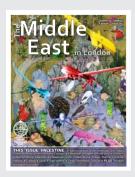


THIS ISSUE: PALESTINE • Kerry's billions • An interview with Walid Khalidi • Raves, prison cells and Foucault • Palestinian refugees and the politics of return • Remembering Palestine • Palestinian youth challenge the Prawer Plan • A cultural mission • Finding a voice • Two poems • Photo competition results • PLUS Reviews and events in London



Birds of Paradise, 2011, by Palestinian artist Laila Shawa © Laila Shawa

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Palestinians of Jerusalem risking their lives to reach family and friends split up by the wall, Jerusalem (2012)

Roger Hardy, MEL Editorial Board Adam Hanieh, SOAS

his issue marks the second anniversary of the founding of the Centre for Palestine Studies at SOAS. The Centre was inaugurated in March 2012 to bring together scholars from a variety of academic disciplines and provide an institutional home for the broad range of work on Palestine and the Palestinians which has long been carried out at SOAS.

We are using the occasion to highlight some of the current work at SOAS on political, economic, legal and social aspects of Palestine past and present. At the same time, this special issue examines a number of current (and often highly-charged) themes related to the Israel-Palestine problem. For months now, the US Secretary of State John Kerry has been travelling to the Middle East in an effort to revive the Israeli-Palestinian peace process. In our Insight column, a young Palestinian researcher, Alaa Tartir, who has recently returned from the West Bank, provides a critique of the economic dimension of the Obama administration's (largely unadvertised) plans.

Elsewhere in the issue, Nimer Sultany looks at the wave of Palestinian protest provoked by an Israeli plan (currently shelved) to resettle the Bedouin of the Negev. This, he argues, was a moment when the type of popular protest made familiar by the Arab Spring was played out on Palestinian streets. Another SOAS scholar, Ruba Salih, explores the debate on one of the most sensitive and contentious issues that will have to be addressed in any future peace settlement: the fate of the Palestinian refugees.

Also in this special issue, we honour the work of the father of Palestine studies, Walid Khalidi, who talks to Dina Matar about his pioneering work, and reflects on how research on the events of 1948 and their consequences has evolved and developed over time. Given the magazine's raison d'être, we have not neglected the activities of Palestinians in London. We profile the work of the Qattan Foundation (in London, as well as in Gaza and the West Bank), and invite older-generation Palestinians to share their memories of 1948

and describe what led them to settle in the British capital. One of those interviewed, the Gaza-born artist Laila Shawa, has kindly allowed us to use one of her most striking works on the cover of the magazine.

In addition to our usual book reviews, we report on the Palestine Book Awards, which have become an annual event in London highlighting new books by Palestinians and on Palestine-related issues ranging from politics and fiction to travel and cooking. This issue also reflects the work of two artists of the Palestinian diaspora: the singer Reem Kelani and the English-language poet Rafeef Ziadah.

Finally, it is with much pleasure that we take this opportunity to announce the winner and runners-up in the magazine's photo competition (2013). The response from photographers was overwhelming, and it was a daunting challenge for the Editorial Board to select a single winner. We hope you agree with the Board that the photos are truly stunning. We feel sure they will provide a rich resource for the magazine to exploit in issues to come.



Farhad Diba and Homa Katouzian

The exchange below resulted from an article written by Homa Katouzian in our special issue, IRAN – sixty years after the coup.

Dear Dr Hakimian

I have received my copy of *The Middle East in London*, containing some articles on 28 Mordad [the coup of 1953]. Due, maybe, to space restrictions, Dr Katouzian has not fully detailed the mission of the International Bank (IBRD). Dr Mosaddeq was most anxious to reach a settlement with that particular delegation, which he invited and welcomed to Iran. However, the IBRD did not act independently but took directions from the AIOC and the British government, who insisted that the *control* of oil could not be ceded to the Iranians.

The Iranian government was prepared to give the IBRD a power of attorney, to run oil production for a pre-determined time. However, the IBRD maintained that such power should be accorded to them by the AIOC, thus establishing the legal right of the AIOC to retain control. Lastly, advised by the British, the IBRD proposed that any agreement should include a clause for compensation for loss of future profit, which the Iranians categorically refused.

One of the best accounts of the failure of that mission is found in Dr Fouad Rouhani's book on the history of the nationalisation of Iranian oil.

> Farhad Diba (Author of the first English-language biography of Dr Mosaddeq)

Mosaddeq and the International Bank: Rejoinder to Mr Diba's Comment

The principal reason for the failure of the International Bank's mission was precisely that Iranians insisted it should act on their behalf, which Mr Diba describes as giving the Bank 'a power of attorney, to run oil production for a pre-determined time'. This was patently contrary to the whole idea of the Bank acting as a mediator, and would clearly be unacceptable to the British government and AIOC, who did not likewise expect the Bank to act on their behalf, but simply as an independent mediator. Thus the late Dr Fouad Rouhani writes in his detailed account of the subject that

...the major cause of the failure of the negotiations ... was precisely... that the Iranian government wanted the Bank to act as its agent and representative, whereas the Bank regarded itself as an independent mediator, and pointed out that, as far as they were concerned, both sides of the dispute had equal rights, and that the Bank could in no way act such that it would support the legal claims of either side... Thus [Robert L.]Garner [who led the Bank's mission] explained to the Iranian representatives that the Bank's intervention was possible only on the agreement of both the Iranian and the British government, and that any deviation from this position would contradict its neutrality. The Bank's point was obviously right, and as it later became clear, Dr Mosaddeg himself had

no qualms about it, but his advisers [told him] that it would be damaging to Iran's interest and so he changed his mind about the Bank's intervention. [Tarikh-e Melli Shodan-e San'at-e Naft-e Iran, Tehran: Amir Kabir, 1974, p. 254; see also Mostafa Fateh, Panjah Sal Naft-e Iran, Tehran: Peyam, 1979, p. 590]

It also follows from the above that the British government and AIOC did not expect the Bank to recognise their claim for loss of profit; simply that it would act without prejudice to the legal claims of either side to the dispute. And this was precisely the point of the Bank's mediation, namely to provide a two-year space in which the two sides would negotiate a settlement on the basis of their existing legal claims.

Homa Katouzian

We value feedback and comments from readers. Please send your letters to the Editor, Middle East in London.

Alaa Tartir takes a critical look at US economic plans for the occupied Palestinian territories

Kerry's billions



ince May 2013, there has been intense debate about US Secretary of State John Kerry's economic plan for the occupied Palestinian territories. The plan – known as the Palestine Economic Initiative (PEI) - aims to develop the economy of the West Bank and Gaza over the next three years, as a prerequisite for a political settlement to end the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. However, very few of those welcoming or criticising the plan know anything concrete about it. Hence I call it the 'invisible plan.' On a trip to the West Bank in December 2013, I met Palestinian and international officials involved directly or indirectly in the PEI. Their message was that there will not be, as many expect, a third intifada (uprising), but something very different: an 'investment intifada.'

The PEI is invisible to the Palestinian people, who are the last to know about it. The invisibility of the PEI is particularly problematic because it promises an unattainable outcome (a 50 per cent increase in Palestinian GDP over three years, a cut of two-thirds in unemployment rates and a virtual doubling of the Palestinian median wage). The disappointment this is likely to generate could produce unpleasant consequences. Many ordinary citizens I met in the West Bank fear that the PEI could be the biggest sell-out since the Oslo Accords of the 1990s.

As for the 'investment intifada,' the interviews I conducted reveal how desperate local and international officials are to create tangible benefits on the ground. The rationale is clear: offer the

Many ordinary citizens in the West Bank fear the plan could be the biggest sell-out since the Oslo Accords of the 1990s

Palestinians better economic conditions, keep them quiet, and after three years they will make further political compromises. This approach has failed over the last two decades, but it seems no one is learning from past mistakes. However, major transformations have taken place since 2005 which affect the peace-dividend rationale - namely, the security collaboration between the PA and Israel, and the PA's increasing authoritarianism. The Palestinian security forces are now better prepared to protect any political agreement. However, authoritarianism and oppression will always be contested, as many young Palestinian activists affirmed in my conversations with them. They insist that a 'peace dividend' can't buy freedom or justice.

The PEI will reportedly solicit around US\$ 4bn in aid and investment, which it will allocate to construction and housing, agriculture, tourism, information technology, building materials, power and

Aid has not brought peace, development or security – let alone justice – to the Palestinian people

energy, water and light manufacturing. However, a senior Palestinian official told me: 'We expect the figure to reach US\$ 11bn, instead of US \$4bn. We are not asking for favours, we are offering our market, economic resources and cheap labour for international investment.' Clearly, US\$ 11bn is a far cry from US\$ 4bn. The absorptive capacity of the Palestinian economy would need to be changed dramatically before the injection of such sums. Otherwise, this will be a perfect recipe for yet more wasted billions that will entrench the complex network of corruption between Palestinians and Israelis, and the PEI 'will be nothing but a palliative for a dangerous disease: the continuation of the occupation, as a former Palestinian planning minister wrote recently in the New York Times.

Radical and innovative change will require a dramatic shift in the overall framework for aid and economic development. It will also require moving beyond the territorial classification of the Oslo Accords (Areas A, B and C). Palestinians should not be pleading with the Israeli authorities to allow the donor community and international investors to invest in Area C, which comprises 61 per cent of the West Bank. Instead their efforts should be geared towards resisting the territorial fragmentation that Oslo created and Israeli military occupation has further entrenched. The need is to confront the

occupying power rather than following its rules: to change not merely the rules of the game, but the game itself.

A new narrative is emerging which presents Kerry's billions as an investment, not as aid. Those who have devised the PEI want to market it to governments, donors, multinational corporations, Israel and the public as an innovative plan. Indeed Tony Blair, the Quartet's representative, declared naively that 'this is the first time in history that such a fresh, comprehensive, innovative and broad approach has been taken.'

All this is problematic for several reasons. First, it is astonishing that the PA leadership is still dependent on the US and keen to maintain its exclusive sponsorship of the peace process. PA leaders even believe in the myth that the US is interested in pressuring Israel as a way to fulfil Palestinian demands. Second, the PA's prioritisation of the needs of the international community, as opposed to the needs of the Palestinian people, has not only eroded the PA's legitimacy at home but brought about its failure on all fronts. Twenty years on from the Oslo Accords, it is failing to bring Palestinians closer to their national goals. Also, the US\$ 24.6bn of international aid received over the last two decades has not brought peace, development or security - let alone justice to the Palestinian people.

Third, the PEI is not designed to address the imbalances of power between

the coloniser and colonised, but instead relies on the goodwill and co-operation of Israel. Thus it is Israel that will decide whether or not to give the green light to the PEI. The historical evidence suggests it will ease some restrictions and allow additional economic activity in the occupied territories, but will never jeopardise its 'strategic goals.' Continuing to depend on the colonial occupying power to develop an independent, viable and prosperous Palestinian economy is surreal.

Finally, while the US is the dominant player, the European Union (EU) is keen to play a part. But the EU has failed to become a major peace broker, despite the leverage of its aid to the Palestinians and its preferential trade relations with Israel. On the one hand, it has issued guidelines banning funding for projects in Israeli settlements in the occupied territories, but on the other it has upgraded its trade relations with Israel. It announced recently that a generous aid package would be offered to Palestinians and Israelis if they reached a peace agreement. It would also upgrade both parties to privileged-partner status. The sticks-and-carrots game played by the EU reinforces the conventional wisdom in the occupied territories that the 'the US decides, the World Bank leads, the EU pays, the UN feeds?

John Kerry has called his plan 'a new model for development.' Tony Blair has claimed it is unique in history. However, I am afraid that the plan (and the whole development industry in the occupied territories) will remain like teenage sex everybody claims they are doing it, but most people aren't, and those that are, are doing it very badly.

Alaa Tartir is a Palestinian writer and researcher who is working on a PhD at the LSE. He is the programme director of Al-Shabaka: The Palestinian Policy Network



(Opposite) A wall in a West Bank refugee camp: will the Kerry plan secure Palestinian rights, or deny them?

(Left) Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu, Secretary Kerry share dinner in Jerusalem before a meeting focused on Middle East peace on 4 January 2014

Dina Matar talks to Professor Khalidi about his pioneering work in promoting greater understanding of Palestine and the events of 1948

Palestine studies: an interview with Walid Khalidi



alid Khalidi is one of the most influential Palestinian scholars of the 20th and 21st centuries. Throughout his career he has single-mindedly promoted a deeper understanding of Palestine, its history, culture and people. In 1963, Professor Khalidi co-founded the Institute of Palestine Studies (IPS) in Beirut as an independent research centre focusing on Palestine and the Arab-Israeli conflict, and the publisher of the *Journal of Palestine Studies*.

Professor Khalidi's monumental work Before Their Diaspora: A Photographic

History of the Palestinians 1876-1948 brings together in one volume the largest collection of photographs and historical documents of the Palestinian people from the late Ottoman period up to the eve of the Palestinian Nakba (catastrophe) in 1948. The book is both an essential reference work and a valuable introduction to the history of the Palestinians before their dispossession in 1948. His other volume, All That Remains, documents in great detail the destroyed and depopulated Palestinian villages of pre-1948, recalling a vanished past and providing a potent reminder of

What constitutes the Palestine 'problem' ... is the phenomenon of the successful displacement and dispossession, within a single life-span, of an entire indigenous people

the extent of Israel's settler-colonial policies from the start.

Professor Khalidi was born in Jerusalem in 1925. He was educated at Oxford, where he taught until he resigned in protest over the British participation in the attack on Egypt in 1956. He has also taught at the American University of Beirut and has been a visiting research professor at Princeton and Harvard before becoming a senior research fellow at the Harvard Center for Middle East Studies.

How would you define the field, if we may call it so, of Palestine studies?

There is no generally accepted definition of the field of 'Palestine studies.' At the Institute of Palestine Studies, which celebrated

Without the infamous Balfour Declaration we would probably not be talking about Palestine studies today

its Golden Jubilee in 2013, we mean by Palestine studies the history of Palestine from the beginning of Zionist colonisation, in the early 1880s, and (since 1948) its derivative, the Arab-Israeli (inter-state) conflict, until the present. We include in our purview the history of Zionism (its ideology and practices), aspects of Israeli policies and strategies pertaining to Palestinians and Arabs since 1948, as well as the policies and strategies of selected powers with regard to the conflict in general, with particular reference to the US and the American lewish establishment.

How has the field evolved and what remains missing?

What remains missing depends on what you assume should be there in the first place. It is for the institution concerned with the study of Palestine to decide its focus in the light of its resources and with respect to its own perspectives and interests. If, at the IPS, we have fanned out so widely, it is because, even after fifty years, we still see ourselves as exploring and probing. Nevertheless, we believe that what constitutes the singularity of the Palestine 'problem,' and, by inference, what should be the central concern of Palestine studies is the unbelievable phenomenon of the successful displacement and dispossession in the post-colonial era, and in full daylight, within a single life-span, of an entire indigenous people, by immigrants, under the aegis of the leading Western secular democracies, justified by a bizarre arsenal of alibis including divine real-estate promises.

How important is it to provide alternative approaches to understanding Palestine that speak to and against Zionist hegemonic discourses?

Given the perverseness and gall of the ongoing Zionist/Israeli narrative, the IPS's raison d'être is to deny this narrative a free run and to affirm and celebrate Palestinian identity, heritage and resistance. From the beginning, the Palestinian narrative has been intuitively understood by Afro-Asian-Latin peoples. It also has increasing resonance in Western academia and mainstream churches as well as among minorities, and liberal and human-rights groups. On the other hand, political elites in

major Western metropolitan centres (and legislatures) seem, for a variety of reasons, impervious to it.

How is the emerging scholarship on Palestine, by Arabs themselves, helping to redefine the field and the understanding of Palestine?

The establishment of the IPS in Beirut in 1963 gave rise to the establishment, most notably, of the PLO Research Center, also in Beirut, in 1965/66. The first ever scholarly Palestinian quarterly in Arabic (Shu'un Filistiniyyah) was published by the centre, soon to be followed by the first Arabic encyclopaedia on Palestine (Al Mawsu'ah al Filistiniyyah) in seven massive volumes. The range of topics covered by the encyclopaedia was even wider than that of the IPS. It included the history of Palestine from ancient times, as well as Palestinian geology, topography, flora and fauna. It wasn't by accident that the Israeli army utterly destroyed the centre, looting all its books and archives during the 1982 invasion of Lebanon. Since then, several worthy centres focusing on Palestinian studies have been established in the West Bank and by Israeli Palestinians, each with a different focus

(economic, political, sociological) – and some more policy-oriented.

How relevant is it to have a Centre for Palestine Studies at SOAS?

It is very apt for SOAS to have its own Centre for Palestine Studies based in London, where the Balfour Declaration was made. The Zionist movement in Palestine was in the doldrums before the Balfour Declaration, and without this infamous pronouncement we would probably not be talking about Palestine studies today.

Dina Matar directs the Centre for Media and Film Studies at SOAS. She is the author of What It Means To Be a Palestinian: Stories of Palestinian Peoplehood (2011). The interview was conducted by e-mail

In March 2014 Professor Khalidi will deliver a keynote lecture at SOAS to mark the second anniversary of the establishment of the Centre for Palestine Studies (see listings)

(Opposite) Walid Khalidi

(Below) Palestine disturbances during summer 1936. Jaffa. No-man's land between Jaffa & Tel-Aviv (neutral zone)



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Nora Parr describes the wide range of PhD research at SOAS on Palestine-related issues

Raves, prison cells and Foucault: new approaches to Palestine studies



aves, prison cells and Foucault: perhaps not a traditional grouping, but uncannily related when the topic is Palestine and the exploration is one of space. From the personal and individual to the group negotiation of barriers erected under occupation, enclosure or fragmentation, raves and prison cells open up chances to explore confinement and liberation. Try sperm donation and social militarisation? A logical pairing when it's an exploration of gender norms and life under military control. From smuggled sperm from Palestinian prisoners to the construction of gender roles in Israel and Palestine, mechanisms for understanding 'where we come from' take on high-impact meaning when it comes to sex, gender and the Holy Land.

While Palestine may not be unique as a field that opens up through interdisciplinary enquiry, the challenges it raises for political, social, gender and literary theories just might be. Ongoing research at SOAS reveals not only some of the problematic assumptions that have held sway in the discourse on Palestine but also ways around them. This has become clear during the two years of research seminars held through the Centre for Palestine Studies.

Bringing together PhD researchers and

SOAS faculty, the seminars draw on what might well be the largest pool of thinkers on Palestine outside the Middle East. They foster the kinds of conversations that reveal obvious theoretical links between economics, literature, history, gender and nationalism. Research from the 2012/13 sessions included work from Lauren Banko and Oroub El-Abed, in a seminar that explored different facets of the discourse on Palestinian citizenship. El-Abed launched the seminars with her work on

From smuggled sperm from Palestinian prisoners to the construction of gender roles, mechanisms for understanding 'where we come from' take on meaning when it comes to sex, gender and the Holy Land how Jordan has sought to incorporate Palestinian refugee-citizens. Her paper looked at how the state attempts to activate Palestinian participation in social and political institutions and focused on how these efforts differed among socio-economic groups. What her work unearths is a way to understand the complex mechanisms of refugee integration and marginalisation, while significantly challenging conceptions of refugee status and belonging.

Adding to the question of rights and national belonging, Lauren Banko presented an investigation of citizenship at a rarely explored period of Palestinian history: the early years of the British mandate. Her look at discourses around citizenship for Palestinians under the mandate reveals an important debate between the status and implication of designations as colonial subjects, nationals or citizens. Her work looks at how these ideas were negotiated and how they later affected the mechanisms by which Palestinians would be dispossessed. Moreover it asks larger questions about the meaning and function of different modes of national belonging. By breaking down the early 20th century debates into those on rights to services, rights to political participation, rights to reside and rights to challenge existing systems, Banko asks us to think about the meaning and ramifications of citizenship, prompting a conversation about ways these ideas might be used to describe, or even change, the current conditions of citizenship in Palestine and its locations of exile.

I had the opportunity to discuss my own work on Palestinian literature alongside Nadeem Karkabi's enviable research on underground Palestinian music culture. This second seminar spurred a debate on the ways and means of overcoming and re-conceptualising 'fragmentation' and on methods of creating locations of belonging outside the bounded and singular locations of the nation. Karkabi's work took us on his travels through the desert and atop hilly olive groves where he collected ethnographic descriptions of raves. To the beat of Palestinian transnational fusion, Karkabi explained how he was able to explore the ways a host of 'identities' mixed and merged into a unique 'otherness' via the music. His work probes the very definition of the self at the heart of political, ethnic and geographical divides in Israel and the West Bank.

The determination of Karkabi's research subjects to explore the 'politics of pleasure' through music provided a fascinating

PhD researchers at SOAS are proving the essential nature of a forum for thought and critical enquiry on the past, present and future of Palestine

background for readings of Palestinian writer Ibrahim Nasrallah's novels. Looking at one of the Arabic Booker-nominated author's collections - the Balcony series my own research explored how Nasrallah's radical intertextuality is likewise breaking down barriers. Through the example of an inserted freezeframe of the 9/11 attacks in one novel (as a story in a story, or a text in a text), I explored the limits of the novel and its assumptions about national narrative. My presentation suggested that by pressing the presence of the past in the narrative 'now,' the freeze-frame and other similar 'texts' in the novel stress the lingering importance of past or distant events in an imagination of Palestinian community. Rather than a linear narrative, Palestinian fiction dislodges moments from the historical timeline so they can reappear and aid in the interpretation of the contemporary.

Drilling down into often-contentious areas of connection and interaction, a final panel explored relationships between Israel and Palestine, and how everything from Israel's legal framework to its gender norms are shaped by the ongoing relationship between occupier and occupied. Elian Weizman presented her work on options of resistance in which she examines different methods of counter-hegemonic action, within and outside the state legal system. Her discussion on the mechanism of dialectic between state and activists - how the actions of one shaped the other illuminated the logic of hegemony and the intimate relationship between power and action against it.

Tackling the matter from a separate angle, Katherine Natanel focused her research on the relationship between gender and normalisation. Where Weizman looked at conscious and deliberate actions, Natanel explored the intimate as it is embedded in a wider political sphere. Looking in particular at political stasis and apathy, she presented research into the construction and practice of gender roles and how they function to preserve the power dynamics undergirding forces of militarism and occupation.

Both papers looked critically at Palestine as a crucial and embedded element of Israeli society. This not only upended the standard method of discussion of Israel and Palestine but provided alternative

frames for articulating and understanding the deep, important and long-term effects of militarism. Sharri Plonski rounded out the first year of seminars with her work on maintenance and defence of Palestinian spaces by Palestinian citizens of Israel. Like others, Plonski looked at the interrelation between political action and state policies, in this case around strategies of segmentation and isolation. Reflecting on the creation of space through countermapping, transnational advocacy, political lobbying and demonstrations, her work unpacked the relationship between state, space, tactics and resistance.

Probing the gaps between theory and 'facts on the ground,' PhD researchers at SOAS working in the field of Palestine studies are proving not only the utility but the essential nature of a forum for thought and critical enquiry on the past, present and future of Palestine.

Nora Parr worked as a news editor in the West Bank before becoming a PhD student at SOAS

(Opposite) Images of Palestine: SOAS researchers are engaged in critical enquiry into Palestine's past, present and future

(Below) Ramallah woman, 1940s



Ruba Salih looks at how refugees have become pawns in the Israeli-Palestinian struggle

Palestinian refugees and the politics of return

The 1993 Oslo agreements signalled the beginning of a progressive marginalisation of the Palestinian refugee question that was dramatised with the release of the 'Palestine Papers' in 2011. By disclosing the secret negotiations between the Palestinian Authority and Israel on the return of a mere 1,000 refugees over a period of ten years, the Palestine Papers confirmed the absence of any plan to deliver justice to four generations of displaced and stateless people. They underscored a perception of Palestinian refugees as pawns whose rights could be tacitly and arbitrarily exchanged for minor concessions at the negotiating table with Israel.

The official dismissal of the Palestinian refugee question by its supposed national leadership has prompted, among many refugees, narratives and criticism that were previously considered taboo. In this gloomy context, Palestinian refugees are urged to make new sense of over sixty years of dispossession and exile, starting with bitter disillusion with the official narrative that their lack of rights and the temporary nature of their condition (avoiding tawteen, or naturalisation) were pre-conditions for return. The third, and even fourth, generations of Palestinians in exile still don't enjoy basic rights, and yet their return has never been as distant as it is today. In addition, the assumption that Palestinian refugees are eager to live temporary or suspended lives merely awaiting return to their national territory, where they will finally achieve rights and citizenship, does not do justice to the complexity of their aspirations and claims. These comprise the 'right to have rights,' alongside the right to return and to compensation for their lost land and properties. Refugees are articulating a new culture which reconciles two political projects and discourses - the

'right to return' (*haqq al-awda*), and the 'right to have rights.'

In the host states, the narrative of 'avoiding tawteen' as the pre-condition for the Palestinian return has, over the decades, legitimated and prolonged a problematic amnesia about issues of democracy, social justice and pluralism in a region where refugees' exclusion or suspension from rights or entitlements fits into an agenda of reinforcing confessional, tribal, national and gender hierarchies.

Refugees perceive return as a trope for multiple aspirations: return to origin and roots, to land and properties, to dignity as well as to individual and collective rights and freedom. This new 'politics of return' speaks to a wider spectrum of claims and entitlements that exist prior to and beyond the nationalist project and throws light on the flawed nature of contemporary manifestations of nationalism or the nationstate in the region and beyond. Palestinian refugees today can be seen as subaltern subjects whose claims and aspirations voice a project of democracy everywhere they are. By operating through the framework of democracy and self-determination rather than nationalism or modernity, Palestinian refugees contribute to the emergence of what the scholar Partha Chatterjee has defined as a 'political society.' Chatterjee coined the term to denote those new aspirations and claims that in many postcolonial contexts emerged outside, and in opposition to, the earlier liberal consensus of state-civil society relations.

Political societies are interested in a project of democracy rather than in one



The entrance to a refugee camp in the West Bank: the key is a powerful symbol of the dream of return

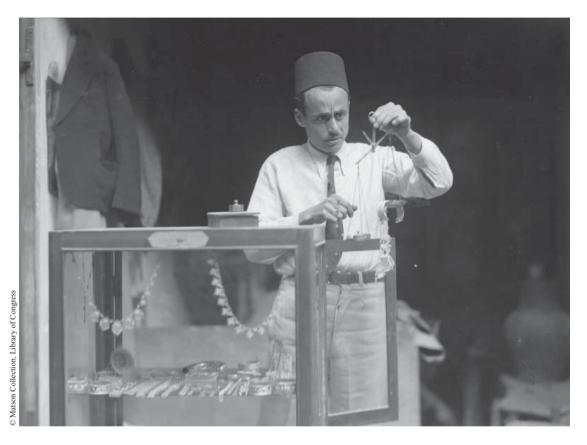
of nationalism and modernisation, from which they are excluded or in which they are only partially included. While their idioms are still nationalist, these movements may encompass and express different types of allegiances, aspirations, claims and solidarities beyond the nation-state, which come to be scrutinised, contested and even challenged.

Ruba Salih works on refugee issues at SOAS, where she is Reader in Gender Studies

Palestinian refugees today can be seen as subaltern subjects, whose claims and aspirations voice a project of democracy everywhere they are

Palestinians in London talk to *Roger Hardy* about their memories of home –
and the journey that led them to Britain

Remembering Palestine



Arab jeweller, Old City of Jerusalem, 1930s

asked Laila Shawa what she missed most. 'I miss the smell of Gaza in the spring, when you choked from the smell of the orange blossom.' Now in her early seventies, Laila is a well-known Palestinian artist who has lived in London for 35 years. She never imagined she would settle here. But now, she says, 'I would call myself a Londoner. The city has been my home for more than half my life.'

I heard a similar story from other Palestinians of Laila's generation. Their reasons for moving to London differed. Some came as refugees in 1948, after the end of British rule in Palestine and the birth of the state of Israel. Some came as students. Some had settled in neighbouring Lebanon but left after the outbreak of the civil war there in 1975. All became, to a greater or lesser degree, Londoners; but seldom by choice.

No one seems to know how many Palestinians there are in Britain. An estimate from 2001 suggested 25,000. 'We are statistically invisible,' says Abbas Shiblak, a Palestinian writer and researcher. Many are officially listed according to the country they settled in, as Lebanese or Jordanians or Syrians. In Britain, says Abbas, the Palestinians are a small community, they are scattered and they have few community institutions.

'Politics no longer unites us. It divides us'

There is a Palestinian Community Association in London which brings people together – mostly professionals and those with an interest in politics. But in recent years the split between the two main Palestinian factions, Fatah and Hamas, has to some extent been replicated in London. 'Politics no longer unites us,' says Abbas. 'It divides us.'

Abbas himself was born in Haifa in 1944. He has a child's memories of 1948: 'I remember the day I was bundled into a small black car, together with my parents, two sisters and a brother. We carried few possessions, but they were enough to fill every nook and cranny in the vehicle. Among them was a Singer sewing machine, which my mum continued to use for several

'Now [Gaza] is only a memory – which is something I never imagined I would say. I just wish to God it wasn't'

years, as well as an *oud* (lute) which my parents were very attached to. My mother would often sing the Arabic song so popular at the time, "Marmar Zamani", a love song that reflected the bitter-sweet times of two lovers.

The Shiblaks did not leave Palestine, but moved from Haifa to Nablus, in the West Bank, where they stayed until their money ran out. They eventually settled in Lebanon. Abbas went to London to study in 1975. He worked as a journalist and later for the Arab League. When Iraq invaded Kuwait in 1990, he was detained by the British authorities as a supposed security threat. Only after a high-profile campaign by supporters was he released.

In 1993 he joined the Refugee Studies Centre in Oxford. This enabled him, while working on a European Union project, to return to Haifa, where he managed to revisit his family home. He shared the hope of some of his friends that the Oslo peace accords would usher in real peace. He was able to settle in Ramallah, in the West Bank, where he lived with his wife and two children for a couple of years. But the breakdown of the peace process and the onset of violence prompted the family to return to London.

Leaving Jerusalem

For the Cotrans, a Palestinian Christian family in Jerusalem, 1948 had a different meaning, though no less traumatic. I met Eugene Cotran, now 75, at his home in west London, together with his brother Omeir, who is four years older. 'My father, Michel, was quite a big shot,' Eugene told me. 'His last job in Palestine was as deputy chief registrar to the judiciary.' As such, he was instrumental in appointing magistrates, and one of the most senior Arab officials in the British administration.

The two brothers studied at the Collège des Frères, in the Old City of Jerusalem – mostly run, they recall, by Irish priests. They remember being taken by their father to meet the Mufti, Hajj Amin al-Husseini. 'He was the unchallenged leader,' says Eugene, not only in Palestine but later from exile in Baghdad and Cairo. They also remember standing on the balcony of their apartment in Jerusalem and watching the smoke rising from the King David Hotel, after it was bombed by the Irgun, a right-wing Zionist group, in 1946.

Not long afterwards, Michel Cotran decided it was no longer safe for his family to stay. The brothers still remember the day in 1947 when they left with two other Palestinian families, under armed guard, in a convoy of cars which drove via Gaza to Egypt. Michel stayed behind, only joining his family in May 1948, after the end of the mandate. He went on to become a judge of the High Court in Sudan and chief justice of the Cameroons.

Eugene and Omeir studied at the elite Victoria College in Alexandria and then moved to Britain to continue their education. Omeir developed a successful textile business in Yorkshire. Eugene became a lawyer and a visiting professor at SOAS. He was the first Palestinian in Britain to become a judge of the Crown Court.

Staying in Gaza

For Laila Shawa, the experience of 1948 was different because Gaza was different. She belonged to a wealthy and politically influential family. Her father, grandfather and great-grandfather had been mayors of Gaza. Before 1948, she recalls, Gaza City was a quiet town by the sea, with 'the whitest beaches I've ever seen,' surrounded by orange groves.

In 1948 they stayed put – but were joined by an influx of refugees from other parts of Palestine. The city's population quadrupled. Gaza came under Egyptian rule, then in 1967 under Israeli occupation. In the meantime Laila had gone to Cairo to study. Here her artistic talent was recognised. She went to art schools in Italy and Austria, where she studied with Oskar Kokoschka.

She settled in Lebanon but was still able to visit Gaza regularly. 'I met a British architect in Beirut who I ended up marrying – and we came to live in London.' Although the city was not her chosen home, it has become essential to her work. 'I'm very integrated into the art world here.'

Laila hasn't been back to Gaza for 14 or 15 years. 'Now it's only a memory – which is something I never imagined I would say. I just wish to God it wasn't.'

Roger Hardy is a writer and journalist, a visiting fellow at King's College, London, and the LSE and a member of the Editorial Board





Children of War, Children of Peace, 1996, by Laila Shawa

Nimer Sultany assesses the significance of the protests that erupted over Israel's plans to resettle the Palestinian Bedouin

Palestinian youth challenge the Prawer Plan



Demonstration in Haifa, 30 July 2013

n 12 December 2013, the Israeli government decided to withdraw the parliamentary bill that advanced the Prawer-Begin Plan for the resettlement of tens of thousands of Bedouin in the Naqab (Negev). The plan sought to resolve the historical dispute between the Palestinian Bedouin and the state over land rights in Palestine's southern desert. These Bedouin have lived in dozens of communities that are not recognised by the state. Although the communities have existed for decades, in some cases prior to the state's establishment, they remain illegal under Israeli law, so are not provided with basic services and are repeatedly demolished. Al-Araqib, for instance, has been demolished over fifty times. The state has also criminalised land use by these residents and has occasionally destroyed their crops by spraying toxic chemicals from

The Prawer-Begin Plan meant the

demolition of dozens of villages, the relocation of thousands of Bedouin from their ancestral lands to a few designated communities and the offer of meagre monetary compensation in return for the denial of historical land rights over most of the Nagab. The prospect of forced removal held no appeal for the Bedouin not only because it rejected their historical rights, but also because a previous government plan in the 1970s to concentrate the Bedouin in a few towns ended up creating unemployment, poverty and centres of crime. This fate is unsurprising given the lack of serious state investment in infrastructure and unfair and inequitable educational and employment opportunities. Moreover, state officials' long-standing Zionist rhetoric of judaising the Nagab did not help convince the indigenous population that the Prawer-Begin Plan was a development plan for their benefit.

The state rescinded the plan after former

The struggle against the Prawer Plan affirms the utility of popular struggle and highlights the crucial role of youth in shaping it

minister Benny Begin, one of its main architects, admitted that he had never obtained the Bedouin's consent for the project. This admission undermined one of the government's main justifications for the plan. Yet the plan was quashed in the aftermath of a public outcry. Arab members of the Knesset and human-rights organisations such as Adalah played a role in opposing the plan. The main credit, however, goes to street demonstrations. The first demonstrations started on a small scale - in Beersheba in the south, Umm al-Fahem in the northern Triangle and Sakhnin in the Galilee - on 15 July 2013. The protestors attempted to close main traffic intersections and were met with police violence. Then, on 1 August, much larger demonstrations were organised in Arah in the northern Triangle and at the Naqab's Lehavim intersection. This time the police 'kettled' the demonstrators at the entrance to A'rah and - using horses, tear gas, and making several arrests - prevented them from closing the intersection. Three months later, on 30 November, larger crowds in two major demonstrations - this time in the mixed city of Haifa in the north and in Hura

The slogan 'The people want the fall of the [Prawer] Plan' was inspired by calls during the Arab Spring

in the south – faced similar attempts at kettling, higher levels of police violence and dozens of arrests.

These demonstrations are not only notable for their ultimate success in achieving their well-defined objective (quashing the Prawer Plan), but for the fact that they were not organised by established political parties - although some of the young organisers are active in existing parties - nor by the Follow-Up Committee. They are also noteworthy for their bottomup and non-hierarchical organisation; the organisers (the youth movement) have no defined leadership, and in the demonstrations the political party leaders who showed up had no say over the course of the demonstration. Indeed, they were rebuffed when they attempted to do so.

Another striking feature of the protests was the organisers' extensive use of social media (such as Facebook) and the build-up of momentum from one demonstration to another (ultimately attracting the national and international media). Also notable was the unity displayed between Arabs residing in the Naqab, Galilee and the Triangle; for them the displacement of the Bedouin is part and parcel of decades-long policies of land confiscation directed at the entire Palestinian minority.

An additional feature of the protests was the role of women. Young women were at the forefront of all the demonstrations. Moreover, on 15 September 2013 the Haifabased Palestinian Feminist Forum brought around a hundred Arab women from the centre and north to meet with Bedouin women in the south to raise awareness of their plight, their role and the Prawer Plan.

Finally, by aiming to close road intersections and disrupt traffic, these protests signalled a politicisation of popular struggle that runs counter to the de-politicisation/de-radicalisation of the commemoration of Land Day (marking Israeli confiscation of land in 1976) and of the October 2000 events (mass protests by Arab citizens in Israel against Israeli oppression in the West Bank and Gaza). The Palestinian leadership in Israel disagrees over how to mark these events and, as a consequence, they have not declared general

strikes on these days. Without a general strike, the commemorations are stripped of the political aspect of protest evident in collective action and mobilisation. Moreover, this politicisation runs counter to the de-politicised social protests in Israel in the summer of 2011 (against the government's economic policies) and in the West Bank in September 2012 (against then-Prime Minister Salam Fayyad's policies and the rise in the cost of living) in the aftermath of the Arab Spring.

As such, the campaign against the Prawer Plan affirms the utility of popular struggle and highlights the crucial role of youth in shaping it. This youth struggle has been the first major case in which the imprint of the Arab Spring has been evident in the Palestinian minority's struggle. The main slogan – "The people want the fall of the [Prawer] Plan' – was inspired by calls during the Arab Spring for the fall of autocratic regimes.

A youth-led rejuvenation of popular struggle, however, faces a difficult road

ahead given the worsening conditions of the Palestinian minority and the current trends within the Israeli political system. The Prawer Plan will not be the last attempt to judaise the Nagab. Since 1977, Israeli politics have been moving steadily to the right. The rise of neo-liberal and ethno-centric policies has led to higher poverty rates among Arab citizens (65.8 per cent of Palestinian children in Israel were classified as poor in 2010), lower graduation rates from high schools (only 32 per cent of students graduated in 2008) and higher rates of crime and organised crime. (In 2011, although Palestinian citizens accounted for 18 per cent of Israel's population, they comprised more than 50 per cent of convicted criminals in prison and 67 per cent of all murder suspects.)

It remains to be seen how this mode of popular struggle will develop against such a backdrop.

Nimer Sultany is a lecturer in public law at SOAS



Israeli police at demonstrations against the Prawer Plan, 30 November 2013

Roger Hardy profiles the work of the Oattan Foundation and the family that runs it

A cultural mission



For Abdul-Mohsin al-Qattan, education is the key to the Palestinians' future

Since the Mosaic Rooms opened in London's Cromwell Road in 2008, it has established itself as a vibrant centre of Arab art and culture, under the direction of the Palestinian film-maker Omar al-Qattan.

The project is the brainchild of the A. M. Qattan Foundation, named after Omar's father, the Palestinian businessman Abdul-Mohsin al-Qattan. Abdul-Mohsin, now in

his mid-80s, is a Palestinian from Jaffa who settled in Kuwait, where he met his wife Leila, from Tulkarem in the West Bank. Both were schoolteachers.

Abdul-Mohsin went on to establish a successful construction business, and in the 1960s the family moved to Beirut. It was here that Omar was born and grew up. But the outbreak of the Lebanese civil war in 1975 forced them to return to Kuwait.

The Qattans felt that the cultural crisis in the Arab world was not due to a lack of resources, but was rooted in culture and education

Omar was sent to school in Britain. Later he studied in Cairo, Oxford and Brussels, where he started his career as a film-maker. His first full-length feature film, *Dreams* and Silence, came out in 1991 to widespread acclaim.

Education, education

This was a moment of malaise in the region, following the traumatic war to free Kuwait from Iraqi occupation. 'We felt,' says Omar, 'that the Arab world was undergoing a major cultural crisis. This is an incredible region – with so much wealth, with the three great monotheistic religions, with strategic importance – and yet everything

was being screwed up. The Qattans were convinced that the problem was not a lack of resources, but was rooted in culture and education.

'Both my parents started their lives as schoolteachers,' Omar explains. 'Like that whole generation of Palestinian refugees, they were obsessed with education, which was their most important asset.' The problem had both an Arab and a Palestinian dimension. Surveys showed that the standard of education in the West Bank and Gaza – which had once been high – had begun to collapse after the First Intifada (uprising) of the late 1980s.

With the creation of the Palestinian Authority in the 1990s, funds were being poured into infrastructure. That was important, the family believed, but it wasn't enough. So in 1993, using money generated by their construction business, the Qattans set up a foundation – and, before long, Omar was spending much of his time helping them run it.

The foundation's main focus is on Palestinian education – principally in the West Bank and Gaza, but also among refugees in Lebanon. It operates on three main tracks. From its base in Ramallah in the West Bank, it runs the Centre for Educational Research and Development, which works directly with Palestinian teachers to help them raise standards. Among its initiatives, the centre encourages the use of drama in education, and gives particular emphasis to developing the teaching of science.

Second, because of the special needs of the 1.7 million people of Gaza, the foundation established the Qattan Centre

Based in Gaza City, the Qattan Centre for the Child is home to one of the largest children's libraries anywhere in the Arab world, with over 100,000 books

for the Child. Based in Gaza City, the centre is home to one of the largest children's libraries anywhere in the Arab world, with over 100,000 books. It also runs a theatre and organises a range of activities which benefit 45,000 children annually.

Third, in an extension of its core activities, the foundation works with artists and writers to promote Palestinian and Arab art and culture.

Spreading the word

It was this last aim which inspired the foundation to set up the Mosaic Rooms in London, where, in its own words, it showcases 'some of the most exciting, progressive and creative voices from the Arab world.' The range is wide, including art, literature, music, history, food – and lively political debate.

Omar and his colleagues have found London a welcoming environment. The city is so big, he says, that there's always plenty going on – yet there's always room for more. Culture, as he puts it, 'spreads like bush-fire'.

The Mosaic Rooms uses its gallery for art exhibitions. It provides a venue to launch books. It has held poetry events, including a celebration of the Syrian poet Adonis. It runs a small bookshop. It provides a studio for visiting Arab artists, encouraging them to write a blog about their experiences. It has not shunned politics or political controversy, hosting a heated discussion of

the conflict in Syria and a series of events on Israel/Palestine, including in 2011 a photographic exhibition, From Palestine to Israel (accompanied by a book of the same title, published by Pluto Press).

The audience for these events has been mainly non-Middle Eastern. 'We are not preaching to the choir,' says Omar.

Until 2004, the family had made it a point of principle to fund the foundation's activities itself. It wanted to show that, standing alone, a Palestinian family could produce educational and cultural projects to an international standard. But, having made its point, over the last decade the foundation has shown itself ready to work with others – provided there are no strings attached. Its budget for 2012/13 was US\$ 8million, of which forty per cent came from external funding (from such bodies as the European Union, the Belgian Development Agency, the Ford Foundation, Arts Council England and Save the Children UK).

Among the Mosaic Room's activities in 2014 will be a continuing focus on the region's disappearing cities. This began with an event recording the story of Lydda (which became, after the expulsion of its Arab citizens in 1948, the Israeli town of Lod), and will continue in March/April with Mogadishu: Lost Moderns, a multi-media exhibition by architect Rashid Ali and photographer Andrew Cross. Continuing until 21 February is a project called Al-Mutanabbi Street Starts Here, which brings together artists' and writers' responses to the bombing which destroyed this famous Baghdad street in 2007. This coincides with Threads of Light, an exhibition of paintings by Iraqi artist Hanoos Hanoos.

More information can be found at www. mosaicrooms.org.

Roger Hardy is a writer and journalist, a visiting fellow at the LSE and King's College, London, and a member of the Editorial Board



Children living in the underprivileged area of Al-Samouni in Gaza paint their faces during a day of entertainment

Peter Clark recalls his recent experience judging books on Palestine

Finding a voice



Prize-winners Lori Allen, Rashid Khalidi, Susan Abulhawa (contributor to *Seeking Palestine*) and Maggie Schmitt

he Palestine Book Awards are organised annually in London by Middle East Monitor, an organisation dedicated to providing 'a focused and comprehensive coverage of Palestine.' The prize for 2013 was awarded in November. Twenty-six books relating to Palestine were considered by five judges. These were whittled down to a short-list of five, and then to two winners – one general and one academic.

Much good work is being written on Palestine these days, in contrast to a generation ago. For decades the dominant narrative in the English language was the Zionist story, with Palestinians marginalised and demonised. But in the decades after 1967, Palestinians found voices in poetry and prose. The poetry of Mahmud Darwish in translation became internationally known. Edward Said brought an academic rigour to the way people looked at the Palestinians. The new Israeli historians, such as Avi Shlaim, undermined the heroic story of Israel's 'war of independence'.

The books we judged can be divided into different categories: revised theses, travel

accounts, novels, memoirs, poetry and a cookery book. One genre of writing seems to be emerging - memoirs by disillusioned Zionists. There were two in the submissions. One was by a son of an Israeli general, Matti Peled, who retired from the Israeli Defence Forces to become a professor of Arabic literature. His son, Miko Peled, in The General's Son, documents his progressive disenchantment, which occurred through working with Palestinians sharing an enthusiasm for martial arts. He now lives in California. Also based in the US is Rabbi Brant Rosen, whose Wrestling in the Daylight is intellectually stimulating. His disillusion is based on moral values derived from Jewish traditions.

Other personal accounts can be divided into travel writing and memoirs. Dervla Murphy, the veteran Irish travel writer, spent some weeks in Gaza and in *A Month by the Sea* writes vividly about the tensions there. Pamela Olson (*Fast Times in*

Palestine) and Louisa Waugh (Meet Me in Gaza, reviewed later in this issue) write of their experiences working for NGOs in the West Bank and Gaza respectively.

There are three Palestinian memoirs. The work of Raja Shehadeh is well known. A Palestinian lawyer in Ramallah, he has written several volumes of memoirs documenting the absurdities and cruelties of the ongoing occupation. *Occupation Diaries* is the latest. Jacob Nammar, in *Born in Jerusalem, Born Palestinian*, tells the story of a Christian Palestinian living in Jerusalem before and after the June 1967 war. Ghazi Hassoun was born in Haifa, won scholarships to the United States and has had a successful academic career. He tells his life story in *Walking Out into the Sunshine*.

One of the three novels considered, *The Almond Tree* by American author Michelle Cohen Corasanti, is the story of a successful Palestinian scientist told in fictional form.

In the decades after 1967 Palestinians found voices, in poetry and prose

Dispossession and diaspora have provided Palestinians with multiple identities, without diluting their basic sense of being Palestinian

The Disinherited by Ibrahim Fawal is one of a series of novels: this volume is about how Palestinian refugees were received in the Jordanian capital Amman in the years after 1948. The third novel, *The Wall* by William Sutcliffe, is an original story about a Jewish boy in a West Bank settlement who tunnels under the Israeli separation wall to encounter a Palestinian village. It is an adaptation of a classic theme in children's literature of the discovery of another, secret world.

There were eight academic books. Why are academic books so often unreadable? In several cases there were important messages for the general reader, but all but two seemed to be written exclusively for other academics. Nur Masalha, in The Zionist Bible, has a most important message, but the proof-reading was awful, with howlers on every page. Munshir el-Farra's Gaza: When the Sky Rained White Fire was better written, documenting the atrocities committed in Operation Cast Iron in 2008/09. Lori Allen in The Rise and Fall of Human Rights and Amahl Bishara in Back Stories write about the interface between the outside world and the Palestinians of the occupied territories in relation to issues of human rights and media reporting. Adel Safty (Might Over Right) and Suraya Dadoo and Firoz Osman (Why Israel?) provide introductions to the Palestine issue for those new to it. Luisa Gandolfo in Palestinian in Iordan deals with several episodes of Palestinian identity in Jordan. Paul Keleman, in The British Left and Zionism, tells the story of the progressive disillusionment of many on the left with Zionism since the 1940s, when support for Israel and the kibbutz movement were articles of faith.

The two most readable academic books were *The Invention of the Land of Israel* by Shlomo Sand and Rashid Khalidi's *Brokers of Deceit: How the US Has Undermined Peace in the Middle East.* In an earlier work, Sand deconstructed the ideas of Zionism. In this, he examines the newness of the idea of Jewish attachment to Greater Israel, regardless of anyone else who lives there. Khalidi is a distinguished Palestinian academic who took part in peace talks between the PLO and Israel. He writes of several episodes in peace negotiations and details the falsity of claims by the US to be independent.

Lastly, there were books that are hard to categorise. Aidan Andrew Dun's Unholyland is a series of poems about a tour of Israel with a band. Palestinian Activism in Israel. by Henriette Daha-Kelev and Emile Lefebvre, is not quite what the title suggests but rather the account of the remarkable Amal al-Sane, a campaigner for the human rights of the Bedouin of the Negev. The Gaza Kitchen, by Laila al-Haddad and Maggie Schmitt, combines recipes with personal stories of the people of Gaza. Finally, Seeking Palestine: New Palestinian Writing on Exile and Home is a collection of articles, stories and memoirs, edited by Penny Johnson and Raja Shehadeh, which brings out what it means to be a Palestinian. Dispossession and diaspora have provided Palestinians with multiple identities, without diluting their basic sense of being Palestinian.

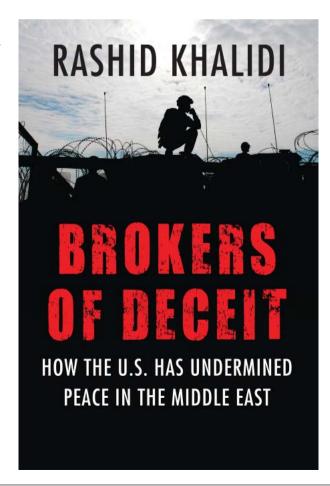
The judges, Dr Ibrahim Darwish, Dr Ahmad Khalidi, Haifa Zangana, Victoria Brittain and myself, met three times. We were in general harmony about our decisions. We listened to each other, modified views and reached unanimity about the shortlist and, without hesitation, the winners.

The short-listed books were:

- The Rise and Fall of Human Rights, by Lori Allen
- *The Gaza Kitchen*, by Laila al-Haddad and Maggie Schmitt
- Seeking Palestine, edited by Penny Johnson and Raja Shehadeh
- Brokers of Deceit, by Rashid al-Khalidi
- Meet Me in Gaza, by Louisa Waugh

On 14 November 2013 the winners were announced. The general book chosen was *Seeking Palestine*, and the academic book *Brokers of Deceit.*

Peter Clark has translated Arabic fiction and is the author of books on Marmaduke Pickthall and Wilfred Thesiger. He is currently editing diaries he kept in Damascus in the 1990s

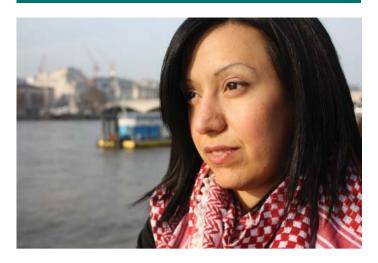


Brokers of Deceit: How the US has Undermined Peace in the Middle East by Rashid Khalidi, winner of the 2013 Palestine Book Awards, academic category

Two poems by Rafeef Ziadah

Over There

am a Palestinian performance poet and human-rights activist based in London. My first CD of spoken word poems, entitled *Hadeel* (the cooing of doves), is a collection of stories largely inspired by the way mainstream news portrays occupied Palestine, the way that death, especially of children, is normalised in limited sound-bites. The story that *Hadeel* tells is a collective story of several generations of Palestinians that have endured Israel's military aggression. The poems are also about the ability to remain hopeful in the face of extreme military might, which is why the poems are dedicated to Palestinian youth, who still fly kites in the face of F16 bombers, who still remember the names of their villages in Palestine, and still hear the sound of hadeel over Gaza.



Rafeef Ziadah

Chronologies

Chronologies with no purpose just dates upon dates and dates to remind us we once existed over There. Years are only names for massacres 48, 67, 20something and waiting the dead are numbered listed, graphed, mapped and clustered in phosphorus wrapped neatly in statistic for the evening news

2014 and waiting long enough in visa lines to carve out a home of fake smiles and documents to know I am from There and unwanted anywhere else. The There they accuse us of The There of stories told in shelters in Beirut by grandparents voices trembling not knowing if they will see There again.

2014 and waiting to negotiate or not negotiate to apologize for our own Nakba accept exile and pray forgetfulness and 'be practical' child be 'pragmatic' child 'the refugees are the last stumbling block' so they negotiate us away 'they will never let you return' child

as if we need permission to be from There or had a choice to be from somewhere else.

2014 and waiting for another boat to break another siege for mothers to make miracles raising children only on water and lentils and no shoes for school for some to let us be human and work others to just let us be. Palestinian and return.

There will be more boats I will sit in one - curled up in a memory that still smells of lead and concrete my children will learn to play by a beach in Yafa, they will tell stories of how long we waited to come back There.
2014 and waiting.

Passport

Didn't even look up – didn't even look up sheltered behind a grey desk, a wide smile – he didn't look up. Didn't ask my name. Didn't inspect picture to match a face or age. Didn't ask how long and where I would stay or the reason I was there.

Didn't send me to the back of the line or into a small room

stand me naked - alone for seconds then rubber gloves to slowly feel skin, seek evidence of something never been clear about. Didn't even look up at me.

This is how the other half lives. The Passport'd half lives. The legal half lives.

For a second I wanted to stand my ground – to explain his mistake explain there are questions to question scars to inspect new machinery they need to test machinery scans retinas shell shocked machinery deciphers disfigured skeletons carved in the zig-zag of visa lines and bent hiding inside boats across the Mediterranean.

But he didn't even look up at me.

Nothing changed between July 12 and July 13. My illegal skin My illegal bones Carry the same illegal me I only put my hand up and swore to a queen.

This is how the other half lives. The Passport'd half lives. The legal half lives.

Middle East in London photo competition results (2013)



Winning photograph 'Majestic Reflection, Sheikh Zayed Grand Mosque, Abu Dhabi'

In response to our photo competition for 2013, we had a flood of entries covering a wide variety of people, places and themes. The standard was high, and the choice extremely difficult. But in the end we awarded the prize to Mario Cardenas for his remarkable photograph of the Sheikh Zayed Grand Mosque in the United Arab Emirates. Four additional photos won commendations including another of his pictures (*Fujairah Fishermen*).

We are grateful to all who took part, and intend to make the competition an annual event.

Editorial Board



Mario Cardenas

Mario Cardenas is a self-taught artist who loves painting, design, drawing and sketching. He started photography in late 2009 and immediately recognised it as an excellent medium for expressing his creativity. For Mario photography is a 'vehicle for adventure;' it permits him to meet people from all walks of life, visit remote places and immerse himself in challenging and unfamiliar environments. Currently, Mario works as an architect and practises his photography in his spare time. He enjoys competing in photography competitions and has received numerous awards for his work in local and international arenas. He hopes that participation in such competitions will help his images reach farther, making his pieces accessible to a wider audience. In his winning photograph – *Majestic* Reflection – Mario strove to capture 'one of the most important architectural treasures of the United Arab Emirates.'



Commendation photograph 'Fujairah Fishermen'

Makan Mohammadi **Ostadkalayeh** was born in Iran and currently resides in Turin, Italy where he is pursuing a master's degree in Telecommunications at the Polytechnic University of Turin and teaching photography. Makan writes philosophical, political and artistic articles for newspapers and magazines and researches documentary cinema for various organisations. He is a member of the Urban Representation Group and, since last year, has been working on several projects including 'Man walks through the images, 'We lie - party game photography, 'Cemetery collection' and 'Gonbad-e-Kaboud' which aims to teach photography to children aged 3-5.

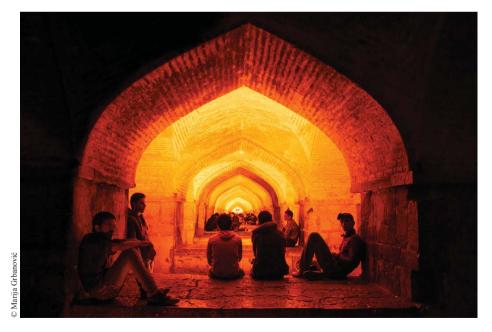


Commendation photograph 'An Old Mosque in Mountainous Village, North of Iran'



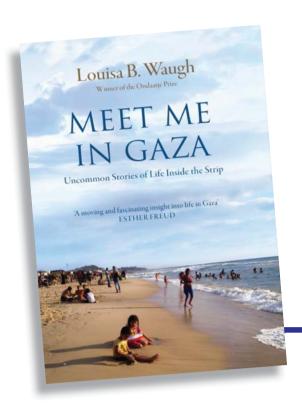
Commendation photograph 'Separation Wall Painting Stark Pictures, Abu Diss, Jerusalem, Palestine'

Madeleine McGivern works for Christian Aid as a Resilience Programme Officer for the Middle East Team, having studied Middle Eastern politics at Durham University and worked as a Human Rights Monitor in Palestine and Israel. She photographs while travelling for work and enjoys taking pictures of people and places as well as shots with interesting colours, lines and light. Her photography aims to make people smile, tell them about something important or both. This image - which is part of Madeleine's collection entitled Holy Land Shots – was taken on a day when 'the shining sun and blue sky painted a stark contrast to this grey separation wall and its telling maps.



Commendation photograph 'Summer Night Under the Khaju Bridge, Esfahan, Iran'

Ana Marija Grbanović from Slovenia discovered her passion for the history of Islamic art and architecture during her studies in Preservation of Cultural Heritage at the University of Udine in Italy. Currently she is pursuing a master's degree in the History of Art and Architecture of the Islamic Middle East at SOAS. Her photographs represent 'glimpses of wonder' encountered during her travels to Georgia, Armenia, Nagorno Karabakh, Turkmenistan, Kazakhstan and India or while working as a tour guide in Cuba, Sicily, Turkey, Iran, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan. Her solo exhibition - Meanwhile in Iran (Slovenia, 2013) - presented some of her images in light-box media.



Meet Me in Gaza: Uncommon Stories of Life inside the Strip

By Louisa B. Waugh

Westbourne Press, June 2013, £11.55

Reviewed by Gerald Butt

In the final section of this book, an elderly Palestinian recalls the days after the creation of Israel in 1948 when Bedouin families were forced out of their homes in the southern Negev, leaving them no choice but to flee southwards. The transformation of the calm and fertile district of Gaza on the Mediterranean coast into a dense enclave of displaced Palestinians who vastly outnumbered the local inhabitants had begun. The bruise inflicted on Gaza in 1948 has never healed. Nor is there still any plausible or realistic suggestion of how Gaza can ever return to something like normal life.

The shadow of Israel with encirclement replacing occupation and the still lingering after-effects of 1948 provide the background to Meet Me in Gaza. Louisa Waugh worked for a non-governmental organisation in Gaza City for nearly eighteen months up to April 2009. She returned for short visits in 2010 and 2012. The author kept a journal throughout this time that takes the reader under the surface of the contemporary Gaza Strip. She also weaves Gaza's rich but largely overlooked history through the text. It is the work of a gifted writer who observes sensitively, but not uncritically, the Gazans she meets and befriends. The book is, therefore, a welcome addition to the few existing titles on the Gaza shelf.

The strong sense that emerges from the pages is futility – the futility and waste of the lives of 1.7 million people squashed

into a territory about the size of the Isle of Wight, with no place to go. The author was in Gaza when the border fence with Israel was blown up by Hamas in early 2008, allowing tens of thousands of people a chance to cross into Egypt. It was a moment of euphoria for Gazans - and for the author who joined the excited scrum. But it was no more than a moment's liberation and in the end signified nothing. 'We Palestinians,' her companion said as they drove into al-Arish, 'used to dream of real freedom, our own independent state. And look at us now - blowing up our border to escape for a few days shopping.' Fast-forward to 2010, when a taxi driver complains that 'nothing changes. Too many taxis ... nowhere to go, while a Hamas policeman says: 'I just want to get out of here. Where do I want to go? Anywhere – just out of this prison.'

The bruise, if anything, has darkened over the decades. The author returned to Gaza in January 2009, when the Israelis had withdrawn after Operation Cast Lead had battered the territory yet again. She observed that many people 'still looked dazed, their eyes dull and exhausted.' The author also detected a dampening of spirits among Gazans as Hamas gained power, allowing no dissent and imposing restrictions on personal liberties. The late-night parties with alcohol flowing that Waugh described in her early days in Gaza or the sight of couples walking hand-in-hand on the beach are things of the past.

All the while, Hamas's Gaza and Fatah's West Bank remain what the author calls 'bitter divorcees' - a political and ideological split that pains ordinary Gazans, as does the economic blockade by Israel and the West. The author argues that Western sanctions against Hamas have served no purpose and have failed to protect civilians in Gaza. But it is also true that the failure to mend the breach between Hamas and Fatah has damaged the image of the Palestinians as a whole and has denied the Gazans a chance to reconnect politically with the West Bank and the world beyond. Today, with both Egypt and Israel targeting the smuggling tunnels under Gaza's southern border, connections are diminishing still further.

Gerald Butt, a former BBC correspondent in the Middle East, is the author of Life at the Crossroads: A History of Gaza

Lineages of Revolt: Issues of Contemporary Capitalism in the Middle East

By Adam Hanieh

Haymarket Books, November 2013, £14.99

Reviewed by Brenna Bhandar



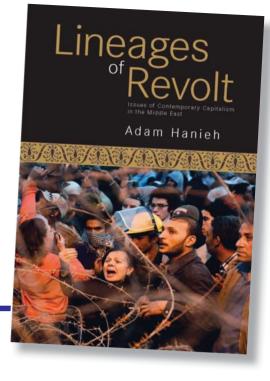
The global significance of the Arab Revolts reflects a phenomenon that Hanieh illuminates clearly throughout the book: the globalisation of the neo-liberal form of dispossession that began in the 1970s and created the conditions in which revolts have taken place. The major financial institutions that imposed reforms found success with national bourgeoisies, laying the groundwork for the violent forms of structural adjustment that took place after a short-lived period of socialist-oriented land reform and redistribution. Hanieh explains how the contradictory character of Arab nationalism in the post-independence period facilitated neo-liberal capitalism.

Hanieh's work is grounded in a very careful and detailed analysis of both national and international economic policy. The legal techniques that were used to privatise ownership of financialised property, of land, of industry and service sectors bear a striking resemblance to those used elsewhere. Privatisation, as a form of dispossession, has impoverished the lives

of countless people. Hanieh emphasises at several points in the book that the creation of a large precarious labour force, for instance, has had particularly severe ramifications for women and youth. While Hanieh renders the language of political economy in a manner accessible to those who are situated outside the discipline, exploring how the very categories of analysis utilised within political economy have a life within the law, or considering how they have evolved historically in relation to other concerns, would potentially add even further complexity to the rich analysis on offer.

Marx wrote, in his essay 'On the Jewish Question, of the in many respects illusory and ideological nature of liberal democratic rights. The transition from feudalism to capitalism heralded the emergence of individual rights and putative access to a range of freedoms. These rights, however, have also functioned as an anaesthetic of sorts, drawing our gaze away from the inequalities that continue to flourish in the supposedly private sphere, in 'civil society,' where private property relations reproduce and exacerbate vast inequalities in wealth, social power and privilege. Interpretations of the Arab Revolts that read them as a straightforward expression of the desire for rights and freedoms enjoyed by citizens of liberal democratic capitalist states fail to pierce the veil between the private and public realms, masking the real and lived conditions in which the revolutions unfold.

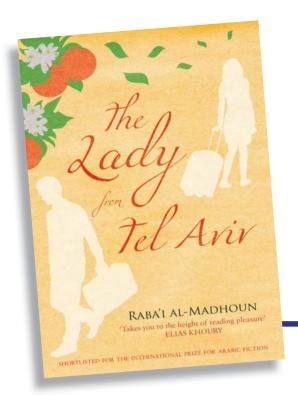
Hanieh argues cogently that the



revolutions cannot be fully understood without looking at the preceding social unrest after the early 2000s. Despite their divergent paths, '[t]he popular movements that erupted in 2011 represented much more than the overthrow of despised dictators... [t]o concentrate on the surface appearances of these demonstrations obscures their real content. These mobilizations indicate that "politics" and "economics" which are typically conceived as separate spheres are fused and part of the same struggle.'

The struggle against political-economic repression is met, universally it seems, with authoritarian police repression. This is nowhere more acute than in the West Bank, where Hanieh argues that an increasingly neo-liberal occupation is buttressed by a violent military occupation that operates both spatially and temporally. Hanieh's observation of how historical narratives have become central to the ongoing process of colonisation reflects an approach to political economy that is neither abstract nor removed from the actual, lived experiences of people who have taken to the streets and squares to effect dramatic political change.

Brenna Bhandar is a Senior Lecturer at the School of Law, SOAS, and a member of the international advisory board of Law and Society Review



The Lady from Tel Aviv

By Raba'i al-Madhoun Translated by Elliott Colla

Telegram Books, July 2013, £8.99

Reviewed by Jennifer Langer

n Palestinian author Raba'i al-Madhoun's novel - which was shortlisted for the 2010 International Prize for Arabic Fiction - novelist and journalist Walid Dahman returns home to the Khan Yunis refugee camp in Gaza to visit his mother. He has been away for 38 years in London, having been unable to visit her since 1967 due to the Israeli occupation. The protagonist is confronted by Odyssean travails in the form of Israeli crossingpoints. Walid assumes that his British passport will enable him to enter Gaza with ease. However, waiting all day to get through the Beit Hanoun (Erez) crossing in the scorching sun with other suffering Palestinians, he feels totally subjugated by the Israeli soldiers. In Gaza the threat of Israeli drones and bullets constitutes a constant menace for the inhabitants. The novel is not a polemical narrative, yet through Walid's descriptions and conversations the reader becomes aware of the acute difficulty of life in Gaza. Even the sun is described as appropriated by the neighbouring Jewish settlement: 'They will grab the sun just before it melts, out there, into the folds of the horizon.

Yet, the relationship with Israelis is nuanced. On the flight to Tel Aviv, Walid's life intersects with that of Dana, an Israeli actress: the lady from Tel Aviv. They reveal aspects of themselves to each other, yet are inhibited by their Palestinian and Israeli origins. They regard the same piece of land

as home, yet the contested land is the basis for a fraught connection: 'Walid, you and I are two shadows thrown together in a single place. What happened to my people cast black shadows over yours. What's happened to you makes the shadows over us darker still.' Later in Gaza, the discussion of the guests surprisingly reveals nostalgia for the First Intifada (uprising) in the late 1980s when Jews used to visit them and attend their weddings. One guest insists that the dying, shooting and suicide bombs of the Second Intifada (which began in 2000) ruined everything for the Palestinians. He regrets the lack of adherence to the notion of a secular, democratic state, believing that Palestinians and Jews would have been assimilated, to the extent of intermarriage. Moreover, one guest points out that the Palestinian Authority has brought thuggery and corruption to the country. This discourse appears to call into question the hegemonic narrative of deep-seated Palestinian hatred for Israelis.

Walid's dream in returning to Gaza is of retrieving a homeland. However, on his journey from the airport to the crossing point, Israeli place and road names efface his memory of the Palestinian past. The Khan Yunis that Walid knew is buried beneath the contemporary town and the sea view of memory is blocked by Israeli settlements. Friends and family members have been killed both by Israelis and by opposing Palestinian factions. The novel

shows how oppression affects a people. One response has been for the Khan Yunis inhabitants to turn to an increased level of religiosity, but Walid refers to religion as a new culture conquering his society. He also notes the tribalism that has returned to Gaza which affects his own family. In their sectarian discourse about Palestinian individuals and narratives, people turn to their version of history so that the present is embattled with the past.

Al-Madhoun's novel provides insights into the memory and emotions of a returning exiled Palestinian attempting to understand the dire situation of his people – who are represented as doubly oppressed and threatened by Palestinian in-fighting and Israeli control. There is a palpable sense of relief for Walid in returning to London's normality – and yet he arranges to meet the 'lady from Tel Aviv' once more.

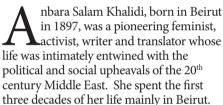
Jennifer Langer, who obtained her PhD from SOAS, is founding director of Exiled Writers Ink (www.exiledwriters.co.uk)

Memoirs of an Early Arab Feminist: The Life and **Activism of Anbara** Salam Khalidi

Translated by Tarif Khalidi

Pluto Press, April 2013, £16.99

Reviewed by Susannah Tarbush



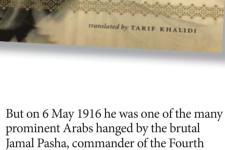
Her father, Selim Ali Salam, was a prominent Sunni merchant who held various public offices under Ottoman rule and was elected as a deputy for Beirut in the Ottoman parliament. His Arab nationalist views led to his being imprisoned both by the Ottomans and by the French mandate authorities.

Anbara was one of 12 children. Her brother Saeb, to whom she was particularly close, later became prime minister of Lebanon six times. Her father put much thought into giving her a good education. Her political and feminist activism began in her mid-teens. In 1929 Anbara married the Palestinian educationalist, scholar and writer Ahmad Samih al-Khalidi and moved to Jerusalem. Ahmad was principal of the Arab College in Jerusalem and a key figure in Arab education in Palestine. Anbara was a passionate supporter of the Palestinian cause and was active in Palestinian women's organisations. She lived in Jerusalem for nearly 20 years until the family was forced by growing violence to leave in April 1948 and seek what they assumed would be temporary sanctuary in Beirut. Three years later Ahmad died in Beirut, at the age of

only 55. Anbara remained in Beirut until her death in 1986.

Anbara's memoir was published in Arabic in Beirut in 1978. Now translated into English by her son, Professor Tarif Khalidi, the book offers unique perspectives on a sweep of events from the Young Turk revolution of 1908 to the Lebanese civil war which erupted in 1975. She was a gifted writer and the numerous incidents and characters in her memoir come vividly to life. Tarif Khalidi thinks his mother would have been delighted to see her memoir translated into English, partly because 'the two years she spent in England (1925-27) had a formative influence on her activism.' In 1928, while giving a lecture on her impressions of England to a mixed-gender audience in Beirut, Anbara removed the veil she had worn in public since the age of 10. 'I found the occasion ripe to express freedom from the veil which I had always believed covered not merely the face but was in fact a prison, she writes. Her action caused outrage and even violence in Beirut.

Anbara was an independent spirit and refused pressure to get engaged to a young relative when she was only 12 years old. Thereafter she had many suitors, all of whom she declined. She wanted to get to know any prospective husband before accepting a proposal. At the age of 17 she was on the verge of getting formally engaged to an Arab nationalist she greatly admired, the writer Abd al-Ghani al-Uraysi.



The Life and Activism of

Anbara Salam Khalidi

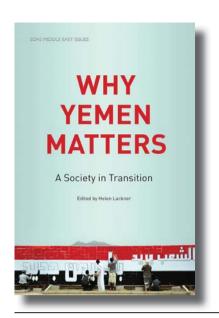
EARLY ARAB FEMINIST

Ottoman Army in Lebanon and Syria. Before accepting Ahmad Khalidi's

proposal in 1929, Anbara met him and they wrote to each other. On her marriage she became stepmother to his two young children, Walid and Sulafa, who had lost their mother at a very early age. She and Ahmad had four children. 'Our life together was characterised by constant happiness and total harmony, she writes. 'Ahmad and I always commented on and critiqued each other's writings.' They would often read and discuss the same book. Anbara produced the first Arabic translation of Homer's Iliad and Odyssey, published with a foreword by the Egyptian writer Taha Husayn.

The early parts of Anbara's memoir portray the era of the Arab Awakening. How appropriate that its English translation should appear during what some are calling the Second Arab Awakening.

Susannah Tarbush is a London-based journalist

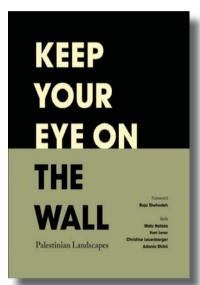


Why Yemen Matters: A Society in Transition

Edited by Helen Lackner

In November 2011, an agreement brokered by the GCC brought an end to Yemen's tumultuous uprising. The National Dialogue Conference has opened a window of opportunity for change, bringing Yemen's main political forces together with groups that were politically marginalised. Yet the risk of collapse is serious, and if Yemen is to remain a viable state it must address numerous political, social and economic challenges. In this volume, experts provide analysis of the country's major crises: centralised governance, the role of the military, ethnic conflict, separatism, Islamism, foreign intervention, water scarcity and economic development.

Feb 2014, Saqi Books, £21.99

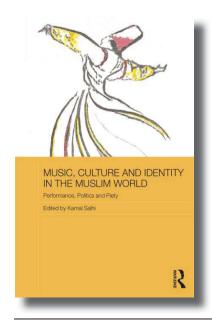


Keep Your Eye on the Wall: Palestinian Landscapes

Edited by Olivia Snaije and Mitchell Albert

In art and literature, walls are frequently used as powerful symbols of division. For the people of Palestine, however, the wall that cuts deeply into their land and society is all too real, snaking through over 700 kilometres of the West Bank and Gaza. It throttles Palestinians, seals off Israelis, and all but guarantees perpetual ignorance, fear and rage on both sides. *Keep Your Eye on the Wall* brings together seven award-winning artist-photographers and four essayists, all responding to the Wall in images or words. The photographers present unique perspectives, whether it is documenting the journey of labourers across the concrete separation barrier, or exploring the layers and textures of a wall in Gaza.

Sept 2013, Saqi Books, £45.00



Music, Culture and Identity in the Muslim World:

Performance, Politics and Piety

Edited by Kamal Salhi

This book explores Islam's rich cultural and artistic diversity, showing how sound, music and bodily performance offer a window on to the subtleties and humanity of Islamic religious experience. Through a wide range of case studies from West Asia, South Asia and North Africa and their diasporas - including studies of Sufi chanting in Egypt and Morocco, dance in Afghanistan, and 'Muslim punk' on-line - the book demonstrates how Islam should not be conceived of as being monolithic or monocultural, how there is a wide disagreement within Islam as to how music and performance should be approached, and how important cultural activities have been, and continue to be, for the formation of Muslim identity.

Nov 2013, Routledge, £85.00

Reem Kelani

Singer and musician



Reem in concert, World Music Shanghai, May 2011

was born in Manchester, grew up in Kuwait and now live in London. But my identity is Palestinian (even though I only get to see Palestine on visits). If these complexities have shaped my outlook, they have also affected my career as a singer and musician. In Kuwait, influenced by local and international cultures, I sang traditional Palestinian songs, the repertoire of the Lebanese singer Fairouz and classics from the American songbook. Sparked by my workshops at the exhibition of Palestinian Costume at the Museum of Mankind in London in the early 1990s, I realised that my vocation was to present the Palestinian narrative through music to a world which struggles to admit that we even exist, let alone that we might have a distinctive and beautiful cultural identity.

My first album, which earned plaudits from reviewers the world over and which the Financial Times named as its Pick of the Year 2006, was called Sprinting Gazelle – Palestinian Songs from the Motherland and the Diaspora. My cultural roots are deep set in Palestine, but living in the diaspora has

shaped my interpretation and performance of my collective heritage. When I sing Palestinian or Arabic songs, I take care to observe the conventions of Arabic music, while at the same time I perform them in a way which is my own.

The Arab world has struggled with innovation. We don't seem to have the confidence to respect convention and introduce change. As a result, I find little interest among the music establishments in the Arab world, which do not reward artists for straying beyond the strict confines of accepted practice. In addition, Palestinian factions only support artists who are affiliated to them.

I take pride in the *Distant Chords* series which I wrote and presented for BBC Radio 4, which showcased the music of communities and artists living and working in our midst in the UK. Whatever the prejudices and self-interest of the world music industry, its preoccupation with the 'native from the jungle' and its Orientalist creations, music is truly for the people and by the people.

Some who have seen me live or listened to my music may have noticed the lack of Arab musicians in my line-up. It's not that I haven't tried, but I cannot afford to fly musicians in from outside, and the number of good Arab musicians who live in London is very limited (and of them, there are even fewer who are willing to take instructions from a female band leader). Fortunately, there is no shortage here of talented jazz musicians, and their ability to improvise is the first step towards them becoming performers of Arabic music. I have invested years in training my core musicians and I am proud of them.

My residency in local schools in Calderdale, Yorkshire, in October 2013 culminated in a performance of Arabic songs by the children of two primary schools: one located in a predominantly white area near hippy Hebden Bridge, the other, heavily Asian and Muslim, in a poor part of Halifax. The achievement of the children was stunning, as was their embrace of each other and of the novel world of Arabic song. And in this meeting point of different cultures, I felt entirely at home.

John Kay's important article in 2004 'On Obliquity' in the *Financial Times* helped me to understand. Kay demonstrated the superior performance over time of US pharmaceutical companies whose main aim was 'to make people well' over those whose primary stated objective was 'to make money.' If ordinary people appreciate my music, my raison d'être is affirmed.

Events in London

HE EVENTS and organisations listed below are not necessarily endorsed or supported by The Middle East in London. The accompanying texts and images are based primarily on information provided by the organisers and do not necessarily reflect the views of the compilers or publishers. While every possible effort is made to ascertain the accuracy of these listings, readers are advised to seek confirmation of all events using the contact details provided for each event.

Submitting entries and updates: please send all updates and submissions for entries related to future events via e-mail to mepub@soas.ac.uk

BM – British Museum, Great Russell Street, London WC1B 3DG

SOAS –SOAS, University of London, Thornhaugh Street, Russell Square, London WC1H 0XG

LSE – London School of Economics and Political Science, Houghton Street, London WC2 2AE

FEBRUARY EVENTS

Monday 3 February

5:15 pm | Managing the Future: The First Egyptian Five Year Plan (1960-64) in Comparative Perspective (Seminar) Valeska Huber, German Historical Institute in London. Organised by: Department of History, SOAS. Part of the Seminar on the History of the Near and Middle East. Admission free. Room G3, SOAS. E bf7@soas.ac.uk W www.soas.ac.uk/history/events/

6:15 pm | A feast for the ears: Neo-Assyrian accoustics and sensory archaeology (Seminar) Augusta McMahon, Cambridge. Organised by: The London Centre for the Ancient Near East. Ancient Near East Seminars. Convened by: David Kertai, UCL Institute of Archaeology. Admission free. Room G51, SOAS. E ag5@soas. ac.uk W www.soas.ac.uk/nme/ane/

6:30 pm | **Libya: a happy ending that wasn't** (Lecture) Florence Gaub,

European Union Institute for Strategic Studies. Organised by: LSE Middle East Centre. A look at post-2011 Libya and the key questions related to post-conflict reconstruction, security sector reform and transitional justice. Chaired by: Toby Dodge, LSE. Admission free. New Theatre, East Building, LSE. T 020 7955 6198 E s.masry@lse.ac.uk W www.lse. ac.uk

7:30 pm | The Voices of Two Iranian Exiled women in Short Story and Film with Mania Akbari and Nasrin Parvaz Organised by: Exiled Writers Ink. Short story readings by Mania Akbari and Nasrin Parvaz, videos by Mania Akbari and a discussion of the diverse perspectives of the two exiled Iranian women negotiating hostile Iranian external spaces and creating their own internal worlds. Tickets: £4/£2 EWI 2014 members. Poetry Cafe, 22 Betterton Street, London WC2H 9BX. E jennifer@exiledwriters.co.uk Wwww.exiledwriters.co.uk

Tuesday 4 February

5:30 pm | Women, Power and Politics in 21st Century Iran (Panel Discussion) Tara Povey, SOAS, Mehri Honarbin-Holliday, Centre for Gender Studies, SOAS, Elaheh Rostami-Povey, Centre for Iranian Studies, SOAS. Organised by: London Middle East Institute, SOAS (LMEI) and the Centre for Iranian Studies, SOAS. Part of the LMEI's Tuesday Evening Lecture Programme on the Contemporary Middle East. A panel discussion on the various spheres of women's activity governance, education, employment and arts - in Iran, based on lived experiences of Iranian women living and working in Iran. Chaired by: Arshin Adib-Moghdam, SOAS Tea and biscuits available from 5:00pm. Admission free. Khalili Lecture Theatre, SOAS. T 020 7898 4490 **E** vp6@soas.ac.uk **W** www. soas.ac.uk/lmei/events/

7:00 pm | Regarding Liberty, Freedom, Representation and the Rule of Law: How Would the Sharia Fare? (Lecture) Wael Hallaq, Columbia University, New York. Organised by: The Centre of Islamic and Middle Eastern Law, SOAS and The Institute of Arab and Islamic Studies, University of Exeter. Admission free. Brunei Gallery Lecture Theatre, SOAS. E mb78@soas.ac.uk W www. soas.ac.uk/cimel/events/

8:40 pm | Horses of God (Film) Organised by: Mona Deeley in association with the Zenith Foundation. Part of the Discover Arab Cinema season. Dir Nabil Ayouch (2012), Morocco-Tunisia-France-Belgium, 115 min. Portrait of the relationship between two brothers growing up in a Moroccan slum, Discover Arab Cinema is dedicated to Sheila Whitaker (1936 - 2013), former director of the London Film Festival and programmer of the National Film Theatre. Tickets: Various. BFI Southbank, Belvedere Road, South Bank, London SE1 8XT. T 020 7928 3232 W www.bfi.org.uk

Wednesday 5 February

6:00 pm | BRISMES Annual Lecture: The Ouest for Cultural Authenticity and the Politics of Identity (Lecture) Sami Zubaida, Birkbeck, University of London. Organised by: LSE Middle East Centre. Zubaida will explore the question of changing identities. What constitutes authenticity in different spheres of culture is contested between political and religious groups and ideologies. The BRISMES Award for Services to Middle East Studies will be presented immediately after the lecture to Alastair Newton, Nomura International plc. Followed by a drinks reception. Admission free. Old Theatre, Old Building, LSE. T 020 7955 6198 E s.masry@lse.ac.uk W www.lse.ac.uk

6:30 pm | Rawabi Holding Awards/
Annual Dinner Organised by: SaudiBritish Society. Sir James Craig and
Michael Field will be awarded prizes
for promoting Saudi-British relations
by the donor, Abdulaziz al Turki.
Followed by buffet dinner. Tickets: £35
per person. Pre-registration required E
ionisthompson@yahoo.co.uk Institute
of Directors, 116 Pall Mall, London
SW1. W www.saudibritishsociety.org.
uk

7:00 pm | When Pottery Speaks: What Inscribed Ceramics Tell us About People, Polities, and Power in the Late Medieval Levant (Lecture) Bethany Walker, Annemarie Schimmel College, University of Bonn. Organised by: Islamic Art Circle at SOAS. Part of the Islamic Art Circle at SOAS Lecture Programme. Chaired by: Doris Behrens-Abouseif, SOAS. Admission free. Khalili Lecture Theatre, SOAS. T 0771 408 7480 E rosalindhaddon@gmail.com W www. soas.ac.uk/art/islac/

Thursday 6 February

6:30 pm | Turkey in an election year: What does the future hold for the **AKP Government?** (Panel Discussion) Ali Carkoğlu, Koc University, Istanbul, Bill Park, King's College, London, John Peet, The Economist. Organised by: The British Institute at Ankara. In March 2014, local elections will be held in Turkey. The panel will consider possible outcomes from these important elections and give their views on the implications of them for the future of Turkey's multi-party democracy. Chaired by: Sir David Logan. Tickets: £10/BIAA members free. Pre-booking required. British Academy, 10 Carlton House Terrace, London SW1Y 5AH. T 020 7969 5204 E biaa@britac.ac.uk W www.biaa.ac.uk

7:00 pm | LMEI & LAP Mariam Michtawi Book Launch (Book Launch/ Poetry Reading) Organised by: London Middle East Institute, SOAS (LMEI) and London Arabic Publications (LAP). With Mariam Michtawi. Event in aid of Great Ormond Street Hospital and St Jude Children Cancer Centre. Admission free. Reception in Room G3, SOAS followed by poetry reading at 7:30pm in the DLT, SOAS. T 020 7898 4490/4330 E vp6@soas.ac.uk W www. soas.ac.uk/lmei/events / www.facebook.com/06FEB2014

7.00 pm | Karama: Moroccan Explorations on the Oud (Concert) Part of the SOAS Concert Series.Karama is a new band led by Moroccan oud player Soufian Saihi. Saihi's compositions are based around oud, clarinet, double bass and percussion, finding inspiration from the Gnawa tradition, North African and Arabic classical music as well as the diverse sounds of London streets during his busking experience. Admission free. Brunei Gallery Lecture Theatre, SOAS. T 020 7898 4500 E musicevents@soas. ac.uk W www.soas.ac.uk/concerts

Friday 7 February

7:00 pm | Preview Screening: A World Not Ours + Q&A (Documentary) Organised by: The Frontline Club. Filmmaker Mahdi Fleifel spent his formative years in the Palestinian refugee camp of Ain el-Helweh in Lebanon. As an adult he returns, challenging his teenage belief that 'going to Ain el-Helweh is better than going to Disney Land'. Followed by Q&A with the director Mahdi Fleifel. Tickets: £10/£8 conc. The Frontline Club, 13 Norfolk Place, London W2 1QJ. T 02074798940 / W www.frontlineclub. com/a-world-not-ours/

Sunday 9 February

6:20 pm | Horses of God (Film) See listing on Tuesday 4 February for more information.

Monday 10 February

6:00 pm | The Quest for King David: new light from Khirbet Qeiyafa (Lecture) Yossi Garfinkel, Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Organised by: Anglo Israel Archaeological Society and the Institute of Archaeology, UCL.

Admission free. The Christopher Ingold Building, Auditorium XLG2, Ground Floor, 20 Gordon Street, London WC1H OAJ. T 020 8349 5754 W www.aias.org.

6:30 pm | Israel: The Arab Spring, Domestic Politics and the Future of the Arab-Israeli Peace Process (Lecture) Ahron Bregman, King's College London. Organised by: LSE Middle East Centre. The Arab Spring has put on hold the possibility of reaching peace between Israel and Syria, leaving the Israeli-Palestinian peace track as the only game in town. At the same time, international efforts, led by US Secretary of State John Kerry to help Israelis and Palestinians negotiate their differences are unlikely to end the occupation and deliver a Palestinian state. Chaired by: Toby Dodge, LSE.Admission free. New Theatre, East Building, LSE. T 020 7955 6198 E s.masry@lse.ac.uk W www.lse. ac.uk

Tuesday 11 February

6:00 pm | Egypt and the Arab Spring. Three Years on (Lecture) Roger Hardy, King's College London, Organised by: Middle East & Mediterranean Studies

Research Group (MERG). Admission free. Room K -1.56, King's College London Strand Campus, London WC2R 2LS, E bahar.karimi@kcl.ac.uk / simon.waldman@kcl.ac.uk W www.kcl.

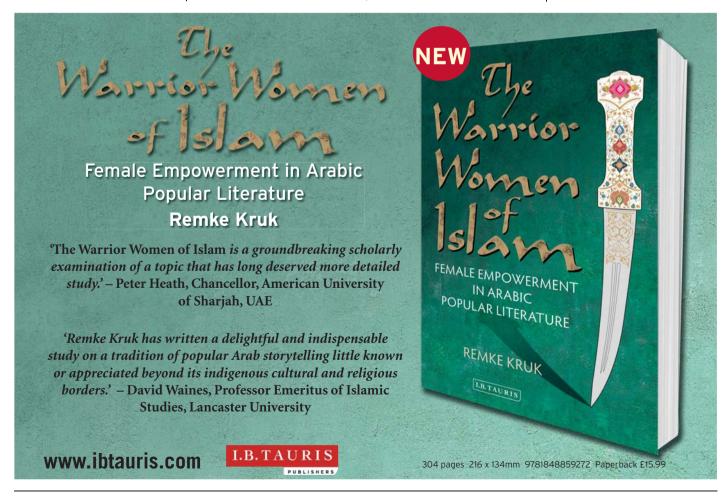
Wednesday 12 February

6:20 pm | Quarantine (Film) Organised by: Mona Deeley in association with the Zenith Foundation. Part of the Discover Arab Cinema season. Dir Oday Rasheed (2010), Germany-Iraq, 90 min. A contract killer and a poor family squat in the same Baghdad residence in this tense thriller. Discover Arab Cinema is dedicated to Sheila Whitaker (1936 -2013), former director of the London Film Festival and programmer of the National Film Theatre. Tickets: Various. BFI Southbank, Belvedere Road, South Bank, London SE1 8XT. T 020 7928 3232 W www.bfi.org.uk

Thursday 13 February

The 2013 Saif Ghobash Banipal Prize for Arabic Literary Translation Organised by: Banipal Trust for Arab Literature. Following the Award Ceremony on Wednesday 12 February, Banipal celebrates the joint prizewinners Jonathan Wright and William M Hutchins with two events: 2:00pm, Roundtable on Literary Translation Arabic to English. Introduced by joint prizewinners Jonathan Wright and William M Hutchins. Chaired by: Yasir Suleiman. Admission free. Preregistration required E clare@banipal. co.uk. Meetings Room, Arab British Centre, 1 Gough Square, London EC4A 3DE. 7:00pm, Arabic Literature in English: An evening with the joint prizewinning translators Ionathan Wright and William M Hutchins and their novels Azazeel and A Land Without Jasmine. Introduced by Paul Starkey. Admission free. Pre-registration required E paola@banipal.co.uk. The Gallery, Foyle's Bookshop, 113-119 Charing Cross Road, London WC2H

7:00 pm | **Jamal Penjweny and Jonathan** Watkins in conversation Organised by: Ikon, The Mosaic Rooms and Gulan. Doors open 6:30pm. Jamal Penjweny is an Iraqi Kurdish photographer. Jonathan Watkins, Director of Ikon, was the curator of the Iraq pavilion, at the 2013 Venice Biennale and included Jamal's work in the acclaimed pavilion



exhibition 'Welcome to Iraq'. Some of Jamal's photography and a short film will be shown. Admission free. Pre-registration required E rsvp@ mosaicrooms.org. The Mosaic Rooms, 226 Cromwell Road, London SW5 0SW. T 020 7370 9990 W http://ikon-gallery.org / www.mosaicrooms.org / www.gulan.org

Saturday 15 February

8:40 pm | **Quarantine** (Film) See listing on Wednesday 12 February for more information.

Sunday 16 February

2:30 pm | LSO Discovery Family Concert: Arabian Nights - The Ultimate Storyteller (Concert) Organised by: Barbican Centre. Meet the greatest storyteller of them all - Scheherazade - on an exotic journey into the heart of the Arabian nights and discover how this beautiful princess stayed alive and awake for 1001 nights. Tickets: £10/£5 under-16s. Barbican Centre, Silk Street, London EC2Y 8DS. T 020 7638 8891 W www.barbican.org. nk

Monday 17 February

2:00 pm | Why Yemen Matters in 2014 and Beyond (Seminar) Organised by: The British-Yemeni Society and the London Middle East Institute, SOAS (LMEI) and sponsored by the MBI Al Jaber Foundation. The British-Yemeni Society Yemen Seminar and Annual Lecture. The National Dialogue Conference has opened a window of opportunity for change, bringing Yemen's main political forces together with groups that were politically marginalised. Yet, the risk of collapse is serious, and if Yemen is to remain a viable state, it must address numerous political, social, and economic challenges. Followed by the BYS Annual Lecture by Ambassador Amat al-Alim Alsoswa at 6:00pm on Yemen After the National Dialogue Conference, What Next? (Admission to the Lecture is free). Tickets (Seminar): £10/students free. Pre-registration required W www. soas.ac.uk/lmei/events/. Brunei Gallery Lecture Theatre, SOAS. T 020 7898 4330 / 4490 E vp6@soas.ac.uk W www.soas. ac.uk/lmei/events/

5:15 pm | A Hedgehog's View of the Late Eighth-century Economy of Northern Syria (Seminar) Chase Robinson, City University of New York. Organised by: Department of History, SOAS. Part of the Seminar on the History of the Near and Middle East. Admission free. Room G3, SOAS. E bf7@soas.ac.uk W www. soas.ac.uk/history/events/

6:15 pm | People in motion: Modi of cultural changes in Upper Mesopotamia during the Iron Age (Seminar) Mirko Novák, Tübingen. Organised by: The London Centre for the Ancient Near East. Ancient Near East Seminars. Convened by: David Kertai, UCL Institute of Archaeology. Admission free. Room G51, SOAS. E ag5@soas.ac.uk W www.soas.ac.uk/nme/ane/lcane/

Tuesday 18 February

5:45 pm | The myth of Perfidious Albion: Anglo-Iranian relations in historical context (Lecture) Ali Ansari, St Andrews. Organised by: London Middle East Institute, SOAS (LMEI) and the Centre for Iranian Studies. SOAS. Part of the LMEI's Tuesday Evening Lecture Programme on the Contemporary Middle East. The political mythology of Anglo-Iranian relations often overshadows the much more complex nature of the relationship since relations were formalised in the 19th century. The lecture will situate the powerful mythology that has emerged within the broader historical context and conclude with an assessment of Anglo-Iranian attempts to further nuclear collaboration in the 1970s. Tea and biscuits available from 5:15pm. Admission free, Khalili Lecture Theatre, SOAS. T 020 7898 4490 E vp6@soas. ac.uk W www.soas.ac.uk/lmei/events/

8:50 pm | Casanegra (Film) Organised by: Mona Deeley in association with the Zenith Foundation. Part of the Discover Arab Cinema season. Dir Nour Eddine Lakhmari (2008), Morocco, 131 min. Referencing classic film noir and Mean Streets, a dark tale of two small-time hustlers with big dreams in Casablanca. Discover Arab Cinema is dedicated to Sheila Whitaker (1936 - 2013), former director of the London Film Festival and programmer of the National Film Theatre. Tickets: Various. BFI Southbank, Belvedere Road, South Bank, London SE1 8XT. T 020 7928 3232 W www.bfi.org.uk

Wednesday 19 February

6:30 pm | Experiencing Revolution: The Case of Iran (Lecture) Naghmeh Sohrabi, Brandeis University. Organised by: LSE Middle East Centre. On 11 February 1979, a revolution was declared in Iran to the surprise of both many observers and participants.

Sohrabi will present her preliminary findings on the theoretical and empirical issues that arise in bridging the gap between historians' understanding of the revolution and the ways in which it was experienced. Chaired by: Roham Alvandi, LSE. Admission free. Room 1.04, New Academic Building, LSE. T 020 7955 6198 E s.masry@lse.ac.uk W www.lse.ac.uk

7:00 pm | The Mith of Bastoor and The Children of Iranian Independent Cinema (Lecture) Farshad Zahedi, Universidad Carlos III de Madrid. Organised by: Centre for Iranian Studies, SOAS. Zahedi will analyse the image of children and adolescents in Iranian independent cinema since the late sixties. Admission free. Khalili Lecture Theatre, SOAS. T 020 7898 4490/4330 E vp6@soas.ac.uk W www.soas.ac.uk/lmei-cis/events/

7:00 pm | ISIS and the Battle for Syria (Panel Discussion) Kim Sengupta, The Independent, other speakers tbc. Organised by: The Frontline Club. The uprising in Syria began as a battle between Syrians and the regime of Bashar Al Assad, the picture in the country now is much more complicated. As fighting between the Syrian opposition and Al-Qaeda affiliated groups intensifies the panel will offer a picture of what is happening on the ground in Syria. Tickets: £12.50/£10 conc. The Frontline Club, 13 Norfolk Place, London W2 1QJ. T 02074798940 W www.frontlineclub.com/isis-and-thebattle-for-syria/

7:00 pm | Attar's Canticle of the Birds: a Thirteenth-Century Persian Sufi Masterpiece of Poetry and Art (Lecture) Michael Barry, Princeton University. Organised by: Temenos Academy. Doors open 6:30pm. A lecture on the poem by Attar with special emphasis on the Persian, Central Asian, Turkish and Indian Mughal manuscript paintings from the thirteenth to seventeenth centuries which illuminate the spiritual flight of the poem's birds. Tickets: £5/£3.50 conc./students with Student Card ID free. Pre-registration advised. The Royal Asiatic Society, 14 Stephenson Way, London NW1 2HD. T 01233 813663 E temenosacademy@ myfastmail.com

Thursday 20 February

7:00 pm | Attar's Canticle of the Birds (Lecture) Michael Barry, Princeton University. Organised by: Centre for Iranian Studies, SOAS. Composed at the turn of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the 'Canticle of the Birds' or Mantea-ot-Tevr is universally regarded not only as the most perfect crystallization of Sufi thought in Persian verse - indeed Rûmî acknowledged its poet 'Attâr (ca. 1145-1221) as his own spiritual master - but as one of the greatest masterpieces of all mystical literature. 'Attâr's poem has been newly made available for international audiences by the Éditions Diane de Selliers (Paris) in both French and English versions - respectively translated by Leili Anyar and Dick Davis - with 210 manuscript illuminations commented on by Michael Barry. Admission free. DLT, SOAS. T 020 7898 4490/4330 E vp6@soas.ac.uk W www.soas.ac.uk/ lmei/events/

7:00 pm | "Beautiful to Behold is the King": The Body and Dress of the Achaemenid monarch (Lecture) Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones. Organised by: The Iran Society. Admisson free for Society members and one guest. Marlborough Suite, The Army and Navy Club, 36-39 Pall Mall, London SW1Y 5JN (Dress code calls for gentlemen to wear jacket and tie). T 020 7235 5122 E info@iransociety.org W www.iransociety.org

Saturday 22 February

7:00 pm | The Voice of the Santur (Concert) Organised by: The SOAS Iranian Music Society Presents. Doors open 6:30pm. Multicultural santur recital by Peyman Heydarian and the SOAS Iranian band. With jaw harp player, Deirdre Morgan, a rare opportunity to hear the world's only santur (dulcimer) - zanburak (jaw harp) duo. Part the 'Voice of the Santur' concert series, launched by santur virtuoso Peyman Heydarian in July 2010 at SOAS. Tickets: £15/£10 students and the unwaged/

£6 SOAS students. Pre-booking required. DLT (G2), SOAS. **E** events. santur@yahoo.com **W** www.thesantur.com

8:20 pm | Casanegra (Film) See listing on Tuesday 18 February for more information.

Sunday 23 February

6:10 pm | The Attack (Film) Organised by: Mona Deeley in association with the Zenith Foundation. Part of the Discover Arab Cinema season. Dir Ziad Doueiri (2012), Lebanon-France-Qatar-Belgium, 102 min. With the Israeli investigators accusing her of being the bomber rather than a victim, a surgeon fights to find the truth about

his wife's death in a supposed suicide explosion. Discover Arab Cinema is dedicated to Sheila Whitaker (1936 – 2013), former director of the London Film Festival and programmer of the National Film Theatre. Tickets: Various. BFI Southbank, Belvedere Road, South Bank, London SE1 8XT. T 020 7928 3232 W www.bfi.org.uk

Monday 24 February

5:15 pm | Travels to Egypt and Syria in Mamluk Times: Some Methodological Remarks (Seminar) Stephan Conermann, University of Bonn. Organised by: Department of History, SOAS. Part of the Seminar on the History of the Near and Middle East. Admission free. Room G3, SOAS. E bf7@soas.ac.uk W www.soas.ac.uk/history/eyents/

6:30 pm | Neoliberal Development in Palestine and the Regional Context (Lecture) Adam Hanieh, SOAS. Organised by: LSE Middle East Centre. Drawing on his new book, *Lineages of Revolt*, and recent fieldwork in the West Bank, Hanieh will examine the political economy of Palestinian neoliberalism in the most recent period. Chaired by: Kamil Mahdi, LSE. Admission free. Room 1.04, New Academic Building, LSE. T 020 7955 6198 E s.masry@lse. ac.uk W www.lse.ac.uk

7:00 pm | Upheaval in 18th C. Persia (and its effect on the art of the carpet) (Lecture) Michael Axworthy, Centre for Persian and Iranian Studies, Exeter University, with contributions from Clive Rogers, international rug and textile dealer. Organised by: Oriental Rug and Textile Society. Tickets: £7. St James Piccadilly Conference Room, 197 Piccadilly, London W1J 9LL (entrance in Church Place). T 020 8778 6215 E louisept@dsl.pipex.com W www. orientalrugandtextilesociety.org.uk / www.orts.org.uk

Tuesday 25 February

5:45 pm | Falalfel King: culinary customs and national narratives in Palestine (Lecture) Zeina Ghandour, Birkbeck. Organised by: London Middle East Institute, SOAS (LMEI) and the Centre for Palestine Studies, SOAS. Part of the LMEI's Tuesday Evening Lecture Programme on the Contemporary Middle East. Based on an article (being published in Feminist Legal Studies - December 2013) Ghandour's talk will draw on the emergent trans disciplinary field of food studies in order to pursue questions of national identity and

cultural resistance in Palestine. Tea and biscuits available from 5:15pm. Admission free. Khalili Lecture Theatre, SOAS. T 020 7898 4490 E vp6@soas. ac.uk W www.soas.ac.uk/lmei/events/

6:20 pm | **The Attack** (Film) See listing on Sunday 23 February for more information.

6:30 pm | The Dialectics of the Arab Revolutions: 2011-2013 (Lecture) Gilles Kepel, Sciences Po. Organised by: LSE Middle East Centre and LSE IDEAS. Far from the misconceptions of the 'Arab Spring' or the 'Islamist Autumn', the upheavals of the Arab world over the last three years unfolded along a number of lines of understanding. Kepel introduces a contextual analysis of the events rationale, based on his awardwinning travelogue Passion arabe (the Arab Passion). Chaired by: Toby Dodge, LSE. Admission free. Hong Kong Theatre, Clement House, LSE. T 020 7955 6198 E s.masry@lse.ac.uk W www.lse.ac.uk

Wednesday 26 February

4:30 pm | Qatari Foreign Policy and the Changing Regional Order in the Middle East (Seminar) Lina Khatib, Carnegie Middle East Centre. Organised by: LSE Middle East Centre and Kuwait Programme. Qatar has established a reputation for adopting a foreign policy based on pragmatism. However, the geopolitical landscape in the Middle East has recently witnessed a number of key changes. Are those changes testing Qatar's pragmatism? Chaired by: Toby Dodge, LSE. Admission free. Room 2.02, Clement House, LSE. T 020 7955 6198 E s.masry@lse.ac.uk W www.lse. ac.uk

5:00 pm | Diasporic film cultures and politics: Turkish and Kurdish media through a transnational lens (Seminar) Kevin Smets, visiting post-doctoral CMFS fellow. Organised by: Centre for Media and Film Studies, SOAS (CMFS). CMFS Seminar Series. Admission free. Room G3, SOAS. E dm27@soas.ac.uk W www.soas.ac.uk/mediaandfilm/events/

Thursday 27 February

6:00 pm | Samarra Finds from the Herzfeld Excavation in the Vicitoria and Albert Museum (Lecture) Organised by: The British Institute for the Study of Iraq (Gertrude Bell Memorial) The British Institute for the Study of Iraq's (BISI) Annual Mallowan Lecture. Mariam Rosser Owen and

Rosalind Wade Haddon will talk about their BISI-funded project to research, catalogue, photograph and conserve the V&A's collections of material excavated by Ernst Herzfeld at Samarra in 1911-1913. Admission free. Pre-registration W www.bisi.ac.uk British Academy, 10 Carlton House Terrace, London, SW1Y 5AH. T 020 7969 5274 E bisi@britac. ac.uk

7:30 pm | The Turtle's Rage + Director Q&A (via skype) (Documentary) Organised by: DocHouse, Filmmaker Pary El-Qalqili's Palestinian father has always been an enigma to her, spending his days grieving the loss of his homeland in the basement of their Berlin home. As father and daughter journey across the Middle East, El-Qalqili searches to understand the complexities of the Palestinian conflict, and her father's present day rage. Tickets: £7/£5 conc. Riverside Studios, Crisp Road, London W6 9RL. E Jodie@dochouse.org Wwww.dochouse.org

EVENTS OUTSIDE LONDON

Friday 7 February

5:00 pm | Jewish Scholars Between the Ottoman Empire and Renaissance Italy (Lecture) Robert Morrison, Bowdoin College, Brunswick. Organised by: the ERC Project IMPAcT and Faculty of Oriental Studies, University of Oxford. IMPAcT Lecture Series on Late Medieval and Early Modern Islamicate Intellectual History. Convened by: Judith Pfeiffer, Oxford. Admission free. Lecture Room 1, The Oriental Institute, Pusev Lane, Oxford OX1 2LE. E mona.liu@orinst.ox.ac.uk W www.orinst.ox.ac.uk

Thursday 13 February

5:15 pm | One Land, Two States: Reflections on Refugees, Settlers and Walls (Seminar) Yossef Rapoport, Queen Mary, University of London. Organised by: Centre of Islamic Studies, University of Cambridge. Part of the seminar series Turbulent World: Maghrib, Mashriq and Gulf in the New Era of Uncertainty. Admission free. Thomas Gray Room, Pembroke College, Cambridge CB2 1RF. E cis@cis.cam. ac.uk W www.cis.cam.ac.uk

Thursday 27 February

5:15 pm | The Ikhwan in Turmoil: The Muslim Brotherhood After the Arab Spring (Seminar) Alison Pargeter, RUSI and Menas Associates. Organised by: Centre of Islamic Studies, University of Cambridge. See listing above on Thursday 13 February for more information.

MARCH EVENTS

Monday 3 March

5:15 pm | History Writing as an Art for Forgetting: The Case of Iran in the Ninth-Eleventh Centuries (Seminar) Sarah Savant, AKU-ISMC. Organised by: Department of History, SOAS. Part of the Seminar on the History of the Near and Middle East. Admission free. Room G3, SOAS. E bf?@soas.ac.uk Wwww.soas.ac.uk/history/events/

6:15 pm | Digitising Ur: New life for Woolley's excavations at Ur (Seminar) Jon Taylor and Birger Helgestad, BM. Organised by: The London Centre for the Ancient Near East. Convened by: David Kertai, UCL Institute of Archaeology. Admission free. Room G51, SOAS. E ag5@soas.ac.uk W www.soas.ac.uk/nme/ane/lcane/

Tuesday 4 March

5:45 pm | Prospects for Inclusive Growth in the MENA Region (Lecture) Hassan Hakimian, LMEI & SOAS. Organised by: London Middle East Institute, SOAS (LMEI). Part of the LMEI's Tuesday Evening Lecture Programme on the Contemporary Middle East. Hassan Hakimian considers the Middle East and North Africa's recent trajectory of growth and its prospects for achieving inclusive growth in light of the recent political and social upheavals in the region. Tea and biscuits available from 5:15pm. Admission free. Khalili Lecture Theatre, SOAS. T 020 7898 4490 E vp6@soas. ac.uk W www.soas.ac.uk/lmei/events/

Wednesday 5 March

4:30 pm | Diversified but marginal: The GCC private sector as an economic and political force (Seminar) Steffen Hertog, LSE. Organised by: LSE Middle East Centre and Kuwait Programme. Hertog's talk will explain the passive and isolated role of business and how its interests are at odds with those of GCC citizens at large. Chaired by: Toby Dodge, LSE. Admission free. Room 2.04, New Academic Building, LSE. T 020 7955 6198 E s.masry@lse.ac.uk W www.lse.ac.uk

5:30 pm | Saudi Arabia in the Wider Region (Lecture) Sir John Jenkins, British Ambassador to Saudi Arabia.

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* (subject to approval)

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Organised by: Saudi-British Society. Admission free. Pre-registration required E ionisthompson@yahoo.co.uk Arab-British Chamber of Commerce, 43 Upper Grosvenor Street, London W1. W www.saudibritishsociety.org.uk

6:00 pm | The Syrian Crisis and Its Impact on Iran-Turkey-Syria Relations (Lecture) Ozden Zeynep Oktav, Yildiz Technical University and St Andrews University. Organised by: Centre for Iranian Studies, SOAS, Oktav will discuss relations between Turkey and Syria after the Syrian crisis alongside Turkey's changing foreign policy and will go on to address the reasons why Turkey favoured to its relationship with Iran after the Syrian uprising. Chaired by: Arshin Adib-Moghaddam, SOAS. Admission free. LMEI Seminar Room, 21, Russell Square, SOAS. T 020 7898 4490/4330 **E** vp6@soas.ac.uk **W** www. soas.ac.uk/lmei-cis/events/

6:30 pm | The Impact of the Muslim Brotherhood in the Middle East (Talk) Alison Pargeter, academic and author. Organised by: Caabu (Council for Arab-British Understanding). Pargeter will talk about the Muslim Brotherhood in the Middle East, highlighting the differences of various movements in Egypt, Libya, Syria, Jordan, and the impact that this is having. Admission free. Pre-registration required E willitsj@caabu.org. Thatcher Room, Portcullis House, Houses of Parliament. W www.caabu.org

Thursday 6 March

4.00 pm | Copper, Crises and the Birth of Kings: what happened in the Early Iron Age? (Lecture) Bruce Routledge, University of Liverpool. Organised by: Anglo Israel Archaeological Society and the Palestine Exploration Fund. Admission free. Stevenson Lecture Theatre, Clore Education Centre, BM. T 020 8349 5754 W www.aias.org.uk

7:30 pm | Palestine and Palestine Studies, One Century since the First World War and the Balfour Declaration (Lecture) Walid Khalidi, Institute for Palestine Studies, Beirut, Lebanon. Organised by: Centre for Palestine Studies, SOAS. Centre for Palestine First Annual Lecture. Admission free. Brunei Gallery Lecture Theatre, SOAS. T 020 7898 4330 E vp6@ soas.ac.uk W www.soas.ac.uk/lmei-cps/events

Monday 10 March

5:15 pm | Pilgrimage under the

Mandate: Jews in South Lebanon, Shia in North Palestine (Seminar) Toufoul Abou-Hodeib, University of Oslo. Organised by: Department of History, SOAS. Part of the Seminar on the History of the Near and Middle East. Admission free. Room G3, SOAS. E bf7@soas.ac.uk/ W www.soas.ac.uk/ history/events/

6:30 pm | Algeria and its Southern Neighbours: Turbulence in the Sahara (Lecture) Yvan Guichaoua, University of East Anglia, Imad Mesdoua, political analyst. Organised by: LSE Middle East Centre. Guichaoua will address the role of Algeria in recent (Tuareg then Jihadist) insurgencies in Mali and Niger as portrayed by various actors of the political crises in the Sahel. Mesdoua will be examine the rationales guiding Algerian foreign policy in light of growing instability throughout the Sahel and Maghreb regions. Chaired by: John King, Society for Algerian Studies. Admission free. Room 1.04, New Academic Building, LSE. T 020 7955 6198 E s.masry@lse.ac.uk W www.lse.

Tuesday 11 March

5:45 pm | An Historical Overview of the Iranian Presidency: 1979-2013 (Lecture) Siavush Randibar-Daemi, University of Manchester. Organised by: London Middle East Institute, SOAS (LMEI) and the Centre for Iranian Studies, SOAS. Part of the LMEI's Tuesday Evening Lecture Programme on the Contemporary Middle East. Lecture rescheduled from Tuesday 3 December. Randjbar-Daemi will provide an overview of the genesis and evolution of the presidency in the Islamic Republic of Iran and will argue that the three decades under consideration have witnessed a continuous struggle, by successive presidents, for recognition of their constitutional authority and its augmentation. Tea and biscuits available from 5:15pm, Admission free, Khalili Lecture Theatre, SOAS. T 020 7898 4490 E vp6@soas.ac.uk W www.soas.ac.uk/ lmei/events/

7:00 pm | In the Picture: Afghanistan - A Distant War (Discussion) Organised by: The Frontline Club. Renowned photojournalist Robert Nickelsberg in conversation with Jon Lee Anderson to discuss his latest book *Afghanistan - A Distant War.* Tickets: £12.50/£10 conc. The Frontline Club, 13 Norfolk Place, London W2 1QJ. T 02074798940 W www.frontlineclub.com/in-the-picture-afghanistan-a-distant-war/

Wednesday 12 March

7:00 pm | The Architect and the Artists'
Atelier: Re-thinking the ketabkhane
(Lecture) Sussan Babaie, The Courtauld
Institute of Art, London. Organised
by: Islamic Art Circle at SOAS. The
Bahari Foundation Lecture in Iranian
Art and Culture. Part of the Islamic Art
Circle at SOAS Lecture Programme.
Chaired by: Doris Behrens-Abouseif,
SOAS. Admission free. Khalili Lecture
Theatre, SOAS. T 0771 408 7480 E
rosalindhaddon@gmail.com W www.
soas.ac.uk/art/islac/

Thursday 13 March

5:00 pm | Hassan Hajjaj: Photography, Fashion, Film, Design (Book Launch) Organised by: Rose Issa Projects. This timely publication explores how Hassan Hajjaj's upbringing in Morocco and London, his experiences in fashion and interior design, and his adventures in the music industry influence his images. Admission free. Rose Issa Projects, 82 Great Portland Street, London W1W 7NW. T 020 7602 7700 E info@roseissa.com W http://roseissa.com

6:00 pm | **2014 Anthony Hyman**Memorial Lecture with Gilles

Dorronsoro (Lecture) Organised by:
Centre of Contemporary Central Asia
& the Caucasus, SOAS. Admission free.
Brunei Gallery Lecture Theatre, SOAS.
E rt26@soas.ac.uk W www.soas.ac.uk/
cccac/events/anthonyhyman/

Friday 14 March

12:00 pm | Ottomanism, Ottoman Vatan and World War I (Seminar) Behül Özkan, Marmara University. Organised by: SOAS Modern Turkish Studies Programme (London Middle East Institute, SOAS) and sponsored by Nurol Bank. Part of the Seminars on Turkey series. Convened by Benjamin Fortna, SOAS. Admission free. Room 116, SOAS. T 020 7898 4431 E bp@soas. ac.uk W www.soas.ac.uk/lmei/events/

5:30 pm | The Muslim Brotherhood:
Evolution of an Islamist Movement
(Lecture) Carrie Wickham, Emory
University. Organised by: London
Middle East Institute, SOAS (LMEI).
Lecture by Carrie Wickham on the
subject of her latest book 'The Muslim
Brotherhood: Evolution of an Islamist
Movement' (Princeton.University Press,
2013). Drawing on more than one
hundred in-depth interviews as well as
Arabic language sources not previously
accessed by Western researchers
Wickham traces the evolution of the

Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt from its founding in 1928 to the fall of Mubarak and the watershed elections of 2011-2012. Admission free. KLT, SOAS. T 020 7898 4490 E vp6@soas.ac.uk W www.soas.ac.uk/lmei/events/

Saturday 15 March

7:00 pm | A Musical Celebration of Nowruz with Persian, Kurdish and Azari Music (Concert) Organised by: Peyman Heydarian, Voice of Santur and the SOAS Iranian Music Society. Doors open 6:30pm. Tickets: £25/£15 conc./£10 students. Pre-booking required. DLT (G2), SOAS. E events. santur@yahoo.com W www.thesantur.com

Monday 17 March

5:15 pm | Bethlehem: The Global Story of a Little Town (Seminar) Jacob Norris, University of Sussex. Organised by: Department of History, SOAS. Part of the Seminar on the History of the Near and Middle East. Admission free. Room G3, SOAS. E bf7@soas.ac.uk Wwww.soas.ac.uk/history/events/

6:15 pm | The reuse and recycling of Iron Age Levantine luxury arts (Seminar) Marian Feldman, Johns Hopkins. Organised by: The London Centre for the Ancient Near East. Ancient Near East Seminars. Convened by: David Kertai, UCL Institute of Archaeology. Admission free. Room G51, SOAS. E ag5@soas.ac.uk W www.soas.ac.uk/nme/ane/lcane/

Wednesday 19 March

6:30 pm | Syria-Iraq Relations: From State Formation to the Arab Uprising? (Lecture) Raymond Hinnebusch, University of St Andrews. Organised by: LSE Middle East Centre. Hinnebusch will examine Iraq-Syria relations with the aim of using their changing relations as indicators of changes in the regional states and MENA regional states system. Chaired by: Toby Dodge, LSE. Admission free. G.01, Tower One, Clement's Inn, LSE. T 020 7955 6198 E s.masry@lse.ac.uk W www.lse.ac.uk

6:45 pm | Contemporary Iranian Theatre (Reading) Nima Mina, SOAS and Bita Mafizadeh, SOAS. Organised by: Centre for Cultural, Literary and Postcolonial Studies (CCLPS). CCLPS Reading Group. Admission free. P21 Gallery, 21 Chalton Street, London, NW1 1JD. E kl19@soas.ac.uk W www. soas.ac.uk/cclps/cclps-reading-group/

Thursday 20 March

6:30 pm | Syria's Humanitarian Crisis: people versus politics (Lecture) Nigel Pont, Mercy Corp. Organised by: Conflict Research Group. LSE. Admission free. Hong Kong Theatre, Clement House. T 020 7955 7929 E gov. admin@lse.ac.uk W www.lse.ac.uk

Friday 21 March

The Aesthetics and Politics of Contemporary Moroccan Cultural Production (Workshop) Part of the Cambridge-Morocco Programme (Centre of Islamic Studies, University of Cambridge; Moroccan British Society; the British Council in Morocco) Sponsored by the International Prize for Arabic Fiction. Keynote speech by Mohamed Achaari, prizewinner of the 2011 International Prize for Arabic Fiction SOAS Main Building, SOAS. For more information and to book a place E Karima Laachir kl19@soas.ac.uk

Saturday 22 March

TBC | Nowruz Concert Organised by: Light of Music in cooperation with the Centre for Iranian Studies. SOAS. Tickets: TBC. Brunei Gallery Lecture Theatre, SOAS. T 020 7898 4330 E vp6@soas.ac.uk W www.soas.ac.uk/lmei-cis/events/

EVENTS OUTSIDE LONDON

Thursday 6 March

5:15 pm | The Syrian Uprising and Turkey (Seminar) Ozden Oktav, University of St Andrews. Organised by: Centre of Islamic Studies, University of Cambridge. Part of the seminar series Turbulent World: Maghrib, Mashriq and Gulf in the New Era of Uncertainty. Admission free. Thomas Gray Room, Pembroke College, Cambridge CB2 1RF. E cis@cis.cam.ac.uk W www.cis.cam.ac.uk

Friday 7 March

5:00 pm | "Extremely Long and Extremely Beautiful": An Exuberant Letter from the Year 1360 (Lecture) Thomas Bauer, Institut für Arabistik und Islamwissenschaft, Universität Münster. Organised by: the ERC Project IMPAcT and Faculty of Oriental Studies, University of Oxford. IMPAcT Lecture Series on Late Medieval and Early Modern Islamicate Intellectual

History. Convened by: Judith Pfeiffer, Oxford. Admission free. Lecture Room 1, The Oriental Institute, Pusey Lane, Oxford OX1 2LE. E mona.liu@orinst. ox.ac.uk W www.orinst.ox.ac.uk

Wednesday 12 March

5:30 pm | Arabia: The Central, but Missing Link in World Prehistory (Lecture) Michael Petraglia, Oxford University. Organised by: British Foundation for the Study of Arabia (BFSA) and the MBI al Jaber Foundation. Satellite images show Arabia was well-watered many times in the past. Petraglia's talk will examine evidence (stone tools, rock art) from ancient rivers and lakes in Arabia. Followed by a drinks reception. Admission free. Pre-registration required E info@mbifoundation. com MBI Al Jaber Building, Corpus Christi College, Merton Street, Oxford OX1 4JF. W www.thebfsa.org / www. mbifoundation.com

EXHIBITIONS

Saturday 1 February

Until 14 February | **Open Your Eyes** A visually diverse collection of artworks, ranging from 17th-century engravings to contemporary photography and painting including works by Farhad Ahrarnia, Matthew Corbin Bishop, Ali Omar Ermes, Selma Gurbuz, Nermine Hammam, Iraida Icaza, Lotte Reiniger, Mourad Salem, and Osman Waqialla. Admission free. Rose Issa Projects, 82 Great Portland Street, London W1W 7NW. **T** 020 7602 7700 **E** info@roseissa. com **W** http://roseissa.com **W** http://roseissa.com

Until 23 February | Ferozkoh: Tradition and Continuity in Afghan Art Exhibition developed by the Museum of Islamic Art (MIA) in Doha, Qatar featuring works of art created by the students and teachers of the Turquoise Mountain Institute for Afghan Arts and Architecture in Kabul. Each newly created artwork is based on an object from MIA's collection and is displayed alongside the historic pieces that inspired them. Tickets: £5/£3 conc. Leighton House Museum, 12 Holland Park Road, London W14 8LZ. T 020 7741 9153 E museums@rbkc.gov.uk W www.rbkc.gov.uk/subsites/museums.

Until 22 March | Recalling the Future: Iranian Contemporary Art after the Revolution of 1979 Artworks by 29 Iranian artists, many exhibiting in the UK for the first time. Working across a variety of media including painting, sculpture, photography, video performance and installation pieces, the artists on display reject notions of 'Iranian-ness' as a fixed, timeless entity, and investigate the social and historical construction of identity, as well as their contribution to problematic political situations. Admission free. Brunei Gallery, SOAS. T 020 7898 4046 E gallery@soas.ac.uk/ gallery

Until 31 March | Made in Morocco Exhibition exploring Morocco's visual identity and cultural heritage, includes calligraphy, painting and a number of hand-crafted brass lamps from made by native artisans. Admission free. Until 20 February at: Art Moorhouse, Moorhouse, 120, London Wall, Greater London, EC2Y 5ET. From 6 March: European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, 1 Exchange Square, London EC2A 2JN. T 077 0219 6730 E info@moroccanfineart.com W www.moroccanfineart.com

Until 31 March | What if Mousa al-Kordi presents a retrospective exhibition of his sculpture and paintings. Admission free. The Street Gallery, Institute of Arab and Islamic Studies, University of Exeter, Stocker Road, Exeter EX4 4ND. E jane.clark@exeter.ac.uk W http://socialsciences.exeter.ac.uk/iais/events/exhibitions/

Until 21 April | Jameel Prize 3 Launched in 2009 and held every two years, the Jameel Prize is in its third edition, see the works by the 10 short-listed artists and designers, ranging from Arabic typography and calligraphy to fashion inspired by the Hagia Sofia in Instanbul, and from social design and video installation to delicate miniature drawings. Admission free. V&A South Kensington, Cromwell Road, London SW7 2RL. T 020 7942 2000 W www. vam.ac.uk/jameelprize

Until 27 April | Wise men from the east: Zoroastrian traditions in Persia and beyond On display are a variety of ancient and modern objects and coins which highlight the importance of Zoroastrian traditions in other religions. It will touch on the concept of the Three Kings of the Christian tradition, described in the New Testament as Magi from the east – Zoroastrian priests in the Persian tradition –and modern objects will show the ongoing legacy of this ancient Iranian religion and its significance as a symbol of

national identity. Admission free. Room 69a, BM. T 020 7323 8299 W www. britishmuseum.org

Until June | Space & Gaze: Conversations with Jean Mohr & Edward Said in Palestine For the first time Mohr's images and Said's text are brought together alongside works by contemporary photographers from Palestine inviting reflections on the changes and continuities that have taken place over time not only with respect to how Palestinians have been seen. but also how they have chosen to see and show themselves. Admission free. Kingsway Corridor, Richard Hoggart Building, Goldsmiths, University of London, Lewisham Way, New Cross, London SE14 6NW. E N.Puwar@gold. ac.uk W www.gold.ac.uk/methods-lab/

Wednesday 19 February

Until 28 March | Parastou Forouhar: Kiss Me Admission free. Rose Issa Projects, 82 Great Portland Street, London W1W 7NW. T 020 7602 7700 E info@roseissa.com W http://roseissa.com

Thursday 20 February

Until 18 May | Court and Craft: A Masterpiece from Northern Iraq Exhibition exploring the origins, function and imagery of one of the rarest objects in the collection of The Courtauld Gallery: a precious metalwork bag, made in Northern Iraq around 1300. No other object of this kind survives and it ranks as one of the finest pieces of Islamic inlaid metalwork in existence. Tickets: £6/£5 conc./ under 18 and full-time students free. The Courtauld Gallery, The Courtauld Institute of Art, Somerset House, Strand, London WC2R 0RN. T 020 7848 2526 galleryinfo@courtauld.ac.uk W www.courtauld.ac.uk/gallery/ / www. suebond.co.uk

Thursday 27 February

Until 2 March | Janet Rady Fine Art at Art 14 Janet Rady Fine Art will be participating in the second edition of London's new art fair, Art 14 (Thursday 27 and Friday 28 February, Saturday 1 and Sunday 2 March). She will be showing the works of Iranian artists Malekeh Nayiny, Shirin Neshat and Syrian artist Laila Muraywid. Tickets: Various. Olympia, Stand I3. T 020 7886 3112 E info@artfairslondon.com Wwww.artfairslondon.com

The BYS Yemen Seminar and Annual Lecture

Monday 17 February 2014

Half-Day Seminar:

Why Yemen Matters in 2014 and Beyond

The BYS Annual Lecture:

Yemen After the National Dialogue Conference, What Next?



Half-Day Seminar

14.00-17.30

Admission: £10, students free

The BYS Annual Lecture by Ambassador Amat al-Alim Alsoswa

18.00-19.00

Admission Free to All

Registration: www.soas.ac.uk/lmei/events/

In November 2011, an agreement brokered by the GCC brought an end to Yemen's tumultuous uprising. The National Dialogue Conference has opened a window of opportunity for change, bringing Yemen's main political forces together with groups that were politically marginalised. Yet, the risk of collapse is serious, and if Yemen is to remain a viable state, it must address numerous political, social, and economic challenges. To mark the publication of the book "Why Yemen Matters: a Society in Transition" (SAQI 2014), which discusses the country's major crises, the British-Yemeni Society and the London Middle East Institute at SOAS are organising a half day seminar with the support of the MBI Al Jaber Foundation.

Brunei Gallery Lecture Theatre, SOAS, University of London, London WC1H 0XG









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- Employs the tools of the social sciences and humanities as a framework for learning.

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Application Deadline:28 February 2014









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