hole that aspiring Shi'ite leaders have competed to fill ever since. Fadlallah saw himself as the successor to al-Sadr, but he faced an impressive range of competitors—including Muhammad Mahdi Shams al-Din, the vice-chair of the Supreme Shi'ite Islamic Council; Abd al-Amr Qabalan, the senior jurisprudent for Shi'ite religious law; Nabih Berri, the lawyer who led the important Amal movement; and Husayn al-Husaynii, who as speaker of the Parliament held the highest position available to a Shi'ite under the Lebanese constitution. Although the competitors

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Muhammad Husayn Fadlallah

**Birth:** 1935, al-Najaf, Iraq

**Family:** Married; children

**Nationality:** Lebanese

**Education:** Shi'ite religious seminaries, al-Najaf, Iraq

### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1966:** Returns from Iraq to his ancestral country, Lebanon; settles in Nab'a, an eastern suburb of Beirut
- **1975:** Lebanese Civil War breaks out; kidnapped by Christian militiamen and forced to leave Nab'a
- **1982:** Israel invades Lebanon, bombarding Beirut heavily
- **1985:** Survives assassination attempt
- **1989:** Refuses to support the Ta'if Accord that ends the civil war in Lebanon
- **2003:** Invited to return to Iraq after downfall of Saddam Hussein, but refuses a governmental position

often used the highly evocative religious symbolism of Shi'ism to rally supporters and undermine adversaries, the dynamics of Shi'ite politics largely reflected an intense struggle for political position in Lebanon.

In the 1980s Fadlallah emerged as one of the leading political figures in Lebanon. He attracted a wide following in the large Shi'ite community, particularly within the ranks of Hizbullah (Arabic: Party of God). From the pulpit of the Imam Rida mosque in Bir al-Abd, Fadlallah's sermons gave shape to the political currents among the Shi'ites, especially in the latter half of the 1980s.

### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

The Israeli invasion of Lebanon in June 1982 was a watershed event for the Lebanese Shi'ites and the public career of Fadlallah. Many Shi'ites, particularly in South Lebanon, initially greeted the invasion with enthusiasm—hoping that the Israelis would remove Palestinian guerrillas who had been harassing them over the years. By 1983 the mood had shifted from joy to anger among Lebanese Shi'ites. The invading army became an army of occupation bearing down heavily upon the Shi'ites, and a war of resistance

began against the Israelis. In January 1985, reeling from heavy losses, the Israeli government eventually decided to cut its losses and reduce its occupation to a “security zone” in the south that covered less than 10 percent of Lebanese territory. Although a wide assortment of Lebanese factions participated in the antioccupation campaign, it was the self-styled Islamic Resistance that captured the imagination of observers all over the world. Fadlallah was an influential proponent of conducting a defensive *jihad al-difa* (defensive holy war) against the Israelis, but he was by no means the only Shi‘ite cleric to do so. Moreover, Fadlallah seemed to have no direct operational role in the Islamic Resistance’s attacks.

After the destruction of the U.S. Marine barracks in Beirut that killed 237 marines in October 1983, some speculated that Fadlallah played a direct role in encouraging the attack. Subsequent evidence cast doubt on that claim. It now seems that the Iranian ambassador to Syria at the time, Ali Akbar Mohteshemi, played a major role in organizing the attack, probably with assistance from Syria. Fadlallah applauded the attack. The marines were members of the Multinational Force (MNF) dispatched to Lebanon in 1982 following the massacre of Palestinian refugees in Beirut’s Sabra and Shatila refugee camps. The killings were the work of Christian Maronite militiamen allied with Israel. Initially the MNF was warmly received, but its support for President Amin Gemayyel’s unpopular government progressively eroded support for the MNF. The ideology promulgated by Tehran held that the West—particularly the United States—was an evil and insidious influence in Lebanon. Only by expelling the MNF would the Lebanese win freedom from Western colonialist designs and intrigues.

**Dealing with Iran and Amal** The Iranian role in the attack on the marines points up the expanding role of Tehran in Lebanese Shi‘ite politics. By 1982 Iran had dispatched a contingent of the Pasdaran (Revolutionary Guards) to Lebanon. The Pasdaran served as a cadre, training Lebanese Shi‘ites to serve under the banner of an Islamic revolution. Iran also dispensed relatively large sums of money, much of it flowing to Hizbullah to pay military expenses, as well as funding a relatively broad range of social welfare programs designed to benefit Lebanese Shi‘ites. Fadlallah was a vocal supporter of Iranian leader and worldwide Shi‘ite spiritual figure Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini and the Iranian Revolution, but he believed that Iran was misjudging Lebanon. He argued that Iran was insensitive to the social complexity of Lebanon, with its seventeen recognized sects—including Jews, several Muslim sects, and a rich variety of Christians. In contrast, almost 95 percent of the Iranian population follows Shi‘ite Islam. During a 1985 visit to Iran Fadlallah found himself in some heated exchanges with Iranian counterparts who exaggerated the ease with which an Islamic state might be created in Lebanon.

For his part, Fadlallah stressed a more gradual strategy that took fuller account of the realities of Lebanon. Fadlallah also held an independent stance on the matter of hostage-taking—a number of foreigners had been seized by various Shi‘ite groups in Lebanon in the mid-1980s. He generally criticized the abductions on moral grounds, but he had little direct influence in such matters. While Fadlallah had advocated Khomeini’s doctrine of Wilayat

## WE . . . KNOW THAT THE SNAKE DOES NOT HOLD IN ITSELF THE ANTIDOTE

In Lebanon, we have to realize the seriousness of the American interference and to be aware of it because the American Administration is the source of chaos that afflicted the Lebanese body, especially, in the latest stages in which it is trying to present it self as a balsam for the internal Lebanese wounds. But actually, we all know that the snake does not hold in itself the antidote, but the deadly poison. Thus, we should be aware not to be “stung” twice in the American hole in the present as well as the coming landmarks.

The Bush Administration continues to play the role of the cop that protects its interests in the Middle East, and points its political, economic and security weapons against the region’s interests, claiming deceitfully that it is seeking to promote democracy and human rights, at a time it is planning to estab-

lish a political and security alliance of several Arab dictatorships which it claims to be moderate, to participate in its wars, and make them join the Jewish state that it believes to be the most civilized and moderate in the region. Some of the Arab officials have gone as far as saying that Israel is their friend, their ally, and the protector of the Arabs against Iran. In this respect, it is interesting that one of Bush’s advisors said: “I believe that they decided (Bush’s men) to play the role of good cop instead of the bad one they have been playing for six years.” He added, “This good cop bad cop scenario works only if the bad cop can be believed.”

FADLALLAH, MUHAMMAD HUSAYN. “TO WIN GOD’S SATISFACTION: DO NOT FOLLOW YOUR LUSTS.” BAYYNAT.

UPDATED 25 MAY 2007. AVAILABLE FROM [HTTP://ENGLISH.BAYYNAT.ORG.LB](http://ENGLISH.BAYYNAT.ORG.LB).

al-Faqih (in Persian *velayat-e faqih*) in the 1980s, he seems to have moved away from it in the 1990s.

The latter half of the 1980s was marked by fierce infighting among the two major Shi'ite groupings, Amal and Hizbullah. The outcome of the fighting left Amal more or less in control of the Shi'ite heartland in southern Lebanon, but the more radical and religiously oriented Hizbullah emerged victorious in the crowded Shi'ite suburbs of southern Beirut. Fadlallah denied any organizational role in Hizbullah, but he was popularly associated with the ideals of Hizbullah, if not with its organizational infrastructure. He clearly was a beneficiary of Hizbullah advances in power. Many members of the growing Shi'ite professional class shifted their political loyalties from Amal to Hizbullah.

**Fadlallah and Hizbullah** Fadlallah maintained his own political identity distinct from Hizbullah. His personal ambitions were hardly modest, and by eschewing political labels Fadlallah stood a better chance of broadly appealing to the Shi'ites, many of whom also avoid formal political affiliations. Nonetheless, Fadlallah rejected the reformism of the Amal movement and generally opposed efforts to renovate the Lebanese government. Not surprisingly, he refused to support the 1989 Ta'if Accord mediated by the Arab League that ended the civil war in Lebanon. The accord took little account of the fact that the Shi'ites were at that point Lebanon's largest community, representing as much as 40 percent of the total population. However, Hizbullah was the only major militia that was allowed to retain its weaponry by the Ta'if Accord. During the early twenty-first century, Hizbullah's political and military continued to grow.

At the same time, however, Fadlallah's own views had moderated. He now advocates for multiculturalism and does not call for an Islamic republic in Lebanon. He continues to preach today, and maintains his own Web site, <http://www.bayynat.org.lb>.

#### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

Fadlallah is widely respected in Lebanon, and now carries the title of Ayatollah in recognition of his senior status among the Shi'ite clergy. He also retains considerable support among Shi'ites in post-SADDAM HUSSEIN Iraq as well. This has not stopped some powers, notably the United States, from accusing him of serving as Hizbullah's "spiritual guide," and for religiously sanctioning the group's suicide attacks against Israeli occupation forces in the south. On 8 March 1985 Fadlallah miraculously survived a car bomb that killed eighty people which reportedly was planted by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) in the Bir al-Abd neighborhood. In fact, his relations with Iran and Hizbullah had become strained in the early years of the twenty-first century.

#### LEGACY

Muhammad Husayn Fadlallah will be remembered as the most important Shi'ite cleric to emerge in Lebanon in the second half of the twentieth century. His theological and political influence among the country's Shi'ites has been profound, and one whose overall influence in the country has been considerable as well.

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*Michael R. Fischbach*

## FAQIH, SA'D AL- (1957–)

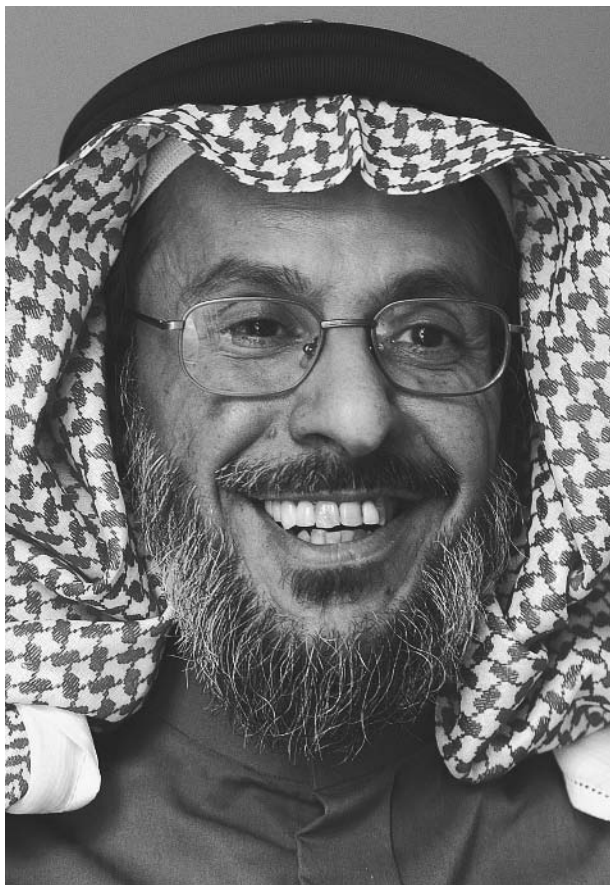
Sa'd Rashid Muhammad al-Faqih is a prominent Saudi dissident. He is the head of the Movement for Islamic Reform in Arabia (MIRA), based in London, England.

#### PERSONAL HISTORY

Faqih was born on 1 February (some sources say 2 January) 1957 in Zubayr, Iraq. A Saudi national, he was a surgery professor at King Sa'ud University before fleeing the country in 1991. He gained notice as a cofounder, along with Muhammad bin Abdullah al-Mas'ari, of the relocated London headquarters of the Saudi Islamist opposition group, the Committee for the Defense of Legitimate Rights (CDLR), a Saudi Islamist opposition group. Its name is more accurately translated as the Committee for the Defense of Shari'a [Islamic law] Rights. He had also served as a physician with the Islamic mujahideen who fought the Soviets in Afghanistan during the 1980s. He was one of the organizers of the 1991 "Letter of Demands" and the 1992 "Memorandum of Advice" presented to the office of King Fahd that called for political changes in Saudi Arabia.

#### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

The committee was originally formed in Saudi Arabia in early May 1993, with al-Mas'ari, a retired judge of the grievances court, as its leading figure. Within days of its



*Sa'd al-Faqih.* AP IMAGES.

founding, the six committee members were relieved of their duties and the spokesman, al-Mas'ari's son Muhammad, was arrested. Upon his release Muhammad al-Mas'ari fled to London and opened the headquarters of the CDLR there with Faqih. The CDLR quickly became effective in smuggling leaflets into Saudi Arabia and bombarding the kingdom with dissident faxes.

But Mas'ari aroused the ire of British authorities for controversial statements, including allegations that he felt that U.S. soldiers killed in Saudi Arabia in November 1995 were "legitimate targets." The Saudi government allegedly threatened to abstain from new commercial contracts with Britain unless it did something about Mas'ari. As a result the British Home Office ordered Mas'ari's deportation to the Caribbean island of Dominica in early 1996. Mas'ari mounted an appeal but in the midst of the appeal process in March Faqih challenged him for the CDLR leadership. Faqih claimed that the committee's leaders in Saudi Arabia had ordered him to relieve Mas'ari because of the latter's ties to other radical Islamist groups.

Following a confrontation between the two at the CDLR offices, resulting in the intervention of London

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Sa'd al-Faqih

**Birth:** 1957, Zubayr, Iraq

**Nationality:** Saudi

### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1991:** Involved with issuing "Letter of Demands" to King Fahd; leaves teaching job at King Sa'ud University and begins self-imposed exile in London
- **1992:** Involved with issuing "Memorandum of Advice" to King Fahd
- **1996:** Forms Movement for Islamic Reform in Arabia (MIRA) in London
- **2003:** Calls for antigovernment demonstration in Riyadh
- **2004:** Calls for demonstration in Riyadh; Saudi government charges him with collaborating with a plot to assassinate Crown Prince Abdullah; U.S. government issues orders freezing his assets in the United States

police, Faqih formed a new group—the Movement for Islamic Reform in Arabia (MIRA) in 1996. When Mas'ari gained permission to remain in Britain, he and Faqih became serious rivals until Mas'ari was declared bankrupt in January 1997. Mas'ari's links to Islamist extremists became more pronounced as a Web site he operated carried statements and videos of suicide bombings by groups linked to al-Qa'ida.

But as Mas'ari's star seemed to be fading, Faqih's was on the rise. His MIRA launched a satellite radio station in December 2002, Sawt al-Islah (Voice of Reform) to reach Saudis in Saudi Arabia. The station soon added television capability with Faqih appearing live to take telephone calls, faxes, and e-mails from Saudi listeners. Six months later in June, Faqih was stabbed outside his London home, and he accused the Saudi government of ordering the attack. Riyadh denied the accusation and a few months later claimed that an al-Qa'ida cell captured in Riyadh had ties to Faqih.

### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

Further evidence of Faqih's influence inside Saudi Arabia occurred on 14 October 2003 when he called for a demonstration outside a human rights conference in Riyadh. Several hundred people, including a few women,

responded to his call and the demonstration was broken up by police. Some eighty demonstrators were arrested. Thirty-six were sentenced to two months in jail for their actions. The police blocked roads in major Saudi cities on 23 October to prevent a second demonstration called by Faqih. A heavy security presence throughout the kingdom thwarted a subsequent call for demonstrations by Faqih on 16 December 2004.

Faqih has denied supporting al-Qa'ida or similar groups and has claimed that he is working for a peaceful transformation to an elected leadership in Saudi Arabia with an independent judiciary and a constitution based on the *shari'a*. However, the Saudi government brands him a terrorist. In July 2004 Riyadh charged Faqih with collaborating with a Libyan intelligence officer to send an American Muslim to Riyadh to assassinate then-heir apparent Crown Prince Abdullah and other prominent members of the Sa'ud family.

The U.S. government also has voiced concerns about Faqih, claiming that he has ties to fellow Saudi USAMA BIN LADIN and other al-Qa'ida operatives—including some the United States claimed were involved with the 1998 bombings of American embassies in east Africa. The American and British governments also claimed that MIRA Internet message boards were used to post "al Qa'ida-related statements and images," although the Americans conceded that MIRA posted disclaimers online asking users not to post such messages. Still, on 21 December 2004, the U.S. Department of the Treasury froze Faqih's assets in the United States and asked the United Nations (UN) to add his name to the "specially designated global terrorists" list. Two days later, the UN-imposed sanctions against Faqih led the British government to freeze MIRA's assets as well.

#### LEGACY

It is too early to predict Faqih's long-term legacy. He is a senior Saudi dissident heading the most influential public Saudi opposition organization, and his message resonates among certain Saudi citizens. His legacy will depend on his success in effectuating lasting change in Saudi Arabia, as well as his ability to navigate the volatile Middle East political landscape.

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*J. E. Peterson*

## FAUDEL (1978–)

Dubbed "The Little Prince of Raï" (Le Petit Prince du Raï), Fauvel—born Fauvel Belloua—is one of the most widely recognized raï performers to have emerged in the 1990s. Modern raï, a fusion of European pop and traditional North African music, emerged out of Algeria in the 1970s. In the 1980s and 1990s, most of its development has taken place within France where many Algerian-born raï artists established themselves. Fauvel is credited with having kept the genre popular among a younger generation of French North Africans, and his linguistic and musical experimentation has given him a relatively distinctive identity within the world of raï.

#### PERSONAL HISTORY

One of eight children, Fauvel was born 6 June 1978 to Algerian immigrant parents in the Val Fourré district of Mantes-la-Jolie, a suburb of Paris known for its large immigrant population. He is part of a large French subpopulation of *beurs* (an accepted and widely used slang term for French North Africans and Arabs).



**Fauvel.** PASCAL LE SEGRETAINE/GETTY IMAGES.

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Faudel (born Faudel Belloua)  
**Birth:** 1978, Mantes-la-Jolie, France  
**Family:** Son, Enzi, born February 2002  
**Nationality:** French Algerian

## PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1997:** *Baïda*, first major album, released, with “Tellement je t’aime” as its hit single
- **1998:** Performs alongside Khaled and Rachid Taha in the “1 2 3 Soleils” concert
- **1999:** Named “Revelation de l’année” at the Victoires de la Musique awards; first screen appearance in the television movie *Jésus*
- **2002:** Birth of son; first performance in Algiers
- **2005:** Appears in Merzak Allouache’s *Bab el Web*

At age twelve, Faudel began singing. At fifteen he met his future manager, Mohamed Mestar, and several musicians with whom he would later collaborate. With Mestar’s help, Faudel landed gigs in the early 1990s opening for the popular French hip-hop artist MC Solaar and other high-profile artists. These performances increased his exposure on the French music scene and attracted some media attention, most notably from the French television station Canal+, which featured Faudel as part of a program on France’s *beurs*.

Faudel’s major career break came in 1996 at a performance at Printemps de Bourges when a Mercury Records agent signed Faudel to a five-album contract. *Baïda*, Faudel’s first Mercury-released album, came out in 1997. The album brought Faudel into the popular music sphere, particularly among French Algerians, in part because of the hit singles “Tellement je t’aime (Tellement N’Brick)” (So much I love you)—perhaps the song still best identified with the singer—and “Dis-moi” (Tell me). The album also earned Faudel the title of Révélation de l’année (Newcomer of the Year) at France’s 1999 Victoires de la Musique awards.

The enormous popularity of *Baïda* and “Tellement je t’aime” garnered Faudel an invitation to perform alongside raï icons Khaled and Rachid Taha in the September 1998 “1 2 3 Soleils” concert in Bercy, France. The concert, a record-breaking commercial and popular success for raï, sealed Faudel’s induction into the pantheon of raï’s most popular performers. The concert itself

was sold out; sales and circulation of the CD and DVD have remained strong nearly ten years later.

Following these initial major performances, Faudel’s musical tastes departed somewhat from his more traditional raï beginnings. His next album, *Samra*, released in 2001 on the Ark 21 label, was coproduced and mixed by Nabil Khalidi, who had worked with Rachid Taha, and Tokyo-born international producer and mix artist Goh Hotoda. Musically, similar to older raï, it incorporated Turkish and Andalusian influences. Melodies and rhythms on many tracks were also heavily salsa-influenced. The track “Salsa-raï”, recorded with Colombian artist Yuri Buenaventura, is perhaps the most conspicuous example of Faudel’s early incorporation of Latin musical styles in his raï songs.

On *Un Autre Soleil*, released in 2003 by Mercury, Faudel continued to mix Latin sounds into his raï. He also collaborated with other *beur* artists, including Algerian native Stéphane Mellion of French rock group Les Nègresses Vertes, and members of popular music group Zebda.

His 2006 Mercury album, *Mundial Corrida*, incorporated more French-only songs than previous albums. Lyrics he contributed to his 2003 and 2006 albums were influenced by the February 2002 birth of his son, Enzi.

Since 1999, Faudel has also pursued an interest in acting. His film appearances include major roles in Laurent Firode’s *Le Battement d’ailes du papillon* (2000) and Merzak Allouache’s *Bab el Web* (2005), filmed in Algeria. His television appearances include a role in 1999’s television movie *Jésus* and the title role in 2002’s *Sami, le pion*.

## INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Faudel has attributed his ambition to perform raï to family influences: His grandmother and aunts performed as singers at community events in Algeria, and many of his siblings shared musical talents. As an adolescent, Faudel collaborated with one of his brothers, Farès, and childhood friends in Mantes-la-Jolie to form the band Les Etoiles du Raï. Their group performed covers of hit songs by raï masters (Cheb) Khaled and Cheb Mami, Faudel’s early artistic inspirations. In the mid-1990s, prior to the “1 2 3 Soleils” concert, Khaled became a mentor to Faudel and occasionally performed with him.

One of the first of his generation to do so, Faudel drew on social experiences different from those of his Algerian-born predecessors. As part of France’s post-1970 *beur* population, Faudel, similar to many of his peers, faced difficulties due to his status as living in between two societies. In France, where North Africans have faced economic and social discrimination for decades, *beurs* have often been considered outsiders despite being French-born. Meanwhile, *beurs* who return to North Africa have been frequently regarded as more French than North African, and many have faced resentment for having what are perceived

## A SONG BY FAUDEL

“MON PAYS” (MY COUNTRY; SINGLE  
FROM *MUNDIAL CORRIDA*, 2006)

I don't know this sun  
That burns the dunes without end  
I don't know any other land  
Than that which gave me her hand  
And if, one day, I leave here  
To cross the desert  
To go to see where my life comes from  
The streets where my father played  
I who was born near Paris  
Under all this wind, all this rain  
I will never forget my country

...

Too many memories engraved  
Of school hallways and summers  
Too much love to forget  
That it was here I was born  
Too much time abandoned  
On my city's benches  
Too many friends to forget  
That it was here I was born

Original French:

Je n'connais pas ce soleil  
Qui brûle les dunes sans fin  
Je n'connais pas d'autre terre  
Que celle qui m'a tendu la main  
Et si un jour, je pars d'ici  
Que je travers le desert  
Pour aller voir d'où vient ma vie  
Dans quelles rues jouait mon père  
Moi qui suis né près de Paris  
Sous tout ce vent, toute cette pluie  
Je n'oublierai jamais mon pays

...

Trop de souvenirs graves  
De cours d'écoles et d'étés  
Trop d'amour pour oublier  
Que c'est ici que je suis né  
Trop de temps abandonné  
Sur les bancs de ma cite  
Trop d'amis pour oublier  
Que c'est ici que je suis né

to be better living situations in France. Faudel's ability to identify with these experiences and incorporate them into his music set him apart from earlier *raï* singers and won him a large *beur* fan base.

Faudel's albums were among the first to include liner notes with colloquial Algerian Arabic lyrics translated into French, indicating a recognition that his audience largely comprises a generation whose first language is no longer the Algerian Arabic dialect. His lyrics have consistently dealt with romance, a classic *raï* theme, and with the conditions of second-generation Algerians in France. His music has also contributed to the growing trend of heavily blending Latin sounds and rhythms with *raï*.

## THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

Faudel's international fame among *raï* fans in France and Algeria spread following his “1 2 3 Soleils” performance. Since 1998, he has toured in the United States, Egypt, Lebanon, the United Arab Emirates, and elsewhere in the Middle East. In 2002, to mark the fortieth anniversary of Algerian independence, Faudel gave his first concert in Algiers—a performance he has said prompted him to further explore his Algerian roots. Similar to Khaled, Mami, and other major *raï* artists, Faudel has also collaborated with artists from other genres and other regions of the globe, including Turks, Lebanese and Latin Americans.

The increasing use by Faudel of French-only songs has met with mixed responses: On the one hand, this has made him more accessible to non-North African audiences; on the other, it has garnered him criticism by *raï* purists who reject the categorization of French-only songs as *raï*. Faudel is sometimes criticized for being less adept at singing in colloquial Algerian Arabic than in French.

## LEGACY

Observers have identified Faudel as the standout among French-born Algerian *raï* artists known as the *raï-beur* group; France's younger *beurs* have continued to embrace *raï* as a cultural symbol thanks in part to his music. His popularity has encouraged a younger generation of French-born North Africans to pursue careers in *raï*, and his success has convinced major record labels of the marketability of *raï-beur* singers.

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Nora Achrati

## FAYRUZ

(1933–)

Fayruz (Faruz, Fairouz, Feiruz, Feyrouz, Fayrouz) is a world-renowned Lebanese singer, noted for both her musical accomplishment and commitment to the concerns and values of Lebanon and the Arab world.

### PERSONAL HISTORY

Fayruz was born Nuhad Haddad, probably on 21 November 1933 (1935 at the latest) in Lebanon to Wadi Haddad and Lisa al-Bustani, a Christian Arab couple of Syrian Orthodox and Maronite Catholic background. The couple eventually had three more children, a boy, Yusuf, and two girls, Huda and Amal. During Fayruz's childhood the family, similar to many other village families, moved to the city of Beirut in search of better work for the parents. There, Wadi worked as a typesetter and Lisa as a housewife, and the children attended local schools.

As did many other families of the same era and socioeconomic status, the Haddads maintained close ties with their villages of origin. As a result, Fayruz spent summers with her grandmother in the village where she heard the stories and songs common to the region throughout her childhood. These life experiences formed a common fund



Fayruz. FETHI BELAID/AFP/GETTY IMAGES.

### BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Fayruz (Fairuz, Fairouz, Feiruz, Feyrouz, Fayrouz); born Nuhad Haddad

**Birth:** 1933?, Lebanon

**Family:** Husband Asi Rahbani (1923–1986), four children: Ziyad, Layal, Hali, and Rima

**Nationality:** Lebanese

**Education:** Local preparatory schools; Conservatoire Libanais National Supérieur de Musique, private musical instruction

#### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1952:** First hit song, "Itab" (Blame)
- **1957:** First appearance at Ba'albek and first solo concert
- **1962:** First major European concert, in London
- **1970:** First South American and North American tours
- **1979:** Separates from Asi Rahbani

of culture for many Lebanese of Fayruz's generation and became an important force in her artistry later as an adult and in the wide appeal of her art to her compatriots.

Her pretty voice and musical aptitude became apparent to her community while she was still a young student in school in Beirut, and she performed at school festivals and celebrations with the other children. As a teenager, she came to the attention of a local musician and teacher, Muhammad Fulayfil (alternatively, Fleifel) who happened to attend one of her school events. Recognizing Fayruz's extraordinary ability, Fulayfil encouraged her to enroll in the Conservatoire Libanais National Supérieur de Musique where he taught, and became one of her early mentors. Her vocal training involved two approaches common in the Arab world: learning to recite the Qur'an, which, regardless of a singer's religious affiliation, was viewed as key to the necessary correct pronunciation of elegant Arabic and understanding of the potential of the language and its poetry; and learning to sing *muwashshahat* (singular: *muwashsha*), classical Arabic songs with rich melodic structures that imparted a wealth of models for vocal style and improvisation.

At the time, this sort of musical engagement remained at odds with the expectations of many Lebanese families (although, most certainly enjoyed music and admired



accomplished performers). Encouraging any sort of public performance by a young girl challenged widely shared expectations of modesty and decorum. Beyond this concern, musicianship was viewed with good reason as an unstable occupation for anyone and therefore suspect. Once persuaded to allow his daughter to try the lessons, Fayruz's father took pains to protect her in this relatively unfamiliar environment by sending male family members to accompany her and exercising concerned paternal judgment over what his daughter would agree to do.

The family allowed Fayruz to pursue her lessons and also to perform as a chorus member at the new Lebanese radio station (Muhattat al-Idha'a al-Lubnaniyya) in late 1947. At the time, many Middle Eastern radio stations maintained their own performing ensembles for broadcasts and the chorus that Fayruz joined was one of these. Much excitement surrounded the venture of radio, which had only passed into Lebanese control following the country's independence in 1946.

Fayruz was recruited by the station's director, Halim al-Rumi (eventually the father of contemporary singing star Majda al-Rumi), apparently because he heard in her voice the flexibility and skill that would accommodate singing in both Western and Arab styles in which radio performers of the day worked. This ability became a hallmark of Fayruz's style overall. It is also said that al-Rumi suggested the stage name of Fayruz.

This employment offered a more or less respectable and stable performing environment and also provided additional income for the family, an important factor for most young performers among whom Fayruz was no exception. The growing popularity of radio throughout the Middle East and its presence in public places so that people who could not afford radios could still hear the programs was instrumental to Fayruz's success.

Fayruz quickly became a soloist at the radio station and it was also there that she met two of the Rahbani brothers, Asi and Mansur, who worked at the station as musicians. Asi began to compose songs for her that she performed, one of which, "Itab" (Blame), became her first major hit in 1952. With this beginning, Fayruz and the Rahbani brothers took the Lebanese musical scene by storm and dominated Lebanese musical performance aesthetics and style for decades to come.

In 1955, Fayruz married Asi and they moved to Antiliyas, the Rahbani family village outside of Beirut. Their marriage lasted until 1979 when they separated. They had four children: Ziyad (b. 1956), who became a famous musician in his own right and worked with his mother in his adult years, Layal (d. 1987), Hali (paralyzed from childhood after meningitis), and Rima (b. 1960), who became a successful photographer and director.

Working together out of their backgrounds in music for radio, Fayruz, Asi, and Mansur brought elements from classical and popular Western music to bear on the historic musical system of Arab melodic modes and compositional practice. Vocally, Fayruz apparently worked from the familiar models of popular singers Layla Murad (an Egyptian film star) and Asmahan (born in Syria as Amali al-Atrash, who made her film and musical career in Cairo). The voices of both women manifested an almost incredible flexibility, lightness of tone and a high head resonance, coupled with the traditionally valued strengths of wide range and power; these characteristics became hallmarks of Fayruz's, style as well.

As did many other Middle Eastern composers, Asi Rahbani borrowed liberally from the Western instrumentarium. He adapted models originating in stage bands and pit orchestras of Europe and the Americas, coupling these with Arab wind and percussion instruments and the accordion. The resulting sound was large in comparison with the older Middle Eastern model of the three- to five-instrument *takht* (a small ensemble, usually consisting of an *ud* [also oud; English: lute]; *qanun*, or plucked zither; and *riqq*, or frame drum) to accompany singers, and marked by the distinctive sounds of the accordion and the soaring *nay*, an end-blown flute. By the time he began his work, larger ensembles had become familiar and popular in the Middle East and his innovations were immediately well-received.

Importantly, the textual models for Asi, Mansur, and Fayruz's new work remained distinctively Lebanese. Despite the multilingual character of the Lebanese population of the time, lyrics were in Arabic and sentiments were drawn from historic poetic models, local sensibilities, and local humor and stories. Many texts were susceptible to double meanings, an ever-popular artistic device in the Arabic language. Moving beyond the songs of their earliest collaborations, the group undertook the creation of musical plays (many of which eventually became films), usually on familiar themes from village life and Lebanese history, and these became the core of the group's life work. The musical plays on these local themes (such as *Jisr al-Qamar* [Bridge of the Moon] and *al-Urs fi'l-Qarya* [Wedding in the Village]) gained immediate popularity with recent immigrants from their villages to Beirut on the one hand, and with a Lebanese population engaged with nation-building in the years following independence from the French (1946) on the other. The places of these plays and songs in Lebanese popular culture remained strong until the civil war of the mid-1970s. Arguably, they remain cultural monuments today.

An important stage for their work was the Ba'albek Festival, an international celebration of arts and culture held at a historic archaeological site in the Bekaa Valley.

The Rahbani brothers had supported the establishment of a folk festival there for a number of years. Fayruz's first solo concert occurred at the second of what became an annual festival in 1957, and afterward her appearances in concerts and musical plays became regular events. Fayruz and the Rahbanis produced most of their collaborative songs and plays together during the 1960s and it was at this time that Fayruz became an international star.

These years saw the productions of "Ayyam Fakhr al-Din," a historic tale focused on Arab heroism, "Bint al-Haras" (The Nightwatchman's Daughter), "Sah al-Nawm" (Awake from Sleep), "al-Mahatta" (The Station) and "Naturat al-Mafatih" (Keeper of the Keys), all of which retained popularity long after initial release, and represent the rooted Lebanese-Arab plots and stories, often allegorical, that were given contemporary settings by the Rahbanis and vocally beautiful, affecting renderings by Fayruz as their star. The group produced more than twenty plays and Fayruz performed with other important Lebanese stars of the day, often Nasri Shams al-Din and Wadi al-Safi. She made dozens of commercial recordings of original songs, folksongs, dance songs, classical Arab songs, and Christian liturgical pieces and music (sometimes soundtracks) from the plays and films. Much of her output remains in circulation in the early twenty-first century.

Fayruz toured internationally beginning in 1962 with a concert in London, commanding and filling prime venues in Europe and North and South America, and became a beloved international star. Importantly, she never moved from Lebanon. No war, civil disturbance, or political crisis prompted her to leave Beirut. At the same time, she aligned herself with no government, political, or religious entity (other than remaining a loyal Lebanese citizen and Christian practitioner), rather presenting herself as one of the worldwide community of Lebanese and Arabs of all sorts, as a Beirut woman from a Lebanese mountain village. Her public noticed and these factors became prime aspects of her public identity—factors her public valued at a premium.

During the 1970s, as their son, Ziyad, reached maturity and his musical talent emerged, trouble in the family developed as the son openly rejected his father and his uncle's musical practice. In particular, Ziyad's political leanings in the context of the Lebanese civil wars prompted questions about his family's idealization of Lebanese village life. He commenced writing parodies of these and the resulting tensions precipitated an artistic (and personal) split between Fayruz and the Rahbanis. She and her son set out on their own, separate, musical paths. Eventually, after his father's death, Ziyad began writing songs for his mother to sing.

Although Fayruz and the Rahbanis formed an extremely powerful musical presence and their artistic production

## LEGACY OF A STAR

Whereas Professor Ali Jihad Racy (1943–) of the University of California at Los Angeles is correctly viewed as an accomplished ethnomusicologist and virtuosic musician, he is also a younger contemporary of Fayruz, himself born in Ibl al-Saqi, a village in the Druze Mountains of Lebanon, and reared in Beirut. As such, he is a primary source of information about the singer and captures her essence well

"More than just a singer's name, Fayrouz is a concept whose connotations are ethnic and nationalistic as well as musical and poetic."

FROM ALI JIHAD RACY. "LEGACY OF A STAR." IN *FAYROUZ, LEGEND AND LEGACY*, EDITED BY KAMAL BOULLATA AND SARGON BOULUS. SAN FRANCISCO: FORUM FOR INTERNATIONAL ART AND CULTURE, 1981, P. 36.

exercised an enormous impact on Lebanese and Arab musical life, they welcomed other musicians into their midst. Fayruz sang works by other composers and poets. Important among these were poems by Syrian laureate NIZAR QABBANI, Khalil Gibran, and songs by the famous Egyptian composers Sayyid Darwish and Muhammad Abd al-Wahhab, notably "Sakan al-Layl." She also sang numerous folk-song arrangements that were wildly popular and fit her emerging artistic persona as a rooted star of Lebanon. During the 1970s and 1980s, Fayruz began performing works by her son, Ziyad, who was by then developing into a local scion of what came to be viewed as Arab jazz and internationally inflected Arab popular music. Ziyad became an accomplished performer and composer in his own right with a broad command of Western and Arab styles. Some years after Asi's death in 1986, mother and son collaborated to produce a tribute performance titled "To Asi" that featured songs by the Rahbani brothers, arranged and conducted by Ziyad (Beirut: Voix de l'Orient, 1995).

Fayruz's voice remained remarkably resilient over the years and, as of 2007, she still performs in her seventies, although infrequently. Her stellar performance at the MGM Grand Casino in Las Vegas in 1999 drew enormous international interest and she returned to Ba'albek in 2006 to perform "Sah al-Nawm" under the direction of Ziyad.

Reportedly shy as a child, she manifested a certain reserve as an adult, standing still on stage, maintaining a formal posture. Although she continues performing in

## CONTEMPORARIES

Asi (1923–1986) and Mansur (1925– ) Rahbani were born in the village of Antiliyas near Beirut, Lebanon, to Hanna Rahbani and his wife, Sa'idi Sa'ib. Though the family has been described as socially conservative, Hanna was an amateur musician who ran a succession of village coffeehouses and occasionally played the *buzuq*, a local long-necked lute, to entertain his friends. Asi and Mansur seem to have been a lively pair whose exploits took them in and out of local schools. They developed a keen interest in play-acting and devised songs and entertainments for themselves and their neighbors. When the time came for them to make a living, both joined the police force, but continued to pursue musical and literary interests at which they were becoming quite skilled. These interests brought the brothers to the then-new Lebanese radio station in Beirut where Asi was occasionally employed as a musician and Mansur “hung out” in hopes of work for himself. It was there in 1947 that they met Fayruz whom Asi eventually married, and the stories of the three remained entwined until 1979. Asi experienced what seems to have been a stroke in 1972 that curtailed his activity. In 1979, he broke with his wife and he died in 1986. After his brother's death, Mansur's work moved toward large works for chorus and orchestra on serious themes, notably his *Akhir Ayyam Suqrat* (*The Last Days of Socrates*, 1998), recorded by the Kiev Symphony Orchestra.

her later years in selected venues, she tends to decline public interviews and most press coverage that her artistic success has inevitably prompted.

### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Fayruz's collaboration with the Rahbanis formed a major part of her artistic output and of Lebanese culture from 1950 through the 1980s. Many of these works remain in the public memory today.

“Nassim alayna al-Hawa” (The gentle breeze blows upon us), a staple in Fayruz's permanent repertory, originally from the play *Bint al-Haris*, exemplifies the impact of her work generally in Lebanon and the Arab world. Essentially it expresses nostalgia for the village and traditional life. It effectively walks the listener into sight of home in

a Lebanese village. This theme grew from widely shared sentiments of Fayruz's compatriots who shared her rural-to-urban background and connections, into a metaphor for homeland lost and the desire for return that lay at the heart of much of late-twentieth-century politics in the Middle East. Another similarly important song was “al-Quds al-Atiqā” (Old Jerusalem) that honors Arab Jerusalem, a city central to Arab history and culture currently under non-Arab control. These tools and themes built Fayruz into a major cultural figure in the minds of her listeners. She represented widely shared feelings.

As an individual, Fayruz has remained socially conservative in her public demeanor throughout her life. This behavior was closely associated with her family background and the values of many of her compatriots. As such, she enacted a model of Lebanese-Arab femininity that resonated in the society.

### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

Although Fayruz's first audience were Arabic-speaking Lebanese and she continues to sing in Arabic, she was one of the first Arab artists to achieve true international stardom despite that she did not seek it in the deliberate way that became common in the twentieth century. Certainly, the Arab world and the Arab diaspora welcomed her as a gifted young artist shortly after her first performance of “Itab” in 1952. She was invited to Syria and Egypt (then the center of Arab commercial music production) in the mid-1950s and has toured the Arab world ever since.

Her audiences in Europe and in North and South America quickly expanded to include a broader scope of listeners, probably because Fayruz's relatively open head resonance and high, clear, brilliant, and flexible voice enabled an immediate recognition of good singing among Westerners unfamiliar and discomfited by the more traditional sweet nasality (*ghunna* or *khanafa*) of other Arab singers. Her concerts sold out major international houses and she became a welcome addition to schedules in major international cities. She remains in 2007 one of the more familiar Arab singers in the non-Arab world of her or any other generation.

### LEGACY

In 1981, while in her late forties, Fayruz launched an international tour that was promoted (and well received) as “Legend and Legacy.” Thus, relatively early in her life her significant impact, or legacy, was already established. As she is still alive and performing, it is too early for a complete retrospective; however, important parts of her legacy can be seen even now.

As the principal voice of the Rahbani family theatrical creations, Fayruz articulated a modern music theatrical

genre that spoke volumes to and for the Lebanese people, and was recognized throughout the Arab world as important new art. Her role in these plays ranged from adorable and entertaining ingénue through virtuosic singer to spokeswoman for culture and values important to Lebanese and Arabs in the twentieth century.

As a singing star, she set standards for vocal style and virtuosity that have been emulated by younger female singers throughout the Arab world and show no signs of abating. She advanced a style of Arabic singing that seems to have given voice to the historic international involvements of the people of Lebanon, bringing bel canto resonances into play with classical Arabic language, Arab musical systems, and the historic art of sung poetry that reaches back more than a thousand years in Arab history.

Within the Arab world, her singing style distinguishes Fayruz from her slightly older and equally famous Egyptian counterpart, UMM KULTHUM. Relying heavily on historic models of Arab singing, including the attendant nasal resonance and abundant improvisation, Umm Kulthum was not better or worse but simply different. Both singers probably occupy places of similar value in Arab culture and society; their performances enjoy some of the same audiences; but the stylistic and attendant social differences between them are palpable. In another way, Fayruz's staying power resembles that of her con-

temporary, the Egyptian film star, Abd al-Halim Hafiz (1929–1977), who established a kind of Arab crooning in the world of popular culture, still widely imitated by young male singers, while at the same time articulating a familiar, local-boy persona that became closely associated with the positive values of Egyptian president Gamal Abdel Nasser.

As a public figure, Fayruz presented a model of Arab femininity, accomplishment, local loyalty, and human decency recognized over generations of people young and old. In the twenty-first century, her impact manifests itself in young people who remain in awe of her music and persona despite the alternatives of the Internet age and the distance from her age (and most of her performances) to theirs.

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*Virginia Danielson*



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## GARGASH, ANWAR

Anwar Muhammad Gargash (Qarqash) is a prominent businessman, scholar, and government official in the United Arab Emirates (U.A.E.). He gained international attention when, as chairman of the National Elections Committee, he oversaw the first elections held in the U.A.E. in December 2006. He is also the senior executive of one of the most important family business enterprises in the U.A.E., a respected academic, and an important figure on the cultural scene in Dubai.

### PERSONAL HISTORY

Gargash was born in Dubai into a family descended from merchants who left the Iranian side of the Gulf in the late nineteenth century, when the Qajar Empire raised taxes, and settled on land provided by the ruler of Dubai, Shaykh Hashir Al Maktum. In 1918 Ali Gargash laid the foundations for one of the leading business enterprises in the Gulf. The Gargash Group now includes insurance, financial, and real estate operations. The Mercedes-Benz dealership for Dubai and the northern emirates is the crown jewel of the family business empire, and Anwar Gargash is its executive director.

Gargash, however, first pursued an academic career. He earned B.A. and M.A. degrees in political science at George Washington University in Washington, D.C., and a Ph.D. from Kings College, Cambridge University, in 1990 in the same field. He then joined the political science department of the U.A.E. National University and taught there until 1995.

When his father became ill in the mid-1990s, Gargash was obliged to curtail his academic career and play the central role in the family business. He is also influential in the business community of Dubai through his membership on both the Dubai Economic Council and the Dubai Chamber of Commerce and Industry (DCCI). Gargash is a member of DCCI's executive committee and heads the chamber's economic and trade committee. At the same time, he has earned a reputation as a strongly committed patron of the arts in Dubai.

### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Gargash has achieved greatest prominence in his role as a government official. At the request of Shaykh KHALIFA BIN ZAYID AL NAHYAN, president of the U.A.E., he assumed the new cabinet position of U.A.E. minister of state for Federal National Council Affairs (FNC) in February 2006. The choice was particularly apt inasmuch as Gargash had made the FNC the subject of his doctoral dissertation. Under his direction, the FNC's procedures were streamlined so successfully that, in January 2007, the council won the Arab League's award for the most

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Anwar Muhammad Gargash (Qarqash)

**Birth:** Dubai, United Arab Emirates

**Nationality:** Emirati

**Education:** Washington, D.C.; Cambridge, U.K.; degree from George Washington University; M.A., George Washington University; Ph.D., Kings College at Cambridge University

### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **Early 1990s:** Professor of political science at U.A.E. National University
- **2006:** Assumes new cabinet position of U.A.E. minister of state for Federalist National Council Affairs (February); Oversees first elections held in the U.A.E. (December)

effective e-government performance by an Arab parliament. As chair of the National Elections Committee, Gargash formed an information technology (IT) team that established what was claimed to be the first e-voting system in the Middle East to carry out the initial election for seats in the FNC. Gargash's personal reputation as a respected intellectual and an exponent of greater political participation undoubtedly enhanced the general perception of the election and may help to move the FNC toward a more significant political role.

One woman, from Abu Dhabi, was among those elected. If the election was historic, it was also exceedingly modest and cautious in its scope. Half of the forty seats in the FNC, whose mandate is to advise on legislation, were contested, and only some 6,689 carefully chosen electors, 0.08 percent of all U.A.E. citizens, were eligible to vote. As in the other Gulf Arab emirates and monarchies, the authority of the ruling families remains unchallenged by the introduction of elections.

Although committed to the principle of increased involvement of the people in the nation's affairs, Gargash appears comfortable with the government's adoption of a gradualist approach, justifying the limited scope of the election on three grounds: the U.A.E.'s lack of an electoral legacy, current political tensions in the Gulf and wider Middle East, and the sectarian and regional divisiveness of elections elsewhere in the Arab world. He has declined to speak of a time frame for future elections or to speculate on their scope. He accepts that the legalization of political parties is not a present possibility in

the U.A.E. or elsewhere in the Gulf, and that the government is not talking about democracy but only about widening popular participation.

At the same time, it was significant that the election prompted unprecedented popular discussion of political, social, and economic issues, some of them touching on the sensitive area of Emirati-expatriate relations.

### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

The election that Gargash planned was significant in signaling that the U.A.E. had finally joined the other Gulf Arab countries in introducing the electoral process to its political system. Internationally, Gargash is respected for helping the U.A.E. make this important step toward popular representation in government.

### LEGACY

With his successful planning and implementation of the U.A.E.'s first election, Anwar Gargash has emerged as an important political actor, adding to his regional and international reputation as scholar and businessman. Less visibly but perhaps equally importantly, he is also positioned to exercise an international impact through his leading role in the Dubai Chamber of Commerce and Industry, which actively promotes Dubai's worldwide business networks. It may be too early to offer a full appraisal of Gargash's likely legacy, but it is certain that he will be regarded as a significant figure in the shaping of the U.A.E.'s political and economic future.

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*Malcolm C. Peck*

## GERSHUNI, MOSHE (1936–)

Moshe Gershuni is a major Israeli artist.

### PERSONAL HISTORY

Gershuni was born in 1936 in Tel Aviv, British-controlled Palestine. From 1960 to 1964, he studied at the Avni Art Institute in Tel Aviv. He later taught at the famous Bezalel Academy of Art and Design, Jerusalem from 1972 to 1977, and then at the Art Teachers Training College, Ramat ha-Sharon from 1978 to 1986. Gershuni now lives and works in Tel Aviv, and is one of Israel's foremost

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Moshe Gershuni

**Birth:** 1936, Tel Aviv, mandatory Palestine

**Family:** Former wife: Bianca. Two sons

**Nationality:** Israeli

**Education:** Avni Art Institute in Tel Aviv, 1960–1964

## PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1972:** Teaches at Bezalel Academy of Art and Design, Jerusalem
- **1978:** Teaches at Art Teachers Training College, Ramat ha-Sharon
- **2003:** Awarded Israel Prize

artists. His works appear in museums both in Israel and throughout the world.

## INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Once considered a minimalist-conceptual artist in his early artistic career, Gershuni has since 1981 become an expressionist painter whom some consider Israel's most powerful artist. He is noted for his works that deal with war, Israel's identity, and its morality. His works explore his, and Israel's, Jewishness and sense of religiosity. Gershuni's paintings are characterized by broad, almost violent brushstrokes of thick, bold colors, and often incorporate words and other graffiti written by the artist. His paintings thus confidently incorporate his own views about religion, politics, and what it means to be Israeli.

## THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

Gershuni is widely recognized in Israel for his work, and has received numerous awards over the years. These include the Aika Brown Prize from the Israel Museum, Jerusalem (1969); The Sandburg Prize from the Israel Museum (1982); the Minister of Culture Award for Painting and Sculpture (1988); the Eugen Kolb Prize for Israeli Graphic Art, Tel Aviv Museum of Art (1989); and the prestigious Israel Prize, the nation's top civilian honor, in 2003 (which he refused to accept). Gershuni has mounted numerous solo exhibitions around the world, including in 1966, 1986, and 1999 at the Israel Museum; in 1980, 1988, and 1990 at the Tel Aviv Museum of Art; in 1982 at the Kunstmuseum, Düsseldorf, Germany; in 1983 at

the Art Museum, Münster, Germany; in 1984 at the Jerusalem Print Workshop; in 1993 at the Museum of Israeli Art, Ramat Gan; in 1997 at the Jerusalem Print Workshop; in 1998 at the Artists' Studios Gallery, Tel Aviv; and in 1999 at the Centrum Yudaicum in Berlin.

Gershuni also has proven controversial in his home country. In 2003 he refused to accept the prestigious Israel Prize during the award ceremonies on Israel's independence day because of his opposition to the policies of the government of Prime Minister ARIEL SHARON. The government then decided to strip him of the award, whereupon he sued to claim the prize money. The Israeli Supreme Court eventually ruled against him. He also was in the news when his marriage fell apart in the 1980s and he announced that he was gay.

## LEGACY

Moshe Gershuni remains an active painter in Israel, and it is too early to assess his lasting legacy other than to say he is certain to go down in history as one of the Jewish state's most influential artists.

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*Michael R. Fischbach*

GHANDOUR, FADI  
(1959–)

Fadi Ali Ghandour (Ghandur) is a major Jordanian businessman and the head of the only Middle Eastern company ever listed on the NASDAQ stock exchange.

## PERSONAL HISTORY

Ghandour was born in 1959 to a Lebanese Shi'ite Muslim family. His father, Ali Ghandour, began working in Jordan with Alia, the Jordanian national airline, in the mid-1960s and eventually became its chairman. As a result, Fadi grew up in both Beirut and Amman. He traveled to the United States to attend the George Washington University in Washington, D.C., graduating with a B.A. in political science. Shortly after graduating from college, Ghandour and American William Kingston cofounded the Aramex courier company in 1981. Ghandour, who proclaims himself a preacher for entrepreneurship in the Middle East, felt that the Middle East needed someone to



*Fadi Ghandour.* © STEPHANIE KUYKENDAL/CORBIS.

fill a niche in the international courier delivery business. Today, he remains the president and chief executive officer of Aramex, which has grown to become a giant in the Middle Eastern shipping business.

#### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Originally Ghandour envisioned Aramex as an outsourcing company for global courier giants such as FedEx and Airborne Express. At that time, only DHL shipping had a presence in the Middle East. As Aramex's president and chief executive officer, Ghandour structured the company around American, not traditional Middle Eastern business models. For example, nearly one out of six of Aramex's over 3,800 employees owns stock in the company. Aramex does not have a central structure of directing managers to keep it flexible.

Ever innovative, Ghandour and Aramex introduced the company's Shop & Ship service to serve a vital need in the Middle East. Because some online companies will not sell and ship products to persons without a European or North American address, or do business with persons whose credit card accounts have addresses outside those

#### BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Fadi Ghandour (Ghandur)

**Birth:** 1959

**Family:** Wife: Rula; two sons: Basel, Fares

**Nationality:** Jordanian; Lebanese descent

**Education:** B.A. (political science), George Washington University

#### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1981:** Cofounds Aramex
- **1997:** Aramex becomes first Middle Eastern company to list on the NASDAQ stock exchange in New York
- **2002:** Aramex sold to a private, United Arab Emirates-based company
- **2003:** Named chair, Middle East and Africa Area of the Young Presidents Organization
- **2005:** Aramex goes public again

two regions, Aramex set up a service whereby buyers can set up credit card accounts using an Aramex address in the United States or Britain. They can then make purchases, have them sent to an Aramex office in one of those two countries, whereupon Aramex will ship the product to the buyer's final destination in the Middle East. Ghandour noted that it has become a massive service for them.

Aramex continued to grow in size and in the services it provided and became a major shipping company in the Middle East by the 1990s. In 1997 Aramex became the first Middle Eastern company to go public on the NASDAQ stock exchange in New York. In 2002 a private firm in the United Arab Emirates bought the company, although in June 2005 the company went public again. When the initial public offering (IPO) was listed on the Dubai Stock Exchange at that time, it raised approximately US\$12 billion.

By 2005 Aramex was the Mediterranean region's most important courier service. In addition to these services, Aramex is involved in transport, trucking, and warehousing. It maintains alliances with over forty-five companies and in 2004 boasted US\$189 million in revenues. Ghandour is aiming to take Aramex global, and join FedEx, DHL, UPS, and TNT in terms of becoming one of the top courier companies in the world.

Ghandour also is a founding partner in Maktoob.com, the largest Arab online community. He is a member of



the board of directors of Abraaj Capital, and sits on the advisory board of the Suliman S. Olayan School of Business of the American University of Beirut. From 2003 to 2005, Ghandour was the Middle East and Africa Area chairman of the Young Presidents Organization. He also helped found Entrepreneurs for Development, a Middle East-wide corporate responsibility initiative. In Jordan, he is chairman of the board of trustees for Queen Rania al-Abdullah's Jordan River Foundation, and chairman of the National Microfinance Bank.

#### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

Ghandour's achievements have not gone unnoticed. Beyond Aramex's obvious success, many have noted how his entire American-style approach to dynamic and flexible business practices and entrepreneurship have served to shake up the business environment in the Middle East. In 2005 the Arabic edition of *Newsweek* named Ghandour one of the forty-three people most likely to influence change in the Middle East. Acclaimed American journalist Thomas Friedman featured Ghandour in his best-selling book, *The World Is Flat: A Brief History of the Twenty-First Century*.

#### LEGACY

Fadi Ghandour has not yet finished making his mark upon Jordan, the Middle East, or the world. But he is sure to be remembered as a young, innovative entrepreneur and businessman who brought energy and creativity to a sometimes sluggish, patriarchal, or state-dominated Middle Eastern business climate.

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*Michael R. Fischbach*

## GHASEMI, AMIR ALI (1980–)

Amir Ali Ghasemi is a Tehran-based Iranian graphic artist and founder of the Parkingallery artist collective. Ghasemi's artwork is central to a larger movement within

Iran that blends traditional Islamic and Persian themes with that of a younger generation reconciling modern technologies and social conditions. In addition to solo exhibits in Iran, Ghasemi's artwork has been displayed in numerous countries including France, Japan, Taiwan, Turkey, and the United States.

#### PERSONAL HISTORY

Ghasemi was born in Tehran, Iran, on 20 August 1980, to parents involved in journalism and social communications. His grandparents were heavily involved with the publication of the Farsi-language *Arash* magazine. As a youth in Iran, Ghasemi was deeply influenced by western film and print literature brought from the United States by an aunt. Ghasemi came of age in a period in which censorship of foreign products and internal cultural expressions were eased. Amir Ali continues to live and work in Tehran, where, along with freelance photography and magazine work, he teaches graphic design in addition to overseeing the Parkingallery.

#### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

American popular culture, most notably film and literature, has greatly influenced Ghasemi, as his work demonstrates both a transculturation and Americanization of Iranian society. The increased sociocultural and political liberalization within the Islamic Republic has not only enabled young artists such as Ghasemi to take inspiration from international influences, but has also allowed a cultural openness that enables free artistic expression. Within Iran, Nikki R. Keddie writes, "There has been a new stress on freedom of thought, including of religion, which earlier thinkers had tended to subordinate to anti-imperialism or other values, and also on the importance of democracy, greater gender equality, and new and fair laws" (2003, p. 305). In addition to this general trend of transculturation and relative social openness is the introduction of the Internet which, according to Keddie, keeps Iranians "aware of international developments, especially those that concern Iran, and the Internet is also used for internal dissident communication" (p. 311). The influence of the Internet has been of signal importance in the artistic development and expression of Ghasemi's artwork.

**Artwork** The bulk of Ghasemi's artwork is largely grounded in his training as a graphic illustrator, attested to by the prevalence of photography and the cut-and-paste aesthetic of computer-based art throughout his work. Ghasemi's art represents a nexus between modern technology and traditional Persian culture. A common theme in the works of Ghasemi and other Parkingallery artists is

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Amir Ali Ghasemi

**Birth:** 1980, Tehran, Iran

**Nationality:** Iranian

**Education:** B.A. (graphic design), Azad University, Tehran, 2004

### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1998:** Finds the art collective and gallery Parkingallery
- **2003:** Presents “Fotos under Lite” exhibition of solo work at the Salis Art Gallery in Tehran
- **2004:** Curator of “Deep Depression,” an exhibition at the Atbin & Azad Art Galleries in Tehran
- **2005:** Artwork featured prominently in the *Imagine.Art.After* online exhibition project as hosted by the *Guardian*; presents “Transition” exhibition at Parkingallery, Tehran; earns the Judges’ Special Award at the Taiwan International Design Exhibition for his short film *Group Video Installation*

the fluid manner in which traditional Farsi script is presented. An example of this is seen in Ghasemi’s poster “Bouf-e-kour” in which the phrase “stray dog needs caring” is presented in Farsi, in an upside-down manner. Additionally, artwork on the Parkingallery Web site depicts a pair of scissors cutting Farsi script—perhaps symbolic of a desire to deconstruct and reconstruct Farsi script. These themes are most evident in the 2005 exhibition “Transition,” where Ghasemi photographed patrons standing in front of pictures featuring Farsi language neon advertisements. Such sentiments depict a desire to redefine elements of Iranian society to better suit the expressions of a generation influenced by the transcultural nature of the Internet.

**Parkingallery** Ghasemi founded the Parkingallery—so named because the exhibitions took place in a parking garage—in 1998 as a collective workspace for emerging artists. Besides the recruitment of artists to display their work, the gallery afforded the opportunity for graphic illustrators and photographers to display their art through the variety of advertisements used to promote the gallery’s

exhibitions. In 2002 Parkingallery launched a Web site in the hopes of “moving forward to expand the borders of this platform for Iranian contemporary art, as [they have] shaped many micro/mega projects in a more global scale & [are] currently aiming to organize exchange workshops/exhibitions/talks between Tehran & rest of capable art cities through finding project spaces which are actively growing out of the main stream big intuitional art market & by archiving/documenting visual records of Tehran art scene & by gathering Iranian contemporary art database,” according to Parkingallery.com.

In 2004 Ghasemi served as curator of Parkingallery’s multimedia and international exhibit titled “Deep Depression.” The exhibition’s concept was to present international contributions inspired by a so-called deepness of thought brought about by depression. A follow-up exhibition was titled “Deeper Depression,” and continued to build on the theme of its predecessor. Also in 2004, the British newspaper the *Guardian* presented an online exhibition of Ghasemi’s works titled “Coffeshop Ladies,” a depiction of patrons in a café that, according to Ghasemi on the *Guardian*’s Web site, is “a symbol of social freedom in Iran.” Ghasemi uses female patrons as the focus of his photographs, covering the images of their faces with white stickers so as to “prevent the media from misusing and/or manipulating the images on a mass scale.”

## CONTEMPORARIES

The Parkingallery collective features a number of talented young artists working with a variety of media. Behrang Samadzadegan (1979–), notable for his overtly politically-themed oil paintings, is one of the standout artists among the Parkingallery collective. In addition to his own work, Samadzadegan is the visual editor of the online magazine titled *Tehran Avenue*. One such notable work by Samadzadegan, titled “Still Life,” features a portrait of U.S. president George W. Bush shadowed by the image of a screaming woman from Pablo Picasso’s *Guernica*. An interesting facet of the Parkingallery is the inclusion and promotion of female artists. One of the many female artists is the graphic designer Parisa Tashakori (1973–). Tashakori’s artwork incorporates a number of transcultural themes, uniquely incorporating an eastern Asian aesthetic.

## THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

As of 2007, little has been written within mainstream media regarding the artwork of Ghasemi, yet within underground artistic circles his works have attained a growing amount of attention both for his ingenuity and expressions of Iranian youth. Much of the press regarding Ghasemi and Parkingallery is found in contemporary art and design periodicals. Greater attention has been given to the democratic and pro-Western tendencies of Iran's younger generations, and many look to Ghasemi and his contemporaries as harbingers of the nation's future. In this sense, Ghasemi is seen almost as a novelty, both him and his generation viewed in terms of their political thrusts, which may or may not be reflected in their art. As a result, the artistry and social critiques are lost as his works are extrapolated to reveal a greater meaning. Lost in this translation is the work of an artist seeking to reconcile traditional and modernist themes as reflections of increased artistic freedom within Iran.

## LEGACY

Because of Ghasemi's youth, artistic potential, and role as an emergent voice within Iran's art scene, it is difficult to ascertain his legacy at this point. However, based on what he has accomplished as of 2007, Ghasemi will no doubt be remembered for forging a new artistic aesthetic that reflects the changes in Iran's cultural landscape where tradition and modernity are becoming increasingly reconciled. Moreover, the establishment of the Parkingallery and the digitizing of its works have resulted in growing international attention to modern Iranian artwork. Much attention has been paid to Ghasemi's exhibitions, making his stated aim to make Tehran Iran's representative to a global artistic movement all the more realistic.

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*Kenneth Shonk*

GHOBADI, BAHMAN  
(1969–)

Kurdish Iranian filmmaker Bahman Ghobadi (Qobadi) is the most prominent Kurdish artist working today, and one of a new breed of young Iranian filmmakers who have grown up since the revolution of 1979. His four feature films since 2000 have established him as one of the most respected young filmmakers in the world.

## PERSONAL HISTORY

Ghobadi, much the best-known of contemporary Kurdish filmmakers, was born in Baneh in Iranian Kurdistan on 1 February 1969, and moved with his family to the provincial capital of Sanandaj in 1983, during the 1980–1988 Iran-Iraq war. An early interest in photography led him eventually to the study of film in Tehran, where he completed several short 8 millimetre films before approaching Iran's most distinguished art film director, **ABBAS KIAROSTAMI**, who was planning to shoot his next film in Kurdistan. Ghobadi worked as second unit director on this film, *The Wind Will Carry Us* (1999), and also appeared in a small role. He was also cast by Samira Makhmalbaf, daughter of the famous Iranian filmmaker **MOHSEN MAKHMALBAF**, as one of the itinerant teachers in her second feature, the Kurdistan-set *Blackboards* (2000). Ghobadi was then able to establish a production company, Mij (Kurdish, "fog") Film to help encourage Kurdish film culture. He has made four feature films as director, writer, and producer.

## INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Ghobadi seems to have been less influenced by working with Kiarostami than other assistants (such as **JAFAR PANAHI** and Hassan Yektapanah) who have gone on to direct their own films. His greatest influence is evidently his Kurdish heritage, reflected in his desire to make visible the Kurdish people and to promote Kurdish culture, especially cinema.

Kurdistan's division among five countries, primarily Iran, Iraq, and Turkey, means that Ghobadi's works are all concerned with borders—which he hates—and their crossing. His first two features foreground human mules who carry goods between Iran and Iraq, and both conclude with long takes in which the main character crosses the border—marked by barbed wire, laid across snow—high in the mountains. These shots capture much of the essence of Ghobadi's work, showing the qualities of human hope and endurance in the most difficult circumstances. All his films include extreme long shots of the rugged terrain of the Kurdish countryside, frequently of snow-covered mountains, and they feature local people, rather than professional actors.

*A Time for Drunken Horses* (2000) begins with a prologue that announces the value of cinema as a means



**Bahman Ghobadi.** ANDER GILLENIA/GETTY IMAGES.

for Ghobadi to present “a humble tribute to my cultural heritage,” and emphasizes his personal experience of the Kurdish struggle for survival. *Horses* tells the story of a family of orphaned children who must work together to support themselves by labor in the local market and by participation in smuggling to Iraq. An additional and urgent need is to raise the money for an operation required by the middle brother, Madi, who has not grown properly. Hopes that the marriage of the eldest girl, Rojine, will bring in enough money prove ill-founded, but the protagonist, the eldest brother Ayoub, battles on regardless. A handheld camera is used to emphasize moments of confusion and panic, and the influence of neorealism, so evident in post-revolutionary Iranian art cinema, is also visible here. *Horses* shared the Camera d’Or at the 2000 Cannes Film Festival.

Originally titled *Songs of My Homeland* or *Songs of My Motherland*, Ghobadi’s next film is now generally known in English as *Marooned in Iraq* (2002). It is a road movie, the story of famous Kurdish musician, Mirza, who must travel to Iraq to find his ex-wife, Hanareh. Accompanied by his two musician sons, Mirza encounters a variety of characters and opportunities for musical interludes along the way. Both Kurdish culture and the traumas of recent Kurdish history are foregrounded in this film, as the travelers pass through a series of villages razed by SADDAM HUSSEIN’s government, a camp for orphans, and a mass grave. When Mirza finally reaches his destination, he finds a people ravaged

by forced migration and chemical weapons attacks. He sets off back to Iran with Hanareh’s daughter. Despite the grimness of much of the narrative, there are moments of great joy and effective humor.

*Turtles Can Fly* (2004) is the only one of Ghobadi’s films set exclusively in one country: Iraq. (Indeed, the film is the first film made in Iraq after the fall of Saddam Hussein.) The action takes place in Iraqi Kurdistan, close to the Turkish border that separates one group of villagers from another. Set in the days immediately before and at the start of the U.S.-led invasion in 2003, *Turtles* focuses on attempts to bring satellite communications to the village, and on children who survive by collecting unexploded ordnance from the land around them. Both endeavors are led by an extraordinarily resourceful boy named Satellite, rather than the impotent adult population. The possibilities for reading hope into the closing shots of Ghobadi’s first two films seem absent here, however, despite the removal of the cursed Saddam: with his beloved Agrin and her son dead, Satellite, with his assistant Pashow, both now dependent on crutches, watch the arrival of American forces. *Turtles* includes flashbacks, dreamlike premonition sequences and archival footage of the American invasion.

#### THE WORLD’S PERSPECTIVE

*Turtles* was Iran’s entry for Best Foreign Film for the 2004 Oscars, and in 2006 Ghobadi received the Index Film

#### BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Bahman Ghobadi (Qobadi)

**Birth:** 1969, Baneh, Kurdistan, Iran

**Nationality:** Iranian (Kurdish)

**Education:** B.A. 1992, Iranian Broadcasting College; Tehran University, film studies, did not graduate

#### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1999:** Second unit director on Abbas Kiarostami’s *The Wind Will Carry Us*; actor in Samira Makhmalbaf’s *Blackboards*
- **2000:** Founded Mij Film; *A Time for Drunken Horses* (first feature)
- **2002:** *Marooned in Iraq* (feature)
- **2004:** *Turtles Can Fly* (feature)
- **2006:** *Half Moon* (feature)

## CONTEMPORARIES

Hassan Yektapanah (1963–) acquired his training as an assistant to director Ali Hatami until he served as assistant director on Abbas Kiarostami's *Taste of Cherry* and Jafar Panahi's *The Mirror* in 1997. His own films as director are *Djomeh* (2000), which shared Cannes's Camera d'Or, and *Dastaneh Natamam* (2004, *Unfinished Story*). Both films are concerned with illegal immigration and life as a refugee. Yektapanah credits Kiarostami with teaching him how to look at the world anew, and Kiarostami's influence is evident. *Djomeh*, the story of an Afghan migrant's determined, but apparently hopeless wooing of a local Iranian girl, is slow-paced, attentive to landscape and includes many driving scenes. Similarly, the camera moves away rather than witness a fight, reflecting Kiarostami's concern with absence. *Story Undone* is a self-reflexive work: A documentary film crew attempts to film a group of migrants bound for Turkey. Both films contain a gentle humor and are examples of the humanism that has been characteristic of recent Iranian cinema.

Award from the journal *Index on Censorship* for this film. His most recent work, *Half Moon* (2006), was one of a series of artworks in several media commissioned by the New Crowned Hope Festival in Vienna to celebrate the 250th anniversary of the birth of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart. It returns to the subject of Kurdish musicians on the road. Although filmed in Iran, the story is of the attempt to put on a concert in Iraq, and the search for a female singer. The film incorporates magical realist elements also evident in *Turtles*. Ghobadi chose to limit shots of performances by women (these are banned in Iran), but has still found difficulties with Iranian censors, perhaps as much for the film's perceived promotion of Kurdish autonomy as for its depictions of women singing. He has since publicly regretted his self-censorship.

### LEGACY

Ghobadi is still a young filmmaker, but his output to date distinguishes him as one of the most significant Iranian directors now working, and as the key figure in the representation of Kurds and Kurdistan. He has inspired the work of other young Kurdish filmmakers, and is also active in an attempt to establish new cinemas in the region.

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Chris Lippard

## GÖLE, NILÜFER (1953–)

Turkish sociology professor Nilüfer Göle is one of the main female academicians and intellectuals in Turkish scientific and academic community. She writes about modernization, impacts of the religion of Islam on the Turkish society, and the headscarf issue. Headscarves and veiling are strictly forbidden at Turkish universities and public institutions, and the fact that they are forbidden is seen as the main part of Turkish nation-state secularization by the state ideology and Kemalist understanding. Therefore, the usage of the headscarf in the universities and state offices is always a hot topic; Göle is generally a consulted academician on Turkish televisions and newspapers. In the academic arena, the studies of Göle are mainly referred by the other scholars in the issue of the headscarf.

### PERSONAL HISTORY

Göle was born in Ankara, the capital city of Turkey, in 1953, to a politician. She took her secondary education at Ankara College and then she studied sociology at Middle East Technical University, which is one of the best universities of Turkey. After graduation, she went to Paris to carry on her academic life. Her adviser at the doctorate level was the famous sociologist Alain Touraine. After returning to Turkey, Göle became a professor at Bosphorus University, another prestigious university in Istanbul. She kept in touch with the French academia, and now is a professor at École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales in Paris. She married the well-known Turkish economics professor Asaf Savas Akat. She lives in Paris and Istanbul.

### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Göle's academic writings were highly influenced by the new modernization perspective and by Touraine's thoughts. She tried to analyze modernization through different directions, and accepts the possible existence of different and various modernization processes other than the Western experiences.

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Nilüfer Göle

**Birth:** 1953, Ankara, Turkey

**Family:** Husband, Turkish economist Dr. Asaf Savaş Akat

**Nationality:** Turkish

**Education:** B.S. in sociology at Middle East Technical University, Ankara, Turkey; Ph.D. in sociology, advised by Alain Touraine in Paris

## PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1976–1987:** Scholar in sociology at École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales in Paris
- **1987–present:** Professor of sociology at Bosphorus University in Istanbul

Göle's major books include critiques of Turkish modernization, identity problems, the arguments about the Islamic religious movements in Turkey, veiling, and gender issues. Her assessments about the Turkish modernization project that were applied by the early military-bureaucratic and political elites of the Turkish Republic generally focus on the cultural and identical level. *The Modern Forbidden* is her famous book that claims that the Turkish modernization is a sort of homogenizing of all local and different cultures and identities under one national identity. She states that Turkish modernization has fears about the possibility of different political movements such as Islamism, ideologies such as communism, and identities such as ethnic identities. At this point, she is against looking at Islamism only as a political movement; therefore she accepts Islamism as a set of cultural practices and lifestyles that developed against the homogenizing projection of the Turkish modernization. The religious identity of the people was ignored by the republican modernization of Turkish nation-state, and Islam in Turkey is strange to the rationalist and positivist values of the civilization project of the republican elites. Other than the critiques about Turkish modernization, Göle brings a feminist critique about the Turkish civilization and its countercultural practice, Islamism. They both produce their own type of cultural practice and lifestyle over the women. The veiling issue is the main topic at this point, because both the modernist secularist understanding of Turkish republicanism and the religious understanding of Islamism develop their arguments on the veils or headscarves of women. However, Göle claims that the Turkish

middle- and lower-class women in urban areas can enter the public sphere with their headscarf; therefore the headscarf has an important role in the socialization of those women. This point of Göle's view is generally deeply criticized by some intellectuals, such as Ertuğrul Özkök who is a famous journalist and writer.

Göle wrote on the modernization issue and the possibility of the alternative modernization processes. Modernization is one of the most argumentative and hot topics in developing countries. *Melez Desenler (Hybrid Figures)* is her book on the modernization process of Turkey and Islamism movements as part of that process. Modernization was accepted for a long time as a Westernization process. In other words, modernization was understood as the modernization way of North America or of Europe. Western modernization, according to Göle, somehow claims universality and ignores the local values and cultures. Therefore, the ideological and discursive superiority of Western modernization created its counter way of modernization. Although the term *modernization* includes different historical experiences and processes, the term *modernity* claims universality by ignoring the locality. Rivals of Western modernity mostly developed in non-Western countries in the name of multiple modernity, local modernity, and alternative modernity. Islamist movements, according to Göle, are the results of the modernization process, because Islamists of Turkey in the early twenty-first century take modern education and professional occupations. Sometimes their professional knowledge is higher than their religious knowledge. They try to create a midway or intermediate way of life between modern and Islamic life. In the modern way of Islamic life, the headscarf becomes a modern Islamist veiling uniform, without relation to traditional or religious way of veiling.

Göle looks at the headscarf issue differently than ordinary scholars; therefore she is one of the most argumentative scholars in Turkey. Instead of the common scholars, Göle accepts the headscarf as means of taking place in public sphere for woman. Woman can enter the public sphere wearing a headscarf; therefore it is somehow a freedom tool for women. Additionally, Göle sees the modern headscarf as fashionable and chic. One of the famous writers in Turkey, TAHA AKYOL, states that Göle is one of the most influential scholars who mentions that Turkish modernization is elitist and has no relation to common people in Turkey. As the main follower of Touraine in Turkey, Göle tries to criticize Turkish modernization through different aspects.

## THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

Göle is seen throughout the world as one of the most important scholars on Turkish modernization and on the headscarf's position as a symbol of that modernization.

## LEGACY

According to Göle, society is dynamic and contains a hidden energy. There are many contradictions and conflicts in society. There must be creator energy to establish a new social order at the end of conflicts and arguments. If there is no such energy, society may experience turmoil, such as civil war or a military coup regime. As a result, that society loses its creator energy. Göle wants to accept all types of differentiations in the Turkish society as richness, and she tries to find an accelerator role or dynamic energy to promote dialogue and democracy. Therefore, she sometimes criticizes the homogenization policies of Turkish modernization that ignores religious, ethnic, and gender identities. Especially in the issue of

freedom for religious practices, such as the headscarf, she brings an alternative outlook to the dominant ideas. Not only the headscarf but also other religious practices in daily life contradict the secular applications and rules of the government, such as the contradiction of praying and working hours, or religious education at compulsory education centers. Around these issues, Nilüfer Göle is a popular scholar to be referenced in writings or to be listened to on media programs. She has both lovers and opponents. However, it is definite that she is one of the more popular scientists who is argued about in Turkey and elsewhere.

*Ozgur Sari*



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## HABASH, GEORGE (1925–)

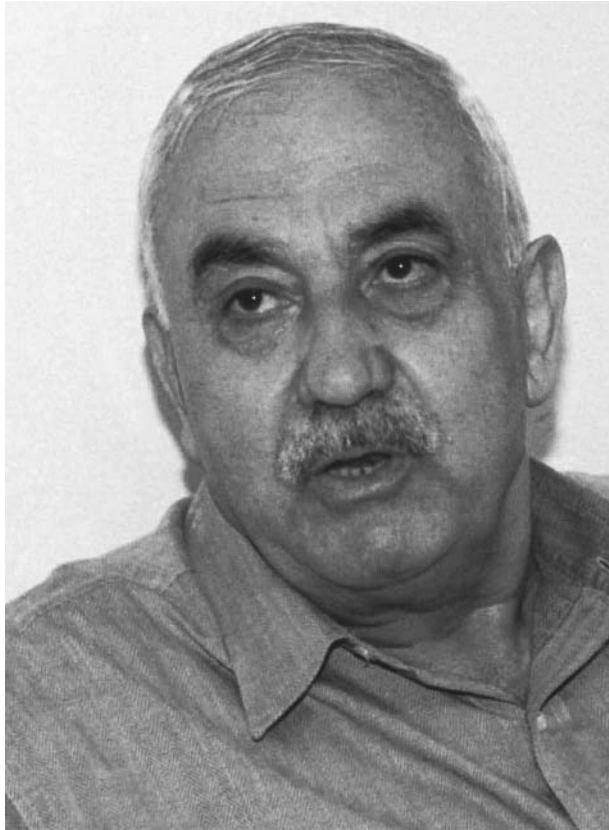
Palestinian resistance leader George Habash (also known as “al-Hakim,” the Doctor) has played a significant role in Palestinian politics since helping to found the Arab Nationalist Movement (ANM) in 1951. He went on to found the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) in 1967.

### PERSONAL HISTORY

Habash was born 26 August 1925 in al-Lidd (also called Lydda or, in Hebrew, Lod), Palestine, a medium-sized city in the coastal area east of Jaffa. Habash grew up in a Palestinian Greek Orthodox family; his father was a storeowner. Al-Lidd was a largely Arab city with both Muslim and Christian inhabitants. The British Mandate census estimates from 1944 give the total population as 16,780, of whom 14,910 were Muslim, 1,840 were Christian, 20 were Jewish, and 10 were other religions. During the 1948 War, al-Lidd and its sister city al-Ramla were occupied and their inhabitants expelled by Israeli forces on 13–14 July 1948 (during Ramadan, the Muslim month of fasting); the citizens were force-marched eastward to the highlands near Ramallah, then under Jordanian control. The Israeli forces were led by YITZHAK RABIN, who later became prime minister of Israel. Al-Lidd is now the Israeli city of Lod, which houses both Israeli Jews and an impoverished Israeli Arab (Palestinian) population, and is the site of Israel’s international airport.

Habash studied in schools in al-Lidd, Jaffa, and finally at the Terra Sancta School in Jerusalem. He worked as a teacher in Jaffa after finishing his secondary education. In 1944 he enrolled at the American University of Beirut (AUB) in the faculty of medicine, from which he graduated in 1951. While in Beirut he was drawn to Arab nationalism in seminars led by Constantine Zurayk, an AUB professor and exponent of secular pan-Arabism. In June 1948, during the university’s summer holidays, Habash returned to al-Lidd against the wishes of his parents and assisted Dr. Mustafa Zahlan at the al-Lidd Hospital during the fighting that had engulfed Palestine. During the attack on the city on 13 July 1948, Habash’s older sister was killed and he and his family were expelled. While fleeing, a neighbor’s son, named Amin Hanhan, refused to let the Israeli soldiers search him, and was shot dead in front of Habash and the young man’s family. Habash said in an interview after telling these stories, “You wonder why I have chosen this road, why I became an Arab nationalist. This is what Zionism is about. After all this, they talk about peace. This was the Zionism that I knew, that I saw with my own eyes” (Soueid, 1998, p. 89). Habash’s family took





George Habash. AP IMAGES.

refuge in Amman, Jordan, and Habash returned to Beirut to continue his studies.

#### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

While at AUB, Habash and his fellow students Hani al-Hindi, a Syrian; Ahmad al-Khatib, a Kuwaiti; Jihad Dahi, a Syrian; and Husayn Tawfiq, an Egyptian; among others, founded the Arab Commando Battalions. This group was fascist and anti-Semitic, and attacked targets that they thought belonged to Zionist or British agents. They later expressed awareness that they were being used by other groups, and thus they decided to form a political movement instead. Deciding that they were not going to liberate Palestine without first achieving Arab unity, a core group that included Habash, al-Hindi, and Wadi Haddad, a Palestinian doctor, basing itself on the writings of Zurayk and Sati al-Husari, an Iraqi and leading thinker on Arab nationalism, began forming the Arab Nationalist Movement (ANM) in 1951. Habash and Haddad went to Amman around this time and started a “people’s clinic” that provided free medical treatment, which lasted until 1957. Habash said that “later it occurred to us that we had to make the movement our

#### BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** George Habash

**Birth:** 1925, al-Lidd, Palestine

**Family:** Wife, Hilda; two daughters

**Nationality:** Palestinian

**Education:** M.D., American University of Beirut, 1951

#### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1948:** Expelled with family from al-Lidd to Jordanian-held West Bank
- **1951:** Founds (with others) Arab Nationalist Movement (ANM)
- **1967:** Founds (with others) Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP)
- **1967–2000:** Secretary general of the PFLP

full-time occupation and that no sacrifice would be too great” (Soueid, 1998, p. 90).

After this early stage of organizing, from the early 1950s to 1967 the ANM worked closely with Egyptian president Gamal Abdel Nasser, who also advocated pan-Arab and socialist policies. The short-lived Egyptian-Syrian United Arab Republic (U.A.R.) (1958–1961) was inspirational to many in the ANM. Socialism, Arab nationalism, and the recovery of Palestine became the leading ideological aims of the ANM and spurred debates about action and strategy among the membership, which included Arabs from many countries and all religions and denominations. In 1957 Habash was accused, by Palestinian members of Jordan’s National Guard, of being part of an attempted coup against the Jordanian monarchy and was convicted *in absentia*, having fled to Syria. In response to this and other coup attempts in 1956–1957, King HUSSEIN proclaimed martial law and banned all political parties.

Habash moved to Beirut in 1963. At this juncture the ANM’s understanding of the difference between Judaism and Zionism became more sophisticated and it reformulated its positions, rejecting Zionism but not Jews and Judaism, under the guidance of ANM member Muhsin Ibrahim. In the years leading up to 1967, Habash was part of a reorganization within the ANM that formed “Palestinian chapters” to carry out armed struggle against Israel. In a 1997 interview he assessed what he might have done differently in the 1950s: “I would introduce democracy as a basic motto, starting in the family and at school, in clubs and associations, all

the way to democracy in political activities, organizations, parties, and state institutions. Thus, in addition to recovering Palestine, I would add the issue of democracy” (Soueid, 1998, p. 90).

**After 1967** After the 1967 War, in which Israel occupied what remained of historic Palestine (the West Bank, including East Jerusalem, and the Gaza Strip), along with the Syrian Golan Heights and the Egyptian Sinai Peninsula, Habash led the transformation of the ANM into the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) on 11 December 1967. Other members included Nayif Hawatma, Wadi Haddad, and the members of the Arab Liberation Front, founded in 1965 by Ahmad Jibril. Habash became the secretary general of the PFLP, a post he retained until 2000. In March 1968, he was imprisoned in Syria for political reasons. He credits this time as deepening his understanding of and commitment to Marxism because, while in solitary confinement for nine months, he read the works of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, V. I. Lenin, Ho Chi Minh, and Mao Zedong. He was sprung from jail in November 1968 by a PFLP commando raid and escaped to Jordan.

After this time, the PFLP consolidated its leftist ideologies, maintaining the ANM’s emphasis on the need for a united Arab world to confront Israel. The PFLP position at this time was that there must be a Palestinian state within the historic borders of Palestine, no negotiations or compromises with Israel, and the elimination of the Israeli state (often referred to at this time as the “Zionist entity”). Habash maintained that armed strug-

gle came out of the defeat of 1967—“it was a popular and organized reaction to the loss of homeland and new forcible exile and occupation at a time when the remnants of other colonial ventures elsewhere in the world were being dismantled” (Soueid, 1998, p. 94). The PFLP formed the second-largest Palestinian political group after Fatah, YASIR ARAFAT’s party, until the founding of Hamas in 1988.

In the vacuum of leadership left by Habash’s imprisonment in 1968, Ahmad Jibril split from the group and formed the PFLP-General Command (PFLP-GC). In 1969 the PFLP split again, and a more left-leaning faction formed by Nayif Hawatma and Yasser Abd Rabbo named itself the Democratic Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DPFPLP), which later became the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP).

A PFLP hijacking of two planes to the Jordanian desert and a third to Cairo in September 1970 led to the beginning of the repression of Palestinian political groups in Jordan, through military assault by the Jordanian army. Known as Black September, the fighting amounted to a virtual civil war, and four thousand people, both Palestinian and Jordanian, were reported to have died. Ten days after the fighting began, President Nasser of Egypt was able to negotiate a truce, which held until July 1971, when the Jordanians expelled all Palestinian organizations from Jordan (they then took up residence in Lebanon). The PFLP ceased all kidnapping and hijacking attacks in 1972, although the splinter factions, most notably the PFLP-External Operations led by Haddad, continued to carry out international attacks, including

## CONTEMPORARIES

Nayif Hawatma (1935?- ) was a founding and active member of the Arab Nationalist Movement and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. Born in al-Salt, Jordan to a Greek Orthodox Jordanian Arab family, he studied medicine, politics, and economics in Amman, Cairo, and Beirut, and ultimately earned a Ph.D. in Moscow. Hawatma was a leftist political activist with the ANM in Iraq (1958–1963) and South Yemen (1963–1967), during which time he was exiled from Jordan. In 1967 he was one of the founders of the PFLP with George Habash. In 1969 Hawatma and Yasser Abd Rabbo split from the PFLP to create the Democratic Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DPFPLP; later the DFLP). Since that time Hawatma has served as DFLP chairman as well as the main representative to the PNC and the Palestine

Liberation Organization Executive Committee. The DFLP has always been one of the smallest groups in the PLO, but one whose importance within Palestinian politics has been significant. Hawatma is known for offering a “Transitional National Program” to the PLO in 1973, calling for a two-state solution based on United Nations resolutions and negotiations with the Israelis. He began early on to contact and work with Israeli leftist groups, one of the first PLO leaders to do so. He was denied entry to the West Bank and Gaza Strip by the Israelis in 1999, and caused some controversy by shaking the hand of Israeli president Ezer Weizman during the funeral of King Hussein in February 1999. More recently, Hawatma, who resides in Damascus, has been involved in intra-Palestinian dialogue and has been writing extensively on the Palestinian cause.

the Entebbe hijacking in 1976, causing him to be formally expelled from the PFLP.

**The PLO Proposes the Two-State Solution** Habash continued to lead the PFLP, although he suffered from ill health and had a debilitating stroke in 1980. In 1974 the Palestine National Council (PNC), which called itself the parliament-in-exile of the Palestinian people and which founded the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), publicly suggested a two-state solution (Israeli and Palestinian states in historic Palestine) and adopted a resolution to that effect, which prompted the PFLP to withdraw from the PLO and to join the Iraqi-backed Rejectionist Front. As the leader of the most prominent and largest of the opposition groups and one of the more sophisticated thinkers, Habash had a large role in creating opposition to the more centrist policies of the PLO, which was dominated by Fatah and led by Arafat. After many of the PFLP forces were killed in 1975–1976 during the Lebanese Civil War by Syrian forces and the Lebanese Christian Phalange militia, Habash worked for a rapprochement with Fatah in order to oppose Syrian intervention in Lebanon. Rejoining the PLO in 1977 in shared opposition to the Camp David peace accords between Egypt and Israel, the PFLP tried to remain neutral in regard to the internal struggles taking place within Fatah at this time. As a result of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982, the Palestinian political organizations withdrew; Fatah and the PLO went to Tunis and the PFLP and Habash moved to Damascus. The PFLP and DFLP rejoined the PLO once again in April 1987, after an off-and-on relationship since 1977, for the express purpose of promoting Palestinian political unity. Habash's illnesses limited his activities, and thus struggles within the PFLP for leadership arose.

While Habash remained in Damascus, the PFLP was active in the first intifada, which started in late 1987 in the Israeli-occupied West Bank and Gaza, and was a member of the United National Leadership of the Uprising (UNLU) that guided the activities of the intifada through publication of leaflets and declarations of strikes and demonstrations. In 1990 Habash and Hawatma went to Amman and were received by King Hussein, indicating an end of the animosity that had existed between them since Black September.

Following the Declaration of Principles (Oslo Accords) between the Israelis and the Palestinians (in actuality, Fatah acting alone) in 1993, Habash and Hawatma resigned from the PLO Executive Committee. In 1994 the PFLP announced its resignation from the PLO Central Council. The PFLP was one of ten groups that rejected Oslo and set up the Alliance of Palestinian Forces (APF) based in Damascus, and whose membership included Hamas and Islamic Jihad,

among others. However, the PFLP's willingness to engage in dialogue with the Palestinian Authority (PA) created by Oslo to govern parts of the Occupied Territories created friction over the PFLP's membership in the APF. Habash was given permission by the Israelis to enter the Palestinian self-rule area to attend a meeting of the Palestine National Council in 1996, but he chose not to. After a reconciliation in Cairo in August 1999 between Fatah and Arafat and both the PFLP and the DFLP, the APF ejected both organizations from membership. Habash resigned from the leadership of the PFLP in April 2000 for health reasons.

#### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

The PFLP under the leadership of Habash is best known on the world stage for its militancy in the 1970s, when it committed a number of notorious kidnappings and hijackings and was known as one of the more radical Palestinian organizations. Its actions were inspiring for many struggling for national liberation around the world, and Habash was seen as a leader of a Marxist revolutionary action and a man of principles, especially among Palestinians and Arabs. Habash maintained in an interview that Wadi Haddad proposed the idea of hijacking airplanes as a strategy to attract world attention, but that Haddad "repeatedly used to instruct those carrying out the operations not to hurt anyone in any way" (Soueid, 1998, p. 93). These dramatic events, which were usually bloodless, did succeed at their proposed goal: "When we hijack a plane it has more effect than if we killed a hundred Israelis in battle," Habash told the German publication *Der Stern* in 1970. "For decades world public opinion has been neither for nor against the Palestinians. It simply ignored us. At least the world is talking about us now" (Halsell, 1998). Habash was seen as a Palestinian leader willing to go to extremes to capture the attention of the world and focus it on the Palestinian cause.

#### LEGACY

Habash has remained an anti-imperialist, secular Arab and Palestinian nationalist throughout his life. When asked about the role of the United States in the continued struggle between Israel and the Palestinians, Habash blamed Americans, particularly the Christians: "The Israelis could not have done what they did without the support of American Christians. They are responsible for those sitting in the camps today" (Halsell, 1998). His commitment to Marxism and socialism remain the hallmark of his political action and ideology. In assessing Habash's legacy, one scholar maintains that "while one cannot point to any original ideas of Habash in the realm of revolutionary theory, and while his writings . . . were never more than transcripts of his speeches and statements, he has left an enduring imprint on Palestinian and Arab politics. His charisma served as a magnet

## MAFIAS ARE ON THE RISE

The corruption and co-optation of the Palestinian masses by Fatah constitutes a calamity that boggles the mind. Those same masses that had survived all the wars and the attempts to marginalize and defeat them, that had withstood the Zionist military machine inside and outside the occupied territories are now, after thirty years, despairing and despondent under their bourgeois leadership, due to the undermining of their nationalist achievements and institutions and the stifling of democracy by the repressive state apparatuses. Mafias are on the rise, and connections with the occupying power are being exploited to secure monopolies on daily necessities.

Still, although I lay the basic blame for the current state of affairs on the Palestinian Authority team, I do not exempt the opposition, which has not risen to the challenge or been true to its declared objectives and programs. . . . With the intifada, I felt for the first time that it was possible to achieve freedom and independence in some part of Palestine. . . . Whether or not one adopts armed struggle is determined not by matters of conscience but by the nature and practices of the enemy. It is also determined by the objectives of the Palestinian people—objectives that cannot be achieved by diplomatic action alone but that require a comprehensive struggle in which revolutionary violence, in its various manifestations, has a special place. There is no contradiction between this and other forms of struggle, such as the political, cultural, and economic.

GEORGE HABASH, FROM SOUEID, MAHMOUD. "TAKING STOCK: AN INTERVIEW WITH GEORGE HABASH." *JOURNAL OF PALESTINE STUDIES* 28, NO. 1 (AUTUMN 1998): 92–93.

for attracting members to [the ANM] and later to the PFLP. . . . This brilliant medical student was able to inspire people from widely differing socioeconomic and national backgrounds and to get people of different ideologies and orientations to work together" (AbuKhalil, 1999, pp. 93–94).

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Rochelle Anne Davis

## HABIBI, EMILE (1921–1996)

Emile Habibi was noted Palestinian writer and politician from Israel. Unlike other Palestinian authors such as Rashid Husayn or MAHMUD DARWISH, he did not go into exile, either self imposed or otherwise, after the 1948



Emile Habibi. AP IMAGES.

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Emile Habibi  
**Birth:** 1921, Haifa, Palestine  
**Death:** 1996, Haifa, Israel  
**Nationality:** Palestinian from Israel  
**Education:** Incomplete correspondence studies (petroleum engineering), University of London, 1939–1942

### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1940:** Joins Palestine Communist Party
- **1941:** Radio broadcaster
- **1944:** Begins editing *al-Ittihad*
- **1948:** Helps form Israeli Communist Party
- **1952–1972:** Serves in the Knesset
- **1965:** Joins New Communist List (Rakah)
- **1974:** Publishes *al-Waqa'i al-Ghariba fi Iktifa Sa'id Abi'l-Nahs al-Mutasha'il* (The secret life of Saeed, the ill-fated pessoptimist)
- **1990:** Awarded the al-Quds Medal from PLO
- **1991:** Resigns from Rakah; awarded the Israel Prize

Arab-Israeli War and the creation of Israel. Instead, he remained all his life in the land of his birth until his death in May 1996.

### PERSONAL HISTORY

Emile Shukri Habibi was born in August 1921 in Haifa, in mandatory Palestine. His family, Protestant Christian Arabs, was originally from the nearby village of Shafa Amr. In his early life he took many different jobs until he began seriously writing in the early 1960s. He worked in an oil refinery, and later as a radio announcer from 1941 until 1943, among other odd jobs.

Habibi was heavily involved in the resistance movement against the British mandatory government in Palestine. He became a member of the Palestine Communist Party (PCP) in 1940, as did numerous Palestinian and Arab writers. Habibi later was involved in the National Liberation League that grew out of the PCP in September 1943. He became the editor-in-chief of the PCP newspaper *al-Ittihad* (the Union) in 1944. After the Arab defeat in the 1948 War and the establishment of

Israel, Habibi helped form the new Israeli Communist Party (ICP).

He began to be actively involved in Israeli politics when he was elected to the Knesset (Israeli parliament) and remained an outspoken Knesset member from the ICP (and, after it was formed in 1965, the New Communist List [Rakah]) for almost twenty years (1953–1972). He represented Rakah in the Knesset until he resigned from the party in 1991 over his disagreement with how the party should react to the reforms of Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev.

Habibi also established the Arabesque House Publishing Company in Haifa, and, in 1995, the literary journal *al-Masharif*.

Habibi died in Haifa on 3 May 1996, and was buried in the city of his birth. He had requested that his tombstone simply read, “Emile Habibi—Remained in Haifa.”

### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

After experimenting with short story writing and some plays, Habibi wrote his blockbuster novel, *al-Waqa'i al-Ghariba fi Iktifa Sa'id Abi'l-Nahs al-Mutasha'il* (The secret life of Saeed, the ill-fated pessoptimist), in 1974. It was an instant success not only in Israel but throughout the Arab world. Today it is considered one of the best novels written in Arabic. Saeed the Pessoptimist (a compression of pessimist and optimist) or the Ill-fated narrates the life, fortunes, and misfortunes of an Arab living within Israeli borders.

The Pessoptimist is an account that spans two Arab-Israeli wars (1948, 1967), documenting the life of the Arab Palestinian population who chose to remain within the State of Israel after the mass exodus following each war. Thus, the novel becomes a literary vehicle that describes the history of that period from a Palestinian perspective. Habibi details the hardships and overall struggles of the second-class citizens within the Israeli state. He brilliantly succeeds in weaving a tapestry of fictional and personal events in a historical framework. He uses his prerogative of being able to focus on aspects of the human condition, describing the effects on the characters in a fictional mode.

As a writer of a historical novel, Habibi was writing from what he has experienced firsthand, the conditions under which the Palestinian Arabs were living inside the Jewish state. Habibi thus became known and admired through this unique work all over the Arab world. His collection of short stories, *Sudasiyat al-Ayam al-Sitta: Riwaya min al-Ard al-Muhtalla* (Stories of the six days: a story from the occupied land; 1969), also focuses on life within Israel after the 1967 War. The overwhelming welcome of these works within Arab circles did not only stem from the fact that his stories were eyewitness

accounts of the life of the Arabs in Israel, but also came from the high artistic quality of his work. Habibi did highly original work cast in an ironic mode of comic fiction.

Habibi's work signaled a new maturity in modern Arabic writing. The well-known literary critic and one of the two translators of the novel (the other being another well-known critic, Salma al-Jayyusi) rightly stated that the work is that of a mature and informed mind and the result of many years of experience.

The protagonist of the novel, Saeed the luckless pessimist, is indeed a comic hero who narrates the secrets of his life in the State of Israel in the form of a letter to an unnamed friend. He does this from outer space in the company of an extraterrestrial being who had rescued him from his uncomfortable position sitting on a stake. After his rescue he tells his story, which is one of defeat and rebellion, terror and heroism, and resistance and aggression: a life always on the brink of crisis. Saeed is ultimately an informer for the Zionist state, but his gullibility, stupidity, and candor make of him not so much a villain, but more a victim.

One of the most poignant scenes in the novel is when the protagonist describes how his only child Wala becomes a freedom fighter (a *fidai*; Arabic: one who sacrifices himself) even before 1967. He narrates how Israeli soldiers besiege an abandoned house he is hiding in, while the father sits on a rock totally helpless and the mother tries to talk her son into surrendering. The son is defiant and the mother ultimately joins him. They embrace and walk into the sea, presumably giving up their lives as martyrs.

They had been last seen going toward the sea, mother and son, she embracing him, and he supporting her, until they had disappeared into the water. The soldiers he said, had been taken by surprise, and the big man had forbidden them to shoot to keep the news from spreading. He was sure they would either be caught or drown. However the day and night search for them had not found them alive, nor had their bodies been discovered. Their fate remains a closely guarded state secret, too." (p. 113)

The language is straightforward and simple, incorporating colloquialisms from the Palestinian dialect. Habibi's wit, sarcasm, candor, and double entendres are extremely well delivered in that understated language.

The hero of Habibi is reminiscent of one of the most popular comic figures of Arabic folklore, Juha (the Arab counterpart of the Turkish Nasreddin Hoca), the popular fool who is, however, wise and wily. So Saeed, being a wise fool, saves his life by succumbing to the winning side, becoming an informer in the service of the state.

It was a unique opportunity, a window for the rest of the Arab world, to learn and gain insight into the social and political dilemmas for Arabs living within their land of Palestine, which had become part of a Jewish state, Israel. Habibi drew heavily on humor and satire to build his character.

Another intriguing story, "Wadi al Nisnass" (Arabic), was an equally important work that shed light on the plight of the Arab-Israelis.

I claim to be one of those people who cannot see the moon except for its luminous side. It is thus I justify those Jewish friends with sensitive souls who claim they do not believe it when we declare that we want a lasting peace based on a Palestinian state alongside an Israeli one. I find excuses for their mistrust, telling myself and my people that perhaps their suspicion of our intentions comes from their sense of guilt at everything they have committed against us, expressed once in [Israeli general and politician] Moshe Dayan's phrase "If we were in their place."

Habibi elaborates further:

There is no place for "if" in history. However, if one wants to argue using logic, then I would say that if we were in your place we would not have allowed our reactionary forces to do what to you what your forces of reaction have done to us. Furthermore, I would add that if you combined all the "ifs" in all the languages of the world you would be unable to justify a single harm—not even the minutest—that you have wreaked on what you call "the other."

In this autobiographical narrative, Habibi goes on to speak of the experience of his mother, Umm Wadi, who did not seem to overcome the shock of the 1948 War that culminated in the establishment of the State of Israel. Consequently, similar to thousands of Palestinians, her life was shattered and she stood helpless when her own children and grandchildren scattered and became part of the Palestinian refugees in the diaspora. She mourned this reality to the end of her days; she was known to go to a public garden near their home called the Abbas Garden and cry silently about her dispersed children, especially her youngest son, Na'im. Unable to overcome her sorrow at this separation, Umm Wadi is said to have crossed the Mandelbaum Gate in Jerusalem—the only checkpoint along the Israeli-Jordanian cease-fire line through which persons could cross—into Jordanian-controlled territory in an attempt to rejoin some of her children who had taken refuge in Damascus, Syria. It is there, and not in her native Haifa, that she died. This affected Habibi for the rest of his life: that his mother, whom he revered and loved deeply, had died far away from him and her native land.

Some literary critics have written about the Habibian style of writing. A well-balanced mixture of politics, history, and storytelling, all infused with activism and a refined style of writing.

It is to Habibi's credit that he managed to impress both Arab and Israeli audiences, and succeeded in becoming a popular writer for both groups. His writing and success are a testimony to how he negotiated both his life and work within the most contentious of political debates in modern history. The intractable Palestinian question, to this day unsolved, was handled with subtlety and artistic dexterity in most of his writings.

As a so-called insider Palestinian, one who willingly chose to remain within Israel, Habibi enjoyed a unique perspective and license to speak of and for those beleaguered insiders. He therefore wrote with authority of the existence, the dreams, and the difficulties of those Palestinians who in a sense live as second-class citizens within Israel. He opened a window to the outside Arab world to peep through and assess the plight of their brethren. A secular writer, Habibi contributed to Palestinian nationalism.

Habibi's greatest contribution is his poignant attempt at debunking the Zionist dream from the point of view of a Palestinian living within the Zionist state. Years before the American activist Rachel Corrie defied an Israeli bulldozer that was destroying Palestinian homes in Gaza by standing in front of it, dying in the process, Habibi faced bulldozers in a similar attempt to take his land. His heroic stance has become part of the oral legends by which Palestinian citizens in Israel remember him: as one who was ready to sacrifice his life to save his olive trees. At the same time, Habibi did not hesitate to expose Palestinian shortcomings, either.

His sustained sarcasm and humor won him a lasting place among the great and prominent Palestinian writers and poets, such as MAHMUD DARWISH, Ghassan Kanafani, Samih al-Qasim, and Tawfiq Zayyad. The secular writings and humanism of these writers—most of whom chose to leave and live in self imposed exile—made their life goal a sustained search for and celebration of Palestinian identity.

#### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

Habibi won many accolades during his lifetime. He received the Jerusalem Medal from the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) in 1990, and in 1992 was awarded Israel's top cultural award, the Israel Prize, for his writings. When criticized by some Palestinians for accepting the Israel Prize, he emphasized that his willingness to accept both prizes should be interpreted as an indicator of his strong belief in the coexistence of both states, side by side, a dream that is elusive to this day.

#### LEGACY

Habibi's writings are credited with provoking serious debate among Palestinians within Israel, Palestinians living in the diaspora, and the average Arab reader. This came to a head when mistrust set in after Habibi won the Israel Prize. He brought the matter to a head when he forced such questions as whether Arabs within Israel could be participants in the decisions that would determine the creation of the state of Palestine and the destiny of the Palestinians. It became obvious that the crucial role played by the writers from within should be credited for keeping the bridges open between the Palestinians who had remained and those dispersed in an ever widening diaspora.

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*Mona Mikhail*

## HADID, ZAHA (1950–)

Zaha Muhammad Hadid is a world-renowned Iraqi architect based in London, and the only woman among today's high profile, elite international architects.

#### PERSONAL HISTORY

Hadid was born in Baghdad, Iraq, on 31 October 1950 to an upper-class family of Sunni Muslim Arabs. Her father, Muhammad al-Hajj Husayn Hadid, was a wealthy industrialist from Mosul, Iraq. He was a founder of the left-liberal al-Ahali group in Iraq in 1932, which was a significant political organization in the 1930s and 1940s. He later was vice chairman of the National Democratic Party in Iraq from 1946 to 1960, and served as minister of finance for the government of General Abd al-Karim Qasim after he and fellow army officers overthrew the monarch in July 1958. Zaha Hadid's mother, Wajiha al-Sabunji, also hailed from a wealthy Mosul family.

Zaha Hadid was educated in Baghdad at a school run by French Roman Catholic nuns, and pursued part of her secondary education in Switzerland and Great Britain. She returned to the Middle East to study mathematics at the American University in Beirut from 1968 to 1971. After receiving her degree, she returned to Britain and received a diploma from the Architectural



*Zaha Hadid.* DAVE M. BENETT/GETTY IMAGES.

Association (AA) in London in 1977. While there, she studied with Rem Koolhaas, Elia Zenghelis, Daniel Libeskind, and Bernard Tschumi, among others. After completing her architectural studies, she became a partner with Koolhaas' and Zenghelis' Office for Metropolitan Architecture. She also taught at AA and, until 1987, led her own studio there.

In 1980 Hadid formed Zaha Hadid Architects. She has gone on to produce internationally acclaimed designs for structures around the world. Hadid also has taught at a number of institutions. In 1994 she held three teaching positions in the United States: the Kenzo Tange Chair at Harvard University's School of Design, the Sullivan Chair at the University of Illinois's School of Architecture, and the Master Studio at Columbia University. Since 2001 she has been a professor at the University of Applied Arts Vienna in Austria.

#### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

As a person, Hadid was influenced by the liberal and cosmopolitan upbringing she had in Iraq and Europe. Even as a child, she was exposed to a broad outlook on life: attending school in Baghdad with Muslim, Christian, and Jewish classmates, for example. As an architect,

#### BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Zaha Hadid

**Birth:** 1950, Baghdad, Iraq

**Family:** Single, no children

**Nationality:** Iraqi, also holds British citizenship

**Education:** B.S. (mathematics), American University of Beirut, 1971; diploma, Architectural Association, London, 1977

#### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1977:** Completes study at Architectural Associates, London; becomes partner with Office for Metropolitan Architecture
- **1980:** Establishes Zaha Hadid Architects
- **1982:** First accepted project, The Peaks Spa, Hong Kong (never built)
- **1993:** Vitra fire station in Weil-am-Rhein, Germany opens
- **1994:** Teaches in the United States: the Kenzo Tange Chair at Harvard University's School of Design, Sullivan Chair at the University of Illinois's School of Architecture, and Master Studio at Columbia University; design for Cardiff Bay Opera House accepted, then rejected
- **2000:** Honorary Fellowship, the American Institute of Architects
- **2001:** Begins teaching at University of Applied Arts Vienna
- **2002:** Hoenheim-North Terminus and Car Park opens in Strasbourg, France; opening of Bergisel Ski Jump, Innsbruck, Austria; receives CBE from British government; receives Austrian State Architecture Prize and the Tyrolian Architecture Award
- **2003:** The Richard and Lois Rosenthal Center for Contemporary Art opens in Cincinnati, Ohio
- **2004:** Awarded the Pritzker Prize
- **2007:** Awarded the Thomas Jefferson Medal in Architecture

she was influenced by the designs of Russian suprematist architecture, as well as constructivist artists. She also has stated that she admires the particular work of architects



## CONTEMPORARIES

Rem Koolhaas (1944–). Dutch architect, urbanist, and architectural theorist Rem Koolhaas established the OMA (Office for Metropolitan Architecture) in London in 1980 along with Elia Zenghelis, Zoe Zenghelis, and Madelon Vriesendorp. Zaha Hadid soon joined OMA as well. Koolhaas is a professor at the Graduate School of Design at Harvard University, and in 2005 he cofounded *Volume* magazine.

Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, Erich Mendelsohn, and le Corbusier (Charles-Edouard Jeanneret).

Experientially, Hadid also has learned many lessons in her work as an architect, from how to succeed in a male-dominated profession, to how to ensure that a client accepts a radical design. She has pointed to the lessons she learned after a famous incident in which one of her designs was accepted and then rejected by the sponsors. In 1994 planners for the Cardiff Bay Opera House in Cardiff, Wales, twice accepted her design for the building. However, they ultimately backed out after local opposition decried the design as too radical for Welsh tastes. She later noted that the experience, although jarring, helped her learn the politics of how to get a design accepted and built.

Success came slowly for Hadid. Her first accepted design was for The Peaks, a spa in Hong Kong, in 1982, but it was never built because the developer went bankrupt. Projects in Düsseldorf and West Berlin also failed to materialize. Hadid's first completed project, the Vitra fire station in Weil-am-Rhein, Germany, did not come until 1993. Even then, the fire department ultimately left the building, which later became a museum. She then designed the Hoenheim-North Terminus and Car Park, which opened in Strasbourg, France, in 2002. That same year, the Bergisel Ski Jump overlooking Innsbruck, Austria, was unveiled. In 2003 Hadid's career broke wide open. The Richard and Lois Rosenthal Center for Contemporary Art in Cincinnati, Ohio, which she designed and which opened that year, helped put to rest her reputation as someone who produced daring designs that never could be built.

Hadid has said of architecture that buildings should keep you dry and feed the soul. Her style has been described with terms such as Deconstructivist and Neo-modernist. Britain's Design Museum discussed her work

as follows, noting the degree to which her Arab identity and background has affected her designs:

You could call her work baroque modernism. Baroque classicists like Francesco Borromini shattered Renaissance ideas of a single viewpoint perspective in favour of dizzying spaces designed to lift the eyes and the heart to God. Likewise, Hadid shatters both the classically formal, rule bound modernism of Mies van der Rohe and Le Corbusier and the old rules of space: walls, ceilings, front and back, right angles. She then reassembles them as what she calls "a new fluid, kind of spatiality" of multiple perspective points and fragmented geometry, designed to embody the chaotic fluidity of modern life.

Zaha Hadid's architecture denies its own solidity. Short of creating actual forms that morph and change shape—still the stuff of science fiction—Hadid creates the solid apparatus to cause us to perceive space as though it morphs and changes as we pass through. Perhaps wisely, she talks little about theory. Unlike, say, Libeskind, she does not say that a shape symbolizes this or that. And she wears her cultural identity lightly. Noticeably, and uncharacteristically diplomatically, she has declined to comment on the situation in Iraq. Instead, Hadid lets her spaces speak for themselves. This does not mean that they are merely exercises in architectural form. Her obsession with shadow and ambiguity is deeply rooted in Islamic architectural tradition, whereas its fluid, open nature is a politically charged riposte to increasingly fortified and undemocratic modern urban landscapes.

### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

Hadid's creative, novel designs that stress multiple points of perspective and geometric designs have earned her considerable fame and even controversy—almost as much as her forceful personality has. In fact, for a while she was more famous for the designs that were not built as for those that were. One critic called them brilliant, but unbuildable. Perhaps the most famous example of her uncompleted works was the Cardiff Bay Opera House. Yet even by that time, Hadid was recognized for her vision. Her work was featured in a 1988 exhibition on Deconstructivist architecture at the Museum of Modern Art in New York. By the first years of the twenty-first century, however, she had risen to architectural superstar status. The Richard and Lois Rosenthal Center for Contemporary Art, for example, was described by the *New York Times* as the most important new building in America since the Cold War.

A disappointment is the fact that she has not yet designed a major building in her adopted land of three decades, Britain. She attributes this to a lack of vision

## COMBINING ARCHITECTURE WITH A SOCIAL AGENDA

It's a matter of giving life to a space which, in a whole variety of ways, offers people pleasure, fun, comfort and well-being... The basic problem is really that of adding something to our lives.

(“ZAHA HADID.” DARC. AVAILABLE FROM [HTTP://WWW.DARC.BENICULTURALI.IT/ZAHA\\_HADID/ENG/CENTRO/PROGETTO.HTM](http://WWW.DARC.BENICULTURALI.IT/ZAHA_HADID/ENG/CENTRO/PROGETTO.HTM).)

It would be very interesting to design objects for everyday life, something where the ideas that are expressed can be launched into society. With products the form is almost the finished piece, but with architecture its not. I've also always been interested in combining architecture with a social agenda, and I really think you can invest and be inventive with hospitals and housing.

(“ZAHA HADID.” DESIGNBOOM. UPDATED 16 JANUARY 2007. AVAILABLE FROM [HTTP://WWW.DESIGNBOOM.COM/ENG/INTERVIEW/HADID.HTML](http://WWW.DESIGNBOOM.COM/ENG/INTERVIEW/HADID.HTML).)

among the British. After all, Prince Charles, who maintains a lively interest in London's architecture, once described the Architectural Association where she was trained as the Frankenstein Academy. Hadid herself lamented to Caroline Frost in her BBC Four documentary, “there isn't a belief in the fantastic [in Britain]. They don't think it's possible.”

The numerous awards Hadid has received attest to her recognition. The American Institute of Architects awarded her an honorary fellowship in 2000. In 2002 the British government conferred the Commander of the British Empire (CBE) medal upon her for services to architecture. In 2002 she received both the Austrian State Architecture Prize and the Tyrolian Architecture Award for the Bergisel Ski Jump. Her international stature was recognized when she became the 2004 laureate of the highly prestigious Pritzker Prize, established by the Hyatt Foundation—the first time in the twenty-six-year history of the award that it was given to a female architect. Her award citation read in part:

Her path to worldwide recognition has been a heroic struggle as she inexorably rose to the highest ranks of the profession. Clients, journalists, fellow professionals are mesmerized by her dynamic forms and strategies for achieving a truly distinctive

approach to architecture and its settings. Each new project is more audacious than the last and the sources of her originality seem endless... The full dimensions of Ms. Hadid's prodigious artistic outpouring of work is apparent not only in architecture, but in exhibition designs, stage sets, furniture, paintings, and drawings.

The following year, Hadid was chosen to design the offices and gallery for the Architecture Foundation in London. More recently in the United States, the Guggenheim Museum in New York dedicated an exhibition to her work in 2006, and in 2007 she was awarded the Thomas Jefferson Medal in Architecture by the Thomas Jefferson Foundation and the University of Virginia's School of Architecture.

### LEGACY

Zaha Hadid is the most famous Middle Eastern architect at work in the early twenty-first century, and one of the most celebrated architects anywhere in the world. Her daring, innovative style already has set new standards in the field, and will continue to do so with a number of her designs awaiting completion in the coming few years.

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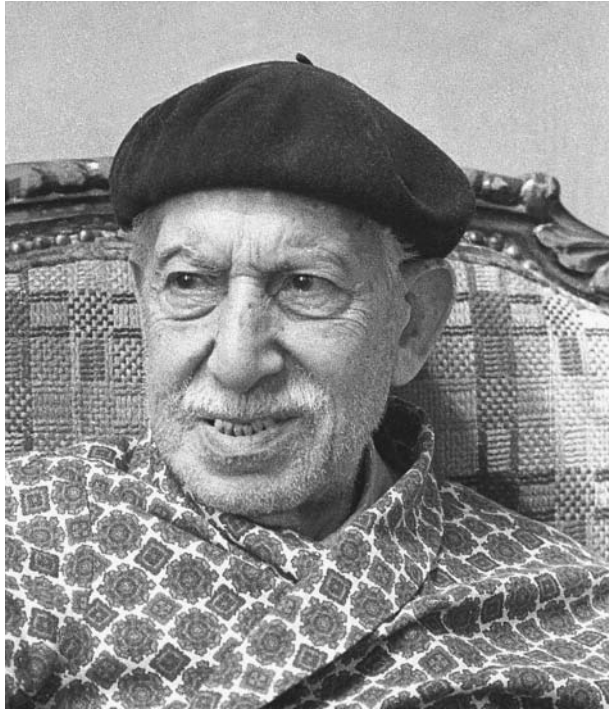
*Michael R. Fischbach*

## HAKIM, TAWFIQ AL- (1898–1987)

A well-known Egyptian writer, Tawfiq al-Hakim is renowned as the father of modern Arab drama.

### PERSONAL HISTORY

Al-Hakim was born the son of a wealthy Egyptian judge on 9 October 1898 to a landowning family in Alexandria, Egypt. From an early age he showed a sensitivity and love for literature. He began frequenting theaters and attending performances of such famous actors as George Abyad. While pursuing his secondary education he began writing short plays that he tried out on his school friends.



Tawfiq al-Hakim. AFP/GETTY IMAGES.

He experimented with different genres such as short stories, essays, and even tried writing lyrics for patriotic songs. He entered law school at Cairo University, although he did poorly in his studies. He then proceeded to study French.

He began writing under a pseudonym Husayn Tawfiq, to avoid the wrath of his family who, similar to many others at the time, did not think much of writers, considering it a frivolous endeavor unworthy of middle-class society. Most of the plays were written for the popular theater of the Ukasha brothers (Zaki, Abd al-Hamid, and Abdullah). These early plays touched on political and social themes couched in melodrama and comedy, favorite forms with enthusiastic audiences of the early twentieth century. *'Al-Dayf al-Thaqil (The Unwelcome Visitor)* touched on the rising nationalist themes prevalent around the 1919 revolution that took Egypt by storm.

The next phase in his life was a period of three years spent in Paris. Although he obtained his law degree in 1925, he could not get a government job, at the time the most coveted of jobs. His father's good friend, the well-known public figure and politician Ahmad Lutfi al-Sayyid, encouraged him to study law in France and prepare for a doctorate at the Sorbonne. That period in Paris was, however, spent preparing himself for a career in theater. Although he did not study in a formal drama school, he spent time reading plays and attending per-

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Tawfiq al-Hakim

**Birth:** 1898, Alexandria, Egypt

**Death:** 1987

**Nationality:** Egyptian

**Education:** B.A. (law), Cairo University, 1925

### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1925:** Moves to Paris
- **1928:** Writes *Awdat al-Ruh (Return of the Spirit)*
- **1928–1934:** Deputy public prosecutor in Alexandria, Disuq, and Damanhur
- **1933:** Publishes his first philosophical play *Ahl al-Kahf (People of the Cave)*
- **1937:** Writes *Yawmiyat Na'ib fi'l-Aryaf (Memoirs of a Country Prosecutor)*
- **1939–1943:** Works in the ministry of social affairs for the ministry of education
- **1951–1956:** Appointed director of the National Library

formances. He read extensively not only in drama but in a wide variety of topics of Western culture. Not only did al-Hakim become familiarized with a new culture, but he read voraciously the then-avant garde authors that ultimately influenced his whole literary career. When his father forced him to cut short his stay, upon his return to Egypt al-Hakim suffered a reverse culture shock, reflected in his nostalgia for those Parisian years.

Once al-Hakim returned to Egypt he began working as a deputy public prosecutor. He moved between Alexandria, Disuq, and Damanhur, major provincial centers between 1928 and 1934. This experience inspired his novel *Yawmiyat Na'ib fi'l-Aryaf (Memoirs of a Country Prosecutor)*, published in 1937. This work has become a classic as it deals with exploring the divide between the mentality of the Egyptian *fallah* (peasant) and the officials in a legal system charged with administering justice and with laws based on the Napoleonic Code, which Egypt had adopted.

He then worked in the ministry of social affairs for the ministry of education from about 1939 to 1943. After this he left government service and devoted himself to writing. However, around 1951 he was appointed director of the National Library and remained in this important position until 1956. He later became a

member of the prestigious Higher Council of the Arts, Literature, the Humanities, and Social Sciences. Tawfiq al-Hakim died in Cairo on 26 July 1987.

### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

The period between the 1919 Egyptian revolution against British rule and the 1952 Free Officers' coup against the monarchy, corresponded with the maturity of modern Egyptian literary achievements in drama, the novel, and the short story. It was a period that witnessed the rise and fall of romanticism in poetry in Egyptian writing. In general there were attempts to liberate Egyptian arts from Western domination in the same vein as the attempts at liberation from colonial rule.

Al-Hakim's 1928 novel *Awdat al-Ruh* (*Return of the Spirit*) is considered a classic that foretold the revolution of Gamal Abdel Nasser. Al-Hakim presumably was considered the laureate intellectual throughout the Nasser years in power, benefiting from his good graces. However, a work written years later, *Awdat al-Wa'i* (*The Return of Consciousness*), was considered the intellectual forerunner of Egyptian president Anwar Sadat's opening to the right, and a clear repudiation of Nasserism. It was a highly controversial publication when it first appeared. It created a stir throughout both Egypt and the Arab world, as al-Hakim had been considered a privileged insider of the Nasser inner circle. He had accepted high cultural posts such as the Egyptian representative to the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) during the Nasser rule.

In 1933 al-Hakim published his first philosophical play *Ahl al-Kahf* (*People of the Cave*), which is based on a story from the Qur'an. This was the first in a long series of plays that have become the basis of the classical repertoire of the modern Arab theater.

Al-Hakim served for many years as a literary columnist for the major newspaper *al-Ahram*. He wrote numerous political analyses, and trenchant satires that were widely read throughout the Arab world.

There is no doubt that his earlier writings had influenced the young officers and the revolution. *Awdat al-Wa'i* is thus considered a controversial work. Its main thesis was presumably that Egyptians, buoyed by hopes for a new, progressive Egypt, were taken in by the principles of Nasser's 1952 revolution and in the process lost their political consciousness and discovered too late that its charismatic leader had turned into a tyrant and that his policies, both domestic and foreign had basically failed.

Some of his early plays also touched on the questions surrounding the emancipation of women. His controversial play *al-Mar'a al-Jadida* (*The New Woman*) was more of a spoof of the growing movement that had been spearheaded by the great champion of women's emanci-

pation, Qasim Amin. Al-Hakim came to be known as the enemy of women (*'Aduw al-Mar'a*) after writing this play that attacked the unveiling of women. He lived all his life trying to undo this attitude of misogyny that came to be one of his hallmarks. Interestingly enough, despite this one area of dissent, al-Hakim remained a revered and beloved author and persona throughout the Arab world. His far-reaching influence on Arabic drama is felt to this day.

Al-Hakim also was a pioneer in modern Egyptian theater. Until the 1920s Egyptian theater concentrated on melodramas, which were often presented as what we would today consider musicals. The thorny question of whether to use classical (modern standard Arabic) or colloquial Arabic remained a matter of great debate. Early on such writers as Farah Antun, and especially Muhammad Taymur whose dramas dealt with contemporary social themes, found tough competition from the popular plays of the great comedian Najib al-Rihani. But it was Tawfiq al-Hakim who dominated the next phase in the development of the Egyptian theater. His play *Ahl al-Kahf* (1933, *People of the Cave*), was to be the first of what came to be known as the intellectual dramas or theater of the mind. In 1934 other philosophical plays such as *Shahrazad* and the *Sultan's Dilemma* have continued to be part of the classical repertoire of Egyptian theater. Tawfiq al-Hakim wrote more than fifty plays, which helped cement his reputation as the founder of modern Arab drama.

### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

Before the advent of the 1952 revolution, al-Hakim had been recognized by having the honorific title of bey conferred upon him. After the revolution he was elected to the prestigious Academy of Letters and Language (*al-Majama al-Lughawiyy*). But it was in 1958 that he was awarded the distinct honor previously reserved for high dignitaries and foreign leaders—*Qiladat al-Jumhuriyya* (Order of the Republic)—by President Nasser in recognition of his contributions, and especially his landmark work *Awdat al-Ruh* (*Return of the Spirit*) that was believed had influenced and inspired Nasser and his whole generation. It was an allegory that had multilayered signifiers harking back to ancient Egypt and its past glories that Nasser was destined to revive.

In 1962 al-Hakim went on to receive the coveted State Prize (*Ja'izat al-Dawla al-Takdiriyya*), which carried a hefty honorarium. The citation credited him for his dedication to the arts, especially drama, as well as with enkindling the spirit of national consciousness through his writings of fiction and drama, his dedication to social progress, and his deep concern for the eradication of injustice and corruption.

It is all these official recognitions that later on were controversial when he revised his stance vis-à-vis the Nasser era.

In a preface to a second edition to *Awdat al-Wa'i*, al-Hakim wrote:

After the appearance of the first edition of *Awdat al-Wa'i*, the Nasserists, both in Egypt and elsewhere, were angered . . . as though Abdel Nasser were superhuman rather than a being whose mistakes could be analysed. . . . The most important goal in what I call "opening up the file" is opening our eyes to the mistakes and disasters of the past so that we can avoid them and prevent anyone else from repeating them while we build Egypt anew.

These lines are not history. They are testimony and feelings which I have brought forth from memory and which are not based on any other source.

Plays Al-Hakim's desire to emulate the European tradition in plays was timely, and the publication and performance of his play *Ahl al-Kahf*, was a momentous and significant event in the history of Egyptian drama. The story can be found in the eighteenth sura of the Qur'an, as well as in other sources. It concerns the tale of the seven sleepers of Ephesus who, in order to escape the Roman persecution of the Christians, take refuge in a cave. They sleep for three hundred years, and wake up in a completely different era, without being aware of the change of time. In its use of the themes of rebirth in a new age and new world, al-Hakim's play touches upon cultural topics that were of major concern to the intellectuals of his day.

#### LEGACY

Tawfiq al-Hakim is one of the major figures in modern Arabic literature. In the particular realm of the theater, he fills an overarching role as the sole founder of an entire literary tradition. His efforts on behalf of Arabic drama as a literary genre, its techniques, and its language, are a lasting legacy of the central role he played.

Although al-Hakim's earlier plays were all composed in the literary form of Arabic, he experimented with different levels of dramatic language. In *al-Safqah* (1956, *The Deal*), with its themes of land ownership and the exploitation of poor peasant farmers, he couched the dialogue in something he termed the third language: one that could be read as a text in the standard written language of literature, but that could also be performed on stage in a way which, while not exactly the idiom of the colloquial dialect, was comprehensible to a larger segment of the audiences, other than the literate urban

elites. Another of his plays, *Ya tali' al-Shajarah* (1960, *The Tree Climber*; later produced in an off-Broadway production in New York City in the 1990s), was extremely successful. Its use of the literary language in the dialogue was a major factor in the nonreality (absurdist) atmosphere involving extensive passages of noncommunication between husband and wife. Al-Hakim continued to write plays in the 1960s, among the most popular of which were *Masir sersar* (1966, *The Fate of a Cockroach*) and *Bank al-Qalaq* (1967, *Anxiety Bank*).

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Mona Mikhail

## HAMARNEH, MUSTAFA (1953–)

Mustafa Butrus Hamarneh (Hamarina) is a scholar and leading political analyst in Jordan.

#### PERSONAL HISTORY

Hamarneh was born on 26 February 1953 in al-Zarqa, Jordan. He hailed from Jordanian Arab Christians originally from the town of Madaba, a family that went on to produce a number of prominent academics and politicians. Hamarneh attended university in Spain, receiving his *licenciatura* in economics from La Universidad Complutense de Madrid in 1978. He then pursued graduate work in the United States, and completed a Ph.D. in history from Georgetown University in Washington, D.C., in 1985. Hamarneh went on to teach as an adjunct professor at Georgetown from 1985 to 1987 before returning to Jordan to teach history at the University of Jordan from 1988 to 2002.

In 1992 Hamarneh became the director of the University of Jordan's Center for Strategic Studies (CSS). From 2004 to 2006, he was chairman of the board of directors for Jordan Radio and Television. He also helped establish the Tarjuman Foundation, a non-governmental, nonprofit organization promoting translating and publishing the works of non-Arab social scientists. Hamarneh also was a founding member of EuroMeSCo in 1996, a network of foreign policy centers from the twenty-seven Euro-Mediterranean Partnership countries.

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Mustafa Hamarneh (Hamarina)

**Birth:** 1953, al-Zarqa, Jordan

**Family:** Wife: Jennifer (American)

**Nationality:** Jordanian

**Education:** Licenciatura in Economics from La Universidad Complutense de Madrid (1978).  
Ph.D. in history from Georgetown University in Washington, D.C. (1985)

## PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1985:** Adjunct professor, Georgetown University, Washington
- **1988:** Begins teaching history at the University of Jordan in Amman
- **1992:** Appointed director of University of Jordan's Center for Strategic Studies (CSS)
- **1996:** Helps found EuroMeSCo
- **1999:** Resigns from CSS; is reinstated
- **2004:** Named chairman of the board of directors, Jordan Radio and Television

## INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Hamarneh's contributions stem from his academic credentials and research. His 1985 doctoral dissertation applied dependency theory to the study of twentieth-century Jordan. He was one of the first scholars to make extensive use of the nineteenth and early twentieth century accounts written by European and North American travelers and explorers about their journeys through Jordan. Hamarneh was one of the first in what became a wave of Jordanian and Western scholars alike starting in the 1980s who were trained in Western universities, and who began producing serious studies of Jordanian history and society in place of the descriptive, official histories that had been produced within Jordan itself. Yet the teaching environment in Jordan is not nearly as conducive to freewheeling intellectual rigor when it comes to the study of the country's history. Indeed, at the time he was teaching at the University of Jordan in the late 1980s and early 1990s, the library contained a forbidden books section that held a variety of volumes, including serious studies of Jordan's history that ran counter to the officially sanctioned version of events.

The political liberalization in Jordan that began in 1989 opened the door for Hamarneh's career to take a different turn. The return of political exiles, establishment of political parties, and emergence of a freer press allowed critical minds as that of Hamarneh to blossom and apply their talents to the study of the country's political trends. In 1992 he became director of the CSS, and went on to become an internationally recognized researcher and analyst of trends in Jordan's political life. Under his leadership, the CSS became known worldwide for its serious research on Jordan and the wider Middle East region, particularly its opinion polls—rare in the Arab world—and by the mid-1990s, Hamarneh was Jordan's most well-known policy analyst, frequently courted by journalists and others.

## THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

Despite the respect he enjoyed at home and among Western audiences as the dean of Jordanian policy analysts, Hamarneh's activities have led him to run afoul of the Jordanian authorities on occasion, most notably in July 1999 when he was forced to resign from his post as head of the CSS under pressure from the University of Jordan president Walid al-Ma'ani. Several of the CSS's reports proved controversial, including a survey revealing declining public support for the government of Prime Minister Abd al-Ra'uf al-Rawabida; a 1997 report showing that the unemployment rate in Jordan was closer to 27 percent, not the official figure of 17 percent; and a 1998 study on public perceptions of Jordanian-Palestinian relations. Al-Rawabida and General Intelligence director Samih al-Battikhi put pressure on al-Ma'ani to fire Hamarneh. Hamarneh resigned before it came to that, but his backers in the West rallied to his defense. The Committee on Academic Freedom in the Middle East and North Africa of the Middle East Studies Association of North America, and the Academic Freedom Committee of Human Rights Watch, protested his dismissal. He eventually was reappointed as head of CSS.

## LEGACY

Hamarneh will be remembered for his important contributions to building a strong Jordanian civil society in the wake of the political liberalization that began in 1989. The dean of policy analysts in the country, he will particularly be remembered for the CSS's rigorous polls and analyses that have interpreted trends within society and politics for Jordanian, Arab, and Western audiences.

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*Michael R. Fischbach*

## HAMED, MARWAN (1977–)

Marwan Hamed is a young Egyptian filmmaker best known for his unflinching portrayal of private lives in modern-day Egypt. After receiving his degree from the Cairo Film Institute in 1999 he apprenticed as assistant director to many outstanding Egyptian filmmakers such as Sherif Arafa, Samir Seif, and Khairy Beshara. Initially he built his reputation directing commercials. His first big-screen film, *Lily*, won prizes at Carthage and other festivals. Critics consider his most important film to date



*Marwan Hamed*. PASCAL GUYOT/AFP/Getty Images.

### BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Marwan Hamed

**Birth:** 1977, Cairo, Egypt

**Family:** Single

**Nationality:** Egyptian

**Education:** Cairo Film Institute, 1999, Cairo

#### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **2001:** Makes big-screen debut with short film *Lily*
- **2006:** Releases *Imarat Ya'qubian*

to be *Imarat Ya'qubian* (2006, *The Yacoubian Building*), which was chosen as one of the hundred most important Egyptian films by a committee headed by the veteran critic Amed El-Hadari.

#### PERSONAL HISTORY

Hamed was born in Cairo in 1977 to a Muslim Egyptian family. His father, screenwriter Wahid Hamed, remains a prominent figure in Egyptian filmmaking, best known for his controversial screenplays addressing terrorism, corruption, impotence, and national unity. After first working in commercials, Marwan Hamed directed several short films such as *Au Bout du Monde* (1998), *Cheik Cheikha* (1999), and *Lily* (2001), for which he won the public prize at the Clermont-Ferrand short film festival in 2001. *Imarat Ya'qubian* is considered Hamed's most important film yet and has been a subject for debate among Egyptians. After premiering at the Berlin Film Festival in February 2006, it opened in Egypt in June of the same year.

The film is based on the best-selling novel *Imarat Ya'qubian* by Alaa El-Aswani, which has been translated into more than ten languages. One of the most controversial and expensive films in Egyptian cinema history, *Imarat Ya'qubian* focuses on the residents of a well-known Cairo apartment building. Following their personal experiences, Hamed exposes corruption at all levels of society, from the highest officers of government to a small shop owner asking sexual favors from the assistants he employs in return for their jobs. Other characters include a drug dealer who bribes a government minister to secure a seat in parliament so as to continue his illicit trade and the son of a doorman who turns to fundamentalism when refused entry to the police academy because of his social background.

*Imarat Ya'qubian* also features a gay character engaged in a relationship with a younger security policeman, thus giving ground to sharp criticism by many politicians who demanded several scenes be cut. Addressing these criticisms, Hamed stated that taboos needed to be addressed to make progress. He also stressed that critics have exaggerated the film's portrayal of homosexuality in order to draw attention away from its criticism of government corruption. Indeed, the gay character is also the editor of French-language newspaper and a self-appointed scourge of political corruption.

#### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Hamed has been deeply influenced by his family traditions. His father, Wahid Hamed, whose Ramadan television series routinely launch public debates, adapted the book *Imarat Ya'qubian* as a screenplay for his son to direct. While such nepotism has aided Hamed in his career, his own personal talent and ability to acutely observe and address the problems of modern Egyptian society are the true foundations of his success. Hamed's teachers at Cairo Graduate Film Institute, which has rich traditions of theory, practice, and research, also greatly influenced him. The technical knowledge Hamed received in this school paved a way to his success.

As the director of *Imarat Ya'qubian*, Hamed has contributed greatly to the realistic genre of filmmaking in Egypt, paving the way for future filmmakers to create similarly uncompromising portraits of the pains and problems within that country's society. Moreover, this film broke with the Egyptian film tradition of focusing on one main character only; the ensemble cast included many famous Egyptian actors such as Adel Imam, Nour El-Sherif, Yousra, Isaad Younis, Ahmed Bedeir, Hind Sabry, and Khaled El Sawy. It is widely believed that Hamed's films are perfect proof of his commitment to the art of screen.

#### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

Global perceptions of Hamed's films, especially *Imarat Ya'qubian*, are positive. In addressing his country's dramatic realities, Hamed is one of many international directors who have been regarded as human rights activists. His film *Imarat Ya'qubian* has become one of the most popular and most debated films in the history of Egypt, with critics, politicians, and ordinary people joining in the discussion. Members of the Egyptian parliament, most notably Mustafa Bakri, have led a censorship campaign against the film, arguing that it defames Egypt by portraying homosexuality, terrorism, and corruption. In fact, the film's criticism of government corruption is so overwhelming that it has been discussed in the nation's

parliament. Throughout such controversies, Hamed has maintained that painful problems should be discussed openly by the public; only when individuals no longer deny the existence of corruption and strife will they then find solutions to those same social ills.

#### LEGACY

It is too early to evaluate Hamed's ultimate legacy, as he has produced only one feature film to date. However, this same film indicates that Hamed will continue to be a force within Egyptian film in the future.

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*Adil M. Asgarov*

## HAMIDI, IBRAHIM (1969–)

Syrian journalist Ibrahim Hamidi (also Humaydi) is the Damascus-based correspondent for the London-based daily *al-Hayat* newspaper. He has covered a variety of issues related to Syria on the regional and international level, including the grooming and early years of President BASHAR AL-ASAD's rule in Syria, and the Iraq War.

#### PERSONAL HISTORY

Hamidi was born to an impoverished family in a small Syrian village in the northern district of Idlib in March 1969. His father, a truck driver, died in a car accident when Hamidi was only three years old, leaving Hamidi in the care of his young mother.

Hamidi spent his entire childhood living off donations from more well-to-do families in the neighborhood. He has stated that he does not remember even once wearing new clothes during his childhood. The family home had no television, radio, and for a while, no electricity as well. The young Hamidi would sneak up to the home of a rich



## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Ibrahim Hamidi (Humaydi)  
**Birth:** 1969, Idlib district, Syria  
**Family:** Wife: Dima Saadallah Wannus  
**Nationality:** Syrian  
**Education:** B.A., Faculty of Journalism at the University of Damascus

## PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1990s and 2000s:** Writes for the *al-Wasat* magazine (London), the *Daily Star* (Beirut), and LBC Satellite Television (Beirut)
- **1991–present:** Correspondent for *al-Hayat* daily
- **2002–2003:** Arrested and accused of publishing inaccurate information
- **2005–present:** Research fellow at St. Andrews University

man who had bought a color television in the 1970s to watch its programs through the window.

Completely cut off from the outside world, his first exposure to print journalism came when he saw *Idlib al-Khadra* (*Green Idlib*), a colorless agricultural periodical published by the Revolutionary Youth Union of the Ba'ath Party. It was certainly not the *Times*, but nevertheless, it enchanted the village boy.

## INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Hamidi moved to the Syrian capital in 1986 to study journalism at the University of Damascus. He lived off a student loan he had obtained, with 285 SP (less than US\$5) per month. From the dull news of *Idlib al-Khadra* he then became a reader of Syria's state-run dailies, *Tishrin*, *al-Ba'ath*, and *al-Thawra*, which, although below average by international standards, were nevertheless a giant improvement for the ambitious young man. They, among other things, started to shape his views about life and politics.

Another influence was his brother, who had studied in France through a scholarship offered by the Ministry of Defense. When visiting on holidays, he brought with him new, foreign, and exciting ideas, such as jeans and alcohol, to the Hamidi household. The family atmosphere was relatively relaxed and democratic: No views were imposed on Hamidi with regard to politics, life, or

religion. He grew up believing in the human being and its power to test, challenge, adopt, or discard any idea in life.

Other influences in his life were his two teachers, Adib Khaddur and Abdullah Dardari. The latter, who currently serves as deputy prime minister for Economic Affairs, at the time was teaching English to journalism students at Damascus University. Dardari was also working as correspondent for the London-based daily *al-Hayat* newspaper. Seeing talent in the young Hamidi, he offered him a job at the office of *al-Hayat* to run errands, make coffee for guests, and help out with small editorial work. He was part secretary, part office boy.

With more money in his pockets, Hamidi moved out of the college dorms and rented a home with an Iraqi dissident living in Damascus. Karim al-Abid, now a poet in London, influenced Hamidi's views on Iraq and SADDAM HUSSEIN. His earlier roommates in college were Kurds, who also made Hamidi sympathetic with Kurdish aspirations. In November 1993, Dardari decided to join the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and hunt for a new correspondent for *al-Hayat*. The obvious choice was Hamidi. Overnight, Hamidi's salary was increased from 1,500 SP (US\$30) to 25,000 SP (US\$500).

At twenty-four years old, Hamidi made his first trip outside Syria, traveling to attend the newspapers' annual conference in London in September 1994. In July 1996 he covered the Arab League Summit in Cairo and saw President HAFIZ AL-ASAD for the first time. Back then, with no satellite television and barely any Lebanese newspapers coming into Syria, Hamidi became one of the most reliable and readable news sources on Syria.

Sympathetic to the Kurdish movement, he interviewed ABDULLAH ÖCALAN, the Turkish Kurdish leader of the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) who was based in Damascus, along with Iraqi Kurdish leaders MAS'UD BARZANI and JALAL TALABANI, who used to visit Damascus during the years they opposed Saddam Hussein. Many years later in 2007, Hamidi interviewed Talabani again, as president of Iraq, after the U.S. toppling of Saddam Hussein. He also attended the opening of parliament in Iraqi Kurdistan in November 2002.

In 1996 Hamidi traveled to the United States to cover the U.S. presidential elections and saw Bill Clinton in person debating with Robert Dole. He interviewed Palestinian leaders such as Fathi al-Shiqaqi, the head of Islamic Jihad who was assassinated by an Israeli in Malta days after his interview with *al-Hayat*, his successor Ramadan Shallah (who became a good friend of Hamidi), and KHALID MASH'AL, the head of the political bureau of Hamas. By 1998 Hamidi was driving a Jaguar—a milestone for the poor boy from Idlib—and meeting heads of state such as

Prime Minister RAFIQ HARIRI of Lebanon, Lebanese Parliament speaker Nabih Berri, Lebanese president EMILE LAHOUD, French president Jacques Chirac, Iranian president Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani, Turkish president AHMET NECDET SEZER, Turkish prime minister Recep TAYYIP ERDOGAN, deputy Iraqi prime minister Tariq Aziz, and Iraqi vice-president Taha Yasin Ramadan al-Jazrawi. He spoke with Palestinian president YASIR ARAFAT, interviewed Arafat's prime minister MAHMUD ABBAS in 2003, and met with the Iranian supreme leader, Ayatollah ALI KHAMENEHI in Tehran in 1999. In January 2000, he covered the Syrian-Israeli peace talks in Shepherdstown, West Virginia, and saw President Clinton (for the second time), Secretary of State Madeline Albright, and Israeli prime minister Ehud Barak.

### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

The Syrian-Israeli peace talks in Shepherdstown proved controversial for Hamidi. When he outlined his vision of how the working document would look, it appeared dangerously similar to the actual document. The Israeli press immediately pursued the story, saying that Hamidi had leaked the information under orders from the Syrians. The Syrian team, on the other hand, accused him of leaking it through information obtained from the Israelis. The talks, code-named mushroom diplomacy, were supposed to be strictly confidential and allowed to grow—similar to mushrooms—in darkness.

Hamidi found a way out of this predicament via an unexpected benefactor. At the time, Hamidi had started to cover in *al-Hayat* the rise of Bashar al-Asad, who had recently returned from Great Britain in anticipation of eventually ascending to the presidency following his father's death. A senior Syrian official close to Asad contacted Hamidi and asked him for clarifications regarding what actually had happened at Shepherdstown. Hamidi recounted the entire story, which Asad believed and backed. The young Asad even granted him an interview—the first to an Arab newspaper before becoming president, in 1995, regarding the Internet and how Syria can make use of it.

Hamidi went on to cover the Hafiz al-Asad–Bill Clinton Summit in Geneva in March 2000, the death of the Syrian leader in June 2000, and the early months of the leader's son Bashar's tenure as president. Among other events, Hamidi traveled with the new president Bashar al-Asad to Ankara and Madrid in 2004, Moscow in 2005, and Riyadh, for the latest Arab Summit, in March 2007.

Hamidi generated controversy again in December 2002, this time being arrested for publishing inaccurate information regarding Syria's preparations for the Iraq War of 2003. He remained in jail from 23 December 2002 until 25 May 2003, released on bail after the war ended, then put on trial and declared innocent.

### LEGACY

In looking back at the past twenty years of his life, Hamidi said in an interview with the author in Damascus on 5 April 2007: "It's funny, and people might not believe me. But I hated everything I did. I never wanted to come to Damascus. I did. I never wanted to work as a journalist. I did. I never wanted to get immersed in politics. I did. I never wanted to become a part of high society. I also did. I never wanted this job but have been doing it for the past seventeen years." When asked about his idol figure in life, he replied, without hesitation, Nelson Mandela.

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*Sami Moubayed*

## HANIYEH, ISMAIL (1962–)

Ismail Abd al-Salam Haniyeh (Isma'īl Haniyya, Hanieh) is a high-ranking official in the Palestinian organization Hamas. He became the prime minister of the Palestinian Authority in February 2006.

### PERSONAL HISTORY

Haniyeh was born in 1962 (some sources say January 1963) in the Shati ("Beach") Refugee camp in Gaza to Palestinian Muslim Arab parents displaced from their village of al-Jura, Palestine, during the Arab-Israeli war of 1948. Israel refused to allow most of the more than seven hundred thousand Palestinian refugees from the war to return to their homes after hostilities ended, and Haniyeh and his family were forced into permanent exile. They lived on food rations provided by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) for Palestine Refugees in the Near East, and he attended UNRWA schools as a youth.

While attending the Islamic University of Gaza starting in 1981, Haniyeh was active in the Islamic Bloc, which was associated with the Muslim Brotherhood. He was a member of the Student Council from 1983, and in 1985–1986 served as its elected chair. Haniyeh became a close associate of AHMAD YASIN, the spiritual head of the Muslim Brotherhood and later of Hamas, of which Haniyeh became an early member in 1988. Israeli military authorities, who had governed Gaza since June 1967, briefly arrested him that year, rearrested him for six months in 1988, and then in May 1989 arrested him again and sentenced him to three years' imprisonment.

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Ismail Abd al-Salam Haniyeh (Isma'il Haniyya, Hanich)

**Birth:** 1962 or 1963, Shati ("Beach") Refugee Camp, Gaza

**Family:** Wife, twelve children

**Nationality:** Palestinian

**Education:** B.A., M.A., Islamic University of Gaza

### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1983:** Joins Student Council, Islamic University of Gaza
- **1988:** Joins Hamas
- **1989:** Sentenced to three years in prison by Israel occupation authorities in Gaza
- **1992:** Deported by Israel to southern Lebanon
- **1993:** Returns to Gaza, appointed dean of Islamic University of Gaza
- **1998:** Becomes office manager and aide to Ahmad Yasin
- **2003:** Survives Israeli assassination attempt
- **2006:** 21 February becomes prime minister of the Palestinian Authority

Haniyeh was one of 415 Palestinian activists deported by Israel to southern Lebanon in December 1992.

After Israel allowed his return to Gaza in 1993, Haniyeh was appointed dean of the Islamic University of Gaza. He also served as secretary of the university's board of trustees. In 1998, the year after the wheelchair-bound Yasin's release from an Israeli prison, Haniyeh became his office manager and aide. By that time, most of Gaza was under the control of the Palestinian Authority (PA). Haniyeh became Hamas's main administrator in Gaza, and in September 2003, survived an Israeli air strike on a building where Hamas leaders were meeting. The Israelis later succeeded in killing the top two figures in Hamas with helicopter missile strikes: Yasin in March 2004, and Abd al-Aziz Rantisi in April 2004. As a result, Haniyeh became the movement's key figure in Gaza.

Hamas decided to end its boycott of the PA's Palestinian Legislative Council and compete in the January 2006 elections, a decision reportedly made at the urging of Haniyeh and other Hamas pragmatists. Haniyeh

headed the Hamas electoral list, formally called the List for Change and Reform. The list won a stunning victory, defeating its secular rival al-Fatah, which had dominated Palestinian politics for decades. While many around the world interpreted Hamas's victory as a hard-line rejection of the peace process, Hamas's reputation for honesty also garnered it considerable support from a Palestinian electorate tired of Fatah's corrupt leaders and dictatorial style of governing. Hamas's long record of providing public services helped it as well. Hamas submitted Haniyeh's nomination for the post of prime minister to PA President MAHMUD ABBAS, and on 21 February 2006, Haniyeh formally assumed the office. He immediately announced that he would decline most of his \$4,000 monthly salary because he and his family could live on only \$1,500.

Hamas's victory presented a number of challenges to Haniyeh and the PA government in general. The United States, Israel, and other parties cut off ties with the PA because they considered Hamas a terrorist organization unfit to govern and play a role in the peace process. They demanded that Hamas recognize Israel and halt all violence as a condition for inclusion in future talks. For their part, Abbas and Fatah grudgingly accepted their Hamas rival into the government. However, the cutoff of international aid to the PA led to serious economic problems for Palestinians living in its territory. Worsening this was Hamas's abduction of an Israeli soldier in June 2006, which led to fierce Israeli attacks in Gaza, including an air strike on Haniyeh's office the following month. Beyond all this, the rivalry between Hamas and Fatah degenerated into full-scale battles during the second half of 2006. So serious did these clashes become that in December 2006, Haniyeh himself and his bodyguards came under fire after they crossed the border from Egypt into Gaza.

Haniyeh met with Abbas in hopes of finding a political solution that would end the internecine fighting, and that would end the PA's international isolation. The two men agreed in September 2006 to create a Hamas-Fatah national unity government in the Palestinian Legislative Council to replace the reigning Hamas-led government. But the two sides disagreed on the composition of the new government, and intra-Palestinian fighting continued. In March 2007, the two sides finally reached an agreement and formed a unity government.

### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Haniyeh's background as a refugee certainly shaped his worldview and his hard-line commitment to resist Israel. The 1948 War saw the state of Israel created on 77 percent of Palestine. Israel later conquered the remaining 23 percent (the West Bank and Gaza) in 1967. The Oslo peace process begun by Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) in 1993 involved negotiations

## CONTEMPORARIES

Abd al-Aziz Rantisi (1947–2004) was a leading figure in Hamas. He was born to a Muslim Arab family in Yibna, Palestine, but as an infant became a refugee along with his family during the 1948 War, and grew up in Gaza. After completing medical studies at Alexandria University in Egypt in 1971, he practiced medicine in Gaza and was head of pediatrics at Khan Yunis Hospital until dismissed by Israeli occupation authorities in 1983. After that he lectured at the Islamic University of Gaza and practiced in clinics.

Rantisi was associated with the Muslim Brotherhood, and helped establish the Islamic Center in Gaza in 1973 along with Ahmad Yasin, the brotherhood's senior leader. After formation of Hamas in 1988, Rantisi became one of its main figures. He effectively ran the organization after the Israelis imprisoned Yasin in May 1989. Rantisi himself was imprisoned and eventually deported to southern Lebanon in December 1992 along with 414 other Islamic militants. He became the deportees' spokesman, and gained international media exposure as a result. Although they allowed him to return, the Israelis again imprisoned him from December 1993 until April 1997. By that time, most of Gaza was under the control of the Palestinian Authority, which itself jailed Rantisi on several occasions thereafter.

Rantisi became Hamas's leader in Gaza after the Israelis killed Yasin in a helicopter missile attack in March 2004. The Israelis assassinated Rantisi and two others, including his son, in a similar missile attack a few weeks later on 17 April 2004, as they rode in a car in Gaza.

over what percentage of that 23 percent of Palestine would end up becoming a self-governing Palestinian entity. For 1948 refugees such as Haniyeh, the Oslo process therefore did not satisfy what they had been demanding for decades: repatriation (the "right of return") to their original homes in what now was Israel. A substitute Palestinian homeland somewhere in Gaza and the West Bank was no substitute. Hamas activists such as Haniyeh therefore refused to concede the loss of any of historic Palestine, let alone more than three-quarters of it.

Such activists also argued that only force could end Israel's occupation of Gaza and the West Bank. For them it was only the militancy of Islamic activists like those in Hamas during the first intifada (1987–1991) and the second (started in 2000), not peaceful diplomacy, which forced Israel into negotiations. The attacks on Israeli forces occupying southern Lebanon by the Lebanese group Hizbullah, that prompted an Israeli withdrawal in 2000, only added to this conviction.

A final influence on Hamas activists such as Haniyeh was the perceived bankruptcy of the secular PLO. They understood it to be corrupt, and a failure for having given up armed struggle in return for a peace process that had not worked.

## WHICH ISRAEL SHOULD WE RECOGNIZE?

We are surprised that such conditions [that Hamas recognize Israel] are imposed on us. Why don't they direct such conditions and questions to Israel? Has Israel respected their agreements? Israel has bypassed practically all agreements. We say: Let Israel recognize the legitimate rights of the Palestinians first and then we will have a position regarding this. Which Israel should we recognize? The Israel of 1917; the Israel of 1936; the Israel of 1948; the Israel of 1956; or the Israel of 1967? Which borders and which Israel? Israel has to recognize first the Palestinian state and its borders. At least then we will know what we are talking about.

(WEYMOUTH, LALLY. "NOT LOVERS OF BLOOD."  
NEWSWEEK, 26 FEBRUARY 2006.)

Hamas has been freely elected. Our people have given us their confidence and we pledge to defend their rights and do our best to run their affairs through good governance. If we are boycotted in spite of this democratic choice—as we have been by the US and some of its allies—we will persist, and our friends have pledged to fill the gap [in financial contributions]. We have confidence in the peoples of the world, record numbers of whom identify with our struggle. This is a good time for peace-making—if the world wants peace.

(HANIYEH, ISMAIL. "A JUST PEACE OR NO PEACE."  
GUARDIAN, 31 MARCH 2006.)

THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

Like so much else about the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, international opinion about Haniyeh varies according to the ideological predisposition of those making the judgment. Many in the United States and Israel denounce Haniyeh as the most senior representative in the Palestinian territories of a movement they consider a bloody terrorist organization. For many Palestinians in Gaza, he is viewed as an honest and sincere pragmatist heading a democratically elected parliament—a rarity in the Middle East—and a senior figure in what they see as a liberation movement. Haniyeh also gained a reputation among Palestinians as a tough-talking, but nevertheless straight-talking politician who lived among and listened to his refugee constituents, rather than just talking at them.

LEGACY

It remains too early to assess Haniyeh's legacy. But the simple fact of his becoming the first non-Fatah prime minister of the PA, and the first representative of a Hamas-led government elected by the PA electorate, is enough to earn him a place in the history books.

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Michael R. Fischbach

HANNOUN, LOUISA (1954–)

Algerian politician, political activist, and feminist Louisa Hannoun (Luiza Hanoune, Hanoun, Hannun) came to prominence with the political opening allowed by the Algerian government's ruling party, the Front de Libération Nationale (FLN; National Liberation Front), in the late 1980s. In 2004 she became the first female candidate for president in the Arab world. Head of the Trotskyite Parti des Travailleurs (PT; Workers' Party), she is respected by many in Algeria and the world for her

BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Louisa Hannoun (Luiza Hanoune, Hanoun, Hannun)  
**Birth:** 1954, near Chefka, Algeria  
**Family:** Unmarried  
**Nationality:** Algerian  
**Education:** Law, University of Annaba, Algeria, 1979

PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1970s:** Founding member, Socialist Organization of Workers and Algerian League of Human Rights
- **1980s:** Arrested in 1983 and 1988 for opposing the government's single-party system
- **1989:** Founds Workers' Party
- **1990s:** Chair and spokesperson, Workers' Party
- **2004:** First Arab woman presidential candidate

efforts to moderate the military's harsh response to the Islamist wins at the polls in 1991, and to push for a truly multiparty democratic political process to include all factions and allow freedom of opinion and expression.

PERSONAL HISTORY

Hannoun was born in 1954 in the *douar* (a small village of related families, common in North Africa) of Irdjana, near the town of Chefka, in the mountainous northeastern Kabyle region of Algeria. The Kabyle is an ethnically distinct, Tamazight (Berber language) -speaking region that has traditionally been the site of resistance to Arabization and most recently of political mobilization for regional autonomy. Born on the eve of the Algerian revolution against French colonial rule, which achieved independence from France in 1962, Hannoun witnessed the destruction of her family's home during the war when she was five years old. This prompted the family to move to Annaba, a city on the Mediterranean coast, where she became the first girl in her family to attend school.

She continued her studies and completed her high school diploma despite the persistent opposition of her father. Algerian society was strongly patriarchal, and since girls were destined to become wives and mothers, there was no perceived need for their formal education. While the enrollment of girls in school increased after the revolution, it still took the support of the rest of Hannoun's

family for her to remain in school each year; eventually she became estranged from her father when she entered the University of Annaba to study law in 1975.

It was in the 1970s at the university where she first became politically involved in the struggle for women's rights and equality in Algeria. With other women she fought the official organization for women, the Union Nationale des Femmes Algériennes (UNFA; National Union of Algerian Women), an agency of the FLN that paid lip service to women's rights but effectively upheld the status quo. In 1980 Hannoun moved to the capital city of Algiers, just in time for the growing protests against the FLN government's push to implement a set of laws called the Family Code, which codified women's second-class status, based on Islamic law. Despite the protesters' efforts the code was passed in 1984. The protests were significant, however, in catching the nation's attention and bringing the topic of women's rights into the public sphere.

Hannoun had already become involved in labor concerns at the airport of Annaba, which was her place of employment after high school, and at the university she was involved with unions to press the government for workers' rights and a multiparty political system. In Algiers in 1981 she joined the illegal Organisation Socialiste des Travailleurs (OST; Socialist Organization of Workers), and it was as a result of this association that in 1983 she was arrested and held for six months for distributing "traitorous" material. In 1985 she established, with others, the Algerian League of Human Rights, the first such organization in Algeria. As she has throughout her struggles for women's and workers' rights, Hannoun sought to frame them in the broader context of human rights and democracy.

In 1988 she was arrested again, accused of fomenting the riots in October of that year. The riots had provoked a crackdown by the government, with many jailed and tortured. She was released after several days, and continued to work with colleagues pressing for the end of single-party rule and the legalization of political opposition. The following year, 1989, the FLN legalized opposition parties and organizations. Hannoun was one of the founding members of one of the new political parties, the PT, based on the previously outlawed organization, the OST. As with the OST, the PT's political platform was Trotskyite in orientation (of the radical, non-Stalinist, socialist left), focusing on workers' rights and opposing control of the Algerian economy by foreign corporations and international organizations that support capitalist globalization, such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

The pluralistic multiparty system was short-lived, however. The main Islamist party (advocating a central

role for religion in the state and society), the Front Islamique du Salut (FIS; Islamic Salvation Front), won the local elections in 1991. The electoral success of the FIS was feared by many, including the army, which canceled the next round of elections, dissolved the FIS, and removed from office President Chadli Benjedid, who had legalized the multiparty system. The other, non-Islamist, parties were still allowed, however, and Hannoun played a very interesting role in the tragic drama that unfolded between the military-controlled Algerian government and the marginalized and radicalized Islamist factions.

Hannoun opposed the actions of the army and was vocal in her opposition to the cancellation of the elections and the outlawing of FIS, alienating her from many colleagues in the women's movement. Many fellow feminists, including Khalida Messaoudi, a former colleague who had called for the cancellation of the elections after the FIS victories, supported the government's silencing of the Islamic movement in the political arena, viewing the Islamist agenda as antithetical to the struggle for female equality. Islamists, for example, had argued in 1981 that the Family Code did not adhere strictly enough to Islamic law (*shari'a*). Hannoun, however, maintained her position in support of political pluralism, denouncing the suppression of political expression despite her disagreement with Islamist ideology.

Her efforts at a negotiated settlement and national reconciliation with freedom of political association continued, and in 1995 she was one of a small group of Algerian political leaders that met in Rome and called for the reinstatement of the FIS and new open elections. One of the main FIS leaders, Ali Benhaj, was quoted as calling her "the most courageous politician [in French, the word he used meant "male politician"] in Algeria." (Labat, 1995, p. 125)

As leader of the PT during the 1990s and into the 2000s, Hannoun has continued to work on behalf of the party's ideals, as well as to push the army and the government to create a truly multiparty democracy. She has also been involved in multinational conferences and organizations outside of Algeria, such as the communist Open World Conference of Workers, where she opposed the U.S. invasion of Iraq and was active in promoting Iraqi workers' rights. In 2004 Hannoun became the first woman to run as a presidential candidate in the Arab world. She continues to pressure the government for open and fair elections, as well as for policies that preserve Algerian political and economic independence, calling in 2006 for an end to the privatization of the country's hydrocarbon industry, which had been pushed by the economic restructuring plan of the IMF.

## NOTHING IS INEVITABLE

But there is also another indisputable victory—namely that for the first time in Algeria, in Africa and in a Muslim country, an independent workers' party candidate stood for national office, defending the rights of workers and their children, the small farmers, the civil servants, the youth converted in pariahs [*sic*], the disinherited and weakened layers, against the devastating policies of the globalization led by the WTO, the World Bank and the IMF and other institutions for the profit of multinationals—policies which are refracted in the horrors of occupied Iraq and Palestine.

Yes, in this national mobilization campaign that we carried out, the candidate and the militants of the Workers' Party introduced fundamental national questions into the political debate. These questions, both national and international, are directly tied to the terrifying world developments. Our party alerted the Algerian people to the dangers ahead while also establishing that solutions exist [*sic*], that nothing is inevitable from the moment that it is the very existence of human civilization that is at stake.

“DECLARATION OF LOUISA HANOUNE, CANDIDATE OF THE WORKERS PARTY IN ALGERIA IN THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, ON THE RESULTS OF THE ELECTION OF APRIL 8, 2004.” *ILC NEWSLETTER* 75 (20 APRIL 2004). AVAILABLE FROM [HTTP://WWW.OWCINFO.ORG/ILC/NEWS/ILC\\_75.HTML](http://WWW.OWCINFO.ORG/ILC/NEWS/ILC_75.HTML).

### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Hannoun's feminist convictions came out of her experiences growing up in patriarchal Algerian society, and in particular events that happened in her own family. When she was young her older sister was repudiated by her husband (unilateral divorce is allowed for men in Algeria) after giving birth to seven children. Their father's reaction was to blame his daughter and sequester her at home, separated from her children. Witnessing her sister's emotional pain, the young Louisa was shocked by this event, perceiving it as part of the larger society's injustice toward women. Further, her struggle to stay in school against her father's wishes heightened her awareness of the lesser opportunities available to women in Algeria.

Her far-left political ideas were also formed at an early age, influenced first by the ruling FLN itself, which framed the revolution against the French in terms of

overthrowing the oppression of imperialism and bringing equality to Algerian society. In high school in Annaba she reports having had many leftist teachers, from all over the Middle East, who further exposed her to Marxist ideas.

During her university years these perspectives became more integrated. Hannoun entered the public sphere in an era when women were feeling the disappointment of the promise of the revolution for democracy and equality, as it turned into single-party rule reinforcing the patriarchal system. Many women had taken part as fighters in the war against the French, and then faced a return to their second-class social status. Likewise, the socialist ideals expounded by the FLN did not materialize for Algerian workers, whose unions were under government control.

Hannoun's fights for women's and workers' rights were integrated into those of a broad coalition of activists in a struggle for human rights and democracy in Algeria. Besides being a strong female role model, she played a large part in bringing women's issues into the public sphere as an important topic of debate, as well as uniting women's and labor rights into the larger struggle for Algerian democratization.

### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

Hannoun is admired as extremely strong in character to have persisted in her political activities despite working in an arena traditionally reserved for men, particularly in the 1990s when the government and the Islamist radical factions were prosecuting a violent civil war (in which it is estimated that as many as 150,000 to 200,000 people were killed), and many prominent women were murdered. She has also been appreciated as a moderate and rational voice during this polarization, calling continually for negotiations and the toleration of political dissent, and condemning the government's repression of Islamism.

Her Marxist views would win her less support in the early twenty-first century. Her support for the policies of socialist leaders in Latin America, for example, would put her out of favor with those in charge of the strongly capitalist world economy during the era of globalization.

### LEGACY

It is clear that Louisa Hannoun has made a strong impact on Algerian politics, demonstrating how political discourse, even in strong opposition, can take place in a rationally articulated and nonviolent public arena. Her struggle to empower the underdogs of Algerian society, and her ability to rise above her own political ideology in support of a higher purpose, that of a multiparty democracy able to allow all viewpoints, will have a positive

influence if Algerian political culture evolves in the direction of tolerance and political institutions that follow the rule of law.

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Mary Jane C. Parmentier

## HANOCH, SHALOM (1946–)

Israeli rock music icon Shalom Hanoch (Hanokh, Chanoch) is one of the most significant performing artists currently active in the country's popular music scene. As a singer-songwriter and composer, he has been a major force in the Israeli entertainment arena since the end of the 1960s and the influence he exerts over his contemporaries, as well as younger generations, remains potent. He is one of a select group of Israeli pop/rock musicians who have managed to remain relevant to a significant portion of the population while maintaining a distinguished, individual, and sincere artistic profile.

#### PERSONAL HISTORY

Hanoch was born 1 September 1946 at Kibbutz Mishmarot in mandatory Palestine. Immigrants from Eastern Europe, Russia, Latvia, and Lithuania founded the kibbutz, which is situated near Haifa, Israel's third-largest city.

His early music training took the form of compulsory lessons in mandolin and recorder performance, in accordance with the standard kibbutz-movement practice of this period. When he was twelve years old, he taught himself to play the guitar, and wrote his first song, "Laila" ("Night"), by the time he was fourteen.

By the age of sixteen, at which time Hanoch moved to Tel Aviv, he was already a surprisingly mature composer with an independent spirit. A representative song of

### BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Shalom Hanoch (Hanokh, Chanoch)

**Birth:** 1946, Kibbutz Mishmarot, mandatory Palestine

**Family:** Married three times

**Nationality:** Israeli

**Education:** Attended the Beit Zvi School of Dramatic Arts, Tel Aviv

#### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1968:** First commercially released recording of early songs, writes all the melodies for a complete album of Arik Einstein
- **1970:** Joins the Shablul rock band
- **1974:** Founds the Tamuz rock band
- **1976:** Releases the album *Sof Onat ha-Tapuzim (The End of the Orange Season)*
- **1977:** Releases first solo album *Adam Betoch Etzmo (A Man within Himself)*
- **1981:** Releases solo album *Hatuna Levana (White Wedding)*
- **1984:** Releases the best-selling album *Mehakim Le'Mashiah (Waiting for the Messiah)*
- **2004:** Receives the Landau Prize for Life Achievement
- **2005:** Performs a series of joint concerts with Shlomo Artzi

his from this period is the perennially popular ballad "Agadat Deshe" ("Tale from the Tall Grass").

Hanoch's early artistic aspiration was to be an actor. At sixteen studied theater at the Bet Zvi School of Dramatic Arts. In 1965, while he was still receiving theatrical training, a commercial recording of his song "Stav" ("Autumn") was released. At the age of nineteen he both received his compulsory military draft notice, and had to audition twice before being accepted to the legendary Lahakat ha-Nahal Entertainment Corps, a group comprised of legitimate soldiers with a mandate to perform in theatrical and musical productions before the troops on the frontlines. Some of the most prominent Israeli musicians, actors, directors, and writers emerged from these troops after receiving intensive training. The so-called golden age of the Entertainment Corps is considered to be from 1950 to 1980.



Hanoch's tour of duty passed relatively uneventfully, and during this time he continued to compose and perform in Tel Aviv clubs where he joined forces with other talented young musicians such as bassist Eli Magen (jazz independent, Israel Philharmonic) and singer-songwriter Hannan Yovel (former Arad Music Festival producer).

After his army service, Hanoch moved back to Tel Aviv and became an important member of Israel's music community there. The year 1968 marked a significant watershed in Hanoch's life: his release from the army, marriage to his first wife, a breakthrough album *Mazal G'di*, and his decision to give up his membership in Kibbutz Mishmarot for good. During this time, Hanoch was extremely prolific; he had an impressive string of popular music hit songs and simultaneously began to collaborate with radical political songwriters such as Yonatan Geffen, Yacov Rothblitt, Meir Ariel, and Uri Zohar. He also took on other projects, such as performing the Hebrew-language cover version of John Lennon's "Give Peace a Chance" with other Israeli artists, including Arik Einstein and Zohar (two of the Israeli music scenes most important artists at that time) in 1969, and became part of the Lool Group, an Israeli music and entertainment group that formed between 1969 and 1970.

In 1970 Hanoch moved to London to try to make a name for himself on the international music scene. However, largely because of the cultural bias involved in popular music, he was not successful in the English-language market.

Throughout Hanoch's time in London he periodically traveled to Israel, visits that helped to reestablish his strong partnership with Einstein as well as reconfirm his validity as an artist. He returned to Israel permanently in 1973.

After his return to Israel, Hanoch formed the band Tamuz (June). The band played together from 1974 through 1976. Their music reflected the somber post-1973 War mood in Israel.

After the band broke up in 1976 for financial reasons, Hanoch released his first Hebrew language solo album, *Adam Betoh Eizmo (A Man within Himself)* in 1977. He remained primarily a solo artist until the mid-1990s, releasing several more albums and going on concert tours. In the mid-1990s, Hanoch made a return to collaborative work and has produced several collaborative and solo efforts since then. He continues to live in Tel Aviv and record at his home studio.

#### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

As a child Hanoch was exposed to music with a strong melodic orientation: classical music, Russian folk songs, gospel-blues, and Broadway musical soundtracks, which

### CONTEMPORARIES

To a large degree, RockFour carries on the legacy of Shalom Hanoch in the pantheon of Israeli rock music. Eli Lulai and Baruch Ben-Itzhak founded the band in the late 1980s in the city of Holon, Israel. The electronic influence of Hanoch's solo album *White Wedding* on RockFour's melodic and psychedelic musical language is significant. The band's musical esthetics are based on 1960s rock music styles (including the use of analogue equipment in its recordings), with Hanoch and his music as role models. Unlike Hanoch, RockFour achieved a measure of international success (due in part to its decision to sing in English) and released a number of albums after signing with the U.S. label Rainbow Quartz around the turn of the millennium. In a nod to its musical roots, the band released the 1996 album *Be'Hazara Le'Shablul (The Return to Shablul)*, which contained cover versions of songs cowritten by Hanoch and the singer Arik Einstein.

perhaps accounts for the dominant role melody has played in his subsequent songwriting.

He began to develop his own musical language when he taught himself to play the guitar at the age of twelve (the result of gift from his father). By fourteen he had already written the music to his first song ("Laila"; "Night"). The kibbutz community provided a ready stage for the young composer and his early attempts at songwriting were met with enthusiasm in his immediate environment.

The period after his release from army service when he relocated to Tel Aviv (long considered to be the unofficial cultural capital of Israel) proved to be a significant influence on his artistic development. There, he was influenced by the popular music of the world, in particular the Beatles and the British invasion.

**Tel Aviv Music Scene, 1967–1973** In the late 1960s, the vivid and popular music scene in Tel Aviv gravitated between two poles. A conservative line, led by established creators such as Naomi Shemer and Nurit Hirsh, satisfied a general public demand for light, rather trivial entertainment characterized by bittersweet nostalgic melancholy following the postwar euphoria of the 1967 War. At the same time, an alternative music scene was developing.

This burgeoning scene centered on charismatic personalities such as the singer-actor Arik Einstein and the multidisciplinary artist Uri Zohar. These artists searched for means of individual expression through the allied arts of music, theater, and filmmaking.

In tandem with local artistic trends, an open dialogue was established with musical influences from abroad. The contemporary music of the Beatles (and the worldwide British invasion) made a huge impression on Hanoch's generation, in addition to the liberal atmosphere surrounding drug use and sexual mores.

In 1967 the most important artistic collaboration to date in his life occurred when Einstein (at that time already a legendary performer) attended a party where Hanoch performed some of his own songs. Einstein offered him a contract on the spot, and a few weeks later Einstein recorded and released four of Hanoch's songs on a short album (similar to an EP [extended play]) in 1968, the year Hanoch finished his army service.

The synergy between Einstein's unique vocal style and interpretation and Hanoch's compositions marked the beginning of a long, fruitful collaboration and pushed Hanoch (a newcomer) to the forefront of the Israeli 1960s rock music scene. For Einstein's next album *Mazal G'di (Capricorn)*, Hanoch composed all the songs and provided some of the lyrics.

**The Lool Group, 1970** The years 1969 and 1970 marked preliminary attempts by the alternative music scene to establish an Israeli art rock music style. A large group of young, talented writers and performers gravitated during this period toward the charismatic personalities of Einstein and Zohar and established the Lool (Chicken Coop) Performance Group. The buzz on the street was that something fresh and original was emerging from their rehearsal rooms. Lool Group members did not limit themselves to musical activities; they also produced, sang, and acted in a number of popular movies, as well as a radical TV show (the Israeli version of the British TV satire series *Monty Python's Flying Circus*). Once again Hanoch's talent for teamwork was apparent (a predilection that derived from his kibbutz upbringing, which emphasized the importance of the collective).

Over the next few joint albums, 1970s *Shablul (Snail)* and *Plastalina (Playdough)*, Hanoch and Einstein shared equal billing on LPs' front covers. The presence of energetic electric guitars and keyboards dominate these albums, and are representative of the Ramla sound (a distinctive style disseminated by underground bands that migrated to Tel Aviv from the small town of Ramla). The combination of Hanoch's melodic lines, Einstein's rich and expressive voice, and trendy period electric sonorities gave the local popular music some of its most potent and effective moments. The significance and influence of the

Lool Group on popular taste marked a watershed in the history of Israeli rock music.

**Tamuz (June), 1974–1976** During the 1970s, Hanoch's most important contribution to Israel's popular music scene was the founding of the Tamuz rock band. Prior to this, Hanoch had made two unsuccessful attempts to reenter the existing scene after his return from London. The more interesting effort was an initiative to reestablish his partnership with Einstein and the Churchills rock band. They were scheduled to open a week after the 1973 Yom Kippur high holy day. With the outbreak of the 1973 Arab-Israeli War on that exact day, this proved to be an inauspicious time for new musical ventures in light of the lingering havoc the war wreaked on the state's economy and tiny entertainment market.

In the midst of a new collaboration with the songwriter-pianist Mati Caspi, Hanoch met pianist and singer-songwriter Ariel Zilber, who would become his new stage partner for a while. The stage was set for the founding of Tamuz.

As a result of the 1973 War, Israel went through an intense period of self-examination on many different levels. Popular anger and frustration surfaced, and the resulting grassroots protest movement forced the government to admit to some of its faults. Prewar musical styles, conventions, and trends were determined to be no longer relevant, and there was a real need to forge new musical styles.

The spirit of Tamuz reflected the new and somber postwar atmosphere in Israel: Hanoch and lead singer Ariel Zilber were fresh from failed attempts to infiltrate the international music scene, guitarist Yehuda Eder and bassist Eitan Gidron were newly released from the army, and drummer Meir Israel was looking for new ventures after some success in the local underground rock scene.

Tamuz became a major entity in Israel's popular music scene. Within the group, Hanoch was its main creator; he wrote most of its songs and experimented with hard-rock musical-aesthetics for the first time. During this time Hanoch met two influential musicians: personal manager Michael Tapuach and musical producer Louie Lahav.

Lahav (recently having worked with Bruce Springsteen) immediately upgraded the musical level of the band. He made Tamuz's songs longer, heavier, and more energetic than the usual Israeli style. He developed a direct, expressive, and rough musical aesthetic, and a unique meeting of minds between a former kibbutz melodist and a hard-rock producer from the heart of the American music industry was created.

Tamuz's first album, *Sof Onat ha-Tapuzim (The End of the Orange Season)*, was released in 1976, followed by a successful supporting tour throughout the country. Once

again Hanoch's ability to adjust to a new musical environment and to constantly develop was proven. One might even conclude that Hanoch is stimulated constantly by challenging his materials with nonobvious surroundings; his selection of producers, at any given point in his career, has made him adjust to a new and more progressive musical style.

Hanoch and Lahav soon found common musical language and for a while the rough, abstract style of production and arranging became a trademark of Hanoch's sound. Loud music, long guitar and drums solos, and screaming and eccentric stage performances introduced a new, revamped Hanoch to the Israeli public.

The Israeli entertainment market was too small to sustain Tamuz financially, however, and the band broke up in 1976.

**First Solo Album** Hanoch kept his professional ties with Lahav and in 1977 Hanoch released his first Hebrew language solo album, *Adam Betoch Etzmo*. Working for the first time in his long career outside the framework of a group or backup band was a significant stage in Hanoch's life. The album was somber, introverted, sad, and produced in a softer way at the request of Hanoch who stated to the *Maariv* newspaper: "You play rock music with a band and I wanted to be more personal."

Following the album's release, Hanoch began a successful tour that climaxed in the two Neviot (Nueba) Woodstock-oriented festivals of 1977 and 1978. The successes of the upbeat songs in the show convinced Hanoch to include more of these numbers in his act. In 1979, and now in top form, Hanoch rejoined Einstein for a short and successful reunion tour.

***Hatuna Levana (White Wedding)*** The next solo album of Hanoch was released in November 1981. By that time Hanoch had performed in small clubs and assisted in the publication of his first songbook. In an interview with Israeli television he declared:

My later songs are more mature. Maturity comes with a certain kind of commitment and responsibility, and for me that means a much more exposed self on stage and in the recording studio. Today I am much closer to rock and roll. Rock and roll is not only a musical style, it's a way of life. The key point is minimalism; clarity and minimalism.

In November 1981, *Hatuna Levana (White Wedding)*, a concept album of songs closely tied together around a tale of broken marriage, was released. The heavy sound and dense arrangements made the album radical and difficult listening for its time. With his constant drive to challenge himself and progress, Hanoch engaged Yaroslav Jaacobowits, a saxophone player and arranger

who immigrated to Israel from Czechoslovakia. The show that followed the release of the record was bombastic. It was the first of its kind in Israel and Hanoch's talents as a performer were clear to all. After fourteen years of a successful career, Hanoch performed solo on stage for the first time. Both the album and the tour that followed failed commercially. It took a while for the public to accept the noncompromising, somber, and rough Hanoch. As time passed, the importance of *Hatuna Levana* was recognized, and it is now considered to be a milestone in the history of Israeli rock. This album also marks the beginning of a long collaboration between Hanoch and keyboardist-arranger Moshe Levy, a partnership that has lasted up to the early twenty-first century.

***Mehakim Le'Mashiah (Waiting for the Messiah)*** In 1984 (after a softer, mellower album *Al P'nei ha-Adama* was produced by Levi and Hanoch), Hanoch recorded his most successful album, *Mehakim Le'Mashiah*, which sold over seventy thousand copies, an enormous number by Israeli standards. This album made an impact, partly because it contained what many believed to be an interesting reflection of the atmosphere at this time. In 1985 growing numbers of Israelis felt that the army should withdraw from Lebanon, that the ugly face of commercialism was dominating, and that the individual's voice was not being heard. Hanoch's album dealt with these issues, while drawing a delicate analysis between his private world (the disintegration of his marriage) and the political situation in Israel. The lyrics for one song in particular, "He Who Doesn't Stop at a Red Light" ("Lo Otzer Be'Adom") were believed to have been inspired by the personality of then-General ARIEL SHARON. Following the album's release, Hanoch developed a new kind of a megashow. For the first time, an Israeli artist performed a limited number of concerts in stadiums and parks. In spite of all the financial risks, twenty-eight megashows took place in the course of two years.

***Rak Ben Adam (Only Human)*** In 1987 Hanoch produced what is considered to be his most hard-rock flavored show, *Rak Ben Adam*. With a band composed of his faithful partner Levi and three American players, Hanoch's intention was to change his musical environment, and give his music a fresh interpretation.

He also departed from normal practice by playing the new material in public prior to its radio premiere. The touring shows, as well as the disk, failed commercially and reviews were lukewarm. Lihi Hanoch's film (*Performance Tour '88*), documenting her ex-husband's tour, turned into a box-office fiasco as well.

The year 1991 saw a stylistic turnaround in the release *Ba'Gilgul Haze'eh (In This Incarnation)*, a soft and

mellow disk that was produced by Levi. The following year Hanoch produced a new touring show consisting mainly of unplugged cover versions of his own materials.

In 1995 a new album, *Alimut (Violence)*, was released. It contained heavy, depressing songs foreshadowing the violence that resulted in the assassination of Prime Minister YITZHAK RABIN in the same year. In a departure from habit, this new disk was not followed by a performing tour. Hanoch joined forces once again with Lahav in 1997 to produce the album *Erev, Erev (Night after Night)* and no performances followed this release, as well.

Over the next several years, Hanoch took a break from solo recording and turned to collaborative projects, such as composing the album *Muscat for Einstein* (1999) and producing a memorial album of previously unpublished songs by mentor and fellow composer Ariel (2002).

In 2003 he released a new solo album *Or Yisra'eli (Israeli Light)* backed up by Monica Sex (one of Israel's leading electro-rock bands). This was considered to be a bold statement, as the difference in age between Hanoch and the band members spanned several decades; a refreshing affirmation of his support of the young generation. One song from the album ("Prime Minister") directly criticized the policies of then-Prime Minister Sharon.

The following solo album, *Yitzi'ah (Exit)*, released in February 2004, was produced by Hanoch and Levi from a live concert and instantly sold over twenty thousand copies.

In the summer of 2005 Hanoch joined forces for the first time with veteran singer Shlomo Artzi for a series of joint concerts (Hitkhavrut; Coming Together), which was an enormous commercial success.

#### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

Hanoch is seen as an important Israeli artist, but his work has not necessarily translated well to other cultures. In 1970, buoyed by his success in Israel, Hanoch moved to London with his wife Lihi, determined to establish an identity on international music scene. The transition proved difficult for the former kibbutz member, who was on his own for the first time in a foreign country. Due in part to efforts by Lihi, British producer Dick James (an associate of the renowned producer George Martin as well as publisher of the catalogs of Elton John and the Beatles) offered Hanoch a contract. James took the young Israeli under its patronage, paying him a monthly salary and producing his first international album *Shalom* (1971). This album combined older translated songs from Hanoch's Israeli period with new material composed after his move to London. It was produced by Kay Kaplan with arrangements by Robert Kirby (who later worked with Elvis Costello) and employed some of

London's top studio players. *Shalom* represented a curious mix of American country music and British rock in the style of Cat Stevens and Elton John; lack of sales prompted the termination of Hanoch's contract with James. Further attempts to negotiate contracts in Britain and France were unsuccessful. Considering that popular music usually has a cultural bias, his failure to crossover into the English-language market was not surprising. When he moved back to Israel in 1973, Hanoch said in an interview with the *Maariv* daily newspaper that, "in order to succeed abroad one needs to become a member of the new society. You can live a hundred years in England and remain a foreigner."

#### LEGACY

Hanoch has had an important role in Israeli popular music since 1960. He will be remembered as one of the fathers of modern Israeli popular music, having helped establish its unique flavor over the course of his long career.

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Oded Zehavi

## HARBI, MOHAMED (1933–)

Mohamed (also Muhammad, Mohammed) Harbi is an Algerian historian who was a prominent member of the National Liberation Front of Algeria (Jabhat al-Tahrir al-Watani), often referred to by its French title Front de Libération Nationale (FLN). After Algeria achieved its independence in 1962, Harbi served at the cabinet of the Algerian president Ahmad Ben Bella. In 1965 when army strongman Houari Boumédiène overthrew Ben Bella and seized the power in Algeria, Harbi was first placed under arrest and then transferred to jail. Having managed to escape in 1973, Harbi made his way to France where he started teaching political science and history at the University of Paris. In 1975, he published a fundamental book on the history of the Algerian independence movement and the history of the FLN.

#### PERSONAL HISTORY

Harbi was born on 16 June 1933 into a wealthy family in el-Arraouch, Algeria. His father Brahimi Harbi was a secular-minded person who stood up against religious

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Mohamed (Muhammad, Mohammed) Harbi

**Birth:** 1933, el-Arraouch, Algeria

**Nationality:** Algerian

**Education:** Sorbonne University, History Department

### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1954–1962:** Member of FLN, participates in different underground activities in France to support the national independence movement in Algeria
- **1956:** Starts working at the propaganda department of the FLN
- **1957:** Becomes the chief of the Information Service of the FLN in France
- **1958:** Leaves for Egypt in order to assume a cabinet position at the Provisional Government of the Republic of Algeria (GPRA)
- **1961:** Participates in the Evian negotiations between Algeria and France; Tours Africa in order to rally a support for the Algerian independence
- **1962–1965:** Serves as adviser to President Ahmad Ben Bella of independent Algeria
- **1963–1964:** Works as the editor of the magazine *Revolution Africaine*
- **1965:** Placed under arrest after Ben Bella's overthrow and two months later transferred to jail
- **1971:** Released from jail, but placed under house arrest. Begins writing *The History of the FLN*, which he would publish after his escape from captivity
- **1973:** Escapes to Tunisia, and from there moves to France
- **1974:** Starts teaching political science at the University of Paris
- **1975:** Publishes *The History of the FLN*
- **1975–present:** Coauthors a number of books and articles; provides numerous comments and lectures regarding Algerian history and politics

traditionalism and embraced liberal values. His father's character, as well as his high school teacher Pierre Souyri, an anti-Stalinist Marxist who participated in the anti-Nazi French Resistance movement, played a great role in the

formation of Harbi's vision of the world. For the rest of his life, Harbi was a libertarian socialist, which put him at odds with the majority of the Algerian political elite, either secular authoritarians or religious traditionalists. Mohamed's father Brahimi was wealthy enough to pay attention to the education of all seven of his children and shortly after reaching school age Mohamed was put into a French-speaking school in Skikda, a city in the northeastern part of Algeria.

In his memoirs Mohamed Harbi notes that his childhood coincided with the years of national awakening and even though he did not attend the mosques and *madrassa* (a religious Muslim school) on a regular basis, he felt a clear distinction of his identity.

The French colonized Algeria starting in 1830. Although the massacres of 1945, carried out by the French army in Setif and Guelma against anti-French Algerian rebels, had little resonance in Skikda and el-Arraouch, these events contributed to the formation of a distinct Algerian identity all over the country. In the first volume of his memoirs, Harbi wrote, "I was an Arab and Muslim. I became also an Algerian. And from now on, the lessons of history taught at the French school were to slip on me as the water slips on a swan."

In 1948, at the age of fifteen, Harbi joined the anti-French Front de Libération Nationale (FLN) and got involved in its underground activities in France, gathering support for the independence movement in Algeria. In 1953 Harbi entered the university of the Sorbonne in France and started studying history. While a student, he was elected to the position of the chairman of the North African Muslim Students (AEMNA). During his years at the university Harbi established contacts with various leftist youth organizations and some of his friends—notably Daniel Guérin—heavily influenced his thoughts, engraving Marxist and libertarian orientation in his ideological outlook. As time passed Harbi grew disillusioned with his Marxist friends in France. He later wrote in his memoirs: "I became one of the commercial travelers of the Algerian nationalism near the French left. I realized then what a little place the anti-colonialism occupied in their minds."

While studying in France and participating in clandestine activities of the FLN, Harbi became acquainted with his first wife Gilberte Paignon, and fathered a child with her.

The Algerian community was strong and influential in France, and its support for the independence movement was so significant that the FLN had to compete with another Algerian nationalist movement, called the Algerian People's Party (better known with its French abbreviation PPN, Parti du Peuple Algerien). The PPN was established in France with the help of the French

Communist Party, led by Messali Hadj, and was supported mainly by the Algerians living in France, rather than the Algerians living in Algeria. Harbi's career at the FLN coincided with the period when it bitterly competed with the PPN, which led to café wars in France, accompanied by gang-style assassinations of each other's supporters and street fights between members of the two organizations, causing about five thousand deaths across France.

#### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Harbi made a rapid career in the structures of the FLN. He held different leadership positions in the FLN between 1954 and 1962. In 1956 he was forced to go underground and the same year started working in the propaganda department of the FLN. In 1957 he became the head of the Information Service of the FLN in France. He attempted to resume the dialogue with the French leftists of anti-Stalinist (Trotskyist) Marxist orientation. At a later period Harbi amusingly noted that the Trotskyists were confused whether they should support the PPA or FLN, trying to determine which party leader looked more like Leon Trotsky.

In 1958 Harbi left France in order to take a cabinet position with the provisional government of Algeria. Harbi settled down in Egypt and started working from there. He participated in a number of negotiations on the independence of Algeria during this period, beginning with the first round of French-Algerian negotiations in Evian in 1961. The same year he undertook a tour of African countries as a part of the rallying efforts for the independence of Algeria.

In July 1962, when Algeria finally gained its independence, Harbi became one of the close aides and associates of the Algerian leader Ahmad Ben Bella, holding the position of the adviser to the president of Algeria. In 1963 Harbi also took the position of editor at the magazine *Revolution Africaine*, which he kept until 1964. During the initial years of Algerian independence Harbi advocated strongly for internal democracy in the ruling political force and in the political system of the whole country in general.

In 1965, when the emerging military coup became a major issue of concern for the Algerian government, Harbi boldly suggested to the Algerian president Ben Bella that he arm the citizens of the country and stand up against the growing influence of the military. In June of that year Colonel Boumédiène overthrew Ben Bella. Directly thereafter, Harbi was placed under house arrest, and two months later, he was put in jail. The Algerian government kept Harbi in jail for six years without holding any formal trial of his case. In 1971 Harbi was again placed under the house arrest in his hometown of Skikda. During his years under house arrest, he started writing a memoir on the history of the FLN and the

Algerian independence movement. Harbi managed to escape in 1973 to Tunisia, using a false Turkish passport. He then moved from Tunisia to France where he started teaching first political science and later history at the University of Paris.

*The History of the FLN*, Harbi's first book, was published in 1975. His insider story about the Algerian independence movement and the history of the FLN widely differed from the official Algerian version of the events. Famously, he commented on the Algerian political system that "The Algerian government is not a state with an army, but an army with a state." Harbi's book turned him into one of the major enemies of the Algerian government. After the publication of his book, Harbi started receiving death threats from the Algerian secret services, the Algerian Islamic Militants, and the French ultranationalists, who were also dissatisfied with Harbi's interpretation of the political events between 1954 and 1962. Different sources reported multiple attempts on Harbi's life during 1970s. Despite this, Harbi was a successful academician in Paris.

Harbi continues living in France, publishing articles and coauthoring books with French scholars on the political life of Algeria.

#### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

Mohamed Harbi had a significant contribution to analyzing the formation and transformation of the Algerian political system since the time of its establishment. The divide between secularism and religious fundamentalism has been under the focus of his research, illuminating the recent political processes in the end of 1980s and early 1990s. Unlike many scholars of Middle Eastern politics, Harbi maintained the view that the authoritarian secular regime and the opposing religious fundamentalism were as much allies to each other as they were antagonistic enemies. According to Harbi, authoritarian secularism—namely, the Algerian army—and religious fundamentalism managed to squeeze the liberal political forces out of the scene, leaving Algeria with two equally unpleasant options: either follow the secular, but authoritarian, government, or help the fundamentalist opposition acquire political power, which would again result in having an authoritarian government.

#### LEGACY

Shortly after his arrival in France, Harbi established a reputation as a serious expert in Algerian colonial and postcolonial affairs. The interest shown by French academic circles in Harbi and his works could only partially be explained by his insider views of the Algerian independence movement and the FLN. Harbi's adherence to the idea of establishing a secular democratic system in

## CONTEMPORARIES

Algerian political leader, Abbas (1899–1985) briefly served as the acting president of the Algerian government in exile in 1962 and wrote extensively about the political system of Algeria, expressing the liberal viewpoint. Formerly a political integrationist who advocated for the unity of France and Algeria, given that Algerians would enjoy the same rights and status as the French citizens, Abbas grew disillusioned with these ideas and formed a nationalist party with a liberal orientation, the Union Democratique du Manifeste Algerien (Democratic Union of the Algerian Manifest).

During the War of Algeria, Abbas sided with the Front de libération nationale (FLN). As a moderate political leader adhering to liberal values, Abbas became one of the key figures in negotiating the peace agreement with France. He headed the provisional government of Algeria in exile, better known as the GPRA (Gouvernement Provisoire de la République Algérienne) from 1958 to 1962. After being ousted from the presidency of this government, Abbas sided with Ahmad Ben Bella, who later became the president of independent Algeria. However, Abbas's open protests against the establishment of a one-party political regime in Algeria prompted Ben Bella to place him under house arrest in 1964.

Abbas was released from house arrest in 1965, following the overthrow of Ben Bella by Colonel Houari Boumédiène. However, Abbas stood up against the new president of the country as well and was placed back under house arrest in 1976. Abbas was released in 1979 and lived a quiet life, occasionally publishing political essays and comments on Algerian politics, including *Autopsie d'une guerre* (Autopsy of one war; 1980) and *L'indépendance confisquée* (The confiscated independence; 1984). In 1984 he was awarded the Medal of Resistance by the Algerian government.

Algeria and his analyses testing the crisis in the Algerian political system in the late 1980s and early 1990s against the litmus test of the liberal democratic values made his works interesting to many contemporary historians and political scientists dealing with the Middle East and Africa.

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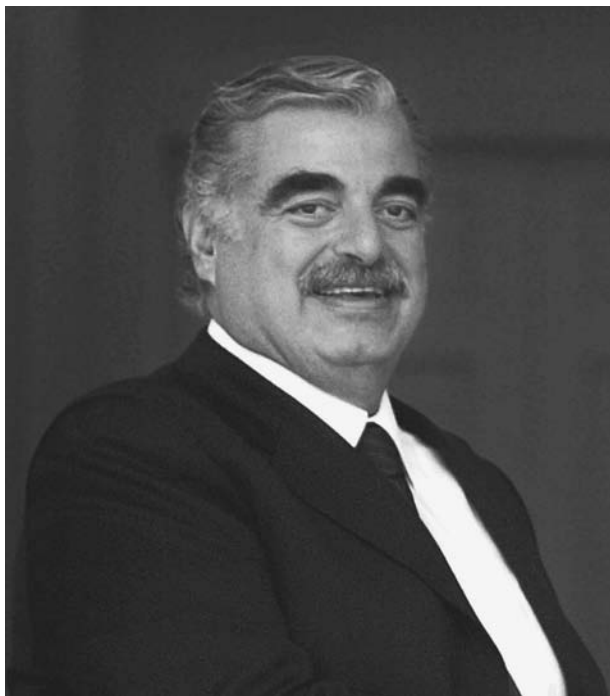
*Adil M. Asgarov*

HARIRI, RAFIQ  
(1944–2005)

Rafiq Baha'eddin Hariri (also Rafik, Rafic Baha al-Din) was a self-made billionaire before rising to lead Lebanon as prime minister during one of the country's most turbulent contemporary periods.

## PERSONAL HISTORY

Hariri was born in Sidon, Lebanon, on 1 November 1944 to a modest Sunni Muslim family. As a young man, he attended elementary and secondary schools in Sidon, and pursued university studies at the Arab University of Beirut, majoring in accounting. While at the university, Hariri married Nida Bustani, an Iraqi classmate who gave him three sons: Baha'a; Hussam (also Husam), who was killed in a car accident while in the United States in 1990; and Sa'd Hariri. He and Bustani later divorced. Similar to many Lebanese in search of fortune, he moved to Saudi Arabia in 1965 to seek stability as well as a better life. Once there he first worked



*Rafiq Hariri.* AP IMAGES.

as an educator, then dabbled in accounting, before quickly starting his business as an entrepreneur. With legendary skills to forge, maintain, and nurture connections, his company built and delivered the Massara hotel in Ta'if, Saudi Arabia ten months after signing a contract, which solidified his reputation as a doer. While in Saudi Arabia, he married his second wife, Nazek Audeh (also Nazik Awda), who gave him two sons, Fahd and Ayman, and a daughter, Hind.

In 1969 Hariri established his own construction company, CICONEST, which reaped the benefit of rising oil prices throughout the 1970s. Hariri accumulated vast amounts of wealth over a short period catering to various Al Sa'ud ruling family requirements—some estimates place the total income generated from this construction business at US\$10 billion over the span of a single decade—and emerged as a powerful construction tycoon. In 1978 Hariri was made a citizen of Saudi Arabia by the Al Sa'ud ruling family as a reward for the high quality of his entrepreneurial services. He acquired the near-bankrupt French Oger company in 1979, founded Oger International in Paris, and expanded his interests to banking, real estate, oil, industry, and telecommunications sectors. With the support of the heir apparent, later King Fahd bin Abd al-Aziz, his desire to serve Lebanon picked up steam, and was sealed by the 1982 Israeli invasion. After that date, Hariri devoted his life to healing his native country's political scars, rebuild-

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Rafiq Hariri (Rafik, Rafic Baha al-Din)

**Birth:** 1944, Sidon, Lebanon

**Death:** 14 February 2005, Beirut, Lebanon

**Family:** First wife, Nida Bustani; sons, Baha'a, Hussam (d. 1990), and Sa'd; second wife, Nazek Audeh; sons, Fahd and Ayman; daughter, Hind

**Nationality:** Lebanese

**Education:** Elementary and secondary schools in Sidon. Worked toward a degree in accounting from the Arab University of Beirut but left without one in 1964. Received several honorary doctorates from: Boston University (1986), Université de Nice (1988), Arab University of Beirut (1994), Georgetown University (1996), University of Ottawa (1997), University of Montreal (1997), American University of Beirut (2003), and Moscow State Institute for International Relations (2003)

### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1965:** Moves to Saudi Arabia, works as a schoolteacher and an accountant
- **1976:** Builds and delivers a hotel in Ta'if within a record ten months
- **1982:** Oger Liban becomes actively involved in the removal of destroyed buildings, the opening of streets and roads littered with roadblocks and sandbags; Participates in Geneva and Lausanne conferences, helps broker initiatives to put an end to the civil war
- **1989:** Drafts the Ta'if Accords in consultation with leading jurists and politicians; succeeds in ending the war and drafting a new compact for Lebanon
- **1992:** Elected prime minister for the first time. Leaves Saudi Arabia
- **1992–1998, 2000–2004:** Leads five cabinets
- **2004:** Assassinated on 14 February

ing and renovating the destruction brought about by the civil war and two foreign occupations (Syria and Israel), and empowering a generation of Lebanese to excel in education. Between 1992 and 2004, he was entrusted



to lead five Lebanese governments as prime minister, though he resigned in 1998 only to be called back in 2000. He also presided over the physical and economic reconstruction of the country after the lengthy and destructive civil war of 1975–1990. Tragically, Hariri was assassinated on 14 February 2005 when explosives destroyed his motorcade as it drove past the famed St. George Hotel—which he coveted, but which escaped his control—in the Lebanese capital.

### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

According to *Forbes*, Hariri became one of the world's richest men sometime in the mid-1980s. By 2005 he ranked as the fourth-richest politician in the world, as the usually well-informed magazine estimated his personal fortune to be around US\$4.3 billion. After his 2005 assassination, however, family members inherited a total of US\$16.7 billion, which raised a basic question: How could \$4.3 billion become \$16.7 billion in the course of a year? Suffice it to say that Hariri accumulated financial interests in a variety of businesses, including the Oger conglomerate (with its various branches), several banks and, after 1993, Solidere, the major company responsible for the reconstruction of the Central District of Beirut. Hariri invested a mere US\$183 million in Solidere, which represented a 10 percent cap per shareholder as required by the company's bylaws. Other family members and associates exercised their own individual rights in similar fashion. Critics highlighted his appetite for news outlets, the al-Mustaqbal (Future) television networks, and leading newspapers throughout the Middle East, along with many other ventures, to emphasize an alleged sense of aggrandizement. Some Lebanese criticized him for abusing his official position to secure all contracts to rebuild Beirut, whereas others alleged that he bankrupted the country to enrich his personal fortune. Nevertheless, it was critical to note that Hariri held over a billion dollars of real estate in France, Britain, the United States, and Lebanon in 1993. Regardless of personal motives, Hariri probably spent more on Lebanon than he ever made there, because his fortune bore an international, especially a Saudi, cachet.

Hariri began his involvement in the political and economic life of Lebanon as a low-key, behind-the-scenes mediator, adviser, and promoter of cease-fires and agreements to end the 1975–1990 civil war. After the 1982 Israeli invasion, he donated US\$12 million to Lebanese victims of the occupation, and channeled his local firm Oger Liban to clean the city of destroyed buildings, opening streets and roads littered with roadblocks and sandbags, with his own resources. Encouraged by Saudi leaders who wished to assist Lebanon, Hariri participated in the Geneva and Lausanne conferences in 1984 to bring about a political reconciliation among warring factions. His greatest contribution was the 1989 broker-

age that assembled leading Lebanese politicians in the Saudi resort city of Ta'if for over three weeks where a new covenant, written by Hariri and Nasri Maalouf, was adopted. That agreement, which succeeded in ending the war, drafted a new power-sharing formula. It was a political contract that laid down the principles of national reconciliation; it is disputed in 2007 primarily by the Shi'ite Hizbullah faction.

Hariri formed his first government on 22 October 1992 when he shouldered huge political, economic, and social responsibilities. After seventeen years of war, Lebanon was scarred with political divisions. Because the economy lay in tatters, the new prime minister took up the challenge of rebuilding, and ushered Lebanon into the postwar era, starting a massive reconstruction effort that transformed Lebanon into a vibrant country. He first focused on stabilizing the Lebanese pound, channeling resources to rebuild key infrastructure projects such as water, electricity, and telephone grids, as well as reconstructing both the port and airport facilities that were severely damaged but remained the country's lifelines to the outside world.

In April 1993, Hariri established the Ministry for the Displaced to help thousands of people who were forced to flee their homes during the war, but the US\$1 billion project was mired in controversy when accusations of graft were lobbed toward the Druze minister WALID JUMBLATT. Although this controversial item was shelved, the project to rebuild the Beirut Central District (BCD) was approved a year later.

In the spring of 1996, tensions rose in the south when Israel launched an attack against a United Nations post in Qana killing 109 civilians (part of its Grapes of Wrath campaign). It was after the Qana tragedy that Hariri embarked on his most successful diplomatic drive to secure international aid and regain sovereignty that had been usurped by Syria since 1976, when it stationed its troops in parts of Lebanon during the civil war. His efforts bore positive results and culminated in a cease-fire agreement, known as the April Understanding, which forced Israel to accept a Monitoring Group to control all movements in occupied south Lebanon. Even if the effort was largely overlooked, the prime minister's diplomatic initiatives vis-à-vis Syria, and a respected ally in the person of President HAFIZ AL-ASAD, meant that Hariri was slowly turning Lebanon to the West. On 1 September 1996, Hariri was elected a member of Parliament along with thirteen candidates on his electoral list as a new parliamentary bloc emerged. Buoyed by this victory, he formed a third consecutive government on 25 November 1996, set the stage for the first municipal elections in thirty-five years during the summer of 1998, reopened the Beirut International airport, and succeeded in persuading the United States to lift its travel restrictions to and from Lebanon. These undeniable successes occurred

at a significant price, however, as Lebanon accumulated a large financial obligation. In fact, public debt increased from US\$2 billion in 1992, to US\$18 billion in 1998. Even worse, a growing rate of emigration was recorded as a large segment of the educated Lebanese population left for the oil-producing countries on the Arabian Peninsula. Undeterred by significant pressures on both the political and economic conditions in the country, Hariri forged ahead, won new parliamentary elections on 3 September 2000, and formed his fourth cabinet on 23 October 2000. It was important to underscore that the prime minister won the support of 106 of 128 parliamentarians, largely because Hariri's strategy attracted foreign investors back to Lebanon. Remarkably, and according to the Basel, Switzerland, Bank of International Settlements figures, Lebanese workers overseas transferred at least US\$4.5 billion in 2003 alone. Arab investors, especially after the 11 September 2001 attacks, added to the liquidity of local banks.

Still, Lebanon was not out of its perennial political crisis, rekindled by an extension of the six-year mandate for President EMILE LAHOUD. Because a precedent existed for an extension—Elias Hrawi was elected in 1989 for a six-year term but saw his tenure extended for another three years in 1995—Damascus insisted that Lahoud's presidency receive a similar treatment. Because Hariri and Lahoud were never on good terms, an energized prime minister assumed he could reject a dictate from Syrian president BASHAR AL-ASAD. Unlike his father, who was on excellent terms with Hariri, the new strongman in Damascus was not eager to acknowledge Lebanon's political sovereignty. Nor was he particularly comfortable with Hariri's imposing personality. Hariri resigned as prime minister on 20 October 2004. Despite clear successes in hosting the League of Arab States and World Francophonie summits and with serious legislation to combat money laundering that protected Lebanon's economic jewels (its banks)—as well as receiving an enormous financial package at Paris II, an international conference convened to raise funds for the Lebanese government—Lebanon, like most of the Arab world, became a victim of the aftermath of the 11 September 2001 attacks, as tensions rose on the domestic front. Lebanese banks held over US\$75 billion in cash but the country was still burdened with an estimated US\$34 billion debt in 2005. What led to Hariri's resignation, however, was the level of political distrust that spilled over into open disputes.

Israeli forces that had been occupying part of southern Lebanon since 1982 finally withdrew in May 2000. Hariri became a strong believer that the Syrian forces that had been in the country since 1976 must also leave Lebanon and that the country must regain its full sovereignty. This was necessary to push Lebanon out of its

destabilization orbit once and for all. Buoyed by a per capita income above US\$6,500, he knew that these positive results were due to foreign remittances, by Lebanese expatriate workers eager to see their country become independent once again. He understood that additional foreign investments were directly tied to full freedom that, not surprisingly, was not a particularly welcome idea in Damascus.

Many suspected that President Bashar al-Asad, or men close to him, wanted to silence Hariri after the latter encouraged France and the United States to push for United Nations (UN) Security Council Resolution 1559 (2 September 2004), which demanded Syria withdraw its remaining forty-thousand troops from Lebanon. Hariri was assassinated in an explosion that targeted his motorcade on a Beirut waterfront road on 14 February 2005. It killed him, seven of his bodyguards, and several bystanders, and injured dozens of others. His funeral turned into a huge popular and historic procession that went through the streets of Beirut and headed toward the newly built Muhammad al-Amin Mosque in Martyrs' Square. The eight coffins (Minister Basil Fulayhane, who was sitting next to him in the car and who died of his burns in a Paris hospital, was buried three months later) were laid to rest in the square. In a remarkable and unique display, Muslim and Christian Lebanese prayed together, the first reciting the Islamic Fatiha and the second making the sign of the cross as they both entreated for the departed in unison. Church bells rang throughout the capital, and verses from the Qur'an were broadcast from various mosques. Prominent diplomats attended the services, and French president Jacques Chirac and his wife and leading members of the Al Sa'ud ruling family visited Beirut along with numerous Arab and international political figures to share their condolences with the family.

A month after Hariri was assassinated, Lebanon witnessed what some called the Cedar Revolution that, perhaps inevitably, meant Syrian military withdrawal. Martyrs' Square was transformed into Freedom Square. Amid a defiant and unprecedented display of patriotism, and under tremendous international pressure, Syria withdrew most of its military units from Lebanese territory by 30 April 2005. The UN Security Council, for its part, initiated an international investigation of the assassination, which was first headed by Detlev Mehlis from Germany. Operating under the express directives of Security Council Resolution 1559, which called for the Syrian withdrawal as well as the disarmament of Hizbullah, the German judge reported in late 2005 that Syrian and Lebanese security officials were probably implicated. Lebanese leaders asked to extend the original investigation when several more journalists and public figures were gunned down. A new investigator, the Belgian judge Serge Brammertz, speculated that Damascus and its allies

in Lebanon were linked to the various assassinations although his findings were not made public.

Hariri secured significant capital to sustain the reconstruction and development efforts of Lebanon. During his lifetime, two major conferences, Paris I (2001) and Paris II (2002), raised several billion dollars to help Lebanon manage its public debt. Toward that end, Beirut pledged to modernize its economic institutions, revamp its tax system, and preserve the country's monetary and financial stability.

#### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

Although Hariri re-created contemporary Lebanon, his most enduring contribution was the foundation he established in 1979 to offer education grants to worthy candidates. The nonprofit organization provided assistance to more than thirty five-thousand Lebanese students who were attending leading universities in Lebanon, the United States, Britain, France, Canada, and elsewhere. According to reliable sources, the total outlay of funds for this unique Lebanese institution exceeded US\$1.5 billion before 2005. Led by the late premier's sister, Bahiah, the Hariri Foundation expanded into health, social, and cultural services to the needy in Lebanon as well as the promotion of cultural centers, including the building of schools and colleges. The foundation also sponsored efforts to preserve Islamic architecture and refurbished mosques. It may be worthwhile to recall that Hariri was shocked when the Israelis ransacked his US\$100 million Kfar Falus University before their 1982 withdrawal, stripping it of all its scientific equipment, which motivated him even more to invest in Lebanon's best resource: its youth.

#### LEGACY

If Hariri was committed to restructuring Lebanon's education system to empower underprivileged citizens, his political legacy will remain the Ta'if Accord that gave Lebanon a new identity, and which helped force Syria to end its occupation. Withdrawal meant an end to the billions of dollars in outlays into Syrian coffers (by one estimate Damascus secured US\$20 billion from the Lebanese economy between 1976 and 1990). As a Sunni Muslim, Hariri was destined to fall into the country's confessional trap, but rose above petty differences to dream of a larger constitution. Although he disagreed with Hizbullah, he nevertheless supported the its resistance to Israeli occupation from 1982 to 2000, even though he opposed the killing of Israelis, Palestinians, Syrians, and Lebanese. Moreover, although he believed in dialogue and maintained that Syria protected Lebanon throughout the 1980s and 1990s, he certainly changed his mind by 2000 when he concluded that Damascus was no longer needed as a peace broker, and wished Dam-

ascus to withdraw military and intelligence units that acted as a state within a state. He probably paid for that wish with his life, but joined Lebanon's founding fathers as a devout patriot.

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Joseph Kechichian

### HASHEMI, FAEZEH (1962–)

Faezeh Hashemi (Faezeh Hashemi Bahrami, Faezeh Hashemi Rafsanjani) is an Iranian politician and social activist known equally for her audacious work on behalf of women and social reform as she is for being the younger daughter of powerful politician and former president Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani. Faezeh Hashemi served one term in Iran's Majles (parliament) and has been active in both the governmental and nongovernmental sectors as an advocate for change. She is often categorized as an Islamic feminist as a result of her call for reforms within a framework that argues the compatibility between Islam and women's rights.

#### PERSONAL HISTORY

Born in 1962, Hashemi entered public life at a relatively young age. She first rose to major national recognition as a political figure during the 1996 parliamentary elections, when she succeeded in winning a seat as a Tehran representative in the Fifth Majles. She ran as the only woman listed with the Kargozaran-e Sazandegi (Servants of the Construction), a party whose origins trace to her father, the president of Iran at that time. As a result of factional struggles with a hardliner coalition, Rafsanjani had approved the formation of the moderate rightist coalition that became the Servants of the Construction party.

In her early thirties at the time of the election campaigns, Hashemi's energetic style and bold agendas



*Faezeh Hashemi.* BEHROUZ MEHRI/AFP/GETTY IMAGES.

for reform garnered much attention from supporters and detractors alike. In the lead-up to the elections, Hashemi ran a spirited campaign advocating for women's rights and stressing the importance of women's involvement in sports and in the public sphere. Although she adhered to the convention of women political figures wearing the black *chador*, she added the flair of donning patterned scarves and casual clothing beneath it. Her campaign style and platform greatly angered conservatives who attempted to variously disrupt her rallies and events held in her support. Announced election results showed that she had received the second-highest votes in Tehran after the conservative candidate and ranking cleric Ali Akbar Nateq-Nuri.

Despite the enthusiasm surrounding her successful bid for Majles, Hashemi's parliamentary tenure was filled with disappointments and defeats. Startled by the surprise 1997 victory of Reformist president MOHAMMAD KHATAMI and the support he seemed to have among members of the Majles, hard-liners in the government pursued a number of tactics to undermine changes proposed by Khatami and reform-minded parliamentarians. Hashemi and her allies were unable to prevent the ratification of a number of bills drafted by ultraconservatives targeting women. One such bill prohibited doctors

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Faezeh Hashemi (Faezeh Hashemi Bahrami, Faezeh Hashemi Rafsanjani)

**Birth:** 1962, Iran

**Family:** Married with children

**Nationality:** Iranian

**Education:** B.A. in political science & business administration; master's in international law; some training at the University of Tehran in science of sports education.

### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1992:** Founder and president of Islamic Countries Women's Sports Solidarity Council.
- **1996:** Election to Iran's Majles; founder and chief editor of *Zan*, Iran's first ever daily women's newspaper; managing director of communication network of women's NGOs; vice president of the Iranian Olympic Committee

from treating patients of the opposite gender and another attempted to curtail the press from running features and debates on women's issues. Although neither of these laws was ultimately implemented, their ratification in 1998 was demoralizing for Majles members who failed to block its passage.

Although Hashemi had been aligned with many reformist elements in attempting to forestall conservative obstacles to change, she lost the support of most reformists and their constituents by the time of the 2000 Majles elections. The main reason for this was linked to her father's decision to enter the race as a candidate. Rafsanjani's disputes with conservatives in the lead-up to the previous elections had made the former appear as a relative reformer, but the rise of Khatami and a new breed of emboldened reformists resulted in a reconciliation between the two. Hard-liners backed the entrance of Rafsanjani into the parliamentary race, igniting fierce debates and exchanges between the conservative and reformist press. Faezeh Hashemi sided with her father, thereby completely alienating almost all of her allies in the reformist camp. Both she and her father ran on the list of the Kargozaran-e Sazandegi party. Rafsanjani came in thirtieth out of the thirty seats allotted to Tehran, but Hashemi failed to win her seat, thus ending her tenure as a member of the Majles. Her unsuccessful bid for

reelection and her father's poor showing were widely regarded as a humiliation for both the powerful former president and his daughter, who only several years earlier were among the country's most popular figures.

### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Despite having an independent spirit and having at times taken different positions than him, Hashemi seems to have been greatly influenced by her father, an alliance with whom cost her reelection to the Majles. He facilitated her entry into the public arena, and was supportive of many of her projects, including her contributions to the promotion of Muslim women in sports.

Hashemi advocated for advancing women in sports both before and during her election to the Majles. She is well known for her successful campaigns to allow women to bike in public in Iran. She served as a member of Iran's High Council of Sports and she also founded and presided over the Islamic Countries Women's Sports Solidarity Council. She has also served as the vice president of the Iranian Olympic Committee. In addition, she was involved in the planning of the Islamic Countries' Women's Sports Solidarity Games, which took place in 1993. Hashemi's opening speech at the games stressed the compatibility of their athletic activities with the values of Islam and noted the importance of sports for the health, strength, and joy of Muslim women.

In 1996 Hashemi joined her father and then-president Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani on a six-nation tour of Africa. Faezeh Hashemi took the trip as an opportunity for promoting Muslim women in sports and advertising the achievements of Iranian women in this regard. While on the trip, she encouraged other Muslim countries to follow Iranian women's achievements in athletics and offered the help of Iranian women coaches and referees. After her tenure as a member of the Majles, Hashemi remained active in promoting Muslim women's participation in sports.

Hashemi has also been influenced by and contributed to discourses of Islamic feminism. In July 1998 Hashemi launched Iran's first ever women's daily newspaper, *Zan* (Woman). In addition to providing information, the paper provided a forum wherein women could voice their concerns and express their reflections on social and political developments. Its editorials included criticisms of child-custody laws, stoning as a form of punishment allowed in the constitution, and other repressive legal or social practices applied to women in discriminatory ways. Although the focus of the publication was on women's issues, the paper also attempted to engage a mixed audience by contextualizing the aims of the women's movement in terms of the broader goals of

## CONTEMPORARIES

Shahla Sherkat (1956–) is an Iranian journalist, publisher, and women's rights activist who is best known as the *founder and publisher of Zanan* (Women) magazine. Prior to the founding of *Zanan* in 1992, Sherkat was the editor of *Zan-e Ruz* (Today's woman) magazine. In 1990s Iran, *Zanan* was instrumental in including women and their demands in developing discourses about civil society and civil liberties. Sherkat took as her task the reconciliation of Islam with feminism. The magazine drew from and collaborated with a range of intellectuals and feminists, with a secularist female lawyer, Mehrangiz Kar and cleric Seyyed Mohsen making regular contributions during the publication's early years. In the lead-up to the 1997 presidential elections, *Zanan* played an important role in endorsing Mohammad Khatami as the candidate for gender equality while casting his opponent, the conservative Ali Akbar Nateq-Nuri, who was favored to win, as being against it. The Iranian women's vote in those elections is widely noted as a main contributing factor to Khatami's surprise victory. Like many other publishers and journalists with reformist leanings, Sherkat has been the target of hard-liners.

strengthening civil society and working for better civil liberties in Iran.

Prior to the 1998 election of Majles Khobregan (the Assembly of Experts), *Zan* launched a campaign to encourage women's participation as candidates. The Majles Khobregan is an important body elected for eight-year terms by the public and mandated by the Iranian constitution to supervise, elect, and dismiss the supreme leader. Hashemi's father is a powerful member of the Assembly of Experts. *Zan's* campaigning on behalf of women's candidacy in the elections resulted in 10 women running in competition with 368 men. The candidacy of the women was rejected on grounds that Iran's constitution does not allow women to be part of this assembly.

Despite the important role it played in shaping the pertinent discourses of the day, the paper would not escape the fate that would befall the majority of newly budding publications that were singled out by conservatives in an attempt to undermine the agenda of President Khatami and the reformist press. In January

1999, Zan was suspended for a two-week period on grounds that it had defamed police intelligence Chief General Mohammad Naghdi. As owner and editor-in-chief, Hashemi was fined about 1,500,000 rials (approximately US\$170) in connection with the charge. Less than a year after it was created, the Revolutionary Court ordered that the paper be shut down on the offense of having published an Iranian New Year's greeting to the people of Iran from Farah Diba Pahlavi, the exiled widow of the former shah of Iran. In defense of her paper, Hashemi took her case to court, but neither her efforts nor those of the reformist press speaking in her support were sufficient in saving the daily. Eight and a half years after her publication was closed for good, branch 1083 of Iran's public courts acquitted Hashemi of charges that Zan newspaper had insulted and published lies about the Intelligence Services of the Armed Forces.

In additions to her contributions in the arena of the press and women and sports Hashemi created Komisione Banoaan (Women's Committees) in a number of Iran's cities as part of her activities in working toward the achievement of women's rights. The committees were created with the goal of bringing women's issues to the attention of city mayors. Perhaps more importantly, the committees aimed at promoting and integrating women's involvement in political, social, and cultural developments. She has worked as the director of Mehr White Home nongovernmental (NGO) and has served as the managing director of Communication Network of Women's NGOs in Iran. Hashemi's pursuit of various projects within the framework of Islam has been credited with mobilizing women from religious classes toward participating in projects of women's rights.

#### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

On the world stage, Hashemi has been most recognized in connection with her contributions to promoting Muslim women in sports. The Islamic Countries Women's Sports Solidarity Games that she was instrumental in establishing are officially recognized by the International Olympic Committee and have been held every four years since 1993. During the Fourth United Nations Conference on Women held in Beijing in 1995, Hashemi was recognized as a leader in the promotion of women's sports.

#### LEGACY

Hashemi's spirited campaign for the fifth Majles and her brave pronouncements advocating for women's rights blazed the trail for other women to make more radical expressions of reform. Indeed, while Hashemi herself failed to win reelection, many such women with bolder ideas for reform successfully took seats in the Majles. Her successful lobbying on behalf of Iranian and other Mus-

lim women's participation in sports have to led to what seem to be enduring establishments and precedence for continuing to make strides in this regard.

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*Niki Akhavan*

## HASSAN II (1929–1999)

King Hassan II, known as Moulay Hassan bin Muhammad Al Alawi before he became ruler, was king of Morocco from 1961 to 1999.

#### PERSONAL HISTORY

Hassan II was born in Rabat, Morocco, on 9 July 1929. The eldest son of Sultan Muhammad V and Lalla Abla, he was named after his illustrious great-grandfather, Hassan I (r. 1873–1894). The Alawi family claims descent from the prophet Muhammad. Hassan was educated at the Royal College and Institute of Law, where he earned a first (bachelor's) degree in 1951. A year later, the young attorney received a *diplôme de droit civil* from the Université de Bordeaux in France. The future monarch was ably coached and entrusted with immense responsibilities before he acceded to the throne in 1961. He also served in various French military units when Morocco was a French Protectorate until 1946. Exiled to Corsica and Madagascar with his father between 1953 and 1956, the future monarch shouldered some of the burden of rule immediately after independence in 1956. Between 1956 and 1961, he was commander-in-chief of the Royal Army, vice president of the Council of Ministers (1957–1961), minister of defense (1960–1961), and prime minister (1961–1964 and 1965–1967).

Hassan II succeeded his father, known after independence as King Muhammad V, in February 1961. Throughout his rule, he preserved Morocco's traditions, as the modernizing country freed itself from French colonial control. Simultaneously, the king projected a conciliatory posture, believing that his country was a natural bridge between the Western world and Muslim civilization. Still, he always protected his country's interests, and toward that end did not shrink from acquiring disputed territory by



Hassan II. AP IMAGES.

force. Said to have a *baraka* (blessing), Hassan survived several assassination attempts and weathered periodic internal uprisings. To address some of his people's grievances, he ushered in the creation of a distinctive parliamentary system, although he retained all effective power. Despite his undeniable posture as a strongman, Hassan was popular, as he projected a rare sense of duty and loyalty, best exemplified through masterful oratory skills. His reign of thirty-eight years ended with his death in Rabat on 23 July 1999, as Morocco and the rest of the Arab and Muslim worlds entered a period of profound transformations.

#### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Much like their ancestors, contemporary Moroccan kings claim the title *emir al-mu'minin*, commander of the faithful, traditionally the title of Muslim caliphs. Hassan II made a particular effort to portray himself as a charismatic religious figure, drawing on the customary North African veneration for holy men. Although a highly Europeanized individual with near-native command of the French language, the monarch was often shown in official portraits in conventional Moroccan dress, or clothed as a pilgrim in Mecca, to earn legitimacy and

promote the myth that he was the "king of the poor." For all his piety, the ruler and his entourage allegedly owned about a fifth of the country's land, and Morocco's rich phosphate mines were a royal monopoly as well. Undoubtedly, the monarch enjoyed absolute power. Nevertheless, his greatest accomplishment was to usher in a system of government that allowed his successor to rule with dynastic, religious, and nationalist backing.

Hassan's father, Muhammad V, who was born in 1910, succeeded his father Moulay Youssef as sultan in 1927 and distinguished himself a devout nationalist. Before World War II, he alternatively supported France and plotted against the occupier with ardent nationalist elements. Not surprisingly, his loyalty toward Paris was lukewarm at best and, in 1953, the French opted to depose and exile him to Madagascar from where he was flown to southern France. Faced with growing unrest throughout their Moroccan colony, however, French authorities assiduously concluded that the exiled monarch was their best bet to restore a semblance of order and, toward that end, negotiated his return to power—albeit under French tutelage—in 1955. In return for working with France, Muhammad was promised that Morocco would soon be allowed its independence. Mired in the Algerian debacle, France accepted these conditions, and flew Muhammad and his family into Casablanca on 16 November 1955. This victory weakened the monarch's domestic rivals and most capitulated. His aide-de-camp and potential competitor, Muhammad Oufkir, was the only figure of any significance with political aspirations of his own, and he would eventually play a critical role in Moroccan history. The mild antagonism between Oufkir and his ruler between 1956 and 1961 symbolized the split between the royalist and the civilian varieties of Moroccan nationalism; nevertheless, in 1955, Oufkir abided by his *bay'a* (oath of allegiance) and welcomed the monarch with open arms at a time when all political leaders rallied behind the triumphant sultan. When Morocco became an independent state on 11 February 1956, even the secular Istiqlal (Independence) Party became monarchist, though the adulation would not last because, as secularists, they opposed the monarch's claim to divine authority as a descendant of the prophet Muhammad.

**The Crown Prince** Crown Prince Moulay Hassan, who witnessed these colonial maneuvers, absorbed their political lessons. The monarchy soon faced severe economic problems as wealthy landowners claimed the need to hold on to capitalized agriculture. The king wanted to regulate agricultural production, especially by allocated prices, but some of these landowners refused to sell their products. The monarch obliged them by introducing regulations, sensing an opportunity to divide putative opponents. For

their part, Istiqlal leaders championed the adoption of various projects to encourage freedom of market prices, while calling for minority voices to be heard. Not surprisingly, given the palace's negative opinion of Istiqlal, the palace was not impressed, and when in 1958 a rebellion started among the landowners in the Rif (the mountainous region along the Mediterranean coast), it was Hassan who, as heir apparent, was entrusted with resolving the crisis. Hassan led the troops that crushed the Rif rebellion and undermined Istiqlal. The party splintered as the ruler seized the moment by playing one political group against another. Where the monarch miscalculated, however, was in his assessment of the rising influence of Arab nationalism that was then spreading from Cairo throughout the Arab world. With his father's full consent, Hassan slowly donned the cloak of Arab nationalism, ostensibly to limit whatever damage might be caused by such sentiments among North Africans. He expanded the internal crisis over agriculture into a political dispute with Istiqlal, positioning himself as the only leader capable of looking after the Moroccan people. In 1959 Hassan negotiated the closure of U.S. military bases—from which Morocco was earning hefty revenues—although American troops were not fully withdrawn from the country until 1962. Hassan welcomed Washington's financial assistance after the terrible 1960 earthquake in Agadir, while advocating transparency and accountability in the use of the funds. His father was so impressed with his performance that he sacked the cabinet and appointed Hassan as deputy premier and defense minister.

When Muhammad died in February 1961, Moulay Hassan acceded to the throne as Hassan II, having learned a lesson in governance from the legendary ambiguity, tact, and prudence with which his father had ruled. Morocco had a constitution, a parliament, and political parties, but in reality all were under palace control. The only political venue outside the ruling family's full control was the religious community.

As king, Hassan confronted a series of problems, including mild but growing opposition among Islamist forces. Morocco experienced mass demonstrations and street violence in January 1984 in connection to official proposals to raise the price of basic commodities, including food. The official explanations for the troubles emphasized the role of "agitators" of various kinds; nevertheless, King Hassan recognized the root cause of the disturbances and appeared on television on the evening of 22 January to announce that there would be no further increases in the price of basic goods. Although the Islamists' influence reached a peak after the 1984 disturbances, the rise occurred because of deep economic and political straits, fueled by legendary neglect. At first, the emergence of Islamist elements in the educational and

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Moulay Hassan bin Muhammad Al Alawi (Hassan II)

**Birth:** 1929, Rabat, Morocco

**Death:** 1999, Rabat, Morocco

**Family:** Wife (first), Lalla Fatima; (second) Lalla Latifa; by Lalla Latifa, two sons, Muhammad [VI], Moulay Rashid; three daughters, Lalla Myriam, Lalla Asmah, Lalla Hasnah

**Nationality:** Moroccan

**Education:** First (bachelor's) degree, Royal College and Institute of Law, Rabat, 1951; *diplôme de droit civil*, Université de Bordeaux, France, 1952

### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1931:** Appointed heir apparent
- **1936:** Appointed colonel in Sultan's Guard
- **1953–1955:** Is exiled by France with his father to Madagascar; acts as sultan's primary adviser
- **1956–1961:** General and commander-in-chief, Royal Army
- **1956–1967:** Vice president, Council of Ministers
- **1960–1961:** Minister of defense
- **1961:** Accedes as king on death of Muhammad V
- **1961–1964, 1965–1967:** Prime minister
- **1969:** Chairs first summit of Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC) following burning of al-Aqsa Mosque, Jerusalem
- **1971:** Survives attempt on life
- **1972:** Survives another attempt on life; Chairs summit of Organization of African Unity (OAU)
- **1973:** Avenges third attempt on life
- **1974:** Chairs Arab League summit recognizing Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) as sole and legitimate representative of Palestinian people
- **1975:** Initiates Green March into Western Sahara to claim territory for Morocco
- **1976:** Annexes northern third of Western Sahara to Morocco



cultural sectors was encouraged by the regime, to undermine support for a more established opposition from the left. As an unintended consequence, however, Islamism spread from social organizations into the state's security institutions, including the army, police, and customs forces. Even the trade union federation, a traditional stronghold of the government, recorded an increasing Islamist presence. What Islamist leaders planned was nothing short of a total remake of the relatively liberal Moroccan society. From 1975 to 1986, the leadership and organization of Islamist groups improved steadily, as they adopted a gradualist strategy to gain power.

The first Moroccan Islamist movement, the Harakat al-Shabiba al-Islamiyya (Movement of the Islamic Youth), was created in 1969. Its founder, education inspector Abdul Karim Muti, was influenced by the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood. Muti preached a moderate stance and was rewarded with full legalization in 1972, even if only as a social and cultural association. That privilege allowed the group to recruit and indoctrinate freely within the boundaries of religious proselytizing at various mosques throughout the country. Yet, as the movement grew in strength, Rabat applied a measure of repression, which (intentionally) provoked a division. In 1977 the Harakat reemerged as the Jama'a al-Islamiya (Islamic Community) and the Usrat al-Jama'a (Family Community), two rival organizations competing for public attention. To avoid Hassan's repression, Abdul Ilah Benkirane, an educator who led the Jama'a al-Islamiya, adopted a

truly moderate strategy while distancing the group from leftist pressures. In fact, the movement quickly changed its name to the Islah wa Tajdid (Reform and Renewal), to dissipate any suspicions among conservative as well as secular streams that dominated the establishment. Islah leaders recognized the legitimacy of the monarch, endorsed democracy and the principles of human rights, and dissociated themselves from the secularist assemblies that propelled Morocco on a heavy Westernization curve. Islah leaders were so confident of their initiatives that they created a pro-government section, which quickly transformed itself into the Party of Justice and Development (PJD).

**Movement toward Reform** Morocco remained a relatively poor country under Hassan, though it enjoyed a parliamentary revival when the legislature was transformed into a bicameral body. The regime encouraged the formation of legal political parties without, as befit an absolute monarchy, sharing any aspect of the decision-making process. Still, constitutional reforms proved difficult, as the monarch cherished his ability to manipulate various political constituencies. In fact, the first moves for genuine reforms occurred after Hassan became prime minister in 1960.

A few days after his ascent to the premiership, Hassan oversaw the country's first-ever local council elections. Istiqlal, the muzzled pro-government party, won 40 percent of available seats, while the Union National des Forces Populaires (UNFP), the opposition group led by Mehdi Ben Barka, netted another 25 percent. Since the UNFP was an offshoot of Istiqlal, and given that the regime seldom trusted its putative allies, the combined UNFP-Istiqlal presence in the 1960 parliament illustrated how strong nationalist parties actually were. Still, the mere fact that a division existed among them benefited the government. Muhammad V had been satisfied that cosmetic reforms altered little as he husbanded his slowly degrading power. There would be no elected parliament under his rule, and when he died in February 1961, it fell on his son to oversee a new constitutional draft that anticipated power-sharing with a duly elected legislative branch.

Few observers were optimistic that Hassan could rule Morocco over any length of time. The young monarch was not known for his political aptitude, as he preferred European jet-set playgrounds to the harsh environment of his country. The young monarch dutifully declared that he planned to pursue his father's policies, while in reality he planned a complete break with the past. Still, because he lacked the popularity enjoyed by his father, Hassan quickly concluded that he needed to earn his legitimacy. Toward that end, and from his relatively

## CONTEMPORARIES

Muhammad Oufkir (1920–1972) was a trusted ally who stood by Hassan II and repressed political protests through numerous clampdowns. Named interior minister in 1967, the general may have organized the 1971 failed military coup, although he claimed innocence at the time. Amazingly, Hassan II named him chief of staff and minister of defense, positions that made him the second most powerful man in Morocco. Within a year, he turned against his ruler, ordering an attack on the king. Hassan survived and ordered Oufkir's execution. His entire family was placed under house arrest in difficult conditions and not released until 1991. Most fled to France, to tell their stories, most vividly recounted by his daughter Malika in the book *Stolen Lives: Twenty Years in a Desert Jail*.

stable military base—perhaps the only section of society where he was truly admired—Hassan affected a religious outlook, assiduously stressing his Alawi traditions. His regular Friday mosque attendance earned him a significant following, as did his keeping annual Ramadan customs.

The 18 November 1962 constitution specifically provided that the form of government in Morocco was a monarchy, under Alawi rule, with the king as both monarch and *emir al-mu'minin*. A multiparty parliamentary system was also implemented, a benefit to the monarch since such multiplicity ensured political fragmentation. Nevertheless, the process of ostensible democratization engaged Moroccans, who overwhelmingly approved the constitution in December 1962, even as opposition parties opted to boycott the referendum.

Perhaps not surprisingly, there were demonstrations against the blatant manipulation of the process, and these turned violent; in March 1964 Morocco experienced major civil disturbances. Muhammad Oufkir, then head of internal security, deployed a wide dragnet. Abdul Rahman Youssouffi, Muhammad Basri (known as the “Faqih” [Learned One]), and Mehdi Ben Barka were arrested and either imprisoned or exiled. Hassan rewarded Oufkir by appointing him minister of the interior, and by June 1965 the monarch opted to prorogue parliament to rule by decree. Oufkir’s harsh treatment of students and demonstrating peasants fixed his image for millions who, a few years hence, were called to distance themselves from the “traitor.” Few shed any tears when Oufkir was ousted in 1971, having honed repression into an art form.

**Repression and Its Consequences** Between 1965 and 1971, shantytowns grew around most Moroccan cities, where people lived at a level of bare survival. The government subsidized staple foods to avoid starvation as generous American aid kept the restless population in check. To be sure, economic stagnation had developed over several years. Despite key economic reforms, World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) data indicated that Morocco recorded growth in its gross domestic product (GDP) of only 3.5 percent per year after the 1960s and until the 1990s, an insufficient growth rate to curb unemployment and poverty. Morocco relied heavily on agriculture—occupying 40 percent of the labor force that produced less than 15 percent of the GDP—that was at the mercy of unreliable rainfall. Hassan was aware of the severe political risks involved in political repression. At one point in 1965, he extended an offer to Ben Barka to return home and join the monarch in governing the country, but the latter never returned to his homeland. He disappeared in Paris on 29 October 1965. Rogue elements within the Moroccan government, probably under the direct control of Interior Minister Oufkir, were

most likely responsible for the disappearance. That a prominent member of the Moroccan opposition simply disappeared in the French capital necessarily implied some complicity by local actors, although no formal ties were ever established. Still, in a 1967 trial, two French officers were convicted for their putative roles in the kidnapping. The presiding magistrate ruled, however, that the main guilty party was Oufkir. Several witnesses asserted that Ben Barka was tortured and murdered by Oufkir himself. Georges Figon, a witness with a criminal background, testified that Oufkir personally stabbed Ben Barka to death. Ali Bourequat, a dissident and former prisoner of conscience, claimed that a fellow prisoner in Rabat revealed how he and several colleagues, led by Colonel Oufkir and Ahmed Dlimi, murdered Ben Barka in Paris on the orders of King Hassan II. Allegedly, French security personnel knew of the plot and opted to allow the Moroccans to proceed, although President Charles de Gaulle broke diplomatic ties after “l’affaire Ben Barka” became public. Formal relations between Paris and Rabat were restored only in December 1970, a full month after de Gaulle died and ten months after he left office.

Oufkir perceived Ben Barka as a threat to the regime but it was unclear to what extent, if any, the interior minister followed directives issued by the king. In the event, Rabat balanced its multipronged policies with a new openness, as Parliament reconvened in 1970. An amended constitution mandated partial elections for two thirds of available seats, a provision which drew the ire of the opposition. Patronage certainly permitted Hassan to exert power, but only because Oufkir kept the masses down. This overemphasis on security directly translated into an economic morass, as the state squandered scarce resources. As a diversion from what ailed society, the king revived the dormant Western Sahara dispute (see below), to bank on raw nationalism and to strengthen his legitimacy. Under normal circumstances, an appeal to popular nationalism should have mobilized disenfranchised elements, but not in this instance. In fact, a simmering crisis limited any contemplated maneuvers, as strikes and demonstrations increased in frequency and intensity. On 10 July 1971, over a thousand military cadets stormed the palace at Skhirat, where international personalities were gathered to celebrate the monarch’s birthday. Hassan II survived the coup attempt—although 28 guests were killed and 158 rebel soldiers perished when loyal forces launched a counterattack—but he quickly authorized Oufkir, who may have instigated the coup, to purge the army. Ten high-ranking officers were later executed for their alleged involvement in the plot. Within a year, on 16 August 1972, the king’s plane—a bulky Boeing 727—was attacked in flight by Royal Moroccan Air Force F-5 jets, although Hassan II miraculously survived once again.

His *baraka* held, but Oufkir was dead the next day. It was unclear whether the interior minister committed suicide or whether the monarch shot him, but the entire Oufkir family paid a heavy price for transgressions that their father may or may not have committed.

**Parliamentary Politics** For four decades, Morocco had a working parliament with genuine multiparty competition, but little legislative power. If the monarch successfully played elites against each other in the 1960 and 1963 elections to buttress his legitimacy, throughout the 1990s, Hassan II empowered the institution, to channel dialogue with specific opposition parties. (His successor has adopted similar schemes, in recognition of the body's hidden values, as well as its potential for internal harmony.) Before 1996, when the constitution was amended to provide for a bicameral legislature, parliamentary seats were allocated to specific districts. Moreover, public organizations like unions and local municipal councils could also field candidates for voting, which permitted the government to pit urbanized, and therefore more sophisticated, voters against rural and more supportive populations.

Parliamentary and municipal elections were held in November and December 1997, respectively. The parliamentary elections were widely characterized as a stalemate, as three main blocs fielded sure-bet candidates. A total of 102 seats went to the Kutla or Democratic bloc, whose members were in the opposition in previous parliaments. Another 100 deputies represented the outgoing government, and 97 emerged from the Wasat or centrist alignment. The Socialist Union of Popular Forces (USFP), a longtime left-wing opposition party, won the most seats of any party, 57, as so-called leftist parties and those backed by the Berber population were also successful with a total of some 91 seats spread among various blocs. A few Islamists entered Parliament for the first time under the aegis of a legal political party. The major loser of the 1997 elections was the longstanding nationalist party, Istiqlal, which barely managed to hold 32 seats. Zealous party members claimed that vote fraud, electoral gerrymandering, and assorted other shenanigans were responsible for this defeat.

After the 1997 elections, Hassan II quickly appointed Abdul Rahman Youssouffi, head of the Socialist Party, as prime minister, as he signaled a new openness. This candidacy certainly was not the monarch's first choice but was made to quell internal tensions. Youssouffi, a determined and vocal opposition leader, had been imprisoned in the 1960s and exiled to France from 1965; allegedly he had been sentenced to death in absentia in 1971 and pardoned by the king in 1980. He returned to Morocco in 1980 after François Mitterand, the Socialist president of France, goaded Rabat to change its ways. In the event, Hassan II

probably issued his pardon to placate the French president, but also because he concluded that Youssouffi would balance the powerful interior minister Driss Basri. In fact, while Hassan II trusted Basri to the utmost, he was fully aware of dramatic internal changes and of the unpopularity of his interior minister. Giddy Moroccans actually perceived Youssouffi's rise as a sign that a move toward a more genuine constitutional monarchy was not impossible. Whether Hassan II actually intended to curtail the absolute powers of the monarchy—perhaps emulating the Spanish model—is impossible to know, but the clash between the regime and the power of the country's elected representative bodies could not be ignored. The ruling family probably was not ready to share power and continued to count on its loyal security services to balance the power of the elected Parliament.

**The Western Sahara** Because of its rich phosphate deposits, Morocco—along with Mauritania—claimed sovereignty over the territory of Western Sahara that fell south of the mainland. Each country advanced a similar but competing claim that the vast, largely uninhabited area had been artificially separated from its territory by Germany and Spain, and that it must be restored to its rightful owner. Algeria, which shared a border with Western Sahara, viewed these demands with suspicion, the result of a long-running rivalry with Morocco over ownership of Western Sahara. Still, when Algeria under Houari Boumédiène committed itself in 1975 to assisting the indigenous nationalist Polisario Front, which opposed both Moroccan and Mauritanian claims and demanded full independence, Hassan II took action. On 6 November 1975, Hassan organized a gathering that became known as the Green March, when 350,000 unarmed Moroccans converged on the city of Tarfayya before crossing into Western Sahara. At a time when Francisco Franco's Spain was weak, the ploy worked, as Rabat brought more than a third of Spanish Sahara under its own administration, and Mauritania took the southern third. Madrid abandoned the territory in December 1975, a month after Franco died, and even repatriated Spanish corpses from its cemeteries.

The Polisario initiated a staunch opposition, which was backed by Algeria. A guerrilla campaign ensued at great cost to all and Mauritania withdrew from the confrontation in 1979. Morocco gradually contained the guerrillas. It erected an impenetrable sand berm, or wall, an approximately 2,700 kilometer-long defensive structure that further isolated the Polisario. The war ended in a 1991 cease-fire, overseen by a United Nations (UN) peacekeeping mission known as MINURSO (Mission des Nations Unies pour l'Organisation d'un Référendum au Sahara Occidental), although a called-for referendum

originally scheduled for 1992 to permit the indigenous population to choose between independence or inclusion in Morocco, was left in abeyance. Neither Hassan's government nor the Polisario could agree on the identities of those who could be registered as indigenous voters. In 1997 Moroccan and Polisario representatives met under the auspices of UN special representative James Baker, the former U.S. secretary of state, and both sides accepted the Houston Agreement that made yet another attempt to implement a referendum in 1998. This effort failed as well. Hassan's original goal of doubling the size of the country and to further expand the rich base of the area's natural resources backfired as indigenous Sahraouis rebelled against him and drained the Moroccan treasury. The dispute was not resolved when the monarch was alive and remains an albatross for the country.

### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

After President Ronald Reagan revived an American friendship with Morocco dating back to George Washington by accepting certain concessions on the Western Sahara question, Hassan II mystified U.S. allies by announcing a political alliance with Libyan leader MU'AMMAR AL-QADDAFI. This was an illustration of the king's forte, positioning himself as an indispensable mediator. He certainly maintained useful friendships but always with a unique twist. Algerian president ABDELAZIZ BOUTEFLIKA stated, for example, that "Hassan II was my friend and companion in arms," although Morocco and Algeria were literally at war over the Western Sahara conflict.

The United States and its allies certainly considered Hassan one of the most Western-oriented Arab leaders, a ruler who outmaneuvered Islamic militants in his country, and because he stood out among his peers for his openness to rapprochement with Israel. Hassan was adept at managing Arab-Israeli ties, and he viewed Morocco's Jewish population, which numbered around eight thousand, as a bridge between Israelis and Arabs. During World War II his father, Muhammad V, had defied the Axis and protected his country's Jews even if the country estimated 275,000 Jews in the mid-1950s emigrated to Israel, Europe, and elsewhere. By September 1993 Morocco was so sure of its international position that he recognized Israel de facto when he welcomed Prime Minister YITZHAK RABIN, the first time an Israeli leader visited an Arab country other than Egypt.

Despite such bold gestures, he was careful to play both sides of a conflict when necessary. After the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in 1990, he sent thirteen hundred troops to Saudi Arabia, a gesture that pleased Western governments while gaining support among fellow conservative monarchs.

## A KING MUST DO EVERYTHING BUT ABDICATE

My function, in short, is to judge what is good and what is bad, what is possible and what is impossible, to see that our pledges are honored, and hence to lighten the burden of our compatriots. . . . The risks run by a monarch who does not govern are certainly not negligible; but it seems to me that a king who governs is just as much exposed to them. . . . The temporal sovereign who willingly accepts "the risks of the calling" would be a pitiable king. And if at the same time the king is Commander of the Faithful, his duties towards his people are even greater and more demanding. . . . A king must do everything but abdicate; and a king who does not feel at one with his subjects abdicates and abandons his mission. That I shall never do.

HASSAN II, *THE CHALLENGE: THE MEMOIRS OF KING  
HASSAN II OF MOROCCO*, PP. 145, 151.

### LEGACY

The years of Hassan II's reign came to be known as "*les années du plomb*" (the years of lead), when an iron fist approach was applied. Forced disappearances, killings of government opponents, and secret internment camps such as the one at Tazmamart, were a blight on the country. To examine the abuses committed during his father's reign, Muhammad VI has authorized the creation of an equity and reconciliation commission, which was equipped to rehabilitate victims, pay compensation for state outrages, and foster reconciliation. Toward the end of his reign, and in the aftermath of these tragic internal events that were a black mark on his otherwise popular rule, Hassan appreciated the pace of changes occurring in Morocco. For various reasons—outside pressure, recognition of inevitable political change, perhaps for altruistic reasons, but certainly to buttress the monarchy—he authorized the creation of a Consultative Council in 1990, whose primary objective was to defend human rights. This was followed in 1994 and 1995 with several royal pardons, including a partial rehabilitation of Ben Barka. A prominent Rabat boulevard was named for the late opposition leader in November 1995, and within a year several Oufkir family members were allowed to leave the country. Whether the monarch felt remorse for the excessively brutal treatment to which Oufkir offspring were subjected is impossible to determine. What is certain is Hassan's effort to redeem his policies throughout

the 1990s. A special effort was thus made to modernize the monarchy while keeping the opposition in check. It must be emphasized that the king's *baraka* served him well in this instance too, as Moroccans rallied behind the ruler, most fearing a spillover of the violence that rocked and destabilized neighboring Algeria starting in 1992. Indeed, the ruler was so confident of his demarches that he accepted strict IMF conditions to reform the Moroccan economy starting in 1996, and in 1997 acquiesced in the results of parliamentary elections that ushered in opposition leaders. Even his tested and well established divide-and-rule tactics were made with added confidence, especially after an upper chamber was added to Parliament. Thus, Hassan II ended his reign in relative harmony, confident that his successor would not face the dynastic challenges that he and his predecessors had confronted.

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Joseph Kechichian

## HATOUM, MONA (1952–)

Palestinian sculptor Mona Hatoum (also Muna Hatum) was born in Beirut, Lebanon, to Palestinian Christian parents exiled from Haifa as a result of the 1948 War. She briefly attended Beirut University College (1970–1972). On a visit to London in 1975, she was forced to

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Mona Hatoum (Muna Hatum)

**Birth:** 1952, Beirut, Lebanon

**Nationality:** Palestinian; British citizenship

**Education:** Beirut University College (Lebanon),  
Byam Shaw School of Art, London (U.K.),  
Slade School of Fine Art, London (U.K.)

#### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1975:** Moves to London, U.K.
- **1980–1989:** Video and performance
- **1981:** Begins working as full-time artist
- **1989–present:** Sculpture and installation
- **2004:** Short-listed for the Turner Award

stay when civil war broke out in Lebanon. She enrolled at Byam Shaw School of Art (1975–1979) before studying at the Slade School of Fine Art (1979–1981). Since 1989 she has been critically and globally acclaimed for a significant corpus that includes groundbreaking examples of video, performance, and installation art. In 1995 she was short-listed for the coveted Turner Prize and, shortly after, designated a YBA (Young British Artist). By 2003 she had been invited by the Museum of Modern Art (MoMA) in New York to curate *Here Is Elsewhere*, her warmly received "Artist's Choice" exhibition. Hatoum continues to live and work in the British capital and elsewhere.

#### PERSONAL HISTORY

Transnational artist Mona Hatoum was born in 1952 as a refugee in Beirut, Lebanon, where her Palestinian parents had gone in 1948 after fleeing Haifa when the city was occupied by the soon-to-be-recognized Israeli nation. Because her father was employed by the British Embassy in Beirut, Hatoum and her family never received Lebanese citizenship. Instead, they carried British passports. After studying design principles at Beirut University College (1970–1972) and working briefly as a graphic designer in the Lebanese capital, Hatoum left for a visit to London in 1975. While away, her country erupted into an intractable civil war, increasingly exacerbated by cyclic regional hostilities, most notably an Israeli invasion in 1982. Hatoum remains based in the United Kingdom although she prefers working nomadically and around the globe, including a solo stint in Jerusalem (1996).

Because of her geographic trajectory (Palestinian-Lebanese-British), Hatoum has inevitably become identified with themes of exile, displacement, estrangement, and diaspora, as well as violence. Granted, much of her work undeniably exhibits lethal properties easily threatening viewers' suddenly vulnerable bodies, whether through penitentiary associations, industrial strength precision, or actual volts of electricity, including digital or imagined (*Measures of Distance*, 1988; *The Light at the End*, 1989; *Light Sentence*, 1992; *Corps étranger*, 1994; *Sous Tension*, 1999; *La Grande Broyeuse (Mouli-Julienne x 17)*, 1999; and *Hot Spot*, 2006). She has nevertheless resisted having her work's content limited or reduced to a specific nationality, preferring instead to lay general claim for a universal state of alienation. Helping trigger this shift from single case toward anonymity, Hatoum exploits a prevalent mind/body split in Western culture that she noticed when moving from Lebanon to Great Britain. By inventively cultivating visceral responses, she repeatedly disrupts modernist and contemporary inclinations toward disembodied intellectualism.

Many of her works transform small home and kitchen appliances into live electrical conduits. In the frightening *Sous Tension* (1999), for example, scores of shiny, metallic household gadgetry permeate the family infrastructure, fitfully illuminating incandescent bulbs. The gargantuan assembly requires containment to prevent audiences from getting shocked, though they cannot avoid the intermittent sounds of electrical buzzing. While at London's Tate Gallery, *Sous Tension* required several feet of buffer and a 6-foot high perimeter of fencing, with steel wires spaced a few inches apart. Several of her works benefit from compound properties—elements giving off both light and heat, such as *The Light at the End* (1989) and, most recently, *Hot Spot* (1996), a glowing electrical globe and map of the world. One of Hatoum's most terrifying objects features a series of supersized 1950s gadgets such as slicers, shredders, and graters. Conducting neither live currents nor scorching heat, and likewise incapable of illumination, her 1999 *La Grande Broyeuse (Mouli-Julienne x 17)* nevertheless proves equally dramatic. The atrocious contraction has reminded some of torture chambers in Franz Kafka's nightmarish scenarios. Hatoum also takes cues from Michel Foucault and EDWARD SAID (for example, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* and *Reflections on Exile*).

#### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Hatoum describes her career path as initially concerned with performance and video art (1980s) and then, later, sculpture and installation (1990s and beyond). Although such compartmentalizing follows current trends in recent art terminology, Hatoum may just as easily be regarded

### EXPLORING

Given the contagion of international contemporary art exhibitions taking place around the globe (such as with Hatoum in 2007, exhibiting *Hot Spot* at the first biennale of Sharjah, United Arab Emirates), healthy numbers steadily presented for the recent and ongoing period by auction houses, and regular spikes of enrollment in art schools worldwide, contemporary art would appear to be thriving, even profitable, but which kinds ultimately gain value? How do some bodies of work, even subversive sorts, fare better in a globalized era than others? What does Mona Hatoum share with popular fellow YBAs, not to mention a growing cadre of transnational art stars, many of whom followed equally peripatetic routes as the Palestinian exile (such as GHADA AMER, Atlas Group, Cai Guo-Qiang, Félix Gonzalez-Torres, Wenda Gu, Shirin Neshat, Walid Raad, Yinka Shonibare, Shahzia Sikander, Rirkrit Tiravanija, and Xu Bing)? If audiences today crave the sleek and regimented, then transnational art's disparate cultural turns offer complexity to an otherwise homogenizing aesthetic.

as a sculptor from the beginning because, by definition, sculpture encompasses all of the above media. Indeed, Hatoum's potent corpus of work reveals great resonance with not only its immediate surroundings but also the rich (Western) history of modern and contemporary sculpture. That said, she and her YBA peers and other contemporary artists inherited a corporate aesthetics that became firmly embedded in the 1960s with the help of (primarily North American) minimalism, conceptualism, and postminimalism. In addition, her generation inescapably benefited from civil rights and feminist consciousness-raising, though she has called feminism a launching pad for a further range of social reform strategies, including postcolonialist constructions of reality. Her most effective works simultaneously draw upon many or all of these arenas often combined with technological sophistication.

A culmination of over a decade's work, *Measures of Distance* (1988) may prove to be one of her most popular and personal if controversial projects, not to mention, as video recording, easily reproducible. The visual field sequentially incorporates a dozen still images of her mother showering that Hatoum captured with a camera

on a visit back to Beirut in 1981. In addition, a steady scroll of Arabic script streams across the screen, presumably illegible to a majority of her audience, many likening the effect to barbed wire or steel under tension as well as strands of veil compelled by impropriety. In fact, the handwritten excerpts come from her mother's letters. Superimposed by audio, as Guy Brett explains, are the artist's English in a sad voice translating the Arabic words out loud together with tape-recorded conversation between the women intently exploring the recorded sentiments between bursts of laughter. An even more extreme case of video-recorded exposure, having involved acute risk of bodily harm, *Corps étranger* (1994) provides an actual endoscopic study of Hatoum's internal organs, screened on a floor monitor at the center of a circular compartment that recalls Foucault's *Panopticon* ideas. Both of these works explore tensions raised by and still debated within feminism over body control, surveillance, and physical consideration.

Hatoum's austere economy of means and rapid assimilation of classical Western design ensure that her work settles easily, if subversively, into familiar canons of form. Perhaps most effective are the following delicate, if deadly, subterfuges. In homage to and upstaging of fluorescent bulb minimalist Dan Flavin (1933–1996), *The Light at the End* (1989) features six evanescent vertical heating elements mounted in a spotlight steel frame. The glowing posts appear, at first, to warmly attract but, easily approachable, ultimately alarm and potentially harm with searing temperatures. Referencing the geometric floor grids and hard metal tiles produced by Carl Andre (1935–) as well as postminimalist and dichotomous accretions generated by Eva Hesse (1936–1970), *Present Tense* (1996) may represent one of Hatoum's softest yet most powerful conflagrations with its seemingly sterile installation charged with haunting sensations. Delineating the boundaries of Palestinian land Israel would relinquish as per the 1993 Oslo peace agreement but for the Palestinian refusal to sign the treaty having just then seen the maps ("little islands with no continuity or connection between them"), Hatoum methodically and painstakingly inserted tiny red glass beads demarcating the surfaces of more than sixteen-hundred diminutive bars of soap. She then arranged the bars, a Palestinian specialty handmade out of pure olive oil, in carpet-fashion for the floor of a Jerusalem gallery. Hatoum nods to Richard Serra (1939–), Robert Morris (1931–), Richard Long (1945–), and even Alexander Calder (1898–1976; e.g., *La Grand Vitesse*, 1969), not to mention Claes Oldenbourg (1929–), in masterpieces *La Grand Broyeuse* (1999) and *Mouli-Julienne (x 21)* (2000).

Paramount to Hatoum's transnational success has been her magnanimous tolerance for, adaptability to, and integration of cultural dissonance that she courts by

perpetually placing herself in foreign working environments. Impressive demonstrations of cultural flexibility and fluency are all the more poignant for their forceful unsettling, if abruptly elegant, disjunctures, even when experienced through reproduction. However concrete the evidence of the artist's own discomfiture of process, she welcomes the fact that audiences need not appreciate, much less be aware of, her particular pain to unavoidably experience their own dis-ease, especially in person. Compared to Hatoum, few artists present as extensive a spectrum of experience and breadth of media, even at the risk of inadequate documentation, as with such ephemeral performances as *Look No Body!* (1981), *Under Siege* (1983), *Roadworks* (1985), and perhaps *Pull* (1995). Even more impressively, few so acutely encrystallize the terroristic tenor of daily life, whether lived in macro- or microcosm, all the while maintaining dialogue with contemporary and prior eras of art and ideas. In the spirit of Hermann Hesse and others, Hatoum hijacks masculine minimalist aesthetics, enabling alternative sensibilities.

#### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

Although Hatoum received steady attention from her years at Slade until the close of the 1980s, critics remained cautious. Meanwhile, her energetic exhibition record proved innovative and shocking. From 1989 until 2006, she was in more than forty solo exhibitions at prestigious institutions around the world. During these years, her work gained global respectability, especially after being short-listed in 1995 for the annual Turner Prize, one of the most important and controversial art awards in Europe (won that year by another YBA, Damien Hirst). Equally critical, she has importantly figured in such definitive and landmark group shows as MoMA's *Sense and Sensibility: Women and Minimalism in the Nineties* (1994); the first Shaker community artist's residency *The Quiet in the Land* (1997); and the Habana (1991, 1994), Venice (1995), Istanbul (1995), Kwangju (1997), Sao Paulo (1988), Cairo (1998), Sydney (2006), as well as Sharjah (2007) biennales, and Documenta 11 (2002). Her work also traveled with such provocative exhibitions as *Interrogating Identity* (1991), *Inside the Visible: An Elliptical Traverse of 20th Century Art in, of, and from the Feminine* (1996), *Sensation: Young British Artists from the Saatchi Collection* (1997), and *Beyond East and West: Seven Transnational Artists* (2004).

#### LEGACY

Mona Hatoum's remarkable ascendancy becomes evident in her being recognized as an artist alone or first, instead of or in addition to being a Palestinian, woman, or political artist. She has succeeded in achieving the formal vocabulary necessary for global exchange without, however,

## A LOT OF LITTLE AREAS

I came across a map divided into a lot of little areas circled in red, like little islands with no continuity or connection between them. . . . Showing the territorial divisions arrived at under the Oslo Agreement, and it represented the first phase of returning land to the Palestinian authorities. But really it was a map about dividing and controlling the area. At the first sign of trouble Israel practices "closure"; they close all the passages . . . the Arabs are completely isolated and paralyzed. . . . [Soap] is one of those traditional Palestinian productions that have carried on despite drastic changes in the area. . . . Every part of the process is still done by hand, from mixing the solution in a large stone vat, to pouring it on the floor, to cutting and packing it. . . . One visitor asked, "Did you draw the map on soap because when it dissolves we won't have any of these stupid borders?"

MONA HATOUM, EXPLAINING PRESENT TENSE IN AN INTERVIEW  
BY MICHAEL ARCHER. ARCHER 26–27.

sacrificing biographical specifics. She and many equally successful contemporaries borrow cool, contained, austere, and orderly stylistics of previous generations, especially (North American) minimalism, only to convey opposite sensation (such as conflicted, dangerous, messy, or undifferentiated) while exploring the body politic. Minimalism itself managed to pass or blend into the urban corporate infrastructure without exposing latently violent roots (born, for example, out of the American-Vietnam conflict). Similar to the peers she selects for *Here Is Elsewhere*, Hatoum similarly revives minimalism as radical camouflage for, as she explains in interview, "various issues without being didactic" including "sexuality, AIDS, gender, and identity representation" (Daftari, 2003).

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Mysoon Rizk

HERSHKO, AVRAM  
(1937–)

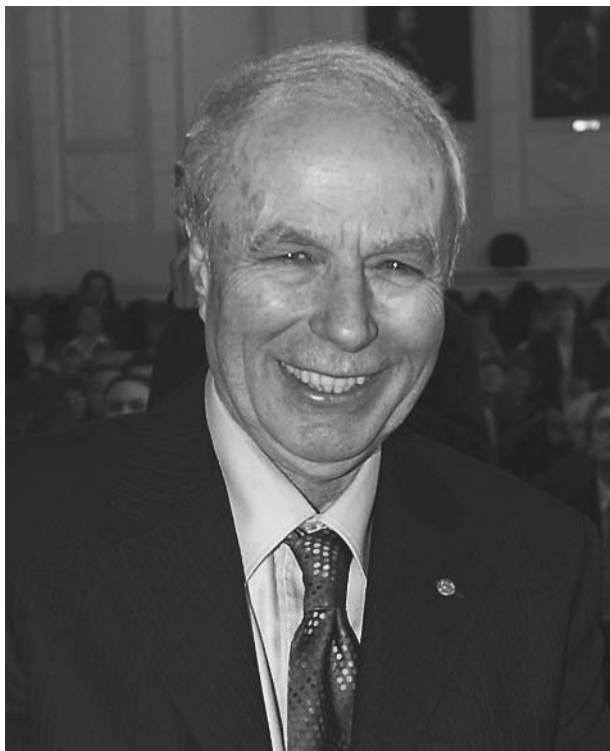
Avram (full name: Avraham) Hershko is a prominent Israeli biochemist and Nobel Prize winner.

## PERSONAL HISTORY

Hershko was born on 31 December 1937 in Karcag, Hungary. During World War II, Hungary was a German ally. In 1944 German forces occupied the country and began deporting its Jewish population. Hershko's father was drafted into a labor unit and sent to the Russian front, while he and some of the rest of his family were deported to a Jewish ghetto in Szolnok and then to Austria to work as forced laborers, as well. Both parents survived the war, and the family moved to Israel in 1950.

Hershko received his M.D. in 1965 from the Hadasah Faculty of Medicine at the Hebrew University of





*Avram Hershko.* AP IMAGES.

Jerusalem in Israel, and completed a Ph.D. in biochemistry there following his service as a physician in the Israeli army from 1965 to 1967. In 1969 and 1971, he was on a postdoctoral fellowship at the University of California. In 1971, Hershko was invited to become the chairman of biochemistry at the faculty of medicine at the Technion (Israel Institute of Technology) in Haifa, Israel. Hershko has remained at the Technion ever since, and is currently a Distinguished Professor at the Rappaport Family Institute for Research in Medical Sciences at the Technion, as well as an adjunct professor of pathology at New York University.

#### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

The home Hershko grew up in stressed education and knowledge. In medical school, Hershko studied organic chemistry with the renowned scientist Yeshayahu Leibowitz, and studied other subjects with the likes of Ernst Wertheimer, Jacob Mager, and Shlomo Hestrin. Attracted to biochemistry, he eschewed clinical medical practice to go into medical research. He later worked with Mager during his doctoral studies in biochemistry at the Hebrew University.

From 1977 to 1981, Hershko worked along with a junior Israeli colleague, Aaron Ciechanover, in studying

### BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Avram Hershko

**Birth:** 1937, Karcag, Hungary

**Family:** Wife, Judith (married 1963); sons, Dan, Year, and Ode

**Nationality:** Israeli

**Education:** M.D., Hadassah Faculty of Medicine, Hebrew University of Jerusalem (1965); Ph.D., Hebrew University of Jerusalem (1969)

#### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1967:** Serves as a physician in the Israeli army
- **1969:** Fills postdoctoral fellowship at the University of California
- **1971:** Invited to chair department of biochemistry at the faculty of medicine at the Technion (Israel Institute of Technology)
- **1977:** Begins research into the breakdown of proteins
- **2000:** Receives Albert Lasker Award for Basic Medical Research
- **2004:** Corecipient of Nobel Prize for Chemistry

the breakdown of proteins. Both also cooperated with an American colleague, Irwin Rose, at the Fox Chase Cancer Center in Philadelphia. Years later, in 2004, Hershko, Ciechanover, and Rose were awarded the Nobel Prize in Chemistry for the discovery of ubiquitin-mediated protein degradation. The Swedish Royal Academy of Sciences lauded their research:

Proteins build up all living things: plants, animals and therefore us humans. In the past few decades, biochemistry has come a long way towards explaining how the cell produces all its various proteins. But as to the breaking down of proteins, not so many researchers were interested. Aaron Ciechanover, Avram Hershko and Irwin Rose went against the stream and at the beginning of the 1980s discovered one of the cell's most important cyclical processes, regulated protein degradation. For this, they are being rewarded with this year's Nobel Prize in Chemistry. (<http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/biography/Hershko.html>)

## THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

Hershko is world-renowned for his contributions to the field of biochemistry, as attested to by many awards and honors. In addition to the Nobel Prize, he was awarded the Weizmann Prize for Sciences in Israel in 1997. In 1993 he was elected to the European Molecular Biology Organization, and the following year received the prestigious Israel Prize—Israel's highest civilian award—in biochemistry and medicine. Along with his collaborator Ciechanover, he was corecipient of the Wachter Prize (University of Innsbruck, Austria) in 1994. Hershko was also a corecipient of the Gairdner International Award, given by the Gairdner Foundation of Canada in 1999. In 2000 Hershko received the prestigious Albert Lasker Award for Basic Medical Research from the Lasker Foundation in the United States and the Alfred P. Sloan Prize. More recently, he received the 2001 Merck Award from the American Society for Biochemistry and Molecular Biology; the 2001 Wolf Prize for Medicine; the 2002 E. B. Wilson Medal from the American Society of Cell Biology; and the 2005 Stein and Moore Award from the Protein Society.

## LEGACY

Hershko will be remembered as a giant in Israel science and medicine, and one of the world's foremost experts on protein degradation.

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*Michael R. Fischbach*

## HONDO, MED (1954–)

Abid Mohammed Medoun Hondo, known as Med Hondo is a filmmaker from Mauritania who has been making films for over forty-five years and today remains one of the leading West African filmmakers working on the continent, in Europe, and the United States.

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Med Hondo (Abid Mohammed Medoun Hondo)

**Birth:** 1936, Ain Ouled Beri Mathar, Mauritania

**Nationality:** Mauritanian

**Education:** Little formal education. Studied theater in Paris with Françoise Rosay where he played roles in numerous theatrical productions by Shakespeare, Chekhov, Kateb Yacine, Aimé Césaire, and Brecht

### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1958:** Immigrates to Paris, begins theater work and founds his own theater company, Shango
- **1966:** Acts in Costa Gavras's film *Un homme de trop (One Man Too Many)*; makes the short film *Balade aux sources*
- **1969:** Makes the award-winning film, *Soleil O*; acts in John Huston's film *A Walk with Love and Death*
- **1974:** Makes film *Les Bicots-nègres vos voisins*
- **1976:** Makes film *Nous Aurons Toute la Mort pour Dormir*
- **1983:** Makes film *Camera d'Afrique: 20 Years of African Cinema*
- **1986:** Makes film *Sarraounia Sarraounia* won the prize for best film at FESPACO (Festival Pan-Africain du Cinéma)
- **1994:** Makes *Lumière Noire*
- **1998:** Makes *Watani, un monde sans mal*
- **2001:** Makes *Antilles-Sur-Seine*
- **2003:** Stages play by Algerian Kateb Yacine, *La Guerre de 2,000 ans (The War of 2,000 Years)*
- **2004:** Makes *Fatima, l'Algérienne de Dakar*

### PERSONAL HISTORY

Hondo, was born in 1936 in Ain Ouled Beri Mathar, in the Atar region of Mauritania. His father was Senegalese, and his mother Mauritanian. Hondo had little schooling before immigrating to Paris in 1958 to look for work as a dockworker in the south of France. After moving to Paris and working as a waiter, he attended drama classes. Also during this time he founded the first African performance group known as Shango, named for the Yoruba god of thunder. In the 1960 he began his film career. In 1966

Hondo made his first short film, *Ballade aux sources* (*Walk to the Source*), the story of a disillusioned African man who returns to his homeland after living for years in France in abject poverty. In 1965 he wrote the now infamous film, *Soleil O* (*Sun O*), which was made into a film in 1969.

### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Hondo's film *Soleil O* was one of the first films made by an African filmmaker. It reveals the dismal plight of immigrant workers in France. Metaphorically, the film represents the entire history of French colonization in West Africa. *Soleil O* is set in an unidentified French colony in West Africa. Africans there are baptized by force by white priests who have no regard for their culture. For Hondo, the effacement of Africans' identity was the principal means used by the colonizers to subjugate and later keep the Africans out of the socioeconomic wealth of the world's economy. The film juxtaposes colonial history with that of the colonized immigrant in France. According to Hondo, these immigrants succumb to the idea that they will be able to profit from a better life in France, but in reality they become slaves to unemployment and menial jobs in a racist society. *Soleil O* was selected for the prestigious Critics Week award at the Cannes Film Festival in 1969, much to the dismay of French government authorities who considered the film to be too negative. The film was banned in many African countries due to concern over the possible damage to diplomatic ties with France. Stylistically and thematically, *Soleil O* calls to mind the works of Hondo's contemporaries, notably famous filmmaker and author Ousmane Sembène. His films *Le Docker Noir* (*Black Dockworker*, 1959) and *Black Girl* (1968), similar to Hondo's *Soleil O*, give a voice to the nameless thou-

sands of France's immigrants who live in miserable situations.

Hondo has never been deterred by the criticism he received for his controversial films. He maintains that he is dedicated to messages condemning white hegemony and the continual neocolonial status quo that has disenfranchised Africans in Europe. Later films, *Lumière Noire* (1994, *Black Light*) and *Watani, un monde sans mal* (1998, *Watani, a Life without Pain*) seek to show the effects of economic disparities between Africa and the West with the goal of bringing the realities of Africa to European audiences, as Hondo expressed in an interview with Françoise Pfaff: "I wanted to explain myself and explain Africa and the Africans. I wanted to explain the causes, structures, and consequences of immigration to audiences whether French, European or universal. Yet above all, I wanted to gear my message to the Africans and the black world" (1986, p. 45).

### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

Since *Soleil O*, Hondo has made thought provoking, engaging full-length feature films as well as documentaries, including *Fatima, l'Algérienne de Dakar* (2004, *Fatima, the Algerian Woman of Dakar*), *Antilles-Sur-Seine* (2001, *Antilles on the Seine*), *Watani, un monde sans mal* (1998, *Watani, a World without Pain*), *Lumière Noire* (1994, *Black Light*), *Sarraounia* (1986), *Camera d'Afrique: 20 Years of African Cinema* (1983), *Nous Aurons Toute la Mort pour Dormir* (1976, *We Will All Have Death to Sleep*), *Les Bicots-nègres vos voisins* (1974, *The Black Wogs, Your Neighbors*). *Sarraounia* won the prize for best film at FESPACO (Festival Pan-Africain du Cinéma) in Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso. Hondo's work reflects the true, social-realist style of many African filmmakers, such as Sembène, Gaston Kaboré, and Safi Faye. These cineastes strive to show not only Europeans but also Africans the reality in which they live. African realities for these filmmakers include revealing both the negatives and positives of the continent as well as the legacies of colonialism, historically and contemporaneously. According to film scholar Manthia Diawara, social realist films

draw on contemporary experiences, and they oppose tradition to modernity, oral to written, agrarian and customary communities to urban and industrialized systems... The filmmakers often use a traditional position to criticize and link certain forms of modernity to neocolonialism and cultural imperialism. From a modernist point of view, they also debunk the attempt to romanticize traditional values as pure and original. The heroes are women, children, and other marginalized groups that are pushed into the shadows by the elites of tradition and modernity. (1992, p. 141)

### CONTEMPORARIES

Since the 1980s, Hondo has worked with other African and international filmmakers, including: Ousmane Sembène (Senegal), Paulin Vieyra (Senegal), Souleyman Cissé (Mali), J. M. Tchissou Kou (Congo), Karamo Lancine (Côte d'Ivoire), Abacar Samb (Senegal), Safi Faye (Senegal), Ola Balugun (Nigeria), Haile Gerima (Ethiopia), and Julie Dash (USA). These filmmakers formed the Comité Africain de Cinéastes (CAC; African Filmmakers Committee) that, since the 1980s, has sought to resolve the pressing questions of funding, distribution, and marketing for African films.

## IT IS NOT UP TO EUROPE TO SOLVE AFRICAN PROBLEMS

It is not up to Europe to solve African problems, but it's up to the Africans themselves. If we attack U.S. multinationals, it's because they collect a lot of dollars in our African countries, with no bilateral relationships or exchange.

REID, MARK. "MED HONDO, WORKING ABROAD: INTERVIEW."  
TRANSLATED BY SYLVIE BLUM. *JUMP CUT* 31 (MARCH 1986): 48–49.

One of Hondo's most impressive social-realist works is *Wantani* (1998), his first feature film shot in video. *Wantani* compares the destinies of two men in Paris, one a black African street sweeper and the other a white executive who works in a bank. Both men lose their jobs on the same day, yet both handle this upheaval differently. The white man keeps up appearances by lying to his wife and drinking himself into oblivion in the local bar. He eventually tags along with a gang of thugs whose passion for beating up immigrants and people of color leads him down a spiral of violence with no redemption. The black African, however, never loses his dignity even though it means he and his family must accept charity in order to survive. They find community support in their immigrant neighborhood and goodness in other immigrants who have had to accept similar fates. Hondo was derided by critics for the film's violence, which he protested was a mirror of the reality that African immigrants face every day in the streets of France.

### LEGACY

Today, Med Hondo as well as his African contemporaries in postcolonial Francophone West Africa face a multitude of difficulties associated with the technical side of filmmaking. These adversities are coupled with the socioeconomic hurdles that are particular to the region and the larger continent. Contemporary challenges to the African filmmaker present themselves as a plethora of problems stemming from a dearth in natural resources to economically and socioculturally determined obstacles. They all impede the production and distribution of films and audiences' access to them. One such obstacle is the lack of available theaters in West Africa in which to screen African films. As of 2007, there are only thirty-five remaining viable theaters in the region of former French-colonial West Africa (these include the countries of Benin, Burkina-Faso, Côte d'Ivoire, Guinea, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Senegal, and Togo). The few theaters

that do exist predominately show American films. A paucity of resources, as well as internal conflicts in numerous countries, are hurdles never faced by Western European and American filmmakers, as Hondo emphasizes in an interview:

We can't make films like Europeans. . . . African filmmakers have to fight a double front to reach people. They have problems with their president, their cultural minister, and with multinationals. Most African countries' policies do not see the film industry as a way to awaken people, yet we can't develop our country if we don't develop the people's consciousness. (Reid, 1986, p. 48)

In an effort to find new models that reflect a particular African view of the world, Hondo, with other filmmakers, formed the *Fédération Panafricaine des Cinéastes* (FEPACI), an association dedicated to inspiring pan-African ideals that are positive and forward thinking. The FEPACI have focused their efforts on encouraging "an African film style, which in its process of decolonizing. . . also question[s] the images of Africa and challenge[s] the received narrative structure" of Western cinema (Ukadike, 1994, p. 91).

New models in African filmmaking are certainly evident in recent films by Sembène (*Moolaadé*, 2005) and Moussa Sène Absa (*Madame Brouette*, 2002). Most particular to their advocacy of pan-Africanism is these filmmakers' dedication to changing their societies for the better, but on African terms. Hondo and others have challenged their societies to think about a plethora of subjects, ranging from issues such as AIDS prevention and women's rights, to static traditionalism and religious practices that have impeded their cultures from moving forward to engage necessary societal transformations.

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Valérie Orlando

## HOURANI, HANI (1945–)

Hani Mahmoud Hourani is a Jordanian artist, photographer, scholar, journalist, and political activist.

### PERSONAL HISTORY

Hourani (Hani Mahmud Hawrani) was born in al-Zarqa, Jordan, on 1 June 1945 to a family of Jordanian Arab Muslims. As a young man, he took drawing and painting classes in Amman beginning in 1961, and was a founding member of the Society for Painting and Sculpture in 1963. His first solo exhibition of oil and watercolor paintings took place in Amman in 1967. In 1970, he graduated from the University of Jordan with a B.A. in political science.

Hourani also became active in antigovernment politics. He was associated with the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP), a Marxist faction within the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) that was headed by a fellow Jordanian, Nayif Hawatma. In addition to its commitment to fighting Israel, the DFLP also opposed Jordan's King Hussein, and tried to forge political links between antiregime East Bank Jordanians and Palestinians based on their mutual hostility to the Jordanian government. When the Jordanian army expelled Palestinian guerrillas and organizations after the bitter fighting between the two sides in September 1970, Hourani fled into exile in Beirut, where the PLO set up its new headquarters.

Hourani lived in Syria and Lebanon thereafter, although he also spent time pursuing a Ph.D. in social sciences at the Social Sciences Institute in Moscow in the 1980s. From 1971 to 1977, Hourani was a researcher at the Palestinian Research Center in Beirut and was an editor for the DFLP magazine *al-Huriyya* (Freedom). From 1984 to 1990, he served as editor in chief of the journal *al-Urdun al-Jadid* (The new Jordan). Hourani also published the book *Al-Tarkib al-Iqtisadi al-Ijtima'i li-Sharq al-Urdunn: Muqadimmat al-Tatawwur al-Mushawwa, 1921–1950* (The socioeconomic structure of Transjordan: introduction in distorted development, 1921–1950) in 1978. Still cultivating his artistic side, Hourani took photography courses in Beirut in 1974 and in Moscow in 1975.

Following Jordan's political liberalization in 1989, Hourani and other political exiles were allowed to return to their homeland. He continued his scholarly activities, founding al-Urdun al-Jadid Research Center in Amman in 1990. He has authored or coauthored dozens of books and articles on Jordanian history and politics since then, and has been heavily involved in associations promoting civil society and democratization in Jordan and the Arab world. He helped found the National Society for the

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Hani Mahmoud Hourani (Hani Mahmud Hawrani)

**Birth:** 1945, al-Zarqa, Jordan

**Family:** Wife, Su'ad Isawi (Issawi), a Palestinian; three daughters, Lama, Reem, and Farah

**Nationality:** Jordanian

**Education:** B.A., University of Jordan, 1970; Ph.D. studies (not completed), Social Sciences Institute, Moscow, late 1980s

### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1963:** Helps found Society for Painting and Sculpture
- **1967:** First solo exhibition of paintings, Amman
- **1970:** Flees Jordan for Lebanon
- **1971:** Begins work in Beirut as researcher for Palestinian Research Center and as editor for *al-Hurriya* magazine
- **1984:** Editor in chief, *al-Urdun al-Jadid*
- **1989:** Returns to Jordan after democratization
- **1990:** Establishes al-Urdun al-Jadid Research Center and Baladna Gallery in Amman
- **1993:** First solo exhibition of paintings since returning to Jordan
- **1996:** First photographic exhibition in Jordan
- **2006:** Helps establish Arab Democrats Network and Arab Program for Democracy

Enhancement of Freedom and Democracy in 1995, the Jordanian Association for Democratic Elections in 1997, the Arab Civic Network for Democratic Reform in 2005, and both the Arab Democrats Network and the Arab Program for Democracy in 2006. Hourani also briefly was involved with the Jordanian Democratic People's Party (known by the Arabic acronym "Hashd"), the Jordanian political party that grew out of the DFLP after parties were legalized in 1990. He and others soon split from Hashd to form the Jordanian Democratic Party in August 1990, and in 1992 he left that party to help form the Jordanian Democratic Platform.

Hourani pursued his artistic endeavors as well after returning to Jordan, displaying paintings and photographs at numerous exhibitions both there and abroad. In 1993 he mounted his first solo exhibition of oils and

watercolors in Amman since 1968. His first photography exhibition, "People and Places," opened in Amman in 1996. He since has participated in ten other photographic exhibitions in Jordan, Sweden, Syria, and Egypt. He and his wife, Su'ad Isawi, opened Baladna Gallery (now called Foresight Art Center) in Amman in 1990.

#### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Hourani has been a pioneer in scholarship about Jordan. His 1978 book *Al-Tarkib al-Iqtisadi* was the first book to analyze Jordanian history critically from a political economy perspective. Published in Beirut, it stood in marked contrast to the bland political histories produced in Jordan that offered no critical scholarly analysis of Jordanian history and Jordan's ruling monarchy. Hourani's perspective, his past political activities, and the fact that the book was published by the PLO, caused it to be banned in his native Jordan. However, it was an influential book for a new generation of Jordanian and foreign scholars studying outside Jordan who, beginning in the 1980s, began producing insightful books, articles, and doctoral dissertations on Jordan's history. The many books and conferences Hourani has produced through al-Urdun al-Jadid Research Center also have become staples for those who have sought penetrating studies about subjects such as Jordanian political parties, elections, civil society, labor history, and women's history.

Hourani also has contributed significantly to democratization and the strengthening of civil society in Jordan following the liberalization begun in 1989. His many books, the many activities he has been involved with through al-Urdun al-Jadid Research Center, and his involvement in nongovernmental organizations promoting democracy have played an important role in the country's intellectual and political life. His artistic work has contributed to the flourishing of cultural life in Jordan in recent years.

#### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

Hourani is recognized internationally for his contributions to Jordan's intellectual scene, as demonstrated by his involvement with projects in conjunction with organizations and foundations worldwide such as the Rockefeller Foundation, the Ford Foundation, the Third World Forum, the United Nations University, and the G8 summit.

#### LEGACY

Hani Hourani's legacy will be his many contributions to the development of Jordan's intellectual and cultural life, as well as his commitment to democracy and human rights in Jordan and throughout the Arab world.

## CONTEMPORARIES

Lama Hourani (1978– ) is the daughter of Hani Hourani. Born in Damascus, Syria, she moved to Jordan in 1989 when her father was permitted to return to his homeland. Lama Hourani has followed in the artistic path of her father. She graduated with a B.A. in painting and drawing from Yarmuk University in Irbid, Jordan, in 2000, took gemology and jewelry design courses in Italy through the Gemological Institute of America in 2002, and by 2007 was working on an M.A. in product design at the Istituto Marangoni in Milan. While doing this, Hourani worked as project manager at Baladna Gallery in Amman from 1999–2002.

An internationally known jewelry designer, Hourani established Lama Hourani Creations in 1999, which since 2004 has been based at Foresight Art Center in Amman (Web site: [http:// www.lamahourani.com](http://www.lamahourani.com)). Exhibitions of her work have appeared in Jordan, Syria, Egypt, Lebanon, the United Arab Emirates, India, Bahrain, Canada (at the Canadian Museum of Civilization in Ottawa), and the United States (at the American Museum of Natural History in New York and the Cincinnati Museum in Cincinnati). Frequent buyers of her jewelry include Queen Rania of Jordan, Queen Noor of Jordan, Queen Sofia of Spain, and American actresses Renée Zellweger and Ashley Olsen.

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*Michael R. Fischbach*

## HURVITZ, ELI (1932–)

Israeli business leader Eli Hurvitz led Teva (Hebrew: "nature"), the firm he managed for more than twenty-five years, from a tiny domestic firm to a leading Israel-based global pharmaceutical company that has maintained an enviable record of consistent and rapid growth.

His leadership, charisma, strategic vision, impressive business results, real influences over the economy, and excellent human relations are widely admired by business leaders in Israel and abroad.

#### PERSONAL HISTORY

Born in 1932 in Jerusalem, mandatory Palestine, Hurvitz moved to Tel Aviv with his family in 1934. In May 1948, when he was sixteen, his high school studies were cut short. He and his classmates were recruited to fight in the 1948 Arab-Israeli war in the army of the newly founded State of Israel. In early 1949 the youngsters resumed their studies for five months, completing their matriculation exams. After graduation Hurvitz wore a uniform again, and in November 1949 joined the border kibbutz Tel Katzir. There, he met Dalia Solomon. They were married in June 1953 and left the kibbutz in October 1953.

Hurvitz joined Assia Chemical Labs Ltd., a tiny firm of which Dalia's father was a managing partner. He washed dishes in the laboratory while pursuing his undergraduate studies in economics. After graduation from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in 1957 he began doing office work at Assia, moving to executive ranks. Assia merged with Zori in 1964 and in 1969 acquired a controlling interest in Teva. The three firms merged in 1976 into Teva Pharmaceutical Industries Ltd., with combined sales of US\$28 million and with Hurvitz as the CEO. His early strategic vision was to create a market leader in Israel. He thus acquired Ikepharm with U.S. Food and Drug Administration (FDA) approved plant and Plantex, a leading producer of active pharmaceutical ingredients (1980), Migada, a manufacturer of disposable medical equipment (1984), and Abic, a drug manufacturer (September 1988).

Until 1985 Teva produced under license drugs and fine chemicals for the local market. By 1985 sales revenues were US\$88 million. The limited size of the Israeli market was a barrier to further expansion. Together with W. R. Grace, Hurvitz acquired in 1985 Lemmon, a small generics company, to access the then-embryonic U.S. generic drugs market. Teva became a binational company. In 1990 W. R. Grace sold its Lemmon shares to Teva. Since then Hurvitz has led Teva to become a global leader in generic drug and active pharmaceutical ingredients manufacturer in Europe and North America with an annual growth rate of sales of over 20 percent (and more than that in profits), both organically and through mergers and acquisitions. By 2002, sales were US\$2.519 billion. In 2006 sales were US\$8.408 billion, of which \$7.721 billion were in North America. Teva's headquarters is in Israel and it has subsidiaries in over fifty countries.

Hurvitz also aspired to leverage Israeli science. The huge investment required for research and development and regulatory approval of a new drug (estimated at

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Eli Hurvitz

**Birth:** 1932, Jerusalem, mandatory Palestine

**Family:** Wife, Dalia; one son, Chaim; two daughters, Vered and Daphne

**Nationality:** Israeli

**Education:** B.A. (economics), Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1957

#### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1953:** Joined Assia-Pharmaceutical. Assia and Teva merged in 1976.
- **1974–1978:** Chairman of the Israel Export Institute
- **1976–2002:** CEO Teva Pharmaceutical
- **1981–1986:** President of the Israel Manufacturers Association
- **1986–1987:** Chairman of the board of Bank Leumi
- **1989–1995:** Chairman of the Executive Committee and Council of the Weizmann Institute of Science
- **1990:** Honorary doctorate of technological science; the Technion Israel Institute of Technology
- **1994:** Honorary doctorate of Philosophy, the Weizmann Institute of Science
- **2002–present:** Chairman of the board, Teva and the Israel Democracy Institute
- **2004:** Honorary doctorate of philosophy, Tel Aviv University
- **2006:** Business Leadership Award, America: Israel Chamber of Commerce Chicago

US\$1 billion) was beyond Teva's reach. It did develop, register, produce, and market molecules discovered by Israeli researchers, such as Copaxone for multiple sclerosis (registered in the United States in 1996), and a patented drug for the treatment of Parkinson's disease, approved for marketing in the European Union (2005) and the United States (2006). In 2005 sales of Copaxone were US\$1.2 billion, 12 percent of Teva's global sales. In 2002 Hurvitz retired as the CEO of Teva, becoming chairman of its board. The firm continues to double its sales volume every four years.

Parallel to his career at Teva, Hurvitz served Israel's economy in other key roles: chairman of Israel Export Institute (1974–1978); president of Israel Manufacturers Association (1981–1986); chairman of the board of Bank Leumi (1986–1987); chairman of the Jerusalem Development Authority (1989–1992); a member of the Advisory Committee of the Bank of Israel (1991–1995); director of Koor Industries Ltd. (1997–2004); and director of Magal Security System Ltd. (1992–1994). He also served as chairman of the Executive Committee of the Weizmann Institute of Science (1989–1995).

Hurvitz's achievements have been widely recognized. He received honorary doctorates from the Technion Israel Institute of Technology (1990), the Weizmann Institute of Science (1994), Ben-Gurion University (2002), and Tel Aviv University (2004). Among other numerous prizes and awards he received the Israel Prize for lifetime achievement, most notably for being a unique contribution to the society and the state (2003) and Business Leader of the Decade from Dun & Bradstreet (2005). He served as a member of the International Council of the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University (2002–2005).

Since moving to chairing Teva, Hurvitz devotes much time to nurturing several biotechnological firms. In addition, he is a member of the board of governors of Tel Aviv University (since 2001), a director of Vishay Technologies (since 1997), and chair of the Israel Democracy Institute (since 2002).

#### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Born in Palestine long before Israel was established, Hurvitz has been deeply committed to the building of a Jewish state. He devoted much time to public roles. He seized new opportunities in the U.S. and later European markets. The creation of an Israeli-based globally integrated, fast growing, generic drugs multinational has been a unique contribution. Further, by developing new medications discovered by Israeli academics, these researchers no longer have to license their discoveries to foreign firms.

#### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

A large home market is said to be a prerequisite for becoming global. Growth of firms from small countries is constrained by the size of their home market. Yet neither competing in foreign large markets nor integrating globally is easy. Many other Israelis had innovative technologies but were unable to manage growth processes and succumbed to acquisitions by large U.S.-based multinationals. Hurvitz is the only Israeli to nurture a global

Israeli-based powerhouse. He thus is a role model for managers in other small countries.

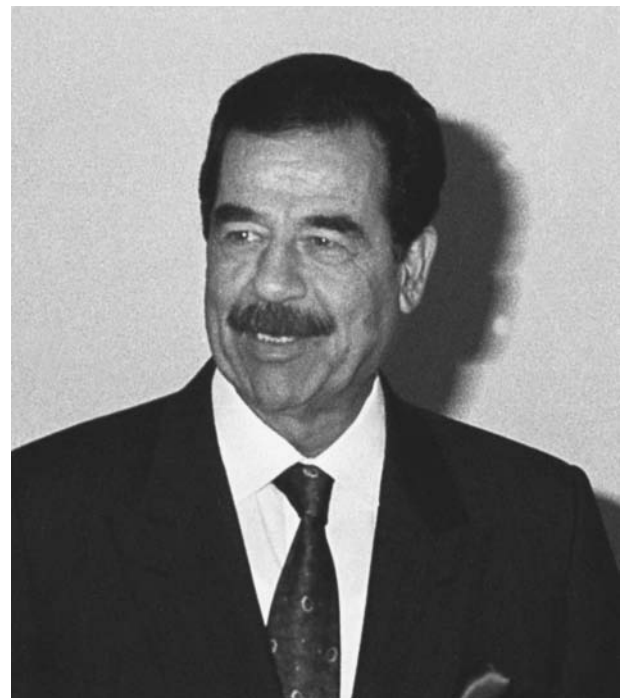
#### LEGACY

Hurvitz led the firm he managed from a tiny producer of pills under license to a thirty-six-billion-tablets major global firm, all the while maintaining its Israeli identity and fast growth. Teva is the only Israeli firm successful in achieving this transformation.

*Yair Aharoni*

### HUSSEIN, SADDAM (1937–2006)

President of Iraq from 1979 to 2003, Saddam Hussein (Abd) al-Majid al-Tikriti (known in the Arab world and elsewhere simply as Saddam Hussein, or just Saddam) ruled that country with an iron fist. He is said to have caused the death of more than a million Iraqis during his years in power, some by torture and execution, some by mass killing, and others in war. He ascended to power through the ranks of the Ba'th Party, whose rule over the country began in 1968. Saddam gradually followed a careful plan to promote himself from the second place



*Saddam Hussein.* AP IMAGES.



in the party and the government to the highest position within a decade.

#### PERSONAL HISTORY

Saddam Hussein was born in the village of al-Awja, near Tikrit, Iraq, on 28 April 1937. His father, Hussein al-Majid, died shortly before Saddam was born. Not much else is known about him, indicating—in a regime that glorified everything about Saddam and his family—that Saddam did not care much about him. Saddam's mother, Sabha Talfah, however, was referred to by his propaganda as "the mother of the heroes." When she died in 1982, she received an elaborate funeral and her burial place became a large shrine. After Saddam's father died, Sabha married Saddam's uncle, Ibrahim al-Hasan, and the couple had three sons, Barzan, Watban, and Sab'awi. Saddam went at an early age to live in Baghdad with his uncle, Khayrallah Talfah, an officer in the Iraqi military, and attend school in the Iraqi capital.

Al-Awja village, where Saddam was raised, was one of the poorest areas in Iraq. Its mud houses, scarce resources, and lack of opportunity subdued its residents' aspirations. But for the young Saddam adversity became a driving force to defy the defeatist mind-set of his fellow villagers. His early life was full of trouble and he was known as a thug. At one point, he was about to be expelled from school, but went to the principal and threatened to kill him if he did not withdraw the order. His best friend at the time was his cousin, Adnan Khayrallah, who was three years his junior. Saddam was envious of Adnan's stable life, especially his having a father who provided for him, while Saddam was deprived of the most basic necessities. Decades later, Saddam recalled that he envied Adnan for having a nice pair of shoes, while he was barefoot.

The tribe of Saddam, Al Bu Nasir, was the largest in the area. It belongs to the Sunni branch of Islam and has a strict conservative tradition. Members were predominantly Arab nationalists. While many of the residents of al-Awja were farmers, a large number of them engaged in illegal activities such as smuggling, looting, theft, and attacking the vessels traveling on the Tigris River. Some of the families had sent their sons to the military to join the officer corps, taking the advantage of the government's preference for officers recruited mainly from the Sunni population.

Saddam's life in Baghdad, coupled with his uncle's influence, introduced him to the rising wave of Arab nationalism in Iraq. Arab nationalism was one of three main political currents in a country ruled by the Hashemite monarchy installed by the British in 1921 and maintained by them as a dependency: a pro-British elite, a communist movement and an Arab nationalist movement. On 14 July 1958, Brigadier General Abd al-Karim

#### BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Saddam Hussein (Abd) al-Majid al-Tikriti (Hussain, Husayn)

**Birth:** 1937, al-Awja, near Tikrit, Iraq

**Death:** 2006, Baghdad, Iraq

**Family:** Wives, Sajida Khayrallah Talfah and Samira Shahbandar; sons, Uday, Qusay, and Ali (the only child from the marriage to Samira Shahbandar); daughters, Raghad, Rana, and Hala

**Nationality:** Iraqi

**Education:** High school; some college. Entered law school, Cairo University, 1961, but did not graduate

#### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1959:** Participates in failed attempt to assassinate President Abd al-Karim Qasim. Flees to Syria; in 1960 to Egypt
- **1964:** Returns to Iraq, is jailed
- **1968:** Takes part in Ba'th coup
- **1969:** Appointed deputy chairman, Revolutionary Command Council
- **1979:** Becomes president; gives himself highest military rank
- **1980:** Launches eight-year war with Iran
- **1990:** Invades Kuwait, inviting international response and harsh military and economic sanctions
- **1991–2003:** Gulf War led by United States forces withdrawal from Kuwait with a humiliating defeat and cease-fire agreement; harsh military and economic sanctions remain in place
- **2003:** Removed from power by U.S.-British invasion; captured by U.S. forces 13 December
- **2006:** 5 November, convicted of charges of mass murder; 30 December, executed by U.S.-installed Iraqi government

Qasim led a military coup that ended the Hashemite monarchy and declared Iraq a republic. The young Saddam Hussein participated in a failed assassination attempt against Qasim and sustained an injury in the process. He fled to Syria and then to Egypt where he continued to be active in the Ba'th Party. The claim that

Saddam had established some level of connection with the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) is not without merit, although he would never admit to having such connections. The government of Qasim, to which Saddam was opposed, was heavily reliant on the Iraqi Communist Party, a fact that may explain the high probability of such connections.

When the Ba'th overthrew the government of Qasim on 8 February 1963, Saddam returned to Iraq, but he was put in jail nine months later when President Abd al-Salam Arif turned against the Ba'th. Saddam fled from jail in 1966 and was selected as a member of the National (Iraqi) Command Council of the Ba'th Party. He remained working in the underground movement of the Ba'th that finally succeeded in overthrowing the Iraqi government in 1968.

### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

At thirty years old, Saddam Hussein was a major participant in the July 1968 coup that brought the Ba'th Party to power in Iraq for the second time, riding on one of the tanks that attacked the presidential palace. The new president, General Ahmad Hasan al-Bakr, a distant relative who was also from Tikrit, took Saddam under his wing and promoted him in the party and the government. In a short time, he was the second man in the regime, next only to al-Bakr, having been appointed as deputy chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council and vice president. In the Ba'th Party, he was the deputy secretary general of the Iraqi branch of the party. This promotion was accompanied by the elimination of many objectionable personalities whose utility no longer existed after the success of the coup, both foes not belonging to the Ba'th Party and rivals of the Bakr-Saddam alliance within the Ba'th. The first purge of this kind took place two weeks after the coup, for which reason it later became known as the July 17–30 Revolution.

One of the earliest accomplishments of the Ba'th regime was the nationalization of oil in Iraq, a feat for which Saddam claimed full credit later, as he did with all other accomplishments after 1968. This reversal of the unfair deal imposed on Iraq during the British mandate was supported by the Iraqi people regardless of their views of the Ba'th Party and its members. As a consequence, a wave of prosperity began in Iraq through the 1970s. The majority of Iraqis received significant increases in their income and improvement in the services provided by the state. Also, Iraq began a campaign of construction and improvement in education, health, industrialization and agriculture.

This educational surge was advanced by two important laws: the first made the first six years of school mandatory for all boys and girls starting at age six (chil-

dren who were older when the law was enacted were also required to enroll); the second law made education free of charge at all levels, from the first grade to the doctoral level. Literacy among the population increased by a remarkable rate within a few years, due in most part to the high percentage of young people in the population. A third decree made Iraq's literacy rate one of the highest in the world: all men and women between 15 and 70 were obligated to attend literacy schools, which operated days and evenings. (In a measure possible only under an authoritarian regime, those who failed to enroll or did not make sufficient progress were threatened with jail. The sentence, it was indicated, would be as long as necessary for the prisoners to learn how to read and write proficiently.)

**Oppressiveness of the Ba'th** Despite genuine achievements, however, the state grew more oppressive by the day as the Ba'th government continued a parallel campaign to consolidate its power and eliminate real or perceived domestic rivals. The most successful effort in this regard was the eradication of the communist threat, reducing the Iraqi Communist Party to a mere underground intellectual movement without any real street power. The Islamist movement—in Iraq primarily Shi'ite since the Iraqi government was supported by the Sunni community—proved stronger and more durable, both because of the strength of the Shi'a community in Iraq—a majority of 65 percent of the population—and their long history of opposing oppression. The Shi'a commemoration of Imam Hussein's martyrdom every year was a reminder to their rulers that revolution is omnipresent in the Shi'ite mind-set, ever since the grandson of the Prophet revolted against injustice and lost his life to combat state oppression. In spite of the most brutal repression, at no time did the regime feel that it was close to eliminating the Shi'ite threat. Hence, the government adopted a twofold strategy of continuous arrests and executions of Shi'ite rivals and, at the same time, of co-opting as many Shi'ites as possible into the party to create a divide within the Shi'ite community.

In pursuit of the Ba'th slogan, "One Arab nation with an immortal mission," the two branches of the Ba'th movement in Iraq and Syria began negotiations in 1978 to gradually unite the two countries. Joint committees were formed to coordinate the work of political, economic, and social integration; border controls were lifted so that citizens of both countries could cross without presenting their passports.

Saddam Hussein saw this project as a great threat to his goal of taking full control of the country. With al-Bakr's advanced age and frail health, the presidency of the newly united country would have been given to Syria's president HAFIZ AL-ASAD. Saddam had spent many

years forming and personally directing the intelligence and security organizations of Iraq, placing his own men in key positions and eliminating those whose loyalty to him was not solid. This effort paid dividends when Saddam decided in 1979 to eliminate al-Bakr and take his place. On 16 July of that year, the eve of the anniversary of the 1968 coup, al-Bakr used his annual speech to surprise the country by announcing his retirement, citing his health. He announced that he was leaving the country in the “capable hands” of Saddam Hussein. Following the speech a song written especially for the occasion was broadcast: “all the hearts of the people are with you, Saddam, but we will not forget the brave Abu Haytham” (al-Bakr was addressed by this name). Ordinary Iraqis began to realize the reason for Saddam’s excessive, and sudden, televised public appearances in the previous months, often in the form of coverage of his visits to remote areas accompanied by trucks loaded with refrigerators and TV sets. On one such occasion a man told him that he appreciated the gift, but his village had no electricity. Saddam ordered the immediate commencement of a countrywide project to bring electricity to all areas of Iraq.

**Saddam as President** As president, Saddam relied on a few loyal aides and family members. All other political figures whose loyalty was questionable were eliminated without mercy. His style of rule was based on pitting a limited number of privileged groups against the rest of the people. There was no limit to the amount of violence that could be used against those who were seen as potential rivals, within or outside the regime.

With the passage of time, Iraqis were forced to live with a new reality, that the government and the whole country was in effect owned by Saddam and his immediate family. (Members of his extended family received enormous privileges, but were not immune from violent death, as the killing of his cousin, then minister of defense Adnan Kayrallah, and two sons-in-law, Hussein Kamil and Saddam Kamil, demonstrated.)

When he became president, Saddam repeated the experience of the 1968 purge by a preemptive strike at his potential rivals in the government and the higher levels of the Ba’th Party. Within a week of becoming president, Saddam called an emergency conference of the leadership of the Ba’th Party and the government as well as the members of the Revolutionary Command Council (RCC). At the conference, a member of the RCC, Muhiy Abd al-Hussein al-Mashhadi, informed the unsuspecting audience that an alleged conspiracy was underway to topple the regime, but it had been discovered just in time. The alleged conspirators were all among the invited audience. After speeches blaming the conspiracy on ranking members of the party and government who were said

to be acting as agents for the Syrian regime, the names of more than sixty men were read out, and they were arrested on the spot. A speedy trial was held for the accused and an execution party was organized for them; members of the party, including Saddam, took turns executing their former colleagues. By this move, Saddam accomplished two tasks: eliminating his domestic rivals and stopping the unification of Iraq and Syria, the main threat to his control over Iraq.

One of Saddam’s long-lasting grudges was caused by his humiliating surrender to the shah of Iran in the 1975 Algiers Agreement, granting Iran border concessions and more access to the Shatt al-Arab in return for Iran’s pledge to stop supporting the Iraqi Kurdish revolt. The collapse of the shah’s regime in 1979 and the ensuing establishment of the Islamic Republic made Iran temporarily vulnerable. The new regime, under Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, conducted a sweeping purge in the bureaucracy and the military, eliminating all officials and officers loyal to the old regime. This was a severe blow to Iran’s power and administrative efficiency. Saddam seized the opportunity and launched an attack against Iran in September 1980, counting on a swift victory in a short-term war after which the two parties would meet and renegotiate the border. The plan went well initially and Iraq occupied a large piece of Iranian territory along the border.

What did not go according to Saddam’s plan was the Iranian determination to fight a long-term war, counting on the size of their country’s territory and population, both of which exceed Iraq’s by several times. Saddam’s multiple calls for a cease-fire were not heeded and many third-party mediations proved fruitless in light of Iran’s nonnegotiable terms, especially the demand that Saddam step down from power. As a result of this stalemate, an eight-year war was fought between the two countries, causing the death of more than a million soldiers and civilians from both sides and the near-destruction of Iraq’s economy. Although the United States role in the initial invasion is unclear, the United States certainly provided assistance during the conflict, both by proxy and directly, giving Saddam intelligence on the movement and locations of Iranian forces. When the war was over, neither party had gained or lost an inch of territory and the 1975 agreement was reinstated. Nevertheless, both sides declared victory.

**After the Iran-Iraq War** Saddam spent the postwar era building his alliances in the Arab world. This was best illustrated by his initiative toward an alliance with Egypt, Jordan, and Yemen. The leaders of the four countries held several summits and took a few steps toward economic and political integration. At the same time, Saddam found the time to raise with Kuwait a claim that it

unfairly exploited the oil in the fields shared by the two countries. Saddam resented Kuwaiti demands to repay the money it had given to Iraq to help finance the war. The Kuwaitis considered the aid to be loans, while Saddam claimed that he was fighting on behalf of the Gulf States against the Iranian threat and that therefore the money was their fair share of the burden. The negotiation process turned into a propaganda war between the two countries. As Saddam recalled in his first court appearance, the Kuwaitis indicated to him their intentions of destroying the Iraqi economy to the point where “Iraqi women would sell their bodies for ten dinars each.” The Kuwaiti method to achieve this end was to flood the oil market, driving prices down and making it impossible for Iraq to emerge from the war-related economic hardship.

On 2 August 1990, Saddam ordered some of the Iraqi military’s elite Republican Guard units to occupy Kuwait, which they did overnight. This invasion, and Saddam’s rejection of the international demand that he withdraw unconditionally, precipitated a series of catastrophic events for the Iraqi people. First, there was the

United Nations (UN) sanctioned, American-led coalition war against Iraq—the Gulf War of 1991—that destroyed much of the infrastructure of Iraq and ended in February 1991 with a humiliating defeat of Iraqi forces in Kuwait. The cease-fire agreement left Iraq virtually without sovereignty or infrastructure. Bridges, factories, power stations and roads were destroyed by a relentless air campaign that was designed to set Iraq back many decades into the past. Saddam’s coveted nuclear and chemical weapons programs were dismantled, as were his conventional military capabilities. The Iraqi military was downsized and the UN-imposed sanctions on Iraq remained in place pending verification of its disarming.

Immediately following the Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait and the end of the war, on 28 February 1991, a popular uprising began in the Shi‘ite regions of southern Iraq and another one in the Kurdish areas in the north, mainly in response to the suggestion of President George H. W. Bush, who encouraged Iraqis “to take matters in their own hands.” A few weeks later fourteen out of Iraq’s eighteen provinces were out of the control of Saddam’s regime and the situation was evolving in favor of the insurgents. However, the Americans decided not to provide aid for the uprising and enabled Saddam to crush it by allowing him to use armed helicopters and long-range weaponry to capture the south. The underlying motive for the U.S. position was the fear that a successful Shi‘ite uprising would empower Iran. In April 1991, Saddam was again in full control of Iraq. Hundreds of thousands of Iraqi Shi‘ites were summarily killed or arrested, their bodies found in mass graves after the collapse of the regime. Millions of other Iraqis fled and became refugees in the neighboring countries.

**Sanctions and Invasion** The following twelve years witnessed a reversal in the trend of the 1970s. Iraq’s economy was destroyed by the UN sanctions and the country’s brainpower was drained by the migration of the educated to look for work elsewhere. The UN sanctions destroyed more than just the economy of Iraq; they also affected the will of the Iraqi people to resist the brutality of the regime. The demoralizing effects of the sanctions on a starving society caused the Iraqis to turn against one another in a “survival of the fittest” kind of competition. The era of the 1990s was an era of corruption, broken social cohesion, and general decay in Iraq. Iraq’s best and brightest population migrated to neighboring countries and from there to the West, by legal or illegal means, to look for a better life. Meanwhile, the sanctions continued to be enforced by corrupt UN officials; the magnitude of UN corruption related to the

## CONTEMPORARIES

Ahmad Hasan al-Bakr (1914–1982) was the president of Iraq before Saddam Hussein. Unlike Saddam, who never served in the military, al-Bakr was an officer with an Arab nationalist ideology. He had a special appetite for conspiracies that led him to participate in virtually all the coups and political conspiracies in his lifetime. He was involved in the anti-British 1941 coup, led by Rashid Ali al-Gaylani, and went to prison after it was crushed. He participated in the 1958 coup that toppled the Hashemite monarchy. A year later, he participated in a failed coup against President Abd al-Karim Qasim and was forced into retirement for the second time. He then participated in the 1963 coup that ended the Qasim regime and was appointed prime minister in the new government. He was purged ten months later when the new president, Abd al-Salam Arif, decided to eliminate the Ba‘th Party members of his government because of their abuse of power. In 1968, al-Bakr organized another coup that led to the second seizure of power by the Ba‘th. He became Iraq’s president until forced to retire by his protégé and successor, Saddam Hussein, on 16 July 1979. He remained under house arrest until his death on 4 October 1982.

sanctions has yet to be fully determined. As for the regime of Saddam Hussein, the sanctions were a convenient excuse to justify shortcomings, which were blamed on the international community. The regime compensated for lost revenue by resorting to oil smuggling. School enrollment fell to its lowest levels in decades, undermining the literacy rate; Iraq became perhaps the only country where mothers are more educated than their adult daughters. The Iraqi health-care system, which used to be the envy of the region, was destroyed by the sanctions. Most equipment and materials were not allowed into Iraq, because they were designated by the UN oversight officials as materials of “dual use.” The result was the death and suffering of millions of Iraqi patients, especially children. The callous attitude of the international community was articulated by then-U.S. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, who said that “it is worth it” to contain Saddam’s regime at the expense of thousands of innocent Iraqi lives.

Between 1991 and 2003, Saddam acted in defiance of the international community and continued his reign of terror over an exhausted population. UN weapons inspectors charged with verifying Iraq’s compliance with the UN Security Council resolutions were frustrated by Saddam’s lack of cooperation and finally departed in 1998 without being able to certify that Iraq no longer possessed any weapons of mass destruction. The sanctions and inspectors were used as political tools to serve the agenda of the United States, using their access to gather information for agencies related to the United States and other Western countries, but not to the UN.

In 2003, after the al-Qaeda attacks of 11 September 2001 and the initiation of the United States–led “war on terror” by President George W. Bush, the United States decided to invade Iraq, initially claiming that Saddam had failed to destroy his weapons of mass destruction. Saddam was given a chance to leave Iraq in order to avoid the war, but refused to do so. Saddam’s regime was toppled and after nine months in hiding, he was captured. He was found in a spider-hole near his hometown, Tikrit, and a lengthy, high-profile trial began. Saddam was going to be tried for more than ten cases where crimes against humanity were committed during his thirty-five years in power. The first of these crimes was the massacre in the Shi’ite town of Dujail, where an attempt to assassinate Saddam took place as he was visiting. Saddam ordered his forces to impose collective punishment on the town’s population. One hundred and forty-eight men were executed after a quick trial, and hundreds of other people—mostly women and children—were imprisoned in the desert while their orchards were leveled. Saddam, his half-brother Barzan, and the Dujail judge Awwad al-Bandar were found guilty and executed. Another deputy, Taha Yasin Ramadhan, was initially

## SADDAM SPEAKS

If the ruler, any ruler, finds a latent energy in him and in his people, which he can unleash, but he is unable to envision what is better, such as the elements and meanings of creation and goodwill, he often unleashes it for causes contrary to what is good, amity, fairness and creation.

SADDAM HUSSEIN, 8 AUGUST 1998, ON THE ELEVENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE END OF THE IRAQ-IRAN WAR. QUOTED IN *AL-THAWRA* NEWSPAPER, 8 AUGUST 1998.

sentenced to life in prison, but the High Court rejected the sentence because it did not match the nature of Ramadhan’s crimes and ordered the trial court to consider the death penalty. Ramadhan was sentenced to death by hanging and was executed shortly thereafter.

The execution of Saddam Hussein on 30 December 2006 was widely criticized. First, because it occurred on the first day the Sunnis in Iraq celebrated the Eid al-Adha, one of the two major holidays in Islam. (The Iraqi government justified the decision to execute him by saying that the Shi’a and other Sunnis did not consider the day of Saddam’s execution as the first day of the holiday, but the next day.) The second, and worse, problem was the leaking of a tape showing Saddam’s execution, which resembled a mob lynching rather than an official execution.

## THE WORLD’S PERSPECTIVE

The world’s perspective on Saddam Hussein is split asymmetrically between a few groups and personalities who supported him in his heyday and even after his demise, perhaps to appear consistent or grateful for his previous patronage. Among his supporters are many Arabs who saw in him a hero for his anti-American rhetoric and his symbolic attack on Israel with Scud missiles during the 1991 Gulf War. There are also the Iraqis who prospered during his rule because of his favoritism toward a few loyal cities at the expense of the vast majority. Generally, most of the sympathy for Saddam is derived from anti-Americanism rather than love for Saddam and his tyrannical politics. But he was also supported by the people who benefited from his regime, including the people of Tikrit and other Sunni cities, the Ba’th elite and the high-ranking officer corps in the military and security forces. They also supported the regime because their lives were tied strongly to the

survival of Saddam Hussein in power. Most of the world's public opinion, however, has come to realize that Saddam was a tyrant whose brutality and incompetence caused his people and Iraq's neighbors unbearable suffering, death, and destruction.

#### LEGACY

After his execution on 30 December 2006, Saddam Hussein went into history as one of the most oppressive tyrants in the history of Iraq, a country that has seen many such rulers. His most lasting legacy will be one connected to a long trail of crimes against humanity such as the use of chemical weapons on innocent civilians in Kurdistan in 1988 and the killing of hundreds of thousands whose bodies were later found in mass graves across the Shi'a provinces of southern Iraq.

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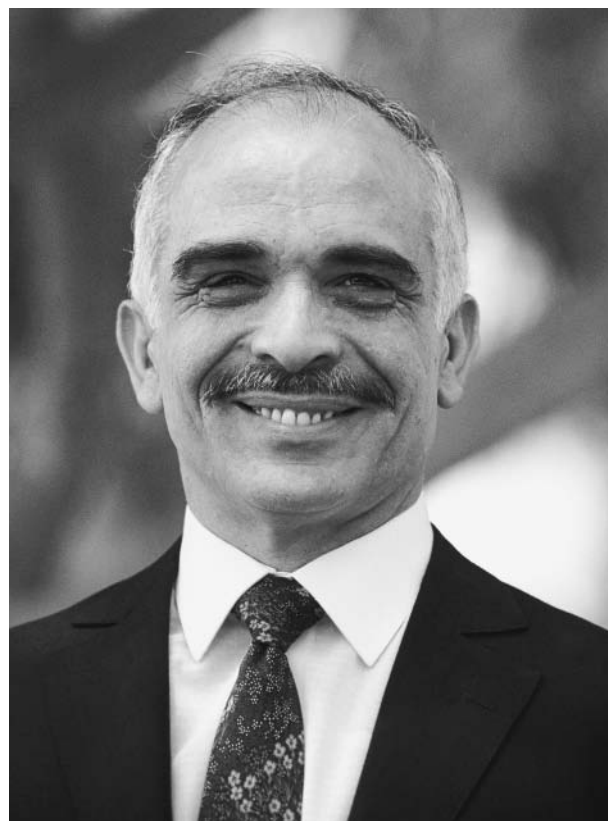
*Abbas Kadhim*

## HUSSEIN BIN TALAL (1935–1999)

Hussein bin Talal al-Hashem was the king of Jordan from 1952 until his death in 1999. He indelibly marked the modern history of his country and its people.

#### PERSONAL HISTORY

Hussein was born in Amman, Transjordan, on 14 November 1935, the eldest of four children of Talal bin Abdullah (1909–1972), eldest son of Transjordan's leader, Emir Abdullah bin Hussein Ali (1882–1951), and Zayn al-Sharaf bint Jamil (1916–1994). He was named after his great-grandfather, Sharif Hussein of Mecca, leader of the Arab revolt against the Ottomans during World War I. The al-Hashem family claims descent from the prophet Muhammad. Hussein's two brothers, Muhammad (1940–) and Hassan (1947–), and



*Hussein bin Talal*. AP IMAGES.

sister Basma (1951–), all served with him in various capacities after he became king. Hussein's mother Zein, who exercised undeniable influence on her children, displayed a penetrating political mind and was the power behind the throne until her 1994 death.

After completing his elementary education in Amman, Hussein attended Victoria College in Alexandria, Egypt, and Harrow School in England in 1951. He later received his military education in 1952–1953 at the Royal Military Academy, Sandhurst in the United Kingdom.

Hussein was for many Jordanians the father of the modern state. Yet, beyond his preoccupation with regional affairs, which earned him the moniker "PLK" (plucky little king) from Western officials and admiring journalists, he served at a critical time despite significant uncertainties. In fact, his rule witnessed a period of domestic strife and extensive international turmoil, as well as three major wars with Israel. Through these tragic developments, Hussein demonstrated a knack for survival. Above all else, his genuine biculturalism, which allowed him to feel as much at ease in the West as in the East, helped forge a climate of openness and tolerance in Jordan. When he passed away after a long illness on 7 February 1999, Hussein was the longest-serving head of

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Hussein bin Talal al-Hashem

**Birth:** 1935, Amman, Jordan

**Death:** 1999, Amman, Jordan

**Family:** Four wives: Dina bint Abd al-Hamid (1955–1957); Antoinette Avril (Toni) Gardiner (Princess Muna al-Hussein, 1961–1971; two sons, Abdullah [II] and Faisal; three daughters, Alia, Aisha and Zayn); Alia Tuqan (Queen Alia, 1972–1977 [d.1977]; one son, Ali; two daughters, Hayah and Abir Muheisen [adopted]); Elizabeth (Lisa) Halaby (Queen Noor al-Hussein, 1978–; two sons, Hamzah and Hashim; two daughters, Iman and Raiyah)

**Nationality:** Jordanian

**Education:** Court and religious education, Bishop's School, Amman; Victoria College, Alexandria, Egypt; Harrow School, Middlesex, 1951; Royal Military Academy, Sandhurst, 1952–1953

### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1952:** Succeeds as monarch, 11 August, following abdication of father; becomes field marshal, Jordan Arab Army, marshal, Royal Jordanian Air Force
- **1957:** Survives coup attempt
- **1958:** Forms short-lived federation with Iraq
- **1967:** Arab-Israeli War of 1967; West Bank and East Jerusalem occupied by Israel; major influx of Palestinian refugees into Jordan
- **1970:** Major clashes between government forces and Palestinian guerrillas; heavy casualties in civil war remembered as “Black September”
- **1974:** Arab League recognizes PLO as sole legitimate representative of Palestinian people
- **1986:** Severs political links with PLO, orders its main offices shut
- **1988:** Abandons claim to the West Bank and East Jerusalem
- **1989:** Political liberalization begins
- **1994:** Peace treaty with Israel

state in the world, having been in power for forty seven years.

### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Transjordan was created by the British in 1921 when they detached it from Palestine within their League of Nations Mandate. Abdullah bin Hussein Ali al-Hashem, a son of Sharif Hussein of Mecca, the king of Hijaz (now part of Saudi Arabia), had established himself in Amman with the intention of moving against the French in Syria. Instead he accepted the British offer to become emir of Transjordan, with that state as a semiautonomous entity under British colonial tutelage. Britain held control of the country's finances, external relations, and its army, the Arab Legion.

Transjordan was a destitute rural environment, consisting of small towns and villages, large deserts, and practically no water resources. It was this stark reality that persuaded Abdullah and his successors to agree to continued British, and later American, domination even after the end of the mandate. This at least ensured a minimum standard of living to a hapless population. Abdullah also welcomed Arab nationalists who had been expelled from neighboring Syria. Amman became an open city, where Arab dissidents could mingle with the Hashemites. Against some odds Abdullah painstakingly developed key institutions, including the country's 1928 Organic Law that planted the seeds of a full-fledged constitution. Difficult negotiations culminated with the comprehensive 22 March 1946 treaty that formally ended the British mandate. Transjordan gained formal independence and changed its name to the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan; Abdullah formally became King Abdullah I. The British retained substantial control, however; under a 1948 treaty they managed Jordan's finances, stationed troops in the country, and retained command of the Arab Legion.

Abdullah's previous dealings with the Zionists had led to a division of Palestine between them. However, with the establishment of the State of Israel on 15 May 1948 and the bitter 1948 Arab-Israeli War, Abdullah's Arab Legion occupied East Jerusalem and what became known as the West Bank. The war ended with several armistice agreements signed at the Rhodes Conference although Jordan opted to conclude a separate bilateral truce with Israel on 3 April 1949. Jordan later annexed the territory it had occupied during the war.

On 20 July 1951, Abdullah went to Jerusalem for his regular Friday prayers, with his young grandson Hussein at his side. A lone Palestinian gunman assassinated the monarch on the steps of al-Aqsa Mosque, the third holiest shrine in Islam. Hussein survived when a bullet lodged in a medal his grandfather had recently awarded

## CONTEMPORARIES

Prince Hassan bin Talal al-Hashem (1947–) is the younger of King Hussein's two brothers. Born in Amman on 20 March 1947, Prince Hassan studied in Summer Fields School and at Harrow in Britain, and received a B.A. (honorary) and M.A. from Oxford University. He married Sarvath Ikramullah (1947–) in 1968. His brother appointed him crown prince in April 1965. Thereafter he became the country's First Intellectual. Hassan established a number of scholarly endeavors, including the Royal Scientific Society in 1970, the al-Bait Foundation in 1980, the Arab Thought Forum in 1981, the Jordan Higher Council for Science and Technology in 1987, and the Royal Institute for Inter-Faith Studies in 1994. In January 1996, King Hussein removed Hassan and named his eldest son, Abdullah, as crown prince.

him, but the event left a profound mark on the young man. In his memoirs, Hussein recalled how three days before that fateful day in Jerusalem, his grandfather had turned to him and said: "I hope you realize, my son, that one day you will have to assume responsibility. I look to you to do your very best to see that my work is not lost. I look to you to continue it in the service of our people." Abdullah was succeeded by Hussein's father Talal, his eldest son, who ruled for only a short period; he was persuaded to abdicate on 11 August 1952, for health reasons. Talal suffered from mental health problems, perhaps schizophrenia. Hussein thus assumed the mantle of power even though he needed a regent for another year until he attained legal adulthood. He formally assumed the throne on 2 May 1953.

**Political Evolution** Under British protection, King Hussein managed to build his influence, although ultranationalist Arabs in neighboring countries as well as inside Jordan derided him as a British stooge. Over the years, British officers, led by John Glubb—who became known as Glubb Pasha—ran a mixed military that was built on the foundations of the Arab Legion. It was a force loyal to both the Hashemites and their foreign masters.

Throughout the 1950s, the king became fully aware of his constitutional responsibilities, although he ruled as an autocrat. Hussein built his regime on the support of loyal and conservative Bedouin tribes, and increasingly, East Bank Jordanian elements. Relying on these elites permitted the energetic monarch to suppress opponents—perhaps

best illustrated by the April 1957 coup attempt as well as the fierce struggle with Palestinian fighters in September 1970—even as he realized that the indispensable bulwark of his regime was the military. Consequently, starting in the mid-1950s, Hussein emphasized his attachment to the army. The latter received additional funding, modern equipment, and advanced training. Foreign advisers and updated supplies arrived from both Western and Communist governments. In July 1958, Hussein welcomed British forces into the country to buttress the regime after a bloody military coup in Iraq overthrew the Hashemite, pro-Western monarchy there.

To the monarch's credit, the image of the Jordanian military evolved, as he successfully managed a shift in perception. While he was still the most pro-Western Arab ruler, King Hussein was no longer exclusively seen as a British tool, although the Jordanian military's overall capacity for effective defense against Syria and Israel were marginal at best. On the domestic front, however, the army proved indispensable, especially in April 1989 when serious political disturbances challenged the regime. Fulfilling International Monetary Fund (IMF) directives to eliminate subsidies on foodstuffs, Jordan faced the wrath of destitute citizens in traditionally royalist towns such as Ma'an, Karak, and Tafila. Naturally, the army intervened, but the use of force and high casualties accomplished little. This uprising was different from the major 1970 international crisis involving the Palestinian forces. Because those who rioted in the heartland in 1989 were East Bank Jordanians—the monarchy's political base—the insurrection indicated the weakness of the monarchy's foundations. Hussein could not simply rely on brute force to regain the upper hand and, consequently, opted to liberalize his political philosophy.

Shortly thereafter, Hussein called for parliamentary elections, legalized political parties for the first time since 1957, and convened a national conference to draft a new covenant among the ruling elites. The consultation proved effective because opposition forces acknowledged the king's preeminence while the ruler vowed to respect Jordan's evolving political pluralism. Reinvigorated political institutions gained confidence as the king embarked on his program of liberalization within carefully defined parameters. He would tolerate genuine dissent but demand total allegiance in return. Remarkably, this new covenant proved effective for most of the 1990s, especially after Jordanians experienced concrete economic benefits that lifted the population's living standard. The experiment amounted to a form of representation with limited taxation. Yet, because most Jordanians rejected the October 1994 Jordanian-Israeli peace treaty, the positive effects of the 1990 covenant quickly eroded.



**Parliamentary Politics** After Jordan lost the West Bank in June 1967, and following the king's decision to suspend parliament between 1974 and 1984, no elections were held in the country. The cabinet assumed those legislative responsibilities that were later fulfilled by successive parliaments. When a serious economic crisis started in the late 1980s, Hussein could no longer simply rely on the military to restore order, but turned to his suspended parliament to buttress his throne.

In November 1989 full parliamentary elections were finally held in Jordan, following a very gradual liberalization of political institutions. Reestablishment of Jordan's parliament, a bicameral legislature composed of a popularly elected eighty-member Chamber of Deputies and an appointed forty-member Senate, was intended to restore the monarch's tainted legitimacy. All 650 candidates for the House were technically "independent," but the best-organized opposition group, the Muslim Brotherhood, scored something of a political triumph. The banned party ran a list of 26 candidates and, remarkably, managed to elect 22. Another 12 Islamist representatives were chosen by voters for a total of 34 seats in the Chamber of Deputies. With other nationalist candidates, the 1989 Chamber of Deputies boasted 44 opposition members, a stunning victory. The monarch took note even if he initially refused to acknowledge this upsetting shift.

In 1990 Hussein appointed his brother and heir, Crown Prince Hassan, to lead a royal commission representing the entire spectrum of Jordanian political thought to draft a national charter that, along with the Jordanian constitution, would serve as a guideline for institutionalization of democracy and political pluralism. The regime authorized additional parliamentary elections in 1989, 1993, and 1997, which were internationally monitored and relatively free, even if it regretted the dramatic liberalization process that resulted.

This trend for genuine reform was abruptly interrupted by the 1 August 1990 Iraqi invasion of Kuwait and the crises that followed, especially the American involvement in defense of Kuwait. As a key regional actor, Hussein was deeply involved in the protracted negotiations that pitted the strong-willed Iraqi dictator, SADDAM HUSSEIN, against the rulers of Kuwait. The king proposed critical mediation efforts to avoid hostilities but failed to persuade either party. It would be facile to conclude that King Hussein sided with Saddam Hussein, but he was caught between two intractable positions. First, Jordan was financially dependent on Iraq for generous oil subsidies, as well as crucial remittances. Second, the king desperately sought to fulfill his traditional obligations toward a fellow monarchy (Kuwait), as well as to absorb the estimated half a million Jordanian and Palestinian workers and their dependents who were expelled from Kuwait. Therefore, what preoccupied Hussein fore-

most was the overall financial burden, which further strained the Jordanian economy. Ultimately choosing to support Iraq in a departure from his usually pro-American policies, the king was in an impossible position, especially after the United States and Britain chose to perceive him as a conspirator. At home, however, his legitimacy reached its zenith. There he was viewed as resisting a Western diktat and supporting a fellow Arab nation under attack from the West.

Ever the astute survivor and opportunist, Hussein proposed the adoption of an updated National Charter, which carefully regulated the government's ongoing liberalization policies. Even opposition leaders jumped on the monarch's bandwagon, hailing the charter as a victory for democracy or, more accurately, for democratization. The Crown welcomed pluralism as well as competition, but only within the confines of unquestionable Hashemite rule. In effect, the 1992 charter sealed the monarchy's legal character, ensured loyalty toward it among political elites, and allowed the regime to tackle domestic reforms from a position of relative strength. With this epoch-making accomplishment, Hussein displayed renewed flexibility as he tolerated various Islamist appointments to sensitive posts, including the ministry of education and the Chamber of Deputies speakership. To be sure, and while Hussein weighed the consequences of the 1990–1991 Gulf crisis and war, it was amply clear that the 1989 elections set the stage for the political shifts that he introduced. Henceforth, Hashemite rule embraced open political activities and limited debates. This commitment was first tested in 1993 when new parliamentary elections were held.

In 1993 the Islamists lost as true independent candidates, who distanced themselves from both left and right, filled the ranks. Of course, the Crown fared well too, as it underscored the necessity for strong leadership, capable of steering the ship of state on stormy seas. In fact, Hussein was caught off guard by the Declaration of Principles adopted in September 1993 at Oslo by Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). This important step in the Arab-Israeli peace process prompted Amman to seek its own separate treaty with the Jewish State. Parliament ratified the subsequent October 1994 Israeli-Jordanian treaty by a comfortable 55–23 margin, although opposition leaders quickly blocked several normalization measures. By November 1997, when Jordan held its last elections before King Hussein died, Amman was once again operating under strict press laws and fewer rights. Leading parties boycotted the scheduled November elections, as most objected to the normalization with Israel, but far more important, all rejected various "temporary laws" that were favored by the regime. The king, like President John F. Kennedy, forgave his enemies but

never forgot their names. None of those who stood up to PLK were appointed to the Senate, but this was, perhaps, an error by an increasingly ailing ruler. The thirteenth parliament saw political centrists, pro-regime conservative figures, and tribal candidates—for a total of seventy-five (out of eighty) independent nominees—fill vacant seats in the House of Representatives. Toujan al-Faysal, the first female parliamentarian in the history of the monarchy, lost her seat, as did most nationalist and Islamist candidates, as a gloomy disillusionment descended over Amman. Sadly, because of lack of action, the reforms of the previous decade slowly withered away, and both government and opposition figures blamed each other for the overall loss of popular confidence.

**The Succession** While the Hashemite monarchy was safe in the late 1990s, the succession became a predicament for Hussein. Jordan's constitution of 1952 (adopted under King Talal) provided for succession to the crown based on primogeniture. As the actual number of male Hashemite progeny was extremely limited, it fell to Hussein to consider alternatives. Toward that end, the constitution was amended in 1956 to empower the king to make needed changes. Specifically, in an unusually detailed article identifying exactly who was eligible, it gave him the prerogative of choosing his own successor. In 1965 he designated his brother Hassan as crown prince.

In the late 1990s, according to Queen Noor in her memoir, *Leap of Faith: Memoirs of an Unexpected Life*, Hussein was inclined “to modify [the existing mechanism] for the next generation after Hassan by the creation, perhaps, of a family council” (2003, p. 359) that would settle on the most qualified individual. Allegedly because of a disagreement between Hussein and his brother about this plan, on 25 January 1999, six days after returning to Amman from cancer treatment at the Mayo Clinic in Rochester, Minnesota, Hussein wrote a formal letter to his brother, informing him of his removal as crown prince. The long missive contained harsh criticisms. Perhaps to soften his calculated blow, Hussein noted that he had designated Hassan in 1965 because the king's son Abdullah had been too young. (In fact, Hassan had probably been appointed to prevent a political vacuum in case of a successful assassination attempt.)

Hussein noted that he proposed the formation of a family council “to ensure the unity of the Hashemite family so that when the time came for you to choose your successor, the family would have a great role in naming the most suitable successor.” In other words, Hussein wanted the family, not solely a future King Hassan, to make the decision about a successor—under the then-current arrangement, the prerogative of the monarch. He further claimed that Hassan disagreed with

this judgment, wishing to make the decision himself after he took the helm. The letter concluded on a positive note, as Hussein welcomed his regent's willingness to abide by his decision, and he informed his brother that he was returning to the “original Constitutional rule,” which designated Prince Abdullah as heir apparent.

True to his nature, Hassan stepped aside, as the king was rushed back to the Mayo clinic on 26 January 1999 to undergo additional chemotherapy treatments for his metastasized cancer. His health deteriorated sharply over the following few days, and Queen Noor decided that they would return to Amman to await “God's will.” On 7 February, Hussein died, and his son acceded to the throne as ABDULLAH II.

**Foreign Policy Issues** Hussein's political nemesis, Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser, towered over the Arab world throughout the 1960s. The two leaders had different policies regarding the Arab-Israeli conflict and fell on different sides of the Cold War, with Nasser leaning toward the Soviet Union and Hussein remaining steadfastly pro-Western. According to Hussein in his autobiography, *Uneasy Lies the Head*, Nasser was behind a few of the assassination attempts directed toward him. To save himself from assassination and his throne from a coup, the Jordanian oscillated between pro- and anti-Nasser periods, but could never shake the Egyptian's influence. It was debatable whether Hussein was a good judge of character, or whether he relied on cronies eager to please him, but one thing was certain: Hussein survived because Nasser failed to eliminate him and, equally importantly, because Hussein seldom hesitated to destroy domestic opponents. Hussein was comforted in the knowledge that outside powers—especially Britain—would rush to his assistance if his rule were threatened.

As Hussein tackled perceived radicalism within Jordanian society, he and his government made colossal errors in regard to the Palestinians between 1967 and 1970, including job discrimination and banning access to the media. These faulty policies eventually led to violent events of Black September in 1970.

At the October 1974 Rabat summit meeting of the Arab League, Hussein saw the Palestinian mantle stripped from his shoulders, as Arab leaders recognized the PLO as the sole representative of the Palestinian people. This rebuff was soon followed by the fallout of the September 1978 Camp David Accords between Israel and Egypt that further isolated Jordan in Western eyes. Consequently, Hussein opted to align with Saddam Hussein's Rejection Front—Arab states opposed to Camp David—a decision that earned him Western contempt. To be sure, the new couple was odd, but that was less pertinent than the primary consequence of this fragile alliance, namely, a gradual economic rapprochement

with Iraq and other Arab states that slowly drew Amman into the Iraqi orbit. Along with Egypt and North Yemen, Iraq and Jordan created the Arab Cooperation Council in February 1989, which wished but had no ability to align the indebted with the underdeveloped and the war-damaged. Ironically, King Hussein's cataclysmic 1990 choice, to back Ba'athist Iraq against Al Sabah-ruled Kuwait, sealed the plucky little king's personal fate in conservative Arab circles. No longer were fellow Arab monarchs willing to dole out generous support to a dependent Jordan. The Western, especially American, wrath was even more devastating.

#### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

Hussein was respected outside Jordan, although his opposition to the Palestinian resistance movement after 1968 led to severe military clashes in September 1970. After that date, Hussein was disliked by Palestinians because he drove them away from the battlefield against Israel.

This significant legacy notwithstanding, Arab, Muslim, and world leaders paid tribute to the king by attending his funeral. In fact, his funeral assembled one of the largest gatherings of kings, presidents, princes, and officials from all over the world anywhere in the twentieth century. Among those who participated in the funeral were U.S. president Bill Clinton and his wife Hillary Rodham Clinton. The president and first lady were at the head of a large U.S. delegation that included former presidents Gerald Ford, Jimmy Carter, and George H. W. Bush, along with many congresspersons. From the Arab world, president HUSNI MUBARAK of Egypt, Sultan Qaboos of Oman, president ALI ABDULLAH SALIH of Yemen, Palestinian Authority president YASIR ARAFAT, then-Crown Prince Abdullah of Saudi Arabia, Shaykh Isa bin Salman Al Khalifa of Bahrain, President OMAR AL-BASHIR of Sudan, Crown Prince Sa'ad al-Abdullah Al Sabah of Kuwait, vice president Taha Moheiddin Ma'arouf of Iraq, and other senior officials attended the funeral. United Nations secretary general Kofi Annan and his wife, along with French president Jacques Chirac and his wife Bernadette, German chancellor Gerhard Schröder, British prime minister Tony Blair, Dutch prime minister Wim Kok, and Turkish president Suleyman Demirel, were all present. Russian president Boris Yeltsin headed a delegation including prime minister Yevgeny Primakov, while Vaclav Havel represented the Czech Republic. The entire immediate Spanish royal family was present, led by King Juan Carlos and his wife Sofia, accompanied by Crown Prince Felipe. The British royal family was represented by Prince Charles, the Prince of Wales. Queen Beatrix of the Netherlands attended along with King Albert and Queen Paola of Belgium. Crown Prince Naruhito and Princess

### A LEADER'S GREATEST DUTY IS TO SERVE

My grandfather [King Abdullah I, r.1921–1951] ... wanted a brave, intrepid Bedouin son to carry on the great traditions of the Arab Revolt. He was incapable of accepting an invalid in place of his dream. It was the bitterest disappointment of his life. . . . He taught me the courtly functions, how to behave and—perhaps because he was a sadly disappointed man who had been deceived by the British and French—he taught me how to come to terms with adversity as well as with success. And he taught me above all else that a leader's greatest duty is to serve. . . . This was the man who sat facing me one evening and told me: "Remember, the most important thing in life is to have the determination to work, to do your very best, regardless of all the setbacks and all the difficulties that will occur. Only then can you live with yourself and with God."

(HUSSEIN BIN TALAL, *UNEASY LIES THE HEAD*, PP. 19, 21–22, 23–24.)

Masako of Japan accompanied Japanese prime minister Keizo Obuchi. Among many other guests, and as an illustration of Hussein's legacy outside of Jordan, Israeli president Ezer Weizman led his country's delegation, which included prime minister BINYAMIN NETANYAHU and several senior government officials.

#### LEGACY

Hussein inherited a gargantuan portfolio that encompassed the Palestinian question and the Arab-Israeli conflict after 1948. What the Hashemite monarchy owed Britain—for creating it in the first place and protecting its dependent regime in the complex Arab political arena for decades—was enough to drive a mental wedge between monarch and his subjects. Jordanians understood where the king's loyalties lay, and of course the Palestinians hated him and his grandfather for sufficient reason. Undoubtedly, the young ruler was predisposed to excel, especially given his energy, capabilities, and appetite for power. Yet his grandfather's assassination, and his own survival of at least twelve known attempts on his own life immediately after acceding to the throne, colored the way he ruled. Above all, he became astutely aware that his kingdom was a multiethnic society, in which half the population was Palestinian. To defend

his Hashemite monarchy while remaining true to core Arab causes was no small accomplishment.

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*Joseph Kechichian*



I

## IBRAHIM, SAAD EDDIN (1938–)

Saad Eddin (also Sa'd al-Din) Ibrahim is an Egyptian academic and human rights activist.

### PERSONAL HISTORY

Born in Mansura, Egypt, on 3 December 1938, Ibrahim completed his B.A. at Cairo University (1960) and his Ph.D. in sociology at the University of Washington (1968). He is currently professor of political sociology at the American University in Cairo. Ibrahim taught at the American University of Beirut (AUB), De Paul University in Chicago, the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA), and the University of Washington. He holds Egyptian and U.S. passports.

### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Ibrahim is the author and editor of several books and scholarly articles that have been published in Arabic and English periodicals. Among his books are *Sociology of the Arab-Israel Conflict*, *The New Arab Social Order*, *Society and State in the Arab World*, *Family, Gender and Population in the Middle East*, and *Egypt, Islam and Democracy*.

In 1988 he established the Ibn Khaldun Center for Development Studies in Cairo, focusing on issues of development, democratization, and gender empowerment. He is the center's director and chairs its board of trustees. Ibrahim is also the treasurer of the Association for the Support of Women Voters (Hay'at Da'm al-Nakhibat), known as the Hoda Association.

Another dimension of Ibrahim's center focuses on encouraging women's participation in public life, including running for Parliament, a program for microcredit for women and the poor in several areas of Egypt, literacy campaigns, and reproductive health projects. The Ibn Khaldun Center holds weekly forums open to the public and publishes a monthly newsletter.

In June 2000 the Ibn Khaldun center and the Hoda Association were involved in preparing and training monitors for the parliamentary elections in Egypt. On the evening of 30 June, Ibrahim and several of his staff members were arrested and taken into custody by officers of the Egyptian State Security Prosecution. Ibrahim and his codefendants were accused of accepting and defrauding a grant from the European Union and conspiring to bribe public officials to undermine the performance of their duties. Most fundamentally, Ibrahim was accused of defaming Egypt in his writings. On the day of his arrest Ibrahim had published an article in a London-based, widely distributed Arabic-language magazine in which he wrote about political succession in Arab autocratic regimes. In this article, titled "al-Jumlikiyya (Republican Monarchy): The Arab Contribution



*Saad Eddin Ibrahim.* AP IMAGES.

to Politics in the 21st Century,” Ibrahim wrote that any leader that remains in power more than ten years develops a sense of ownership of the country. In his article Ibrahim argued that, according to *shari’a* (Islamic law), a father bequeaths his wealth to the oldest son and this could be the case in Egypt where the Egyptian president HUSNI MUBARAK was grooming one of his sons to succeed him. Egyptian authorities accused Ibrahim of defending the rights of minorities in Egypt and in other Arab countries.

The trial of Ibrahim lasted three years. In 2003 the Court of Cassation in Egypt (Egypt’s highest court) acquitted Ibrahim and his codefendants and reprimanded the Mubarak regime. The court stated that the activities of the Ibn Khaldun Center were legitimate, including receiving grants and publishing in foreign languages. Egyptian authorities attacked Ibrahim for spreading negative images of Egypt in non-Arabic-language publications. A few days before Ibrahim’s release, the Ibn Khaldun Center’s library was looted, and documents and pictures were destroyed.

Ibrahim’s arrest and trial provoked an international outcry. Several international professional academic associations and human rights organizations intervened on his behalf, attending part of his trial and writing public letters of appeal to Husni Mubarak. Following the release

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Saad Eddin (Sa’d al-Din) Ibrahim

**Birth:** 1938, Mansura, Egypt

**Family:** Wife, Barbara; son, Amir; daughter, Randa

**Nationality:** Egyptian and American

**Education:** B.A., Cairo University, 1960; Ph.D. (sociology), University of Washington, 1968

### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1988:** Founds Khaldun Center
- **2000:** Arrested by the Egyptian government
- **2003:** Released from prison

of Ibrahim and the others, the Ibn Khaldun Center for Development Studies resumed its research into development, civil society, and democratization in Egypt and the Arab countries. It also pursued its activities that focused on empowering Egyptian women to participate in the political process.

Ibrahim’s latest efforts have focused on the creation of an Arab Endowment for Democracy. The idea behind this is to create an Arab-funded organization in order to avoid the accusation of accepting grants from foreign sources. For this purpose, Ibrahim approached several wealthy Arab businessmen and asked them to provide seed money for this endeavor. The endowment was launched at a conference in April 2007 in Doha, Qatar.

In his writings, Ibrahim focused on the place of freedom in Islamic thought and the prospect for reform in Islam. He tackled one of the fundamental dilemmas facing Muslims in the early twenty-first century: their relationship and attitude toward the West. Ibrahim wrote that three kinds of answers emerged in the Arab world regarding the West. The first, advocated by Sayyid Qutb, a member of the Muslim Brotherhood who was executed by the Egyptian government in 1966 and one of the main theoreticians of the Islamist radical movement, was that Muslims ought to return to the straight path of pure Islam to be able to face the West. The second was that, while the Arab world was in state of decline and stagnation, the West caught up with Arab scientific and cultural achievements. The best solution was for Arabs and Muslims to imitate the West and adapt its scientific, technological, political, and economic models. Ibrahim mentioned Egyptian rulers Isma’il Pasha and

Anwar Sadat as great emulators of the West. The third solution was to find a compromise between a total rejection and total emulation of the West. The best solution, he thought, was to combine the best of Arab and Muslim tradition and heritage with Western modernity.

Regarding the prospects for a reformation of Islam, Ibrahim quotes Gamal al-Banna, a member of the Ibn Khaldun Center's board of trustees and brother of Hasan al-Banna, the founder of the Muslim Brotherhood. For Gamal al-Banna, "Islam—as a heritage, as a theology, and as a system of rituals—has not experienced the kind of reformation that both Christianity and Judaism have. As a result our Shari'a and our Islamic thought have not been critiqued in 1000 years" (Interview, 11 February 2007, available from <http://www.democratiya.com>). For al-Banna the best solution was for Muslims to delve into *ijtihad* (reinterpretation of Islamic texts) and adapt Islam to the twenty-first century.

Ibrahim has also called for an alliance between Arab democratic forces and moderate modern Islamists. He advocates a policy of inclusion toward groups such as Hamas in Palestine, Hizbullah in Lebanon, and the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt. For Ibrahim there is a possibility, even a need, to open dialogue with Islamist groups in order to enhance the democratic process in the Arab world. He uses the examples of Turkey where the Justice and Development Party assumed power.

Ibrahim also tackled the issue of Arab exceptionalism, or the incompatibility between Islam and democracy. For Ibrahim, two-thirds of the 1.4 billion Muslims in the world today live under some kind of democratic systems, for example, in countries such as Indonesia, India, Malaysia, Bangladesh, Turkey, Senegal, and Nigeria.

Despite various experiments with liberal systems (Egypt, Syria, and Iraq) democracy in the Arab world was aborted because of the Arab defeat against Israel in 1948. Arab regimes have used the confrontation with Israel as an excuse to impose authoritarian rule. For Ibrahim, Arab autocratic regimes have used electoral gains by Islamist groups such as Hamas and the Muslim Brotherhood to scare the West and deter its attempts to promote democracy in the Arab Middle East. Following his release from prison in 2003, Ibrahim addressed the Bush administration's campaign to promote democracy in the Arab world. He urged the United States, "first, tell the autocrats to open up the system. Second, tell the autocrats to end the use of 'emergency laws.' Third, pressure the autocrats to free up the public space."

Ibrahim has long been a champion for human rights. He founded the Arab Organization for Human Rights, the Arab Council for Childhood and Development, as well as the Initiative for Peace and Cooperation in the Middle East. He is a member of the board of the Minority Rights Group International in London. Ibrahim is on

the advisory council of the World Bank's Advisory Council for Environmentally Sustainable Development and Transparency International's council of governance. He also is president of the Egyptian Sociologists Association, secretary general of the Egyptian Independent Commission for Electoral Review, and on the board of directors of the International Bureau for Children's Rights.

#### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

Saad Eddin Ibrahim is highly regarded around the world as one of Egypt's leading political scientists and commentators on Egyptian and Arab affairs. He regularly appears in the Western and Arab media, and the Khaldun Center is considered the leading academic center in Egypt in the early twenty-first century. When he was arrested and tried by the Egyptian government, letters of protest poured into Egypt from organizations and individuals around the world. He received the Committee on Human Rights of Scientists' Heinz R. Pagels Human Rights of Scientists Award in 2003, and the Bette Bao Lord Award for Writing on Freedom from Freedom House in 2002.

#### LEGACY

Ibrahim will be remembered for the academic rigor with which he pursued his research, his skill in interpreting modern trends in Egypt, and his contributions toward human rights and the creation of a free and vibrant civil society in Egypt.

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George E. Irani

## ISHAAQ, KAMALA (1939–)

Kamala Ibrahim Ishaaq is a Sudanese artist who first emerged from within the Khartoum School in the 1960s. In 1978 Ishaaq, along with two of her students, established the crystalists, an artistic movement that embraces existentialism and rejects the nationalistic expressions of the Khartoum School. The crystalists embrace feminism and a more internationalist aesthetic that serves to critique problems within Sudan.

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Kamala Ibrahim Ishaaq

**Birth:** 1939, Omdurman, Sudan

**Nationality:** Sudanese

**Education:** Degree in art from the College of Fine and Applied Art in Khartoum (1963). Additional studies completed at Royal College of Art in London

### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1962:** Works displayed at the Sudan Pavilion at the World's Fair in Seattle, Washington
- **1977:** Works displayed at the National Gallery of Sudan
- **1978:** Along with two of her students, Ishaaq publishes the crystalist manifesto, signifying a break from the Khartoum School
- **2002:** Works displayed at "The Short Century: Independence and Liberation Movements in Africa, 1945–1994" in New York City

### PERSONAL HISTORY

Ishaaq was born in Omdurman, Sudan, in 1939 and was educated at the College of Fine and Applied Art in Khartoum, attaining a degree in 1963. Ishaaq continued her education and artistic training at the Royal College of Art in London, finding inspiration in European existentialism and Zar, a female cult of spiritual possession indigenous to central Sudan. In addition to her own work, Ishaaq taught at her Sudanese alma mater, cementing her association with the Khartoum School.

### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Unique to Ishaaq was the spiritual influence she attained from the works of William Blake and the aforementioned Zar. These themes of existentialism as well as expressions of feminism would serve as the central themes of Ishaaq's work in the 1970s and 1980s. It would be these influences that distinguished Ishaaq from her compatriots inspired largely by Sudanese independence and Islamic themes. If Blake and Zar provided inspiration, it was the Khartoum School that taught Ishaaq to be an artist. It was the goal of this movement to wed African and Islamic cultural traditions. This transcultural blending

presented a sense of Sudanese nationalism expressed in earthy colors and Arabic calligraphy.

**The Crystalists** In 1978 Ishaaq and two of her students, Muhammad Hamid Shaddad and Naiyla al Tayib, rejected the Sudanese-centrism of the Khartoum School by creating the crystalist movement. The formation of this new approach was marked by a public declaration in the guise of the so-called crystalist manifesto. First published in Arabic, the document presented an artistic vision that attempted to work beyond the Sudanese-Islamic frameworks of the Khartoum School. Moreover, the crystalists sought to internationalize their art by embracing an existentialist avant-garde more akin to European aesthetics.

If the Khartoum School can be described as modernist, then the crystalists should be classified as ultramodern within Sudanese artistic expression. Aesthetically, the crystalists presented the cosmos as a "project of a transparent crystal with no veils but an eternal depth" (from the crystalist manifesto). Crystalist paintings often contained distorted human faces trapped within clear cubes or spheres, and, as stated in their manifesto, "oppose[d] the trend which calls for skill and craftsmanship as a measure of good work." Inherent in the clarity of existence of the crystalists was the feminist notion of unveiling—a significant facet amid the increased Islamization of postcolonial Sudan.

### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

Reactions to the crystalist school were resoundingly negative. Critics from within Sudan abhorred the crystalists' rejection of the nationalistic thrusts of the Khartoum School. Moreover, critics noted that Ishaaq's rejection of the Khartoum School was not complete, as her artwork retained many of the color schemes unique to Khartoum. Beyond criticisms of Ishaaq's rejection of the Khartoum School, many have acknowledged her artistry as well as her awareness of issues regarding women in Sudan.

### LEGACY

Ishaaq's legacy will forever be intertwined with both the Khartoum School and the crystalists. The criticisms of Ishaaq and the crystalists were largely centered in their rejection of existing artistic frameworks and unwillingness to conform to a unitary aesthetic vision. In this sense, the legacy of Ishaaq's art can be found in the formation of a more universal artistic discourse imbued with existential and feminist expressions.

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***Kenneth Shonk***



## JABAREEN, HASAN (1964–)

Hasan Jabareen (also Hassan Jabarin) is the founder and general director of Adalah—The Legal Center for Arab Minority Rights in Israel. He conceptualized the legal framework of group rights of Palestinian citizens of Israel and implemented it in litigation brought by Adalah. Jabareen is mostly known for his special contribution to reshaping the judicial treatment of the Palestinian Arab community in Israeli courts. He introduced new patterns of legal thinking and behavior into Arab society, demonstrating a high level of professionalism and commitment to human rights. His litigation of constitutional and administrative law cases before the Israeli Supreme Court has made him a prominent lawyer in Israel and abroad. Jabareen litigates on issues of discrimination, political rights, land rights, and economic and social rights on behalf of Palestinian citizens of Israel, as well as humanitarian cases involving the protection of Palestinian civilians under occupation in the Occupied Palestinian Territories. Many of these cases have resulted in landmark, precedent-setting decisions and in significant changes in Israeli constitutional law. Jabareen supervises a large legal staff and has trained more than fifteen lawyers in human rights litigation. He is the editor in chief of *Adalah's Review* (a trilingual legal journal) and the editor of *Adalah's Newsletter* (a monthly trilingual electronic journal).

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### PERSONAL HISTORY

Jabareen was born on 9 April 1964 in Umm al-Fahm, the second-largest Arab village in Israel. His father, Rafiq, is a lawyer who was politically active and established the local magazine *Fikr* (Thought). His mother Afaf is a housewife. Jabareen grew up in Umm al-Fahm; he is the oldest son and has three brothers and three sisters. He went to elementary school in the village. From his early years, he was exposed to the complexities of the political situation of the Arab minority in Israel. Being a lawyer, his father used to deal with legal cases of severe discrimination against Arabs in land and planning issues. From his early years Jabareen was exposed to the deep interrelationship between political and legal issues. Therefore, when he was sent to the Orthodox high school in Haifa, he was already politically conscious, something that influenced his relationships with his schoolmates. The new atmosphere in the city exposed him to the Israeli Jewish society on the one hand, and to the lack of willingness among his schoolmates to admit and fight for their Palestinian identity on the other. Jabareen was suspected of being affiliated with the Palestinian nationalist movement Abna al-Balad (Sons of the Village) and in 1981 was arrested and interrogated by the Israeli police when he was still seventeen. The police

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Hasan Jabareen (Hassan Jabarin)

**Birth:** 1964, Umm al-Fahm, Israel

**Family:** Wife, Rina

**Nationality:** Palestinian

**Education:** LL.B (law), B.A. (philosophy), Tel Aviv University, 1991; LL.M. (law), American University, Washington, D.C., 1996

### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1986:** Starts his studies in law at Tel Aviv University
- **1991–1992:** Articled law clerk, Reshef and Reshef Law Offices, Tel Aviv
- **1992–1994:** Staff attorney, Association for Civil Rights in Israel, Haifa Branch
- **1995:** Legal intern, NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Washington, D.C.
- **1996:** Founder and general director, Adalah: The Legal Center for Arab Minority Rights in Israel

alleged that Jabareen had connections with activists in the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), which was considered at that time to be an illegal terrorist organization. He was released after fifteen days in prison and was never charged. This experience intensified Jabareen's political awareness, especially the emphasis on his Palestinian identity.

After finishing high school, he returned to Umm al-Fahm and assisted his father in his law office in Hadera. After a long debate with his parents about his wish to study physics, Jabareen was convinced to continue in the family tradition and study law. His father wanted him to study law and become a lawyer for three main reasons. First, he did not want him to become a teacher, dependent on the political will of influential people in the Education Ministry. Second, his father believed that Jabareen would not be appointed as a teacher because he comes from an active political family. Third, his father wanted economic independence for his son.

Jabareen's experience in living in Jewish cities—Haifa and Hadera—made it easier for him to move and study law at the faculty of law at Tel Aviv University starting in 1986. During his studies, Jabareen, being an Arab, became a popular figure, expected to represent and

explain the Palestinian and Arab position vis-à-vis Israel. In an interview he explained that, in every debate among students regarding any aspect of the Israeli-Arab conflict, especially after the outbreak of the first intifada in 1987, his classmates expected him to stand up and present his analytical views regarding the topic discussed. Having to defend his views in front of a large number of Israeli-Jewish students on a regular basis strengthened his rhetoric and his speaking abilities and helped him advocate for his position in any political or legal forum. In his fourth academic year, Jabareen was appointed a teaching assistant in labor law. He completed an LL.B (law) and a B.A. (philosophy) in 1991. He later obtained an LL.M. in law from the American University in Washington, D.C. in 1996.

### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

After completing law school, Jabareen began his practice in a well-known commercial law firm in Tel Aviv—Reshef and Reshef. After two years, he moved to work for the Association for Civil Rights in Israel (ACRI) instead of opening a new law office or joining his father. The main reason behind his decision to forgo private practice and to work for a human rights organization is the importance he saw in constitutional law and human rights issues. Soon he became a lawyer for ACRI in Haifa.

Jabareen's experience in ACRI, which he views in positive terms, convinced him that there is a need for a legal center that deals with Arab collective rights. His urge to establish a legal center to answer the needs of the Arab population in Israel mirrored his legal philosophy and political thinking. Jabareen was critical of the liberal legal approach of ACRI. Despite the fact that he viewed ACRI's work as important, he viewed it as too limited if he was to treat the legal needs of the Arab population seriously. He claims that the Arab population is discriminated against not as citizens only. They are discriminated against because of what they are, namely Palestinian. Therefore, liberal legal approaches are insufficient to answer the national, cultural, religious, and linguistic discrimination against Arabs in Israel. Jabareen adopted a communitarian legal philosophy that views the common good of the community as a fundamental and basic right that should be defended if the rights of each individual in the community are to be protected. In Jabareen's view this legal philosophy is right in particular in minority societies that are discriminated against merely based on their identity. Therefore, Jabareen sought to establish Adalah and to set its goals as "to achieve equal individual and collective rights for the Arab minority in Israel in different fields including land rights; civil and political rights; cultural, social, and economic rights; religious rights; women's rights; and prisoners' rights." These goals mirror the

emphasis on the particular identity of the Arab community and its collective rights.

In order to implement his personal philosophy and achieve the goals of Adalah, Jabareen leads a team of lawyers, bringing cases before Israeli courts and various state authorities regarding the rights of the Arab minority. He advocates for legislation that will ensure equal individual and collective rights for the Arab minority and provides legal consultation to individuals, nongovernmental organizations, and Arab institutions. He also brings Adalah to appeal to international institutions and forums in order to promote the rights of the Arab minority in particular, and human rights in general. Furthermore, Jabareen is well known for his intensive involvement in organizing study days, seminars, and workshops, and in publishing reports on legal issues concerning the rights of the Arab minority in particular, and human rights in general. Many Arab law students were trained by him and became well known for their professionalism and commitment to human rights.

Jabareen served as lead lawyer, co-counsel, or supervising attorney in over 100 major human rights/civil rights cases before the Supreme Court of Israel and other legal forums. It is impossible to illustrate the depth and breadth of his legal thought without pointing out some of the legal cases he led and is still leading. One of the most important legal cases that Jabareen led was before the Or Commission of Inquiry into the October 2000 Protest Demonstrations. The government established this official commission of inquiry after the killing of thirteen Palestinian citizens of Israel and the injury of hundreds of others by the Israeli police in October 2000 during protest demonstrations. The commission was comprised of three members and chaired by Supreme Court Justice Or. Jabareen and the Adalah legal team represented the family members of the thirteen victims and for all of the Arab political leaders including Arab Members of the Knesset (MKs) and the High Follow-up Committee for Arab Citizens of Israel (the highest Arab representative institution). After three years of proceedings that included hundreds of hearings and investigations, the commission issued its eight hundred-page final report in September 2003. This report is the first official Israeli legal document that relates in a comprehensive way to the historical discrimination against Arab citizens of Israel. The commission concluded, among other things, that police officers and commanders were responsible for the killings and injuries, and ordered the opening of criminal investigations. The commission also recommended that the government initiate affirmative action programs to remedy historical discrimination against the Arabs in Israel, including issues of land matters.

Another important legal case is H.C. (High Court) 2773/98 and H.C. 11163/03, the *High Follow-up Committee*

*for Arab Citizens of Israel, et al. v. the Prime Minister of Israel* (Supreme Court of Israel). In this case, Jabareen filed a petition on behalf of the High Follow-up Committee for Arab Citizens of Israel and others asking to cancel an Israeli governmental decision that divided the country into National Priority Areas A and B. Towns designated as Area A receive enormous financial support from the government for social, economic, and education projects, and their residents enjoy numerous tax benefits. More than 500 Jewish towns were classified as Area A, whereas only four small Arab towns were included. Jabareen argued that the governmental decision divided the country in an arbitrary and discriminatory manner, without legislative authorization or clear, written, objective criteria, and should be based on socioeconomic need. The attorney general argued that this decision has been part of the government's political program since the early years of the state, and is thus legitimate policy. The goal, the attorney general argued, is to disperse the population and to support development towns, border communities, and those settlements that absorb new Jewish immigrants. After eight years of litigation and tens of hearings, in February 2006 an expanded panel of seven Supreme Court justices unanimously decided to cancel the decision ruling that it had a discriminatory effect on Arab citizens of Israel, and that the government does not have the authority to divide the country on this basis without Knesset legislation. This judgment will affect every governmental decision and hinder the executive's ability to circumvent the rule of law to arbitrarily violate the rights of Arab citizens, especially in the fields of social and economic rights. Following this decision, some Israeli legal scholars argued that this case should be considered as the *Brown v. Board of Education* of Israel.

A third important case that Jabareen led as a lawyer is the Criminal Case 5196/01, *The State of Israel v. Azmi Bishara, et al.*; Criminal Case 1087/02, *The State of Israel v. Azmi Bishara* (Magistrate Court, Nazareth, 2001–2003); and H.C. 11225/03, *MK Azmi Bishara, et al. v. the Attorney General, et al.* (Supreme Court of Israel). In these cases Jabareen represented MK Dr. AZMI BISHARA, the head of the National Democratic Assembly Arab political party, on two indictments after his parliamentary immunity was lifted by the Knesset. The Magistrate Court dismissed the first indictment, which charged him under emergency regulations with assisting Arab citizens of Israel to travel to Syria to see refugee relatives through his connections with the Syrian government. The court accepted his argument and ruled in 2003 that MKs are exempt from being prosecuted under these regulations. A second indictment charged MK Bishara with supporting a terrorist organization based on political speeches he made in his capacity as a public representative in which he arguably praised the resistance of Hizbullah against the Israeli army in South Lebanon. The Magistrate Court refused to dismiss the

second indictment. Jabareen petitioned the Supreme Court asking to cancel the indictment on the grounds that MK Bishara has parliamentary immunity and must enjoy absolute freedom of political expression. In February 2006, the Supreme Court, in a split 2–1 decision, ruled that MKs have full immunity for political expression, even when they praise terror organizations, but their speech may not support the armed struggle of these groups. The court found that MK Bishara's speech did not amount to supporting the armed struggle of a terrorist organization, and therefore dismissed the indictment. Some Israeli legal scholars consider this case as one of the foundations for freedom of expression and immunity for parliamentarians.

Jabareen conceptualized the legal strategy and supervised Adalah attorneys on a series of cases brought before the Supreme Court during the Israeli army's heavy military incursions in the Occupied Territories in 2002. The cases raised many issues of international humanitarian law, including the denial of medical treatment for the sick and wounded; the denial of access of medical personnel; the right to a proper burial for the dead; the demolition of homes in the Jenin refugee camp; the Israeli army's shelling of Palestinian civilians and civilian targets; the inhumane treatment of one thousand Palestinian detainees held at the Ansar III detention center; and the use of Palestinian civilians as human shields by the Israeli army.

#### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

Jabareen is perceived positively by his professional community. He is considered an expert in constitutional law, comparative constitutional law, civil rights and civil liberties, discrimination, minority rights, political participation, and laws related to terror activities. He is invited to many conferences, symposiums, and faculty workshops at Israeli universities, as well as at academic institutions abroad in which he gives lectures on human rights issues. Jabareen was named by *Globes* (a leading Israeli economic daily newspaper) in 2000 as one of the ten top lawyers in Israel and as a potential candidate to serve as a justice on the Supreme Court of Israel. That same year he was awarded the Peter Cicchino Award for outstanding advocacy in the public interest at the American University, Washington College of Law. In 1996 he received a New Israel Fund Law Fellowship.

#### LEGACY

There is no doubt that Jabareen has introduced new legal thinking into the Israeli legal system. He challenged fundamental legal and judicial conceptions and managed to bring change to the dominant patterns of legal philosophy in Israel. His legal activity inspires many young lawyers and several of his cases have become landmarks in the struggle of the Palestinian-Arab community for equal rights in Israel. As it seems for the time being, his

legal contribution will certainly continue in the courtroom, as well as in the academic world.

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Amal Jamal

## JUBAYR, ADIL AL- (1962–)

A Saudi Arabian spokesperson and diplomat, Adil al-Jubayr (also Adel al-Jubeir) became ambassador to the United States in 2007.

#### PERSONAL HISTORY

Al-Jubayr was born in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, in 1962 to a family involved in diplomacy and government. An uncle, Shaykh Muhammad bin Ibrahim bin Jubayr, served as minister of justice and became the first head of Saudi Arabia's Shura Council (Majlis al-Shura), an appointed, consultative body established in 1992. Because al-Jubayr's father was a diplomat, the family traveled frequently throughout Adil's formative years, when his father was posted to, among other places, Germany, Yemen, and Lebanon.

In 1978, Adil al-Jubayr, together with his mother and siblings, had been living in Lebanon while his father served at a diplomatic post in Yemen. According to associates to whom he has told the story, one of the reasons for his wanting to remain in Lebanon for as long as possible was that, after having spent such an extended period in non-Arabic-speaking countries, he wanted to regain his fluency in Arabic. When the family was on vacation in the United States that year, violence escalated among Lebanese political factions vying for position and influence. Later that same year, the Israel Defense Forces bombed Beirut in retaliation for attacks by Lebanon-based Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) fighters

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Adil al-Jubayr (Adel al-Jubeir)  
**Birth:** 1962, Riyadh, Saudi Arabia  
**Nationality:** Saudi Arabian  
**Education:** B.S. (political science and economics), University of North Texas, 1982; M.A. (political science), Georgetown University, Washington, D.C., 1984

### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1986:** Enters Saudi diplomatic corps
- **1999:** Director, Saudi Arabian Information Office in Washington, D.C.
- **2007:** Ambassador of Saudi Arabia to Washington

against sites in northern Israel. Owing to the deteriorating security situation in Lebanon and the lack of American universities in Yemen, the family decided to remain in the United States. A friend helped Adil and an older sister, who had been enrolled at the American University in Beirut, to find places at the University of North Texas in Denton, where Adil enrolled at the age of sixteen.

Al-Jubayr graduated *summa cum laude* from the University of North Texas in 1982 with a bachelor's degree in political science and economics. He went on to earn a master's degree in political science and international relations from Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service in 1984. He entered Saudi Arabia's diplomatic corps in 1986 and served as special assistant to the Saudi Arabian ambassador to the United States, Prince Bandar bin Sultan bin Abd al-Aziz Al Sa'ud, for the next thirteen years.

In 1999, al-Jubayr was appointed director of the Saudi Arabian Information Office in Washington, D.C. In that position, he gained valuable experience in liaising with the representatives of almost all mainstream American satellite television, newspaper, radio, and other media networks, as well as members and select staff of the U.S. Congress. Shortly thereafter, he was appointed foreign affairs adviser to then-Saudi Arabian crown prince, second deputy prime minister, and national guard commander ABDULLAH BIN ABD AL-AZIZ AL-SA'UD, half-brother to then-King Fahd bin Abd al-Aziz Al Sa'ud. After King Fahd suffered a stroke in November 1985, Prince Abdullah served as *de facto* head of the Saudi Arabian government until the passing of King Fahd in August 2005 when Abdullah succeeded him as

king. Having won Abdullah's confidence, al-Jubayr proceeded to play a progressively prominent role in presenting and defending the kingdom's foreign policies to visiting delegations of leaders as well as media representatives from largely Western countries. Al-Jubayr would become increasingly well known to the Western world and to Americans in particular, primarily through his public diplomacy efforts. He frequently appeared on American talk shows and interview programs, explaining and defending Saudi Arabia's policies and actions.

The position of serving as a major public window on Saudi Arabia's position and roles in international affairs became critically important after the 11 September 2001 attacks on the United States in which it was revealed that fifteen of the nineteen Arabs who hijacked four American airliners were Saudi Arabian citizens. The U.S. political response to these attacks was at once emotional and political, prompting many to examine the merits of the overall relationship between Riyadh and Washington. What followed was a pervasive American national media blitz that relentlessly attacked the kingdom's culture, religion, foreign policies, and system of governance, and called into question the wisdom of the United States continuing to view and relate to the country as a partner and ally. Al-Jubayr played a key role in the kingdom's response to these attacks, attempting to project the kingdom's perspective to key public and private sector audiences in the United States at every available opportunity.

To these ends, al-Jubayr was instrumental in the establishment of Saudi Arabia-centric activities associated with Qorvis, a private public relations company in Washington, D.C. The firm rapidly proceeded to mount major public affairs campaigns at the national, state, and local levels in numerous American media markets. The campaign was designed to convey little known positive facts related to Saudi Arabia's multifaceted positive contributions to international affairs in general and its relationship with the United States in particular. In 2002, the firm produced a series of public affairs advertisements that appeared on select American television stations in support of Crown Prince Abdullah's peace proposal to Israel of 31 March 2002, which was unanimously endorsed by all twenty-two members of the League of Arab States.

Al-Jubayr is one of Saudi Arabia's most prominent spokesmen to Western and especially American media. Shortly after the resignation of Saudi Arabian ambassador to the United States Prince Turki bin Faysal Al Sa'ud on 11 December 2006, al-Jubayr was appointed ambassador to Washington. He presented his credentials to U.S. president George W. Bush in February 2007.

### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, al-Jubayr was a widely known and respected professional within the U.S. capital.

## CONTEMPORARIES

Among other Arab spokesmen who have held similar positions representing a monarch to foreign media in the West have been three Jordanians, former Crown Prince Hassan bin Talal, Adnan Odeh, and MARWAN MUASHER, who performed such services for the late King HUSSEIN BIN TALAL of Jordan; two Egyptians, Muhammad al-Zayyat and Muhammad Hakki, who did the same for former Egyptian presidents Gamal Abdel Nasser and Anwar Sadat; three League of Arab States representatives, AMR MOUSSA, Husayn Hasuna, and Clovis Maksoud; four Palestinians, HANAN MIKHA'IL ASHRAWI, Afif Safieh, Nasser al-Kidwa, and the late Fayez al-Sayigh; and several Saudi Arabians, Prince Sa'ud bin Faysal bin Abd al-Aziz Al Sa'ud, Prince Turki bin Faysal bin Abd al-Aziz Al Sa'ud, and Ghazi Algasaihi.

However, his prominence in the American national media skyrocketed following the attacks of 11 September 2001, when he became a leading figure in Saudi Arabia's concerted actions to persuade a skeptical U.S. public that the kingdom was a reliable ally, a committed partner in the campaign against terrorism, and, indeed, on 13 May 2003 as well as earlier and subsequently, was a victim of extremist violence itself. At a time when the American media and public opinion generally were sharply focused on the fact that a majority of the nineteen men who carried out the attacks were Saudi Arabian citizens, al-Jubayr faced the demanding task of rehabilitating the kingdom's image in the United States.

Through numerous appearances on American television talk shows, al-Jubayr reiterated repeatedly the message that Saudi Arabia acknowledged shortcomings in its earlier efforts to prevent or curb extremist acts and attitudes by its citizens at home and abroad. He would then always quickly also stress that the government in Riyadh was doing everything in its power to cooperate with U.S. authorities in combating violence. Not all Americans were persuaded, but most foreign affairs specialists agreed on al-Jubayr's considerable skill at handling the press.

### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

On an online Public Broadcasting System *News Hour with Jim Lehrer* broadcast, Larry Johnson, a former deputy director of the U.S. Department of State's office of counterterrorism, sitting across from al-Jubayr, said, "[Y]ou have to understand this is the Michael Jordan of Saudi Arabian

diplomacy" (Johnson, 2001). The reference likened him, not without reason, to an unsurpassed practitioner of the art of repeatedly succeeding in the often exceptionally difficult task of making his government's policies, positions, attitudes, and actions seem eminently plausible, reasonable, moderate, and a model of prudence and efficacy as far as statecraft is concerned.

### LEGACY

In the eyes of adversaries and admirers alike, al-Jubayr has long been acknowledged as ambitious and effective. His ability to stay on message throughout interviews and press conferences is respected. He has become an important player in Saudi Arabia-U.S. relations for his role in asserting the benefits of that relationship and the arguments for its continuation. Since assuming the post of ambassador to the United States in February 2007, al-Jubayr has focused on the long-term effort to place the institutional dimensions of the bilateral Saudi Arabia relationship on a firmer foundation. He has continued to explain to the American public the kingdom's ongoing efforts to deter threats to regional order as well as promote global economic growth through responsible positions relating to energy production, pricing, the enhancement of fuel efficiencies, and the mutual benefits derived from the establishment in Riyadh at Saudi Arabia's own expense of an international center joining representatives of all the world's major oil producing and consuming countries in a first-ever effort to facilitate continuous information sharing and consultation on international energy issues among the parties most concerned. He has also continued to serve as a voice of reason and moderation regarding Saudi Arabia's constant effort to formulate and administer policies and actions that enhance the prospects for regional peace and stability.

Al-Jubayr's task of projecting and protecting Saudi Arabia's interests, image, and special relationship with the United States has remained likened to a double-edged sword. On the one hand, he has been required to deal continuously with his country's many detractors. These, in the United States and elsewhere, have persistently viewed not only Saudi Arabia itself but equally, if not more so, the relationship between Riyadh and Washington, with a degree of hostility that, in the eyes of many, constitutes little more than extreme jealousy and resentment. As a result, he has had little choice but to contend with the kingdom's adversaries, in pursuit of their own interests, having incessantly worked to misrepresent what the kingdom is and does.

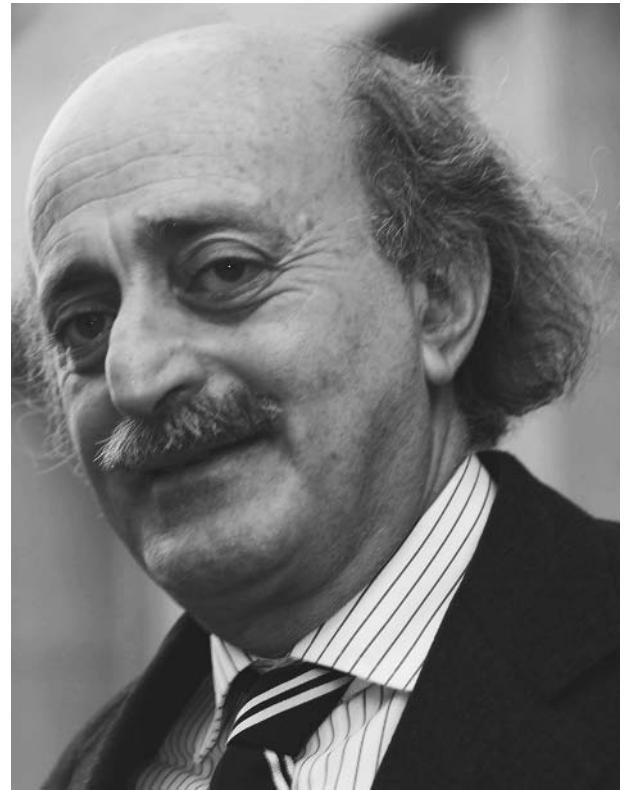
On the other hand, al-Jubayr's efforts have been strengthened by his and others knowing that many governments would readily trade places with either the United States or Saudi Arabia were there an opportunity to do so. They would do so for reasons that, as many have long argued, are eminently understandable: namely,

the hope of replicating for themselves the unparalleled benefits that Americans, Saudi Arabians, and countless others have derived from the relationship over the course of nearly seven decades.

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*John Duke Anthony*



*Walid Jumblatt.* SEAN GALLUP/GETTY IMAGES.

## JUMBLATT, WALID

(1949–)

Walid Jumblatt is a Lebanese politician who has played a major role in the politics of Lebanon since his father's assassination in 1977, and became one of the most outspoken leaders in the anti-Syrian Cedar Revolution. He is also the most prominent Druze leader in all of Lebanon, and the leader of the Progressive Socialist Party of Lebanon. To underestimate the amount of stress and strife that he must deal with on a daily basis would be a disservice. Not one to mince words, Jumblatt has been a lightning rod of controversy, but also a pillar of strength for his community and for Lebanon as a whole.

#### PERSONAL HISTORY

The only son of Kamal Jumblatt, Jumblatt was born on 7 August 1949 in Beirut, Lebanon, to Kamal and his wife, May Arslan. May Arslan is the daughter of a prominent Lebanese Druze prince. Jumblatt's parents separated soon after his birth, and only a year into their marriage. Kamal was the founder and leader of the Progressive Socialist Party (PSP). His son, Walid, seemed to have little, if any political leanings or ambitions in his early life. He attended the American Institute in Beirut, an independent, nonsectarian institution of higher learning, functioning

under a charter from the state of New York, and was schooled in France as well. He became fluent in Arabic, English, and French.

With the assassination of his father on 16 March 1977 and the resulting void in the Progressive Socialist Party, Jumblatt was essentially forced into the position of taking over his father's role as the leader of the party. He was a political weakling, and not into the conformism associated with the party. He commonly wore jeans and a leather jacket, rode a motorcycle, and he married a non-Druze Jordanian woman, all of which put him on shaky footing for taking over this new role. These differences ultimately led to many diverse factions seeking to, and believing they did, control him and his small two hundred thousand-member community.

One such group, seeking to control and mold the newly dubbed leader of the PSP and Druze population was Syria. Jumblatt, soon after his father's death, met with Syrian President HAFIZ AL-ASAD in Damascus. The conversation, as it has been reported, contained many veiled threats and demands. For a time, the veiled threats and the demands the Syrians made of Jumblatt seem to have worked. He seemed to support, for a time, the Syrian hegemony that threatened to undo Lebanon. Jumblatt needed Syrian backing due to oppositional rumblings



## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Walid Jumblatt  
**Birth:** 1949, Beirut, Lebanon  
**Family:** Married  
**Nationality:** Lebanese  
**Education:** American Institute of Beirut

### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1977:** Replaces his assassinated father as head of the Druze community and the leader of the Progressive Socialist Party
- **2000:** Bashar al-Asad replaces his late father, Hafiz al-Asad, as president of Syria; Asad's policies strain Jumblatt's relationship with Syria
- **2001:** Attack on sister and niece of fellow Druze MP taken as a warning to Jumblatt and other opponents of Syria to fall in line
- **2005:** Rafiq Hariri assassinated (February 14); Jumblatt steps into more prominent role in anti-Syrian opposition as leader of the Cedar Revolution

within his party, and the community at large, over his new leadership position.

While dealing with Syria's demands and capitulations, Jumblatt next had to deal with Israel's. In June 1982, the Israeli army invaded and occupied Lebanon. In order to keep his small Druze community from becoming too embroiled in the conflict, Jumblatt tried to strike a deal to maintain Druze independence. Israel, however, allied itself with the Christian Lebanese Forces (CLF). The CLF moved into the heavily Druze area, threatening this small minority group. Jumblatt requested and received Syrian aid, running the CLF out of Druze areas, killing more than one thousand CLF members, and displacing many more. This Druze victory secured for Jumblatt the power and the respect to lead the PSP and the Druze community unchallenged.

The next major challenge to the Druze, the PSP, and Lebanon as a whole was the civil war lasting from 1975 until 1990. It destabilized the country and allowed the Syrians to gain a foothold in the embattled state. The Syrians originally entered Lebanon to put an end to the civil war, but seemingly forgot to remove their troops and their influence. Originally, Jumblatt supported this interference, assuming that Syria would help to end the war.

However, Jumblatt was not prepared to allow Syria free rein over Lebanon.

In 2000, with the death of Asad, Jumblatt began to call for a withdrawal of Syrian personnel within Lebanon. Asad had set up Jumblatt within the government of Lebanon, giving him many government positions and ensuring his continued election and place in Parliament. When Asad died, his son, BASHAR AL-ASAD, took over and began to strip away the powers that Jumblatt, and other Lebanese political actors he viewed as a threat, had been given. The younger Asad's government effectively took Jumblatt and any other dissenters out of the way, setting up the Lebanese government to Syria's best advantage.

The events taking place after Bashar al-Asad's ascendance to the presidency of Syria left Jumblatt little choice but to join the vocal opposition. He, along with such famous oppositionists as Lebanese prime minister RAFIQ HARIRI, began a verbal war on Syrian hegemony. In April 2001, in a clear warning to the leader, a package exploded in Bkheshtey, injuring the sister and niece of the Druze Member of Parliament (MP) Akram Chehayeb, who served as an aide to Jumblatt. Jumblatt condemned the attack, saying, "It is not through terrorism that we will reach dialogue." This terrorist act had been a warning to fall in line or be eliminated. Jumblatt was not to be so easily tempered or quieted.

On 14 February 2005, Hariri was assassinated, leaving Jumblatt to step into an even more prominent role in the organized opposition to Syria. Jumblatt said that Hariri had foreseen this assassination, as Asad had purportedly outright threatened him in 2005. Hariri's assassination was more than just a silencing of one man—it was meant to silence the opposition all together.

Jumblatt, as a result of the assassinations of his father, Hariri, and of many other dissenters within Lebanon, has admitted to a fear of his own assassination. In 2004, Syria had allegedly sent him another message by attempting to assassinate his friend and political ally, Marwan Hamadeh. Jumblatt stated in an interview with the *Chicago Tribune* on 10 August 2006 that he does not think about death, but that "when they will come, they will come." This is a clear reference to his own continued status as an agitator and thorn in the Syrian's side. He, however, seems to be following in the Jumblatt family footsteps, for his father once said, "The Jumblatts are usually killed—they don't die in their beds."

In December 2005 Jumblatt again witnessed a politically charged, most likely Syrian-led, assassination, this time of GHASSAN JIBRAN TOUENI, the popular politician and journalist. In a 29 July 2006 article in the *Wall Street Journal*, Jumblatt was quoted as saying "I'm afraid that because of the chaos in Lebanon today, Syria might try to assassinate people here."

## CONTEMPORARIES

Amine Pierre Gemayyel was born on 22 January 1942 in the Lebanese mountain village of Bikfaya. He is the son of the prominent Lebanese politician, founder of the Kataeb (or Phalange) Party Pierre Gemayyel. Amine Gemayyel became president of Lebanon after his younger brother, president-elect Bashir, was assassinated in 1982. Whereas Bashir was regarded as a political radical linked to the killing of many Lebanese and Palestinian Muslims, Amine Gemayyel was considered more moderate. Always a consensus politician, he avoided, at least in his prepresidential years, alienating Muslim politicians as his brother had done. When Bashir was assassinated, therefore, Amine Gemayyel was regarded as a natural choice to bring together both the supporters of his slain brother and his Muslim opponents.

Gemayyel's presidency proved extremely difficult because two-thirds of Lebanon was occupied by Syria and Israel and the rest controlled by local militias and private groups independent of government control. The new president lacked any real power. His government found itself largely unable to collect income tax; warlords controlling the seaports and major cities enriched themselves as the government accumulated a large amount of debt. Many have criticized Gemayyel for not moving decisively enough to assert the authority of the government, but others have pointed out that with most of the country under foreign occupation, there was little that he could do. In virtually impossible circumstances, he kept a semblance of constitutional order but was unable to

appoint an acceptable prime minister or a replacement president before his departure in 1988. He could not please everyone or gain a consensus. Therefore, the political crisis developed into a war between the two most powerful Maronites, with MICHEL AOUN, general of the Lebanese army, on one side, and Samir Geagea and the Lebanese forces on the other. Although both the Gemayyel and Jumblatt families have fought bitterly for many years with high casualties on both sides, they joined other Lebanese political factions in a national reconciliation. As the fifteen-year-long civil war ended in 1990, they began to focus on rebuilding the country. Since the assassination of the former Lebanese prime minister Rafiq Hariri on 14 February 2005, Walid Jumblatt, Gemayyel, and the assassinated leader's son Sa'd Hariri have created one national political bloc, known as the March 14 movement. This political bloc is named for the date of the massive protest against Syria's presence in Lebanon that took place on 14 March 2005, one month after Hariri's assassination. This anti-Syrian movement, which eventually resulted in the expulsion of Syrian troops from Lebanon, is also known as the Cedar Revolution. Gemayyel's son, also named Pierre, the minister of technology and also a member of the March 14 movement, was assassinated on 21 November 2006. The leaders of the Cedar Revolution blamed Syria for the attack and its continued interference in Lebanese internal affairs.

## INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Jumblatt was deeply influenced by the Lebanese Civil War and Lebanon's loss of sovereignty to foreign nations, especially Syria and Israel. This prompted Jumblatt to build an anti-Syrian coalition and to try to move Syrian forces out of Lebanon.

With the assassination of prominent Lebanese leaders such as Hariri and Toueni, as well as others, things have greatly changed for Jumblatt. Among them, he has taken up almost permanent residence in Moukhtara, in a home that has often been called a mountain fortress. Also, where he once seemed deathly opposed to the United States and Israel, he now calls on them for help.

In many people's opinions Jumblatt called for a U.S.-led regime change in Syria. In a 2005 interview

for the *Washington Post*, writer David Ignatius records Jumblatt as saying that the U.S. invasion of Iraq is similar to the falling of the Berlin Wall: "The U.S. came to Iraq in the name of majority rule. You can do the same thing in Syria." This was taken by many to mean that he was calling for U.S.-backed regime change in Syria. In January 2007, Jumblatt met with President George W. Bush and the American Enterprise Institute. He spoke with Bush about aiding groups that are opposing Asad's rule in Syria. Jumblatt also asserted his, and others', belief that there will not be a stable Lebanon without regime change in Syria. Jumblatt was calling for U.S. involvement, as well as for a renewed and strengthened political and a diplomatic alliance with Lebanon's prime minister, Fu'ad Siniora. This was necessary to bolster Siniora's government, and to make it able to stand up against

the Syrians continued hegemony. This is a huge change from 2003, when Jumblatt had his diplomatic visa revoked by the United States, for wishing out loud that Paul Wolfowitz, the U.S. deputy secretary of defense, had been killed in a Baghdad rocket attack. This had nearly become a reality, as Wolfowitz did indeed survive an attempted attack on his hotel in Baghdad. Jumblatt went on to describe Wolfowitz as a virus. Jumblatt is not one to mince words; good, bad, or ugly, the people know exactly what he is thinking.

#### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

The world's perspective of Jumblatt is diverse due to his controversial statements that have divided many Lebanese, but unified others. For example, given his outspoken ways, it should come as no surprise that in December 2006, at the funeral for Salman Seyour, Jumblatt called for Asad's death. Seyour had been Jumblatt's personal security chief. "No matter how long it takes, one of us will emerge and take revenge for all the martyrs starting from Kamal Jumblatt to Pierre Gemayyel who I hope is the last." The reference to Pierre Gemayyel, the assassinated industry minister of Lebanon, is a reference more to the Gemayyel family. Three members of this family were assassinated. This relates well to Jumblatt's own family, and harkens back to his father's ominous statement about the family usually being killed.

Without Jumblatt, the opposition would most likely not have a front man, a man appearing so fearless that he seems to openly challenge Syria with no thought to his safety. He has, according to some, paved the way for scores of other prominent Lebanese Muslims to raise their voices alongside Christians in demanding that Syria allow Lebanon to govern itself. This man has watched scores of his fellow oppositionists be murdered cruelly in the public eye. He certainly knows that his time is coming, or that at the very least an attempt will be made. Yet, he has worked to try and keep his people safe, and on the winning side in the tangled web of foreign and domestic struggles that have engulfed Lebanon.

#### LEGACY

Although it is too early to determine how history will judge Jumblatt, one thing is clear: The Druze leader does not have the same stature as his late father Kamal. Jum-

blatt has made some controversial statements with regard to Syria's leaders and their allies in Lebanon. Born in a country that has seen many wars, occupations, invasions, and political turmoil, Jumblatt will long be remembered as the Lebanese leader who championed Lebanese independence, equality, and social and political harmony. Since the end of the Lebanese Civil War in 1990, Jumblatt has faced difficulties maintaining unity within his own Druze community and proved to be less successful than his father in building consensus with the Lebanese confessional system. However, the current political division in Lebanon has led Jumblatt to become more concerned and vocal about Syria's interference in his country. He has joined the anti-Syrian Cedar Revolution and has become its unofficial spokesman. Even with the polarization of that tiny but diverse nation, Jumblatt continues to be the voice of independence and unity in Lebanon. As of 2007, he has become the conscience of the country, pointing to the injustices that foreign occupation has done to his nation, but at the same time has earned the wrath of his strong neighbor Syria.

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*Khodr M. Zaarour*



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## KABLI, ABD AL-KARIM AL- (1932–)

Abd al-Karim Abd al-Aziz Muhammad al-Kabli is a distinguished Sudanese musician, singer, poet, and researcher in folklore and culture. His creative contribution to Sudanese music is reflected in more than 150 songs and lyrics of diverse themes. His diligent efforts and research in Sudanese folklore have helped preserve important pieces of literary and musical heritage of Sudanese culture.

As ambassador of Sudanese music, Kabli has visited many countries and lectured on Sudanese music, folklore, and culture at different international academic institutions, universities, and cultural organizations. Kabli's wealth of contributions and distinct reputation has recently earned him an honorary doctorate degree in literature from Nyala University, Sudan. Based on his advocacy of women's issues, gender equality, and human rights, Kabli is currently a United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) goodwill ambassador for Obstetric Fistula and Violence against Women.

### PERSONAL HISTORY

Al-Kabli was born in the eastern Sudanese city of Port Sudan on the Red Sea in 1932. He received his elementary and intermediate education at Port Sudan Amiriyya middle school. His musical and literary talents emerged at an early age, and he developed an interest in both Sudanese music and the Arabic language. According to his Arabic and history teacher, the Sudanese historian Derar Salih Derar, Kabli's unique voice stood out among his classmates. Kabli later taught himself how to play the whistle, flute, and eventually he mastered playing the oud (a lute). Kabli moved to Khartoum at the age of sixteen, where he attended Omdurman secondary school. After graduating, he worked as a court inspector cleric at the Judiciary Department. While attending secondary school, Kabli continued playing the oud and singing for his friends and colleagues. Soon after, he composed the lyrics and music for his first song, "Ya Zahiya," which was then performed by the popular Sudanese singer, Abd al-Aziz Muhammad Da'ud. Kabli used the depth of his own melodious voice to create a solid base of a distinct musical career that has drawn a significant audience inside and outside of Sudan.

Kabli's major musical activity began in the 1960s with a concert that turned out to be a breakthrough in his career. The echoes of his song "Asia and Africa" constituted part of the inspiration felt during the decades of liberation and the calls for peace and development in the Asian and African continents. Kabli's lyrics, music, and songs reflect a multifaceted artistic genre ranging



*Abd al Karim al-Kabli.* PHOTO COURTESY OF SAAD ABDEL KARIM AL-KABLI.

between modern, classical, folkloric, and nationalistic. He sang in both classical Arabic and colloquial Sudanese dialects. His music composition of the classic poem “Araka Assi al-Dam” by Abu Firas al-Hamadani has been a part of his distinct contribution to Sudanese music of classical poetry. Among his numerous nationalist songs, Kabli performed his song “al-Khartoum” celebrating the 21 October 1964 popular revolution in Sudan.

#### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

“In general, I have been influenced by everything I listened to of Eastern and Western music, although I have been committed to the Sudanese style,” said Kabli at the Awards Ceremony of Nyala University, Sudan, after he received his honorary doctorate on 12 May 2002. “Specifically, I have been influenced by the great singers that came before me including Hassan Atiya, Ahmed al-Mustafa, Abd al-Aziz Muhammad Da’ud, Ibrahim al-Kashif, Eltaj Mustafa, A’isha al-Fallatiya, and Fatima Elhaj. Fatima Elhaj had a unique style that affected me greatly.”

#### BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Abd al-Karim al-Kabli  
**Birth:** 1932, Port Sudan, Sudan  
**Family:** Wife, Awadia Eljozali; three sons, Abdel Aziz, Muhammad, and Sa’ad; two daughters, Ni’ma and Dalia  
**Nationality:** Sudanese  
**Education:** Gadaref, Port Sudan, and Khartoum, Sudan

#### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1960s:** Begins career as a Sudanese singer and musician
- **1977:** Retires early from the Judiciary Department
- **1977–1980:** Lives and works in Saudi Arabia
- **1980s:** Returns to Sudan and continues his music, research, and song career
- **2002:** Awarded an honorary doctorate degree in the arts by Nyala University, Sudan
- **2004:** Named UNFPA goodwill ambassador for Obstetric Fistula and Violence against Women in Sudan, and for his advocacy of women’s health issues, gender equality, and human rights; travels around the world both as a UNFPA goodwill ambassador and simultaneously performing and lecturing on Sudanese music and culture

Although the most dominant feature of Kabli’s songs and poetry has been in the area of love and beauty, he is not restricted in theme to love songs, given that his songs have addressed other aspects of human life in general and Sudanese values in particular. Themes covered by his music include social and political issues such as women, children and youth, peace, and prosperity of human beings and world nations. His song “Fatat al-Yawm wa’l-Ghad” (The woman of today and tomorrow) celebrates women’s important role in society. He has also contributed songs reflecting political realities in Sudanese, Arab, and African scenes and nationalistic sentiments. Kabli sang five songs in appreciation of the late Egyptian president Gamal Abdel Nasser. His recent works include a song with children against harmful traditions such as female circumcision and a long song on Sudanese heritage and values.

Kabli’s creative and artistic contributions also extend to cover speeches and lectures in both Arabic and English

that he has presented in cultural conferences and symposia inside and outside of the Sudan. He has also contributed to radio and television programs, and has written a number of articles for Sudanese and Arabic newspapers and magazines, including his introduction to Hasan Ismail Obaid's book *The Sociology of Music*.

From Kabli's perspective, the good arts, irrespective of type, are influential sources that enrich the heart of cultures. What he perceives as culture is necessarily the moral product of knowledge.

#### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

Kabli is from an Afro-Arab culture that he has transferred to the heart of Europe in London. He is a true ambassador of the Arabic and African songs. Because Kabli is a philosopher of Sudanese songs, those young Sudanese singers calling for renewal in Sudanese music need to learn from Kabli how to develop their own styles and performance. Art is a high reflection of human nature that needs challenge to develop the singer's performance. Kabli has challenged colloquial Sudanese lyrics and performed them with great confidence. Not only that, but he has transcended that to sing in classical Arabic at a time when singing has been weakened by negative images. A philosopher of his time and the time to come, Kabli is one of Sudan's creative singers who have received recognition by official and popular Arab, African, and world listeners.

#### LEGACY

In Socrates' words, "the unexamined life is not worth living." Kabli's legacy will reflect the values of his life as a superstar Sudanese singer, musician, poet, and researcher

of Sudanese folklore and culture. The diverse themes of love, beauty, nationalism, peace, the environment, and social and political realities embodied in his songs will be passed on to generations to come. Kabli's legacy will also be felt in the story of his life as he shared his values, hopes, and dreams for the present and future, and life lessons he learned in the fields of music, poetry, and culture. Most importantly, Kabli will not only be remembered for his great role in developing the modern Sudanese song, but also for his significant role in preserving the heritage of Sudanese music and culture in his own unique style.

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Souad T. Ali

## KAR, MEHRANGIZ (1944–)

Mehrangiz Kar is an Iranian lawyer, writer, and human rights activist. She fought for women's and children's rights in the 1990s, was arrested in 2000, and has lived in the United States since 2001.

#### PERSONAL HISTORY

Kar was born in 1944 in Ahvaz, capital of the southwest Iranian province of Khuzistan. She moved to Tehran to study at the Faculty of Law and Political Science of the University of Tehran, graduating with a law degree in 1967. After graduating, she became an employee of the state social security organization, while at the same time writing articles on social and political issues for newspapers and weekly magazines.

In 1977 she resigned her position in the social security organization to prepare for her legal career. She passed her bar exam and was licensed to practice law in 1978, shortly before the Iranian Revolution. But when Iran's judiciary was taken over by the clerics following the revolution,

### KABLI SPEAKS

I am pleased with this honor. Although I was born in the city of Port Sudan, in the farthest eastern Sudan, I am being honored by Nyala University in the farthest western Sudan. This is exactly what I have been calling for when I lectured throughout the past three decades about diversity, the variety of the nature of Sudanese people, and the importance of belonging to a colorful country. It has been my deep belief that geographical boundaries need not be prohibitive and should never rob us of our love and affection.

SPOKEN AT THE AWARDS CEREMONY OF NYALA UNIVERSITY, SUDAN, AFTER KABLI RECEIVED HIS HONORARY DOCTORATE DEGREE, 12 MAY 2002.

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Mehrangiz Kar  
**Birth:** 1944, Ahvaz, Iran  
**Family:** Husband, Siamak Pourzand; two daughters, Leyla and Azadeh  
**Nationality:** Iranian  
**Education:** Faculty of Law and Political Science, University of Tehran, 1967

### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1960s–1970s:** Government employee and journalist
- **1978:** Began to practice law
- **1997:** Publishes *Political Rights of Iranian Women*
- **2000:** Arrested by Iranian government
- **2000s:** Serves as a researcher and lecturer at various American universities
- **2001:** Leaves Iran; convicted in absentia by an Iranian court
- **2002:** Receives Ludovic Trarieux Prize, jointly awarded by the Human Rights Institute of the Bar of Bordeaux and the European Lawyers Union; and received Democracy Award of the U.S. National Endowment for Democracy
- **2004:** Receives Human Rights First Human Rights Award

legal procedures were in flux. While the role of defense lawyers was not officially abolished, the new judges treated them with disdain and often ignored them, especially women. Given the new legal environment, Kar and a number of other lawyers decided to familiarize themselves with the *shari'a* (Islamic law) and *fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence). They learned these systems of jurisprudence, based on traditional Islamic modes of reasoning, in order to gain the acceptance of the judicial authorities and maintain a role for themselves within the Iranian judicial system. Gradually they succeeded, and Kar was able to represent clients in cases involving divorce, adultery, and human rights abuses by state officials.

When Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani became president of Iran in 1989 following Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini's death in that year, the press became more diverse, and figures unconnected to the country's political estab-

lishment were able to publish weekly and monthly magazines. Kar began writing again, focusing on the tension between the laws on the books in Iran and basic principles of justice and human rights. Her articles in the women's monthly *Zanan*, published by a Muslim feminist, articulated the struggle for equal rights in an Islamic language, the only one available at the time. For these writings, Kar was criticized by the conservative press for allegedly advocating Western ideas and advocating vice.

Also in the 1990s she began writing a series of books analyzing the various aspects of the discrimination against women. In 1997, she published a book, *Political Rights of Iranian Women*, in which she argued that Iranian women had no legal rights over their children. The book highlighted the plight of children born to an Iranian mother and a non-Iranian father. Under a law enacted in pre-Revolution Iran, children were not able to acquire their mothers' citizenship. Given the presence of millions of Afghan and Iraqi refugees in Iran, thousands of Iranian women had contracted religiously valid marriages with Muslim noncitizens. Their children were considered stateless if their father had not registered his children's nationality with the authorities of his country—impossible in many cases as a practical matter, given the refugee status of many noncitizen residents of Iran.

In April 2000 Kar and sixteen other prominent reform-minded Iranian intellectuals and activists attended a conference on Iran's reform movement organized in Berlin by the Heinrich Böll Stiftung, a foundation with close links to the Green Party. At that conference she spoke out in favor of constitutional reform and secularism. For this she was arrested on 20 April 2000 when she returned to Iran. While in prison Kar became ill. Under pressure from the European Union and the Netherlands, the Iranian government released her on bail after fifty-three days, bail having been set at 500 million rials (roughly \$60,000). She had developed cancer and underwent an operation and chemotherapy in Iran.

Kar was still weakened by her ongoing chemotherapy when she was tried on charges of "acting against national security," "spreading propaganda against the regime of the Islamic Republic," and "violating the Islamic dress code" at the Berlin conference. On 13 January 2001 she was convicted and sentenced to four years' imprisonment. But her health problems induced officials under President MOHAMMAD KHATAMI to intervene with the judiciary and allow her to leave Iran for further treatment. She left the country in July 2001. In her absence an appeals court reduced her term to six months of imprisonment on 8 January 2002.

Following her arrival in the United States, Kar's husband, Siamak Pourzand, manager of the Tehran Cultural and Artistic Center—a center for writers, artists, and intellectuals—disappeared. Months later he was

paraded on state television, having been arrested and charged with adultery, spying for the United States, working for the shah's regime, and channeling U.S. money to the reformist press. In March 2002 he was put on trial and on 3 May 2002 he was sentenced to eleven years in prison. A septuagenarian suffering from diabetes and heart complaints, he received a regulated medical leave and has been taken back and forth between prison and home.

#### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

One of the earliest influences on Kar was her older brother who sensitized her from an early age to the ravages of gender discrimination. In Ahvaz, she was scandalized by the treatment of women, including "honor killings" (the murder of women suspected of staining their families' honor through sexual impropriety, which includes being a victim of rape) that she witnessed among the tribal populations of the area. As she put it herself, the local practices that she thought exceptional were enacted after the Iranian Revolution first through fatwas (Islamic religious rulings) and later as state policy. The struggle against this institutionalized discrimination could take place only if the arguments were presented in an Islamic garb, and so she collaborated with progressive Islamists in order to make her points. The two figures with whom she worked most closely were the publisher Shahla Lahiji, whose publishing house issued her books, and attorney SHIRIN EBADI. Kar's books include *The Social and Legal Position of the Children of Addicted Parents* (1990), *Children of Addiction* (1997), *Violence against Women in Iran* (2000), and *Women's Participation in Politics: Possibilities and Obstacles* (2005).

#### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

Since arriving in the United States, Kar has held a number of fellowships for a number of prestigious institutions, including the National Endowment for Democracy, the Woodrow Wilson Center, American University, the University of Virginia, and Columbia University. Since 2004, she has held positions at various schools and institutes at Harvard University.

Her appeals to the Iranian government to allow her to return home and be with her husband have received no official answer. In her years in exile Kar has given numerous lectures, talks, interviews, and she continues to write. She has written a number of books and articles in Persian on Iran's legal system, as well as a memoir of her life in Iran in English under the title *Crossing the Red Line: The Struggle for Human Rights in Iran*.

Kar is one of Iran's best-known human rights activists and has received numerous international awards. These awards include: Woman of the Year award from the regional council of the Valle d'Aosta region in Italy

(2000); Vasyl Stus Freedom-to-Write award of PEN New England (2001); the Ludovic Trarieux Prize jointly awarded by the Human Rights Institute of the Bar of Bordeaux and the European Lawyers Union (2002); the Democracy Award of the National Endowment for Democracy (2002); the Human Rights First Human Rights Award together with Helen Mack, a Guatemalan activist (2004); and the Genova una donna Fuori dal Coro award in Italy (2006).

#### LEGACY

Although in exile since 2001, the struggles of Kar and others like her have borne fruit. Very gradually, gender-related legislation in the Islamic Republic has changed. As society has changed, the laws have been adapted to take cognizance of women's demands for equality. Examples include the increased presence of women throughout the judiciary system and the easing of restrictions on women's right to seek divorce.

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H. E. Chehabi

## KARADEMİR, TUĞBA (1985–)

Tuğba Karademir is a Turkish figure skater, the first Turk and first Muslim woman to figure skate at the Olympic Games.

#### PERSONAL HISTORY

Karademir was born in Ankara, Turkey, on 17 March 1985. She first began ice skating in 1990 at the age of five, when an ice rink—the first and only one in Turkey—opened in her hometown. Her kindergarten class went to weekly lessons at the rink. Karademir, however, soon took skating seriously, began practicing, and eventually began competing. She won the gold medal at the Turkish Championships in 1994–1995, and the silver at the two subsequent championships. Karademir's first international competition took place in the Netherlands when she was eight years old. She won the gold medal. In 1995, she won the gold at the Balkan Games, and took the silver at the following year's games.

Karademir's family eventually made the difficult decision to move to Canada in 1996 so she could devote herself more seriously to skating. She began training at the Mariposa School of Skating in Barrie, Ontario, one





*Tuğba Karademir.* GOH CHAI HIN/AFP/GETTY IMAGES.

of Canada's two main figure skating training schools. Her coaches, Robert Tebby and Doug Leigh, still work with her today. In 2000, Karademir was selected for the Canadian Junior National Team, although she resigned a few months thereafter in order to be able to compete internationally for her native Turkey. Her home club remains Kocaeli Belediyesi Kagitspor in Turkey.

Some of her first big international competitions after moving to Canada were marred by bad luck. She was scheduled to skate at the Junior Grand Prix competition in Phoenix, Arizona, in mid-September 2001, but the event was cancelled in the wake of the 11 September attacks on the United States and the subsequent shutdown of air travel into and within the country. A broken ankle she sustained in her last practice round prior to the Junior Grand Prix in Poland in 2002 kept her out of that competition, and sidelined her from the qualifying rounds for the 2002 Winter Olympic Games as well. After her return to active competition, Karademir placed thirteenth in the European Figure Skating Championships in 2006, and eighteenth at the World Championships, which were held in her adopted country of Canada.

Karademir's big moment of fame came during the February 2006 Winter Olympics in Turin, where she became the first Turk ever to compete as an Olympic figure skater. She entered with several disadvantages. She

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Tuğba Karademir

**Birth:** 1985, Ankara, Turkey

**Family:** Single

**Nationality:** Turkish (dual Canadian citizenship)

**Education:** York University, Toronto, B.A.  
studies in progress (as of 2007), biotechnology

### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1990:** First skates, Ankara
- **1994:** Wins gold medal, Turkish Championships
- **1995:** Wins gold, Balkan Games
- **1996:** Moves with family to Canada
- **2000:** Selected for Canadian Junior National Team
- **2002:** Breaks ankle, sidelined from competition
- **2006:** Places 13th, European Figure Skating Championships; 8th, World Championships; 21st, Winter Olympics; 18th, World Figure Skating Championships
- **2007:** Places 27th, World Figure Skating Championships; 10th, European Figure Skating Championships

was both young and relatively inexperienced compared to other skaters at the games. Karademir also drew the first position in the short program, meaning that she had to skate first (something figure skaters prefer not to do). She ended up scoring 123.64 points, which put her twenty-first in the competition.

The month after her Olympic performance, Karademir placed eighteenth at the 2006 World Figure Skating Championships, her highest showing in that event. In 2007 competition, she dropped to twenty-seventh place at the World Championships, but placed tenth in the European Figure Skating Championships.

### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Karademir was inspired to skate from watching the performance of the German skating great, Katarina Witt. Her background as a skater from a country not traditionally known for producing figure skaters, combined with the sacrifices she and her family made for her career, also clearly continue to motivate her.

## CONTEMPORARIES

Ice dancers Galit Chait and Sergei Sakhnovski have been competing together for Israel since 1996. Chait was born on 29 January 1975, in Kfar Saba, Israel. Her parents moved to the United States before she turned one year old, and she began skating in 1983. Sakhnovski was born on 15 May 1975, in Moscow. He began skating early, in 1979. He moved from Russia to Israel when he was nineteen, and then to the United States. Today, Chait and Sakhnovski still live and practice in the United States (Israel has only one professional-size ice rink).

At the 1996 Winter Olympics, they placed fourteenth, advancing to sixth at the 2002 Olympics. At the 2002 World Championships, Chait and Sakhnovski were the first Israelis to win a medal in ice dancing, the bronze. At the 2006 Olympics, the pair placed eighth.

Karademir has yet to break through to superstar status. Her main contribution to skating to date stems from her unusual background. Internationally, she has demonstrated that “nontraditional” countries can produce skaters who can compete in world-class events with the countries in Europe, North America, and East Asia that traditionally have dominated figure skating. In Turkey and elsewhere in the Middle East and Islamic world, she has served as an example to female athletes who sometimes must fight conservative social conventions that frown upon women competing in sports while wearing form-fitting uniforms and outfits and performing in front of mixed-gender audiences.

### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

From the moment she carried the Turkish flag for the Turkish delegation at the opening ceremonies of the 2006 Winter Olympics in Turin, Karademir garnered considerable international media coverage. Television broadcasters made much of her personal story: She was the first Turkish figure skater in Olympic history (and the first Muslim woman skater in Olympic history); her native country possesses only one ice rink; her family sacrificed much for her in moving to a different country; she battled against the odds and secured an Olympic berth. Beyond this, Karademir candidly and emotionally told the press about her family's financial and cultural difficulties in Canada. Despite their middle-class status in

Turkey (her father owned several restaurants), her parents, who did not speak English well, were able to secure only menial jobs in Canada. Eventually, her father returned to Turkey. Additionally, neither parent was able to travel to Turin to watch her performance at the Olympics. In the end, she garnered so much international attention that her Web site had to be shut down for exceeding its allowed traffic limit.

### LEGACY

Tuğba Karademir's career is not over, but undoubtedly her legacy will be that she was Turkey's first international figure skater.

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*Michael R. Fischbach*

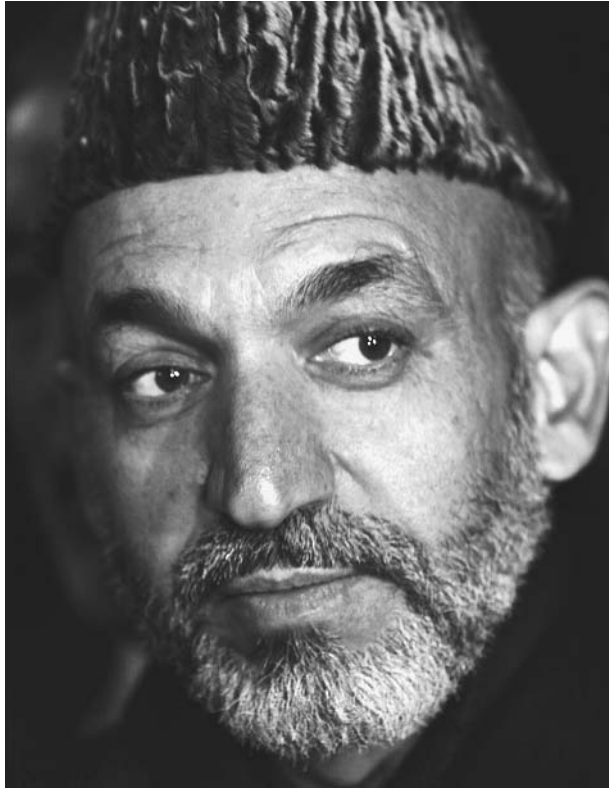
## KARZAI, HAMID (1957–)

Hamid Karzai (sometimes known as “the mayor of Kabul”) is the president of Afghanistan. He was installed under the aegis of the invading U.S. forces in 2001, and subsequently confirmed by parliamentary action in 2002 and an election in 2004.

### PERSONAL HISTORY

Born on 24 December 1957 in Afghanistan's southern Kandahar province, Karzai was the fourth of seven sons and one daughter. Karzai was born into the ethnic Pash-tun Popolzai tribe, of which his father, Abdul Ahad, was the head. This tribe had once been the largest landowner in southern Kandahar. It was on Popolzai land that the city of Kandahar was built. Karzai grew up aware of his tribal heritage and deeply committed to the responsibilities that came with being the son of the tribal chief. His father was a senator in the Afghan Parliament under the king, Zahir Shah, who was overthrown in a coup in 1973.

Karzai's father believed in a good education for his children. The young Karzai studied in Kandahar and later in Habibia High School in Kabul. He went to university in Simla, India. By the time he graduated in 1982 with a master's degree in international relations, the war against the Soviet Union, which had sent the Red Army into Afghanistan in December 1979, was in full swing. Karzai



*Hamid Karzai.* GABRIEL BOUYS/AFP/GETTY IMAGES.

chose to go to the Pakistani frontier city of Peshawar, where he found a like-minded group of religiously moderate men helping to wage the war against the Soviet Union. He joined the Afghan Liberation Front, led by Sibgatullah Mojaddidi. For a decade Karzai lived in Peshawar, struggling to gain greater support for his party from Western governments financing the anti-communist insurgency, the smallest of the mujahideen groups battling the Russians.

#### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

The international assistance that came from the United States and other countries supporting the Afghan resistance went to the most radical, religiously rigid groups with expansionist agendas that wanted to see narrow Islamic regimes installed in all Muslim countries. The rebel groups, Gulbuddin Hekmatyar's Hizb-e-Islami Party and Ahmad Shah Masoud's Jami'at-e Islami Party, which had the backing of the Pakistani military and the U.S. government and often battled each other, imposed strict control over women in their territory and adhered to a strict form of Islam. For Karzai it was a constant struggle to gain assistance for his smaller party. (Meanwhile, Karzai's brothers lived in the United States, running a chain of successful restaurants.)

#### BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Hamid Karzai  
**Birth:** 1957, Kandahar province, Afghanistan  
**Family:** Wife, Zenat; one son, Mir Waiz  
**Nationality:** Afghan  
**Education:** Attended university in Simla, India; master's in international relations, 1982

#### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1982:** Returns to Afghanistan after graduating from university in India; Joins religiously moderate group in Peshawar in war against Soviets
- **Mid-1990s:** Serves as deputy foreign minister
- **1999:** Father is killed; becomes head of Popolzai tribe
- **2001:** Named chairman of interim government in Afghanistan following U.S.-led invasion of Afghanistan
- **2002:** Confirmed as president by parliamentary action
- **2004:** Elected president of Afghanistan

When the mujahideen took power in Afghanistan in 1992 and the communist President Mohammed Najibullah stepped down, Karzai went to Kabul. The interim leader of the new postcommunist government was Mojaddidi, leader of the Afghan Liberation Front, with whom he had worked throughout the anti-Soviet war.

In line with an agreement among all the mujahideen groups, Mojaddidi stepped down after two months in favor Burhanuddin Rabbani, another mujahideen leader, who was to have held elections within four months but instead held onto power for four bloody years until his overthrow by the Taliban. Karzai became deputy foreign minister in Rabbani's government. Disturbed by the deteriorating situation in his homeland as mujahideen groups battled each other for power, Karzai sought to find some common ground between them, in an attempt to bring peace. In 1993 as deputy minister, Karzai took it upon himself to try to bring warring mujahideen groups together. Their relentless warring in the end killed fifty thousand Afghans in Kabul alone before being overthrown by the Taliban in 1996.

While Rabbani was Afghanistan's president, the real power was wielded by Masoud, the defense minister.

Masoud's archenemy was Hekmatyar, the prime minister, who refused to come to Kabul. Instead he waged a bloody battle against Masoud's men from his headquarters in Charasyab, southeast of the capital.

First Karzai sought to bring a better ethnic balance to the new mujahideen government. According to his own telling, Karzai went to Masoud, who was an ethnic Tajik, and pleaded with him to make a trip to southern Afghanistan, the heartland of the country's ethnic Pashtuns. He told Masoud to engage the Pashtuns, bring them into the government, give them a greater share of power. By this he hoped to see ethnic harmony in the capital of Kabul by seeing all of Afghanistan's ethnic groups fairly represented. But his advice was ignored and the capital soon filled with Masoud supporters, who were largely ethnic Tajiks, and only a small portion were from other ethnic groups including Pashtuns.

Karzai also attempted to bring a negotiated peace to the bitter factional fighting that had come to characterize the mujahidin government of which he was a part. But he was stopped and imprisoned by Mohammed Fahim, a Masoud loyalist. Beaten and accused of being a traitor for trying to broker negotiations with Hekmatyar, Karzai found a way to escape and fled to Pakistan.

From his home in Quetta, capital of Pakistan's southwestern Baluchistan province, Karzai watched as the mujahideen government deteriorated further and corruption and lawlessness took over his homeland. At this time, the Taliban, a religious movement of devout clerics, many of whom had only a minimum of education, was emerging in his hometown in Kandahar. The *shura*, or council of elders, that ruled there was weak.

The Taliban initially appeared to Karzai to be a solution to the anarchy that had taken hold of Afghanistan. He viewed them as a means to a peaceful transition to the rule of law. He initially believed that they had no desire to rule the country, but rather wished to impose peace and step aside for others to rule. Karzai was sought out by the Taliban to be their ambassador to the United Nations, a position he would have taken, but according to him was denied him by Pakistan, which had begun to influence the religious movement by infiltrating the movement with religious students from Pakistan. As a result Karzai began to move away from the Taliban. Instead, he traveled the globe seeking international support for an alternative to the Taliban, but the international community was not interested in Afghanistan.

While living in Quetta Karzai had kept in close contact with his tribesmen in Kandahar. His father had been a respected elder and he was also held in high regard. When his father was gunned down in Quetta in 1999 Karzai took over his position as head of the Popalzai tribe. Karzai could not say who had killed his father—as of 2007, it remains unclear whether he was killed by

the Taliban or by tribal enemies—but his father's death galvanized Karzai. He promoted the former king Zahir Shah—who had lived in exile in Italy since 1973 and was 85 years old in 1999—as a rallying point, a means to unify his fractured nation with the support of Afghanistan's ex-king. He crisscrossed the globe looking for allies. Then came the attacks on the United States on 11 September 2001, planned and executed by people who enjoyed the patronage of the Taliban government.

Just days before the 11 September attacks, the government of Pakistan had refused to extend Karzai's visa. He was still living in Pakistan, as do millions of other Afghans without proper documents, but the government of Pakistan threatened to expel him. When the United States declared war on the Taliban in October, Karzai decided to go to Afghanistan to try to rally his southern Pashtun tribes against the Taliban. He first met with his tribesmen in Quetta. Initially he had no backing from the United States.

On his trip to Afghanistan, Karzai was accompanied only by a small number of close friends. The Pashtuns he met wanted to know what support he had, who was backing him. They wanted to know if it was the United States. But he was alone. Even on the eve of the U.S.-led assault on Afghanistan, Afghans were not ready publicly to support anyone who could not prove he had powerful allies. According to Karzai, "They just told me that they didn't think I could win against the Taliban on my own and they couldn't risk being with me when I lost." Karzai eventually gained U.S. support after his old friend Abdul Haq was captured and killed by the Arabs in the days before the Taliban's ouster in November 2001. Haq had been a former mujahideen commander and ethnic Pashtun who had strong U.S. support and was seen as having strong support inside Afghanistan. Arab militants connected with USAMA BIN LADIN were strong on intelligence, discovered Haq's whereabouts in Afghanistan, and killed him. The new U.S. support gave Karzai strength. He waged his battle against the Taliban with his allies, Pashtun tribesmen, mostly from their headquarters deep in the mountains of southern Uruzgan province.

In December 2001, after the Taliban had fled Kabul and the battle for southern Kandahar was being waged bitterly, Karzai negotiated a peace deal. The Taliban would leave and Karzai's ally Mullah Naqibullah would take control of Kandahar under the deal negotiated by Karzai. But the pre-Taliban governor, Gul Aga Sherzai, who had been kicked out by the Taliban back in 1994 because of his corruption and violence, took control of the government buildings and took power.

Karzai was made chairman of an interim government by Afghan politicians and international community representatives led by the United Nations and the United States in an agreement signed 5 December 2001 in Bonn,

Germany. That agreement allowed the takeover of Afghanistan by the violent mujahideen warlords whose corrupt, lawless behavior had given rise to the Taliban. Karzai was named president of the transitional government in June 2002 by the Loya Jirga (parliament) and elected president in 2004 but his parliament was heavily dominated by the mujahideen leaders. Among these mujahideen leaders was Abdur Rasul Sayyaf, considered one of the most violent of the warlords during the mujahideen rule. The warlords returned to power also dominated the drug trade and returned opium and heroin production to Afghanistan after the drugs had been cut out completely by the Taliban.

Karzai's authority is limited to Kabul because his warlord ministers in parliament have been given free rule of the country, something that had the support of Washington's first ambassador to Afghanistan, Zalmay Khalilzad. It was Khalilzad who helped write the plan to integrate mujahideen warlords into the government with the idea that if they are involved in the process they will behave in a more acceptable way. Khalilzad's plan did not work, however, and the country has returned to its old lawless system, run by warlords. This lawlessness and the power of the warlords have returned strength to the Taliban movement, which had been devastated after the U.S. invasion in 2001. By 2007 his country was overrun with poppy production, a thriving illicit trade in which his own ministers and military were complicit.

#### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

While Karzai did have trouble gaining support from the United States in his initial fight against the Taliban, the shift in the Bush administration's attitude toward him is evident in the U.S. support of his appointment to the presidency of Afghanistan in 2001.

#### LEGACY

Karzai will be remembered as the first president of post-Taliban Afghanistan. However, it remains to be seen how he will handle the situation of his country after the U.S. invasion, especially in light of the reemerging strength of the Taliban and the power of warlords in Parliament.

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Kathy Gannon

## KASSIR, SAMIR (1960–2005)

Samir Kassir (also Qasir), a Lebanese historian and journalist who defended in his articles, books, lectures, and political activism, the causes of democracy, independence, and "renaissance" in Lebanon, Palestine, Syria, and the Arab world, was assassinated in Beirut on 2 June 2005.

#### PERSONAL HISTORY

Kassir was born in Beirut on 4 May 1960 to a Lebanese Palestinian father and a Lebanese Syrian mother. He came from a Greek Orthodox family, but was not religious himself. He grew up in Ashrafiyya on the eastern side of the Lebanese capital and studied in the Lycée Français, before moving to Paris in 1981, six years after the Lebanese Civil War started. There he received a D.E.A. (master's) degree in philosophy and political philosophy in 1984 from the Université de Paris (Sorbonne) I, and a Ph.D. in modern history from the Université de Paris IV in 1990.

While in Paris, Kassir wrote for several dailies, weeklies, and other periodicals including the pan-Arab London-based *al-Hayat*, the French *Le Monde diplomatique*, and the Beirut-based *L'Orient le jour*. He also contributed to *al-Yawm al-Sabi* (The Seventh Day) and wrote regularly for the *Revue d'Études Palestiniennes* (the French-language edition of the *Journal of Palestine Studies*), both strong voices defending the Palestinian cause from a secular and progressive point of view.

In 1992, Kassir coauthored with his friend, the Syrian historian and publisher Farouk Mardam-Bey, the book *Itinéraires de Paris à Jerusalem: la France et le conflit Israélo-Arabe* (Itineraries from Paris to Jerusalem: France and the Arab-Israeli conflict), a historical account in two volumes of France's policies in the Levant, including its position toward the *Nakba* (Catastrophe) of Palestinian dispossession in 1948 and the Arab-Israeli conflict following it.

He returned in 1993 to Beirut, joined the Department of Political Studies at the Saint Joseph University as a lecturer, and became the director of Dar al-Nahar (a leading Lebanese publishing house), writing at the same time editorials in its daily newspaper *al-Nahar*. In 1994, he published his second book in French, based on his Ph.D. thesis, *La guerre du Liban: de la dissension*



**Samir Kassir.** AP IMAGES.

*nationale au conflit régional, 1975–1982* (The Lebanese war: from national dissension to regional conflict, 1975–1982), a study of the causes of the civil war that ravaged the country from 1975 to 1990, and the political dynamics that developed through its early phases.

In 1995, he launched a monthly francophone review, *L'Orient express*, that rapidly became the most important monthly political and cultural review in Lebanon, until early 1998 when the review was shut down for financial reasons. In the same year, Kassir founded a publishing house, al-Layali, specializing in artistic and cultural work. In 2002 he reproduced posters representing Middle Eastern cities with mandate-era illustrations. He also reproduced posters celebrating love and freedom in the Egyptian cinema industry of the 1960s and 1970s.

In 1999, 2000, and 2001 Kassir published weekly editorials in *An Nahar* against the Syrian regime and the rule of Lebanese president EMILE LAHOUD, a former army general, and the security apparatus he was putting in place. These led Jamil al-Sayyid, director of the government's police force, the *sûreté générale*, and the strongman of the regime, to personally threaten him by phone before

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Samir Kassir (Qasir)

**Birth:** 1960, Beirut, Lebanon

**Death:** 2005, Beirut, Lebanon

**Family:** Wife, Gisele Khoury (m. 2004); two daughters from an earlier marriage, Mayssa and Eliana

**Nationality:** Lebanese

**Education:** Lycée Français, Beirut; D.E.A., philosophy and political philosophy, Université de Paris I, 1984; Ph.D., modern history, Université de Paris IV, 1990

### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1980s:** Establishes career as historical and political writer in prominent Lebanese, Palestinian, and French newspapers and journals
- **1993:** Returns to Lebanon; begins work as editorialist, *An Nahar* newspaper; founds *L'Orient express* journal; begins teaching, Saint Joseph University; publishes *Itinéraires de Paris à Jérusalem*
- **1994:** Publishes *La guerre du Liban*
- **2003:** Publishes *Histoire de Beyrouth*
- **2004:** Publishes *Considérations sur le malheur arabe; Dimuqratiyyat Suriya wa Istiqlal Lubnan* (Syria's democracy and Lebanon's independence); *Askar ala Man?* (Military against whom?); founding member of Democratic Left Movement
- **2005:** Assassinated in Beirut, 2 June

sending cars filled with thugs to follow him around for weeks, and to have his passport confiscated at the Beirut international airport.

In 2003, Kassir released his third book in French, *Histoire de Beyrouth* (History of Beirut), in which he traced the history of the city, its families, its politics, culture, and economy, its urban and social development, and its relations with the rest of the country and the region. In 2004, he published two books in Arabic: with an introduction by UMAR AMIRALAY, *Dimuqratiyyat Suriya wa Istiqlal Lubnan* (Syria's democracy and Lebanon's independence), and with an introduction by GHASSAN JIBRAN TOUENI, *Askar ala Man?* (Military against whom?). Also in 2004, he published a new book in French, *Considérations*

*sur le malheur arabe* (published in English in 2006 as *Being Arab*), analyzing the reasons behind the abortion of the nineteenth-century Arab “reawakening,” emphasizing that “decadence” is not the fate of the Arabs, and that their misery is the outcome more of their geography than of their history.

#### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

During the same year, 2004, Kassir contributed (along with ELIAS KHOURY and this author) to the foundation of the Lebanese Democratic Left Movement and was elected to its leading political committee. The movement’s political platform calls for democracy, social justice and secularism. His editorials in *An Nahar*, interventions and lectures in conferences and media, became a source of inspiration for the movement and for the political uprising that started in Lebanon against the Syrian hegemony after the assassination of the Lebanese Prime Minister RAFIQ HARIRI on 14 February 2005.

The term *intifadat al-istiqlal* (independence uprising), used by the opposition to designate the huge popular mobilization and demonstrations at that time, was Kassir’s suggestion. (The movement called for the end of the presence and intervention in Lebanon of the Syrian army and intelligence apparatus, the resignation of the generals heading the Lebanese security agencies, and an international investigation into the assassination of Hariri.) Kassir wanted to emphasize two “values”: a Lebanese national value (independence), and an Arab value inspired by the first Palestinian intifada in 1987 against the Israeli occupation.

Throughout the period between 14 February and 1 June 2005, Kassir was at the same time the voice of the intifada in his articles, and an activist in the field daily, discussing discourses and tactics with politicians and students. He realized that a reform project tackling political, economic, and social structures in Lebanon is a must to preserve the national independence and called on his friends and comrades to elaborate such a project. He remained, regardless of the mounting aggressive feelings among some in Lebanon toward Syrians, loyal to his democratic values and opposed to all generalizations that do not distinguish between the Syrian regime and the Syrian people.

On Thursday 2 June 2005, Kassir unlocked his Alfa Romeo, parked in front of his apartment building in Beirut, on his way to *An Nahar*. As he stepped into the car, a bomb exploded under his seat, killing him instantly. He left behind his wife, prominent television presenter Gisele Khoury, and two daughters from an earlier marriage.

#### THE WORLD’S PERSPECTIVE

Kassir’s assassination provoked outrage in Lebanon and around the world. While his supporters held candlelight

## CONTEMPORARIES

A prominent television journalist, Gisele Khoury (1961–) has been presenting talk shows for more than twenty years. Her career started in 1995 at the Lebanese Broadcasting Corporation (LBC) when she presented variety programs, hosting cultural, artistic, and social figures from Lebanon and the Arab world. In 1996 she started a political-cultural show, *Hiwar al-Umr* (A life dialogue), hosting important Lebanese, Arab, and international figures. The show was broadcast both nationally and internationally, and became one of the most important Arab talk shows, presenting both political and cultural dialogue and intimate and spontaneous discussions with guests. In 2002, Khoury moved to the newly inaugurated pan-Arab satellite channel al-Arabiyya. Her program there, *Bi'l-Arabi* (In Arabic), on which she hosted leaders and celebrities from around the world, was a success and offered her the opportunity of getting more deeply into regional and international issues.

Khoury’s life crossed Samir Kassir’s in mid-1990s, and they married in 2004. Since Kassir’s assassination in June 2005, Khoury has been working for his causes and principles. Today she heads a foundation named for Kassir, and organizes yearly events to commemorate his memory.

vigils and demonstrations in tribute to their lost inspiration in Beirut, Paris, Washington, D.C., and Ramallah, the United Nations Security Council convened, in a surprising step, to condemn his killing.

#### LEGACY

Kassir’s family and comrades have vowed to keep his memory alive and to follow his pursuit of democracy and independence. A foundation carrying his name was created by his wife and friends, and an annual Samir Kassir Prize for Freedom of the Press is offered by the European Union’s Commission to Lebanon to a young Middle Eastern journalist or researcher.

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Ziad Majed

## KENTER, YILDIZ (1928–)

Actress, drama professor, writer, and director Yildiz Kenter is the best-known woman to have worked at the Turkish State Theater. Kenter has dedicated her life to the performing arts, having written, performed, and directed over one hundred plays and has been honored for her lifelong work with various national and international awards. She is currently a lecturer for theatrical arts at the Ankara State Conservatory.

### PERSONAL HISTORY

Kenter, the daughter of Naci and Olga Cynthia Nadide Kenter, was born Ayşe Yildiz. Her father was a successful diplomat for foreign affairs and had helped Ismet İnönü, the first prime minister of Turkey, to prepare the documents for the Lausanne Treaty (1922–1923). After he fell in love with an Englishwoman, he was asked to quit his position with the government. The woman, Olga Cynthia, converted to Islam after their marriage and took the Turkish name Nadide. She loved children, and had one child from her first marriage and five from her second with Naci Kenter. Yildiz Kenter was the fifth child, born on 11 October 1928. Her younger brother, Müşfik Kenter, is also a well-known theater performer in Turkey.

Kenter describes her childhood as follows: “My mother would always bring the cats and dogs and even people she found on the streets home. We had always a crowd of strangers in our house. A grandpa who was selling vegetables, a Scottish French person, and a soldier lived for a while with us. Later my mother brought a woman, who gave birth to her baby on the streets and was homeless for seven days, with her home” (*Hürriyet*, 13 December 1998). The foun-

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Yildiz Kenter (Ayşe Yildiz)

**Birth:** 1928, Istanbul, Turkey

**Family:** Husband, Nihat Akcan; daughter Leyla from first marriage to Akcan; second marriage with Şükran Güngör (1926–2002)

**Nationality:** Turkish

**Education:** Graduated from the Ankara State Conservatory Drama Department

### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1947–1958:** Actress and theater director in state theaters
- **1958:** Founds the Kent Players
- **1959–1962:** Receives prestigious Rockefeller scholarship, continues education at the American Theater Wing, Neighborhood Playhouse, and the Actor's Studio
- **1981:** Honored as State Actress
- **1984:** Receives Adelaide Ristori Award
- **1991:** Honored with International Lions Club “Melvin Jones” award
- **1995:** Honorary Award from the Turkish Ministry of Culture for her services to the Theatrical Arts
- **1998:** Receives “Player of the Year” Award
- **1999:** Receives the President's Grand Award for Art and Culture and the Afife Jale Best Actress Award
- **2001:** Honored with the Ismet Küntay Best Play Award

ation for her acting career is, in a way, related to her encounters with the various people who lived with them and whose lives exemplified comedy, tragedy, and drama for Kenter. However, the family's generosity and goodwill in opening its doors for needy people did not go hand in hand with their own financial situation. After losing his well-paying government job, Naci Kenter fell into depression, began drinking, and could not provide for his family. When Yildiz Kenter was born, as the actress illustrates in an interview in *Hürriyet*, the family lived in poverty and her mother used to make her diapers out of bed sheets. However, the situation changed when her father was offered a job at Ziraat Bankasi (a Turkish bank) in Ankara. The family



moved to the capital where Kenter attended elementary school. Her mother offered private English lessons to the children of wealthy families, adding additional financial support to the family. Despite all obstacles, Kenter's perception of her childhood is very positive as she describes it as filled with happiness, love, and tolerance.

Kenter's involvement with theater began at age ten when she attended the Ankara State Conservatory in 1938. Because of rumors that boys and girls slept in the same facilities, her parents initially did not allow Kenter to attend this school. With determination and hard work she was able to jump from grade nine to eleven. On 12 December 1948 her professional career as an actress began in Ankara, with her outstanding performance in the Shakespeare play *Twelfth Night*, which garnered favorable attention. She soon continued her work at Turkey's State Theater, where she worked for eleven years. She left in 1959 and, together with her brother Müşfik Kenter and husband Şükran Güngör, founded her own company, the Kent Players. During these years, she was also granted a Rockefeller scholarship and began doing research in the United States and United Kingdom on new acting techniques, methods, and the theater. She attended the American Theater Wing, the Neighborhood Playhouse, and the Actor's Studio. She has performed in Russia, England, Europe, and the United States.

Her repertoire includes over one hundred plays, from William Shakespeare, Anton Chekhov, Bertolt Brecht, and Tennessee Williams, to Turkish playwrights. Her participation at the International Istanbul Festival over the years was recognized with the "State Actress" award, which she received in 1981. For her performance in various movies, Kenter is a three-time recipient of the "Golden Orange" award, which is given at the annual Antalya film festival. She has also received the İlhan İskender Award three times, for her outstanding theater performances.

Kenter is the head of the Drama Department at the University of Istanbul, vigorously teaching drama and acting classes to young students. The Lions Club awarded her the Melvin Jones prize in 1991; and she is a recipient of the Turkish Ulvi Uraz and Avni Dilligil awards for best performance. The World Women Association of Finland has honored Kenter for being one of the most successful women of the twentieth century.

Kenter was married twice. Her daughter Leyla is from her first marriage with Nihat Akcan. Her second marriage, to Şükran Güngör, lasted over thirty-five years.

#### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

For Yildiz Kenter theater always came first. She is known among students for her discipline and passion. "This comes from my love and respect for this profession," Kenter notes. "I am not that of an important person but what is impor-

tant to me is to be a facilitator of my profession. Theater is a tool that I need to use well. I always believed in theater. This belief gave me strength. I believe in art and nature. I have respect for all belief systems but I believe in art and that is why I can say that my religion is art."

#### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

Kenter earned wide acclaim in Turkey with her performances and contributions to the art of theater. With her style, professionalism, and acting skills, she won the hearts of many Turkish and international audiences. She also appeared in many movies (*Kızım Ayşe*, 1974; *Hanim*, 1988; *Büyük Adam Küçük Aşk*, 2001; and *Sen Ne Dilersen*, 2005), television programs (*Saklambaç*, 2005), and film series (*Aşk ve Gurur*, 2002) and has earned much admiration for her continuous efforts to keep the art of theater alive in Turkey, despite shrinking theater attendance. The Beyoğlu district of Istanbul has always been home to some of the world's leading theater actresses, such as Sarah Bernhardt, Suzanne Despres, and Adelaide Ristori (1822–1906), who came to Istanbul in 1864 and gave thirty mesmerizing performances at the Naum Theater. Kenter not only performed there but also received the prestigious Adelaide Ristori award, which recognizes the most highly accomplished women in the performing arts.

#### LEGACY

Kenter remains one of the most famous state actresses in Turkish history, and perhaps the last. She has put all her efforts into keeping the theater scene at the center of public attention, but with the rise of cinema and private television networks, theater ensembles struggle to keep theater alive in Turkey. Kenter states, "Low cost Turkish television programs have deeply influenced Turkish audiences and are like opium for them. In this time of popular culture, not much attention is given to the arts. Next to these programs, television must dedicate itself to programs that deal with art. This harmony is, unfortunately, out of order." Although theaters fill with dedicated audiences only up to the ninth row, Kenter is eager—despite her initial thoughts to close the theater—to work in projects that support the performing arts.

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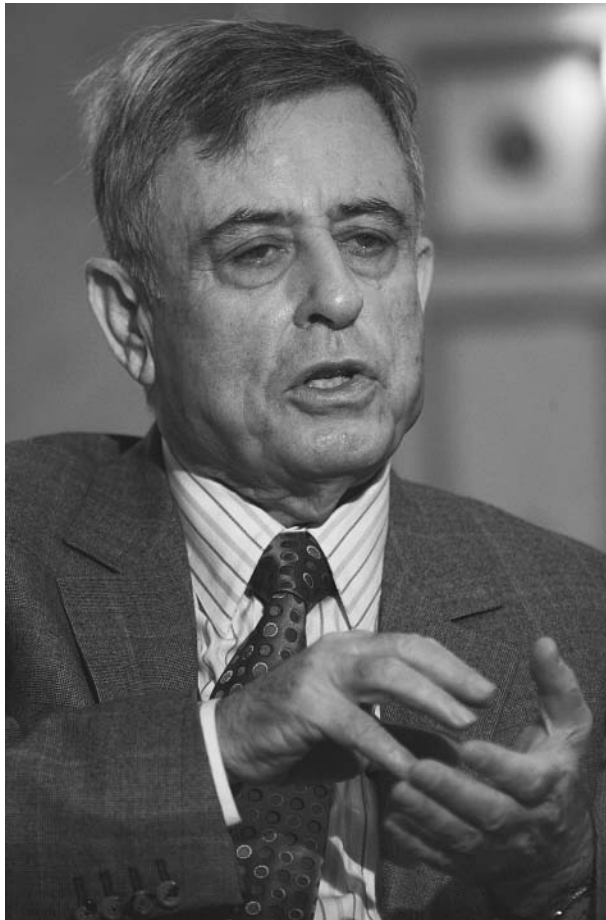
Mine Eren

## **KHADDAM, ABD AL-HALIM** (1932–)

Abd al-Halim Sa'id Khaddam is a Syrian politician and former mainstay of the Ba'athist regime of President HAFIZ AL-ASAD.

### **PERSONAL HISTORY**

Born in 1932 to a Sunni Muslim Arab family of modest means from the coastal town of Jabla, just north of Banyas, Syria, Khaddam became active in the pan-Arab Ba'ath Party around 1949 while attending secondary school in Latakia. During his student days, he forged a fast friendship with another young firebrand, future Ba'athist leader and Syrian president Hafiz al-Asad. After graduating from the Faculty of Law at Damascus University, he practiced law and served as legal counsel for the Iraq Petroleum Company in Banyas. In 1954, he married Najat Marqabi, from a prominent Alawite family (Alawites are an offshoot of Shi'ite Islam).



*Abd al-Halim Khaddam.* AP IMAGES.

### **BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS**

**Name:** Abd al-Halim Khaddam

**Birth:** 1932, Jabla, Syria

**Family:** Wife, Najat Marqabi; three sons, Jamal, Jihad, and Basim; one daughter

**Nationality:** Syrian

**Education:** University of Damascus, Faculty of Law

#### **PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:**

- **c. 1949:** Joins Ba'ath Party
- **1964:** Governor, Hama; governor, Qunaytra province
- **1965:** Governor, Damascus province
- **1968:** Attorney general
- **1969:** Minister of economy and foreign trade
- **1970:** Foreign minister
- **1970s–1990s:** Holds “Lebanon portfolio”
- **1984:** Vice president
- **2005:** Resigns government, Ba'ath Party positions; exile in France

### **INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS**

In 1963, the Ba'ath Party came to power in Syria in a military coup. Khaddam quickly assumed a number of key posts in the new government. In 1964 he was appointed governor of Hama, whose citizenry rose in rebellion against the Ba'ath-dominated regime that April. He was governor of the Qunaytra province from 1964 to 1965 and the Damascus province from 1965 to 1969. Khaddam later served as attorney general (1968–1969) and minister of the economy and foreign trade (1969–1970) during the turbulent final years of intra-Ba'ath friction. When his old friend al-Asad seized power in November 1970, Khaddam was promoted to the post of foreign minister. President Asad entrusted him with the thankless duty of negotiating the May 1974 disengagement agreement with Israel.

In the 1970s and 1980s, Khaddam held Syria's “Lebanon portfolio” and was tasked with preserving Syrian interests in that country. As a result, he earned the nickname “High Commissioner of Lebanon” among some in the region. Asad gave him the difficult task of mediating among rival Lebanese factions in a manner satisfactory to Syria and Syrian interests during the tense

## CONTEMPORARIES

Ghazi Kan'an (1942–2005) was born in Bahamra, Syria, to an Alawite family, and became an officer in the Syrian military upon completing studies at the military academy in 1965 (he eventually rose to become a brigadier general in the Syrian army). Thereafter, he worked in military security in the Hums district. In August 1983, during the 1975–1990 Lebanese Civil War, he was made head of Syrian intelligence operations in Lebanon, and served in effect as the Syrian military proconsul and uncrowned king of the country. In this position he worked with Syrian vice president Abd al-Halim Khaddam, who held the “Lebanese portfolio” in the Syrian government. Both men amassed a fortune as a result.

Kan'an was close to Syrian President Hafiz al-Asad, and one of his four sons married Asad's niece. He also allied himself with Asad's son, Bashar, who had held the Lebanon portfolio in the Syrian government starting in the late 1990s and who assumed the presidency after his father's death in 2000. However, Asad replaced Kan'an in October 2002 with Brigadier General Rustum Ghazala. Kan'an returned to Syria to serve in internal security, and later was appointed minister of interior in October 2004.

After the United Nations (UN) began investigating the February 2005 assassination of former Lebanese prime minister Rafiq Hariri, Kan'an was interviewed by UN investigators. On 12 October 2005, shortly before the UN report was to be issued, Kan'an died of a gunshot wound to the head, a suicide, according to the Syrian government.

period between the outbreak of the Lebanese Civil War in April 1975 and Syria's intervention in the conflict the following June. In May 1975, Khaddam succeeded in pressuring Lebanese president Sulayman Franjeh to appoint Rashid Karami as prime minister. He attended the October 1983 Lebanese National Reconciliation conference in Geneva, brokered a 1985 tripartite agreement among Lebanese factional leaders Nabih Berri, Elie Hobeika, and WALID JUMBLATT, and pushed for all factions to accept the 1989 Ta'if Accord that ended the Lebanese Civil War. Khaddam was a close ally of billionaire Lebanese politician RAFIQ HARIRI, and reportedly

made millions of dollars through his connections with Hariri and various business interests in Lebanon.

Asad also gave Khaddam other delicate assignments. He lobbied Arab leaders to reject the Egyptian-Israeli peace initiative of 1977–1978. In the end, no other Arab country joined the peace process, and Egypt was expelled from the Arab League. During the uncertain months immediately following the 1978–1979 Iranian Revolution, Khaddam assumed the tricky role of emissary between Damascus and Tehran. Syria succeeded in establishing good relations with Iran during the 1980s, when Iran was at war with Syria's rival Ba'athist neighbor, Iraq. Both Syria and Iran also faced a common strategic rival: Israel. The two countries cooperated in the arming of the Lebanese Shi'ite group Hizbullah beginning in the mid-1980s, and shared their support for Hizbullah into the twenty-first century.

When Asad fell ill at the end of November 1983, Khaddam was appointed to the six-person committee charged with keeping affairs of state in order. Four months later, in a move clearly intended to counterbalance the influence of the president's ambitious brother, Rif'at, Asad named Khaddam as one of Syria's first three vice presidents, forcing him to relinquish the foreign ministership. As such, he became one of the highest-ranking Sunni Muslims in a Ba'ath Party elite dominated by Asad and his fellow Alawites. In June 1984, Khaddam was almost assassinated in a car bombing, and he publicly implied that Rif'at al-Asad was to blame. When one of his sons married a daughter of the venerable al-Atasi family in a lavish ceremony at the Damascus Sheraton Hotel, Khaddam cemented an alliance not only with the ruling Alawite clique (through his marriage to an Alawite), but with the traditional Sunni merchant elite as well.

By the mid-1990s, some felt that Khaddam's evident astuteness and longevity made him the most likely candidate to succeed Asad as president of the republic. Despite this, however, he lacked two important qualities: he had never served in the military, nor was he an Alawite. Indeed, Asad instead began grooming his own sons, Basil (until his death in 1994) and BASHAR AL-ASAD, for the job. In the late 1990s, he gave Bashar the Lebanon portfolio, sidelining Khaddam. Although technically Khaddam became interim president after the elder Asad's death in June 2000, Bashar ultimately assumed the presidency shortly thereafter. Khaddam remained a vice president, but not being a protégé of the younger Asad, slipped into a largely ceremonial role in Syrian politics. At the important June 2005 conference of the Syrian Ba'ath Party during which many of the old guard were removed from their positions, Khaddam resigned from his post as vice president as well as his senior posts in the party, but not before criticizing the government's recent

## CRITICIZING THE REGIME

Many threats were directed at Prime Minister Hariri. . . [Bashar al-Asad said to Hariri], "You want to decide who the next Lebanese president will be?! You want to? I will not let you. I will crush anyone who tries to oppose our decision." That's how harsh it was. I don't remember the exact words, but it was extremely harsh.

KHADDAM, ABD AL-HALIM. "EX-SYRIAN VICE PRESIDENT KHADDAM CRITICIZES REGIME (INTERVIEW)." AL-ARABIYYA TELEVISION. 30 DECEMBER 2005. AVAILABLE FROM [HTTP://WWW.NEWSLIBRARY.COM](http://WWW.NEWSLIBRARY.COM).

handling of events in Lebanon. He moved to Paris shortly thereafter.

On 30 December 2005, Khaddam gave an interview with the al-Arabiyya television network in which he criticized Asad and his government for their "blunders" in Lebanon, defended the memory of Brigadier General Ghazi Kan'an, former Syrian intelligence chief in Lebanon, and criticized Kan'an's replacement, Rustum Ghazala. He stated that Hariri, who had been assassinated in a massive car bombing in February 2005, had received "many threats" from Asad. Such open criticism by a former regime insider was startling, and constituted the highest-level defection from Syrian Ba'athist ranks since the exile of Rif at al-Asad in 1983. The day after the interview, the Ba'ath Party formally expelled Khaddam from the party amid calls that he be charged with treason. On 14 January, Khaddam claimed he was forming a "government in exile" in opposition to Asad and the Ba'ath, and later created the National Salvation Front in cooperation with the longtime opposition group, the Muslim Brotherhood.

### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

Khaddam was long seen as one of the Sunni frontmen which the Alawite-based Ba'ath regime in Syria used to present a multiconfessional appearance inside Syria. He was seen as a key figure in Syria's long occupation of parts of Lebanon as well as a high-profile emissary of President Hafiz al-Asad. His startling defection has left many around the world puzzled as to his present and future ambitions.

### LEGACY

It remains unclear exactly how the world will remember Abd al-Halim Khaddam. On the one hand, there is no

doubting that he long was a pillar of the Ba'athist regime in Syria. On the other hand, his recent falling out with President Bashar al-Asad and announcement that he is forming a foreign-based opposition seems to represent a stark about-face.

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*Fred H. Lawson  
updated by Michael R. Fischbach*

## KHADER, ASMA (1952–)

Asma Khader (Khadr) is a Palestinian Jordanian lawyer and human rights activist who has sought to expand the rights of women and children, particularly within Arab and Islamic cultures. She has established a number of prominent organizations and worked with many commissions, international legal groups, and human rights organizations.

### PERSONAL HISTORY

Khader was born in 1952 to a Palestinian Christian family in the northern West Bank village of Zababida, then under Jordanian control. She graduated from the University of Damascus in Syria with a law degree in 1977. Prior to attending law school, Khader taught secondary school in Amman and worked as a journalist for the *Jordanian News Journal*.

Since 1984 Khader has maintained her own private legal practice in Amman, Jordan. She has specialized in human rights areas, focusing on women's and children's rights issues. She has been active in legal unions, served two terms as president of the Jordanian Women's Union, and also has been active with the Jordanian and Arab Lawyers' Unions.

Beyond her legal work, Khader is well known as a human rights advocate. She founded Mizan Law Group for Human Rights in Jordan, the Jordanian branch of the

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Asma Khader (Khadr)  
**Birth:** 1952, Zababida, Jordanian-controlled West Bank  
**Family:** Married; four children  
**Nationality:** Palestinian (Jordanian citizenship)  
**Education:** Law degree, University of Damascus, 1977

### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1984:** Establishes legal practice specializing in human rights issues in Amman
- **1991:** Establishes al-Ata Women's Cooperative
- **1995:** Elected to Permanent Arab Court on Violence against Women
- **1996:** Founds Sisterhood Is Global/Jordan
- **1998:** Legal counsel to the Jordanian National Campaign Committee to Eliminate So-Called Crimes of Honor; establishes National Network for Poverty Alleviation
- **2003:** Appointed minister without portfolio in Jordanian cabinet and government spokesperson
- **2004:** Becomes minister of culture in Jordanian cabinet

International Commission of Jurists, in 1998, and she serves on the executive committee of the International Commission of Jurists. She has worked on many international commissions and civil rights organizations; she was a founding member of the Arab Association for Human Rights, a member of the Royal Jordanian Committee for Human Rights, and president of the Jordanian Women's Union from 1992 until 1996. In 1998 she founded Sisterhood Is Global Institute/Jordan, an international organization to help women in the Muslim world learn technology and access information.

In October 2003, she was appointed minister without portfolio and spokesperson for the Jordanian government. Khader served as minister in 2003 and 2004, then as minister of culture in 2004 and 2005. Her tenure as government spokesperson lasted from 2003 to 2005.

### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Khader's interest in human rights within Arab cultures has led her to become involved in a wide variety of causes

and issues in Jordan and internationally. In 1984, she helped set up human rights education workshops in Jordan, as well as a program to integrate human rights education within the national school curriculum. She has monitored trials and served on human rights fact-finding missions on various occasions.

Her particular concern for the rights of women has led her to play an instrumental role in developing a legal literacy and legal assistance program for Jordanian women, as well as establishing the Jordanian Children's Parliament. Khader is founder and reporter of the National Network for Poverty Alleviation. Sponsored by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Poverty Strategy Initiative and the Families Development Association, Khader established the network in October 2000.

Khader became a member of the advisory committee of Human Rights Watch's Women's Rights Division. She founded al-Ata Women's Cooperative in 1991, and served as its president until 2000. Inside Jordanian courtrooms, Khader also has fought for longer sentences for males accused of abusing women and children. Khader also was elected to the Permanent Arab Court on Violence against Women in 1995 and served as a judge in the court's public hearings in Lebanon in 1997.

Khader also is an author. She has written works such as *Questions and Answers about Women's Rights in Jordanian Law* (1996) and *Law and the Future of Palestinian Women* (1998).

In 1999, Khader served as legal counsel to the Jordanian National Campaign Committee to Eliminate So-Called Crimes of Honor in Jordan, an area of concern to Jordan's Queen NOOR AL-HUSSEIN as well. Crimes of honor, explicitly recognized by the Jordanian Penal Code, involve the punishment of women for acts of impurity if deemed to have disgraced the family. The penal code provision provided for the lessening or elimination of penalties to men enforcing this custom. When Khader and other Jordanian human rights advocates received the support of the Jordanian Crown and government to abolish or amend the provision for Crimes of Honor, the effort met stiff resistance and the practice is still recognized under Jordan's Penal Code. The majority of Jordanians support the provision and feel that its repeal would lead to the moral corruption of the society.

### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

In 1990, Khader received an Award of Honor from Human Rights Watch. Jordan bestowed upon her the Jordanian Independence Medal in 1991, and in 2003 Khader received the UNDP's Poverty Eradication Award in the Arab states.

## LEGACY

Khader will be remembered as a prominent human rights lawyer and advocate in Jordan, as well as for her legal and developmental work among women and children. She has challenged many of the presuppositions of the male-dominated Arab and Islamic cultures, beginning the process of extending additional rights to women and children. Her work has helped to spark a global conversation regarding the treatment of women and children within Jordan and Islamic cultures.

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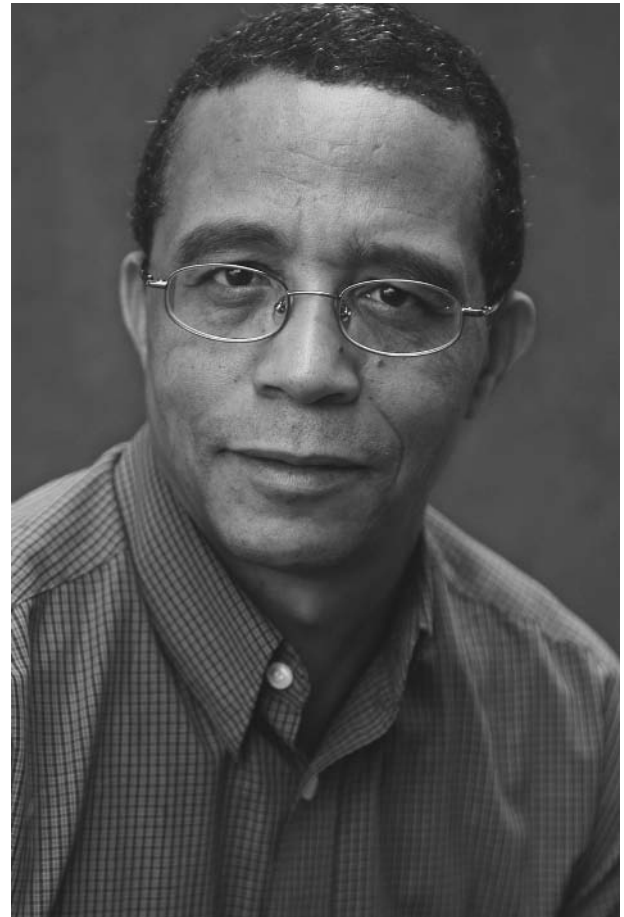
*Michael R. Fischbach*

**KHADRA, YASMINA  
(MUHAMMAD  
MOULESSEHOUL)  
(1955–)**

"Yasmina Khadra" is the pseudonym of the francophone Algerian writer Muhammad Moulessehou, who adopted a woman's name to better camouflage his identity and achieve greater freedom in writing about the horrific events of the 1990s. He is one of his country's most important writers.

## PERSONAL HISTORY

Muhammad Moulessehou was born in 1955 in Kenadsa, Algeria. His father placed him in a military school in 1964, where he stayed until joining the Algerian military in 1975 and thereafter spending twenty-five years in the Algerian army. He began publishing his writing in the 1980s. He adopted a feminine pseudonym in 1988 to avoid submitting his manuscripts for approval by military censors while he was still an army officer, from 1978 to 2000. His choice of pseudonym is significant on various levels. Yasmina is his wife's name, and the choice of a woman's name also reflects his respect and admiration for the women of his country. The name posed a problem, however, as his growing popularity and success attracted the attention of critics whose assessment of the work was based at least in part on their attitudes toward female



*Yasmina Khadra.* ULF ANDERSEN/GETTY IMAGES.

writers. Rumors circulating about the identity of the author, however, drew this reaction from a leading French critic: "A he or a she? It doesn't matter. What matters is that Yasmina Khadra is today one of Algeria's most important writers." The revelation of his true identity in an interview with *Le Monde des livres* in January 2001, after leaving Algeria, provoked a mixed reaction, both disapproval and admiration. The fact that Khadra was an army officer compounded the problem. He explained his position in two novels, *L'écrivain* (The Writer, 2001), a semiautobiographical work in which he describes his love for words and writing, a passion that goes back to his youth, and *L'Imposture des mots* (The Imposture of Words, 2002), in which he returns to the charge more forcefully, putting its characters, as well as his favorite authors, to work in his defense. It is a powerful work but has not convinced all his readers of the necessity for a pseudonym. Those who expected an outright condemnation of the military for the massacres it committed during the civil war were disappointed; the

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Yasmina Khadra (pseudonym of Muhammad Moulessehoul)  
**Birth:** 1955, Kenadsa, Algeria  
**Family:** Wife, Yasmina  
**Nationality:** Algerian  
**Education:** L'Académie Militaire Inter-armes de Cherchell

### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1975:** Enters military academy to train as an officer in the Algerian army
- **1984:** Publishes first novels, *Houria* and *Amen!*, in Algeria under his real name
- **1985–1989:** Publishes three more novels (*De l'autre côté de la ville*, *La fille du pont*, and *Le privilège du phénix*) under his real name
- **1988:** Adopts Yasmina Khadra as a pseudonym to avoid military censors
- **1993–1999:** Publishes seven novels as Yasmina Khadra
- **2000:** Resigns military commission; leaves Algeria for Mexico, then goes to France
- **2001:** Reveals male identity in interview with *Le Monde des livres*
- **2001–2002:** Defends his choice to write under a pseudonym in *L'écrivain* (The writer) and *L'Imposture des mots* (The imposture of words)
- **2006:** *L'attentat* (The attack) receives the Prix des Tropiques and the Prix des Libraires

author does not denounce them, but rejects all assassins. His critics remain skeptical about his position.

In 2000 Khadra left Algeria for Mexico, “an initiation trip” that led him afterward to settle in France where he now lives. In his writings on Algeria’s civil war, Khadra does not absolve the political regime from a part of the responsibility for the killings that characterized the 1990s in Algeria. But he blames the fundamentalist opposition for the deterioration of the situation and finds both parties equally guilty.

### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Several of Khadra’s books have been translated into English, including *Les Agneaux du Seigneur* (1998; *In the*

*Name of God*, 2000), *A quoi Rêvent les loups* (1999; *Wolf Dreams*, 2003), and *Les Hirondelles de Kaboul* (2002; *The Swallows of Kabul*, 2004), which is set in Afghanistan during the Taliban regime.

*L'attentat* (2005; *The Attack*, 2006), which in 2006 received both the Prix des Tropiques (awarded by the French Development Agency) and the Prix des Libraires, takes place in Israel and follows the life of an Arab Israeli couple living in Tel Aviv. The protagonist is a happily married and well-established medical doctor whose life is turned upside down when his wife becomes a suicide bomber. His quest for the truth leads him to the West Bank where he faces a different reality (a film based on the book is planned for the near future). The author is well aware of the impact the book had on the readers, a move he consciously planned. “I had to write an incomparable novel,” he declared in an interview in the Algerian daily *Liberté* (Belloula). *L'attentat* was Khadra’s second novel located outside the geographical borders of his country; the earlier *Les Hirondelles de Kaboul* is situated in Afghanistan and the recent *Les Sirènes de Baghdad* (2006; *The Sirens of Baghdad*, 2007) revolves around the war in Iraq. These three novels seem to indicate that Khadra is intent on visiting the areas of conflict in the Middle East.

Khadra also published several early novels under his real name. Two, *Houria* and *Amen!* (both 1984) were published in Algeria. He published three more novels under his real name, one in France—*De l'autre côté de la ville* (1988; *The other side of the city*)—and two in Algeria:

## MY NOVELS DO NOT SPEAK ABOUT TERRORISM

I never explore the same topic in my books. Each novel deals with a different phenomenon. It is you who do not manage to separate the different subjects I treat. You are constantly in a state of confusion. *The Swallows of Kabul* speaks about the dictatorship of the Talibans and the condition of the Afghan woman. *The Attack* speaks about the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. *The Sirens of Baghdad* speaks about the 2nd war of Iraq. Radically different topics, but everywhere you retain only terrorism, terrorism, terrorism. My novels do not speak about terrorism; they talk of human brittleness, anger, humiliation, the fears, sometimes the hopes; and of this burning and fatuous actuality which spoils our life.

(RICHARD MARCUS, “INTERVIEW WITH AUTHOR YASMINA KHADRA,” *BLOGCRITICS MAGAZINE* [8 FEBRUARY 2007] [HTTP://BLOGCRITICS.ORG/ARCHIVES/2007/02/18/101256.PHP](http://BLOGCRITICS.ORG/ARCHIVES/2007/02/18/101256.PHP)).

*La fille du pont* (1985; The girl on the bridge) and *Le privilège du phénix* (1989; The privilege of the phoenix), written during his youth, at age twenty, *Le privilège du phénix* was blocked because of the presence of a character in the novel named Llaz. He was accused of plagiarism and the novel was withdrawn. It was many years later and only after he made changes that this novel was finally published. Though Khadra refrained from mentioning the name of the writer who accused him of plagiarism, it was in all probability AL-TAHER WATTAR, author of the novel *Al-Laz* (1974). According to its author, *Le privilège du phénix* is a modest novel, “managed in an acceptable manner and partially completed” (Ghellal, 2004, p. 310).

Answering a question about his favorite novels, Khadra admitted without hesitation his preference for those written under the pseudonym: “Those written clandestinely, that is to say in an absolutely stimulating romantic freedom . . . and consequently completely involved with the causes I defend.” The anonymity that Khadra enjoyed with the use of the pseudonym gave him great freedom of expression, the opportunity to innovate in style as well as tackle subject matter that would otherwise have been considered taboo or politically incorrect in view of his military status.

#### THE WORLD’S PERSPECTIVE

Khadra’s ambition as a writer goes beyond the regional or national. It is clear from his many public declarations that he sees himself as a world writer and will not be pinned down as the interpreter of the folk heritage of his country. To this end, he says that “When I write, I do not have the desire to tell a story but to build something more important than that, something . . . more enduring, with the strong ambition to be adopted by the reader, to remain with him through his life,” adding, “I think like a human being” (Ghellal, 2004, p. 310).

#### LEGACY

It seems premature to speak of the legacy of Khadra, a still active and very prolific author. Asked about his vocation as a writer, Khadra replied, “I am not certain yet. It is in doubt that one is forced to excel and to dig deep for the strength one needs. I try to deserve my position as a writer by investing myself deeper in my texts” (*Khadra*, 2003d, p. 14). The translation of his novels into English, Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch, German, Italian, Greek, Turkish, Polish, and Hebrew reflects world interest in his writings.

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- Amen!* (1984 [as Muhammad Moulessehoul])
- Houria: nouvelles* (Houria: stories, 1984 [as Muhammad Moulessehoul])
- La fille du pont* (The girl on the bridge, 1985 [as Muhammad Moulessehoul])
- El-Kahira, cellule de la mort* (El Kahira: cell of death, 1986)
- De l’autre côté de la ville* (1988; The other side of the city, [as Muhammad Moulessehoul])
- Le privilège du phénix* (1989; The privilege of the phoenix, [as Muhammad Moulessehoul])
- La Foire des enfoirés: les enquêtes du Commissaire Llob* (1993; The idiots’ fair: the investigations of commissioner Llob)
- Morituri* (1997; *Morituri*, 2003)
- Les Agneaux du Seigneur* (1998; *In the Name of God*, 2000)
- L’automne des chimères* (1998; *Autumn of the Phantoms*, 2006)
- Double Blanc* (1998; *Double Blank*, 2005)
- A quoi Rêvent les loups* (1999; *Wolf Dreams*, 2003)
- Le Dingue au bistouri* (1999; Madman with scalpel)
- L’écrivain* (2001; The Writer)
- Les Hirondelles de Kaboul* (2002; *The Swallows of Kabul*, 2004)
- L’Imposture des mots* (2002; The imposture of words)
- Cousine K* (2003; Cousin K)
- La part du mort* (2004; The share of death)
- L’attentat* (2005; *The Attack*, 2006)
- La rose de Blida* (2006; The rose of blida)
- Les Sirènes de Baghdad* (2006; *The Sirens of Baghdad*, 2007)

Aida A. Bamia

## KHALED, AMR (1967–)

Amr Muhammad Khaled (Khalid) is a popular Islamic preacher from Egypt who is based in Great Britain, and whose satellite religious programs have become popular across the Arab world. Khaled has been called in the West a Muslim version of a televangelist who offers a New Age form of Islam, and in 2007 was listed among the world’s one hundred most influential people by *Time* magazine.

#### PERSONAL HISTORY

Khaled was born on 5 September 1967 in Alexandria, Egypt, to a wealthy Muslim family. He graduated from



## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Amr Khaled (Khalid)  
**Birth:** 1967, Alexandria, Egypt  
**Family:** Married; one son, Ali  
**Nationality:** Egyptian  
**Education:** B.A. accounting, Cairo University, 1988, Ph.D. studies, University of Wales

### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1990:** Begins preaching while working as an accountant
- **1998:** Starts preaching full time, largely via satellite television
- **2003:** Reportedly banned from preaching in Egypt; moves to Britain
- **2004:** Comes out with *Life Makers* program
- **2005:** Airs *On the Path of the Beloved*
- **2006:** Broadcasts *In Your Name We Live*
- **2007:** Named one of *Time* magazine's one hundred most influential people around the world

Cairo University with a bachelor's degree in accounting in 1988. In 1990, while working as an accountant, he began preaching in mosques in Egypt. He then started doing this full time beginning in 1998, largely via satellite.

### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Not formally trained in the Islamic religious sciences, Khaled's preaching is not so much theological as based around encouraging Muslims to lead moral, honest lives of service based on their faith. He also decries Muslims' attempts to blame Western imperialism for the cause of all their problems, and has promoted greater dialogue between Muslims and the West. "We Muslims are living as parasites on the world. Our problem is that we have got used to taking without ever giving. Don't tell us it is a Western conspiracy against us, it is not" (Hardaker, 2006). In March 2006, he organized a conference in Denmark promoting just such dialogue in the wake of the uproar in the Islamic world caused by publication of cartoons of the prophet Muhammad in a Danish publication that many Muslims considered blasphemous. In line with his moderate stances, Khaled also condemns terrorist violence committed by Muslims, such as the 2005 subway and bus bombings in England where he lives. "This is [found] nowhere in Islam. If anyone kills

children or women, this is not acceptable not only in Islam, in the Jewish faith, in Christianity, in all the religions" (Hardaker, 2006). He similarly has criticized the likes of Saudi militant USAMA BIN LADIN: "Bin Ladin is saying he is talking on behalf of Muslims. Who asked him to talk on behalf of us? Nobody" (Nomani).

His 2004–2005 television show *Life Makers* dealt with putting one's faith to work to make the world a better place through community development projects. During Ramadan (the Islamic holy month of fasting), when Arab Muslims traditionally watch a great deal of religious programming on television, Khaled has produced and aired special programs in recent years. In 2005, he came out with *On the Path of the Beloved*, which focused on the life and deeds of Islam's prophet Muhammad. For Ramadan 2006, he aired *In Your Name We Live*, in which he interpreted and discussed the traditional ninety-nine names of God in Islam. His Web site is wildly popular, and reportedly ranks among the top thousand Web sites globally in terms of the number of hits it receives (putting it on par with Web sites such as those of major newspapers as the *Washington Post*). Khaled has produced hundreds of television shows, and more than 144 audiotaped sermons are for sale.

Khaled also is chairman of the Right Start Foundation in Birmingham, England. The organization, which has been focusing of late upon curbing drug abuse, describes itself as:

a charitable organisation committed to building bridges between civilisations and nurturing constructive and positive co-existence between cultures, faiths, minority groups and host communities. It is an advocate for the voices of the youth and plays a developmental role in addressing the concerns and challenges faced by this important part of our future. Right Start Foundation International believes where possible in working in partnership with like minded and synergistic organisations, businesses, governmental and Non-Governmental bodies who share our goals and vision.

In his preaching, Khaled avoids using the formal Arabic employed by most Islamic preachers and religious figures, preferring instead to speak in a colloquial Egyptian dialect. Nor does he wear robes, a turban, or other religious clothing typically associated with Islamic clerics. His following largely consists of upper-class Egyptian urbanites similar to himself, who probably are drawn to his charisma—he delivers his sermons in a personal, yet impassioned manner—as much as they are to his message. Khaled has urged Muslims to exercise, stop smoking, lead a purpose-driven life, and, for women, don the veil.

### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

In Egypt, reactions to Khaled run the gamut of opinion. As elsewhere in the Arab and Islamic world, his followers

are legions of young, generally educated people. Some traditionalist preachers and religious scholars have been contemptuous of him because he lacks formal religious education. The Egyptian government reportedly banned him from preaching—something both he and the government have formally denied—in 2003, just before he left for graduate studies in Britain. Commentators have noted that the government fears any resurgence in public religiosity. Secular critics have claimed that Khaled is little more than another fundamentalist preacher urging women to veil themselves, only one who packages himself in a slicker package.

### LEGACY

It is too early to assess Khaled's legacy, but he clearly already has made an impact in the Arab and Islamic worlds by striking a chord among young Muslims who feel a spiritual void in their lives, but who are not attracted to the message of conventional preachers.

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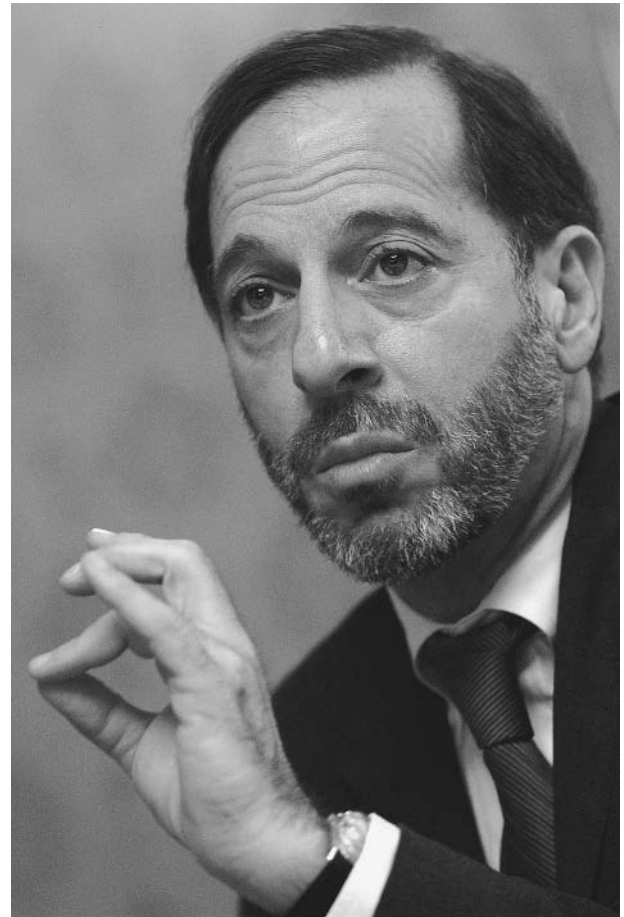
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*Michael R. Fischbach*

## KHALIDI, RASHID (1948–)

A Palestinian-American academic and political commentator, Rashid Ismail Khalidi has made a significant contribution to the debate on the Palestinian-Israeli conflict and U.S. foreign policy in the Middle East. He is the author of several scholarly books, papers, articles, and chapters in edited books. He was an adviser to the late Palestinian leader YASIR ARAFAT. His major area of research focuses on debunking the mythology bandied around by Western Orientalist scholars following in the steps of the late Palestinian-American scholar Professor EDWARD SAID. Khalidi's latest works assess how narratives impacted on the formation and development of Palestinian national identity and community.



*Rashid Khalidi.* AP IMAGES.

### PERSONAL HISTORY

Khalidi was born in 1948 in New York City to a father who hailed from a distinguished Palestinian Muslim family from Jerusalem (the noted scholar WALID KHALIDI is his first-cousin), and a Lebanese-American mother. His father was on the United Nations (UN) staff for several years. Rashid received his B.A. in history from Yale University (1970) and his Ph.D. in modern history from Oxford University (1974). Currently, he is the Edward Said Professor of Arab Studies at Columbia University, and director of the Middle East Institute. Before joining Columbia in 2003 Khalidi taught in the department of history and Near-Eastern languages and civilization at the University of Chicago, and was director of the Middle East Center and Center for International Studies. His teaching career includes eight years on the faculty at the American University of Beirut (AUB) from 1976 to 1985. His professional and public service activities include his role as adviser for the Palestinian Delegation to the Madrid and Washington peace negotiations in 1991 to 1993. Khalidi is also a member of the Council on Foreign Relations

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Rashid Khalidi  
**Birth:** 1948, New York City  
**Family:** Married (wife: Mona) with children  
**Nationality:** Palestinian (American citizenship)  
**Education:** B.A. (history), Yale University, 1970;  
Ph.D. (modern history), University of Oxford,  
1974

### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1976:** Begins teaching at the American University of Beirut
- **1985:** Begins teaching at the University of Chicago
- **1991:** Adviser for the Palestinian Delegation to the Madrid and Washington peace negotiations with Israel
- **1993:** President, Middle East Studies Association of North America
- **1995:** President, American Committee on Palestine/American Task Force on Palestine
- **2003:** Begins teaching at Columbia University, New York

(New York) since 1999. Between 1995 and 2004, he was also president of the American Committee on Palestine/American Task Force on Palestine. Khalidi has been the recipient of many awards, including grants from the Ford, Fulbright, Rockefeller, and MacArthur Foundations. In 1993 and 1994 he was elected president of the Middle East Studies Association (MESA).

### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Khalidi is the author of several books and coedited volumes. These books include *British Policy towards Syria and Palestine 1906–1914: The Antecedents of the Hussein-McMahon Correspondence, the Sykes-Picot Agreements and the Balfour Declaration*; *Palestine and the Gulf: Proceedings of an International Seminar*, coedited with Camille Mansour; *Under Siege: PLO. Decision-Making during the 1982 War*; *The Origins of Arab Nationalism*, coedited with Lisa Anderson, Muhammad Muslih, and Reeva Simon; *Palestinian Identity: The Construction of Modern National Consciousness*, which has been translated into several languages; *Resurrecting Empire: Western Footprints and Amer-*

*ica's Perilous Path in the Middle East* (received honorable mention for the Middle East Studies Association 2004 Albert Hourani Book Award), was also translated into several languages. Khalidi's latest book is titled *The Iron Cage: The Story of the Palestinian Struggle for Statehood*.

His curriculum vitae lists more than eighty articles on a wide variety of topics regarding Middle Eastern history and Arab studies, and an equally lengthy list of invited lectures and scholarly presentations at conferences.

### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

Khalidi is a highly regarded scholar of modern Palestinian history and of modern Middle Eastern history generally. In tribute to this, in 1993 he was elected president of the Middle East Studies Association of North America, the major professional organization of scholars from various disciplines who specialize in the Middle East and North Africa. Particularly with the death of Said in 2003, Khalidi increasingly has become the leading Palestinian voice sought out by the media for comment and analysis on the current state of Israeli-Palestinian relations.

This is not to suggest that Khalidi is not without his detractors. In 2005 he became the target of heavy criticisms for his stands on the Palestinian-Israeli conflict and his public stands against U.S. policy in Iraq. Similar to many other American scholars Khalidi became the target of Campus Watch, a right-wing, pro-Israeli watchdog group monitoring academics whose work is not in accord with their perspectives. Khalidi was criticized for defining the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and

## CONTEMPORARIES

Shibley Telhami (1951–) was born to a Palestinian Christian family in the village of Usifiyya, near Haifa, Israel. He was educated in the United States, receiving his B.A. from Queens College, and his Ph.D. from the University of California at Berkeley. Telhami currently is the Anwar Sadat Professor for Peace and Development at the University of Maryland. He is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations, and sits on the board of Human Rights Watch and Neve Shalom/Wahat al-Salam, among other groups. He is one of the most widely respected and well-known Middle Eastern experts in the American media today. Telhami is the author of many publications, including the highly regarded *The Stakes: America and the Middle East* (2003).

Gaza as an illegal occupation. He was also criticized for stating that the Palestinians have the right under international law to resist Israeli occupation. In his book, *Resurrecting Empire: Western Footprints and America's Perilous Path in the Middle East*, he underlined and bemoaned "the pervasive atmosphere of intimidation and fear that makes many experts on the region reluctant to express themselves frankly" (p.xiii). In April 2005 a committee made up of faculty members at Columbia University cleared Khalidi and other professors of the charge of anti-Semitism. In another speech given at Columbia University on April 4, 2005, Khalidi tackled the issue of academic freedom. In this speech he stated that, "freedom of speech and academic freedom are particularly necessary for unpopular and difficult ideas, for unconventional ideas, for ideas that challenge reigning orthodoxy. Academic freedom is important secondly, because it's necessary to push the frontiers of knowledge forward."

### LEGACY

Khalidi will be remembered as a scholar of modern Palestinian history, and, increasingly, of American policy in the Middle East. He also has emerged as the dean of a new generation of Palestinian-American scholars, the generation that grew up in the aftermath of the first Arab-Israeli War of 1948 and the creation of Israel.

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George E. Irani

## KHALIDI, WALID (1925–)

Walid Ahmad Samih Khalidi is one of the most prominent and influential Palestinian intellectuals of the modern era.

### PERSONAL HISTORY

Khalidi was born in 1925 in Jerusalem, then in mandatory Palestine. He was born into one of the leading Muslim Arab families of Jerusalem; the Khalidi family traces its presence in Jerusalem to Khalid ibn al-Walid, one of the main generals of the Arab-Islamic conquests of the seventh century. The family has distinguished itself for centuries by its religious scholarship, and in the twentieth century produced a series of politicians as well. Khalidi's father, Ahmad Samih Khalidi (1896–1951), was an educator, writer, and social reformer who headed the Arab College, Palestine's premier secondary school and teaching training academy, from 1925 to 1948. Beginning in 1941, he also served as assistant director of education for the British administration in Palestine. Walid Khalidi's grandfather, Raghīb Walidī, was a judge, and his Lebanese stepmother, Anbara Salam (1897–1986), hailed from a prominent Beirut family and was a noted writer, translator, and feminist.

Khalidi studied at St. George's School and the Arab College in Jerusalem, after which he traveled to Great Britain for his university education. He received his B.A. in philosophy from the University of London in 1945. He returned to Jerusalem after university to work at the Arab League's information office in Jerusalem, as the office sought to present the Palestinian case to the world while the British, the Zionist movement, and eventually the United Nations discussed the future of Palestine during the waning years of the British mandate. Khalidi moved to Beirut in the late 1940s, after he married, and was there when Israel defeated Palestinian and other Arab forces in the first Arab-Israeli war of 1948. Unable to return to Jerusalem because Israel barred the reentry of Palestinian refugees and other exiles, Khalidi went back to Britain for graduate studies, obtaining a master's degree in Islamic studies from Oxford University in 1951. He began teaching as a member of Oxford's faculty in Oriental Studies the same year.

After the Anglo-French-Israeli attack on Egypt in October 1956, Khalidi left Oxford in protest of Britain's

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Walid Ahmad Samih Khalidi  
**Birth:** 1925, Jerusalem, mandatory Palestine  
**Family:** Wife, Rasha Salam (deceased); son, Ahmad Samih; daughter, Karma  
**Nationality:** Palestinian  
**Education:** B.A. (philosophy), University of London, 1945; M.Lit. (Islamic studies), Oxford University, 1951

### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1951:** Begins teaching at Oxford University
- **1956:** Resigns from Oxford; moves to Beirut and begins teaching at the American University of Beirut
- **1959:** Publishes “Why Did the Palestinians Leave?”
- **1963:** Cofounds the Institute for Palestine Studies in Beirut
- **1972:** Publishes *From Haven to Conquest: Readings in Zionism and the Palestine Problem until 1948*
- **1982:** Retires from American University in Beirut; begins as senior research associate at Harvard University’s Center for Middle Eastern Studies
- **1991:** Participates in Madrid peace conference as a member of the joint Palestinian-Jordanian delegation
- **1992:** Publishes *All That Remains: The Palestinian Villages Occupied and Destroyed by Israel in 1948*
- **2002:** Awarded Prize of Distinction in Cultural Achievement in the Arab World by the Arab League’s Educational, Cultural and Scientific Organization

involvement and began teaching at the political studies and public administration department of the American University of Beirut (AUB). He remained at AUB until 1982, barring intermissions when he taught as a visiting professor at Harvard and Princeton Universities. In 1982, Khalidi took a position as a senior research associate at Harvard’s Center for Middle Eastern Studies,

where he remained until retirement. Based at his home in Cambridge, Massachusetts, Khalidi travels routinely throughout Europe, the Middle East, and the United States and still is active in research and writing.

### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Khalidi drew much from his family background. The Khalidis were a well-known and respected family in Jerusalem. They possessed a rich heritage of Islamic scholarship and established the Khalidi Library in Jerusalem’s Old City in 1900. It houses more than twelve hundred manuscripts, including one from the thirteenth century that was presented to the famous Islamic general Salah al-Din (Saladin), who recaptured the kingdom of Jerusalem in 1187 after over eighty years of crusader rule. The Khalidis also produced a number of politicians, diplomats, and administrators in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, including several mayors of Jerusalem under the Ottomans and British. Khalidi took much from his family’s tradition of public service and scholarship. As a youth he also received the best education available in Palestine, studying at the prestigious St. George’s School, a British-style school associated with the Anglican cathedral of St. George, as well as at the Arab College, Palestine’s best secondary school, where his father was headmaster. Khalidi was also influenced by his stepmother, an erudite and educated woman who hailed from one of the leading families of Beirut. He grew up in an environment of education, intellectual pursuits, and political awareness.

Khalidi also was influenced by the wider circumstances that befell the Palestinian people. He witnessed growing conflict between Zionists and Palestinian Arab nationalists over the future of Palestine and worked at the Arab League’s information office in Jerusalem, which served as a type of unofficial Palestinian information ministry in the late 1940s. The office was headed by Musa al-Alami, a prominent Palestinian politician from Jerusalem with considerable diplomatic experience abroad in service to the Palestinian cause. Young Khalidi was thus able to witness firsthand not only the escalating clashes—both literal and figurative—between Zionism and the Palestinians, but also the international diplomacy surrounding the question. From Beirut he also observed the disastrous defeat of the Palestinians and other Arab forces during the first Arab-Israeli war of 1948, the destruction of Palestinian society and the flight of over 750,000 Palestinian refugees from their homes, the division of the city of Jerusalem, and the creation of Israel. Particularly given his family’s position in pre-1948 Jerusalem, and Israel’s refusal to allow exiles like himself to return to their homes and homeland, all of these calamities were bitter pills to swallow.

## CONTEMPORARIES

Syrian intellectual Constantine Zurayk (1909–2000; also Qustantin Zurayq) was born to a family of Christian Arabs in Damascus during the waning years of Ottoman rule in Syria. He received a B.A. from the American University of Beirut (AUB) in 1928, an M.A. from the University of Chicago in 1929, and a Ph.D. from Princeton University in 1930. He later taught at AUB from 1930 to 1945 and from 1958 to 1977 and served as AUB's vice president from 1947 to 1949 and from 1952 to 1954 and acting president from 1954 to 1957. He also served as rector of the Syrian University in Damascus from 1949 to 1952.

Zurayk's major work was *Ma'na al-Nakba* (The meaning of the disaster), which was published in 1948. It offered the first major intellectual critique of Arab society in light of the Arab defeat in the 1948 Arab-Israeli war and the establishment of Israel. Zurayk went on to influence a generation of Arab intellectuals and political activists who came of age in the 1950s and 1960s, particularly in the intellectual milieu of Beirut. In 1963 he cofounded the Institute for Palestine Studies with Walid Khalidi and served as its chairman until 1984.

Palestinian intellectual Hisham Bashir Sharabi (1927–2005) was born into a wealthy Muslim Arab family in Jaffa, British-controlled Palestine, in 1927. He earned a B.A. in philosophy from the AUB in 1947 and both an M.A. in philosophy and a Ph.D. in history from the University of Chicago (1949; 1953). Sharabi was studying in the United States when the 1948 Arab-Israeli War led to the creation of Israel and was unable to return to his homeland when Israel barred the reentry of Palestinian refugees and other Palestinians who were outside the new State of Israel. After a period in Lebanon and Jordan, Sharabi eventually returned to the United States and began

teaching history at Georgetown University in Washington, D.C. in 1953. He remained there until his retirement in 1998.

Over the years, Sharabi became one of the leading intellectuals in the Arab world. His 1975 work *Muqaddimat li-Dirasat al-Mujtama al-Arabi* (Introduction to the study of Arab society) was a very influential and piercing study of Arab society, as was his 1988 *Neopatriarchy: Theory of Distorted Change in Arab Society*. Beginning in 1971, he also edited the *Journal of Palestine Studies* for many years. Sharabi was an institution builder as well, cofounding the Center for Contemporary Arab Studies at Georgetown University in 1975 and founding the Arab-American Cultural Foundation and Alif Gallery in Washington in 1979, the American Palestine Educational Foundation (now known as the Jerusalem Fund) in 1977, and the Center for Policy Analysis on Palestine (now called the Palestine Center) in Washington in 1990.

Born in Beirut, Ahmad Samih Khalidi (1948–) is the son of Walid Khalidi and grandson of his namesake. Ahmad Samih Khalidi also studied at Oxford and the University of London, as his father did, and continued in the family tradition by becoming a scholar as well. He was an associate at the Royal Institute of International Affairs (Chatham House) in London and a senior member of St. Anthony's College at Oxford University. From 1991 to 1993, Khalidi was a member of the Palestinian delegation in Israeli-Palestinian negotiations in Washington and later served as a security adviser to the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) during the Israeli-PLO talks that led to the important Interim Agreement (also called the Oslo II Agreement) signed by the two sides in September 1995.

Khalidi's collegiate and graduate educational background was also a formative experience for him. He studied at some of Britain's best institutions and began teaching at Oxford as well. He thus was able to combine his passion for rigorous scholarship with his commitment to the Palestinian national drama and in the process rose to become arguably the most influential Palestinian intellectual of the second half of the twentieth century. In particular, Khalidi focused his keen mind on chronicling

the events of 1948: Zionist/Israeli war aims and plans, how the battles unfolded, what caused the flight of the Palestinian refugees, the destruction of their villages after the war, and other such topics. Part of his purpose was to provide scholarly analysis, in English, of that crucial year in Palestinian history from a scholar with intimate personal knowledge of many of the key players and events. Another motivation was his desire to counteract various myths and misconceptions about the war. For example,

he was one of the first scholars, Arab or otherwise, to begin systematically trying to deconstruct the oft-cited claim that the refugees fled from their homes because of radio broadcasts from Arab leaders. He wrote several early seminal articles about the war between 1957 and 1961, largely in the journal *Middle East Forum*. These included “Why Did the Palestinians Leave?” (1959) and “Plan Dalet: Master Plan for the Conquest of Palestine” (1961).

In 1963 Khalidi took his desire to continue serious research into Palestinian history to another level when he cofounded the Institute for Palestine Studies (IPS) in Beirut. A private, independent institute not affiliated with any Arab state, party, or organization, IPS is dedicated to scholarship about Palestine and the Arab-Israeli conflict. IPS eventually developed branches in Washington, Paris, London, and Jerusalem (where it is called the Institute for Jerusalem Studies) and publishes the scholarly journals *Journal of Palestine Studies*, *Revue d'études palestiniennes*, and *Majallat al-Dirasat al-Filastiniyah*. The branch in Beirut also maintains a 40,000-volume library.

As his scholarly career progressed, Khalidi expanded on his early research interests. In 1971, he edited an important early work on the background to Palestinian displacement in 1948 titled *From Haven to Conquest: Readings in Zionism and the Palestine Problem until 1948*. In 1984, IPS published *Before Their Diaspora: A Photographic History of the Palestinians*, a huge book of photographs of pre-1948 Palestinian life, also edited by Khalidi. He later oversaw a massive project to research, map, and photograph every Palestinian village that was destroyed by Israel during or after 1948, which was published by IPS in 1992 as *All That Remains: The Palestinian Villages Occupied and Destroyed by Israel in 1948* (an Arabic version came out in 1997 as *Kay lā nansá: qurá Filastīn allatī dammarathā Isrā'īl sanat 1948 wa-asmā Shuhadā'ihā*). He also published *Khamsūn āman alá harb 1948* (Fifty years since the 1948 War, 1998) and *Dayr Yāsīn* (Dayr Yasin, 1999). He has written countless articles in the Arabic and English press as well. Khalidi's influence on Palestinian and other Arab intellectuals and political activists, both as a professor and a scholar, must also be recognized. Some of his students from AUB went on to academic and political careers.

Impressed by the pan-Arab nationalism and growing regional strength of Egypt under Gamal Abdel Nasser in the 1950s and early 1960s, Khalidi argued for a pan-Arab solution to the Palestinian problem and was close to Palestinian activists within the Arab Nationalists Movement (ANM), such as GEORGE HABASH. After the Arab defeat in the 1967 War, he began to argue more for Palestinians to push their own agenda, although he never lost sight of what he believed was the strategic necessity for Palestinians to work with the Arab states and skillfully read the wider international strategic balance. His appre-

ciation for both a pan-Arab and Palestinian-specific approach to the Palestinian national drama later enabled him to maintain amicable relations with partisans of both approaches, from the leftist Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (formed out of the ANM by Habash) to the more conservative Fatah movement of Yasir Arafat.

This unique position also afforded him opportunities to become involved in Arab and Palestinian politics himself. He was a confidant of his brother-in-law, pro-Nasser Lebanese politician and eventual prime minister Sa'ib Salam, throughout the late 1950s—including the period when Salam was aligned against Lebanese president Camille Chamoun during the 1958 Lebanese Civil War. Khalidi also used his good relations with other Arab and Palestinian leaders to undertake mediation efforts in various conflicts, including the Jordanian-Palestinian clashes of 1970 and several intra-Palestinian disputes. Years later, in 1991, Khalidi was a member of the joint Palestinian-Jordanian delegation to the October peace conference convened in Madrid by the United States and the Soviet Union and the first two rounds of subsequent talks with Israel held in Washington.

#### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

Khalidi has long been widely respected in the United States, Europe, and the Middle East for his keen mind and scholarly pursuits. He has been described as the “doyen of Palestinian intellectuals,” and one observer called him one of the two greatest Palestinian scholars of the second half of the twentieth century (the other being Edward Said). Khalidi's academic achievements have not only impacted the study of Palestinian and Arab-Israeli history, they have also played a role in making that history. His July 1978 article in the prestigious American journal *Foreign Affairs* titled “Thinking the Unthinkable: A Sovereign Palestinian State” was one of the first serious public discussions of the idea of forming a Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza. His thinking proved influential in the United States, and by the 1980s, virtually all parties to the conflict and around the world came to see the two-state solution (an independent Palestine next to Israel) as the only realistic hope for a lasting solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict. Khalidi's expression of the idea drew the ire of Palestinian hardliners still committed to struggling against Israel, and he has had his share of other detractors as well, particularly certain scholars, in Israel and elsewhere, who have taken issue with his description of 1948 Zionist war plans as a blueprint for the mass, deliberate expulsion of the Palestinian refugees.

In recognition of his many decades of achievements, the Arab League awarded Khalidi its Educational, Cultural

and Scientific Organization's Prize of Distinction in Cultural Achievement in the Arab World in 2002.

### LEGACY

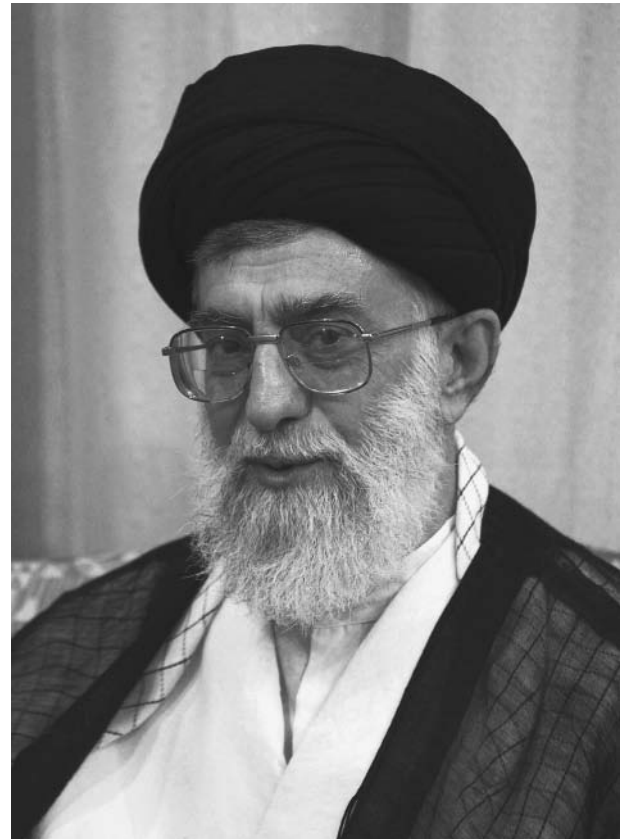
Khalidi will be remembered as the scholar who more than virtually anyone else helped created a tradition and corpus of professional Palestinian scholarship, both as an individual and through the institutions he helped found such as the IPS.

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*Michael R. Fischbach*



*Ali Khamenehi*. © MOHSEN SHANDIZ/CORBIS.

## KHAMENEHI, ALI (1939–)

Ali Khamenehi (also Seyyed Ali Hosayni Khamenehi, Khamanei) has been the religious-political leader (*vali-ye faqih*) of Iran since 1989. He was elected to this office by a body of senior Shi'ite Islamic theologians following the death of the country's first leader, Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini. Under the constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran, the leader, who is neither head of state nor head of government, has responsibility for supervising (*velayat*) top governmental leaders, including the president, to ensure that their actions and policies conform to Islamic laws and principles. In effect, then, Khamenehi is the highest political authority in the country.

### PERSONAL HISTORY

Khamenehi was born on 17 July 1939 in Mashhad, the main city of eastern Iran and the location of the most sacred Shi'ite Islamic shrine in the country. His father was a cleric from the Khameneh district—and hence the family surname—of Iranian Azerbaijan. The family genealogy traces descent back to the prophet Muhammad, and thus male members carry the honorific *seyyed*

before their forenames. Khamenehi began his religious studies early, and as a teenager he attended the classes of two prominent Mashhad theologians, Ayatollah Hadi Milani (d. 1975) and Sheikh Hashem Qazvini. In 1957, he went to Iraq to study in the renowned Shi'ite seminaries located in the city of al-Najaf. The following year he went to Qom, where he spent four years studying under Iran's leading Shi'ite cleric, Ayatollah Hosayn Borujerdi (d. 1961), and his deputy, Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini (1902–1989). His association with Khomeini began in these years and would remain strong even when Khomeini was in foreign exile from 1964 to 1979.

The events of June 1963 had a formative effect on Khamenehi, as well as on many other students of Khomeini. Following the arrest of Khomeini for speaking out against the domestic and foreign policies of Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, seminarians and clerics in Isfahan, Qom, Mashhad, Shiraz, and Tehran organized protests that spread to the bazaars and were suppressed violently by the police. According to Shaul Bakhash, the demonstrations continued for three days and resulted in over 200 deaths (1984 p. 30). During these incidents,



## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Ali Khamenehi (also Seyyed Ali Hosayni Khamenehi, Khamanei)

**Birth:** 1939, Mashhad, Iran

**Family:** Married; two daughters, Boshra and Hoda; four sons, Mojtaba, Mostafa, Masoud, and Maysam

**Nationality:** Iranian

**Education:** Iran: religious studies in theological colleges of Mashhad and Qom. Iraq: religious classes in 1957 in Shi'ite seminaries of al-Najaf, Iraq

## PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1979:** Appointed to Revolutionary Council by Khomeini; one of the founders of the Islamic Republic Party; deputy minister of defense, provisional government; deputy in assembly of experts for writing constitution; appointed Friday prayer leader of Tehran and representative to the Revolutionary Guards by Khomeini
- **1980:** Elected to first Majles (parliament)
- **1981:** Survives assassination attempt, but loses use of right arm and hand; elected president of Iran
- **1985:** Elected to 2nd term as president
- **1989:** *Vali-ye faqih* (political-religious leader) in *velayat-e faqih* system of government

subsequently memorialized as the Fifteenth of Khordad (5 June) uprising against the tyranny of the shah's regime, Khamenehi served as a liaison between the supporters of Khomeini in Qom and the clerical establishment in Mashhad, where Milani had emerged the leading ayatollah in the country. The former's activities led to his arrest twice in 1964. However, rather than taming his political ardor, Khamenehi's prison experiences radicalized him further. For example, he returned to Mashhad, where he served as a representative of Khomeini, and was arrested on five separate occasions between 1965 and 1978; following his arrest in 1975, he was sentenced to internal exile in the town of Iranshahr, located in a remote part of Baluchistan in southeastern Iran.

Khamenehi kept in contact both with his mentor, Khomeini, and fellow former students who shared an aversion to the Pahlavi monarchy. In 1977, he joined with like-minded clerics to form the Society of Combat-

ant Clergy (Jame'eh-e rohaniyat-e mobarez, JRM), a party that had as one of its aims the organizing of a nationwide struggle against the shah. He was active throughout 1978, except for a brief period when he was under arrest, in mobilizing opposition demonstrations, marches, and strikes in Mashhad. He went to Tehran to greet Khomeini when the latter returned on 1 February 1979, after more than fourteen years in exile. Khamenehi did not return to Mashhad, but remained in Tehran, where he became involved in national politics. Khomeini appointed him to be member of the secretive Revolutionary Council, the body that competed with and often overruled the provisional government, also appointed by Khomeini. In July 1979, after the secular ministers of the provisional government had resigned, Prime Minister Mehdi Barzagan, in an effort to effect better coordination with the Revolutionary Council and to minimize political rivalry, invited Khamenehi and other members of the Revolutionary Council to join his cabinet; Khamenehi became deputy minister of defense, as well as Khomeini's representative to the Revolutionary Guards, a new military group formed to counter potential military threats on the part of officers who still might be loyal to the ancient regime. Also, along with other JRM activists, he formed the Islamic Republic Party (IRP) and subsequently became one of its representatives in the Assembly of Experts, the body that convened in August with a mandate to draft a constitution for the Islamic Republic. In March 1980, he was elected, as an IRP candidate, to the first Majles (parliament) under the new constitution; he served as a Majles deputy for eighteen months. In late June 1981, he was severely wounded when a close-by tape recorder with a concealed bomb inside exploded as he was delivering a sermon; as a result, he lost permanent use of his right arm and hand. Three months later (in early October), following the assassination of President Mohammad Ali Rajai, Khamenehi was elected as Iran's first cleric president, a position he held for more than seven years. In June 1989, he was selected as *faqih* to succeed Khomeini.

## INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

As the *vali-ye faqih* entrusted with supervising the entire system of government in the Islamic Republic, Khamenehi ideally is supposed to take a neutral stance with respect to the issues that constitute the bases of competition among Iran's multiple political factions. However, more of his decisions on contentious matters have been partial to the positions of the conservative JRM and its allies than to those of the progressive Association of Combatant Clergy (Majma'-ye rohaniyun-e mobarez, MRM) and its allies. Although Khamenehi resigned his own membership in the JRM when he became leader, for ten years prior to that his own ideological views, especially when he was president (October 1981 to June 1989), had

## CONTEMPORARIES

Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani was born on 25 August 1934 in the village of Bahraman, near the town of Rafsanjan, Iran. He was one of the founders of the Islamic Republic Party, and was Iran's president from 1989 to 1997. A wealthy businessman, Rafsanjani advocated free markets and loosening the state's control over the economy. He currently is chair of Iran's Expediency Discernment Council.

been close to the cultural, economic, political, religious, and social stances of the conservative wing of the JRM. For instance, there was an ongoing rivalry between him and his prime minister, Mir-Husayn Musavi, primarily over economic policy issues. Whereas Khamenehi tended to be favorably inclined toward the interests of the bazaar (merchants), a socioeconomic group that opposed most government intervention in the economy, Musavi viewed state economic intervention as a positive means to redistribute wealth and to help create a more equalitarian society. In fact, after Khamenehi was reelected to his second term as president in 1985, he tried to get Musavi dismissed, arguing that it should be the president's prerogative to choose the prime minister. The stalemate over sending a nomination to the Majles continued for nearly a month and was resolved only when Khomeini intervened by effectively endorsing Musavi to continue as prime minister. The ideological rivalry between Khamenehi and Musavi also became a rivalry between their respective offices, the presidency and the prime ministry. This situation was one of concern when the constitution was amended in 1989, and it prompted the elimination of the office of prime minister and the combining of head of state and head of government functions in the office of president.

Once Khamenehi became the paramount *faqih*, he seems to have tried to model his approach to factional politics on that of Khomeini: to remain aloof as much as possible and to intervene only when necessary to restore balance. However, from the beginning of his tenure as *faqih*, he was hampered by the fact that he possessed neither the charisma nor religious authority of Khomeini. With respect to the latter point, Khamenehi had not achieved the status of a scholar or teacher at the time of the revolution; rather, he was considered a junior cleric, one who had no religious publications (*risalehs*). This was in marked contrast to Khomeini, who in 1979 enjoyed a reputation among Shi'ites both inside and outside Iran as

an erudite scholar of religion, an expert in Islamic legal principles, and thus one qualified to give authoritative religious opinions. During the decade after the revolution, Khamenehi was directly involved in government and politics, most of that time as president, and thus was not in a position to enhance his credentials with respect to the development of expertise in religious subjects. In fact, the constitutional qualifications for the office of *faqih* were amended in 1989 to make it possible for a clergy with strong political qualifications but modest religious ones to be chosen as the *faqih*.

The conservative clergy, especially those in the JRM, desired a *faqih* who would adhere to traditional views of *fiqh* (Islamic law and principles), not one who advocated dynamic *fiqh* (that is, interpretations of Islamic law that change with the times), as did the progressive clergy in the MRM. Khamenehi, whose understanding of religion accorded with traditional *fiqh*, was acceptable to the conservatives, who dominated the Assembly of Experts, an elected body of senior clergy that had the constitutional authority to choose the *faqih*. Thus, not only was Khamenehi ideologically inclined to favor traditional religious views but also politically his support base was among the conservative clergy. These factors made it difficult for Khamenehi to adopt an independent stance on contentious issues, and, consequently, most of his interventions in the political process tended to favor the conservatives and to disadvantage the supporters of dynamic *fiqh*. During the presidency of Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani (1989–1997), this situation was relatively minor because Rafsanjani, who previously had served for nine years as speaker of the Majles, was adept at balancing conservative and progressive concerns and for the most part maintained the confidence of Khamenehi. That is, even though Rafsanjani introduced limited reforms, especially in the economy, he did not challenge the fundamental premise of the Islamic Republic as a political system guided by the clergy, with the *faqih* at the apex.

The 1997 election of MOHAMMAD KHATAMI as president with a mandate to reform the political system was a shock for conservatives. Khatami was unambiguously associated with the MRM, which advocated not only liberal interpretations of Islam but also implementation of economic and social reforms and genuine political democracy. The dilemma for Khamenehi was how to maintain the neutrality of the position of *velayat-e faqih* while simultaneously blocking policies that conservative clergy perceived as threats to the system. One strategy was to strengthen the institutions dominated by the conservatives, such as the judiciary and, prior to 2000, the Majles, and not interfere as these bodies mounted legal assaults on the various reform politicians and policies. To maintain the appearance of impartiality, conservative

support was given to reforms that did not appear to threaten the political order, such as passage of the local elections law in 1998. The reform movement was not destroyed, but it was forced onto the defensive and seriously weakened. By the time Khatami's second term as president ended in August 2005, the position of *faqih* was as strong politically as it had been before 1997 and conservatives' control of the overall political process was intact.

#### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

Khamenehi, initially as president of Iran and later as its supreme religio-political leader, has been an international persona since late 1981. Outside Iran, he has a relatively positive image among those devout Shi'ite Muslims who follow what religious leaders are doing. However, local Shi'ite clerics with their own reputations for religious erudition and piety, such as Ayatollah ALI HUSAYNI AL-SISTANI in Iraq or Shaykh HASAN NASRALLAH in Lebanon, probably have more prestige in their own communities than does the Iranian leader. Beyond the various communities of non-Iranian Shi'ites, however, views of Khamenehi tend to be neutral or negative. International media tends to use the adjective hard-line to describe him. This negative portrayal stems both from his reputation as an opponent of the reforms of Khatami and from his frequent denunciations of what he terms American imperialism and the Western cultural onslaught. The international media tends to view such rhetoric as an example of being antimodern and regressively conservative. For Khamenehi, Western cultural onslaught refers to the relative tolerance that Europeans and North Americans are believed to exhibit toward such practices as premarital sexual relations, divorce, homosexuality, immodest dress, and cinema and music that stresses themes of sex and violence. All these cultural practices and values are unacceptable to Khamenehi and the conservatives generally, who view them as threats to the very foundations of religion, as well as part of deliberate American policy to corrupt Muslim youth and thereby undermine their religious beliefs.

#### LEGACY

The 1979 Islamic Revolution, in which Khamenehi played a key role in terms of mobilizing demonstrators, ushered in major political and social changes that still are ongoing in Iran. Khamenehi has continued to play a key role in the efforts to manage these changes politically. Sometimes he has supported change, but often, especially in his role since 1989 as the *vali-ye faqih*, he has tried to limit or even prevent change, especially in the political sphere. His dilemma is how to maintain widespread popular support for his conservative religious vision of

an Islamic Republic in an era when increasing numbers of Iranians, especially among the youth who are the main beneficiaries of the post-1979 changes, seem to aspire for a more democratic system.

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*Eric Hooglund*

### KHAMMASH, AMMAR (1960–)

Ammar Khammash is a well-known Jordanian architect, photographer, designer, and artist. He has completed several large-scale projects renovating ancient structures and churches throughout Jordan.

#### PERSONAL HISTORY

Khammash was born on 8 October 1960 in Amman, Jordan. He obtained a B.A. in architecture from the University of Southwestern Louisiana in the United States in 1986, and he studied ethnoarchaeology at the Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology at Yarmuk University in Irbid, Jordan in 1987 and 1988.

Khammash established Ammar Khammash Architects, a practice in Amman that encompasses more than just architecture; rather, his company helps clients with circulation and landscape management, building design, and interior design. He is one of Jordan's most noted architects, and also an accomplished artist and photographer. Since 1990, he has mounted a number of solo exhibitions of his paintings in Jordan, India, the United States, and Germany.

#### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Khammash has been involved with a number of significant historical-architectural constructions and renovations in Jordan that combine his architectural skills with his passion for historical preservation. One of his signature projects has been the Pella Jordan Valley Renovation. He designed and built two tourist rest houses, one at the Greco-Roman ruins of Pella and the other at the restored

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Ammar Khammash  
**Birth:** 1960, Amman, Jordan  
**Nationality:** Jordanian  
**Education:** B.A. architecture; University of Southwestern Louisiana 1986; Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, Yarmuk University, Irbid, Jordan, 1987–1988

## PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1986:** Publishes *Notes on Village Architecture in Jordan*
- **1987:** Plans eighty-room expansion of Tayyibat Zaman; renovates historic house in Aqaba
- **1988:** Renovates the German Excavation House and Umm Qays Museum, Umm Qays; constructs several buildings in the courtyard of Yarmuk University's Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology in Irbid
- **1991:** Preserves building in Dana for Royal Society for the Conservation of Nature; works in Madaba on projects at Church of the Apostles, Church of the Virgin Mary, and Juma'an Houe; commissioned to renovate 1930s houses in Amman for the Darat al Funun Art Center
- **1995:** Renovates the Hijaz museum in Ma'an; renovates historic house in Amman for Jordan River Design
- **2003:** Displays one-man show of paintings at Zara Gallery in Amman
- **2007:** Begins work on Multimedia Center in Amman

village of Umm Qays (the Greco-Roman city of Gadara). Both Pella and Gadara were part of the Decapolis—the ten Greco-Roman cities southeast of the Sea of Galilee. At Umm Qays Khammash renovated the German Excavation House in 1988, as well as an Ottoman-era home that same year that now serves at the Umm Qays museum. In these projects, Khammash has played an important role in stimulating a revival of traditional craftsmanship by employing local labor almost exclusively and using local materials and techniques. He had the support of the Jordanian government, which planned on making Pella and

Umm Qays showcase tourist locales. The project was financed with a grant from the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), and managed by the Amman-based American Center for Oriental Research.

In 1987, Khammash also assisted the cause of tourism in Jordan by planning an eighty-room expansion of Tayyibat Zaman, a tourist village near Petra designed to look like a “traditional” Jordanian village. In 1991, the Royal Society for the Conservation of Nature hired him to preserve a building in Dana, another tourist village in Jordan.

In the 1990s, Khammash worked on several historical projects in the Jordanian town of Madaba, home to several ancient Christian churches. From 1991 to 1993, he designed and managed construction of a shelter to cover Byzantine mosaics on the floor of the Church of the Apostles in Madaba, Jordan, and a shelter for similar Byzantine mosaics at the Church of the Virgin Mary in Madaba in 1993. That same year he renovated the Juma'an House in the town, and five years later renovated and added new spaces to the town's Harat Jadudna district.

Khammash has employed his talents on other archaeological-architectural projects. In 1987, he renovated a house in Aqaba, Jordan's only seaport, that had been used in the early-twentieth century by the Sharif Hussein bin Ali—leader of the Great Arab Revolt of 1916 and the father of Jordan's first king, King Abdullah I bin Hussein. Another similar project was the 1995 renovation of the Hijaz museum in Ma'an. The building was part of the Ottoman Hijaz railroad station that served as the headquarters for Abdullah when he first arrived in the region in 1920, long before he became king. Khammash designed a museum to be located inside the station. From 1992 to 1995, he also was commissioned to renovate three 1930s houses in Amman that today are the Darat al Funun Art Center. In so doing, Khammash designed a library and exhibition hall without destroying the original plan or ambiance. Darat al Funun is owned and run by the Abdul Hameed Shoman Foundation. He renovated another old, 1920s-era house in Amman in 1995 that became the showroom for Jordan River Design. Finally, in 1988 he designed and constructed several buildings in the courtyard of Yarmuk University's Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology in Irbid to look like traditional village houses.

Khammash also maintains other interests, and possesses other notable talents. He is very interested in Jordanian flora, and he maintains a Web site ([www.jordanflora.com](http://www.jordanflora.com)) devoted to this topic. He also writes, and he lived in nine different villages in Jordan within one year to conduct a field study for his 1986 book *Notes on Village Architecture in Jordan*. Khammash is a highly regarded painter in Jordan, whose works are displayed at Darat al Funun among other places.

In 2003 he mounted a one-man show of his paintings at Zara Gallery in Amman.

#### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

Khammash's skill and vision are recognized internationally. This was dramatically illustrated in 2001 when he won an international competition to design a mosque in Nazareth, Israel.

#### LEGACY

Khammash will be remembered as one of modern Jordan's greatest architects, particularly in the field of historical preservation.

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*Michael R. Fischbach*

## KHASHOGGI, JAMAL (1959–)

Saudi journalist Jamal Ahmad Khashoggi (Khashuqji, Kashoggi) is a trained expert on political Islam as well as a leading reformist voice in the current clash with the kingdom's traditionalists. A former editor of the broadsheet newspapers *Arab News* and *Al-Watan*, he was summarily dismissed from the latter on 27 May 2003, following a scathing editorial critical of Ibn Taymiyya, the fourteenth-century Muslim thinker who inspired Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab and Wahhabism in Saudi Arabia. Khashoggi accepted a media adviser position with Prince Turki Abd al-Aziz bin Faysal bin Abd al-Aziz Al Sa'ud when the prince was appointed ambassador to the United Kingdom, and accompanied him to Washington, D.C., in 2005 when Turki was credentialed to the United States. Khashoggi was reinstated as editor of *al-Watan* in 2007. Khashoggi is a regular political commentator for various media outlets, including major American networks, the BBC, al-Jazeera Television, and several Saudi channels.

#### PERSONAL HISTORY

Khashoggi was born in Medina in 1959 and, after his primary and secondary education in Saudi Arabia, enrolled at Indiana State University (ISU) in Terre Haute, Indiana, in the United States. He earned a bachelor's degree in business administration from ISU in 1983 and accepted

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Jamal Khashoggi (Khashuqji, Kashoggi)

**Birth:** 1959, Medina, Saudi Arabia

**Nationality:** Saudi Arabian

**Education:** Primary and secondary education in Medina, Saudi Arabia; bachelor's degree in business administration, Indiana State University, 1983

#### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1983–1984:** Regional Manager at Tihama Publishers in Jidda; region and sales manager at Tihama Bookstores
- **1985–1987:** Reporter for the English daily *Saudi Gazette*; assistant manager of the information center at Arabic sister newspaper *Okaz*.
- **1987–1990:** Correspondent for London-based Arabic daily *Al-Sharq al-Awsat*, and *Al-Majalla* and *Al-Muslimun* weeklies
- **1990–1991:** Managing editor and acting editor in chief of *l-Madina* Arabic daily
- **1991–1999:** Saudi correspondent for London-based *Al-Hayat* Arabic daily
- **1999–2000:** Managing editor, London-based English daily *Arab News*
- **2000–2003:** Editor of Riyadh-based *Al-Watan* Arabic daily
- **2003–2007:** Media adviser to Prince Turki bin Faysal bin Abd al-Aziz Al Sa'ud
- **2007:** Reinstated as editor of *Al-Watan*

his first position that same year as the regional manager at Tihama Publishers in Jidda. In 1985, he joined the English daily *Saudi Gazette* as a reporter and simultaneously held the assistant manager of information position at the *Gazette's* sister newspaper, *Okaz*, until 1987. His first major break occurred in 1987 when he was offered a coveted correspondent's post with the London-based Arabic daily *Al-Sharq al-Awsat* and weeklies *Al-Majalla* and *Al-Muslimun*. His employment with these three publications between 1987 and 1990 landed him the managing editorship and, eventually, the position of acting editor in chief of *Al-Madina* daily. In 1999, however, he traveled to London to assume the far more prestigious post of managing editor of the London-based

English daily *Arab News*. Throughout the 1990s, Khashoggi was a correspondent for *Al-Hayat*, a leading pan-Arab daily. Prince Turki bin Faysal bin Abd al-Aziz al Sa'ud offered Khashoggi a position as media adviser at the Saudi embassy in London after he lost his *Al-Watan* editorship. He accompanied the prince to Washington, D.C., in 2005 when the ambassador moved to the United States, returning to Riyadh in January 2007. When Ambassador Turki resigned, Khashoggi was reinstated to the *Al-Watan* editorship in April 2007.

In the aftermath of the tragic events of 11 September 2001, Khashoggi stood out among his countrymen when he called for assuming responsibility for the fact that young Saudis attacked the World Trade Center in New York and the Pentagon in Washington, D.C. He said in his article, "A Saudi Asks, Why?," "USAMA BIN LADIN's hijacked planes not only attacked New York and Washington, they also attacked the Islam faith and the values of tolerance and coexistence that it preaches." In much of his extensive journalistic output, primarily written in Arabic, Khashoggi rejected denial and loathed those who continued to believe conspiracy theories. He raised difficult issues, pointing to the evidence that nineteen young Muslim men—including fifteen Saudis—headed for what they considered a self-ascribed martyrdom mission, though it was little more than criminal behavior. By alerting his readers to reflect on what actually attracted thousands of Saudis to go to Afghanistan when that hapless country was under Taliban control, how legitimate opposition to communist occupation morphed them into terrorists, and why they chose to bring their jihad home to the kingdom, Khashoggi articulated near-taboo subjects. In 2002, he asked what needed to be done to ensure that adolescents were "never influenced by extremist ideas like those that misled 15 of [his] countrymen into hijacking four planes that fine September day, piloting them, and us, straight into the jaws of hell."

#### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Beyond the post-11 September 2001 dilemmas, Khashoggi recognized that internal calls for reform would not be effective as long as elementary and secondary level curricula included theology as a teaching matter. He reasoned that such education should be confined to religious colleges and not be imposed on younger students, further identifying a challenge facing Saudi Arabia. Still, similar to many reformists, he has cautioned those who called for expedited change, arguing that such reforms cannot be imposed by fiat and must emerge from within the kingdom's delicately balanced constituencies.

Though a trained journalist with years of experience in various Saudi and pan-Arab outlets, Khashoggi earned his fame as editor in chief of *Al-Watan*, partly owned by descendants of the late King Faysal ibn Abd al-Aziz. *Al-*

*Watan*, a leading independent outlet for openness, was founded in 2000 in Abha (Asir province), which is a major base of support for Saudi Islamists. The newspaper's opinion pages reflected pluralism and featured articles expressing diverse views. Over a short period of time, its contents angered Islamists for a variety of reasons, including debates around extremely sensitive women's issues such as identity cards and the right of women to drive, the central role of the Mutawwa'a (religious police) in society, and whether Saudis gave undue deference to established religious leaders. A series of articles condemning the Hay'at al-Amr bi'l-Ma'ruf wa'l-Nahi an al-Munkar (Committee for the Propagation of Virtue and the Prevention of Vice), as the *mutawwa'ayyin* are officially known, led Interior Minister Nayif bin Abd al-Aziz to scold Saudi journalists in public. To say that *Al-Watan* was a lively forum for debate, often raising the ire of leading members of the ruling family, would be an understatement.

Yet in the aftermath of the 12 May 2003 attacks on civilians in Riyadh, when twenty-five individuals were killed in three housing compounds, Khashoggi published an editorial titled "The Words of Ibn Taymiyya Are the Real Problem." In it, he managed to provoke Saudi Islamist elements, both establishment and opposition, because he broached the ideological basis of the system. Ibn Taymiyya (1268–1328) is considered to be the spiritual father of Wahhabism, and no one before the 22 May editorial asked how Saudis could justify killing innocent people, whether Muslim or not, in the name of Islam.

"How did these murderers permit [the spilling of] the blood of Muslims and children?" asked Khashoggi. He pointed his accusatory finger, declaring that those who murdered "based on a Fatwa of Ibn Taymiyya in his book *The Jihad*, that says that if the infidels take shelter behind Muslims, that is, if these Muslims become a shield for the infidels, it is permitted to kill the Muslims in order to reach the infidels are wrong, because . . . it is a mistaken Fatwa that contradicts the way of the Prophet Muhammad."

These words did not, for obvious reasons, go down well with clerics and their acolytes. Few appreciated a lesson in theology from a liberal newspaper editor. On 27 May 2003, approximately two weeks after the suicide bombings in Riyadh, Khashoggi was fired by order of the Saudi Information Ministry.

#### LEGACY

Several years after he was dismissed from his editorship at *Al-Watan* in Riyadh, Jamal Khashoggi was reappointed in order to assert his journalistic expertise and rekindle the paper as a forum for serious debates, although conservative groups opposed his lesser-conservative outlook—as

there were few liberal ideas in Saudi Arabia—and pressured him to go in 2003, the overall atmosphere changed throughout the kingdom over this short period of time. Most Saudi newspapers openly and audaciously discussed issues previously raised by *Al-Watan*, which provoked criticism. Khashoggi was thus a path breaker, as he combined the habit of asking probing questions with the vigorous discipline of an investigator.

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*Joseph Kechichian*

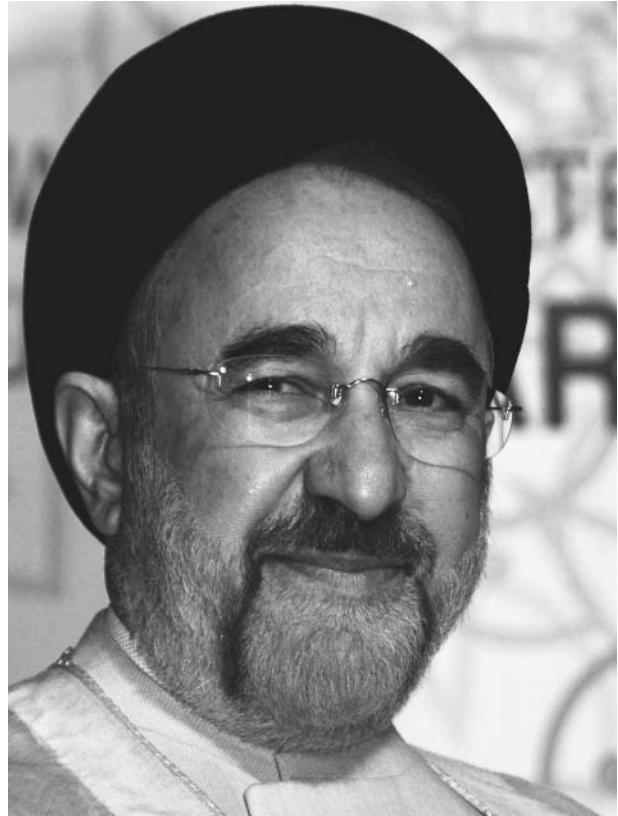
## KHATAMI, MOHAMMAD (1943–)

Mohammad Khatami was president of Iran from 1997 to 2005. As a young man, he studied Islam under Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini (1902–1989, who would become leader of the Islamic Revolution in Iran), and in the late 1970s joined the clerical party that supported Khomeini's ideas about Islamic government. From the early 1980s, Khatami cooperated politically with fellow clerics and lay politicians who interpreted Islamic government to mean popular sovereignty and pluralistic democracy, notions that more conservative-minded leaders dismissed as threats to the authority of religious laws, traditions, and the clerical institution. As president, Khatami tried to implement reforms to democratize the political system, but much of the legislation he proposed was blocked by the conservatives.

#### PERSONAL HISTORY

Khatami was born in Ardakan, central Iran, on 29 September 1943. His parents were Ayatollah Ruhollah Khatami, a widely respected Shi'ite Muslim cleric, and Sakineh Ziyai. Because his family traces its lineage to the Islamic prophet Muhammad, close friends and kin address Khatami familiarly as Sayyid Mohammad, *sayyid* being an honorific indicating descent from the Prophet. His wearing of a black turban also indicates his *sayyid* status.

After obtaining a high school diploma in 1961, Khatami studied briefly in Qom, where he attended classes taught by Khomeini. Subsequently, he served for two years in the Iranian military, an experience he credited for bring-



*Mohammad Khatami.* AP IMAGES.

ing him into contact with Iranians of diverse social and economic backgrounds. Following his two-year service in the army, he was accepted into the University of Isfahan, from which he obtained a B.A. in philosophy in 1968. He then went on to graduate school at the University of Tehran, where he studied for an M.S. degree in education. Before completing this program, however, Khatami decided that his primary interest was theology and thus returned to Qom, where he spent seven years studying Islam under Iran's leading religious scholars of the 1970s. While a student in Qom, he in 1974 married Zohreh Sadeghi, a daughter of a prominent religious family; his wife's maternal uncle was Musa Sadr, the Iranian cleric whom the Shi'ite community in Lebanon had invited in 1958 to become its chief spiritual leader (imam) and who mysteriously disappeared in August 1978 while on a trip to Libya as part of an effort to resolve communal conflicts among Lebanese militias. Khatami and his wife subsequently had three children: two daughters and one son.

While studying in Qom, Khatami associated with other former students of Khomeini, many of whom joined in 1977 to form the Society of Combatant Clergy (Jame'eh-e rohaniyat-e mobarez, JRM), an organization that would

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Mohammad Khatami

**Birth:** 1943, Ardakan, Iran

**Nationality:** Iranian

**Family:** Wife, Zohreh Sadeghi; two daughters, Leila and Narges; one son, Emad

**Education:** Iran: B.A. (philosophy), University of Isfahan, 1968; graduate study, University of Tehran and theology colleges of Qom

## PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1978:** Director, Islamic Center, Hamburg, Germany
- **1979:** Supervisor, Keyhan Publishing Company
- **1980:** Majles deputy representing Ardakan
- **1982:** Minister of culture and Islamic guidance
- **1992:** Director, National Library
- **1997:** President of Iran

play a pivotal role in mobilizing Iranians against the shah during the Islamic Revolution of 1978–1979 and subsequently in establishing the political institutions of the Islamic Republic. It was this society that in 1978 sent Khatami to Hamburg in West Germany to serve as director of the Islamic Institute, which ministered to the large numbers of Iranian students residing in that German city and its outlying areas. During his tenure, the Islamic Institute organized activities among the Iranian diaspora in support of the revolutionary movement that was gathering momentum throughout the summer and fall of 1978. Khatami returned to Iran after the revolution and became politically active in the JRM, which comprised the clerical bloc in the nascent Islamic Republic Party (IRP). Khomeini appointed him to be supervisor of the recently nationalized Keyhan Publishing Company, the main product of which was the daily *Keyhan* newspaper. In 1980 Khatami was elected to the first Majles al-shura (parliament) as a deputy from Ardakan, but he did not complete his term as a representative, resigning in 1982 to become minister of culture and Islamic guidance in the cabinet of prime minister Mir Hossein Musavi.

## INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

From the beginning of his political involvement, Khatami was associated with the progressive wing of the JRM,

which advocated liberal interpretations of Islam and implementation of economic and social policies to promote the welfare of middle- and low-income groups. In contrast, the conservative faction of the JRM favored traditional interpretations of Islamic laws and also was allied with the bazaar (mercantile) class; the latter opposed governmental regulation of the economy, except in the case of tariffs on imported goods, which the bazaar wanted to maintain at high levels to protect their own domestic manufactures. Policy disagreements between these two factions became increasingly intense throughout the 1980s, even though Iran was engaged in a major war with Iraq and despite that Khomeini, as the *faqih* (jurist) constitutionally empowered to supervise the political system, persistently called upon the activist clergy to compromise their differences for the sake of national and religious unity. Indeed, Khatami himself resigned as minister of culture in 1986, during a period of particularly severe conservative criticisms of the Musavi government. The political contest between the conservatives and progressives culminated in April 1988 with several radical members, including Khatami, deciding to leave the JRM and form their own party, the Association of Combatant Clergy (Majma'-ye rohaniyun-e mobarez, MRM). Khatami succinctly spelled out the reasons for creating the MRM in a Tehran newspaper:

Members of the JRM were split [along ideological lines] from the very beginning of the revolution. Now, we [the MRM] have no choice but to pronounce our opinions as the MRM of Tehran, because some [of our] views [in the JRM] are being ignored. . . . There have been differences of opinion among the membership of the JRM regarding at least seventeen points. . . . We must close the door on those who do not believe in the eternal war between the rich and the poor and who exploit Islam for their own political and material well being. . . . [this] American brand of Islam must be eradicated. (*Etelaat*, 4 May 1988)

In 1989, following the death of Khomeini, the approval of constitutional amendments that expanded the authority of the president by making the holder of that office head of government as well as head of state, and the election of Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani as president, Khatami returned to the cabinet in his former position as minister of culture. With the backing of Rafsanjani, Khatami pursued a relatively liberal cultural agenda that included relaxing censorship regulations pertaining to the press, broadcast media, the arts, and cinema. As the cultural and social environment became freer, some conservatives became alarmed that their vision of an Islamic society was being undermined by the infiltration of values they deemed to be Western and antireligious. Consequently, the ministry of culture and



## CONTEMPORARIES

Sayyid Mohammad-Reza Khatami (1959–), the younger brother of Mohammad Khatami, became politically active after his brother was elected president in 1997. He was trained as a physician, specializing in nephrology (kidneys), and had a medical practice before entering politics. Following his brother's election, he joined with other supporters to form the reformist coalition known as Dovum-e Khordad. He also founded the Islamic Iran Participation Front, which became the largest of eighteen political parties in the Dovum-e Khordad bloc, and served as its secretary-general until 2005; he still is a member of the party's central committee. For two years he held the position of vice minister in the Ministry of Health, resigning in early 2000 to be a candidate in elections for the Majles. He won a seat for Tehran, getting over 1.7 million votes, and was elected to be deputy speaker of the sixth parliament (2000–2004), with Mehdi Karrubi, a member of the reformist MRM, as speaker. Khatami was an outspoken defender of the reform movement, a tireless and articulate advocate of the rule of law and democratization, and a severe critic of the policies and tactics adopted by the conservatives to derail political reforms. For a period, he also was managing editor of the reformist daily *Mosharekat*, a paper that exposed the intimidation tactics of vigilante groups connected to the conservatives; the courts eventually closed down the paper. Many conservatives deeply resented Khatami's blunt criticisms, and in 2004 the conservative-dominated Council of Guardians disqualified him from being a candidate in the elections for the seventh Majles (2004–2008).

In 1983, Khatami married Zahra Eshraghi, a granddaughter of Ayatollah Khomeini and an activist on behalf of women's rights; they have two children, a daughter and a son.

even Khatami himself became ever more frequent objects of criticism in conservative publications. In July 1992, after ALI KHAMENEHI, the successor to Khomeini as *faqih*, made a speech critical of official permissiveness toward non-Islamic Western values, conservative deputies in the Majles became more emboldened in their complaints about the ministry of culture's policies, and this prompted Khatami to resign. Subsequently, he was appointed director

of the National Library, a semischolarly position that removed him from the corridors of political partisanship but afforded him an opportunity to ponder and develop his ideas about civil society, political tolerance, and democracy. During the nearly five years he headed the National Library, Khatami participated in several academic seminars in which he called for democratization of the political system and diplomatic engagement with non-Muslim societies.

Rafsanjani was reelected to a second four-year term in 1993, but backed the candidacy of Khatami for the May 1997 presidential election. Khatami actually won nearly 70 percent of the popular vote on the strength of his promises to initiate social reforms, promote the rule of law, create a civil society (*jame'eh-e madani*), and promote a dialogue of civilizations. His victory launched the reform movement known as Dovum-e Khordad (the second of Khordad month, equivalent to 23 May, the date of Khatami's election). As a former minister of culture, Khatami understood the value of a free press in terms of promoting the rule of law and an accountable government, and thus he encouraged his minister of culture, Ayatollah Mohajerani, to ease censorship and issue publishing licenses with minimal red tape. As a result, during the first two years of Khatami's presidency, there was a proliferation of newspapers, several of which initiated investigations of political institutions and politicians suspected of abusing civil rights. Khomeini also was a proponent of women assuming an activist role in society. He appointed Iran's first female vice president, MA'SUMEH EBTEKAR, who served for eight years as vice president for the environment. With the direct encouragement of the government, women expanded their presence in higher education, employment, the arts, publishing, and even in sports.

The policies of the Khatami administration prompted a backlash on the part of conservatives who opposed cultural and social reforms for ideological reasons and felt threatened by many of the political reforms. The judiciary was one branch of government over which Khatami had virtually no influence, and thus conservatives began to use his call for the rule of law as a political strategy for their own advantage by targeting prominent reform politicians such as Tehran mayor Gholam-Hossein Karbaschi, whom prosecutors charged with illegal diversion of municipal funds into political campaigns. Although never stated explicitly, the real crime of Karbaschi was his active promotion of Khatami during the presidential election of 1997. The conservatives also used the press law to go after reform newspapers that they accused of publishing rumors that effectively slandered various political leaders. The conservatives had an important ally in Khamenehi. Although he had resigned the JRM in 1989 after being elected as *faqih* to succeed Khomeini, Khamenehi had been a member of the

conservative faction of the party before the split of the MRM, and it was widely believed, among both the political elite and the population at large, that he remained sympathetic to the conservatives. Politically, this perception served to strengthen the conservatives and to weaken Khatami and the reformers. Indeed, extreme conservatives even resorted to harassing speakers at reformists' meetings and rallies.

The conservatives did not oppose all of Khatami's policies; rather they selectively supported those that they believed had potential political benefits for themselves. For example, they backed most of Khatami's economic policies, which were intended to align the country's economy with the neoliberal economic policies being promoted by the World Bank. They also voted for legislation to create popularly elected local councils for all cities, towns, and villages. The first such elections actually took place in 1999, when several thousands of local officials were elected, although most of them expressed support for Khatami's program. In the 2000 parliamentary elections, the Dovum-e Khordad coalition won an overwhelming majority of the Majles seats. Despite this political loss for the conservatives, they already had demonstrated their ability to contain the reform movement through intimidation tactics, by using the judicial system to stymie many of Khatami's policies, and even had managed to send some of his political supporters to prison. And to show their continued clout, the judiciary went on an offensive against reformist politicians after the elections. Khatami, who disliked confrontations, expressed public frustration with the limited authority of his office to counteract these negative actions.

Khatami expressed doubts whether he ought to run for reelection in 2001, but finally decided to do so; he was reelected with 70 percent of the vote. During his second term, Khatami's emphasis was not so much on reform policies, although he still tried to push these, but rather on maintaining domestic calm. That is, he tried to avoid situations that would lead to clashes, verbal and/or physical, between reformists and conservatives. Although Khatami remained the titular head of the Dovum-e Khordad movement, many reformist politicians openly criticized him for failing to provide them active support and thereby effectively allowing the opponents of reform to gain the political initiative. In this respect, their disappointment was especially acute in the winter of 2004, when the council of guardians, a body that vets the Islamic credentials of candidates for political office, disqualified more than one-third of the candidates for the parliamentary elections, including the leading reformist politicians who had been elected to the Majles in 2000. Khatami's inability or unwillingness to intervene in what many reformists perceived to be an unfair or even illegal process and the subsequent electoral success of the conservatives in winning a large

majority of seats demonstrated, for many reform politicians, the political impotence of their president. Khatami himself seemed weary of politics by the time his second term ended in the summer of 2005. He declined to accept a postpresidential appointment to the influential expediency council, which advises Khamenehi and the government on policy, and confined his activities to writing and participating in scholarly and human rights conferences.

#### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

Khatami's impact outside Iran was significant, as both politicians and scholars in all major countries found his ideas about the compatibility of Islam with civil society, democracy, and human rights appealing. Indeed, with respect to foreign policy Khatami initially had a freer hand to try to effect changes in the way Iran conducted its relations with other countries because many of his conservative opponents generally viewed tension-free ties with other nations as good for Iran's international trade. One of Khatami's primary concerns was the rhetoric about a clash of civilizations that became popular in the West in the aftermath of the dissolution of the Soviet Union; to counter this discourse, he put forth the idea of a dialogue of civilizations. With the president's encouragement, government-affiliated think tanks and universities sponsored conferences and seminars to which international scholars were invited to join in discussions about cross-cultural dialogue. In fact, the idea of such a dialogue actually was embraced by the United Nations, which eventually declared a year of dialogue of civilizations. The overall general policy of conciliation resulted in improved relations with Iran's neighbors and with European countries. However, Khatami's efforts to reach out to the United States seemed too timid and cautious in Washington, whereas back in Tehran, a high level of suspicion about U.S. intentions remained among the conservatives, their distrust having been reconfirmed by the dual containment policy targeting both Iran and Iraq and proclaimed by the administration of President Bill Clinton in 1993, then further reinforced by U.S. economic sanctions in 1995. Washington, for its part, also was hesitant to engage diplomatically with Khatami, although there was recognition that he represented a new political trend of moderation in Iran. In 2000, the Clinton administration did extend an olive branch when Secretary of State Madeleine Albright expressed regret for the U.S. role in the 1953 overthrow of the government of Iranian prime minister Mohammad Mossadeq, an incident that is perceived as one of national humiliation in Iranian historical memory. By 2000, however, Khatami was too weakened politically to follow up on this apology without the support of Khamenehi, who remained defiantly hostile to the United States.

## DIALOGUE IS . . . A DESIRABLE THING

Dialogue among civilizations requires listening to and hearing from other civilizations and cultures, and the importance of listening to others is by no means less than talking to others. . . . A profound, thoughtful and precise dialogue with Islamic civilization would be helpful in finding fair and practical solutions to some of the grave problems that beset the world today. . . . Dialogue is such a desirable thing, because it is based on freedom and free-will. In a dialogue, no idea can be imposed on the other side. In a dialogue, one should respect the independent identity of the other side and his or her independent ideological and cultural integrity. Only in such a case can dialogue be a preliminary step leading to peace, security and justice.

KHATAMI'S ADDRESS TO THE EUROPEAN UNIVERSITY INSTITUTE, FLORENCE, ITALY, 10 MARCH 1999; REPRINTED IN JOHN J. DONOHUE & JOHN L. ESPOSITO, EDS., *ISLAM IN TRANSITION: MUSLIM PERSPECTIVES*, 2ND ED. OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS, 2007, PP. 366–370.

A potential opportunity for normalization of relations with the United States—diplomatic relations had been severed in April 1980, during the hostage crisis, and not restored—came in the aftermath of the 11 September 2001 attacks in New York. Khatami issued public condolences for the victims and condemned as anti-Islamic any invocation of religion as justification for the use of violence against innocent civilians. He also authorized discrete cooperation with U.S. forces in Afghanistan, encouraged the Northern Alliance—Iran was the only government to recognize the legitimacy of this anti-Taliban coalition—to work with the U.S. military, and used Iran's influence to get its Afghan allies to support the new Afghan government of HAMID KARZAI that was set up at an international conference in Berlin in December 2001. But all these efforts bore bitter fruit in late January 2002 when U.S. President George W. Bush declared that Iran was a member of an axis of evil. With Washington seemingly fixated on the prospects of regime change in Iran (and also Iraq), Khatami's talk of dialogue was drowned in a flood of patriotic indignation, stoked by Khamenehi and the conservatives who revived the revolutionary rhetoric of the United States as the Great Satan bent on destroying Iran's independence.

## LEGACY

MAHMOUD AHMADINEJAD, who was elected president to succeed Khatami in June 2005, did not share his predecessor's ideas about domestic or global dialogue. Furthermore, the Dovum-e Khordad movement had lost its political appeal and was an impotent challenger to the new president. Yet many of the cultural and social changes that had occurred during Khatami's eight-year tenure had become too rooted to be undone. As Iranian analyst Karim Sadjadpour has observed, the conservatives are more intent on preserving their access to the influence and privileges of political power than on enforcing strict behavioral codes that most of Iran's eighteen-to-thirty-year-olds reject; as long as there is minimal interference with their private lives and no strong political party to mobilize them, they are likely to acquiesce to conservative governance. Khatami himself has not demonstrated any sustained interest in creating institutions to push for the democratization of politics that he championed. However, he does remain engaged in his global dialogue project, and in January 2006, he opened the new non-governmental organization, International Center of Dialogue among Civilizations, of which he is director. He travels around the world, including to the United States in 2006, to give speeches promoting the need for and value of dialogue. Meanwhile, his popularity among intellectuals, especially those who believe in the compatibility of Islamic principles with democratic values, remains strong, not just in Iran but also in most countries with Muslim majority populations, where his books and articles can be found translated into such languages as Arabic, Bengali, Malay, Turkish, and Urdu.

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Eric Hooglund

## KHATIBI, ABDEL KEBIR (1938–)

In addition to having served as a professor at Muhammad V University in Rabat, Morocco, Abdel Kebir Khatibi is a published poet, novelist, sociologist, playwright, and literary critic. He studied sociology at the Sorbonne where, in 1968, he defended his thesis "Le roman maghrébin" (The Maghrebi novel), which was the first thesis on the subject. In this thesis, he studied the novel from 1945 to 1962. The French publication of his thesis (Maspéro) was followed by a Moroccan edition published in 1979 by the Société Marocain des Editeurs Réunis in Rabat. In 1971 he published his first novel, *La mémoire tatouée: autobiographie d'un décolonisé* (Tattooed Memory/Memoir: Autobiography of a Decolonized Subject), which was, among other things, a tribute to his hometown by the sea. He remains one of the most well-known and widely read critics of art, literature, and politics in Morocco.

### PERSONAL HISTORY

Khatibi was born in 1938 in El Jadida, Morocco. He studied in a Qur'anic school as a child, but after the death of his theologian father, began schooling at the Collège Sidi Mohamed in Marrakesh. For one year he attended the French Lyautey High School in Casablanca and went on to enter the Sorbonne in Paris where he studied from 1958 until 1964. Following the publication of his doctoral thesis on the Maghrebi (North African) novel he went on to publish 20 works and 150 articles between 1968 and 1996. Since 1996, he has continued to be a prolific writer and critic. His works have been translated into many different languages including Spanish, German, Japanese, English, and Arabic. Khatibi writes almost exclusively in French.

### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Khatibi's first novel marks a major contribution to Moroccan and Maghrebi literature: *La mémoire tatouée* (Denoël, Lettres Nouvelles). Khatibi's influence continued with his novel *Amour bilingue* (Montpellier: Fata Morgana, 1983; Love in Two Languages), which is a love story where the main dynamic of love, both erotic and sentimental, is found in the tension created by language itself. The novel is preoccupied, as is much of Khatibi's

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Abdel Kebir Khatibi

**Birth:** 1938, El Jadida, Morocco

**Nationality:** Moroccan

**Education:** Ph.D. (sociology), Sorbonne (Paris, France), 1965

### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1970:** Retires from teaching
- **1996:** Wins Chevalier (Fariss) de l'ordre du Trône
- **1997:** Wins Chevalier de l'ordre français des Arts et Lettres; wins Lauréat du Grand Prix Atlas, Rabat

writing, with the bilingualism of the francophone Arab writer, where even if one writes in French, the calligraphic, maternal, and oral quality of the Arabic language is circulating close beneath the surface. The novel deals with how desire ignites amid the attraction between the sensuality and license of the French and the colonized, and always desiring Arabic.

One of his publications on Islamic art, *L'Art calligraphique arabe* (Paris: Chêne, 1976, coauthored with Mohammed Sijelmassi) was translated and re-edited in an English version, *The Splendor of Islamic Art* (1976, 1977, 1995, and 2001). This text traces the art of calligraphy from the early days to the present detailing the various types of calligraphy (*kufic*, *maghrebi*, *thuluth*) as well as its uses on Islamic manuscripts, architecture, and paintings.

An example of his political analysis is well represented by his text *L'alternance et les partis politiques au maroc* (Eddif), where the author analyzes the conditions that permitted the rise of the socialist prime minister Abderrahman Youssoufi and argues that his emergence marks a relative turning point in Moroccan internal politics.

His two plays are *La mort des artistes* (Death of the artists), 1964, and *Le prophète voilé* (The veiled prophet), written in 1979. The latter is set in eighth-century Iran and looks at the phenomenon of false prophets, of which there were many in the early days of Islam. The false prophet here is Hakim ibn Hisham, who wore the veil, and the text interrogates the notion of truth versus falsity of prophets.

EXCERPT FROM *LOVE IN TWO LANGUAGES*

How to describe the unnameable element in killer charm? What eternal seduction could bring time to a halt? Yes, they had to seduce each other from day to day. To whom was she offering her body? To what unreality of life and death incarnate—between the two of them? And seduction is all-powerful energy, a hallucination which comes from the beauty of the void. Metamorphosis whose flash and effect cannot be predicted, whose sparkle comes and goes, losing itself in the other one, giving itself away in what will have existed only for the moment, an ecstasy of enchantment.

He didn't forget that in his own lexicon, the word for seduction (*fitna*) is a homograph for both the word for war and for the word seduction itself, for that knightly passion celebrated by those who go off alone in the desert, a passion for the unknown beloved.

In this respect, seduction carried them to a dual stage, delighting in language's sensuousness. What could they know? What was she looking for in him? Some child's notion of an oriental paradise? A forgotten desire? How to determine from the smallest word, the least deed the order of mortal law—or its disorder? Death: and to find a way to live in this word, it was necessary to go over all the *bi-langue's* power of destruction. In his mother tongue, death is a child's idea of heaven, a celestial hereafter. It was his duty to reseed himself not with this charming reminder but rather with the illusion of invisible angels, thereby glorifying, celebrating every loving encounter.

*LOVE IN TWO LANGUAGES*, TRANSLATED BY RICHARD HOWARD.  
MINNEAPOLIS: UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA PRESS, 1990. P. 11.

In *Le corps oriental* (2002; *The oriental body*), Khatibi traces the many ways in which the body, in the Islamic world, both in the Western part of the Arab world (the Maghreb) and Eastern part (the Mashriq) name, represent, and symbolize the body. Both through cultural and religious practices, the body is regarded by the author as an anthropological object. He shows that from the religious imitation of the prophet, to the movements, gestures, and ornaments of everyday life, to the ritual dressing and adornment of the body during circumcision, pilgrimage, and marriage, the treatment of

the body codifies and conditions how the individual functions socially. He also writes about the way the body moves through the space of the orient: the labyrinth, the city, the patio for women, and the arabesque for men.

THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

Khatibi's dozens of literary works have been studied in texts of literary criticism and doctoral dissertations on both sides of the Atlantic. In France, Khatibi's influence has been noted by such well-known critics as Jacques Derrida and Roland Barthes. Barthes, in his essay *Ce que je dois à Khatibi* (*What I Owe Khatibi*) shows how Khatibi's work de-centers the Western ego and how he, Barthes, has learned to think relatively about the Universal self that European philosophical and semiotic thought has assumed. Barthes writes: "Khatibi and I are interested in the same things: images, signs, traces, letters, marks. And at the same time, because he displaces these forms, such as I see them, because he leads me far from myself, in his own territory, and somehow to the end of myself, Khatibi teaches me something new, shakes up my knowledge." Khatibi has also been taken up by Derrida in his *Monolingualism de l'autre* (1996; *Monolingualism of the Other*, 1998). Here Derrida discusses Khatibi's linguistic *différence* in his writing between the French and Arabic languages. How Khatibi has at once lost, been lost to, and yet is always possessed by the mother, Arabic tongue. Although Khatibi writes in French, there is only one mother language: Arabic, writes Derrida. One reads in Derrida's text how the Arabic language is constantly and invisibly working to transform Khatibi's French language.

In addition to Khatibi's influence in the literary and literary critical world, his work as a sociologist may have even wider implications for North African and Arab fields of sociology. Khatibi has been described as one of the main agents of reinventing sociology and the social sciences in Moroccan, North African and perhaps Middle Eastern postcolonial thinking. Khatibi is a major figure of the Moroccan social sciences during the postcolonial era, being one of the first Moroccan sociologists to interpret and rethink Moroccan society in light of colonial sociology that had been applied to Morocco since the late nineteenth century. Khatibi was the intellectual inheritor of colonial sociology where the study of Morocco by social scientists remained completely detached from the Moroccan readership. Morocco was an object of study, principally through the categories of hagiography (the study of saints, *zawiyas*, marabouts [two types of Islamic mystical lodges], and the like), and the study of dialects. The establishment in 1925 of the Institut des Hautes Études Marocaines, which came out of the French Mission scientifique in Morocco, regarded its object of study through the disciplinary lens of Muslim sociology. This field of French social science studies Morocco as a foreign

and exotic object, and there were no native intellectuals involved in the production of this academic and scientific discourse.

After independence in 1956, the process of nationalization that swept the country did not fail to affect the social sciences and Khatibi was a major figure in this process of rethinking them in Morocco: a process that required the decolonization of the Moroccan thought about himself. He engaged in a process of reinventing the social sciences as a method that would be critical of the colonial sociology and that would be free both of state and private interests. Khatibi took a leading role in voicing the objectives of Moroccan, and indeed, Arab intellectual reinvention of scientific discourse. He was one of the first to articulate such notions as the decolonization of the mind and double critique, whose relevance and usefulness remain strong until today for many thinkers in Morocco and across North Africa. He wrote:

La tâche essentielle de la sociologie du monde arabe consiste à mener un double travail critique a) une déconstruction des concepts issus du savoir et des discours sociologiques qui ont parlé à la place du monde arabe, et qui sont marqués par une prédominance occidentale et une idéologie ethnocentriste, b) et en même temps une critique du savoir et des discours élaborés par les différentes sociétés du monde arabe pour elles-mêmes. [The essential task of sociology of the Arab world is to lead a double critique: (a) the deconstruction of the concepts that came from sociological discourse and knowledge which spoke on behalf of the Arab world, and which are marked by a Western dominated tendency and an ethnocentric ideology, (b) and at the same time a critique of the knowledge and discourses elaborated by the various societies of the Arab world for themselves.] (*Sociologie du monde arabe*. Positions, *BESM* 126, no. 1: 13–26)

#### LEGACY

Khatibi's role as an active theoretician of Moroccan and Arab postcolonial thinking translated into roles of leadership within the institutions of the field. Khatibi was the director of the first Moroccan institute of social sciences, the Institut de sociologie (Institute of Sociology) founded in 1960 and dissolved by the state in 1970. The Marxist, activist, and leftist leanings of the institute caused both its closing and the suspension of the discipline of social science throughout the university system. He later became the director of the Institut universitaire de la Recherche Scientifique (University Institute of Scientific Research) whose mission was again, clearly envisioned and articulated by Khatibi.

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Andrea Flores Khalil

## KHEMIR, SABIHA (1959–)

Sabiha Khemir is a Tunisian painter, illustrator, writer, and curator and historian of Islamic art.

#### PERSONAL HISTORY

Khemir was born in Tunisia in 1959. She received a B.A. in English literature from the University of Tunis in 1983. Thereafter she moved to Great Britain for graduate studies, earning both an M.A. (1986) and a Ph.D. (1990) in the history of Islamic art and archaeology from the

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Sabiha Khemir

**Birth:** 1959, Tunisia

**Nationality:** Tunisian

**Education:** B.A. (English literature), University of Tunis, 1983; M.A. (1986) and Ph.D. (1990) in the history of Islamic art and archaeology, School of Oriental and African Studies at the University of London

### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1979:** Illustrates *Le Nuage Amoureux*
- **1980:** Takes part in exhibition at the Centre National d'Art et de Culture Georges Pompidou (Beaubourg), Paris
- **1992:** Consultant for "Al-Andalus: Islamic Arts of Spain" exhibition, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
- **1993:** Publishes *Waiting in the Future for the Past to Come*
- **1994:** Illustrates *The Island of Animals*; takes part in "Forces of Change: Artists of the Arab World" exhibition at the National Museum of Women in the Arts, Washington, D.C.
- **1998:** Publishes *Figures and Figurines: Sculptures of the Islamic Lands*

School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) at the University of London. Starting in 2001 she became tutor of the Islamic art module at the British Museum. Khemir currently is chief curator at the Islamic Art Museum in Doha, Qatar.

### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Most of Khemir's works are highly detailed pieces, executed in pen and ink, and often explore legendary figures and events from Islamic history. They appear on the covers of some important translations of Arabic novels, especially by NAGUIB MAHFOUZ and Alifa Rifaat. She has fully illustrated works such as *Le Nuage Amoureux* (1979) and *The Island of Animals* (1994). Khemir has described her illustrations as rooted in the history of Islamic book illustration, especially miniatures. She sees the simplicity, purity, and precision of black-and-white pointillism as reflecting the

ethos of Islamic art. Like many Arab artists of her generation, Khemir re-creates the past treasures of art from her part of the world as a way to transform the present. In her essay "Mobile Identity and the Focal Distance of Memory," she described this practice as an attempt to "animate our present reality with the timeless values of our civilization" (2001, p. 46). In this essay and others, Khemir writes about issues of identity, history, and memory in the Arab world and the Arab diaspora, drawing on her personal experience.

An expert in Islamic art history, Khemir wrote and presented two documentaries on Islamic art for British television. She also served as a consultant for the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York for the major exhibition "Al-Andalus: Islamic Arts of Spain" in 1992, and has written *Figures and Figurines: Sculptures of the Islamic Lands* (1998). She published her first novel, *Waiting in the Future for the Past to Come*, in 1993.

### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

Khemir is respected internationally for her art. She has participated in group exhibitions in a number of venues and countries, including shows such as "Forces of Change: Artists of the Arab World" at the National Museum of Women in the Arts, Washington, D.C. (1994); the Kufa Gallery, London (1993); "Arab Women in the United Kingdom" at the Kufa Gallery (1988); "The Book Cover" at the Kufa Gallery (1987); the Islamic Centre, London (1986), and the Centre National d'Art et de Culture Georges Pompidou (Beaubourg), Paris (1980). Her expertise in Islamic art history is reflected in the fact that she was chosen to be chief curator at the Museum of Islamic Art in Qatar. When completed, the museum will be one of the finest museums of Islamic art in the world, and will contain the many treasures collected over the years by Qatar's Shaykh SA'UD BIN MUHAMMAD BIN ALI AL THANI, once described as the biggest art purchaser in the world.

### LEGACY

Sabiha Khemir is still at work in her various fields, and the world is not yet ready to draw its final conclusions as to her historical legacy.

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*Jessica Winegar  
updated by Michael R. Fischbach*

## KHORASANI, NUSHIN AHMADI (1967–)

Women's rights activist Nushin Ahmadi Khorasani has played an important role in Iran since the 1990s. She is a committed member of the One Million Signatures Campaign, the founding member of the Women's Cultural Centre, and she initiated the establishment of the first women's library in Iran. She is the author of numerous articles and books on women's rights issues, has translated a number of feminist books from English to Farsi, and is a member of the Iranian Journalist Union.

### PERSONAL HISTORY

Khorasani was born in 1967 in Tehran, Iran. She has a B.A. in English language and is a postgraduate women's studies student at the University of Tehran. As a student, she was involved in women's rights issues. From 1995 to 1998 she was active in the Women's Society against Environmental Degradation. In 1997 with her husband, Javad Mossavi Khorasani, she established Nashre Toosee (Development Publication). From 1996 to 2001 she was active in the Society for the Defense of the Rights of Children. This organization was established by SHIRIN EBADI, an Iranian lawyer and women's rights activist who won the Nobel Peace Prize in 2003. Khorasani also worked with Shahla Lahiji, the first woman publisher and the director of Roshangaran (Illuminators) Women's Publications, and together they published feminist books. In 1999, Khorasani established the Women's Cultural Centre.

From 1998 to 2001, Khorasani worked as the editor in chief of *Jense Dovom* (The Second Sex), Iran's first feminist journal. She produced ten issues of this journal, representing secular feminism, and they had an impact even in small cities in Iran. In 2001, the publication of this journal was stopped by the conservatives who were in control of the judiciary and who were hostile to the reform movement associated with President MOHAMMAD KHATAMI'S government. But Khorasani continued the publication of this journal in the form of a book, as the authorities more easily allowed the publication of books than journals. Since 2002 she decided to publish *Fasle Zanan* (The Season of Women), one of the several feminist journals published in Iran.

### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Khorasani's publishing work was influential in terms of introducing reform, especially among the religious modernists, and a popular ideology among the reformers who believe in the link between Islam and modernity. Equally important, she tried to create a space for women's issues within these publications. Women's rights activists in Iran and Iranian women's rights activists outside of Iran

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Nushin Ahmadi Khorasani

**Birth:** 1967, Tehran, Iran

**Family:** Husband, Javad Mossavi Khorasani

**Nationality:** Iranian

**Education:** B.A., English language; University of Tehran, and postgraduate women's studies

### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1995–1998:** Active member of Women's Society against Environmental Degradation
- **1997:** Produces books at Toosee Publishing House
- **1999:** Founding member of Women's Cultural Centre
- **1996–2001:** Active member of the Society for the Defense of the Rights of Children
- **1998–2001:** Editor in chief of *Jense Dovom* feminist journal, produces ten issues
- **2002–present:** Editor of *Fasle Zanan* feminist journal
- **2003–2004:** Produces books at Roshangaran Women's Publishing House
- **2006–present:** Active member of One Million Signatures Campaign and associated Web sites: (<http://weforchange.net/>; <http://weforchange.net/english/>; <http://weforchange.net/spip.php?article12>; <http://weforchange.net/spip.php?article83>; <http://www.iftribune.com>; <http://www.herlandmag.info>)

wrote for her publications. Khorasani also produced an Iranian women's annual calendar in the form of a pocket history of Iranian women's rights activists. The authorities also stopped the publication of these calendars. However, the impact of her work contributed to the popularity of women's issues. As a result, in the early twenty-first century every Iranian newspaper has a page on women's issues.

In 1997, Khorasani and Shahla Lahiji initiated the celebration of 8 March, the International Women's Day. Today 8 March is officially recognized in Iran. Since 1997, every year many meetings and conferences are organized to celebrate this day. In 2002, Khorasani and her colleagues



at the Women's Cultural Centre turned the 8 March into a peace and antiwar event. In the same year they held a gathering in support of Palestinian people and launched a campaign against violence against women. They formed a coalition with other women's groups and took women's issues to ordinary people. Their aim is consciousness-raising by organizing seminars and conferences and performing advocacy work, pressuring the authorities for reform of laws in favor of women.

When Ebadi won the Nobel Peace Prize in 2003, this victory shed further light on women's movement in Iran globally as well as locally. Khorasani and her group around the Women's Cultural Centre declared 22 Khor-dad (in the Iranian calendar, this fell on 2 June in 2005) as the Iranian Women's Unity Day (Farsi: Rouze Ham-bastegi Zanane Iran) and demonstrated outside the Teh-ran University. In 2006 they established the One Million Signatures Campaign. In this campaign they challenge the unequal gender laws and regulations relating to mar-riage, divorce, custody of children, and *diab* (blood money). They have the support of ordinary people, some members of the parliament, and a number of ayatollahs, notably, Ayatollah Fazel Maybodi, Ayatollah Yousef Sanei, and Ayatollah Ahmad Janati. This campaign has a number of Web sites that are visited by hundreds of thousands of women both inside and outside Iran.

#### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

In 2004, Khorasani attended the Fourth World Social Forum in Mumbai, India. In a recent interview with the author she argued that "two poles have been created in today's world; one is religious conservatism and the other American imperialism which are both against women. We are not going to be situated into these poles; we want to create our own pole. We believe that we can do it through the One Million Signatures Campaign because we are working with ordinary people and are raising the voices of ordinary women."

Prior to 8 March 2007, Khorasani was arrested along-side thirty-two other women activists who were later released on bail, awaiting their trials for possible several months of imprisonment. She argues "We are not against Islam. We want to change the unequal gender relations. Islam for me is equal to my mother and father. I cannot do without it, as I cannot do without my father and my mother. I believe reform is possible within Islam. In our campaign we have the support of students and trade union-ists, in particular male students and trade unionists. When I was in jail, I told my jailers that my representatives are in your homes, your wife, your daughter, your son, they all support our campaign."

#### LEGACY

Khorasani will go down in history as an important Ira-nian women's rights activist.

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*Elabeh Rostami Povey*

## KHOURI, RAMI (1948–)

Rami George Khouri is a prominent Palestinian Ameri-can journalist whose background, both in the Middle East and the United States, has made him a popular and widely sought-after media commentator in the Arab world, the United States, and Europe.

#### PERSONAL HISTORY

Khouri was born on 22 October 1948, in New York City, to a family of Palestinian Arab Christians. He was born in the United States because his father, George Khouri—a journalist from Nazareth, mandatory Palestine—had traveled with his wife to New York in 1947 to cover the United Nations (UN) debates about the future of Palestine.

After the 1948 War, the new State of Israel refused to allow the Khouri family—or hundreds of thousands of other Palestinians made refugees by the war—to return. George Khouri stayed in New York and found a job working for the UN office of public information. After attending secondary school in Geneva, Switzerland, Rami Khouri earned his B.A. in political science and journal-ism at Syracuse University in the United States in 1970. In 1998, Khouri obtained an M.S. in mass communica-tions at the S. I. Newhouse School of Public Communi-cations at Syracuse University.

In 1971, Khouri began working as a reporter for the English-language newspaper the *Daily Star* in Beirut, Lebanon. From 1972 to 1973, he continued writing columns for the paper while working as managing editor of *Middle East Sketch* magazine. Following a year in the United States as program administrator for the Division of International Programs Abroad at Syracuse University, Khouri returned to Beirut to become managing editor of *Middle East Money* in Beirut from 1973 to 1974. He then moved to Amman, Jordan, where he served as editor-in-chief of Jordan's English-language daily, the *Jordan Times*, from 1975 to 1982 and again from 1987

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Rami Khouri

**Birth:** 1948, New York City

**Family:** Wife, Ellen Kettaneh Khouri; two sons, Haitham and Raja

**Nationality:** Palestinian American

**Education:** B.A., political science and journalism, 1970, and M.S., mass communications, 1994, Syracuse University

## PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1971:** Reporter, the *Daily Star*, Beirut
- **1972–1973:** Managing editor, *Middle East Sketch*
- **1973–1974:** Managing editor, *Middle East Money*
- **1975–1982:** Editor-in-chief, the *Jordan Times*
- **1983:** Lecturer, Yarmuk University
- **1986–2001:** General manager, Al Kutba Publishers
- **1990:** Hosts “Encounters” on Jordanian public television
- **1992:** Member, World Council of Churches Commission on Justice, Peace, and Creation
- **1993–2002:** Associate fellow, Royal Institute for Inter-Faith Studies
- **1994:** Visiting scholar, Syracuse University
- **1996:** Writes *Jordan Antiquity*
- **1998–2003:** Consultant on archaeological and religious sites for Jordanian ministry of tourism and antiquities
- **2001–2002:** Fellow at Harvard University
- **2002–present:** Member, Brookings Institution Task Force on U.S. Relations with the Islamic World
- **2003–2005:** Executive editor, the *Daily Star*
- **2004:** Awarded Eliav-Sartawi Award for Middle Eastern Journalism by Common Ground
- **2005–present:** Director, Issam Fares Institute for Public Policy and International Affairs, American University of Beirut; lecturer, Syracuse University and Lebanese American University; nonresident senior fellow, Harvard University’s John F. Kennedy School of Government
- **2006:** Awarded Peace Award by Pax Christi International; visiting fellow, Stanford University

to 1988, as well as working as the general manager of Al Kutba Publishers in Amman from 1986 to 2001. Following a year working for the International Crisis Group (an international risk analysis firm) in Amman in 2002, Khouri took over as executive editor of the *Daily Star* in Beirut from 2003 to 2005.

During his years as one of the Middle East’s premier English-language journalists and editors, Khouri also was a prolific writer and commentator. He was a regularly featured writer from 1975 to 1989 for a number of newspapers and magazines around the world, including the *Financial Times*, *Washington Post*, *Boston Globe*, *International Herald Tribune*, McGraw-Hill World News Service, *Euromoney* magazine, *Middle East* magazine, and *Aramco World* magazine. Khouri also contributed articles, op-ed pieces, reports, commentaries, and news analyses on occasion from 1974 to 1997 to the *New York Times*, *Times* (London), NBC television, CBS television, *Harper’s* magazine, CNN television, *Newsweek*–Japan, *El Pais* (Madrid), *New Perspectives Quarterly*, *Los Angeles Times* syndicate, *Middle East International*, *Middle East Annual Review*, *Sunday Times* (London), *An Nahar*, *Archaeology* magazine (New York), the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) World Service and BBC–Radio Scotland, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC), National Public Radio (United States), *Middle East Money* magazine (London), *Banker* magazine (London), and *Al Mashreq–Mideast* monthly media review (Amman).

Khouri also branched out in other directions, from radio and television journalism to archaeology to academia. He hosted the weekly *Encounter* public affairs interview show on Jordanian radio and television from 1990 to 2001 and the weekly *Jordan: Ancient Cultures* history/archaeology program on Radio Jordan from 1997 to 2001. Beyond that, he wrote *Jordan Antiquity*, a syndicated weekly article on Jordanian history and archeology from 1996 to 2001 and served as a consultant for the Jordanian ministry of tourism and antiquities on religious and archaeological sites in Jordan from 1998 to 2003. He also was a founding member of the Jordan Coalition for Natural and Cultural Heritage Protection. Khouri still writes “A View from the Arab World,” an internationally syndicated political column that is syndicated by Agence Global (U.S.). In 1983, Khouri was a lecturer in journalism and mass communications at Yarmuk University in Jordan, and in 2005, was a lecturer in mass communications at the Lebanese American University in Beirut. He also was a visiting scholar at Syracuse University’s Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs in 1994, a Nieman Journalism Fellow at Harvard University from 2001 to 2002, a senior media adviser for the Arab Center for the Development of the Rule of Law and Integrity from 2005 to 2006, a visiting fellow at

Stanford University in 2006, as well as a member of the Brookings Institution's Task Force on U.S. Relations with the Islamic World in 2002.

Khouri's intimate knowledge of current events in the Middle East and his background in the media place him in great demand to contribute his expertise to a number of other ventures around the world. Among other projects, he was senior associate at the Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs' Global Affairs Institute at Syracuse University from 1995 to 2001. Khouri developed a media promotion strategy for the National Bank of Kuwait (1988–1990), the Arab Bank (1992), AMOCO-Jordan (1998), and the Swiss-based Welfare Association (1998). Khouri also was a consultant for several ventures dealing with historical-archaeological sites in Jordan, including for London-based Scott Wilson & Co., Ltd. (a comprehensive study of the town of Jarash and its antiquities, from 2000 to 2001) and the Jordanian government (media promotion for the reputed site of Jesus' baptism on the Jordanian side of the Jordan River, in 1998).

Issues relating to justice, dialogue, and human rights also interest Khouri. From 1992 to 1993, he was a member of the World Council of Churches' Commission on Justice, Peace and Creation and was an associate fellow from 1993 to 2002 for the Royal Institute for Inter-Faith Studies in Amman. He was an international board member of the Life & Peace Institute in Uppsala, Sweden, from 1995 to 1998, and a member of the advisory board for Mizan Human Rights Society in Amman from 1999 to 2002.

Khouri is also the author of several books, many articles, and other writings. These include *The Jordan Valley: Life and Society below Sea Level* (1981), *The Antiquities of the Jordan Rift Valley* (1988), *Jerash: A Frontier City of the Roman East* (1986), and *Petra: A Guide to the Capital of the Nabataean Kingdom* (1986).

Khouri is the director of the Issam Fares Institute for Public Policy and International Affairs at the American University of Beirut, as well as editor-at-large for the *Daily Star*. He is a research associate at the Program on the Analysis and Resolution of Conflict at Syracuse University's Maxwell School; a nonresident senior fellow at Harvard University's John F. Kennedy School of Government and at the Dubai School of Government; a fellow of the Palestinian Academic Society for the Study of International Affairs (PASSIA) in Jerusalem; an adjunct lecturer in media and politics at the American University of Beirut, University of Chicago, and Northwestern University; and member of the board of the East-West Institute, Georgetown University's Center for Contemporary Arab Studies, and the National Museum of Jordan.

## KHOURI SPEAKS

Another trend that may be emerging is the possible broad polarization of two camps in the Middle East and the West. Many in the Middle East see the United States, Israel, and many European states as a single political grouping, based most notably on their common policies on Iran's nuclear industry, the Lebanon war last summer, last year's Mohammad cartoons controversy, and the boycott of the Hamas-led Palestinian government. Consequently, large swaths of Arab, Iranian and Turkish public opinion—and many governments—are turning hostile to the United States in particular, and even to “the West” more generally. For Washington to alienate simultaneously the three largest Islamic publics in the region—Arabs, Iranians and Turks—is no easy feat. It will go down in history as another negative consequence of misguided Bush Administration policies that have been inordinately driven by Neo-Conservative zealots, pro-Israeli partisans, rightwing American Christian fanatics and other oddballs of a remarkably permissive American political culture.

KHOURI, RAMI G. “LOSING FRIENDS AND RESPECT IN THE MIDDLE EAST.” AGENCY GLOBAL: RAMI G. KHOURI. UPDATED 18 APRIL 2007. AVAILABLE FROM [HTTP://WWW.RAMIKHOURI.COM](http://www.ramikhouri.com).

## INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Few Arab journalists and analysts have achieved as much exposure in the United States and Europe as Khouri. He has been influenced by his experience as a man with his feet in two worlds: the Middle East and the United States. By virtue of being born and raised in the United States and having been educated there, he obtained not only a grasp of fluent, American-accented English, but also a deep knowledge of American cultural, political, and journalistic attitudes. Combined with his Palestinian heritage and lifetime of living in the Middle East and observing its political scene, these insights and abilities have made Khouri supremely able to discuss Middle Eastern issues in a manner that Westerners can understand and to which they can relate. He has made his mark in many fields, from journalism to academia, from archaeology to human rights. His reasoned, dispassionate analysis also has contributed to his stature.

## THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

Khouri's various contributions are well known throughout the Middle East, Europe, and the United States. This

is attested to in part by some of the awards he has received over the years. Search for Common Ground awarded him its Eliav-Sartawi Award for Middle Eastern Journalism in 2004. Most recently, the Roman Catholic peace and justice organization Pax Christi International awarded Khouri its Peace Award in 2006 for his efforts to promote peace and justice in the Middle East.

#### LEGACY

Rami Khouri's career is not over, but he surely will be remembered as one of the few journalists able to provide serious yet accessible cross-cultural analysis to both Western and Arab audiences.

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- \_\_\_\_\_. *Jerash: A Frontier City of the Roman East*. London: Longman, 1986.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Petra: A Guide to the Capital of the Nabataean Kingdom*. London: Longman, 1986.
- "Rami G. Khouri." Agence Global. Available from <http://www.ramikhouri.com>.

Michael R. Fischbach



Elias Khouri. AFP/GETTY IMAGES.

## KHOURY, ELIAS (1948–)

Elias Khouri is a Lebanese novelist whose work is known worldwide. For more than three decades, he has been active in cultural, political, and academic circles in Lebanon and the Arab world, defending the Palestinian cause, secular and democratic values, and the idea of a new Arab renaissance.

#### PERSONAL HISTORY

Born in Beirut on 12 July 1948, Khouri studied at the Good Shepherd School in Ashrafiyya. He then moved to the Lebanese University where he majored in history and graduated in 1970. He moved to Paris in 1971 and completed his DEA (master's) in social history at the École Pratique des Hautes Études with a thesis on the 1860 civil war in Lebanon, which opposed Druze and Maronite Catholics in Mount Lebanon at a time of national and regional turmoil under a weakening Ottoman rule.

Beginning in 1972, Khouri has been involved in the Arab literary and cultural scene. He was an editorial board member of the "progressive" journal *Mawaqif*. In 1975 Khouri became an editor of *Shu'un Filastiniyya* (Palestinian affairs review) and an editorial director of

*al-Karmil* (Palestinian literary review) in 1981. Between 1983 and 1990, he was editorial director of the cultural section of Lebanese daily *al-Safir*, and since 1992, he has been the editor of *al-Mulhaq*, the cultural supplement of the leading Lebanese daily *An Nahar*.

While pursuing his editorial career, Khouri also began a career in academia in the early 1980s, teaching literature and comparative literature at the Lebanese University, the American University of Beirut, and the Lebanese American University. At the end of the 1990s, he began teaching at Columbia University and New York University, where he is a global distinguished professor of Middle Eastern and Islamic studies.

He is married to playwright and artist Najla Jaysati, and is the father of Abla and Talal, both in the arts scene in Lebanon.

#### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Khouri published his first novel, *An alaqat ad-da'ira*, in 1975. Two years later, *Al Jabal Assaghir* (The little mountain) was published to much success. It was set during the Lebanese Civil War in the Christian neighborhood of Ashrafiyya (known as being a little mountain inside the capital Beirut).

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Elias Khoury

**Birth:** 1948, Beirut, Lebanon

**Family:** Wife, Najla Jaysati; one daughter, Abla, one son, Talal

**Nationality:** Lebanese

**Education:** Good Shepherd School (Ashrafiyya, Beirut, Lebanon); the Lebanese University (Beirut), 1970, B.A. history; École Pratique des Hautes Études (Paris), DEA social history

### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1969:** Travels to Jordan to visit Palestinian refugee camps; joins Fatah
- **1970–1981:** Works at PLO research center in Beirut
- **Early 1970s:** Editorial board member, *Mawaqif*
- **1975:** Becomes an editor, *Shu'un Filastiniyya*; publishes first novel, *An 'alaqat ad-da'ira*
- **Early 1980s:** Begins teaching literature at the Lebanese University, the American University of Beirut, and the Lebanese American University
- **1981:** Becomes editorial director, *al-Karmil*
- **1983–1990:** Editorial director, cultural section, *al-Safir*
- **1992:** Becomes editor, *al-Mulhaq*, cultural supplement of *An Nahar*
- **1993–1999:** Leads Théâtre de Beyrouth
- **Late 1990s:** Begins teaching at Columbia University and New York University
- **2004:** Involved in founding of the Democratic Left Movement
- **2005:** Helps launch the Samir Kassir Foundation (September)
- **2007:** Named president of the jury for the Carthage Film Festival

In 1979 Khoury published *Dirasat fi naqd al-shi'r*, a literary criticism work dedicated to poetry, and in 1981 he published two novels *Abwab al-madina* (The gates of the city) and *Al-wujouh al-bayda'*. In 1982 he wrote a new literary criticism essay titled *Al-dhakira al-mafquda*, followed in 1984 by a collection of short stories *Al-mubtada*,

## STORIES OF HUMILIATION AND INTERIOR DEFEAT

Many intellectuals fell into the trap of denying the Nazi Holocaust, the last manifestation of which was Mr. Roger Garaudy. The victim cannot ally itself with the executioner; and we, in that sense, cannot justify the Nazi crime or belittle it, in the pretext that we are fighting Israel. The real struggle against Zionism starts with the struggle against the concept of racism, and with holding the criminal responsible for his crime and not allowing him to commit another crime in the name of repentance for the first one.

FROM *LE MONDE*, MARCH 2001.

The story of the Palestinian catastrophe, of the *Nakba* of 1948, hadn't really been told. The emergence of these memories is a way of creating a new vision of Palestine. Since the image of the Palestinian portrayed in literature and the dominant ideology was of heroism and martyrdom, I think the novel helped liberate people by telling the stories of humiliation and interior defeat that they never told.

ELIAS KHOURY IN ALCALAY, AMMIEL, "1001 PALESTINIAN NIGHTS: GATE TO THE SUN BY ELIAS KHOURY," *VILLAGE VOICE* (NEW YORK), 18 MARCH 2002. AVAILABLE FROM [HTTP://WWW.VILLAGEVOICE.COM](http://www.villagevoice.com).

*wa'l-khabar*, and a new essay in literary criticism *Tajroubat al-bah'th 'an ufoq*. In 1985, Khoury published his last work in criticism titled *Zaman al-ihtilal*. He returned to writing novels in 1989 starting with the well-known *Rihlat Ghandi 'ssaghir* (The journey of little Gandhi) about a rural immigrant to Beirut who lives through the events of the civil war. He followed this work in 1993 with *Mamlakat al-ghourabaa* (The kingdom of strangers) and in 1994 with *Majma' al-Asrar*.

In 1998, Khoury published his greatest success, *Bab achams* (Gate of the Sun). The novel tells the story of Palestinian refugees in Lebanon who were deported from their homes or killed in the exodus during the 1948 War, called the *Nakba* (disaster or cataclysm) by Palestinians. *Bab achams* won the Palestine Prize and was honored by the Palestinian ministry of culture and by many progressive intellectuals in the region and the world. It was later made into a film by Egyptian director Yousry Nasrallah and played on the Franco-German television network Arte. In 2000, *Ra'ihat as-Sabun* was published and in 2002 *Yalo* made its appearance. The latter is a story of a

former militiaman who belonged to a Christian minority community that was displaced.

In 2007, Khoury published *Ka'annaba na'ima*, a novel that travels through the dreams of a young Lebanese woman married to a Palestinian man in the 1940s. It is the story of two Christian Lebanese and Palestinian middle-class families living through political developments in Beirut and in Palestine before its Nakba. Religious, psychological, social, and literary atmospheres make the novel one of his richest works.

Khoury's novels often focus on both social and political topics. Style-wise, he uses flashback techniques, memories, and monologues to illustrate his subjects' lives. Generally, he uses classical Arabic in his novels, but more recently, he has used some colloquial Arabic. Khoury's novels have been translated into English, French, German, Hebrew, Italian, and Swedish. Many of them were chosen "novels of the year" by various specialized institutions or reviews, and Khoury is considered one of the most prominent Arab novelists of his time. Presenting one of his works, the Palestinian-American intellectual EDWARD SAID that the post-NAGUIB MAHFOUZ era was inaugurated with it.

#### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

Khoury's political engagement started in the late 1960s and developed along with his cultural and literary productivity in the 1970s. Early on, he was influenced by leftist thoughts and by the Palestinian cause, and in 1969, he found himself traveling to Jordan to visit Palestinian refugee camps and joining YASIR ARAFAT's Fatah, the largest resistance movement in the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). Leaving Jordan in 1970 after Black September—a conflict between Palestinian guerrilla organizations and HUSSEIN BIN TALAL, the king of Jordan—Khoury returned to Lebanon. After returning to Lebanon, and until 1981, he worked at the PLO's research center in Beirut with a large group of Palestinian and Arab researchers who settled in the prosperous Lebanese capital that attracted at the time dissident intellectuals from different Arab countries. Khoury participated in the 1975 Lebanese Civil War. He was seriously injured, even temporarily losing his eyesight, but eventually recovered. Many of his friends and comrades died in the first years of this war.

In the 1980s, Khoury wrote for different Palestinian and Lebanese reviews and daily newspapers, especially *Al-Safir*, until 1992, when he became the editor of the weekly cultural supplement, *Al-Mulhaq*, of the daily *An Nahar*. Under his editorship, *Al-Mulhaq* became the "tribune of opposition" to controversial aspects of the post-civil war reconstruction of Beirut and the "space" for leftist political and cultural resistance against the Syrian political hegemony over the country that was getting more and more brutal after the mid-1990s. In 2000 and 2001, *Al-Mulhaq* was at the heart of the "Damascus Spring" and

published tens of articles and papers written by Syrian opposition intellectuals calling for the end of the one-party rule in their country and for a democratization process. In 2005, *Al-Mulhaq* covered the Beirut spring, or the "Independence Intifada," without losing its cultural critical role and distance.

Between 1993 and 1999, Khoury led the Théâtre de Beyrouth, where different cultural activities took place attracting plays, film festivals, and performances from around the Arab world and producing Lebanese ones from a variety of artistic schools. The theater transformed into a center of political activities and held conferences calling for democracy and reforms in the country. Khoury and the theater committee organized in 1997 and 1998 two international events in tribute to Edward Said and the commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the Palestinian Nakba. Debates, music, book reviews, plays, movies, and lectures were presented in both events, gathering prominent figures in literature and social studies from the United States, Europe, India, and Arab countries. During this period, Khoury contributed to the writing of three plays and two movies that were produced and presented in art festivals in Beirut and different European cities (Paris, Berlin, and Brussels among them).

In March 2001, Khoury and thirteen other Arab intellectuals signed a statement opposing the planned conference in Beirut on Holocaust denial. Their position was a strong collective message refusing to justify any Holocaust denial message and stressing the "important ethical dimension of the Palestinian struggle against Israeli occupation and racism" that cannot tolerate any compromise on universal values of freedom and justice. In 2004, Khoury was involved with other intellectuals and political activists (such as SAMIR KASSIR) in the foundation of the Democratic Left Movement. His election to its executive committee offered the movement additional credibility in cultural circles and a prominent voice defending its causes and those of independence, secularism, and social justice in Lebanon.

In September 2005, Khoury participated in the launching of the Samir Kassir Foundation to commemorate the memory of his friend who was assassinated on 2 June 2005. Khoury continues to work with the foundation to organize yearly cultural and political events in tribute to Kassir. Khoury was named president of the jury for the 2007 Carthage Film Festival in Tunisia and was saluted by different cultural and academic institutions. In his speech in front of the festival participants and guests, he condemned censorship and despotism in the Arab world and called for the respect of public freedoms and cultural liberty.

#### LEGACY

Khoury is one of the most innovative, consistent, and "organic" intellectuals whose literary production, cultural

creativity, and political engagement live in harmony one beside the other and try to construct a new scene in the Arab world.

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- Abwab al-madina* (The gates of the city), novel, 1981
- Al-woujough al-bayda'*, novel, 1981
- Al-dhakira al-mafquda*, literary criticism, 1982
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- Tajroubat al-bah'th 'an ufq*, literary criticism, 1984
- Zaman al-ihtilal*, literary criticism, 1985
- Rihlat Ghandi 'ssaghir* (The journey of little Gandhi), novel, 1989
- Mamlakat al-ghourabaa* (The kingdom of strangers), novel, 1993
- Majma' al-Asrar*, novel, 1994
- Bab achams* (Gate of the Sun), novel, 1998
- Ra'ihat as-Sabun*, novel, 2000
- Yalo*, novel, 2002
- Ka'annaha na'ima*, novel, 2007

*Ziad Majed*

## KHOURY, MAKRAM (1945–)

Makram Jamil Khoury (Khuri, Khouri) is one of the most accomplished and best-known Israeli Palestinian actors, with numerous dramatic and film roles in Arabic, Hebrew, and English in Israel, the Palestinian territories, and internationally to his credit.

#### PERSONAL HISTORY

Khoury was born in 1945 in the al-Shaykh Jarrah section of Jerusalem to a Palestinian Greek Orthodox family. His father, Jamil, was a judge, and his mother was a teacher. The 1948 Arab-Israeli War caused Khoury's family to



**Makram Khoury.** ERIC LIEBOWITZ/WARNER BROS./GETTY IMAGES.

flee the fighting in Palestine. They ended up in a refugee camp in Lebanon, but five months later they surreptitiously managed to cross the border back into their homeland, which by then was the new State of Israel. The family took up residence in the port city of Acre (Hebrew: Akko; Arabic: Akka) near Haifa, the major city in northern Israel. Educated there and in the nearby village of Kufr Yasif, Khoury finished high school in 1963. He then entered the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, but soon dropped out to become an actor.

Khoury trained in Israel and, from 1970, England, where he studied for three years at the Mountview Academy of Theatre Arts in London before returning to Israel in 1973. He then became involved with the Carmeri Theater in Tel Aviv and the Haifa Municipal Theater, remaining a member of the latter for twenty years. Khoury performed largely in Hebrew, given the lack of Arabic-language theater in Israel, where Palestinians are a minority. He also has performed roles in English as well as his native Arabic. Since 1995, he has been a freelance actor. And since 1979, he has performed in films as well as theater.

Khoury continues to act in plays throughout Israel and the Palestinian territories, and has taught acting in Ramallah, in the West Bank. His eldest daughter, Clara Khoury (1976–), is a rising actress in Israel, having recently appeared in two films that garnered international attention,

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Makram Khoury (Khuri, Khouri)  
**Birth:** 1945, Jerusalem, mandatory Palestine  
**Family:** Wife, Wadi'a; two daughters, Clara and Rula; one son, Jamil  
**Nationality:** Palestinian citizen of Israel  
**Education:** Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1963, incomplete B.A. studies

### PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1970–1973:** Theatrical studies in England
- **1973:** Joins Carmeli Theater, Tel Aviv and Haifa Municipal Theater
- **1979:** Appears in first film, *My Mother the General*
- **1987:** Awarded Israel Prize
- **1988:** Appears in *Wedding in Galilee*
- **1994:** Appears in *Les Patriots*
- **2003:** Appointed director general, al-Midan Theater, Haifa
- **2004:** Appears in *The Syrian Bride* and *The West Wing*
- **2005:** Appears in *Munich* and *Free Zone*

*Rana's Wedding* (2002) and *The Syrian Bride* (2004). In the latter, she played the daughter of the character played by Makram. Her brother Jamil is also an actor.

### INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Khoury's status as a Palestinian citizen of Israel has affected him personally and professionally. Completely fluent in both Arabic and Hebrew, Khoury often speaks of living in two worlds. In Israel (he lives in Haifa), he is part of the Palestinian Arab minority that lives awkwardly within the Jewish state. Yet in Ramallah, in the West Bank, where he also has a house, he feels different from the Palestinians who live around him in the territories. His theatrical and film experiences have been similarly schizophrenic, and he has portrayed both Israeli Jews and Palestinian Arabs. In one case, these different identities all came together in the role he played in *Wedding in Galilee*. In that film, he portrayed an Arabic-speaking Israeli Jewish army officer who originally came from Syria and who became the military governor ruling over Palestinians in the Galilee region of Israel.

Since becoming an actor, Khoury has performed in over 107 plays in all the major theaters in Israel, and has directed twelve plays. After years in the Hebrew theater, he became involved in the Arabic-language theater in Israel and the territories in 2003. He became director general for al-Midan, an Arabic-language theater in Haifa, for a short while, and later worked part time as artistic director for the Palestinian National Theater/Al Hakawati in East Jerusalem. In this capacity in 2005, he helped stage *Jidariyya* (The mural), a theatrical adaptation of the poem of that title by the renowned Palestinian poet MAHMUD DARWISH. He also played the lead role. The performance was staged in the territories before going on the road to Europe and Syria. In 2009, Khoury is scheduled to open in British director Peter Brook's production of *Tierno Bokar* at the Barbican Centre in London.

Khoury has also crossed over into television and film, appearing in over twenty-six films and television shows since the late 1970s. His first film was the Israeli production *My Mother the General* (1979). Fluent in Hebrew, in many of his film roles he has depicted Israeli Jews. One of the first times Khoury became known outside Israel was in the acclaimed 1988 film *Wedding in Galilee*, by Belgian-based Palestinian director Michel Khleifi, in which he played an Arabic-speaking Israeli military governor of Syrian Jewish ancestry. With the French film *Les Patriots* (1994), he began appearing in films outside Israel as well. Another international breakthrough occurred when Khoury had one of the leading roles in *The Syrian Bride*, a 2004 film by Israeli director Eran Riklis. *The Syrian Bride* was widely acclaimed internationally, winning several prizes and nominations, among them the Grand Prix (for Best Film) at the 2004 Montreal World Film Festival. His most recent screen role has been in the Israeli film *Forgiveness* (2006), directed by Udi Aloni.

### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

Khoury's skill as an actor is well known in Israel. In 1987 he became the youngest actor ever to receive the Israel Prize, the most prestigious award given by the State of Israel, for his contributions to the dramatic arts. Khoury also was the first Arab ever to receive the award. Internationally, his talent has led him to work alongside several major international film stars and directors in recent years. He acted in *The Body* (2001) with Antonio Banderas. In 2004, Khoury played the fictional Palestinian leader "Nizar Farad" in the blockbuster American television show *The West Wing*, starring Martin Sheen. The following year, he portrayed the assassinated Palestine Liberation Organization figure Wa'il Zu'yatir in Steven Spielberg's Academy Award-nominated *Munich*. Khoury also appeared in *Free Zone* (2005) along with Israeli-American actress NATALIE PORTMAN.



## LEGACY

Makram Khoury's major legacy has been that of a trail-blazer for Palestinian stage and cinema actors, especially in the Palestinian Arab sector of Israel. With the rising screen talent of his daughter Clara already evident, and with his son Jamil following in his theatrical footsteps, Khoury may also well be remembered as the patriarch of a Palestinian acting dynasty.

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Michael R. Fischbach

## KIAROSTAMI, ABBAS (1940–)

Abbas Kiarostami is an Iranian film director who has achieved an international reputation for his movies. Although he has been making films since 1970, he first won international recognition with his film *Where Is the Friend's House?* (*Khaneh-e dust kojast?*), which won the Bronze Leopard award at the 1988 Locarno International Film Festival in Switzerland. His later films regularly were screened at film festivals in various countries, and he often was invited to attend as an honored guest and to meet with film critics. In 1997 his film, *A Taste of Cherry* (*Ta'm-e gilās*), shared the coveted Palme d'Or award at the prestigious Cannes Film Festival in France. The international attention his films received has contributed, since the early 1990s, to the flourishing of what is called a new wave of Iranian cinema.

## PERSONAL HISTORY

Kiarostami was born in Tehran, Iran, on 22 June 1940. He obtained a B.A. in fine arts and then worked for several years as a graphic designer. In 1969 he became codirector of the cinema department in the new Center for the Intellectual Development of Children and Adolescents, popularly known as Kanun, and an organization founded with the encouragement of Farah Diba, the wife of Iran's then-monarch, Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi (r. 1941–1979). It was at Kanun that Kiarostami's interest in making films developed. His first film, *Bread and Alley* (*Nān va kucheh*), a short, black-and-white movie produced in 1970, exhibited some of the characteristics for which he would become renowned: using children as main protagonists, nonprofessional actors, long shots, minimal or no dialogue, realistic situations, and a deliberate intellectual or artistic quality as opposed to being geared for entertainment. Prior to the Iranian Revolution of 1979, he made several feature films for Kanun with these signature



Abbas Kiarostami. AP IMAGES.

characteristics, the most well-known outside of Iran being the 1972 movie, *The Traveler* (*Mosafer*).

After the revolution, Kiarostami continued to direct Kanun's film production and as well as making several of his own films between 1979 and 1985. After leaving Kanun to make films independently, he obtained its financial backing for what would become his first international success, *Where Is the Friend's House?* This movie, in turn, would become the initial film of an unplanned trilogy. The village of Kokar, where the movie was shot, was destroyed in the 1990 earthquake that devastated a mountainous region southwest of the Caspian Sea. Kiarostami drove to the area to learn what had happened to the villagers with whom he had worked on *Where Is the Friend's House?* The result of this trip was a second movie, *Life Goes On* (*Zendegi va digar hich*), which was screened at international film festivals and earned critical acclaim. The third film, a fictionalized movie about the filming of *Life Goes On*, was shot in the same area and featured a love story subplot; it came out in 1994 as *Through the Olive Trees* (*Zir-e darakhtan-zeytun*) and received even more extensive praise outside Iran than had the two earlier films about Kokar. Indeed, the U.S.-based distribution company Miramax purchased the rights to distribute the film in the United States. Thus, by the time he won the Palme d'Or at the Cannes Film Festival in 1997, Kiarostami had

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Abbas Kiarostami

**Birth:** 1940, Tehran, Iran

**Family:** Married Parvin Amir-Gholi (1969; divorced 1982); two sons, Ahmad and Bahman

**Nationality:** Iranian

**Education:** B.A., fine arts, Tehran

## PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **c. 1965–1969:** Graphic designer, Tehran
- **1969–1985:** Film director, Kanun (Center for Intellectual Development of Children and Adolescents)
- **1985–present:** Independent filmmaker

already acquired an international reputation as an innovative and artistic director.

In 1969 Kiarostami married Parvin Amir-Gholi. The couple had two sons before divorcing in 1982.

## INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

According to Hamid Dabashi, Kiarostami's early cinematic work shows the influences of Iranian poets, writers, and directors of the 1960s and 1970s, as well as the neo-realism of French and Italian cinema during the 1950s and 1960s. Kiarostami would have been well acquainted with the popular Persian poetry of the period, such as verses by Mehdi Akhavan Sales, Forough Farrokhzad, Ahmad Shamlu, and Sohrab Sepehri, and also with fiction by such writers as Ali Mohammad Afghani, Samad Behrangi, Sadeq Chubak, Simin Daneshvar, and Houshang Golshiri. The innovative Iranian directors of the period included Farrokhzad, Farrokh Ghaffari, Ebrahim Golestan, Daryoush Mehrju'i, Davud Mollapour, and Kamran Shirdel. In fact, Kiarostami's own initial films bear some similarities to the movies by Sohrab Shahid Sales, who left Iran in 1975 and never returned.

In the postrevolutionary period, Kiarostami emerged as one of Iran's most influential directors, for the cinematic styles he had developed at Kanun were imitated by a younger generation of filmmakers, including BAHMAN GHOBADI, Majid Majidi, Mohsen Makhmalbaf, and Jafar Panahi. Kiarostami actually encouraged the work of directors whom he believed had an artistic vision. In one case, for example, Kiarostami wrote the screenplays for two of Panahi's most popular feature movies, *The White Balloon* (*Badkonak-e sefid*, 1995) and *Crimson Gold* (*Tala-ye sorkh*,

2003). The screenplay of the latter film represented a departure for Kiarostami from nonpolitical themes to explicit criticism of the social class differences that have emerged in Iran since the early 1990s as a direct consequence of the government's inequitable economic policies. He also demonstrated an interest in the women's movement and its cinematic representation through the feature films of a new generation of women directors, including Rakhshan Bani-Etemad and Tahmineh Milani. His own contribution to the cause of women's rights was the feature film *Ten* (*Dah*, 2006), which re-creates the setting of his award-winning *Taste of Cherry*—an intellectual driving around Tehran and picking up passengers with whom to discuss serious issues of life—but in *Ten* the driver is an educated woman and the conversations are about gender relations.

## CONTEMPORARIES

Mohsen Makhmalbaf (1957–) is an internationally acclaimed Iranian filmmaker. His parents were divorced before he was born and he was raised mostly by his maternal grandmother, a woman whom he adored and whose attributes are found in the older female characters in some of his films. He became politicized against the regime of the shah as a teenager and was arrested and sentenced to prison in 1974 after he had knifed a policeman while trying to steal his gun. His early life and films have been compared to those of the French director François Truffaut (1932–1984): Both men used negative personal experiences in their own youths as material for autobiographical films. For Makhmalbaf, his features *Boycott* (1985) and *Moment of Innocence* (1995) deal respectively with his prison and youthful political activism periods. And also similar to Truffaut, he makes movies that realistically reflect contemporary social problems, as is evident in his films *The Peddler* (1986) and *The Cyclist* (2000). Makhmalbaf believes that cinema is both an artistic and political medium. His most renowned artistic movie is *Gabbeh* (1995) and his explicitly political films include *Testing Democracy* (2000), *Kandahar* (2001), and *Afghan Alphabet* (2002). He established his own film company in 1996. His wife, Marzieh Meshkini, their two daughters, and son all work there and each have made films on their own. *Apple*, filmed by their daughter Samira when she was only seventeen, won awards at seven international film festivals in 1998.

## POLITICAL CINEMA

Any work of art is a political work, but it's not party political. It doesn't approve one party and attack another, and it doesn't support one system over another. Our understanding of "political cinema" is that it should always support specific political ideology. I think if you look at my films from this point of view, they are definitely not political. . . . I think that those films which appear non-political, are more political than films known specifically as "political" films.

KIAROSTAMI IN AN INTERVIEW WITH BRITISH FILM JOURNAL *SIGHT AND SOUND*, FEBRUARY 1997, QUOTED IN SADR, HAMID REZA, *IRANIAN CINEMA*, 2006, PP. 236–237.

### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

As Azadeh Farahmand, among others, has noted, Kiarostami since the late 1980s has been the face of Iranian cinema globally. No other Iranian director has received as many international awards or had his work exhibited at as many international film festivals as has Kiarostami. In the realm of international cinema, he is considered an auteur, a director who writes his own scripts and creates original films whose artistic merits far outweigh their commercial value. There have been numerous retrospectives of his films, both in conjunction with international film festivals, such as at Locarno in 1995, and as unique events sponsored by film societies and/or museums, in cities such as Chicago, London, Los Angeles, New York, Paris, and Washington. But Kiarostami's films were popular not only with film critics and those who enjoyed art house movies but also appealed to a wider audience. Several of his films, especially *Through the Olive Trees*, were purchased by film distributors for general exhibition, and these transactions provided a source of foreign revenue for Kiarostami, a unique experience for an Iranian director (although one that subsequently would benefit other Iranian directors as well). He also has been invited to serve on the juries of major international film festivals, including those at Cannes, Locarno, and Venice. Film journals in Brazil, Europe, and North America compared him favorably with renowned directors such as François Truffaut (1932–1984), Federico Fellini (1920–1993), Akira Kurosawa (1910–1998), and Satyajit Ray (1921–1992).

### LEGACY

Kiarostami's insistence on making films that both reflect reality and possess artistic integrity has had an impact on

Iranian cinema. Of course, there is a commercial film industry in Tehran that makes movies for entertainment and profit, imitates the popular genres of similar films out of Hollywood, and has no audience beyond Iran. However, many Iranian directors, inspired by Kiarostami, have adapted his techniques to make serious films that go far beyond what the famous director has explored and examine social realities such as consumerism, drug use, gender relations, and poverty. As disciples of Kiarostami, they constitute a New Wave of Iranian filmmakers whose films attract serious attention both inside and outside of Iran.

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*Eric Hooglund*

## KIMMERLING, BARUCH (1939–2007)

Baruch Kimmerling was a leading Israeli political sociologist and influential public intellectual. He was best known for his sociological study of the Israel-Palestinian conflict and especially the impact of the conflict on both Israeli and Palestinian societies. Beyond academic circles he was known to the wider public since 1968 for his op-ed commentaries in *Ha'aretz*, Israel's leading newspaper.

### PERSONAL HISTORY

Kimmerling was born in 1939 in Torda, a Transylvanian town on the Romanian side of the Romanian-Hungarian border, to a Hungarian Jewish mother and a Romanian Jewish father. The Kimmerling nuclear family survived the war in Europe and immigrated to Israel in 1952. First living in the immigration tent camp (*ma'abara*) in Gan Yavne, the family moved to Netanya in 1954 and later settled in Ramat Gan.

In 1963, Kimmerling began studying sociology and political science at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem,

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Baruch Kimmerling  
**Birth:** 1939, Torda, Romania  
**Death:** 2007, Jerusalem, Israel  
**Family:** Wife, Diana Aiden; two daughters, one son  
**Nationality:** Israeli  
**Education:** B.A., sociology and political science, Hebrew University, 1965; M.A., sociology, Hebrew University, 1969; Ph.D., sociology, Hebrew University, 1975

## PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1962:** Immigrates to Israel
- **1983:** Publishes first book, *Zionism and Territory: The Socioterritorial Dimensions of Zionist Politics*
- **1993:** Publishes *Palestinians: The Making of a People* with Joel Migdal
- **2001:** Publishes *The Invention and Decline of Israeliness: State, Culture and Military in Israel*
- **2003:** Publishes *Politicide: Ariel Sharon's Wars against the Palestinians*
- **2006:** Retires

earning a bachelor's degree in 1965. His master's thesis (1969), at the same institution, was part of a large-scale departmental project about modernization and development in Africa, in which his work focused upon Uganda. In 1975, he earned his Ph.D., also at the Hebrew University, with a dissertation concerning the territorial factors in the Israeli nation-building process. This dissertation was the basis for his first book, *Zionism and Territory: The Socioterritorial Dimensions of Zionist Politics* (1983).

In 1975 Kimmerling married Diana Aiden, then a Ph.D. student in philosophy. In 1978, he began a tenure-track teaching position in the Department of Sociology at the Hebrew University, where he remained until his retirement in 2006.

## INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Kimmerling was a leading figure among the small number of scholars who introduced the "colonial paradigm" into the academic study of Israeli society and the Israeli-

Palestinian conflict. Until the mid-1970s, the dominant academic perspective for understanding Israeli society was the "nation-building paradigm," based on a functionalist analysis. According to this perspective (as well as to alternative perspectives suggested by Israeli sociologists in the 1970s), Israel was compared to liberal Western democracies. In contrast, Kimmerling analyzed Zionism as a project of colonization, Israeli society as an immigrant-settler society, and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict as a conflict between settlers and natives. Therefore, according to Kimmerling, although Israel has its own unique characteristics, it is important to analyze it alongside similar immigrant-settler colonial societies like the United States, Australia, French Algeria, and South Africa.

Kimmerling's analysis thus found that the Arab-Israeli conflict was not something external to Israeli society but rather was an inseparable component of it. This perspective was reflected in his study of militarism in Israel, in which he analyzed Israeli military institutions and culture not only as responses to the Arab-Israeli conflict but as fundamental features of Israeli society that have shaped many aspects of the state and society, including the economy, ethnic stratification, and ideology.

The insight that the conflict is central to Israeli collective identity led Kimmerling to the conclusion that a thorough understanding of Israel must include a parallel study of the "other," the Palestinians. In 1993, together with Joel Migdal, an American political scientist, he published the book *Palestinians: The Making of a People*. Despite the abundance of previous monographic works on Palestinian society and history, there did not exist any comprehensive sociohistorical study of their emergence as a national community, and this project was the first of its kind (a second, revised and enlarged, edition was published in 2003).

Another major contribution made by Kimmerling was the innovative conceptualization of the internal conflict between the secular-nationalist character of Zionist ideology and its initial religious foundations. In his oft-cited article "Between the Primordial and Civil Definitions of the Collective Identity: The State of Israel or Eretz Israel" (1984), he distinguished between two ideal types of codes of inclusion in Israeli society, a distinction which became an influential analytical tool for students of Israeli society.

Since the late 1980s, Kimmerling had been known for his direct criticism of the discipline of Israeli sociology itself. He had raised doubts about the ability of mainstream Israeli social scientists and historians to free themselves from Zionist ideologies and Jewish ethnocentrism when dealing with their own society and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. This stand cost Kimmerling a delay in obtaining a promotion to the rank of full professor.

## THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

Kimmerling was a highly prolific writer. He published thirteen books and edited volumes and more than forty academic articles. Beyond his academic work, Kimmerling had been intensely involved in the Israeli public political discourse and published dozens of semi-academic articles. His major public influence had been through the Israeli daily *Ha'aretz*, where he published op-ed columns and book reviews. In his writing he consistently called for the end of the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip and was one of the first public figures to call for the withdrawal of Israel from south Lebanon, long before the demand became an Israeli consensus.

Kimmerling's highly public profile and his pioneering and provocative ideas made him a target of threatening letters from fellow Jews accusing him of "betrayal" and "self-hatred." He also was a popular target of right-wing groups such as Campus Watch, which attempted to undermine the legitimacy of criticizing Israeli policy in American and Israeli universities by carrying out personal attacks against various scholars.

Although he sympathized with the Palestinians' collective experience of exile and expulsion and although he believed that Israel was "born in sin," he did not consider a complete implementation of the right of return of Palestinian refugees as a practical solution. In addition, unlike some other Israeli scholars, Kimmerling had strictly opposed the boycott of Israeli universities as a means to pressure the Israeli government. His critics from the left (Palestinians and non-Zionist Jews) argued that Kimmerling did not adopt the inevitable political conclusions from his academic work because he could not disconnect himself from his ethnic interest as an Israeli Jew.

## LEGACY

It is too early to assess Kimmerling's legacy. However, his books and articles have been included in hundreds of syllabi for university courses in Israel, the United States, and Europe, and have been translated into nine languages. As a result, his contribution to the introduction of the colonial paradigm into academic discourse about Israel, as well as of his insight about the inseparability of the conflict and Israeli society, are evident today, as a significant number of young Israeli scholars have incorporated these themes into their analyses.

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Tamir Sorek

## KULIN, AYŞE (1941–)

Turkish author Ayşe Kulin is a popular writer of best-seller biographies. Her success with biographical novels comes from the eager request of Turkish society for real life stories (*Adı: Aylin, Bir Tatlı Huzur, Füreya*). In addition to her biographical novels, she is an affluent storyteller. In 1996 her story titled "Foto Sabah Resimleri" (Pictures of Photo Sabah) received the Haldun Taner Story Award. In that same year, the book that took its name from this story received the Sait Faik Story Award. *Geniş Zamanlar* (Easy Times), another book by Kulin, received an award from the İstanbul University Communication Faculty. In addition to her biographical novels and stories, her fiction works include: *Sevdalinka* (Love), *Köprü* (The Bridge), *Nefes Nefese, Gece Sesleri* (The Voices of Night), *Bir Gün* (On Day), and *Kardelenler* (Snowdrops), all of which are said to include an attractive peculiarity, adding both structure and dimension to these kinds of texts. Apart from these works, she has a book of poetic essays titled *İçimde Bir Kızıl Gül Gibi* (Like a Red Rose inside Me), as well as *Babama* (To My Father), a book of poetry.

## PERSONAL HISTORY

Kulin was born in Turkey in 1941. Her father, Muhittin Kulin, was one of the first civil engineers in Turkey who founded the State Water Institution (Devlet Su İşleri); he was soon appointed first director of this institution. Her mother, Sitare Hanim, is the granddaughter of one of the Ottoman economy ministers, Reşat Bey. Ethnically, Kulin is not Turkish, as her father was Bosnian and her mother Circassian.

Kulin grew up in Ankara, but spent summers in İstanbul with her mother's family. As a result of this, she is familiar with both life in Ankara and the traditional codes of the Ottoman Empire, as she spent an abundance of time at her grandfather's mansion there. Her stories are clearly influenced by her two-sided childhood experiences.

## BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

**Name:** Ayşe Kulin

**Birth:** 1941, Turkey

**Family:** Divorced; four sons

**Nationality:** Turkish

**Education:** Arnavutköy American College for Girls

## PERSONAL CHRONOLOGY:

- **1980s:** Works as an editor, reporter in newspapers and magazines; stage producer, art director, and scenarist for television, advertisements, and cinema films
- **1986:** “Gülizar” from *Güneşe Dön Yüzünü* (Turn Your Face to the Sun) adapted for the cinema with the title *Kırık Bebek* (Broken Doll), receives the Ministry of Culture Award; receives the Best Art Director Award from the Association of Theater Writers for the television series *Ayaşlı ve Kiracıları* (Ayaşlı and His Tenants)

Kulin attended primary school in Ankara, high school in Istanbul, and then went on to the Arnavutköy American College for Girls. She had many friends there, including writer İpek Ongun, İKSV (Istanbul Foundation for Culture and Arts) festival director Dikmen Görün, and writer Nazlı Eray, all of whom helped shape her intellectual medium during her high school years. Politics played an important role in Kulin’s family. As a result, she was a social democrat activist during the first military coup in Turkey, 27 May 1960.

## INFLUENCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Kulin was influenced by the social statutes of her family and by the governmental ideology of Turkish Republic, Kemalism. For instance, her book *Füreya* tells the story of Füreya Korel, one of the members of the famous Şakir Pasha family, and the first idealist Turkish ceramic artist. Füreya Korel overcomes tuberculosis by making ceramics, eventually becoming a famous artist in the field. She marries Kiliç Ali, an aide de camp for Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. As a result of this marriage, she spends an important part of her life in Mustafa Kemal’s society. The main motif of this biographical novel is Kemal telling Füreya about becoming an idealist woman for Young Turkey.

In addition to Kulin’s biographical novel, her other stories also contain the same political influences. In *Güneşe Dön Yüzünü* (Turn Your Face to the Sun), the stories portray both Kemalist ideology and the remaining traces of Ottoman traditional family life during the long period of Turkish Republic between 1940 and 1980. The ideological and cultural impressions become more visible in the story within the book. It tells the tale of little Emine, whose father is an engineer of young Turkey and whose mother’s grandfather is a pasha in the Ottoman Empire. Little Emine loves Atatürk, who founded the Turkish Republic, and tells her mother’s grandfather about Atatürk and his works in the summer when she comes to Istanbul for holiday. Her grandfather does not like the stories, however, because he thinks Atatürk has taken his life and his culture by founding a new state. At first, Emine is disappointed, then she dreams of Ankara with her little home, of her school friends, of her father. “Turn your face to the sun” indicates that the new generation should turn their faces to the Ankara where the sun of new Turkey rises, and where all memories and thoughts about the Ottoman Empire should be forgotten.

The influences in Kulin’s writings also include Kemalist ideology and the family’s reflection of the Ottoman Empire. Her novel *Sevdalinka* (Love) gives the details of the 1990s war in Bosnia. *Sevdalinka* is a remarkable novel, revealing the genocide in a Muslim country that was once part of the Ottoman Empire in Turkey. More than that, however, Kulin felt that writing the novel was a duty, given that her father is a Bosnian.

Kulin’s efforts have made the biographical novel popular in Turkey. Besides this, in her other novels, she selects themes from real life, including aspects of both authenticity and fiction. Although the ideological details are visible in each of her novels, she allows both reality and fiction to coexist. Her approach is seen in the char-

## KULIN’S WORDS

For being a writer, first, capability is required. It is not enough to be hardworking and well informed. If you don’t have talent as a writer, your books won’t be read. But ability should be mixed with information, discipline, etiquette, and life experience. Otherwise, you will be exhausted easily.

“I HAVE NO TIME FOR SOPHISTRY”(REPORT).  
UPDATED 5 OCTOBER 2005. AVAILABLE FROM  
[HTTP://WWW.E-KOLAY.NET/KADIN/](http://www.e-kolay.net/kadin/).

acteristics of the narrator and the protagonist. While the protagonist's divergent ideas, based on humanism and ethnic differences, are seen in texts such as *Bridge*, the narrator speaks as the representative for governmental ideology (Kemalism). Kulin consistently succeeds in representing the two contrasting sides of thought in only one structure.

Another book, *Kardelenler* (Snowdrops), recounts the story of girls who cannot go to primary school in the east of Turkey. For this project, Kulin actually went to the area she wrote about and learned the personal stories of each of the young girls. These genuine stories are collected without girls' names in the book.

#### THE WORLD'S PERSPECTIVE

Kulin is perceived as a popular author.

#### LEGACY

Kulin will be remembered in Turkish popular literature as an author whose success caused people to read biographical novels in Turkey.

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*Seher Özkök*

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