

המכון ליחסים בינלאומיים ע״ש לאונרד דיוויס The Leonard Davis Institute for International Relations

## ACADEMIC REPORT



## ABOUT THE INSTITUTE

The Leonard Davis Institute for International Relations was established in 1972 at the Hebrew University, thanks to the generosity of the American philanthropist whose name it bears. Located in the Alfred Davis building on Hebrew University's Mount Scopus campus, the Institute is surrounded by evocative vistas. Westward are the domes and spires of the Old City of Jerusalem; to the east, visible on a clear day, are the Dead Sea and the mountains of Moab; and to the south are the tower of the Augusta Victoria hospice and the Mount of Olives.

The Institute's identity and mission spring from its position of privilege and responsibility in one of the most fascinating historical cities in the world: Jerusalem, the site of holy places cherished by the three monotheistic religions—Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. Two thousand years after the destruction of Herod's temple by the Roman legions, Jerusalem is the capital of the reborn State of Israel, as well as the seat of its government.

Since its inception, the Leonard Davis Institute has provided a nonpartisan and independent platform for research, education, and discussion on issues of international studies in general and Israel's diplomacy and foreign policy in particular. The Institute has three broad aims when planning its programs, which are reinforced in this age of globalization:

- **1.** To promote research in international relations theory, adopting a broad perspective that draws on a variety of disciplines.
- **2.** To present the universal themes of international politics to the Israeli public, thereby enhancing the national discourse on these matters.
- **3.** To put the Institute's expertise and consulting capability at the disposal of national institutions conducting the security and foreign affairs of Israel.

Since 1972, the Leonard Davis Institute has served as a center where researchers from the Departments of International Relations and Political Science and related units at Hebrew University—as well as other universities and academic centers—can develop and coordinate research programs. To this end, the Institute, although formally anchored in the Faculty of Social Sciences, is by its nature and statutes an interfaculty and interdisciplinary body.

While other institutes of international relations and strategic affairs in Israel tend to specialize in local issues of war and strategy, the Leonard Davis Institute also includes research of external affairs, diplomacy, international law and institutions, and negotiation and conflict resolution.

The Institute's audience encompasses the academic community, Israeli governmental institutions, the diplomatic corps, communications media, and the interested general public. We welcome visitors from abroad and provide them with the opportunity to share their ideas and expertise with local colleagues.

The Leonard Davis Institute provides generous funds to promote the research of international studies. The Institute grants scholarships to PhD students from the Hebrew University and to Israeli and overseas postdoctoral students; the Institute also awards research grants to the academic staff of the Hebrew University. In addition, the Institute conducts extensive public activity, including international conferences, seminars, and workshops on central issues on the national agenda. The Leonard Davis Institute publishes a Hebrew-language journal on politics and international studies, *Politika*, and a "Working Papers" series in both English and Hebrew.



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## FROM THE DIRECTOR

In my previous report I defined the 2012–2013 academic year as a transitional one for the Institute. It was a year in which a new team took over from the previous one, a year of study and review of the Institute's activities and priorities, and a year of setting an institutional agenda for the future. I am happy to affirm that the transition period is over and that the Leonard Davis Institute has set its course and is working full steam ahead.

First and foremost, we directed our efforts to the postdoctoral program. We increased the number of postdoctoral fellows to five, of which three are on the general track and two are fellows of the Sophie Davis Forum on Gender, Conflict Resolution, and Peace. Dr. Sarai Aharoni and Dr. Tamir Magal belong to the Sophie Davis Forum; Dr. Nizan Feldman, Dr. Yifat Gutman, and Dr. Olivia Sohns belong to the general track. This year we initiated, as planned, a forum in which the fellows regularly meet to present and discuss their work. Thus they benefit from one another and en route cohere into a scholarly group. Moreover, through the postdoctoral positions we established cooperation with other institutions. Dr. Gutman is a shared fellow with the Harry S. Truman Research Institute for the Advancement of Peace; Dr. Sohns is a shared fellow with the Israel Institute (Washington, DC), which finances her fellowship. The Israel Institute also funded a course taught by Dr. Sohns in the spring semester and a high-profile international workshop that she organized and led. These two institutional collaborations are successful and I intend to expand them next year. I also note that next year the number of postdoctoral positions will further increase, to seven. This number will enable the creation of a true community and a cohort of postdoctoral researchers, a cohort—and this I attest to from my own postdoctoral experience—that will accompany the scholars throughout their career development.

Additionally, we recruited several visiting scholars who actively participated in the Institute's activities and contributed to its visibility and networking. At any given time there were three or four visiting scholars. For the most part, these were professors from abroad on sabbatical; the Institute served as their academic home away from home. Visiting scholars this year included Prof. James W. Davis (University of St. Gallen), who spent three months with us, and Prof. Joel Peters (Virginia Tech), who was with us for the whole academic year. The visiting scholars joined the postdoctoral fellows in their activities and helped make the Institute a lively and intellectually rich environment. Several of the fellows taught courses in the Department of International Relations and organized conferences.

In terms of public events, the Institute sponsored and hosted more than a dozen key events at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. I will mention only a few highlights. We held a very successful international workshop on Geopolitics (in cooperation with the International Political Science Association) at the beginning of the year. Later in the first semester we collaborated with the Yitzhak Rabin Center and with Stanford University faculty to organize an international conference on the two-state solution. The conference drew several leading international relations scholars such as Prof. Stephen Krasner (Stanford University), Prof. Judith Goldstein (Stanford University), Dr. Charles Kupchan (Georgetown University), Prof. Michael Barnett (George Washington University), and Prof. David Lake (University of California, San Diego). Other workshops included two organized by our postdoctoral researchers, one by Dr. Olivia Sohns (on the past, present, and future of the special relations between Israel and the U.S.), and a second one by Dr. Sarai Aharoni and Dr. Tamir Magal of the Sophie Davis Forum (on the women and peace hypothesis). Each of these workshops included renowned international scholars such as Prof. Carolyn Nordstrom (University of Notre Dame). Prof. Galia Golan (Hebrew University and the Interdisciplinary Center), Dr. Andrew Preston (University of Cambridge), and Prof. Mike Aronoff (University of Michigan).



In the realm of publications, the Institute continues to publish the bi-annual periodical Politika, which is one of the very few academic journals to be published in Hebrew. Two years ago, Politika underwent digitization and it is now an open-access journal, effectively broadening its readership and its potential public influence. Last year we furthered this process, launching cooperation with JSTOR to make the journal's issues accessible worldwide. In terms of public reach, the Institute continued its collaboration with Ynet. Israel's Internet news site with the widest reach. The Institute solicits op-eds from academic experts in various fields related to international relations, which are published on a special channel called *Megalim Olam* (discovering the world). At this point, more than fifty such op-eds have been published on topics such as piracy, the Indonesian regime, contemporary Rwanda, and the just war theory. The op-eds were written by Israeli scholars as well as academics from such countries as the U.S., Canada, Japan, Germany, and Spain. This leads me to the Sophie Davis Forum on Gender, Conflict Resolution, and Peace. This year the forum, with the help of its two energetic fellows Dr. Aharoni and Dr. Magal, hosted Prof. Elisabeth Prügl (the Graduate Institute, Geneva) for the annual Conference in Political Science, International Relations, and Public Policy in Memory of the Late Yitzhak Rabin. Regrettably, the conference and the workshop led by Professor Prügl and Dr. Aharoni were cancelled due to weather conditions, but both scholars did meet with and coach some of the enrolled students. Furthermore, the forum organized joint activities with the Van Leer Institute and with the Leifer Center for Gender Studies, as well as the successful international workshop on the women and peace hypothesis mentioned above. The forum also financed an MA course on gender that was taught by Dr. Aharoni in the Department of International Relations. Next year it will finance three courses for a variety of groups in the university. The aim is to introduce gender studies as broadly as possible and spread the word far and wide.

Aside from its postdoctoral positions, the Institute maintained its support of outstanding Hebrew University doctoral students by granting fellowships. Fourteen doctoral students were funded this year, among them four from the new prestigious TELEM program. The program is a budding graduate school and enrolls the very top doctoral students from the International Relations and Political Science departments. Alongside the TELEM students, LDI supported other outstanding students at the university in such disciplines as psychology, law, economics, and Middle Eastern studies. Next year we will continue our focus on those doctoral students. integrating them further in the Institute's activities and community. With the same aim in mind, we launched a new program that grants funds for travel to graduate students conducting field research abroad (archives, interviews, etc.). This year we gave funds to three prominent PhD students, helping them to accomplish their research. We are very satisfied with this new program and plan to continue it next year. Last but not least, I would like to express my gratitude to the Institute's academic committee, which helped me navigate the Institute into safe waters and a bright future—especially Chairman Tomer Broude, Dean Vered Vinitzky-Seroussi, and the International Relations Department Chair Oren Barak. In addition, I want to thank the administrative director, Chanoch Wolpe, and our new events and publications coordinator, Michal Barak Ben-Arush. Without their enthusiastic engagement and entrepreneurial spirit, none of this would have been possible.

#### Piki Ish-Shalom

## **RESEARCH GRANTS AND SCHOLARSHIPS**

#### POSTDOCTORAL RESEARCHERS

Dr. Nizan Feldman, "The Impact of Conflicts on FDI (Foreign Direct Investments)"

Nizan Feldman is a postdoctoral fellow at the Leonard Davis Institute for International Relations. He holds a PhD and MA in political science from Tel Aviv University, and a BA in economics and international relations from the Hebrew University. During the years 2008–2010 he was a Neubauer research fellow at the Institute for National Security Studies. Dr. Feldman teaches research methods at the Hebrew University. His areas of expertise include international political economy and quantitative research methods. His postdoctoral research at the Leonard Davis Institute explores the effect of conflicts on foreign direct investments (FDI) and government bond yields by focusing on the reactions of specific third parties. A specific third party from the point of view of state A is a state that trades and invests with it and has political interests in the security of state B, with which A is in conflict.

#### Dr. Yifat Gutman, "The Role of Memory Activism in Reconciliation Processes in Comparative Perspective"

Yifat Gutman has a PhD in sociology from the New School for Social Research in New York and is currently holding a joint postdoctoral fellowship at the Harry S. Truman Research Institute for the Advancement of Peace and at the Leonard Davis Institute for International Relations. She lectures at Tel Aviv University's Unit of Culture Research. Her research focuses on political culture, collective memory, and conflict resolution in a transnational context. She has published peer-reviewed articles in the journals *Parallax; Memory Studies;* and the International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society; among others.; She also coedited a special journal issue on memories of terrorism and political violence (BSTPA 2/2, May 2010) and the volume *Memory and the Future:* Transnational Politics, Ethics and Society (Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).

#### Dr. Olivia L. Sohns, "Abba Eban's Role in Building the U.S.-Israel Alliance"

As a Davis Institute postdoctoral fellow in 2013-2014, Dr. Sohns is researching Abba Eban's role in building the U.S.-Israel alliance. She is studying Eban's efforts to deepen feelings of friendship and admiration for Israel in American society through public diplomacy and his success in securing greater official U.S. support for Israel at important junctures in the U.S.-Israel relationship over the 1948–1969 period. Dr. Sohns recently completed her PhD dissertation, which was entitled "Lyndon Baines Johnson and the Arab-Israeli Conflict" and written under the supervision of Dr. Andrew Preston in the History Faculty at the University of Cambridge. In her dissertation, Olivia argues that Lyndon Johnson was the first U.S. president to institute a military-strategic alliance between the United States and Israel. She contends that Johnson's foreign policy towards the Arab-Israeli conflict was one of his most important foreign policy legacies.

Prior to her PhD, Olivia obtained an MPhil degree in Modern Middle Eastern Studies from the University of Oxford, and a BA in history with departmental honors from Stanford University. Her MPhil thesis examined U.S. President Dwight D. Eisenhower's policies towards the United Arab Republic from 1958 to 1961. Her undergraduate honors thesis analyzed the historical significance of Egyptian writer Qasim Amin's work on women's rights at the turn of the twentieth century in Egypt.

#### POSTDOCTORAL FELLOWS: THE SOPHIE DAVIS FORUM ON GENDER, CONFLICT RESOLUTION, AND PEACE

#### Dr. Sarai Aharoni, "Gender, Territory, and Terror in Israel: Women and the Second Intifada"

Dr. Aharoni holds a PhD in Gender Studies from Bar-Ilan University and has served as a visiting fellow in Israel Studies at the University of Michigan. Her research interests include the Israeli-Palestinian peace process, women in



Israeli politics, and feminist security studies. Her work on gender, peace and conflict in Israel has been published in Sex Roles, International Sociology, Politics & Gender, and Social Politics. She is the co-editor of Where Are All the Women? Gender Perspectives of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict (Pardes, 2004). Her current book, Gender, Territory and Terror in Israel: Women and the Second Intifada, has received the 2013 Hadassah Brandeis Research Award. Dr. Aharoni is also a researcher at the Center for the Advancement of Women in the Public Sphere (WIPS) at the Van Leer Jerusalem Institute and is currently participating in a comparative research project sponsored by Lund University, Sweden, on *Contested Cities*: Challenges to Post-Conflict Peacebuilding and Development. In recent years, Dr. Aharoni has spent time facilitating and consulting with international and local scholars in order to establish the Leonard Davis Institute's Forum on Gender, Conflict Resolution, and Peace which is meant to enhance global knowledge exchange, teaching, and Israeli research about gender and international relations.

#### Dr. Tamir Magal, "The Relationship between Gender Identity and the Promotion of Specific Visions by Peace Organizations"

Tamir Magal holds a PhD in political science from Haifa University. His dissertation examined how changes in political context and differences in organizational characteristics affect the capacity of Israeli peace organizations to mobilize different types of resources. His wider research interests include intractable conflicts, peacemaking and conflict resolution processes, and the role of civil society organizations in such processes.

During his 2013–14 postdoctoral period at the Leonard Davis Institute, Dr. Magal's research examined the relationship between gender identity and the promotion of specific visions by peace organizations. The study compared disparate gender-specific organizations (women and ex-combatants) to one another in the context of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, exploring the type of "vision of peace" they espoused, the types of strategies they utilized in promoting this vision, and the type of mobilization they employed.

#### RESEARCH GRANTS

#### Dr. Ilan Benshalom, "Distributive Reversals"

Dr. Benshalom's work examines the positive role of distributive arrangements within various international economic law agreements. It analyzes a number of biased distributive arrangements in different international economic law agreements. These are arrangements that, although phrased in an impartial manner, contain a clear distributive objective to favor a certain country or group of countries (typically along the developed/ developing distinction).

Dr. Benshalom's first objective is to establish the long-term impact of several significant biased arrangements. He then explores their unintended consequences in the dynamic and rapidly changing world economy—where countries' relative economic positions shift more quickly than ever before. He corroborates this by examining various biased arrangements namely the taxation of interest by the country in which the borrower resides and rules related to investors' protection in the international investment regime.

Dr. Benshalom's second objective is to derive a more policy-oriented conclusion from the above analysis. He argues that a new understanding of distributive arrangements can allow policymakers to facilitate more stable and effective international economic agreements. Dr. Tal Dingott-Alkopher, "The Political Psychology of Integration Strategies: The Case of the European Commission's Interculturalism" Dr. Dingott-Alkopher's project examines the "identity-management" strategies expressed in immigration-related acculturation and cultural integration policies—in particular the recent interculturalism approach in Europe—through the lens of social psychology. Moreover, the study highlights the role of broadly conceived security perceptions

in underpinning, at least partially, the psychology behind the above strategies. More specifically, the study uses the concepts of "societal security" and "ontological security" as analytical tools, combined with other sociological and cross-cultural psychological literature on the acculturation orientation of host societies towards immigrants, to explain socio-psychological reactions of political communities to immigration-related identity crises. It builds a typology of three possible frameworks for psychologically analyzing "identity-management" strategies: "securitizing collective identity through assimilation/ exclusion," "desecuritizing collective identity through multiculturalism," and "managing the securitization of collective identity through interculturalism." A theorization of the third theoretical framework helps to reveal the European Union's (EU), and especially the European Commission's (EC), integration policy towards third-country nationals since the year 2000—a policy that is largely under-theorized and which lacks empirical investigation.

#### Dr. Yoram Haftel, "Regional Economic Organizations and Security Institutions in a Comparative Perspective"

The proliferation of regional economic organizations (REOs) is one of the most prominent features of the contemporary international environment. Many of these organizations aspire to promote regional peace and stability. Some REOs strive to promote these goals only through economic cooperation and integration, while others use agreements and mechanisms that address security concerns more directly. A look at the security components of such regional organizations indicates that they are very diverse in terms of purpose, design, and level of implementation. In light of this variation, this project addresses two related questions: 1) Why do some REOs "nest" security organs in their mandate while others facilitate cooperation only on economic and functional issues? 2) What explains the differences in the design of security substructures incorporated into REOs? The theoretical framework considers the incentives for and constraints on regional cooperation. With respect to incentives, this framework emphasizes the type and severity of security challenges

as well as the benefits of linking economic and security issues in a unified institutional framework. In regards to constraints, it highlights the distribution of regional power and the role of a "hegemon." This framework is then evaluated with a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods.

#### Dr. Gadi Heinmann, "Israel-European Economic Community Relations, 1957–1975"

Very little has been written on the early period of Israel–European Community relations. Although numerous studies focus on later periods in this relationship, the initial decade has garnered only limited attention, and is usually offered as mere background or introduction. In fact, we find virtually no comprehensive historic investigation of this period at all in in-depth research of archival documentation. The research focuses on Israel–European Community relations from 1957 to 1975—from the Treaty of Rome (1957), officially establishing the common market, to the signing of Israel's free trade agreement with the Community in 1975. It uncovers a new and key facet of Israeli diplomacy during its infancy, and thus joins the many studies concerned with Israel's relations with the United States, France, and Britain. It also provides further insights into the European Economic Community's relations with third states similar to those we have already with Greece, Ireland, and Turkey. Documents found in the Israeli Foreign Ministry and European Community archives in Florence (European Council of Ministers and European Commission) are used extensively. Documents from prominent states in the European market-France, Germany, and Italy—are also studied. The goal is to turn the research into a book. In addition to documenting the stages of Israel's negotiations with EEC institutions and member states, the research answers the following questions: What were Israel's goals with relation to the Community? What was Israel's strategy for achieving these goals and how did the strategy change over the period studied? What were the positions of the EEC member states regarding Israel's efforts to establish ties and what were their reasons for these positions? Did transnational EEC institutions play a role in negotiations with Israel, and if so, what direction did they pull in and how much weight did they carry?



#### Dr. Dan Miodownik, "The Political Legacies of Combat: Attitudes towards War and Peace among Israeli Ex-combatants from the Second Intifada"

Demobilized combatants have long been viewed by policy makers as a threat to conflict resolution and post-conflict reconstruction efforts. However, the assumption that former combatants pose a grave risk to post-conflict stability and peace relies on scant and inconclusive empirical evidence. The effects of combat service on political attitudes have barely been studied, primarily because exposure to combat is typically not random, making it difficult to isolate its causal role. It thus remains unclear whether combat exposure is likely to promote or impede reconciliation. The objective of this study is to addresses this gap, employing a novel research design to assess the effects of combat exposure on the political attitudes and behavior of Israeli ex-combatants. Through a comprehensive survey of former combat and non-combat soldiers who served in the IDF during the Second Intifada (2000–2005), we explore to what extent and in what ways combat exposure affects the willingness to support or reject reconciliation efforts, and whether or not combatants differ from non-combatants in their attitudes towards war and peace. The study has important theoretical and practical implications, as the attitudes of ex-combatants may have a substantial impact on the likelihood and stability of conflict resolution efforts, in Israel and bevond.

#### Prof. Raya Morag, "Collective Trauma and Ethno-Religious Conflicts in World Cinema (1990–2010)"

Prof. Morag's research depicts world cinema's rendering of ethno-religious conflicts over the last two decades. With the end of the Cold War major transformations in Europe occurred, such as the emergence of a new post-9/11 global order, the decline of the nation-state, socio-national solidarity, and traditional national consciousness. Major concepts with respect to nationality, trans-nationality, ethnicity, and rationality have undergone drastic changes. Consequently, the paradigm of multiculturalism and multi-religiousness has experienced an acute crisis. In these transformative decades, ethno-religious conflicts have restructured identity discourses to a degree that would have been unthinkable before the collapse of the Communist bloc or the civilization clash following the destruction of the World Trade Center. Cinema, especially documentary cinema, often becomes the sole means of verifying events such as genocide, ethnocide, and serious human rights violations in conflict zones. This pioneering study analyzes the cinema of conflict in different regions, such as the former Soviet Union, Macedonia, Serbia-Montenegro, Afghanistan, and China. It also illustrates how cinema breaks the societal processes of repression and exclusion of the collective traumas that these conflicts entail, and how it structures various ethno-religious post-traumatic identities.

This research is also groundbreaking in terms of methodology. The new perspective proposed—corporeal feminism—references both the global comparison and the localcontextual investigation. Putting forth various representations of corporeality, it enables the interrogation of ethno-religious identities by exploring how both male and female corporeality is affected by conflict through ethnic violence, human rights violations, terrorism, state violence, and rape. Transcending the impasse in current research in regard to multiculturalism, this research focuses on the body as a witness and a primal "mediator" of the new post-traumatic ethnicities in the aftermath of conflict. Analyzing the corporeality in highly violent and traumatic conflict zones reawakens contentious questions concerning some of the harsher results of globalization and the global agenda in matters such as human rights, forms of hatred, ethnocide, and ideocide.

#### Dr. Shaul Shenhav and Prof. Tamir Shefer, "Monitoring Interstate Political Discourse"

In recent decades, interest in the role of public discourse in interstate and interregional relations has grown. The importance of public diplomacy and a growing acknowledgement of the role of political discourse—not only as an indicator of explicit intentions but also as an indicator of implicit views and analysis of the political arena—give more substance to these changes for both scholars and practitioners. UN).

Over the years, numerous studies have offered discourse analysis of concrete empirical cases and political events. However, to the best of our knowledge, political discourse has never been analyzed systematically and continuously as a longitudinal flow. Technical limitations are likely the main reason for this lacuna. Recent technological developments, both for automatic collection of online text and for analyzing text, make the task possible today. Built upon these new technologies, our project suggests new indicators for interstate discourse. We focus in the main on indication of themes and sentiments associated with foreign countries in states' discourse. Such texts can be drawn from parliamentary discussions, official governmental websites, and deliberations in international organizations (e.g., the G8 and the

The project's goals are twofold: First, it will produce valid indicators that can measure one state's sentiment toward other states. These measurements will be publicly available, so as to help scholars, policy makers, and the public to trace international discourse. Second, the project will create a statistical model that will allow scholars, policy makers, and the public to evaluate the meaning of possible changes in our indicators.

#### RESEARCH FELLOWS

Prof. James W. Davis, University of St. Gallen Eran Etzion, former senior official at Israel's Ministry of Foreign Affairs Dr. Nurit Hashimshony-Yaffe, Tel Aviv-Yaffo Academic College Prof. Joel Peters, Virginia Tech Dr. Mansour Nsasra, University of Exeter



## SCHOLARSHIPS FOR DOCTORAL STUDENTS

The Leonard Davis Institute sponsors and finances the Department of International Relations' endeavor to provide the Faculty of Social Sciences with scholarships for doctoral students. This contribution reflects the Institute's close cooperation with the Department of International Relations. This year, the following doctoral students received scholarships:

Shani Bar Tuvia "The State versus Film: Ontological Security and Political Cinema in Israel"

Yonatan Freeman "Conscription, Volunteer Armies, and War"

Lior Gallo

"A Reexamination of the Effect of Migration on Welfare within the Framework of the New Trade Theory"

Moshe Goldman "Social Construction of the 'Other' in International Relations"

Yiftach Govreen "Japan, U.S., and Networks of Security: Transnational Policy Networks in Bilateral Security Treaties"

Dana Gur "Excuses, Justifications, and International Circumstances"

Neta Kremer "What Is Cyber Warfare?"

Lior Lehrs

"'Private Peace Initiators' in Conflict Resolution Processes"

Aviad Levi

"TELEM" fellow, research topic not yet defined

Hila Levi

"Human Rights Norms' Diffusion: The Interaction between the World Bank and Human Rights NG0s"

Mor Mitrani

"The International of the Global: In Search of an International Community in a Globalized World"

Odelia Oshri

"Challenges for the European Integration: Legitimacy, Community Deficit, and National Pride"

Roni Porat

"Regulation of Emotions and Motivation to Regulate Emotions in the Context of Intractable Intergroup Conflict"

Nadav Solomonovich

"The Effect of Turkish Involvement in the Korean War (1950–1953) on Turkish Politics and Society in the 1950s"

## PUBLICATIONS

#### POLITIKA (IN HEBREW)

Politika is a digital peer-reviewed journal of Israeli political science and international relations that addresses timely issues affecting both Israel and the world.

#### ISSUE NO. 23 (SPRING 2014), GENERAL ISSUE

The latest issue of *Politika* (23) is a unique one, bringing together articles written by researchers young and old who took part in the Eighth Annual Graduate Conference in Political Science, International Relations, and Public Policy in memory of Yitzhak Rabin, which was held at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in December 2012. The issue focuses on intergenerational political discourse, assembling articles written by researchers who are just starting out as well as experienced academics. Moreover, this issue also offers new perspectives on subjects and issues which stand at the center of the contemporary political agenda, including civil protest, changes in democracy, and characteristics of internal ethnic conflicts. Originally slated to go to press in 2013, issue 23 underwent a longer editing process than expected and was thus published only recently. It is available online at http://davis. huji.ac.il/.upload/%2023%20B00KMARKS.pdf.

#### PEER-REVIEWED ARTICLES & WORKING PAPERS WORKING PAPERS PUBLISHED BY THE INSTITUTE

Abu-'Uksa, Wael. "Liberalism and Left in Arab Thought after 1990: A Study of the Works of Hazem Saghieh."

Heimann, Gadi, ed. "New Perspectives on the History of International Relations."

#### JOURNAL ARTICLES

Aharoni, Sarai. "Internal Variation in Norm Localization: Implementing Security Council Resolution 1325 in Israel." *Social Politics* 21, no. 1 (2014): 1–25.

Aharoni, Sarai. "The Gender-culture Double Bind in Israeli-Palestinian Peace Negotiations: A Narrative Approach." *Security Dialogue 45*, no. 4 (2014). doi: 10.1177/0967010614537329.

Amir, Merav. "Women Speaking of National Security: The Case of Checkpoint Watch." Accepted for publication in *International Political Sociology*.

Jordan, Javier. "The Effectiveness of the Drone Campaign against Al Qaeda Central: A Case Study." *Journal of Strategic Studies*. Published online 26 Feb 2014.

Merhavy, Menahem. "Religious Appropriation of National Symbols in Iran: Searching for Cyrus the Great." *Iranian Studies*. Published online 9 Jun 2014.

#### **BOOK CHAPTERS**

Aharoni, Sarai. "Israeli Women, Feminism and Peace during the Oslo Peace Process" [in Hebrew]. In *The Oslo Accords—Twenty Years Later*, edited by Reuven Pedhazur (Tel Aviv: The Shteinmatz Center and the Daniel Abraham Center for Strategic Dialogue, 2014].



## **ACTIVITIES OF THE INSTITUTE**

#### CONFERENCES, WORKSHOPS, AND SEMINARS

#### INTERNATIONAL WORKSHOP:

#### MEASURING GENDER INEQUALITIES: THE POLITICS AND PRACTICE OF GLOBAL INDICES

Held October 10, 2013, at the Van Leer Jerusalem Institute

The workshop was run in conjunction with WIPS—The Center for the Advancement of Women in the Public Sphere, the Van Leer Jerusalem Institute.

#### International Speakers:

Dr. Andrea den Boer, International Relations, University of Kent, Principal Investigator in the WomanStats Database Project Dr. Donna Lee Bowen, Political Science and Middle East Studies, Brigham Young University, Principal Investigator in the WomanStats Database Project Dr. Gaëlle Ferrant, Economist at the OECD Development Center, Poverty Reduction and Social Development Unit, working for the SIGI (Social Institutions & Gender Index)

#### Moderator:

Dr. Sarai Aharoni, the Sophie Davis Forum on Gender, Conflict Resolution, and Peace

#### THE FIFTH INTERNATIONAL PHD WORKSHOP ON TRANSNATIONAL DIMENSIONS OF GLOBAL GOVERNANCE

Held October 30–31, 2013, in the Abba Eban Hall, The Harry S. Truman Research Institute for the Advancement of Peace

The workshop was run in conjunction with the Einstein Foundation Berlin and Hebrew University's European Forum.

#### Participants:

Prof. Hans Agne, Stockholm University Prof. Tanja Boerzel, Free University of Berlin Prof. Markus Jachtenfuchs, Hertie School of Governance

Prof. Mathias Koenig-Archibugi, London School of Economics

Prof. Thomas Risse, Free University of Berlin

#### THE JERUSALEM WORKSHOP ON GREAT POWERS AND GEOPOLITICS

*Held November 26–27, 2013, at Beit Maiersdorf Faculty Club on the Mount Scopus Campus of Hebrew University* 

*This workshop was cosponsored by the Leonard Davis Institute and the International Political Science Association.* 

#### Participants:

Ruth Bevan-Dunner: "American Power Tomorrow"

Stephen Blank: "Is Russia a Great Power in Asia?"

Marinko Bobić: "Congruous or Conflicting? Great Power Configurations in the Balkans" Guy Burton: "Pulling Their Punches: BRIC Foreign Policies in the Middle East"

Lena Dabova: "The Future of the Westphalia System: New Actors, New System, New Law" Tolga Demiryol: "Does Asymmetric Economic Interdependence Promote Cooperation? The Political Economy of Russian-Turkish Energy Relations"

Yoel Guzansky: "Strategic Hedging in the Persian Gulf"

Mikhail Ilyin: "From Botero to the Present and Beyond: Evolutionary Morphology of Scale -- Great, Middle, and Small -- in International

Systems" Aharon Klieman: "Pushing Back: Balance of Power, Balancing Power, and Geopolitics" Artyom Lukin: "The Asian-Pacific Emerging

Geopolitical Order" David Newman: "Geopolitics Renaissant:

Small States, Large States, Powerful States"

Igor Okunev: "New Dimensions in Russia's Geopolitical Code"

Vânya Carvalho Pinto: "The Many Facets of a 'Role Model': A Study of the UAE's Engagement in Regional Politics" Scott Nicholas Romaniuk: "Competing Hegemons: EU and Russian Power Projection in the South Caucasus"

Ziv Rubinovitz: "The Rise of the Others: Can the U.S. Stay on Top?"

Thomas S. Wilkins: "The Rise of the Middle Powers: A New Framework for Analysis (Applied to the Case Study of Australia)" Igor Zevelev: "Russian Perspectives on U.S.-China Relations and the Twenty-First-Century International System"

#### THE NINTH ANNUAL GRADUATE CONFERENCE IN POLITICAL SCIENCE, INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, AND PUBLIC POLICY IN MEMORY OF THE LATE YITZHAK RABIN\*

Held December 11–13, 2013, at Hebrew University

The Leonard Davis Institute organized and funded the conference with the help of Prof. David Levi-Faur and Dr. Galia Press-Barnathan (from the Hebrew University).

#### International Workshop Directors:

Heike Brugger, University of Konstanz Jessica Fortin, University of Salzburg Elisabeth Prügl, Graduate Institute, Geneva: Workshop on "Gender and Global Governance" Berthold Rittberger, Ludwig Maximilian University of Munich Volker Schneider, University of Konstanz Erika Weinthal, Duke University

\*Unfortunately, due to a blizzard, some workshops were cancelled.

#### DECONSTRUCTING AND RE-CONSTRUCTING THE TWO-STATE SOLUTION

Held on December 17–18, 2013, at the King David Hotel in Jerusalem This conference was cosponsored by the Leonard Davis Institute, Academic Exchange (AE), and the Yitzhak Rabin Center.

#### Participants:

Adi Ashkenazi, The Peres Center for Peace Shlomo Avineri, Hebrew University Ola Awad, Head of Central Bureau of Statistics, The Palestinian Authority Oren Barak, Hebrew University Michael Barnett, George Washington University Gabriella Blum, Harvard University Tanja Börzel, Free University of Berlin Dan Catarivas, Manufacturers Association of Israel James W. Davis, University of St. Gallen Dani Dayan, Yesha Council Brig. Gen. (Res.) Udi Dekel Ehud Eiran, University of Haifa Itay Fischhendler, Hebrew University Judith Goldstein, Stanford University Piki Ish-Shalom, Hebrew University Arie Kacowicz, Hebrew University Becky Kook, Ben-Gurion University Stephen Krasner, Stanford University Charles Kupchan, Georgetown University David Lake, University of California, San Diego Ruth Lapidoth, Hebrew University Amir Lupovici. Tel Aviv University Pini Meidan-Shani, Yitzhak Rabin Center Lt. General (Res.) Shaul Mofaz David Newman. Ben-Gurion University Jon Pevehouse, University of Wisconsin Col. (res.) Adv. Daniel Reisner Thomas Risse, Free University of Berlin Kenneth Schultz, Stanford University Brig. Gen. (res.) Dov (Fufi) Sedaka Col. (res.) Adv. Pnina Sharvit Baruch Col. (res.) Gilead Sher, Gilead Sher & Co. Naser Tahabub, Deputy Finance Minister, The Palestinian Authority Alfred Tovias, Hebrew University Paul Wise, Stanford University



#### **BOOK LAUNCH:**

# *NONSTATE ACTORS IN INTRASTATE CONFLICTS*, EDITED BY DR. DAN MIODOWNIK AND PROF. OREN BARAK

Held January 15, 2014 at Abba Eban Hall, Hebrew University The book launch was organized by the Leonard Davis Institute and included lectures by the contributors and a general discussion.

#### INTERNATIONAL WORKSHOP:

#### BUSINESS AND HUMAN RIGHTS: NETWORKS OF TRANSNATIONAL GOVERNANCE

Held February 19–20, 2014 at Abba Eban Hall, Hebrew University

#### International Participants:

Larry Catá Backer, Pennsylvania State University Karin Buhmann, Copenhagen Business School and Roskilde University

Sascha-Dominik Bachmann, Bournemouth University

Anke Hassel, Hertie School of Governance Faina Milman-Sivan, New York University Ariadna Petri, Complutense University of Madrid

#### International Guests:

Alexander Ebner, Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main

Christian Ewert, University of Zurich and University of Lausanne Kathinka Fürst, University of Amsterdam

Fabrizio Gilardi, University of Zurich Thomas Hale, University of Oxford Jacint Jordana, Universitat Pompeu Fabra

and IBEI-Barcelona Institut d'Estudis Internacionals

Andreas Kruck, Ludwig Maximilian University of Munich Allison Loconto, Institut Nationale de la Recherche Agronomique (INRA) and Institute for Research and Innovation in Society (IFRIS)

Timothy D. Lytton, Albany Law School Kate Macdonald, University of Melbourne Martino Maggetti, University of Zurich and University of Lausanne

Axel Marx, Leuven Centre for Global Governance Studies, University of Leuven Lesley K. McAllister, University of California, Davis

Yannis Papadopoulos, University of Lausanne Dieter Plehwe, Berlin Social Science Center (WZB)

Maria Stella Righettini, University of Padua Leonard Seabrooke, Copenhagen Business School

Shauhin Talesh, University of California, Irvine Wout Van Doren, Leuven Centre for Global Governance Studies, University of Leuven Duncan Wigan, Copenhagen Business School Jan Wouters, Leuven Centre for Global Governance Studies, University of Leuven

#### JERUSALEM WORKSHOP ON REGULATORY INTERMEDIARIES & TRANS-NATIONAL GOVERNANCE

Held May 12–14, 2014, at Belgium House at the Edmond J. Safra Campus at Givat Ram and Beit Maiersdorf Faculty Club, Mount Scopus Campus, Hebrew University

The workshop was cosponsored by the Leonard Davis Institute, the Federmann School of Public Policy and Governance, the Authority for Research and Development—Hebrew University, the Department of Political Science, and the European Forum.

#### STUDIES OF THE ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN CONFLICT: JERUSALEM MEETING OF THE EUROPEAN NETWORK OF CONFLICT RESEARCH (ENCORE)

#### Held May 13–15, 2014 at Beit Maiersdorf Faculty Club, Hebrew University

Sponsored jointly by: the European Cooperation in Science and Technology (COST) Action IS1107; the European Network of Conflict Research (ENCoRE); the Leonard Davis Institute; the Levi Eshkol Institute for Social, Economic, and Political Research in Israel, Hebrew University; the Israeli-Palestinian Science Organization (IPSO); the Faculty of Social Sciences, Hebrew University; and the Authority for Research and Development, Hebrew University

#### International Participants:

Sami Adwan, Peace Research Institute in the Middle East (PRIME) Nader Al-Khateeb, General Director of the Water and Environmental Development Organization

Efraim Benmelech, Northwestern University Nancy Hite, Tufts University Guy Grossman, University of Pennsylvania

Matthew Longo, University of London Elias Zananiri, Palestinian Committee for Interaction with the Israeli Society

#### **CONFERENCE:**

#### SEXUAL HARASSMENT IN THE PUBLIC SPHERE OF JERUSALEM: THE FRENCH HILL AS A CASE STUDY

Held May 14, 2014, at Hebrew University's Mount Scopus campus

The conference was jointly funded by the Lafer Center for Women and Gender Studies and the Leonard Davis Institute.

#### **EVENING SEMINAR:**

#### **CRIMEA: ANATOMY OF A CRISIS**

Held May 21, 2014, at Beit Maiersdorf Faculty Club, Hebrew University This seminar was sponsored by the Leonard Davis Institute and wholly organized and run by the Institute.

#### WORKSHOP:

#### BEYOND REALPOLITIK: POLITICAL, CULTURAL, AND RELIGIOUS INFLUENCES ON U.S.-ISRAEL RELATIONS

Held May 25, 2014, at Beit Maiersdorf Faculty Club, Hebrew University Cosponsored by the Leonard Davis Institute and the Israel Institute, Washington, D.C.

#### International Participants:

Myron (Mike) Aronoff, Rutgers University Joel Peters, Virginia Tech Andrew Preston, University of Cambridge Claire Spencer, Director, Middle East and North Africa Programme, Chatham House Olivia Sohns, Hebrew University

#### NEW APPROACHES TO GENDER ROLES IN PEACE MAKING

Held June 16–17, 2014, at the Van Leer Jerusalem Institute and Beit Maiersdorf Faculty Club, Hebrew University

## "Women and Peace Negotiations: Local and Global Perspectives"

Chair: Naomi Chazan, Co-director of WIPS— Center for the Advancement of Women in the Public Sphere; Dean of the School of Government and Society at the Academic College of Tel Aviv-Yaffo

#### Participants:

Maryse Guimond, Programme Manager, UN Women, Arab States Office Natalie Hudson, Department of Political Science, University of Dayton; Policy Specialist, Peace and Security Section, UN Women

Hiba Husseini, Former Chair of the Legal Committee to Final Status Negotiations between the Palestinians and Israelis Gabriela Shalev, Former Israeli Ambassador to the UN



#### International Symposium: Challenging the "Women and Peace" Hypothesis

International Participants:

Dr. Nurete Brenner, Yezreel Valley College Dr. Siobhan Byrne, University of Alberta Prof. Richard C. Eichenberg, Tufts University Prof. Natalie Hudson, University of Dayton Prof. Kristin Goss, Duke University Prof. Carolyn R. Nordstrom, University of Notre Dame

Prof. Maria Stern, University of Gothenburg Areej Yahya, Center for Educational Technology, Israel

## GUEST LECTURES

**Prof. Janice Stein**, Munk School of Global Affairs, University of Toronto *December 2–10, 2013* Visiting professor; two-credit crash course in English to MA students on "Global Civil Society"

**Prof. David Miller**, University of Oxford *May 27, 2014 at Beit Maiersdorf Faculty Club* Lecture: "Is there a Human Right to Immigrate?"

#### THE SPIRIT OF THE CITY

Held July 1–4, 2014, at the Institute for Advanced Studies, the Edmond J. Safra Campus at Givat Ram

*Cosponsored by the Leonard Davis Institute for International Relations and the Israel Institute for Advanced Studies* 

#### International Participants:

Jeremy Adelman, Princeton University Daniel Bell, Tsinghua University Gilles Campagnolo, French National Centre for Scientific Research (CNRS), Aix-Marseilles School of Economics Kateri Carmola, Middlebury College Susan Clarke, University of Colorado Yaron Enosh, Israeli radio personality Wang Hui, Tsinghua University Parag Khanna, Singapore Institute of International Affairs Joy Mboya, Godown Arts Centre, Nairobi Cui Zhiyuan, Tsinghua University

## **ANNUAL EVENTS**

#### CARMON PRIZE CEREMONY

Held March 12, 2014

At the Leonard Davis Institute's forty-fourth annual Carmon Prize ceremony, Yonatan Freeman was awarded the Carmon Prize for his thesis, "Conscription, Volunteer Armies, and War: The American Experience in Vietnam and Iraq."

The Carmon Prize is awarded in recognition of an outstanding MA or PhD thesis on Israel's security policy in the Middle East.

During the ceremony, Yaakov Amidror, general (res.) and former National Security Advisor of Israel, gave a lecture on "The National Security Council and the Decision-Making Process."

