

MESA 2018 ANNUAL MEETING HIGHLIGHTS ON PALESTINE



MESA '18
WITHOUT BOUNDARIES:
The Global Middle East, Then and Now

(An * by the name indicates PARC fellows and board members. PARC has 35 fellows and board members participating on panels at MESA this year.)

PARC-Sponsored MESA Panels

FRIDAY, 16 NOV 1:30 PM

[P5103] Resisting Enclosure Movement Restrictions, the Built Environment, and Immobility in Palestine

Sponsor: Palestinian American Research Center (PARC)

Organizer: Joshua Stacher*

Chair: Omar Jabary Salamanca (Ghent U)

Discussant: Michael Hudson* (Georgetown U)

Maryam Griffin* (U of Washington, Bothell) *The Bus as Vehicle of Resistance in Palestinian Protest Actions*

Julie Peteet* (U of Louisville) *Mobilities, Indigeneity and Resistance in Palestine*

Joshua Stacher* (Kent State U) *A Race against the Wall: Origins and Development of the Palestine Marathon*

Gary Fields* (U of California, San Diego) *Gaza: An Enclosed and Immobilized Landscape*

SATURDAY, 17 NOV 1:30 PM

[P5212] Culture and Revolution in Beirut: Counter-Narratives in Politics, Literature, and Art

Sponsor: Palestinian American Research Center (PARC)

Organizers: Adey Almohsen,* Reema Salha Fadda and Nate George

Chair: Elizabeth Holt (Bard Col)

Adey Almohsen* (U of Minnesota) *Critiquing Exile/Theorizing Nation: An Account of Post-1948 Palestinian Literary Criticism*

Nate George (Rice U) *“Our 1789”: Kamal Jumblatt, the Lebanese National Movement, and the Abolition of Sectarianism in Lebanon, 1975-1977*

Reema Salha Fadda (U of Oxford) *Competing Visions for a Transnational Museum? Negotiating the Political Economy of Palestinian Cultural Production in a Neoliberal Age*

Undergraduate Research Poster Session

Evan Cerne-Iannone (Case Western U) *Disappeared Histories: Stolen Archives and National Identity in Israel/ Palestine*

Veronica Ruhe (Kent State U) *Bait and Switch: Resisting Pinkwashing in Palestine/Israel*

MESA Panels, Papers, Special Sessions, Thematic Conversations, and Roundtables Related to Palestine

THURSDAY, 15 NOV 5:30 PM

[P5076] Constitutions in the Contemporary Middle East: (How) Do They Still Matter?

Organizers: Asli Bâli (UCLA) and David Mednicoff (U of Massachusetts)

Chair/Discussant: Nathan J. Brown* (George Washington U)

Omar M. Dajani (U of the Pacific) *An Emerging Constitutionalism in Israel/Palestine?*

[P5132] Fortune, Crisis, Catastrophe: Histories of Capitalism in the Global Middle East

Organizers: Yasar Tolga Cora (Bogazici U) and Ceyda Karamursel (SOAS, U of London)

Chair/Discussant: Zachary Lockman* (NYU)

Kristen Alff* (Stanford U) *“Now All That We Own Are Our Houses!” Diversity in Labor Relations in Palestine” 1850-1914*

FRIDAY, 16 NOV 8:30 AM

[P5070] Infrastructure and Connectivity in the Middle East

Chair/Discussant: Juan Cole (U of Michigan)

Omer Sharir (U of Michigan) *Making Inroads: Infrastructural Violence and Racialization in Palestine, 1915-1929*

[P5198] Ways of Knowing: Situated and Relational Geographies of the Middle East

and North Africa, Part I

Organizer: Koenraad Bogaert (Ghent U)

Kareem Rabie* (American U) *Palestine and China: New Economic Geographies*

[P5287] Military and Diplomatic Strategies

Amr Yossef (Independent Scholar) *Changes of Military Doctrines in the Middle East*

[P5294] Protests and Discriminations

Chair: Josepha Wessels (Lund U Sweden)

Aisha Mershani (Gettysburg Col) *Reframing the Narrative through Visual Ethnography: Photographs of the Palestinian Popular Struggle against the Israeli Apartheid Wall as Visual Injustice Symbols*

FRIDAY, 16 NOV 11:00 AM

[P5078] Israel in the Trump Era

Sponsor: Association for Israel Studies (AIS)

Organizer: Robert O. Freedman

Chair: Itamar Radai (NYU)

Discussant: Robert O. Freedman (Johns Hopkins U)

Eyal Zisser (Tel Aviv U) *Israel and Syria: Revolution, Civil War and Peace Process: Between Moscow and Tehran*

Joshua Teitelbaum (Bar-Ilan U) *Israel and Saudi Arabia in the New Regional Landscape*

Ilan Peleg (Lafayette Col) *The Nexus between Israeli Politics and Foreign Policy: The Trump Effect*

Yoav Alon (Tel Aviv U) *Jordanian-Israeli Relations in the Face of Regional Upheavals: The Resilience of a Strategic Alliance*

Glenn E. Robinson (Naval Postgraduate School) *Israel, the Palestinians and the Arab World in the Age of Trump*

[P5143] Politics of Mental Health and Psychiatry in the Emerging State

Sponsor: Syrian Studies Association (SSA)

Organizer: Yasmin Shafei (American U of Beirut)

Chair/Discussant: Sara Scalenghe (Loyola U Maryland)

Chris Wilson (U of Cambridge) *Identifying Normality, Staging Sanity, and Debating Criminal-Legal Responsibility in British Mandate Palestine*

[P5156] Ways of Knowing: Situated and Relational Geographies of the Middle East and North Africa, Part I

Organizer: Omar Jabary Salamanca (American U)

Chair: Kareem Rabie* (American U)

Discussant: Nida Alahmad (U of Edinburgh)

Andy Clarno* (U of Illinois at Chicago) *Circuits of Liberation from South Africa to Palestine*

[R5091] Roundtable-Food Studies and the Middle East: Past, Present, Future

Anne T. Meneley (Trent U)

[C5221] Thematic Conversation-After A Decade: The Iron Cage (2007) Ten Years Later

Organizer: Elizabeth Bishop

Session Leader: Elizabeth Bishop (Texas State U)

Gabriella Albarez (Texas State U)

Miguel Carandang (Texas State U)

Richard Pastore (Texas State U)

Richard Geoffrey Sloan (Texas State U)

[P5334] Egyptian & Palestinian Novels

Chair: Carol Bardenstein (U of Michigan)

Yael Kenan (U of Michigan) *The Mourning Mother – Reading Kanafani and Grossman Together*

Omar Khalifah (Georgetown U-Qatar) *The Kanafani Plot: Staging the Palestinians' Return in Contemporary Palestinian Novel*

[P5340] Palestinian Identity & Diplomacy

Chair: Michael R. Fischbach* (Randolph-Macon Col)

Hiroyuki Suzuki (Japan Society for the Promotion of Science) *The PLO Office in Tokyo and Diplomatic Activities of the Japanese Government during the 1970s*

Linda Quiquivix (Living Books Institute for Community Ecology) *Indigenous Struggles in the Americas and Palestine*

Haneen Ghabra (Kuwait U) *Palestinian Resistance, Hip-Hop and Cyberspace Performances*

FRIDAY, 16 NOV 1:30 PM

[P5093] Authoritarianism, Digital Dissidence and Grassroots Media in the Middle East and North Africa Region

Organizers: Josepha Wessels (Lund U Sweden)

Discussant: Omar Al-Ghazzi (LSE)

Fabio Cristiano (Lund U) *Cyber Jihad beyond Algorithmic Control: Palestine and the Political Limitations of Internet Technologies*

[P5103] Resisting Enclosure Movement Restrictions, the Built Environment, and Immobility in Palestine

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Discussant: Michael Hudson* (Georgetown U)

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Joshua Stacher* (Kent State U) *A Race against the Wall: Origins and Development of the Palestine Marathon*

Gary Fields* (U of California, San Diego) *Gaza: An Enclosed and Immobilized Landscape*

[S5374] SPECIAL SESSION

Struggling to Assert Rights to Academic Freedom: A Report from MESA's Committee on Academic Freedom

Organizer/Chair: Laurie Brand* (U of Southern California)

Mehmet Sinan Birdal (U of Southern California)

Kristian Coates Ulrichsen (Rice U)

Katherine Franke (Columbia U Law School)

Homa Hoodfar (Concordia U)

[P5222] Fear of Oblivion: Intellectual Histories of Erasure in the Medieval and Contemporary Middle East

Organizers: Manar Makhoul and Heba Mostafa (U of Toronto)

Chair: Manar Makhoul (Tel-Aviv U)

Discussant: Amal Equeiq (Williams Col)

Manar Makhoul (Tel-Aviv U) *Athazagoraphobia: The Impact of the 1967 War on Palestinian Intellectuals*

Fadi Mansour (SOAS, U of London) *Refusing Oblivion: Palestinian Graffiti, Reimagined Public Space, and Aesthetics of Duress in the Occupied Palestinian Territories*

[R5094] Roundtable-Considering the Spatial Turn in Middle East Studies

Lisa Bhungalia (Kent State U)

FRIDAY, 16 NOV 4:00 PM

[P5127] Feminist Struggles in Authoritarian Times: Turkey, Tunisia, Egypt and Palestine Today

Organizer/Chair: Ozlem Altiok (U of North Texas)

Discussant: Hind M Ahmed Zaki (Harvard U)

Nancy L. Stockdale (U of North Texas) *Of Their Own Volition: Situating Palestinian Girl Activists*

SATURDAY, 17 NOV 8:30 AM

[P5235] Localizing International Regimes of Expertise in the MENA Region

Organizer: Neha Vora*

Chair: Anne T. Meneley (Trent U)

Anne T. Meneley (Trent U) *Fertile Circulations: Planting, Foraging, Harvesting, Sharing*

Neha Vora* (Lafayette Col) *American branch campuses, liberalism, and transnational Qatar*

[P5316] Translations and Travel Writing

Chair: Paul E. Losensky (Indiana U)

Ida Nitter (U of Pennsylvania) *Are They All Barbarians, Murderers, and Infidels? Two Norwegian-American Pilgrims' Encounters in the Holy Land*

[P5320] Occupied Lives: Settlements and Realities

Chair: Richard Cahill (Berea Col)

Padraigin O'Flynn* (Kent State U) *Different Peaces, Similar Lives: Power Relations, Peace Agreements, and Lived Experiences in Palestine/Israel and Northern Ireland*

Natasha Roth-Rowland (U of Virginia) *The New Jewish Underground: Settlement and Excavation in East Jerusalem*

SATURDAY, 17 NOV 11:00 AM

[P5161] Palestine, Latin America and the Caribbean: Encounters, Crossings, Parallels, Part I

Sponsor: MESA's Latin America Middle East Studies Working Group

Organizer: Amal Equeiq

Discussants: Cecilia Baeza (PUC-SP) and James L. Gelvin (UCLA)

Amal Equeiq (Williams Col) *Aesthetics of Indigenous Affinity: From Chiapas to Palestine and Beyond*

Manal A. Jamal* (James Madison U) *Beyond Analogy: Palestine in Comparative Perspective*

Nadim Bawalsa* (NYU) *Palestine West of the Andes: A History of the Formation of a Jaaliya*

Shadi Rohana (El Colegio de México) *Latin America in the Palestinian Journal "Al-Karmel"*

Ghadeer Abu-Sneineh (Al-Jazeera) *Rebels in the Caribbean: The Untold History of Palestinians in the Sandinista Revolution*

[P5304] Arab Minorities in Iran and Israel

Gershon Shafir (UC San Diego) *Lehava in Jerusalem: Moral Panic, Vigilantism, and the Policing of the Boundaries of Jewishness*

[P5309] Representations of the Past/ Presentations of the Present

Chair: Julia Clancy-Smith (U of Arizona)

Nisa Ari* (Massachusetts Institute of Technology) *Fair Competition: Opposing Internationalism in Palestine's "National" Fairs of the 1930s*

Iman Saca (Saint Xavier U) *Heritage Protection through Public Engagement: A Community Archaeology Approach*

[R5162] Roundtable-Local Markers to Analytic Categories: Nation, Race, and Sect Between Governmentality and Scholarship

Sa'ed Atshan (Swarthmore Coll)

[S5386] Issues in the Profession Session: How Can We Continue To Do Research in the Arab World?

Organized by Rabab El-Mahdi

Organized under the auspices of American University in Cairo (AUC)

Chair: Nathan J. Brown* (George Washington U)

Laryssa Chomiak (American Institute of Maghreb Studies)

Rabab El-Mahdi (American U in Cairo)

Miriam R. Lowi (Col of New Jersey)

Ellen Lust (U of Gothenburg)
Sarah Parkinson* (Johns Hopkins U)
Jillian Schwedler (Hunter Col CUNY)

SATURDAY, 17 NOV 3:00 PM

PRESIDENTIAL PANEL

Challenging Times: Protecting Academia in an Era of Change

Organizer: Judith E. Tucker*
Chair: Abdel Razzaq Takritit (U of Houston)
Beth Baron (City U of New York)
Laurie Brand* (U of Southern California)
Dima Khalidi (Palestine Legal)
David McNally (U of Houston)
Karma Nabulsi (U of Oxford)

[P5131] Narrating Transnational Arab and Muslim Womanhood

Organizer: Enaya Othman
Chair: Enaya Othman (Marquette U)
Discussant: Caroline F. Seymour-Jorn (U of Wisconsin-Milwaukee)
Enaya Othman (Marquette U) *American Palestinian Women's Marriages within and Beyond Borders: Contestation, Negotiation, and Agency*

[P5288] Minority Communities: Identity, Law and Politics

Chair: Ioannis N. Grigoriadis (Bilkent U)
Anna Kensicki* (SOAS, U of London) *Theorizing Half-Statelessness as De-Humanization: A Case Study of the Nationality Law in Israel*
Yüksel Sezgin (Syracuse U) *"Non-Muslim Mujtahids": Viability of Judicial Interventions in Muslim Family Laws by Civil Courts in Non-Muslim Regimes*

[P5376] Palestine, Latin America and the Caribbean: Encounters, Crossings, Parallels, Part II

Organizer: Amal Equeiq (Williams Col)
Chair/Discussants: Linda Quiquívix (Living Books Institute for Community Ecology)
Gilberto Conde (El Colegio de México) *Facing the Wall: From Tijuana to Palestine*
Gavriel Cutipa-Zorn (Yale U) *Expert Enclosure: Counterinsurgent Agriculture in Palestine, the US, and Guatemala*
Beatrice Pita (U California San Diego) and Rosaura Sánchez (U California San Diego) *1848, 1898, 1948 and 2018. The Past as Present*
Carlos Fernando López De La Torre (Instituto de Investigaciones) *The Cuban poster and Palestine. Internationalism and solidarity embodied in images*
Rigoberto Domingo Menéndez Paredes (Casa de los Árabes in Havana, Cuba) *The Arab Community of Cuba: the Case of the Palestinians from the Past to the Present*

SATURDAY, 17 NOV 5:30 PM

[P5212] Middle East Urban Soundscapes in the Long 20th Century

Organizer: Ziad Fahmy (Cornell U)

Chair/Discussant: G. Carole Woodall (U of Colorado Colorado Springs)

Andrea L. Stanton (U of Denver) *Situating Radio in the Soundscape of Mandate Jerusalem*

[P5212] Culture and Revolution in Beirut: Counter-Narratives in Politics, Literature, and Art

Sponsor: Palestinian American Research Center (PARC)

Organizers: Adey Almohsen,* Reema Salha Fadda and Nate George

Chair: Elizabeth Holt (Bard Col)

Adey Almohsen* (U of Minnesota) *Critiquing Exile/Theorizing Nation: An Account of Post-1948 Palestinian Literary Criticism*

Nate George (Rice U) *“Our 1789”: Kamal Jumblatt, the Lebanese National Movement, and the Abolition of Sectarianism in Lebanon, 1975-1977*

Reema Salha Fadda (U of Oxford) *Competing Visions for a Transnational Museum? Negotiating the Political Economy of Palestinian Cultural Production in a Neoliberal Age*

[P5217] Power Shifts: Energy Transitions in the Middle East

Organizers: Ciruce A. Movahedi-Lankarani (U of Pennsylvania) and Nimrod Ben Zeev

Discussants: Katayoun Shafiee (U of Warwick)

Shira Pinhas (Tel Aviv U) *“A Land Flowing with Milk and Oil”: Automobility and Standstill in Mandate Palestine*

Nimrod Ben Zeev (U of Pennsylvania) *Cooking Rocks: Cement Production, Energy, and Power in Mandate Palestine*

[P5218] Disease, Famine, and Guilt: Environmental Legacies of World War I

Organizer: Graham Auman Pitts

Chair: Aimee Genell (U of West Georgia)

Discussant: Elizabeth Thompson (American U)

Graham Auman Pitts (North Carolina State U) *The Environmental Legacy of World War I for Armenian and Palestinian Refugees in Lebanon*

[P5255] Precarious Crossings: Gender, Borders, and Embodiment

Organizer: Sima Shakhsari (U of Minnesota)

Chair/Discussant: Minoo Moallem (UC Berkeley)

Nina Farnia (UC Davis) *Law and Its Gendering of Palestinian Activism in the LA8 Case*

[P5289] Issues in Israel's Foreign Policy

Chair: Richard Cahill (Berea Col)

Berkay Gulen (U of Washington) *Are Diplomats Out of the Game? Turkey-Israel Relations from the Perspectives of Turkish Diplomats*

Geoffrey Levin (NYU) *Zionism's Wayward Son: Don Peretz and the Palestinians*

Shay Hazkani (U of Maryland Col Park) *Manipulating the Record: Crafting a Pro-Israeli*

Nakba Narrative from Ben Gurion to Netanyahu

Saturday, 17 Nov 8:00 PM

Poets Contemplating Current Conundrums

Borders/Walls/Crossings/Connections

3 Arab American poets and 3 Latino/a Poets On Where We Are Right Now

Sharif S. Elmusa

Naomi Shihab Nye

SUNDAY, 18 NOV 8:30 AM

[P5106] Sound, Time, and Space in the Middle East and North Africa

Organizer: Ian VanderMeulen (NYU)

Discussant: Brock Cutler (Radford U)

Michelle D. Weitzel* (New School for Social Research) *What Do I Do When I Hear the Tzeva Adom? Civilian Response to the Israeli Air Raid Siren*

[P5133] The Vertical Middle East, from Up in the Air to Under the Ground

Organizers: Önder Çelik (Johns Hopkins U) and Fatma Derya Mentis (Duke U)

Paul Kohlbry* (Johns Hopkins U) *The Kushan and the Colony: Proof, Property, and Land Defense in the West Bank*

Jake Silver (Duke U) *(Extra)Planetary Spheres of Sovereignty; or, Astronomy in Ramallah*

[P5138] Visiting the Dead Family History and Genealogy in Middle East Studies

Organizer: Hussein A H Omar (U of Oxford)

Sherene Seikaly* (UC Santa Barbara) *The Pith Helmet and the Expert: A Palestinian in Sudan*

[P5152] From Emergence to Decline? Solidarity Movements with Palestine Around the World, 1960s-1970s

Organizers: Sune Haugbolle and Joseph Prestel

Joseph Prestel (Freie Universität Berlin) *Activism on the Move: Palestinian Migration and the Solidarity Movement in West Germany, 1956-1972*

Sune Haugbolle (Roskilde U) *Palestine as Entanglement: Re-reading the Danish Case in Light of the Global Turn*

[P5229] Rebel Rule in the Middle East: Approaching Local Forms of Justice

Organizer: Dag Tuastad

Dag Tuastad (U of Oslo) *Hamas and Customary Conflict Resolution*

[P5306] Arab Diasporas in Latin America

Chair: Manar Makhoul (Tel-Aviv U)

Garrett Shuffield (U of Texas at Austin) *Imagining Palestine in Chile: A New Generation's Search for Place, Memory, and Identity*

[P5343] Urban Development across the Middle East

Chair: Harrison Guthorn (Sultan Qaboos Cultural Center)

Salim Abuthaher (Birzeit U) *The Geopolitics of Spatiality*

SUNDAY, 18 NOV 11:00 AM

[P5187] The Drama of the 1967 War in Personal Stories of Palestinians and Israelis Living in Jerusalem

Organizer: Hagar Salamon

Ronni Shaked (Hebrew U) *From the Nakba to the Naksa*

Yuval Plotkin (Hebrew U) *Not Six Days and Not a War: Conspiracies and Rumors of 1967*

Aziz Haidar (Al-Quds U) *A House on the Border*

Hagar Salamon (Hebrew U) *"Suddenly Jerusalem Has a Sea": Changing Orientation in Personal Stories About the 1967 War*

[P5205] Men and Masculinities: Negotiating Gender, Body Politics, and Radicalized Violence

Chair/Discussant: Bryan Roby (U of Michigan)

Shirly Bahar (American Jewish Historical Society) *Police Brutality and the Mizrahi Male Body in David Bencheitrit's "Eastern Wind: A Moroccan Chronicle"*

[P5238] Socially Engaged and Participatory Art in the MENA Region

Organizers: Elisabeth Friedman* and Marie Butler (

Chairs: Anne Marie Butler (State U of New York at Buffalo) and Elisabeth Friedman* (Illinois State U)

Discussant: Nisa Ari* (Massachusetts Institute of Technology)

Elisabeth Friedman* (Illinois State U) *The Aesthetics of Resistance: Participatory Art in Palestine*

[P5250] Arab Cities Revisited: Interdisciplinary Itineraries

Organizer: Laurie King (Georgetown U)

Chair: Najib B. Hourani (Michigan State U)

Discussant: Laurie King (Georgetown U)

Una McGahern (Newcastle U) *Policing, (In)Visibility, and the Limits of Exclusionary Surveillance: Lessons from the Arab City in Israel*

[P5271] Fanon and West Asia

Organizer: Anthony Alessandrini

Chair: Nouri Gana (UCLA)

Discussant: Anthony Alessandrini (Kingsborough Community Col-CUNY)

Jeff Sacks (UC Riverside) *Fanon and Palestine: The Art of Anti-colonial Struggle*

Rana Barakat* (Birzeit U) *Fanon in Palestine: Indigenous Humanity towards a Liberation Praxis*

[P5317] Religious Minorities, Race and Identity

Chair: Erin Hughes (Independent Scholar)

Lindsey Pullum (Indiana U) *Culturally Palatable: Food Practices, Nationalism, and Druze Positionality in "Nora's Kitchen"*

SUNDAY, 18 NOV 1:30 PM

[P5107] Civil Society and Governance in the Middle East

Organizers: Zeynep Atalay and Gizem Zencirci

Chair: Gizem Zencirci (Providence Col)

Discussant: Zeynep Atalay (St. Mary's Col of California)

Catherine Herrold (Indiana U) *Grassroots Organizations in Palestine: Reclaiming Civil Society?*

[P5167] The Teenager, the Intellectual, the Soldier; New Approaches to Palestinian Cultural and Social History

Organizer: Orit Bashkin

Chair/Discussant: Abdel Razzaq Takriti (U of Houston)

Chana Morgenstern (Cambridge U) *The Beating Hearts: Arab Marxism and Anti-colonial Culture in the Israeli Communist Party (MAKI)*

Maha Nassar (U of Arizona) *Recovering Palestinian Appraisals of the Israeli Left*

Orit Bashkin (U of Chicago) *The Mizrahi Question, the Palestinian Question and Matzpen*

Michael Peddycoart (U of Chicago) *A Social History of the Battle of Karameh on Its 50th Anniversary*

[R5062] Roundtable-Music, Radio, and Governmentality in the Middle East

Andrea L. Stanton (U of Denver)

Conference Sessions Not Related to Palestinian Studies with PARC Fellows or Board Members Presenting Papers

THURSDAY, 15 NOV 5:30 PM

[P5148] Integration and Marginalization of the Other: New Research on the Middle East Migrant Crisis

Sarah Parkinson* (Johns Hopkins U) *Practical Ethics in Humanitarian Disaster: Exploring the International-Local "Divide" in Refugee Aid*

FRIDAY, 16 NOV 8:30 AM

[P5227] Gender and the Tech Industry - Views from the Arab Periphery

Organizer: Jennifer Olmsted

Jennifer Olmsted* (Drew U) *Gender, Globalization and Arab Tech Women's Employment*

SATURDAY, 17 NOV 8:30 AM

[TC5377] THEMATIC CONVERSATION

Middle East Feminist and Queer Studies: State of the Field

Organizer: Frances S. Hasso* (Duke U)

Angel M. Foster* (U of Ottawa)

Frances S. Hasso* (Duke U)

SATURDAY, 17 NOV 3:00 PM

[TC5086] THEMATIC CONVERSATION

Reading the Middle East Comparatively

Persis Karim* (San Francisco State U)

SUNDAY, 17 NOV 8:30 AM

[R5188] Roundtable-Decolonization: Middle Eastern themes and perspectives

Laleh Khalili* (SOAS, U of London)