

Bulletin

Centre for
Arab & Islamic
Studies
(The Middle East
& Central Asia)

'A NEW AGENDA?' CONFERENCE

CAIS graduate scholars convened an early career researcher conference entitled 'A New Agenda? Debating the Middle East and Central Asia' on 3 and 4 July 2015. The conference convenors sought to challenge the established narratives that are failing to explain the changing circumstances in the Middle East and Central Asia.

The opening address was given by Mr Ric Wells, Deputy Secretary, Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT). The keynote speaker was Professor Shahram Akbarzadeh, ARC Future Fellow, Centre for Citizenship and Globalisation, Deakin University. Speakers included: Dr Farhang Morady, University of Westminster presenting on Iran–US relations and the Nuclear Framework Agreement; Mr Haian Dukhan, University of St Andrews, presenting on Hafez al-Assad and the Arab tribes in Syria; Ms Natalya Hillme, Humboldt University, presenting on regime stability in Central Asia'; Mr Azamjon Isabaev, University of Hamburg discussed security in Central Asia and Ms Zainab Jasim, University of Sydney analysed Al-Jazeera's coverage of Bahrain's uprising. CAIS scholars Mr Shuhrat Baratov, Ms Jessie Moritz, Mr Dirk van der Kley and Ms Elisabeth Yarbakhsh also presented papers on their research. The conference attracted a substantial audience which included policy-makers from the Department of Defence and DFAT as well as scholars from Australian universities and think-tanks.

CONTENTS

NEWS AND EVENTS	2
THE SUNNI-SHIA DIVIDE IN THE MIDDLE EAST: THE CASE OF SAUDI ARABIA	4
ALPHABET REFORM AND THE PURIFICATION OF LANGUAGE IN TURKEY	6
PRIDE, NATIONALISM AND THE IRAN NUCLEAR DEAL	8
BOOK LAUNCH: MUSLIM CITIZENS IN THE WEST	10
BOOK REVIEW: LOYAL ENEMIES	11
PUBLIC LECTURE SERIES	12
LANGUAGE PROGRAMS	14
POSTGRADUATE NEWS	16
RESEARCH, PUBLICATIONS, OUTREACH ACTIVITIES	17
CENTRE PROGRAMS	20

THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA 1815/2015/2115



Image © Luiza Puiu

Panelists (in photo from left to right): Amin Saikal; Reinhard Stauber, Alpen-Adria-Universität Klagenfurt; José Manuel Barroso, former President of the European Commission; Alexandra Förder-Schmid, chief editor of 'Der Standard'; Wolfgang Danspeckgruber, Director, The Liechtenstein Institute on Self-Determination at Princeton University.

Professor Amin Saikal was an invited speaker at a public colloquium, 'The Congress of Vienna – 1815 / 2015 / 2115: Analyses, Perspectives, Projections' held by The Liechtenstein Institute on Self-Determination at Princeton University, in cooperation with the Federal Chancellery of the Republic of Austria, the House of Liechtenstein, European Forum Alpbach, and Wiener Zeitung, Vienna, on 7- 8 June, 2015. In addition to those listed above, panelists were: Albert Rohan, former Secretary-General of the Austrian Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Harold James, Princeton University; Thomas Seifert, journalist with 'Wiener Zeitung'; Andrew Moravcsik, Princeton University. The objective of the public colloquium was to discuss and educate about the lessons and meaning for today of the Congress of Vienna of 1815 and project possible perspectives for the future of Europe and the global system. By reviewing the dynamics of the challenges to today's international order it will be useful to focus on the lessons learned from prior successful inclusive concert diplomacy as applied to the changing nature of today's diplomacy.

Professor Saikal's paper was entitled: 'Stabilising the Gulf: What about a Congress of Vienna Approach?'. He suggested while marking the bicentennial anniversary of the Congress of Vienna in 2015, it might be appropriate to revisit the Congress and its processes to see whether something similar could be attempted in relation to conflict resolution in the Middle East or more specifically its sub-region in the Gulf, which is currently in the grip of serious humanitarian, sectarian and geopolitical crises. He concluded that there was a need for an interlocking regional and international consensus in order to stabilise the Middle East.

NEWS AND EVENTS

PROMOTION

ANU Vice-Chancellor Professor Ian Young announced in February that Professor Amin Saikal had been promoted to the level of University Distinguished Professor. This promotion, to the highest academic level within the University, recognises the international standing of Professor Saikal as a scholar. Professor Young said he was delighted to be congratulating Professor Saikal on his appointment.

STAFF CHANGES/ APPOINTMENTS

Professor Saikal was on Outside Study Leave in April and May. During this time he was a visiting professor at Lichtenstein Institute on Self-Determination, Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, Princeton University.

A/Professor Matthew Gray will be on Outside Study Leave (OSP) in second semester 2015.

Dr Christian Bleuer has been appointed as a Research Fellow at CAIS until December 2015. His appointment is to an ARC Discovery Project on Afghanistan and Central Asia. The project leaders are Professor Amin Saikal and Dr Kirill Nourzhanov.

Ms Lisette Geronimo has been seconded to the ANU Planning and Performance Measurement Division. In her absence Ms Harriet Torrens will act in the position of Senior Administrator and Postgraduate Co-ordinator. Harriet has come to CAIS from the ANU School of Music.

VISITING FELLOW

Dr Toby Matthiesen was a visiting Fellow at CAIS for three weeks from late May to early June. Dr Matthiesen is a Senior Research Fellow in the International Relations of the Middle East, St Antony's College, University of Oxford. He was previously a Research Fellow at Pembroke College, University of Cambridge, and at the London School of Economics and Political Science. He is the author of *Sectarian Gulf: Bahrain, Saudi Arabia and the Arab Spring that Wasn't*, Stanford CA: Stanford University Press, 2013 and *The Other Saudis: Shiism, Dissent and Sectarianism*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015.

Dr Matthiesen contributed to the

intellectual life at CAIS with a public lecture, a seminar and many formal and informal discussions with academic staff and students.

ROUNDTABLES

Professor Talat Ahmad, Vice Chancellor, Jamia Millia Islamia University, New Delhi, 2 April 2015.

LECTURES AND SEMINARS

The Middle East: Is the 'Islamic State' vanquishable? Amin Saikal in Conversation with Ms Virginia Haussegger, ANU Public Lecture, 29 January 2015.

'Impact of the Syrian Crisis in Lebanon', Mr Ahmad El Hariri, Secretary General of the Future Movement, 26 February 2015.

'Documenting Defiance: Women Writers and Filmmakers in Tahrir Square', Associate Professor May Telmissany, Arabic Studies and Film Theory, Department of Modern Languages and Literatures University of Ottawa, 16 April 2015.

'Popular Culture as Resistance in the Arab Spring', Associate Professor Walid El Khachab Arabic Studies, York University, 16 April 2015.

POSTGRADUATE SEMINARS

'Unrecognised State Identity', Mr Sebastian Klich, 20 February 2015.

'The Political Economy of Labour and Student Mobilizations in Egypt 1919-2011: A Social Movement Theory Approach', Mr Adel Abdel Ghafar, 6 March 2015.

'Afghanistan: Women, violence and elections', Ms Jacky Sutton, 10 April 2015.

'Pakistan, politics and terrorism', Mr Aly Zaman, 22 May 2015.

'Petronations? Oil, gas and national identity formation in Eurasia', Dr Peter Rutland, Wesleyan University, 5 June 2015.

FORTHCOMING EVENTS

'Islamic Finance: Religious identity, petrodollars, and legal arbitrage', Prof. Mahmoud El-Gamal, Chaired Professor of Islamic Economics, Finance, and Management, and Professor of Economics and Statistics, Rice University, Houston, TX, 6.00 pm on 31 July 2015. For further information go to website: cais.anu.edu.au/events

BOOKS PUBLISHED JANUARY TO JUNE 2015

Huda Al-Tamimi, *Arabic Literature through History*, Dar Al Saqi Publishers, Beirut, 2015.



France Meyer, translation, *Les noces du palais (Wedding Song)* by Naguib Mahfouz, (Actes Sud, France, 2015, pp 176.)



France Meyer, translation, *1000 coups de fouet parce que j'ai osé parler librement*, by Raif Badawi, (1000 lashes - because I say what I think), Kero, 2015, pp 64)



VALE MALCOLM FRASER

It was with great sadness and shock that I heard of the unexpected passing of Malcolm Fraser. He was a friend and a very supportive member of the Advisory Board of CAIS for the last decade. The last Board meeting that he attended was in June 2014. I worked closely with Malcolm in his capacity at first as the Chairman and subsequently as the Honorary Chairman of the InterAction Council of former heads of states and occasionally represented him in the Council's meetings from the late 1990s. He was a tireless and passionate campaigner for humanitarian causes. He deeply cared about the future of Australia and the world, and never shied away from standing up for such causes. The last meeting of the InterAction Council he chaired was on interfaith dialogue in Vienna in late April 2014. He was keenly interested in the promotion of multiculturalism and positive interfaith relationships as key principles in generating the conditions for a better world. Malcolm was an enormous source of inspiration and counsel and a great friend of CAIS and the ANU. His spirit, courage, tenacity and foresight will continue to live as an example for us all.



Image: Stuart Hay

Amin Saikal 20 March 2015

FAREWELL CHRISTINE KERTESZ

Prof. Saikal and all CAIS staff wish to express their sadness at the passing of Mrs Christine Kertesz on 20 May 2015. Mrs Kertesz was employed as a research assistant at the Centre from its establishment in 1994 to 2001. As a key staff member in the establishment years of the Centre, Chris' commitment to excellence in her work producing publications, organising conferences and supporting academics' research, was an important component in building the high reputation that the Centre quickly gained. Her intelligence, professionalism, perseverance and patience, as well as her gentle personality, earned her much respect from both her colleagues and the Centre's external stakeholders.



POLITICAL ISLAM SEMINARS

The Centre has held three iterations of Political Islam Seminars to national security related departments across the Commonwealth Public Service in 2015. Associate Professor Matthew Gray has convened these seminars for the last ten years at CAIS. Over this period, A/Professor Gray has designed each seminar program to fit the requirements of the groups attending. The seminars focus on creating a deeper understanding of Islam across a range of areas including history, law, power, forms of extremism plus Islam in regional areas such as Middle East, South-Asia and Australia. A/Prof. Gray draws on a large pool of expertise from within CAIS, the ANU and from other Australian and international universities in order to provide the speakers for the seminars.



A/Prof. Matthew Gray, Dr Raihan Ismail, Prof. Amin Saikal, Dr Toby Matthiesen and Mr Aly Zaman at the June seminar

The June session was opened by CAIS Director Professor Amin Saikal and included a presentation by CAIS Visiting Fellow Dr Toby Matthiesen. Other contributors included: Professor Michele Grossman, Victoria University, Melbourne; Professor Fethi Mansouri, Deakin University, Melbourne; ANU specialists on Southeast Asia A/Professor Greg Fealy and Dr Nicholas Farrelly. CAIS academics and research scholars Professor Bob Bowker, Dr Kirill Nourzhanov, Dr Murat Yurtbilir, Dr Raihan Ismail, Mr Adel Abdel Ghafar, and Mr Aly Zaman also gave presentations on contemporary Islam in the Middle East and Central Asia.

THE SUNNI-SHIA DIVIDE IN THE MIDDLE EAST:

by Toby Matthiesen

In late May, I gave a talk at ANU about my new book on the Shia in Saudi Arabia and the rise of sectarian politics in the Middle East more broadly. *The Other Saudis: Shiism, Dissent and Sectarianism*, which is a book based on my PhD from the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), University of London, tells the story of the political movements amongst the Shia in the Eastern Province of Saudi Arabia and their relationship with the Saudi state.



Protests during the Intifada in Safwa

I first became interested in the issue of sectarianism in Syria and Lebanon, where I studied Arabic and spent several summers. I wanted to understand the historical context of sect-formation and at what times these markers of identity became important in the political process. When I was looking for a dissertation topic to complete my Masters at SOAS I started to read about the Shia in the Gulf. There was hardly any literature at the time on the Shia in Saudi Arabia. Also, the case of the Shia of Saudi Arabia seemed to have a particular importance because of Saudi Arabia's position in the Islamic world and because of the Saudi sponsorship of anti-Shiism.

In 2007 I started my PhD at SOAS on *The Shia of Saudi Arabia: Identity Politics, Sectarianism, and the Saudi State*. I carried out fieldwork in Saudi Arabia in 2008 and 2011, and conducted interviews with officials as well as Shia activists from all different political strands. I also visited most major cities and villages in the Eastern province, where the Shia are largely based. However, the difficulty of carrying out long-term fieldwork in Saudi Arabia, and the transnational nature of the Shia's political networks, made it imperative to broaden the scope of my fieldwork. I have explained this in the opening pages of *The Other Saudis* as follows (pp. xiii-xiv):

'This book is the product of countless conversations, extensive fieldwork and a close reading of textual sources. During my main period of fieldwork in Saudi Arabia, in 2008, discussing the histories and contemporary manifestations of being Shia in Saudi Arabia was possible in a way

that it would not be for much longer. The mid-2000s were characterised by national dialogues and a public recognition on the part of King Abdullah that the Shia are an integral part of Saudi Arabia. Unlike in previous decades, particularly the most confrontational phase between 1979 and 1993, the history of Shia dissent, and of discrimination against them, was a topic that some Saudis were willing to discuss. When I finished the doctorate on which this book is based in 2011, what is often simplistically called 'the Shia question' in Saudi Arabia was framed very differently, however. Shia in the Eastern Province had staged mass protests for more rights, which undermined the notion that Saudi Arabia was somehow exempt from the fallout of the Arab uprisings. Research on Saudi Arabia, and particularly on a sensitive issue such as Shia politics, is extremely difficult and sources are hard to come by. While I had the opportunity to carry out fieldwork across Saudi Arabia, including in various cities and villages of the Eastern Province, I broadened the geographical scope of my fieldwork considerably. I interviewed Saudi Shia, opposition activists but also clerics, intellectuals, journalists and less politically active people in Europe, the United States, Bahrain, Kuwait, Syria and Lebanon. Across these countries I also searched for opposition publications and local historiographical books on Saudi Shia history. I found some on the outdoor book market in the Eastern Province city of Qatif, where one can buy books that are banned in Saudi Arabia for discussing Shia religious beliefs or promoting historical

narratives that contradict those of the rulers. I found them in Bahraini village bookshops; the owner of one of these bookshops has since been tortured to death as part of the crackdown on the 2011 uprising. I found them in the bustling alleys that lead up to the Shia shrine of Sayyida Zeinab outside of Damascus, then still a preferred holiday location for Gulf Shia and now a site of fierce fighting. I found some of the books in the Shia libraries in Kuwait,

in the vast second-hand bookshops off Beirut's cosmopolitan Hamra Street and in the Shia publishing houses of Beirut's southern suburbs, where most Saudi Shia historical books are published. I found them on London's Edgware Road, and in libraries and private archives in Britain and the United States.'

The Twelver Shia are mainly concentrated in and around the two old population centres of al-Ahsa and Qatif in the Eastern Province. The inhabitants of the oases of Qatif and al-Ahsa have been sedentary for centuries and largely engaged in agriculture, trade, fishing and pearl diving. Politics often amounted to ensuring the safety, economic wellbeing and survival of the community in a hostile environment. Some members of the urban notable elite were integrated into the Ottoman bureaucracy in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. But since the Saudi conquests of the Eastern Province in 1913 the Shia of al-Ahsa and Qatif have been subjects of a political entity that does not treat Shia Muslims as equal citizens. Shia from all backgrounds have prospered comparatively less than others.

The book tries to explain how the Shia of Qatif and al-Ahsa came to see themselves as Shia rather than something else, and what the role of the state, of identity entrepreneurs, historical narratives and Shia Islamist movements was in this process. On the empirical level, the book makes a contribution to the literature on Saudi Arabia and the Gulf region, where the Shia minorities have hitherto been largely discussed on a quite superficial level.

THE CASE OF SAUDI ARABIA

Indeed, many histories of Saudi Arabia hardly mention the local Shia, or do so just in passing. There have only been a handful of researchers who were ever allowed to travel to the Eastern Province. The role of the Shia notable families, of the Shia courts, of leftist and nationalist movements, and of Shia militant movements such as Hizbullah al-Hijaz and the supporters of Nimr al-Nimr, has not been outlined before. The few studies that exist have largely focussed on the Shirazi movement and the uprising of 1979. But my access to virtually all the Saudi Shirazi leadership and to private archives of former leaders of the Shirazi movement has also allowed me to make a significant contribution to the history and factionalism of that movement and to the organisational structures and mobilisation strategies of Shia Islamist movements more broadly.

The book also contributes to the literature on the formative first few years of the Iranian revolution, when Iran tried to export its revolution and factions in Iran did support the Gulf Shia. These 'exporters' of the revolution were largely the people around

Mohammed Montazeri and Mehdi Hashemi, who were side-lined after the Iran-Contra affair in 1986. So the book also contributes to an analysis of the fragmented nature of the early Islamic republic of Iran and to its foreign policy making. Since 1979, changes in Saudi-Iranian relations impacted on the situation of Saudi and the book contextualises changes in these relations. While I outline the relationship of the Shia to Iran (and Syria), I do not, however, claim that all the Shia are somehow loyal to Iran because of their religious affiliation.

Quite to the contrary, the book also highlights the diversity within Shiism, by studying an Arab Shia community in depth. There are many polemics surrounding Arab Shiism and the prominence of Iran as a player in the Shia worlds since 1979 has to a certain extent obscured the importance of Arab Shia intellectual and religious traditions. An issue of Saudi Shia is that they are marginal both within their country and within the wider Shii worlds. There are no Saudi Shia grand ayatollahs today, even though up to the early 20th century local clerics acted as ayatollahs

for the local population and were seen as leading scholars across the Shii worlds. Some of them made major contributions to Shia intellectual history. But by and large the Saudi Shia are also at the periphery of the clerical networks in Najaf and Qom, particularly since a large part of Saudi Shia are associated with the movement founded by Muhammad Mahdi al-Shirazi, which had Kerbala as their spiritual base.

The precarious situation of the Shia has received renewed attention in the wake of two devastating suicide bombings on Shia mosques in the Eastern Province by supporters of the Islamic State in May 2015. One would hope that this could be an eye-opener for the Saudi authorities, who should realise that the real threat to their stability does not come from the Shia, who are fighting religious and institutional discrimination, but rather from the sort of intolerant religious teachings that are being taught in Saudi schools and that are close to the ideology of the Islamic state.

Toby Matthiesen is a Senior Research Fellow in the International Relations of the Middle East, St. Antony's College, University of Oxford.



Australian
National
University



ANU College of Asia & the Pacific

Contact Ljiljana Argy
T 02 6125 3793 E ir@anu.edu.au
ips.cap.anu.edu.au/ir

CRICOS#00120C | 110414GSA

GRADUATE STUDIES IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Drawing upon the expertise of the largest concentration of scholars working on Asia-Pacific affairs in the world, the GSIA program delivers some of Australia's most highly respected graduate degrees in international relations.

> Master of International Relations -
2 years

> Master of International Relations
(Advanced) - 2 years

this program includes a 15,000 word thesis

ALPHABET REFORM AND THE PURIFICATION OF LANGUAGE IN TURKEY

by M. Murat Yurtbilir

Throughout the period between the Talas War of 751 and the Genghisid hurricane of the 13th century the Turkic dynasties were increasingly under the influence of Persian-Islamic culture. Despite being ruled by dynasties of Turkic origin, the Khwarezmshah, Karakhanid, Ghaznavid Palaces turned into centres of Persian art and literature. Finally under Alparslan and then Sultan Melikshah, the Seljukid Palace became the home of the highest Persian literature and statesmanship, epitomised respectively by Omar Khayyam's verses and the Grand Vizier Nizam-al Mulk's skill of governance. Meanwhile, Islam was spreading through Central Asia, Khorassan and Anatolia, fostering its Arabic terminology which infiltrated the Turkish language. Throughout numerous volumes of theological books and lectures at Nizamiyyah Universities of Baghdad and Nishapur, *al-Ghazali* became the symbol of Arabic dominance in religious and legal spheres.

While migrant Turkic/Oghuz clans were communicating in Turkish among themselves, Persian remained the official language under the Anatolian Seljuks, who were the principle successors of the Seljukid Empire. Thus well before the Ottoman period, the duality between the high culture of Persian/Arabic speaking literary elites and bureaucracy and the low culture of the Turkish speaking ordinary people had been fixed. A particular linguistic blend became the norm: Arabic in the mosque, Persian in court, Turkish at home and in the army.

The era of Beyliks in Anatolia from the decline of the Seljuks after the Battle of Kösedag in 1258 to the late 14th century was a renaissance for Turkish language. Mehmed Bey of Karamanoglu ordered that Turkish would be used in all correspondence at courts, councils and bazaars. However, the consolidation of Ottoman power across Anatolia elicited the recovery of duality in language and culture. The Ottoman language, a fusion of Arabic, Persian and Turkish, had secured its position as the tongue of the enlightened and the bureaucracy until the mid-19th century. Status in Ottoman society was first and foremost signified by the acquisition of the complicated Ottoman language while eradicating 'vulgar' and 'humble' folk Turkish.

In the 19th century Ottoman intellectuals started voicing arguments for language and alphabet reform. In 1862 Münif Pasha proposed a slight reform of the Ottoman-Arabic letters in order to overcome problems in printing and education. In the following year Azerbaijani Mirza Ahundzade submitted his own alphabet proposal based on Latin and Cyrillic to Grand Vizier Fuad Pasha.¹ In the 19th century Ottoman reform in every sphere of life was fashionable but arguments for alphabet reform were still extreme even for the radical young generation, the Young Ottomans. For instance, Namık Kemal strongly opposed demands for Latinisation hoping the sacred letters of the Qur'an could serve to hold at least Muslim subjects of the Caliph under the sway of Ottomanism.

The culmination of the language debate was the 18th article of the first Ottoman Constitution of 1876, declaring Turkish as the official language of the Empire. The same article also 'made proficiency in Turkish a precondition for employment at a public institution.'² Despite this the official 'Turkish' of the state was still largely unintelligible for the ethnic Turkish public.

Young Turks and the related *Young Pen* movement became the bearer of literary and linguistic nationalism in the Second Constitutional Period. The editor of the *Young Pen* magazine, Ömer Seyfettin stressed 'the need for a national language that would bring the masses and the elite together.'³ Similarly Ziya Gökalp diagnosed the 'language disease' to be cured: 'The duality in language, an Istanbul dialect, spoken but not written and Ottoman language written but not spoken, should be overcome through absolute purging of Ottoman and making the spoken Istanbul dialect as the sole official language'.⁴ During the First World War, Ottoman commander-in-chief Enver Pasha made an attempt to overcome practical difficulties of Arabic script by compelling military correspondence to be in a modified version of the traditional letters. However the cure of the 'language disease' had to wait for the foundation of the national state in 1923 and the subsequent language reform.

After the proclamation of the Republic, the alphabet issue came before the Turkish Parliament on 25 February 1924. The

motion put forward that low literacy rates were persistent because Arabic letters were not suitable for writing the Turkish language. Indeed the first population census of the Republic revealed that the literacy rate was only 8.16 per cent. But the motion was instantly taken as an assault on the 'sacred' Arabic alphabet by several conservative deputies.

On 20 May 1928 Roman numerals were replaced with Arabic numerals. Three days later, by order of President Mustafa Kemal, a language committee was set up to frame a Turkish alphabet based on Latin characters. The committee's final report to the President was submitted on 1 August. Kemal rejected two alternative plans of implementation proposed by the committee. The first of these plans recommended fifteen years of long transition and the second five years. Instead he insisted on a 'shock transition' of three months. On 9 August 1928 Kemal introduced the new alphabet to the public at Istanbul Gülhane Park—the place the *Tanzimat* had been announced in 1839.

Kemal was so enthusiastic about the inauguration of the new Latin alphabet he toured around Turkey with a blackboard until the first day of the new legislation year. The regime concurrently initiated a zealous crusade for Latinisation: Kemal requested Osman Zeki to compose the 'March of the New Turkish Letters' consisting of the new letters as its lyrics. The pro-government daily *Cumhuriyet* printed its last page in Latin letters on 29 September, even before the law specifying the new alphabet was adopted. Similarly, all school teachers, having been given a short course in the new letters, were being examined on the new alphabet all over Turkey. Failed school teachers were given another chance of examination after fifteen days and were ousted from national education if they failed the second attempt.

The Turkish Grand National Assembly adopted the *Law on the Adoption and Implementation of Turkish Letters* on 1 November 1928. The law consisted of eleven articles and an appendix listing the new letters in their majuscule and minuscule forms. In the first article it was stated that 'attached Turkish letters adopted from the Latin original, were accepted in the place of Arabic letters used hitherto to

write Turkish.' The second article obliged all state institutions together with private and social organisations, and businesses to use Turkish letters no later than the day of publication of the law. The third article ordered a short transition period allowing marriage and birth certificates, military and civil identity cards, all registration of title deeds to be acceptable until 1 January 1929. The fourth article was the most radical provision since the new letters were set to be mandatory after June 1929 for all petitions and requests to any government body. The same article additionally forced all newspapers and magazines to use the Latin letters in just one month by December 1928. The fifth article required that all books in the Turkish language be printed in the Latin-based alphabet by 1 January 1929. In another unusually drastic clause, Article 9 compelled teaching to be entirely in the new alphabet at all national schools and forbade education using books printed in old letters no later than the commencement of the upcoming semester.⁵

The regulation on the establishment of the 'nation-schools', which named Mustafa Kemal the head-teacher of the nation, was adopted on 11 November 1928. The regulation obliged all citizens between the ages of 16 and 40 to attend the nation-schools unless they could pass an examination on the new alphabet. According to data provided by the Prime Ministry Directorate of Statistics, the number of people who attended the nation-schools between 1928 and 1936 was 2,546,051. Significantly the literacy rate in the 1935 census reached 20.4 per cent.⁶ At the

same time, Kemalist missionaries were decorating the streets of larger cities such as Istanbul, Izmir and Edirne with posters saying 'Citizen, Speak Turkish.'

On 18 July 1932, the Turkish *ezan* (prayer) was converted to Turkish serving to downgrade the influence of the Arabic language. The *First Turkish Language Congress* was assembled between 26 September and 5 October 1932 at the Dolmabahçe Palace. The Congress signalled the start of the 'radical purist period' that would extend until 1936. Commissions were set in all districts to compile local words; 129,792 words sent to the Turkish Language Society were classified and possible substitutes for the foreign words were determined. In March 1933, 1382 Arabic and Persian words were extensively announced in the media and people were invited to propose alternative words in language questionnaires. Furthermore, terminological purification went together with word compilation; 32,302 new terms were proposed in almost all professional fields including agriculture, banking, metallurgy, physics and medicine.⁷ Then on 21 June 1934, just before the Second Turkish Language Congress, the Law on Surnames was adopted, through which all citizens were obliged to embrace a Turkish family name. The era of radical purism ended after the Third Turkish Language Congress of 1936.

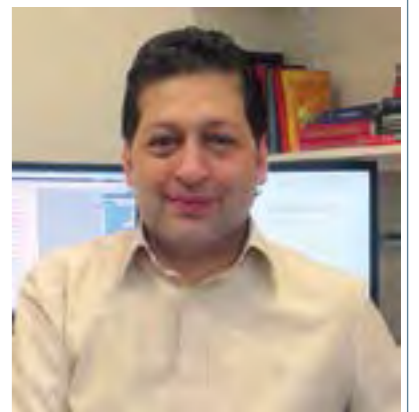
In the 1930s Kemalist Turkey implemented one of the most radical linguistic purification policies in the world. Although used extensively in the daily speech of the

people, many Arabic and Persian words were eliminated from the language as an essential part of Turkish nation-building. Mardin had once argued that two different cultural realms separated by a Chinese wall survived side by side in the long Ottoman centuries: the realm of partly oral literary traditions, epics, popular poetry and folklore and also the realm of high culture used by the Palace administration and intellectuals.⁸ In the final analysis the language reform and switch of the alphabet should be understood as the superseding of the language of prestige and power with a new one.

Footnotes

1. Hüseyin Sadoglu, *Türkiye'de Ulusçuluk ve Dil Politikaları*, İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, October 2003, pp. 216-217.
2. Enver Ziya Karal, *Osmanlı Tarihi VIII. Cilt: Birinci Mesrutiyet ve İstibdat Devirleri 1876-1907*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1983, p. 402.
3. Ömer Seyfettin, *Türklük Üzerine Yazılar*, Ankara: Bilgi Yayınevi, 1993, p. 81.
4. Ziya Gökalp, *Türkçülüğün Esasları*, İstanbul: İnkılap ve Aka, 1978, pp. 98-99.
5. Law of the Republic of Turkey, No: 1353, Law on the Adoption and Implementation of Turkish Letters in Bahir Mazhar Erüreten, *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Devrim Yasaları*, İstanbul: Cumhuriyet, 1999, pp. 88-89.
6. Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*, New York & Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002, pp. 310-311.
7. İbrahim Necmi, *Türk Dili, Türk Dili Tetkik Cemiyeti Bülteni*, No: 8, Sept., 1934, pp. 17-37.
8. Cited in Öztürk, Serdar, *Osmanlı'da İletişimin Diyalektiği*, Ankara: Phoenix, February 2010, p. 104.

Dr M. Murat Yurtbilir was appointed to CAIS as an Associate Lecturer in January. He will lecture in Turkish language, history and politics. Dr Yurtbilir received his undergraduate degree from the Department of International Relations and Political Science, Bogaziçi University, İstanbul. He has two Master degrees: one in International Relations from İstanbul University, where he wrote a thesis entitled 'Pan-Turkism and Nihal Atsız'; and one in Development Studies from Uppsala University, Sweden. This second thesis was entitled 'Population and Poverty: Analysis of Population Growth Trends and the Poverty in the Case of Turkey'. He completed his doctoral studies at the Department of International Relations, Middle East Technical University (METU) in Ankara with the dissertation: 'A Comparison of Nation-Building Practices of Uzbekistan and Turkey'. Dr Yurtbilir has been a team member at various levels in research and development projects by UNICEF, EU, the Turkish Ministry of Education and METU since 2002. He has served as a senior officer at the European Union Information Centre under the European Union Delegation to Turkey. Dr Yurtbilir taught at the Department of International Relations, the American University, Kyrenia, Cyprus from 2012 to 2014. He has been a visiting fellow at the School of Humanities and Social Sciences, UNSW, Canberra in 2014.



PRIDE, NATIONALISM AND THE IRAN NUCLEAR DEAL

by Elisabeth Yarbakhsh

There were scenes of jubilation on the streets of Tehran—and, to a lesser extent, other major cities across Iran—as news of a framework towards a nuclear deal between Iran and the P5 +1 nations emerged from the torturous negotiations in Lausanne.¹ It was the unlucky thirteenth day of the New Year and most Iranians had, as tradition demanded, spent it outdoors with family and friends, picnicking wherever space could be found—in crowded parks, on the dizzying slopes of mountains, in family orchards or, the less fortunate, perched precariously on the narrow grassy verges of multi-lane highways. Usually, this day marks the end of the New Year holiday and a return to the drudgery of work, school or, for far too many Iranians, the soul-sapping awareness of long-term unemployment. But this year the next day happened to be a Friday—a one day reprieve—and as both satellite and local television reported on the interim deal that would, potentially, see sanctions lifted and small steps made towards Iran's international rehabilitation, Iranians once again spilt out onto the streets, joining in riotous celebration with those who were still making their way home.

Iran's development of a nuclear industry has long been framed as an issue of national pride.² Indeed, there has been remarkable agreement across the political spectrum (both within and outside the establishment) that Iran is right (and has rights) to pursue its nuclear program even, and perhaps especially, in the face of wide-reaching and damaging sanctions.³ Dissenting voices are few and have gone largely unheard. However, the depth of feeling expressed in response to the unprecedented progress towards a nuclear deal seems to indicate that a fundamental shift is underway. 'Today is a day that will remain in the historical memory of the Iranian nation,' announced President Rouhani on state-owned television on 3 April.⁴ More forthright still was Tehran University professor of political science Sadegh Zibakalam, who in a debate at the Young Journalists Club in Tehran on 6 April boldly declared 'There are some events that can be considered turning points in a nation's political life, for example Iran before the revolution and Iran after the revolution. I believe events at Lausanne will become another turning point for Iran'.⁵ Perhaps it is fair to say that there is growing

consensus that Iran's national interests are better served through a winding back of nuclear activities than an intransigent insistence on the right to develop nuclear capability.

This consensus bridges what have been seen as traditional fault lines within Iran. However, it also calls into question the degree to which such fault lines continue to function in an increasingly complex contemporary society. The Iranian Revolution that brought about the downfall of the Pahlavi regime in early 1979 represented an unlikely convergence of diverse political interests.⁶ The entirely foreseeable inability of the post-revolutionary Islamic Republic to accommodate such diverse interests set the foundation for a society bifurcated by competing visions of the nation.

In the immediate aftermath of the revolution nationalism was rejected at the highest echelons in favour of a kind of borderless Islam.⁷ Whereas Iran's pre-Islamic history had been a source of celebration and inspiration during the Pahlavi era, under Khomeini Iran's Islamic history took precedence even to the point of denying earlier manifestations of the Iranian nation. For some commentators, therefore, Iranian identity becomes a matter of competing claims of nationalism and Islamism.⁸ A more nuanced approach however recognises that the rejection of nationalism (and implicitly, the nation) never truly took hold. Instead there was an emergence of two competing nationalisms: one rooted in Shia Islam and the other in Iran's pre-Islamic (and para-Islamic) history.⁹

There has been a tendency to perceive these as two very distinct forms of nationalism and to see the adherents of one or the other as inherently opposed and neatly organised into pro- and anti-regime factions. However a number of pivotal events and issues in the life of the Islamic Republic have given lie to this. Iran's nuclear program is one such issue that has united Iranians in a sense of shared pride.¹⁰ The revelation of the program in the early 2000s and the subsequent sanctions it attracted had an impact on the way in which Iranians imagined themselves and their nation.

When the exiled and, within Iran, deeply unpopular Mujahedin-e Khalq, first revealed the existence of a hitherto

undisclosed nuclear research facility at Natanz, mild-mannered reformist president Mohammad Khatami was in power. His government drew upon a 'deep-rooted Iranian nationalism' in order to weave an 'intricate narrative avowing Iran's right to nuclear energy'.¹¹

Iranians are fervently nationalistic and even those otherwise opposed to the regime have generally supported the government's nuclear ambitions. An opinion poll conducted by the InterMedia Survey Institute in 2006 found that 84 per cent of Iranians interviewed would be willing to face United Nations sanctions in order to develop not only nuclear power but nuclear weapons, and 75 per cent would risk hostilities with the United States in the same cause.¹²

Most Iranians perceive their nation as a 'great civilization that has been deprived of its rightful status as a regional superpower'.¹³ Khatami's government in common with previous and successive Iranian governments carried the burden of legitimising itself in the eyes of the nation, 'shaking off the yoke of colonialism, and reclaiming for the people of Iran the true measure of respect, legitimacy, and stature commensurate with their long and glorious history'.¹⁴ Nuclear power has held out the promise of a restoration of imagined national glory and has, therefore, been a project attracting broad popular appeal. Drawing, often simultaneously, on mythologies of nationhood in which Iran is constructed as a model Islamic state or, alternatively, as the undefeated remnant of a great pre-Islamic empire, ordinary Iranians have integrated Iran's nuclear program into these existing mythologies as a way of asserting the nation's 'rightful' place.¹⁵

During the first term of his presidency Ahmadinejad likewise sought to frame the nuclear issue as a matter of nationalism. However, in the wake of the contested 2009 election the inclusive nationalism by which the nuclear program was represented as the most recent manifestation of Iran's 'historical aspiration to take its rightful place in the world order' was replaced with a 'fear of Western conspiracy and a fifth column aiming at a "soft" revolution'.¹⁶ While the earlier approach held out the possibility of compromise, the talk of enemies,

conversely, relied on the 'persistence of external conflict and internal polarization'.¹⁷

While a small but influential segment of the population became increasingly wedded to the notion of the development of a nuclear program as something akin to a religious obligation—what Dehghani *et al* call a sacred value—others began to question the degree to which sanctions, and Iran's pariah status in the eyes of the West, in fact undermined efforts to achieve a position commensurate with Iran's historical glory.¹⁸

Ahmadinejad's failure to carry the nation with him on the nuclear issue effectively paved the way for Rouhani to achieve consensus through a rearticulation of the nation. The 'smiling, erudite and supremely polite foreign minister', Mohammad Javad Zarif, has come to be seen as negotiating in the national interest, all the while backed by a president who expresses a wish to 'end enmity with the world'.¹⁹ In light of the tentative framework that has been agreed at Lausanne Iranians celebrate not only the easing of tough economic conditions but a possible realignment between the imaginary and the reality of the nation, not through an assertion of nuclear rights but by way of a newly experienced international legitimacy.

As negotiators inch towards a nuclear agreement and regardless of the outcome at the 30 June deadline, those who have insisted on seeing an Iran divided neatly into binaries of pro- and anti-government, Islamist and secularist, religiously-oriented and historically-oriented, may well be in need of new paradigms through which to understand Iranian society now and into the future.

Footnotes

1. BBC, 'Iran nuclear talks: Celebrations in Tehran and online' (2015) <bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-32174201> accessed 6 May.
2. Mustafa Kibaroglu, 'Good for the Shah, Banned for the Mullahs: The West and Iran's Quest for Nuclear Power', *Middle East Journal*, 60: 2 (2006): pp. 207-32.
3. Kayhan Barzegar, 'The Paradox of Iran's Nuclear Consensus', *World Policy Journal*, 26: 3 (2009).
4. Saeed Kamali Dehghan, 'Iranian president hails start of 'new page' for country after nuclear deal', *The Guardian*, 4 April 2015.
5. Sadegh Zibakalam in Parpanchi 'Debate between Zibakalam and Rasaei about the Lausanne Framework' (Young Journalists Club, Tehran: Mixcloud, 2015).
6. Nikki Keddie and Richard Yann *Modern Iran: Roots and Results of Revolution* (London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006).
7. Ahmad Ashraf, 'The Crisis of National and Ethnic

Identities in Contemporary Iran', *Iranian Studies*, 26:1-2 (1993).

8. See for example Farideh Farhi 'Crafting a National Identity amidst Contentious Politics in Contemporary Iran', *Iranian Studies*, 38: 1, 2005.
9. See for example Shabnam Holliday *Defining Iran: Politics of Resistance*, Ashgate, 2011.
10. Bahman Baktiari, 'Seeking International Legitimacy: Understanding the Dynamics of Nuclear Nationalism in Iran', in Judith S. Yaphe (ed.), *Middle East Strategic Perspectives*, No. 1, Washington: Institute for National Strategic Studies, 2010.
11. Farideh Farhi, 'Ahmadinejad's Nuclear Folly', *Middle East Research and Information Project*, 39: 252, 2009, p. 9.
12. Baktiari, op cit
13. Ibid 23.
14. Barzegar, 'The Paradox of Iran's Nuclear Consensus', p. 22.
15. In Baktiari, op cit p. 23.
16. Farhi 'Ahmadinejad's Nuclear Folly', p. 7.
17. Ibid.
18. Morteza Dehghani et al. 'Sacred values and conflict over Iran's nuclear program', *Judgment and Decision Making*, 5: 7, 2010.
19. Haleh Anvari, 'Lausanne strengthens hand of Iran's reformers in next election', *The Guardian*, Tehran Bureau, 9 April 2015.

Elisabeth Yarbakhsh is a research scholar at CAIS

مهرجان الأفلام العربية
ARAB FILM FESTIVAL AUSTRALIA

Come see the latest cinema from Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Palestine and UAE.

28 - 30 August 2015

Friday 28 August | 7.30pm
Saturday 29 August | 2.30pm + 6.30pm
Sunday 30 August | 2.30pm + 6.30pm

Tickets \$14.00 / \$12.50 Max pass eligible
National Film and Sound Archive of Australia
McCoy Circuit, Acton, ACT
T 6248 2000 nfsa.gov.au

arabfilmfestival.com.au

BOOK LAUNCH: 'MUSLIM CITIZENS IN THE WEST'

CAIS hosted a launch for the book: 'Muslim Citizens in the West: Spaces and Agents of Inclusion and Exclusion' edited by Professor Samina Yasmeen AM and Ms Nina Markovic-Khaze on 27 January 2015. The book was launched by ABC Radio presenter, Mr John Cleary.

Professor Yasmeen is Director of Centre for Muslim States and Societies and lectures in Political Science and International Relations in the School of Social and Cultural Studies, the University of Western Australia (UWA), Perth. Ms Nina Markovic is a research scholar at the Centre for European Studies, ANU. Drawing upon original case studies spanning North America, Europe and Australia, *Muslim Citizens in the West* explores how Muslims have been both the excluded and the excluders within the wider societies in which they live.



Prof. Saikal, Ms Markovic, Prof. Yasmeen and Mr Cleary

The book extends debates on the inclusion and exclusion of Muslim minorities beyond ideas of marginalisation to show that, while there have undoubtedly been increased incidences of Islamophobia since September 2001, some Muslim groups have played their own part in separating themselves from the wider society. The cases examined show how these tendencies span geographical, ethnic and gender divides and can be encouraged by a combination of international and national developments prompting some groups to identify wider society as the 'other'.

AT THE AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL UNIVERSITY

University House is centrally located within The Australian National University and a short stroll from Llewellyn Hall and the city center.

With a history rich in academic prestige and ceremony, guests are treated to a unique, club-like experience that was once the exclusive privilege of celebrated academics and dignitaries. Heritage award winning architecture paired with classic décor and an experienced team at your disposal make University House a perfect setting for any occasion.

Visit the Fellows Bar for a pre concert drink or Boffins for a pre concert meal and enjoy the ambience and sophistication of University House.

Enquiries & bookings
Boffins: 02 6125 5285
Reception: 02 6125 5211



BOFFINS

Boffins has been a long standing dining institution and is a must visit on Canberra's culinary map.

Bookings: 02 6125 5285



FELLOWS

Sophisticated, yet relaxed surrounds, fresh and tasty food and the al fresco area of the Fellows Garden make this the perfect place to unwind.

Enquiries: 02 6125 5289



THE HOTEL

Once the exclusive home to students and academics, the hotel is now the perfect location to relax or focus on business.

Reservations: 02 6125 5211 or unihouse@anu.edu.au



BOOK REVIEW: LOYAL ENEMIES

by Jeremy Shearmur

Jamie Gilham, *Loyal Enemies: British Converts to Islam 1850-1950*, London: Hurst; New York: Oxford University Press, 2014. Pp. 256.

After a preliminary survey of the literature on British people who converted to Islam prior to the Nineteenth Century (typically in the Ottoman Empire, often after they had been captured in war), Gilham treats in some detail four later figures or groups. These were Henry Stanley, 3rd Baron Stanley of Alderley (1827-1903), William Henry Quilliam (1856-1932); converts associated with the Woking Mosque or London in the period during and after the First World War, and those British working-class women who married Muslims, typically sailors, in various port areas of Britain (on whom, alas, there is only limited information). Not only is Gilham's study fascinating and very readable, but he provides a great deal of documentation to primary and secondary sources, so that his book will be a starting-point for any future work in this field.

In part, Gilham's story is of a number of individuals, the key ones among whom – Stanley, Quilliam and Marmaduke Pickthall (a key figure in the Woking-based group) – were influenced by contacts with Muslims in the Middle East, and who then subsequently converted. Stanley was very much a lone individual. Quilliam became an enthusiastic proselytiser, based in Liverpool. He was quite effective, but those whom he converted were, for the most part, ordinary people whose dedication did not last long beyond Quilliam's leaving Britain. (Some of those who had had an association with him were to maintain contact with the Woking-based group, including Quilliam himself later, under an alias.)

The Woking group formed round a Mosque which had been built, with Indian funds, by an orientalist called Leitner, at a college which he was running – which came into the hands of an Indian Muslim, Kamal-ud-din. He was an able lawyer who had come to England in connection with a case before the Privy Council, but also explicitly for the purpose of Muslim proselytization. He, however, was not just any Indian Muslim lawyer, but a leading figure in the Lahore Ahmadiyya. While, in the publication that he started, he did refer to Ahmad's writings, he

had been given the brief – to which he stuck – not to convert people to views that were distinctive to the Lahore group: the Woking converts were orthodox Sunni Muslims. At the same time, Kamal-ud-din's own view of Islam was distinctively modernist and anti-sectarian – and this approach strongly influenced the Woking converts. The Woking group was quite successful, and also developed a prayer room in London, and held celebrations of Muslim festivals both in Woking and in London hotels. A much smaller and less successful group in London was explicitly Ahmadiyya – but 'Qadiani'. They took the view that Ahmad was the Mahdi, and that if his teachings were not recognised, then people were not properly Muslim.

The Woking group attracted a number of people of some social prominence – notably the Irish Peer, the Fifth Baron Headley – and also Pickthall, who was responsible for an English translation of the Qur'an, *The Meaning of The Glorious Quran*. Pickthall, while he had no scholarly training, was a man of considerable accomplishments, who learned Arabic and Turkish, and acted as the group's intellectual leader when Kamal-ud-Din was absent. Pickthall had spent time in the Middle East and Turkey, was also a prolific novelist, and drew on this background in some of his novels. He also gave serious thought to the interpretation of Islam – although much of this work took place in India, and this is – very reasonably – not covered in the present volume.

Lord Headley seems to have come to his own ideas about religion, and after talking with Kamal-ud-din, to have come to the conclusion that they were, in fact, Muslim. He was a serious convert, and took the Haj. He wrote a fair bit about Islam and was involved in polemical arguments. He offered interpretations of Islam that tried to address the (difficult) circumstances of English converts. He valued Islam for its lack of sectarianism, and to try to downplay the significance of divisions within Islam when he became aware of them. He also stressed commonalities between Islam and Christianity as Abrahamic faiths – but came in for some criticism for importing Christian ideas into his interpretation of Islam, and for what some (e.g. writers from India) saw as laxity in his interpretation of obligations for prayer and observance. (He also seems

to have had some personal difficulties in giving up alcohol, and was once convicted of drunkenness!)

The title of the book – reflecting the title of Anne Fremantle's biography of Pickthall, *Loyal Enemy* (1938) – points to the interesting question of the political impact of these people's conversion. Stanley, Quilliam and Pickthall each became concerned with matters to do with British foreign policy, in particular, objecting to Britain's move away from sympathy for the Ottoman Empire, and its alliance, instead, with Russia. There was, in part, continuity here with older British views – e.g. of Disraeli. But in part, they were concerned with problems about Muslim sensibilities in the British Empire. They wrote on issues such as the problems in the Balkans, and Pickthall, who had been much impressed by the constitutional reforms of the Young Turks with some of whom he had personal contacts, also argued that, for example, Ottoman actions against the Armenians had been misunderstood. Pickthall wrote – and spoke – widely during the First World War, and he, and the Woking group, were subject to surveillance (Gilham's and other accounts being reconstructed from British security records!). Pickthall clearly made a nuisance of himself to the British authorities. But his concerns were 'loyal' in the sense of being conducted in Britain's interests, and his and other converts' case against the dismemberment of a reforming Ottoman Empire (and also against Jewish settlement in Palestine), seems in retrospect to have been very strong. The book also deals – briefly – with St John Philby (the motivation of whose conversion to Islam is questioned).

All told, not only is this a fascinating read, but it is important in drawing attention to the changes of political sensibilities that come about with conversion to Islam (and which point, obviously, for the need for Western politicians to bear in mind the distinctive political viewpoint – e.g. on international relations – of non-convert Muslim populations, too). It also raises interesting points about what Islam means in practical terms for the lives of converts who are not associated with an immigrant culture, in a Western country.

Jeremy Shearmur, Emeritus Fellow,
School of Philosophy, ANU

Lecture Series

26 February 2015



Mr Ahmad El Hariri
Secretary General of the Future Movement

Impact of the Syrian Crisis in Lebanon

Mr Hariri began by noting it is four years since the start of the Syrian revolution, and consequently it is no longer possible to speak only about the humanitarian consequences of the Syrian crisis on Lebanon. The discussion needs to include other consequences such as demographic, economic, development, security and political impacts. The Future Movement (political party in Lebanon) believes that measures should be taken to prevent the economic and social challenges of the Syrian refugee crisis turning into political and security ones.

Hariri proceeded to outline the refugee crisis. He said the number of Syrians residing in Lebanon has reached 1.5 million. The refugees are settled from the North of Lebanon, the Bekaa Valley, in Beirut and Mount-Lebanon in South of Lebanon. One quarter of Lebanon's population are refugees. In addition 50,000 Lebanese have returned from Syria and approximately

50,000 Palestinian refugees in Syria have moved to Lebanon since 2011.

Hariri explained how the Syrian crisis has had a major impact on the Lebanese economy. Since March 2011, economic losses due to the crisis in Syria have exceeded \$7.5 billion. Unemployment in Lebanon has doubled. The cost of Syrian refugees on public infrastructure, on electricity and education was \$589 million in 2014. At the same time, Lebanon is losing important revenue with a 40 per cent reduction in tourism since the crisis began.

He also outlined the social impact of the crisis. Sixteen per cent of Syrian refugees live in 2000 informal settlements. The rate of small crime is increasing and there has been a significant increase in human trafficking of Syrians and Palestinians from Syria. Lebanese prisons are over-crowded with 26 per cent of the population of prisons Syrian nationals.

Security in Lebanon is also an issue with clashes erupting between the Lebanese army, *Jabhat al-Nusra* and ISIS groups that led to the kidnapping of 25 Lebanese soldiers and policemen in August 2014.

In the political realm, Hariri explained how the Lebanese people are divided by the Syrian crisis and by the different policy options towards the Syrian refugees in Lebanon. Since 2011, the Lebanese government has adopted a policy of disassociation towards the Syrian crisis. Nonetheless, some political groups in Lebanon have been publicly involved in the fighting in Syria in support of the Syrian regime. Hezbollah, for example, has been involved militarily in the Syrian war since 2013. It is believed that more than 700 fighters from Hezbollah have lost their lives fighting in Syria.

The political groups represented in the government have been unable to agree on the issue of establishing formal camps for refugees. The political divisions and the security challenges have affected the functioning of the government and other constitutional institutions.

Hariri concluded with an overview of the current Lebanese government, headed by PM Tamam Salam and formed in February 2014. He said this government is more inclusive and includes more political groups such as the Future Movement. It has taken some major decisions to manage the Syrian displacement into Lebanon. These measures include strengthening border security and the provision of services for Syrian refugees and working with UNHCR to share the economic burden of the refugee crisis by expanding the humanitarian response to include a more structured development.

16 April 2015



A/Professor Walid El Khachab
Associate Professor Arabic Studies York University

Popular Culture as Resistance in the Arab Spring

Prof. Khachab opened his lecture by saying the Arab Spring has led, in many cases, to the strengthening of authoritarian or semi-authoritarian regimes, or to the replacement of older autocratic governments by younger ones.

He outlined how, like Hamid Dabashi, he

Lecture Series

believed, the open-ended disposition of these revolutionary uprisings amounted to laying claim to the emerging public space. This assessment was set against Habermas' idealised vision of a public sphere to which all opinions have access, and where communication and rational reasoning ensure the best consensual decision making process.

Prof. Khachab stated that often the governments who came to power after the revolutions in the Arab World (2010-2012) evacuated and controlled the public space, especially where a symbolic value was added to the pragmatic occupation of strategic squares and streets. This physical 'retreat' of forces of change from the public space echoes a reorganisation of the public sphere, where communication does not seem to proceed according to Habermas' theory. In Prof. Khachab's view, state control over media and discourses portraying the figure of the 'Revolutionary' (cast as disruptive, nihilist and a-patriotic) as well as conspiracy theories have led to a return to the pre-2010 situation, where the authoritarian regimes exerted control directly or indirectly over the public sphere.

It was mainly in the realm of popular culture that an effort to reclaim both the public sphere and the physical streets has been deployed. Prof. Khachab analysed three main examples of this resistance through cultural practices: street and graffiti art; public dancing, particularly by women; and collective devotional unorthodox practices dedicated to popular saints. The battle between municipal authorities and young graffiti artists in the streets of Cairo, where the walls were constantly painted in white, then covered with graffiti, is a material instance of that dynamic between law and order and resistance. He said young people who performed in the streets to defy the government of the Muslim Brotherhood were literally 'performing their resistance' to a political organization that views art as immoral. More recently, Sufi devotion to the medieval Muslim saint Imam Hussein had become politicised, because it represented

the symbolic resurrection of a martyr killed during a battle with the army of a despot.

16 April 2015



A/Professor May Telmissany
Department of Modern Languages and Literatures, University of Ottawa

Documenting Defiance: Women Writers and Filmmakers in Tahrir Square

A/Professor Telmissany opened by saying that documenting defiance in literature and films was an important tool of the Egyptian uprising (2011). The Egyptian uprising or civic defiance cannot be understood without examining the more radical 'epistemic defiance' of the established regime of knowledge informed by power relationships, and the way in which knowledge circulates and functions in relation to power centres and authoritarian elites.

Prof. Telmissany identified social and political epistemic defiance on a number of fronts in Egyptian society including: patriarchy and paternalism (family and state); neoliberal economic models (the role of workers and labour unions); state information apparatus

including the role of social media, private networks, global media; and religious authority represented by interpretations of the scripture, institutions, public figures and political parties.

Prof Telmissany cited several examples of epistemic defiance observable during the Egyptian uprising, including women wearing and not wearing the veil, side by side equally fighting and standing against the regime.

The second form of epistemic defiance was against the idea of secularism as defined by the Mubarak regime. Telmissany believed Mubarak 'played' with the idea of secularism by promoting secular institutions in Egypt. But the Egyptian Constitution states Islam is the religion of the state and the *Sharia* is the major source of law. While she was herself involved in the promotion of secularism with the online site *Madaniyya*, Telmissany noted it is important to clarify that there was a huge difference between calling for a civil state – which is the opposite of a religious or military state – and the rejection of Islam or religion in general. The civil state protects all religions and guarantees individuals the freedom to practice their faith.

The third epistemic defiance she described was against the politics of despair. The 17th century philosopher Spinoza in his work on separation of church and state understood that religion was controlling people by promulgating 'sad passions'. People were encouraged to live with sadness in this life with the hope of happiness in the next life. As an alternative, Prof. Telmissany referred to the work of Edward Said and his premise of the politics of hope.

Prof. Telmissany presented ideas of secularism in her own work *Gates of Paradise* (2009) and examined the revolutionary context in the works of other artists and writers including: Ahdaf Soueif - *Cairo: My City, Our Revolution* (2012); Mona Prince - *Revolution is my name* (2014); May Iskander - *Words of Witness* (2012); and Jehane Noujaim - *The Square* (2012).

PERSIAN PROGRAM

TEACHING EXCELLENCE

Congratulations go to Dr Zahra Taheri (right) for her recognition as a candidate amongst the best at ANU in the Vice Chancellor's teaching excellence awards. Dr Taheri has taught Persian language courses at all levels, as well as the non-language courses of *Iranian History and Culture*, *Gender and Culture in Iran and the Middle East*.

ZAHRA'S APPROACH TO TEACHING AND SUPPORTING STUDENT LEARNING

Teaching has always been my ultimate delight. The enthusiasm stems from the joy I experience in interacting with students and sharing my knowledge with them. My basic objective in teaching, besides enhancing communication skills, is to introduce students to the literary, historical, social, and cultural aspects of Persian Language and literature. I believe in building a strong relationship with each student, and creating a balance between challenge, enjoyment and motivating students to learn, which in turn leads to higher engagement. In my lectures for the course I teach on *Iranian History and Culture*, I share my memories of the 1979 Iranian Revolution when discussing the modern history of Iran. Feedback I have received from students indicates that it is fascinating to listen to an



eye-witness of such a historical event, coming from a university student then involved in the street protests, experiencing the roller-coaster process of hope and disappointment. In addition to discussing the accounts written by modern historians and analysing the causes and results of the Iranian Revolution, I share my memories with students about the days and nights of the revolution in our home, neighbourhood, university, and town.

I am a strong believer in outside-the-classroom-activities as an important component in language learning. During my years of teaching Persian and Iranian Studies in three different cultural and academic environments in Iran, University of California, Berkeley, and Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, I have always arranged Persian cooking classes for my students. This allows them to maximise their opportunities for language use, while also becoming more familiar with Persian culture. I have also celebrated the Persian New Year, *Nowruz*, with my students every year by arranging the traditional *Nowruz* setting *haft-seen* (left). I teach the history of this ancient tradition in my class before the celebration starts, and have found it influential in enhancing my students' understanding and appreciation of Persian culture, history, and language and have also played an important role in motivating and inspiring them to further their Persian studies.



PERSIAN ONLINE IN ITS SECOND YEAR

Persian Online is in its second year with students enrolling for the first time in the Intermediate level class. Many of the students who completed Introductory Persian in 2014 returned to take the next units in this well-developed program. In addition, enrolments in Introductory Persian Online doubled from 2014. The student feedback for this program which is unique to ANU has been very positive and suggests student numbers will continue to grow.

SPEAKING PERSIAN IN TAJIKISTAN

"I had a wonderful opportunity to practice my Persian language skills this semester when I visited Tajikistan for a training program. This small mountainous Central Asian country was once part of the Persian Empire. Today, most of the population is ethnically Tajik and Persian speaking.

The Soviet legacy in Tajik Persian is most noticeable in the Cyrillic alphabet used for the Tajik language. I found it interesting to compare the spelling of written Tajik and Farsi. In some ways the Cyrillic alphabet is easier to read as all the vowels are written. The decades long shared Soviet history has also left many Russian 'loan' words in the Tajik language. While some commonly used Arabic 'loan' words, which are used in Iran are not used in Tajikistan. My efforts to use Persian when shopping at the bazaar was usually met with a polite flow of Russian, which then turned into amazement of the happy Tajik shop keepers when they realised I was actually speaking Persian not Russian. I had many interesting conversations about the history of Persian language in the region and its importance today. Although everyone seemed to know they share a common language with Iran, I did not meet anyone who could read the Persian script used in Iran. At one shop I found a Persian children's book written with both the Tajik and Farsi scripts, which the shopkeeper insisted was Tajik-Arabic until I read to her some of the Farsi script, which of course matched the Tajik writing she understood. Understanding spoken Tajik Persian was relatively easy despite some differences with the pronunciation of vowels as compared to the Persian spoken in Iran.

I was positively surprised by the warm welcome extended to me by all the locals. This combined with the social freedoms and the breathtaking mountain scenery made Tajikistan really an unforgettable experience."

Mari Ruuskanen - CAIS student of Advanced Persian



ARABIC PROGRAM

APPLIED ARABIC

Twelve students from CAIS travelled to Qatar for six weeks study from December to January 2015. The Arabic students were accompanied and taught by the convenor of the CAIS Arabic Program, Huda Al-Tamimi. The students were generously accommodated at the University of Qatar in Doha. As a result of this intensive program and being immersed in an Arabic language speaking country, the level of Arabic for these students developed to an advanced level. The students are pictured here (right) with Huda Al-Tamimi; Dr Abdullah Abdul Rahman Ahmed, Director of the Centre Arabic for Non-Native Speakers, University of Qatar; and Dr Muntasir Al-Hamada Lecturer in Arabic at University of Qatar.



ARABIC DEBATING TEAM IN QATAR

A team of four CAIS students represented Australia and the ANU at the Third International Universities Arabic Debating Championship held in Doha, Qatar from 26 to 29 April 2015. The team members were: Yara Hussein, Thomas Randall, Derek Bayley and Andrew Findell-Aghnatis. The team was led by CAIS PhD scholar Adel Abdel Ghafar (pictured left).

Supported by Qatar Foundation, the four day biannual event hopes to foster a culture of discussion and debate between participating countries. This was the second time ANU students participated in the event. This years' championship saw a huge increase in the number of participants, with 67 teams representing 33 countries competing, which included teams from many international non-Arab speaking universities. Despite the challenge of debating with native speakers of Arabic, the ANU team performed very strongly and was commended by both other teams and the organisers of the event. The ANU team appeared on Qatari TV and in the local newspapers. Their



performance included a deserved win against a team of native Arabic speakers from the American University of the United Arab Emirates, which involved debating internet censorship and democratisation. Mr Abdel Ghafar said, 'The team's performance is a reflection on both the student's debating skills and the world-class quality of the Arabic program at CAIS.'

SUMMER ARABIC 2015

CAIS lecturer France Meyer ran a five week program in Introductory Arabic over the summer break. The program attracted people from different backgrounds, ages and interests. Twelve students completed the program which covers the basic elements of learning Arabic at beginner level. Upon completion the students were familiar with the Arabic alphabet and the sounds needed for basic speech. Some of the students were interested in continuing with the next stage of Arabic either in an online or in a class room setting.

ARABIC ONLINE

Introductory Arabic Online has been included in the CAIS Arabic Program this semester. While staff from CAIS and the CASS Educational Design Studio have been preparing the online program there have been many student enquiries about the new program. At the commencement of first semester there were 16 students enrolled for the online Arabic bringing the total number of students enrolled in Introductory Arabic to over 90. This boost in student numbers shows the continuing popularity of this language for young people advancing their careers in Australia.

CAIS also offers an upper level Arabic Online course which will be offered in second semester this year. The course is *Arab Current Affairs and Media Arabic* and it can be taken by both undergraduate and postgraduate students who have completed Intermediate Arabic.

POSTGRADUATE NEWS

GRADUATIONS — HIGHER DEGREES BY RESEARCH (HDR)

Congratulations go to Jerry Nockles who will graduate from ANU with a doctoral degree in July. He will be awarded this degree for his thesis entitled *The Fifteen Years' Crisis, Iraq 1998-2013: A study of foreign policy elite norms as an analytical lens on decision-making*.

EMPLOYMENT SUCCESS

Congratulations also go to Adel Abdel Ghafar on being selected for the highly competitive and prestigious Joint Visiting Fellowship with the Brookings Doha Center and Qatar University commencing in August 2015. Adel enrolled as a research scholar at CAIS in February 2012 and submitted his doctoral thesis for examination in February 2015. His thesis was entitled: *The Political Economy of the Labor and Student movement in Egypt 1919-2011: A Social Movement Theory Approach*. While at ANU, Adel has been a very productive scholar. He was awarded the 2012 ANU Vice Chancellor Media Award for 'Best Emerging Talent' for contributing to public debate on contemporary Middle Eastern issues. In 2012, Adel co-organised a Graduate Conference and co-edited a book from the proceedings that was published by Melbourne University Press. He also authored a number of articles and book chapters for publication.

FIELDWORK AND OUTREACH

Yahya Haider returned from three months field work in Turkey, where he visited the major libraries and archives researching his thesis topic 'Usûl al-Dîn and the Study of Doctrine in Islam'.

Katlyn Quenzer has recently embarked on fieldwork to the Middle East, Britain and US to research her thesis topic on the intellectual history of the Palestinians (1967-1974).

Jacky Sutton was in Kabul from December to March with the UNDP Election Program to support the Independent Election Commission in preparations for parliamentary and district council elections that were to take place in 2015. Subsequently the elections have been postponed until at least April 2016.

NEW RESEARCH SCHOLARS AT CAIS

Four Higher Degree by Research (HDR) scholars joined CAIS in first semester 2015.

Ms Sana Ashraf is researching the social impact blasphemy laws of Pakistan; religious minorities of Pakistan; religious freedom and freedom of speech in Pakistan. She has BSc in Anthropology and Sociology from Lahore University of Management Sciences and a Master of Sociology and Social Anthropology from Central European University, Hungary. Sana conducted three months of fieldwork in Pakistan for her MA dissertation. She has also worked as an intern on a number of research projects at the International Centre for Democratic Transition in Hungary. Sana has been awarded an ANU research scholarship.



New HDR scholars: Maria Syed, Damian Doyle, Sana Ashraf and Ian Parmeter

Mr Damian Doyle is researching political legitimacy and violent non-state actors in the Iraqi insurgency. Damian has worked in the private sector in Australia, the not-for-profit sector overseas, and most recently in the federal government. Damian holds a Bachelor of Arts (Peace Studies, International Relations) from the University of New England and completed the Master of Middle Eastern and Central Asian Studies at CAIS in 2012.

Mr Ian Parmeter has worked on Middle East issues for DFAT and other Australian government agencies since 1976. This experience included several postings in the Middle East, and a posting in Russia. His research interest is Russian policy in the Middle East generally, and particularly in the Putin era.

Ms Maria Syed is researching Pakistan's relations with Saudi Arabia. She has worked as a researcher at Islamabad Policy Research Institute, Pakistan for several years and has published articles in research journals and newspapers. She is Alumna of Near East South Asia Centre, National Defense University, United States. She has also been a Visiting Fellow at James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies, Monterey Institute of International Studies, California and Cooperative Monitoring Center, Sandia National Laboratories, New Mexico, United States. She holds a MPhil in International Relations from Iqra University, Islamabad and a MSc in Defence and Strategic Studies from Quaid-e-Azam University, Islamabad, Pakistan. Maria has been awarded an ANU research scholarship.

RESEARCH, PUBLICATIONS, OUTREACH ACTIVITIES

AMIN SAIKAL

BOOK CHAPTER

'Jihadi and Ijtihadi Islam, and Western Perceptions', in Jeremy Rosen, ed., *Interfaith Dialogue: Ethics in Decision-Making*, Tokyo: Inter Action Council, 2015, pp. 127-135.

FEATURE ARTICLES

'The Middle East: a zone of frenemies?' *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 15 December 2015.

'A year on, could Greste walk free?', *The Drum Opinion*, 30 December 2014. [abc.net.au/news/2014-12-30/saikal-a-year-on-could-greste-walk-free/5992306]

'What should we call Islamic State: DAISH or IS?', *The Canberra Times*, 18 January 2015.

'Greste's release part of wider political manoeuvring', *The Drum Opinion*, 2 February 2015. [abc.net.au/news/2015-02-02/saikal-grestes-release-part-of-wider-political-manoevring/6063348]

'The Middle East: A zone of frenemies? What should the world do about the rise of Islamic State?', *APPS Policy Forum*, February 2015. [policyforum.net/middle-east-zone-frenemies/]

'Julie Bishop's visit to Iran and the US-Iranian thaw', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 12 March 2015. [smh.com.au/comment/julie-bishops-vist-to-iran-and-the-usiranian-thaw-20150312-13x9za.html]

'The Lausanne framework: A win for both the US and Iran', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 8 April 2015. [smh.com.au/comment/the-lausanne-framework-a-win-for-both-the-us-and-iran-20150408-1mgk7n.html]

'A zone of frenemies: Untangling Middle East relations', *The Drum Opinion*, 15 April 2015. [abc.net.au/news/2015-04-15/saikal-a-zone-of-frenemies-untangling-middle-east-relations/6393376]

LECTURES, SEMINARS & CONFERENCES

'The Middle East: Is the 'Islamic State' vanquishable?' *In Conversation with Virginia Haussegger*, ANU Public Lecture, 29 January 2015.

Political Islam Seminars, CAIS, February & June 2015.

Invited participant in a Ditchley Foundation Conference on *Global ambitions and local grievances: understanding political Islam*, Oxfordshire, England, 19-20 March 2015.

'The Middle East: A Zone of Conflicts,' Woodrow Wilson School of Public Affairs, Princeton, New Jersey, 28 April 2015.

Seminar on the Middle East situation at the invitation of the Department of Political Affairs, Middle East Division, The United Nations, New York, 30 March 2015.

'Iran At the Crossroads: A New Direction?', Liechtenstein Institute on Self-Determination, Princeton University, New Jersey, 7 May 2015.

Public Lecture on the Middle East at the Australian Embassy in Washington, organised by the ANU North American Office, 14 May 2015.

Panelist, Roundtable Discussion on 'Islamic State', chaired by the Australian Deputy Head of the Mission, Ms Caroline Millar, Australian Embassy in Washington, 15 May 2015.

Invited participant, International Workshop on 'Non-violence and Islam', sponsored by The National Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies, University of Otago, New Zealand, and Toda Institute for Global Peace and Policy Research, University of Hawaii, and convened in Tokyo, 26-27 May 2015.

Invited speaker at *The Congress of Vienna – 1815/2015/2115, Meaning, relevance, ideas, projections*, Under the auspices of The Liechtenstein Institute on Self-Determination at Princeton University, The House of Liechtenstein, The Federal Chancellery of Austria and The European Forum Alpbach, Liechtenstein, Vienna, Austria, 7 & 8 June 2015.

OUTREACH

Congressional Meeting on Capitol Hill, Washington DC, 14 May 2015.

Meeting with the former US Undersecretary of State, Ambassador Thomas Pickering, Washington DC, 15 May 2015.

Meeting with Dr John Duke Anthony, Director of the US-Arab Relations Council, Washington, DC.

Meeting with Ambassador Cynthia Schinider, Professor of Cultural Diplomacy, Georgetown

University, Cosmos Club, Washington, DC, 14 May 2015.

Discussions with Executive Director of the Atlantic Council, Director of the Centre for War Studies and Senior Research Fellow, Near East Institute, Washington, DC, 15 May 2015.

Meeting with HE The Hon. Kim Beazley, Australian Ambassador to United States and Dr Caroline Millar, Deputy Head of Mission, Australian Embassy in US, Washington, DC, 16 May 2015.

Meetings and discussions with a number of senior academics at Princeton University throughout of my stay at the University.

INTERVIEWS

Numerous media interviews for national and international television and radio networks.

ROBERT BOWKER FEATURE ARTICLES

'Australia treads a cautious path with Iran', *The Drum Opinion*, 22 April 2015. [abc.net.au/news/2015-04-22/bowker-australia-treads-a-cautious-path-with-iran/6411548]

Interviewed by Nozhan Etezadosaltaneh, 'Raising Questions on Egypt', *Shargh newspaper*, Tehran, 10 May 2015.

'Assad's regime is brittle, and it may fall fast', *The Interpreter*, 19 May 2015. [lowyinterpreter.org/post/2015/05/19/Is-the-Assad-regime-brittle.aspx?COLLCC=2394113784&]

'Syria: The world must prepare for a new humanitarian crisis', *The Interpreter*, 19 May 2015. [lowyinterpreter.org/post/2015/05/19/world-must-prepare-for-new-humanitarian-disaster-Syria.aspx]

LECTURES, SEMINARS & CONFERENCES

'Navigating the Arab World after the Uprisings', *Mediterranean Academy of Diplomatic Studies 25th Annual Conference*, Malta, 3 December 2014.

'The Arab Outlook', *Mediterranean Academy of Diplomatic Studies*, Malta, 4 December 2014

'Iraq, Syria, Iran and ISIS', *Mediterranean Academy of Diplomatic Studies*, Malta, 5 December 2014.

Political Islam Seminars, CAIS, February, April & June 2015.

'Syria', University of the 3rd Age, Canberra, 10 June 2015.

RESEARCH, PUBLICATIONS, OUTREACH ACTIVITIES

INTERVIEWS

Numerous interviews including ABC TV and Radio, SBS World News, Channel 10, Sky News, Channel 7, Channel 9; The Wire. al Jazeera English, Malta Independent.

MATTHEW GRAY

FEATURE ARTICLES

'The World's Largest Stateless Nation?', *Inside Story*, 5 February 2015 [also a review of Mahir A. Aziz, *The Kurds of Iraq: Nationalism and Identity in Iraqi Kurdistan* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2014)], [insidestory.org.au/the-worlds-largest-stateless-nation]

'Conflict out of Chaos', *Inside Story*, 20 March 2015 [also a review of Patrick Cockburn, *The Rise of Islamic State: ISIS and the New Sunni Revolution* (London: Verso, 2015)], [insidestory.org.au/conflict-out-of-chaos]

LECTURES, SEMINARS & CONFERENCES

'The Dynamics of Change in the Middle East', Senior Executive Development Program, National Security College, ANU, Canberra, 5 November 2014.

Briefing to officers of the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade on Middle East/ Gulf issues, Canberra, 18 November 2014.

'National Security Policy Implications: The Dynamics of Change in the Middle East', Executive Level 1 Development Program, National Security College, ANU, Canberra, 18 March 2015.

'Behind the Veil: Politics, Society, Tradition and Change in Saudi Arabia', University of the Third Age, Belconnen, Canberra, 17 March 2015.

Political Islam Seminars, CAIS, February, April & June 2015.

KIRILL NOURZHANOV

JOURNAL ARTICLE

'Bandits, warlords, national heroes: interpretations of the Basmachi movement in Tajikistan', *Central Asian Survey*, Vol. 34, No 2, June 2015, pp. 177-189.

LECTURES, SEMINARS & CONFERENCES

'Between Geopolitics and a Traditional Bazaar: Regional Perspectives on the Eurasian Union in Central Asia', *A Quarter Century of Post-Communism: Interdisciplinary Perspectives*, University of Canterbury, Christchurch, New Zealand,

2-3 February 2015.

Chair: China and post-communism and UK: Social Justice and the Postcommunist Experience, *A Quarter Century of Post-Communism: Interdisciplinary Perspectives*, University of Canterbury, Christchurch, New Zealand, 2-3 February 2015.

Chair: 'Spatial Constructs Of Security In Central Asia: Demographics, Migration And Identity as Factors of Regional Stability', *International Studies Association 56th Annual Convention*, 18 February 2015, New Orleans, Louisiana.

'Central Asia and the Eurasian Union: Regional Perspectives on the Post-Soviet Integration Project', *International Studies Association 56th Annual Convention*, 19 February 2015, New Orleans, Louisiana.

Political Islam Seminars, CAIS, February, April & June 2015.

OUTREACH

RMC Duntroon lecture 'Russia and the Crisis in Ukraine', 29 April 2015.

SERVICE

In February 2015, Dr Nourzhanov was elected as president of the Australasian Association for Communist and Post-Communist Studies (AACaPS) for a term of 2 years.

MEDIA

8 television and radio interviews.

ZAHRA TAHERI

LECTURES, SEMINARS & CONFERENCES

'One Destination, Two Paths: The image of women in Attar's *Nameh*', *Congress of Spiritual Horizon and Works of Attar-e-Neyshabouri*, Faculty of Literature of Humanities, University of Isfahan, Iran, 12 and 13 April 2015.

MINERVA NASSER-EDDINE

LECTURES, SEMINARS & CONFERENCES

Political Islam Seminars, CAIS, February & April 2015.

HUDA AL-TAMIMI

BOOK

Arabic Literature through History, Dar Al Saqi Publishers, Beirut, 2015.

OMID MALEK BEHBAHANI

LECTURES, SEMINARS & CONFERENCES

'Simin Behbahani: An Icon and Iconoclast', The Hamid and Christina Moghadam Program in Iranian Studies, Stanford University, 13 December 2014.

FRANCE MEYER

BOOKS

Translation of *Les noces du palais*, (*The Wedding Song*) by Naguib Mahfouz, Actes sud Publishing, 2015, pp 176.

Translation of *1000 coups de fouet parce que j'ai osé parler librement*, by Raif Badawi, (*1000 lashes - because I say what I think*), Kero, 2015, pp 64.

RAIHAN ISMAIL

FEATURE ARTICLES

'The Shia Question in Saudi Arabia', Middle East Institute, 22 June 2015. [mei.edu/content/map/shi%E2%80%98question-saudi-arabia]

LECTURES, SEMINARS & CONFERENCES

'Religion in the war zone: Driver of conflict, force of peace?', School of Social and Political Sciences, The University of Melbourne, 23 April 2015.

Political Islam Seminars, CAIS, February, April & June 2015.

'Islam', Batemans Bay High School students, CAIS, 1 May 2015.

'ISIS and the Middle East', John XXIII College, ANU, 20 May 2015.

M. MURAT YURTBILIR

LECTURES, SEMINARS & CONFERENCES

Political Islam Seminars, CAIS, April & June 2015.

'Islam', Batemans Bay High School students, CAIS, 1 May 2015.

'From 'Zero Problems' to 'Precious Loneliness': Turkish Foreign Policy under Justice and Development Party', School of Humanities & Social Sciences, UNSW Canberra @ ADFA, 22 May 2015.

OUTREACH

Briefing to Joint Standing Committee

RESEARCH, PUBLICATIONS, OUTREACH ACTIVITIES

on Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade - Outcomes and Implications of Turkey's General Election, 17 June 2015.

INTERVIEWS

'Turkey's Excavation of the Ottoman Grave from Syria', Radio 2SER Breakfast, 26 February 2015.

'Turkish election: Ruling Party Loses Parliamentary Majority', *The World Today*, ABC Radio, 8 June 2015.

'Elections in Turkey Set to Usher in a New Era', *The Wire*, 9 June 2015.

ADEL ABDEL GHAFAR

BOOK CHAPTER

'The moment the barrier of fear broke down', Asaad Al Saleh, (Ed.) *Voices of the Arab Spring: Personal Stories of the Arab Revolutions*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2015, pp 55-59.

LECTURES, SEMINARS & CONFERENCES

Political Islam Seminars, CAIS, February, April & June 2015.

ZAID ALSALAMI

LECTURES, SEMINARS & CONFERENCES

Political Islam Seminars, CAIS, February & April 2015.

SHUHRAT BARATOV

LECTURES, SEMINARS & CONFERENCES

'Tajikistan and the Uzbek Issue in Tajikistan's Identity Politics and Foreign Policy' *A Quarter Century of Post-Communism: Interdisciplinary Perspectives*, University of Canterbury, Christchurch, New Zealand, 2-3 February 2015.

AMINAT CHOKOBAEVA

BOOK CHAPTER

'Born for Misery and Woe: Remembering the 1916 Great Revolt in Kyrgyzstan', Third International Graduate Students' Conference on Holocaust and Genocide Studies, Center for Holocaust and Genocide Studies, Clark University, Worcester, MA, 9-12 April 2015.

BRENTON CLARK

JOURNAL ARTICLE

'Ahmadinejad, Iran, and Foreign Policy Dysfunction in Tajikistan', *Asian Politics and Policy*, Vol. 7 No. 2, pp. 213-244.

FIROUZEH KHOSHNOUDIPARAST

FEATURE ARTICLE

with Srinjoy Bose, 'US Credibility in the Middle East and the Nuclear Deal with Iran', *E-International Relations*, 6 June 2015. [e-ir.info/2015/06/06/us-credibility-in-the-middle-east-and-the-nuclear-deal-with-iran/]

LECTURES, SEMINARS & CONFERENCES

'What motivates extremist jihad violence', *1st International Conference on World Against Violence and Extremism*, Institute for Political and International Studies in Tehran-Iran, 9-10 December 2014.

JESSIE MORITZ

BOOK REVIEW

Toby Matthiesen. 'Sectarian Gulf: Bahrain, Saudi Arabia, and the Arab Spring that Wasn't', Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2013, *Asian Studies Review*, Vol. 38, No. 4, December 2014, pp. 705-706.

FEATURE ARTICLES

'Prospects for National Reconciliation in Bahrain: Is it Realistic?' *Arab Gulf States Institute in Washington*, April 2015. [www.agsiw.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/04/Moritz_Bahrain.pdf].

LECTURES, SEMINARS & CONFERENCES

'Nationalism, Loyalty, and Dissent: A Comparative Study of Reformist Movements in Bahrain and Oman Since 2011', Middle Eastern Studies Association (MESA) Annual Meeting, Washington D.C., USA, 22-25 November 2014.

JACKY SUTTON

LECTURES, SEMINARS & CONFERENCES

'Women's peacemaking initiatives in the Middle East', Soroptomists International in NSW, International Women's Day, 8 March 2015.

'Afghanistan: Women, violence and elections', CAIS, 10 April 2015.

Facilitated a media law seminar, Seychelles Media Commission in Victoria, 13-14 April 2015.

'Counting the Cost: Gender and the structural inequality of Afghanistan's electoral framework', *Gender, Conflict and Security: Perspectives from South Asia Conference*, South Asian University Delhi, 23-24 April 2015.

Panelist UNSCR 1325 and the Women, Peace and Security Agenda, Women peacemakers in Iraq and Afghanistan, *Women's International League for Peace and Freedom 100th Anniversary Conference*, Canberra, 30 April 2015.

'Women's media in Iraq and Afghanistan', and Women in elections in Afghanistan', *International Feminist Journal of Politics Conference*, University of Queensland, 18-19 June 2015.

DIRK VAN DER KLEY

LECTURES, SEMINARS & CONFERENCES

'Chinese discourse on the Eurasian Customs Union', *A Quarter Century of Post-Communism: Interdisciplinary Perspectives*, University of Canterbury, Christchurch, New Zealand, 2-3 February 2015.

ELISABETH YARBAKSHSH

BOOK REVIEW

Shabnam J Holliday, 'Defining Iran: Politics of Resistance', Farnham UK and Burlington USA, Ashgate, 2011, in *Asian Studies Review*, Vol. 39, No. 2, 2015.

LECTURES, SEMINARS & CONFERENCES

'Imagining Beyond Borders: Afghan Refugees in Iran', *Asylum seeker and refugee policy: What is the role of evidence?* Researchers for Asylum Seekers, University of Melbourne, 10 November 2014.

'Iranian hospitality and Afghan refugees in the city of Shiraz', *Central and West Asia and their diasporas*, Monash University, 14-16 March 2015.

INTERVIEWS

'Iran nuclear deal and update on Iran nuclear deal', ABC World View with Tim Holt, 25 November 2014 and 7 April 2015.

ALY ZAMAN

LECTURES, SEMINARS & CONFERENCES

Political Islam Seminars, CAIS, February, April & June 2015.



Centre for Arab and Islamic Studies
(The Middle East & Central Asia)
College of Arts and Social Sciences
The Australian National University
Canberra ACT 0200
AUSTRALIA

Professor Amin Saikal *AM FASSA*
(Director)

t: (61) 2 6125 4982
f: (61) 2 6125 5410
e: cais@anu.edu.au
w: cais.anu.edu.au

CAIS Bulletin

ISSN 1322 0462

The Bulletin is published bi-annually by
the Centre for Arab and Islamic Studies
(The Middle East & Central Asia).

Its aim is to provide information about
the Centre's activities and to disseminate
knowledge about the regions of its
coverage. Articles and commentaries
appearing in the Bulletin do not
necessarily reflect the views of CAIS.

If you wish to advertise your business or
conference in the Bulletin please contact
Anita Mack:

t: 61 2 6125 4928
e: anita.mack@anu.edu.au

For further information, write to

The Editorial Board
Centre for Arab and Islamic Studies
(The Middle East & Central Asia)
College of Arts and Social Sciences
The Australian National University
Canberra ACT 0200

or email cais@anu.edu.au



CENTRE FOR ARAB & ISLAMIC STUDIES

The Middle East & Central Asia

Higher Degree by Research
Master of Philosophy (MPhil)
Doctor of Philosophy (PhD)

**Master of Middle Eastern & Central
Asian Studies (MMECAS) – Coursework**

**Master of Middle Eastern & Central
Asian Studies Advanced (MMECAS-A)
– Coursework and sub-thesis**

**Master of Islam in the Modern World
(MIMW) – Coursework**

**Graduate Certificate of Arts
(specialising in Middle Eastern and
Central Asian Studies) – Coursework**

Enquiries

T 02 6125 1061
E cais@anu.edu.au