



המכון ליחסים בינלאומיים
ע"ש לאונרד דייוויס
The Leonard Davis Institute
for International Relations

Annual Report 2009-2010

האוניברסיטה העברית בירושלים
The Hebrew University of Jerusalem





The Leonard Davis Institute
for International Relations

Annual Report 2009-2010

The Leonard Davis Institute for International Relations
The Hebrew University of Jerusalem
Alfred Davis Building, Mount Scopus
Jerusalem 91905

Tel.: 02-5882312, Fax: 02-5825534
E-mail: msdavis@mscc.huji.ac.il
Site: <http://davis.huji.ac.il>

April 2011

Printed in Israel

Language Editor: Colette Stoeber
Office Services Unit, the Hebrew University

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABOUT THE INSTITUTE.....	4
FROM THE DIRECTOR.....	6
GOVERNING BODIES AND STAFF	9
ACTIVITIES OF THE INSTITUTE ABROAD.....	10
RESEARCH GRANTS AND SCHOLARSHIPS.....	11
RESEARCHERS BASED AT THE HEBREW UNIVERSITY.....	11
POSTDOCTORAL RESEARCHERS	11
SCHOLARSHIPS FOR DOCTORAL STUDENTS	13
SPECIAL SCHOLARSHIPS FOR DOCTORAL STUDENTS	17
PUBLICATIONS OF THE INSTITUTE.....	19
POLITIKA (IN HEBREW).....	19
BOOKS	20
WORKING PAPERS IN HEBREW	21
WORKING PAPERS IN ENGLISH	21
ACTIVITIES OF THE INSTITUTE	22
INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES	22
GUEST LECTURERS	34
INTERNATIONAL WORKSHOPS	39
ANNUAL EVENTS.....	44
CARMON PRIZE CEREMONY	44

ABOUT THE INSTITUTE

The Leonard Davis Institute of 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 Truman building on the Mount Scopus Campus of the Hebrew University, 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.

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

Since its inception, the Leonard Davis Institute has provided a nonpartisan and independent platform for research, education, and discussion on issues of international relations in general and Israel's diplomacy and foreign policy in particular. Small countries are inevitably engrossed in parochial issues. But in an age of globalization and interdependence, our aim has been to broaden the horizons of the Israeli public to encompass the realities of international affairs beyond Israel's borders.

The Institute has three broad aims when planning its programs.

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 service 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 International Relations, Political Science, and related departments at the Hebrew University, as well as from other Israeli 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, we include questions of external affairs, diplomacy, international law and institutions, and negotiation and conflict resolution. Geographically, we emphasize the international relations of the Middle East, the Mediterranean, North America, and Europe (including Russia).

Our audience encompasses the academic community, Jerusalem's 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 with colleagues here.

The Leonard Davis Institute provides generous funds to promote research at the graduate, postgraduate, and senior levels. Visiting fellows enrich the scope of the institute, and we foster cooperative projects with sister institutions abroad. In addition to our program of lectures and workshops, each year we run at least three international conferences. We publish a Hebrew-language journal on politics and international relations and a "Working Papers" series in both English and Hebrew.

FROM THE DIRECTOR

This is the fifth and final year that I have had the privilege of directing the Leonard Davis Institute for International Relations. My successor, as of October 2010, will be Professor Avraham Sela, of the Department of International Relations. The year under review here was marked by continuity, in spite of impact of the on-going financial crisis in the US, where most of the funds endowed by the Davis family are deposited and managed.

The financial crisis did not directly affect the public activities of the Institute. The funds for these events were preserved from the crunch, and furthermore we could count on external donors and cooperating institutions. In fact, the Institute sponsored a record number of international activities. They ranged from a conference on Latin America, jointly organized with several academic partners, to an open international convention on trade in services; in between, the Institute even ventured into the difficult and interesting field of gender, ground we have not before covered. The Latin American conference was significant in the life of the Institute as it was, literally speaking, *terra incognita*. I am pleased to have been instrumental in adding this geographic area to other more familiar ones associated with the life of the Institute and International Relations in general in Israel. This is in view of the growing importance of Latin America, not only in the world economy, but also in international affairs dealing with the Middle East and Israel. The conference on trade in services was, according to all people from abroad attending it, a pioneering venture and one just in time. It was also highly significant that such an event was organized in Israel, whose future is very much linked to the development of international trade in services. I do not need to stress here the innovative, almost revolutionary, nature of treating gender issues connected to the austere world of diplomats, international affairs, and closed circuits. Paraphrasing President Obama's words, the Davis Institute proved that "it can". Three other international conferences must be added to this pretty impressive record. One was dealing with Diasporas, a subject cherished by the Leonard Davis Institute, which in its almost 40 years of existence has been very active in this field. This was thanks to the on-going research interest of its former Executive Director, and top expert in the field, Professor Gabriel Sheffer, who was both the visible and invisible hand behind the organization of the event. In cooperation with the Einstein Centre, the Institute also organized a bi-national conference with German colleagues on "World Orders: Change and Continuity". The Institute renewed as well past cooperation with the Truman Institute in the set-up of an international conference dealing with Southeast Asia.

One of the Institution's traditional events took place for the last time at the

Center for Special Studies in Memory of the Fallen of the Israeli Intelligence Community. The Institute's annual David Carmon lecture has occurred regularly since 1973, when the first prize was attributed. The first prize winner, Professor Vertzberger, was present at the 2010 ceremony, and he addressed the audience about his work since, which gave the event a special touch. This year's prize was granted to Mr. Gadi Hanania for his thesis on the illegal private transactions of nuclear expertise. The Institute was honoured to receive Minister Dan Meridor as the keynote speaker.

Among the numerous individual visitors lecturing at the Institute, worthwhile mentioning is Dr. Ahmed Driss (Centre des Etudes Mediterraneennes et Internationales), who came all the way from Tunis to speak in two special lectures about his country's relations with the EU and the former's views about the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. This, at a time there are no diplomatic relations between Tunisia and Israel.

In terms of its publication record, the Institute had some small successes. Professor Arie Kacowicz, the outgoing editor of *Politika*, the flag publication of the Institute, was instrumental in editing, together with Professor Gabriel Sheffer and Dr. Oren Barak, one of the two scheduled issues of the peer-reviewed journal, dealing with theme of "Israel and Existential Threats." The person appointed to succeed him resigned unexpectedly after several months, leaving the Institute with no option but to postpone the publication of the second annual issue until after the end of the year in review. The Institute did publish two other monographs in its Working Papers Series by Dr. Nimrod Rosler and Dr. Amir Lupovici (as presented hereinafter).

As I explained in last year's annual report, the crisis hit the Institute directly when one of the capital funds on whose annual returns the Institute relies to finance doctoral scholarships was unexpectedly found to be "under water" in early 2009. This meant that the payments that were to be distributed to promising PhD students out of the expected annual income had to be provisionally but entirely suspended. The Davis Institute decided from early on in the crisis to give priority to making retroactive payments, even if partial, to the selected PhD candidates as soon as it became possible. All the sums that were to be distributed during the academic year October 2008–September 2009 were entirely reimbursed during the period under review here (October 2009–September 2010). To prevent such an *impasse* in the future, it was decided that future allocation of PhD scholarships on the basis of academic merit (apart from the President's Excellence scholarship and the two Faculty of Social Science scholarships) would take place only after the corresponding funds were secured. As a result of this decision, the Institute did not allocate scholarships to students starting their PhD studies during the 2009–2010 academic year, under review here.

Regarding regular research activity sponsored by the Davis Institute, the latter benefited from the intensive research work of its three postdoctoral fellows, Dr. Claudia Kedar, Dr. Gallia Lindenstrauss, and Dr. Sarai Aharoni. The Institute was lucky in that these three scholars interacted beautifully, contributing, although provisionally, to a lively working atmosphere at the Institute itself. The three also participated actively in the public life of the Institute, taking upon themselves the organization of three international conferences. Regrettably, the number of postdoctoral fellows in the coming academic year has had to be curtailed from three to two, for budgetary reasons. In my view, the only realistic way for the Institute to develop more in-house research is to expand the number of postdoctoral fellows and not restrict them to one or two.

To finish, let me thank for the last time the members of the Institute's administrative team (Ms. Anat Illouz and Ms. Hani Mazar) without whom all that is presented above would have been impossible to realize.

Alfred Tóvías

GOVERNING BODIES AND STAFF

THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES

Prof. Menachem Ben-Sasson, Chairman of the Board of Trustees and President of the Hebrew University

Prof. Sara Stroumza, Rector, Hebrew University

Prof. Avner de-Shalit, Dean, Faculty of Social Sciences, Hebrew University

Prof. Shai Arkin, Vice-President for Research and Development, Hebrew University

Mr. Carmi Gilon, Vice-President for External Relations, Hebrew University

Prof. Alfred Tovias, Director, Leonard Davis Institute, and Department of International Relations, Hebrew University

Prof. Uri Bialer, Chairman of the Academic Committee, Department of International Relations, Hebrew University

THE ACADEMIC COMMITTEE

Prof. Uri Bialer, Chairman of the Academic Committee, Department of International Relations, Hebrew University

Prof. Alfred Tovias, Director, Leonard Davis Institute, and Department of International Relations, Hebrew University

Prof. Yaacov Schul, Vice Rector, Hebrew University

Prof. Moshe Hirsch, Chair, Department of International Relations, Hebrew University

Prof. Udi Shavit, Chairman of Research and Infrastructure Committee, Social Sciences Faculty and Department of Psychology, Hebrew University

Prof. Steven Kaplan, Director, Harry S. Truman Institute for the Advancement of Peace

Prof. Arie Kacowicz, Department of International Relations, Hebrew University

Prof. David Levi-Faur, School of Public Policy and Department of Political Science, Hebrew University

Prof. Reuven Amitai, Middle East Studies, Hebrew University

Prof. Rehav Rubin, Chairman, Social Sciences Faculty Grants Committee and Department of Geography, Hebrew University

STAFF OF THE LEONARD DAVIS INSTITUTE

Prof. Alfred Tovas, Director

Ms. Anat Illouz, Administrative Director

Ms. Hani Mazar, Public Affairs and Publications Coordinator

ACTIVITIES OF THE INSTITUTE ABROAD

The Davis Institute is an associate member of the “SENT Thematic Network of European Studies,” a research network sponsored by the EU and the Jean Monnet Program. In the 2009-2010 academic year, the Institute directed a working group—“Development of EU Studies in Economics.” This group met in Brussels and Rome several times during the year, and the results of their meetings will be published in book form.

RESEARCH GRANTS AND SCHOLARSHIPS

More detailed information about the Institute's grants, as well as application forms, are available at the Institute's Internet site: <http://davis.huji.ac.il>

RESEARCHERS BASED AT THE HEBREW UNIVERSITY

Personal Research Grants

Dr. Lior Herman (Department of International Relations), “**International Private Governance in Accountancy Rules and Standards.**”

International Financial Reporting Standards (IFRS) are now voluntarily accepted in over a hundred countries around the world. They are governed by the International Accountancy Standards Board (IASB), a private organization representing mainly the private sector. Dr. Herman's research explored the origins of this international private governance apparatus, looking in particular at how it gained authority in an area that has been the subject of intensive conflicts between states, as well as nonstate actors, for at least half a century. Dr. Herman focused on the role of large accountancy firms, specifically on their unique model of firm organization—the network model. He argued that this model allowed for rapid firm expansion and concentration of economic power, a power that was then effectively used to influence the international harmonization of accountancy standards in the face of collective action among sovereign states.

POSTDOCTORAL RESEARCHERS

Dr. Sarai Aharoni

Dr. Aharoni earned her Ph.D. in Gender Studies at Bar-Ilan University. Her postdoctoral research at the Leonard Davis Institute examined the “**Emergence of Local Responses to UN Security Council Resolutions on Gender, Peace and Security—The Case of Israel.**” Dr. Aharoni's research examined the various ways Security Council Resolutions 1325 and 1889 have been interpreted and institutionalized in Israel since 2000. Her analysis focused on the extent to which Israeli discourses are consistent with developing global discourses. The case study highlights contradicting consequences of gender in global governance: although

global governance has created new opportunities for women during armed conflict—notably the demand for adequate representation and international protection—it has simultaneously restricted more traditional forms of feminist resistance and protest, especially at the grassroots level.

Dr. Gallia Lindenstrauss

Dr. Lindenstrauss earned her Ph.D. in International Relations at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Her postdoctoral research at the Leonard Davis Institute, titled **“Home and Away: The Role of Diasporas in Peace and Conflict in their Homeland,”** examined the diverging views of the Armenian diaspora and Armenia regarding recent negotiations with Turkey. Dr. Lindenstrauss’s project culminated in an international conference, **“Diasporas and Peace Processes in the State of Origin,”** in May 2010, which she organized through the Leonard Davis Institute.

Dr. Claudia Kedar

Dr. Kedar earned her Ph.D. in History at Tel Aviv University. Her postdoctoral research at the Leonard Davis Institute examined **“Multilateralism or Unilateralism in the New World Order: The Bretton Woods–US–Latin American Triangle, 1939-1961.”** The New World Order that emerged after World War II was facilitated by the creation of multilateral organizations. The most notable of these in the economic sphere were the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD, better known as the World Bank), both created as part of US post-war planning at the Bretton Woods Conference, July 1944. Dr. Kedar’s multidisciplinary in-depth analysis of **“the Bretton Woods–US–Latin American triangle”** examines the implications of the new multilateralism and the correlation between US foreign policy and IMF/IBRD policies and practices toward Latin America from 1939 to 1961.

SCHOLARSHIPS FOR DOCTORAL STUDENTS

Stage II

Assaf David, “In the Service of His Majesty: Civil-Military Relations in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan under the Reign of King Hussein and King Abdullah II.”

This research focuses on the social and the political aspects of neglected decades in the modern history and historiography of the Jordan Armed Forces (JAF). Using several insightful Arabic sources from the last three decades, the thesis endeavors to provide a basis for understanding civil-military relations in contemporary Jordan by placing the unique Jordanian case in a wider sociological perspective and comparative context. Luckham’s scale of the “permeability of boundaries” between armed forces and society, Moskos’ model of “the postmodern army,” and the wider discipline of social network analysis form the theoretical framework of the research. The thesis will critically review the historiography of the JAF; characterize the discrepancies between the myth and reality of civil-military relations in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan; and analyze the neglected developments of the last thirty years.

Shai Moses, “From Amsterdam to Rome: The Development of Supranational Governance in the EU External Trade Policy.”

This research examines the institutional reforms of the EU’s external trade policy through the 1990s. The aim of these reforms was to incorporate a policy with a much wider range of external economic competence than traditional trade. The ongoing constitutional review of the treaties has put external trade policy on the agenda of intergovernmental conferences (IGCs) such as those of Amsterdam (1996-1997), Nice (1999-2000), and Rome (2002-2004). Alongside economic analysis, the dissertation argues that, in effect, European trade policy is formulated by *nonstate institutional agents*. State and nonstate institutional agents pursue the creation of Common Commercial Policy (CCP) in a way that best suits their interests and ideals. The outcomes of the bargaining determine the extent to which the CCP has gained supranational competences in each of the IGCs. This thesis argues that if the impact of nonstate agents—acting as a “transnational epistemic community”—is significant, the role of actual intergovernmental bargaining will decline.

Daniela Persin, “Preferential vs. Multilateral Service Trade Liberalization from a SME Perspective.”

Small and medium enterprises (SMEs) are usually confined in trade policy literature to the domestic sphere due to their limited international activities. However, SMEs are increasingly penetrating international markets. Given that services have become part of trade negotiations, this dissertation asks how firm size affects trade policy preferences in services, and claims that there are some substantial qualitative differences in the preferences of small and large firms, mainly in their preferred modes of internationalization. The research analyses to what extent recent preferential and multilateral trade liberalization in services reflects these differing preferences. Counter to conventional wisdom, the thesis argues that preferential trade liberalization is likely to advance SME preferences, whereas multilateral trade liberalization is more inclined to further the less politically sensitive preferences of large multinational enterprises.

Nimrod Rosler, “Messages of Societal Mobilization in Intractable Conflicts and Settlements: How Leaders Use Societal Beliefs and Collective Emotions in the Israeli-Palestinian and Northern Irish Conflicts.”

This dissertation examines cases in which contradictory messages of societal mobilization—urging first for the preservation of an intractable conflict and then for its settlement—are put forward by a political leader. The research, which will also consider how leaders explain these changes to the public, includes content analysis of speeches of Rabin and Arafat in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, and of Trimble and Adams in the conflict in Northern Ireland. It will compare the themes of each leader at different stages of the conflict, the rhetoric of the leaders of both sides to the same conflict, and the rhetoric of the leaders in the separate conflicts. The speeches will be categorized and then analyzed according to content, intensity, and theme. The systematic examination and the construction of a theoretical model will allow us to better understand the transition from violent conflict to peace and the psychological mechanisms that help societies cope with the challenges that accompany such transitions.

Mtanes Shihadeh, “The Globalization of Israel: Political Culture and Political Behavior.”

This research aims to study the impact of globalization on the political culture

of Israel's Jewish population at the level of the local community—considering, in particular, the resulting political behavior. More precisely, its goal is to understand how globalization affected political ideology and voting between 1992 and 2006, before and after changes in the Israeli economy. Globalization has contributed to the increasing income inequality among citizens and among geographical areas in Israel. This research assumes that the interaction between individuals and their local context can explain the political consequences of globalization in Israel.

Osnat Suued, “Gush Katif’s Uprooted Population: Case Analysis of Refugeeness.”

This thesis examines the social construction of “refugeeness” through a case study of the displaced Gush Katif settlers. The point of departure is that refugeeness is not just political data—a derivative of a demographic and economic reality—but rather a social product that demands shaping and maintenance. The purpose of this study is to break down refugeeness into its different elements and examine it as a “culture” shaped by the displaced themselves. The research will focus on the cultural level in the narrow sense of the term: that is, the ceremonies, everyday practices, values, politics of memory, education, and language that provide a significant part of the reality and way of life of the displaced. By analyzing the “refugee culture” of the 2005 Gush-Katif displaced settlers, this thesis will develop a conceptual framework, anchoring the insights of this research in a model of refugeeness with much broader implications.

Stage I

Henry Lovat, “International Criminal Law: Impact and Prospects.”

International and internationalized “hybrid” criminal tribunals have proliferated since the end of the Cold War. This thesis proposes to investigate the influences of the international norm of individual criminal responsibility (“ICR”) on actor behavior in situations of armed conflict. The study will adopt a conventionally positivist approach, using process tracing to identify the impact of shared ideas on decision making in case studies. To test key hypotheses, case studies will be selected to ensure variation on the dependent variable of atrocity mitigation and to allow the salience of all potential independent variables to be determined in each case. Cases could include the abortive trials following World War I and the Armenian genocide; the Nuremberg tribunals; the Yugoslav and Rwandan

tribunals; and ICC actions in relation to Sudan and Uganda. Scholarly and archival materials will be supplemented with participant interviews where feasible.

Roman Sukholutsky, “Why Aren’t We There Yet? The Intellectual Origins of the Opposition to the Idea of Humanity’s Unity.”

This work analyzes the intellectual origins of the opposition to the idea of humanity’s unity (cosmopolitanism) in the modern era in general, particularly from the beginning of the Cold War to the present. Although the concept of cosmopolitanism is clearly useful—presenting values of political stability, co-existence, and economic and cultural prosperity—it has been criticized by both politicians and intellectuals. The purpose of this study is to investigate the failure of this idea, asking why cosmopolitanism was not implemented in IR. The claim of this research is that the desire to move toward this cosmopolitan ideal is accompanied by other factors forcing human society in the opposite direction. These can be defined in terms of political ideologies—liberal, Marxist, and communitarian (including nationalist and religious). Theoretical literature in IR is currently quite meagre on the issue of cosmopolitanism: this thesis will address this gap, and, more importantly, may reveal repeating patterns in opposition to cosmopolitanism.

Einat Vaddai, “Identity Balancing: Balance of Power Is What States Make of It.”

This research introduces the concept of “Identity Balancing,” which posits that when states face a common threat, they draw together by forming a common identity. The main argument is that identity balancing is associated with the entry of the US onto the world scene. The US established the practice of identity balancing through a three-phase process. In the first, after World War I, the US forced Europe to agree to a de-legitimized traditional balance of power. In the second, after World War II, deteriorating relations with the USSR forced the US to engage in balance of power politics that could only be accepted by the American public by appealing to its belief in manifest destiny. This led statesmen to cast ideological content into balance of power politics, thereby establishing new rules of identity balancing. In the third phase, frequent implementation of identity balancing internalized it as customary behavior within the international system. This is manifested both in the fact that Europe employs identity terms to balance against US hegemony, and in the post-Soviet countries’ tendency to express their strategic choice between a Western and a Russian orientation in identity terms.

SPECIAL SCHOLARSHIPS FOR DOCTORAL STUDENTS

Faculty of Social Science's Excellence Scholarships

The Leonard Davis Institute sponsors and finances the International Relations Department's endeavor to provide the Faculty of Social Science's with Excellence Scholarships for doctorates from the IR department. This contribution reflects the Institute's close cooperation with the IR Department.

Orit Gazit, "Imagined Motherland, Exile and Transnational Identity: Processes of Identity Construction among Members of the South Lebanese Army (SLA) in Israel."

Between three disciplines—International Relations, Sociology, and Law—this dissertation analyses the triangle of identity, exile, and betrayal, and focuses on the complex and tangled relations between them through a close examination of the identity construction of a unique group of refugees: the South Lebanese Army (SLA) in Israel. The group (mainly South-Lebanese Christian Maronites) collaborated with the IDF within the Israeli "Security Zone" in South-Lebanon since the early 1980s; but when Israeli forces withdrew from the area in May 2000, the SLA found itself in need of shelter on Israeli territory. This created the unprecedented situation of a Lebanese diaspora living within the state of Israel. Although they were former allies, the members of the group were marginalized socially, economically, and politically in Israel not only by the Jewish majority but by the Arab-Palestinian minority as well, who see them as traitors. The process of identity construction of the group members is therefore complex and multidimensional, forged on the intersection between i) "cultural translation" processes in the host country, Israel; ii) "imagining" their homeland, Lebanon, from abroad; and iii) a transnational aspect of identity beyond one specific state or land. This dissertation analyzes this last aspect of identity in light of studies on the challenges created by transnational identities to the classic model of the nation-state.

Wael Abu-'Uqsa, "The Post-1967 Arab Liberal Discourse in the Middle East."

The intellectual discourse in the Arab Middle East—a discourse that has

given legitimacy to the social and political order—is divided into four main types which are not completely separate: i) Islamic, ii) national Pan-Arab, iii) socialist, and iv) liberal. This study focuses on the liberal Arab discourse, which developed from traditions influenced by both modern Western history and the Arab-Muslim history of the region. The research seeks to depict the limits, the sources, and the history of this discourse in the post-1967 era. Its main questions are: What is Arab liberalism and what are its characteristics since 1967? What are the challenges that this tradition faces? What kind of intellectual and religious uses have Arab liberal intellectuals made of the Islamic tradition up to now? And how have these ideas been accepted in the Arab world? From a domestic Arabic political, cultural, and social perspective, Arab liberalism is the main—if not the only—discourse that challenges political Islam since the beginning of the 1990s. From an international point of view, Arab liberalism is the only challenge to the Arab popular *status quo* regarding two main issues: peace with Israel and political and cultural relations with the West.

President's Excellence Scholarships

The Leonard Davis Institute sponsors and finances a four-year President's Excellence Scholarship for a doctorate student from the IR department.

Rony Silfen, “Polarity, Ideas, and International Law: The Role of Structural Factors in the Change of Legal Norms.”

How did the prohibition of torture become one of the central norms of international law? How can we account for the change in the legal rules regulating trade in agricultural products? How did the legal norm of *Uti Possidetis*, associated with delimitation of colonial borders, become the mandatory norm for drawing the international borders of Kosovo and Abkhazia? One theoretical question unites these three seemingly unrelated issues: What factors can explain change of international legal norms after their consolidation as an appropriate behavior standard for international actors? Surprisingly, despite the increasing theoretical focus on ideational factors in IR theory, very little has been written on the subject so far. Furthermore, research on the role of structural factors in this process, be it material (the distribution of power in the international system) or ideational (central international norms), is practically non-existent. Addressing this theoretical gap, this dissertation will ask the following question: How can structural factors account for change of international legal norms?

PUBLICATIONS OF THE INSTITUTE

A full listing of the Institute's publications is available at the Institute's Internet site:
<http://davis.huji.ac.il>

POLITIKA (in Hebrew)

The Leonard Davis Institute publishes *Politika* and distributes it in cooperation with the Israeli Association of Political Science. *Politika* is a refereed journal of Israeli political science and international relations that addresses timely issues affecting both Israel and the world.

Issue No. 20 (Winter 2010), *Israel and Existential Threats in a Comparative View*

The articles published in this issue were presented at an international conference, organized and sponsored by the Leonard Davis Institute, on March 2008—"Continuous Existential Threats and Civil-Security Relations: The Israeli Case in Theoretical and Comparative Perspectives." Some of the articles were originally written in English and were translated especially for this issue of *Politika*.

Academic editors: Prof. Arie M. Kacowicz, Prof. Gabi (Gabriel) Sheffer, and Dr. Oren Barak

Language editor: Galit Shema

Articles published in this issue:

Oren Barak and Gabriel Sheffer, "Israeli Democracy in the Face of Existential Threats."

Michael C. Desch, "Liberalism and the New Definition of "Existential" Threat."

Ami Pedahzur and Arie Perliger, "The Nature of Existential Threats to Democracies."

Miriam F. Elman, "Deciding Democracy: External Security Threats and Domestic Regime Choices."

Daniel Bar-Tal, Eran Halperin, and Tamir Magal, "The Paradox of Security Views in Israel: A Social-Psychological Explanation."

Asaf Lebovitz, “A Peace Process as an Existential Need: Israel’s Liberal Discourse, the Security Networks, and Coping with the Perception of an Existential Threat.”

Some of the above articles and other articles from this conference were published in English in a hard cover publication by Lexington books (2009): Oren Barak and Gabriel Sheffer (eds.), *Existential Threats and Civil-Security Relations*.

BOOKS

The essays in the following book, whose publication was partially funded by the Leonard Davis Institute, were first presented as papers at the international conference, “Existential Threats and Civil-Security Relations: Israel in Theoretical and Comparative Perspectives.” This conference, held in March 2008, was organized by the editors at the Leonard Davis Institute:

Existential Threats and Civil-Security Relations.

Edited by Gabriel Sheffer and Oren Barak (Lexington Books, 2009).

The collected essays in *Existential Threats and Civil-Security Relations* present and develop the major theoretical approaches—structural, cultural, and rational—to existential threats. By conceptualizing existential threats and distinguishing them from other types of threats, the authors also discuss the key actors in promoting the perception of existential threats: the security sector in particular, but also the media.

WORKING PAPERS IN HEBREW

Nimrod Rosler, “Messages of Fear in Israeli Political Discourse: Political Agendas with regard to the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict, 2003-2004”

This paper investigates the use of messages of fear in Israeli political discourse on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Specifically, it empirically examines how fear was used as a barrier or as an opportunity to resolve the conflict in three main political agendas from 2003 to 2004. The paper is theoretically grounded in an interdisciplinary review of the concept of fear, covering its individual, collective, and political aspects in general and in Israel specifically; its use for persuasion purposes as mentioned in psychological and political literature; and its role in ethno-national conflicts. Empirically, the paper provides a systematic content analysis of documents of the three main agendas of the Israeli right, center, and left from 2003 to 2004, and presents semi-structured interviews with the main representatives of each agenda. The results indicate that while the three groups used a discourse of fear, they differed significantly in the level of the dominance of fear. The content of the fear that each group used differed or was similar according to that group’s political aims with regard to the conflict. The conclusions drawn from this research have implications not only with regard to Israeli society specifically, but in the more general use of fear in political persuasion.

WORKING PAPERS IN ENGLISH

Amir Lupovici, *Between Peacefulization and Securitization: The Social Construction of Peace*

In recent years, much attention has been given—mostly with the use of the Copenhagen School’s concept of securitization—to the question of how issues are framed as threats to security. Through the securitization process, enunciators construct an issue as an existential threat that justifies taking extraordinary measures and policies. However, IR literature is quite silent about a related process Dr. Lupovici terms “peacefulization”—a process through which issues or policies are framed and constructed as related to peace. He suggests that recognizing and elaborating on the peacefulization process helps to explain how distinct issues are framed and constructed as related to peace, and how this framing helps or hinders the chances of achieving a stable peace. The aim of this paper is to sketch out a framework to unravel the mechanisms of the peacefulization process by relying on the extensive literature on securitization and on the answers that have been developed to deal with some of its limitations.

ACTIVITIES OF THE INSTITUTE

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES

The Global Economic Crisis and its Consequences: Latin America in a Comparative Perspective

Held 6-7 January 2010

This conference was organized by the Liwerant Center for the Study of Latin America, Spain, Portugal and Their Jewish Communities; the Harry S. Truman Institute for the Advancement of Peace; and the Leonard Davis Institute.

Although the current economic crisis is the most profound and widespread since the depression of the 1930s, there are substantial differences between these two periods. First, the current economic contraction is, thus far, much milder (2 to 3 percent of GDP in industrial countries in 2009 versus double-digit reductions in the 1930s; unemployment rates of 8 to 14 percent so far versus 25 to 50 percent in the 1930s). Secondly, there are radical differences in state organization and policies. In the current situation, the regulation of the economy, the promotion of growth, and full employment are key government objectives, and a strategically important part of the state apparatus is dedicated to fulfilling these objectives. Also, unlike in the 1930s, today's governments, including economically orthodox ones, have developed pro-active and pragmatic policies since the beginning of the recession.

And yet this global contraction of economic activity has had major social, political, and economic consequences. As banks and firms fail and unemployment, poverty, and inequality grow world-wide, social discontent has erupted. In weak states, especially in Central and Eastern Europe and in the Third World, political regimes, new democracies in particular, are quite fragile. Will this crisis, as occurred in the 1930s, lead to the further weakening of states and the collapse or decline of new democracies?

An interdisciplinary group of scholars, social scientists, and humanities experts analyzed the consequences of this crisis in Latin America in a variety of dimensions—socio-economic, political, cultural, and religious—from historical and contemporary perspectives. They looked at the short and long-

term implications on the region and the Jewish communities, and examined the political, social, and economic fabric within the general context of globalizati

The present global recession is perhaps the worst crisis faced in Latin America by the democratic governments since the transition to democracy in the 1980s. The capability of governments to adopt active policies to regulate the economy affects, not only the economy itself, but the quality of democracy and social life. The conference thus focused on the economic, social, political, ideological, discursive, and cultural-ethnic consequences of the crisis.

Conference Program

Day I

Session I: Economic Consequences of the Global Economic Crisis

Chair: **Alfred Tovias** (Director, Davis Institute, and Department of International Relations, Hebrew University)

Claudia Kedar (Hebrew University), “Economic Global Crises and Their Impact on Latin America’s Relations with the IMF and the World Bank: The Great Depression Analogy?”

Roberto Bouzas (Universidad de San Andrés, Buenos Aires, Argentina), “The World Economic Crisis and its Impact in Latin America: Lessons from the Recent Past.”

Andres Malamud (University of Lisbon, Portugal), “Mercosur after the Crisis: Better, Worse, or Same Old Story?”

Discussant: **Tal Sadeh** (Tel-Aviv University)

Keynote Address: “The Global Economic Crisis and its Impact”

The keynote address was delivered by **Avishai Braverman**, Minister for Minority Affairs, Office of the Prime Minister, Israel.

Day 2

Session I: Political Consequences

Chair: **Daniel Schwartz** (Hebrew University)

Mario Sznajder (Hebrew University), “The Impact of Globalization and the Crisis on Chilean Politics.”

Carlos Waisman (University of California, San Diego, US) “Did the Dog Bark?”

The Political Consequences of the Great Recession in South America.”

Stephan Sberro (Instituto Tecnológico Autónomo de México, Mexico), “The Mexican Crisis: Social and Political Consequences.”

Discussant: **Andres Malamud** (University of Lisbon, Portugal)

Session II: Socio-Cultural and Ethnic Consequences

Chair and Discussant: **Carlos Waisman** (University of California, San Diego, US)

Arie M. Kacowicz (Hebrew University), “Globalization, Poverty, and Inequality: The Latin American Case and the Recent Crisis.”

David Lehmann (University of Cambridge, England), “The End of Neo-liberal Multi-culturalism?”

Batia Siebzechner (Beit Berl College and Hebrew University), “Are New Educational Discourses Emerging Today?”

Session III: Jewish Communities Facing Transnationalism and Economic Crisis

Chair and Discussant: **Haim Avni** (Emeritus) (Hebrew University)

Judith Bokser Liwerant (UNAM-Mexico, Mexico, and Hebrew University), “Globalization Processes and Their Multidimensional Impact on Latin American Jewish Life.”

Leonardo Senkman (Hebrew University), “Transnationalism and Latin American Migrant Jews: A Case of Re-Diasporization?”

Nora Blaistein (AMIA, The Jewish Community of Buenos Aires), “Social Consequences of the Recent Economic Crisis on the Argentinean Jewish Communities.”

Roundtable: The Economic Crisis and its Consequences in a Comparative Perspective

Chair and Discussant: **Arie M. Kacowicz** (Hebrew University)

Alfred Tovias (Hebrew University)

Avraham Sela (Hebrew University)

Galia Press-Bar-Nathan (Hebrew University)

Carlos Waisman (University of California, San Diego, US)

Judith Bokser Liwerant (UNAM-Mexico and Hebrew University)

Roberto Bouzas (Universidad de San Andrés, Argentina)

“Gender, Peace and Security: Local Interpretations of International Norms”

Held 10-11 May 2010

Held a decade after the adoption of UN Security Council Resolution (SCR) 1325, this conference presented comparative analyses, local case studies, and theoretical observations of current attempts to define and apply international norms on “women, peace and security” in local institutional settings. SCR 1325 urges member states to acknowledge the impact of armed conflict on women and girls and to create effective institutional arrangements to guarantee their protection and full participation in peace processes. SCR 1820, adopted in 2008, mutually reinforces SCR 1325, condemning the use of sexual violence as a tactic of war and establishing a policy of “zero tolerance” towards impunity.

Conference Program

Day 1

Chair: **Dr. Sarai Aharoni** (Hebrew University)

Keynote Address: “Women’s Rights and the UN: Current Observations on CEDAW.”

The keynote address was presented by **Prof. Ruth Halperin-Kaddari**, Director of the Rackman Center for the Advancement of the Status of Women; Faculty of Law, Bar-Ilan University; and Vice-President of the UN Committee on Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW)

Session I: Gender and War

Chair: **Dr. Yuval Harari** (Hebrew University)

Dr. Tal Dingott-Alkopher (Hebrew University) “Just War: From the Traditional to the Feminist Perception.”

Dr. Dara Kay-Cohen (University of Minnesota), “Causes of Sexual Violence during Civil War: Cross-National Evidence (1980-99).”

Ms. Shelly Hoffman (Hebrew University), “Gender Justice in International Criminal Law: From the Ad-hoc Tribunals for the Former Yugoslavia and Rwanda to the International Criminal Court.”

Session II: Gendered Concerns and Practices of Security

Chair: **Dr. Amalia Saar** (Haifa University)

Prof. Helga Hernes (International Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO)), “Genderizing Security Concerns and Policies.”

Dr. Piki Ish-Shalom (Hebrew University), “Ethics of Care as a Moral-Strategic Framework.”

Prof. Elisabeth Prúgl (Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, Genève), “Gender Training in the Security Sector: A Power Analysis of Feminist Knowledge.”

Round table: New Perspectives on Gender, Peace and Security

Chair: **Prof. Galia Golan** (Lauder School of Government, Diplomacy & Strategy, Interdisciplinary Center, Herzliya)

Day 2

Session I: Gender and Contemporary Peacebuilding Efforts

Chair: **Dr. Galia Press-Barnathan** (Hebrew University)

Dr. Miriam Anderson (Memorial University of Newfoundland, Canada), “Considering Local versus International Norms on Women’s Rights in Contemporary Peace Processes.”

Prof. Galia Golan (Lauder School of Government, Diplomacy & Strategy, Interdisciplinary Center, Herzliya), “Asymmetry in Cross-Conflict Cooperation.”

Session II: Rights and Norms in Local Attempts to Protect Women and Girls

Chair: **Dr. Orna Sasson-Levy** (Bar-Ilan University)

Dr. Nadera Shalhoub-Kevorkian (Hebrew University), “The Grammar of Rights: A Palestinian Case Study.”

Dr. Noga Efrati (Hebrew University), “International Norms and the Debate over the Personal Status Law in Post-Invasion Iraq.”

Dr. Irit Back (Tel Aviv University), “The Responsibility to Protect from a Gender Perspective: Darfur as a Test Case.”

Session III. SCR 1325—“Women, Peace and Security” from Theory to Practice

Chair: **Dr. Yofi Tirosh** (University of Tel Aviv)

Prof. Aili Tripp (University of Wisconsin-Madison), “Conflict and the Changing Women’s Rights Agenda in Africa: Liberia and Angola Contrasted.”

Dr. Sarai Aharoni (Hebrew University), “Beyond Accountability: Instrumental Approaches to SCR 1325 in Israel.”

Session IV: Building Bridges—Women as Peace Agents for the Implementation of Resolution 1325

Ms. Anna Sundén and Ms. Birgitta Lorentzi (Operation 1325, Sweden)

Ms. Galia Aviani (Isha l'Isha, Haifa)

Discussant: Dr. Mary Totry (Oranim College, Jerusalem)

“Between Catalysts and Spoilers: Diasporas and Peace Processes in the State of Origin”

Held 23-24 May 2010

This two-day international conference focused on the question of why diasporas differ in the amount of interest they have in their states of origin, particularly in ongoing peace negotiations. Addressing the nexus between diaspora, conflict, and peace, presenters examined why some diasporic organizations support peace processes while others object to them. They also discussed the phenomenon of diasporas that act as both peacemakers and peace-wreckers of a peace process at home. Focusing primarily on the Jewish and Palestinian diasporas and Israel-Arab and Israel-Palestinian peace processes in a historical and contemporary perspective, the conference also compared other cases, such as the Chinese, the Kurdish, the Sinhalese, Tamil, and the Armenian. The concluding roundtable suggested constructive ways to engage diasporic representatives in negotiations of their states of origin.

Conference program

Day 1

Session I: The Core Theoretical Issues

Chair and Discussant: **Prof. Steven Kaplan** (Director of the Truman Institute, Hebrew University)

Prof. Gabriel Sheffer (Hebrew University), “Diasporas and Peace Processes—Some Analytical and Theoretical Aspects.”

Prof. Yossi Shain (Tel Aviv University and Georgetown University), “The Theory of Everything.”

Session II: The Other Side of the Coin—Diasporas and Conflict in the State of Origin

Chair and Discussant: **Prof. Arie Kacowicz** (Hebrew University)

Prof. Avraham Sela (Hebrew University), “Foreign Arab Volunteers in the 1948 Palestine War: Political Origins and Detrimental Impact of the Intercommunal War.”

Prof. Jerrold M. Post (George Washington University), “Radicalization in Muslim Diasporas: The Role of the New Media in Creating a Virtual Community of Hatred.”

Dr. Ogen Goldman (Ashkelon Academic College), “Globalization: A Binding Force between Terror Organizations and Diasporas?”

Dr. Lilach Lev-Ari (Oranim Academic College of Education and Bar Ilan University), “The Second Generation of the Israeli Diaspora in North America: The Case of Garin Tzabar and their Enlistment in the IDF.”

Day 2

Session I: Diasporic Identity between Conflict and Peace

Chair and Discussant: **Prof. Camilla Orjuela** (Goteborg University)

Dr. Fiona Adamson (University of London), “Diaspora Mobilization and Violent Conflict: A Comparison of Kurdistan and Kosovo in the 1990s.”

Dr. Ran Shauli (Hebrew University and Bar Ilan University), “Memory and Identity in the Chinese Diaspora.”

Session II: The Jewish and Palestinian Diasporas and Israeli-Arab and Israeli-Palestinian Peace Processes

Chair and Discussant: **Dr. Natan Aridan** (Ben-Gurion University of the Negev)

Dr. Zohar Segev (Haifa University), “Cooperation Integration and Assimilation: The Middle East and Israel from American Zionists’ Perspective, 1938-1958.”

Dr. Maya Rosenfeld (Hebrew University and Sapir College), “Similarity and Difference among Palestinian Refugee Communities in the Diaspora and in the Occupied Palestinian Territories: Some Implications for a Future Settlement of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict.”

Dr. Jonathan Rynhold (Bar Ilan University), “Is the ‘Pro-Israel lobby’ a Block on Reaching a Comprehensive Peace Settlement in the Middle East?”

Dr. Uzi Rebhun (Hebrew University) and **Prof. Chaim I. Waxman** (Rutgers University), “Attitudes toward Aspects of the Israeli-Palestinian Peace Process among American Jews, 1998-2008.”

Session III: Diasporas in a Comparative Perspective

Chair: **Dr. Anat Lapidot-Firilla** (Van Leer Jerusalem Institute)

Discussants: **Dr. Anat Lapidot-Firilla** (Van Leer Jerusalem Institute) and **Dr. Gallia Lindenstrauss** (Hebrew University)

Dr. Eva Ostergaard-Nielsen (Autonomous University of Barcelona), “Kurdish Diaspora Politics in the EU.”

Prof. Camilla Orjuela (Goteborg University), “Divisions and Dialogue in the Diaspora: The Case of Sri Lanka.”

Dr. Gallia Lindenstrauss (Hebrew University), “When the Diaspora and the Homeland are At Odds: Diverging Views between the Armenian Diaspora and Armenia Regarding Negotiations with Turkey.”

Roundtable: Innovative and Constructive ways to Engage Diasporic Representatives in Negotiations Concerning the State of Origin

Chair: **Dr. Sarai Aharoni** (Hebrew University)

Discussants:

Dr. Ilan Danjoux (Hebrew University)

Dr. Oded Eran (Institute for National Security Studies)

Dr. Vered Malka (Interdisciplinary Center, Herzliya)

Dr. Eva Ostergaard-Nielsen (Autonomous University of Barcelona)

Prof. Jerrold M. Post (George Washington University)

Prof. Yossi Shain (Tel Aviv University and Georgetown University)

Prof. Gabriel Sheffer (Hebrew University)

“The Political Economy of Liberalizing Trade in Services”

Held 14-15 June 2010

This international conference explored whether existing international political economy theories apply to trade services liberalization and asked how they might be revised. Over two days, conference participants discussed the interplay between states, institutions, lobby groups, and individuals in shaping markets and systems of economic interaction in the services sectors, investigating how these affect political processes and structures. Specifically, conference panels addressed issues such as constraints over services negotiations, the relationship between regulation and markets, the political economy of services negotiations, political economy influences in China and the EU, judicial liberalization, labour migration, and preferential trade liberalization. The conference concluded with a high-level roundtable on Israel and services liberalization.

Conference Program

Day 1

Session I: What Constrains Services Negotiations: Their Nature or Political Economy?

Chair: **Nadav Halevy** (Hebrew University)

Rudolf Adlung (WTO), “Services Negotiations in the WTO: from Marrakesh to Doha, to ...?”

Christopher Roberts (Covington and Burling), “Liberalisation at Snail’s Pace.”

Lior Herman (London School of Economics and Hebrew University), “The Services Firm Organisational Trap.”

Discussant: **Dale Andrew** (OECD))

Session II: Regulation and Markets I

Chair: **Arie Kacowicz** (Hebrew University)

Dale Andrew (OECD), “Constraints in Liberalising Services Used in Climate Change Mitigation.”

Olga Batura (University of Bremen), “Social Embeddness of Transnational Markets.”

Shai Moses (Hebrew University), “Supranational Governance in EU External Trade Policy.”

Gabriel Siles Brügge (University of Sheffield), “The ‘Global Europe’ Services and Investment Agenda: Bringing Politics Back into the Study of EU Trade Policy.”

Discussant: **Gabrielle Krapels** (Oxford University)

Session III: Regulation and Markets II

Chair: **Yair MacClanahan Shophet** (Interdisciplinary Centre, Herzlia)

Jean-Christophe Graz (University of Lausanne), “The Authority of Standards in the Political Economy of Services Trade Liberalisation.”

Massimo Geloso-Grosso (Sciences Po, France), “Advancing Reforms in the Services Sector: a Case Study of Air Transport in APEC.”

Eric van der Marel (Sciences Po, France), “What Determines Services’ TFP Growth.”

Discussant: **Martin Roy** (WTO)

Session IV: Political Economy of Services Negotiations

Chair: **Tamar Almor** (Rishon-le-Zion College of Management)

Martin Roy (WTO), “PE of Services Commitments on Trade in Services.”

Daniela Persin (Hebrew University), “Market Access for Small vs. Large Enterprises: Preferential vs. Multilateral Service Trade Liberalization Compared.”

Discussant: **Jean-Christophe Graz** (University of Lausanne)

Official Greetings

Daniela Persin (Hebrew University) and **Lior Herman** (LSE and Hebrew University)

Prof. Alfred Tovas (Director, Leonard Davis Institute, Hebrew University)

Prof. Avner de-Shalit (Dean, Hebrew University)

Sharon Kedmi (Director General, Israeli Ministry of Trade)

Keynote Lecture: **Alejandro Jara** (Deputy Secretary General, WTO)

Day 2

Session I: China and the WTO: Domestic Politics and Compliance

Chair: **Moshe Hirsch** (Hebrew University)

Tania Voon and Andrew Mitchell (University of Melbourne), “China’s Telecommunication Services Markets.”

Marcia Harpaz (Hebrew University), “China’s WTO Compliance in Banking Services.”

Yanning Yu (Zhejiang Gongshang University), “A Political Economy Analysis of Adopting Emergency Safeguard Measures for Services: China as a Case Study.”

Discussant: **Galia Press BarNathan** (Hebrew University)

Session II: Judicial Liberalization

Chair: **Arie Reich** (Bar Ilan University)

Nellie Munin (Zefat Academic College), “The GATS 15th Anniversary: A Legal Perspective on Conflicting Interests.”

Amedeo Arena (New York University), “GATS and Public Services.”

Discussant: **Tomer Broude** (Hebrew University)

Session III: Labour Migration/ Mode 4

Chair: **Niron Hashai** (Hebrew University)

Charlotte Sieber-Gasser and Marion Panizzon (World Trade Institute), “A Legal Framework for Cross-Regional Networks.”

Sherry Stephenson (Organization of American States) and **Thiabaud Delourme** (Sciences-Po, France), “Labour Mobility and Political Economy Models.”

Discussant: **Alfred Tovias**, Hebrew University

Session IV: Preferential Trade Liberalisation: Economic and Political Spillovers?

Chair: **Eyal Inbar** (Rishon-le-Zion College of Management and EU Delegation to Israel)

Pierre Sauvé (World Trade Institute), “WTO+? Assessing the Value-added of Preferential Trade Agreements in Services.”

Katherine Barbieri (University of South Carolina), “Missing More than Trade Data”

Discussant: **Se’ev Hirsch** (Tel Aviv University)

Roundtable: Israel and Services Liberalization

Moderator: **Sophie Shulman** (Calcalist, *Yedioth Aharonot* (Daily), Israel)

Boaz Hirsch (Deputy Director General, Israel’s Ministry of Trade)

Alejandro Jara (Deputy Secretary General, WTO)

Maria Koidu (EU Trade Directorate)

Yair Aharoni (Tel Aviv University)

Tomer Broude (Hebrew University)

GUEST LECTURERS

Prof. Andrés Malamud (Institute of Social Sciences, University of Lisbon)

Held 5 January 2010

“Spillover in European and South American Integration: A Comparative Evaluation”

This lecture was presented in cooperation with the Liwerant Center for the Study of Latin America, Spain, Portugal, and Their Jewish Communities and the Department of Romance and Latin American Studies.

Spillover is a concept coined by neo-functionalism in the 1960s to account for the process of European integration. It refers to the inner dynamics of such an integration, whereby the members of a regional scheme are compelled to increase their scope and/or level of mutual commitment. Latin American integration processes have called into question the meaningfulness and applicability of the concept of spillover, in both its political and its technical dimensions. By comparing the EU, the Andean Community, and Mercosur, Professor Malamud considered—on both a conceptual and an empirical level—why this has occurred.

Dr. Ahmed Driss (Centre des Etudes Méditerranéennes et Internationales, Tunisia)

Held 13 January and 14 January 2010

“Tunisia–EU Relations and the Union for the Mediterranean (UfM) Project”
and **“The Tunisian’s Government Policy regarding the Different Conflicts in the Middle East”**

In his lectures, Dr. Driss elaborated on the strengths of Tunisia, a rich country at the crossroads of the Mediterranean, whose history of multiple invaders has led to cultural diversity. Tunisia is a country open to others, from Berbers to Arabs; a country of peaceful coexistence among different communities, including Jews. The impact of Zionism on Tunisian Jews was reflected as an expression of modern social identity. Although the creation of Israel was a shock to the

Islamic and Arab world, in Tunisia there was no organized hostility against the Jewish community. In fact, in 1965 Tunisian President Bouguiba was the first Arab leader to call for the recognition of Israel. Thus, Tunisia was always a voice of moderation and realism. Dr. Driss outlined the positive history of relations between Tunisia and Israel. Tunisia was the headquarters of the Arab League between 1979 and 1990, and the PLO from 1982 to 1993. With the exception of the Israeli attack against the PLO headquarters in October 1985, Tunisia has never had a confrontation with Israel. In 1993 Tunisia hosted an official Israeli delegation on the peace process. And between 1996 and 2000, Israel housed an Interest Office of Tunisia. However, as Dr. Driss pointed out, the position of the government is different from that on the street. While Tunisia officially advocates a peaceful solution, America's unconditional support for Israel creates a ground level obstacle to peace.

Closed Meeting with US Ambassador to Israel James B. Cunningham.

Held 24 March 2010

Just one day before President Obama and Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu met in Washington, Ambassador James Cunningham met with International Relations and Political Science faculty, researchers, and postdoctoral students at the Davis Institute. Ambassador Cunningham discussed US efforts to start proximity talks with Israelis and Palestinians, the commitment of the US to Israel's security, and areas of cooperation between Israel and the US. Hebrew University audience members spoke and asked questions on a wide range of topics, covering the region and the world

Prof. Michael Plummer (Development Division in the Trade and Agriculture Directorate of the OECD)

Held 13 April 2010

"The Economics of the ASEAN Economic Community."

In his lecture, Prof. Plummer summarized the results of a recent study published by the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies. The study assessed the likely economic effects of the ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) and found that the AEC has

the potential to generate significant economic benefits for nearly all stakeholders in the region and conservatively should lead to an increase in regional welfare of 5.3 percent. The region will also gain political and macroeconomic stability, allowing ASEAN to become a potent force in international fora. Prof. Plummer suggested that in order to realize this potential, the AEC will need to muster the political support for effective implementation of the AEC Blueprint and beyond.

Prof. Zeev Maoz (International Relations Program at the University of California, Davis)

Held 22 April 2010

“Networked International Politics: Theory and Evidence”

Prof. Maoz’ lecture examined the co-evolution of cooperative networks and their impact on international conflict. Alliance, trade, and international organizational networks affect each other’s structure and evolution. This co-evolutionary process is a two-way street: not only does security cooperation affect economic and institutional cooperation, but the structure of economic and institutional networks shapes the structure of security cooperation networks. Prof. Maoz, in his final remarks, considered how the density, polarization, and centralization of international networks dampens international conflict across the system.

Prof. Stephan Stetter (Universität der Bundeswehr Munich, Germany)

Held 5 May 2010

“The Middle East in World Society: Theorizing Regional Conflicts”

Prof. Stetter discussed the contours of a general theoretical framework for studying conflict (and cooperation) in Middle East politics, building on comprehensive theories of globalization and (world) society, mainly from sociology. Calling for a greater consideration of comprehensive theories of globalization, society, and conflict in the study of world and Middle East politics; focusing on politics as a global system and on the effects of global political communication on Middle East politics; and addressing how this global embedding of Middle East politics shapes the actual operations of “power” in the region, Prof. Stetter identified a

profound crisis of power in regional politics. He highlighted in particular the linking of power with practices of inclusion/exclusion in politics. He concluded by relating these dynamics of power and inclusion/exclusion to more general theories of social conflict from sociology in order to analyze various (local, national, regional, and global) conflict dimensions within which the Middle East is embedded.

Prof. Subidey Togan (Bilkent University, Ankara)

Held 31 May and 1 June 2010

“Is Accession to the EU Necessary for Turkey?” and “The Global Financial Crisis Attainment of Internal and External Balances in Turkey”

These lectures were presented in cooperation with the Israeli Association for the Study of European Integration (IASEI).

In his first lecture, Prof. Togan spoke about Turkey’s EU accession talks, which have been dogged by a number of problems. Little progress has been made during the last five years, and the perception that Turkey will not succeed in becoming a member of the EU in the foreseeable future is gaining ground both in Europe and in Turkey. Prof. Togan asked why Turkey insists on membership in the EU, and he speculated on Turkey’s alternatives if membership in the EU cannot be realized.

In his second lecture, Prof. Togan discussed the effects of the 2007-2008 global financial crisis on the Turkish economy, looking at associated problems in terms of developments in internal and external balance. He defines internal balance as the condition in which the country’s resources are fully employed and the domestic price level is stable, and he noted that Turkey could not attain such balance mainly because of “fiscal sustainability” considerations. He defines external balance as the condition in which a country is not deeply in deficit and can repay its foreign debts and interest payments, currently and into the future. He calls this condition “current account sustainability” and noted that Turkey has failed to satisfy this condition eight times over the past 150 years. He suggested that when designing economic policies, policy makers need to consider not only fiscal sustainability but also current account sustainability, and that they should try to simultaneously attain both internal and external balance.

Prof. Richard Youngs (FRIDE (Madrid) and University of Warwick)

Held 2 June 2010

“The EU and the Middle East: The Changing Nature of the EU’s Foreign Policy”

In his lecture, Prof. Youngs pointed out that most of the crucial strategic challenges for Europe seem to be concentrated on the Middle East. Following 9/11, European governments—in the same manner as the US administration—appeared to adopt a different approach to the Middle East. They argued that the West had to become more serious about pushing for underlying economic and political reform in the Middle East. Those years of supporting nominally pro-Western autocrats as a bulwark against Islamic fundamentalism had not worked as a security strategy. So, the talk in Europe was of attacking the root causes of terrorism in the Middle East. However, Prof. Youngs noted, the EU adopted this new approach to security in the Middle East only to a limited extent, increasingly trying more indirect approaches. Behind the scenes, the EU has pushed for Saudi Arabia to take the lead role on the peace process. It has gone out on a limb to provide aid, loans, and a trade agreement to Syria, but in return has gained almost no strategic influence in terms of convincing Damascus to move against its more radical client groups in the region.

INTERNATIONAL WORKSHOPS

World Orders: Change and Continuity

Held 4-5 November 2009

The Einstein Center (Social Science Group) international workshops are held in cooperation with the Department of International Relations, The Free University of Berlin, and the Peace Research Institute Frankfurt (PRIF).

Conference Program

Day 1

Session I: World Orders: From Hegemony to Empire to Cosmopolitanism

Chair and Discussants: **Thomas Risse** (Free University of Berlin)

Piki Ish-Shalom (Hebrew University)

Roman Sukholutsky (Hebrew University), “Why Aren’t We There Yet? The Intellectual Origins of the Opposition to the Idea of Humanity’s Unity.”

Iris Wurm and Benjamin Herburth (Peace Research Institute Frankfurt [PRIF]), “The Greater Space of Hegemony and Empire.”

Anja Gornitz (Free University, Berlin), “Institutions in the Debate on Cosmopolitanism.”

Session II: Sustainable Governance in an Age of Globalization: Patterns, Problems, and Possibilities

Roundtable, in cooperation with the Davis Institute and the Department of IR, open to M.A. and Ph.D. students and the general public

Chair: **Arie Kacowicz** (Hebrew University)

Thomas Risse (Free University, Berlin)

Tanja Börzel (Free University of Berlin)

Harald Mueller (PRIF)

Session III: International Norms, International Law, and International Politics

Chair and Discussant: **Moshe Hirsch** (Hebrew University)

Pini Miretski (Hebrew University), “Delegitimizing or Evolving? The Legality of United Nations Security Council Resolutions Imposing Duties on Non-State Actors.”

Rony Silfen (Hebrew University), “Legalization of Arms Control Norms: The Role of Structural Factors in the Change of Legal Norms.”

Carmen Wunderlich, (PRIF), “Black Sheep or Wolves in Sheep’s Clothing: ‘Rogue States’ and International Norms.”

Day 2

Session I. Changing World Orders: Economic Orders and Governance in Transnational Relations

Chair and Discussants: **Tanja Börzel** (Free University of Berlin) and **Prof. Alfred Tovias** (Hebrew University)

Shai Moses (Hebrew University), “Global Economic Order at Risk? Challenging the Legitimacy of the World Trade Organization.”

Katharina Gnath (Free University of Berlin), “Global Economic Order in Flux.”

Nicole Helmerich (Free University of Berlin), “Changing World Orders and New Modes of Governance in Transnational Relations: Social-Labor Rights.”

Session II: The Legal Dimension of World Order(s): International Criminal Justice

Chair and Discussant: **Gilad Noam** (Hebrew University)

Henry Lovat (Hebrew University), “From Versailles to The Hague via Nuremberg: International Law, Individual Criminal Responsibility and World Orders in the Twentieth Century.”

Dirk Clausmeier (Free University of Berlin), “International Criminal Justice.”

Dana Trif (Free University of Berlin), “A New International Norm? Individual Criminal Responsibility.”

Session III: Security and Cooperation across Regions: The EU, Africa, and the Iranian Conundrum

Chair and Discussants: **Harald Mueller** (PRIF) and **Galia Press Bar-Nathan** (Hebrew University)

Tal Dingott Alkopher (Hebrew University), “Reconsidering Security in the European Security Community: Ontological Insecurity, Violent Racism, and Homegrown Terrorism.”

Daniela Huber (Hebrew University), “Cooperation Due to Altruistic Punishment? The Case of German and Austrian Companies in Iran.”

Karima El Ouazghari (PRIF), “Hope in Sight: The African Union as a Security Organization.”

Alexandros Tokhi (Free University of Berlin), “Nuclear Cooperation: Iran.”

Concluding Roundtable and Brainstorm

“World Orders: Change and Continuity—What Did We Learn? Agenda for Future Research.”

Southeast Asia, “Regions,” and Social Theory

Held 3-4 March 2010

This workshop was organized in cooperation with the Harry S Truman Institute for the Advancement of Peace and the Louise Frieberg Center for East Asian Studies.

This workshop examined the relations between regional studies and social and cultural theory through the region of Southeast Asia. The researchers sought to invert the usual direction of analysis in area studies: Rather than asking how social theories illuminate various aspects within a region or area, they explored how area studies—and more specifically concepts centered on “region,” “regionalism,” or “region making”—may enrich social theory. Thus, they looked at how Southeast Asian region’s empirical reality augments wider social and cultural theory.

The workshop, bringing together scholars interested in Southeast Asia and social theory, employed a multidisciplinary approach. It also included a special panel of Israeli scholars on the relations between area studies and social theory, focusing on the most recent theorizing works in the field of African Studies, Latin American Studies, Middle Eastern Studies, Chinese Studies, and Jewish Studies.

This workshop was a part of a wider research project, which examined these themes across two academic events: the concluding workshop will be held in Singapore in November 2010 in collaboration with the Department of Sociology at the National University of Singapore.

Workshop's program

Session I: Themes, Theories, and Theorists

Chair: **Ehud Harari** (Hebrew University), and **Daniel PS Goh** and **Chua Beng Huat**, (National University of Singapore), “**Southeast Asia and Social Theory: An Overview.**”

Eyal Ben-Ari (Hebrew University), “Southeast Asian Studies, Theory, and Academic Context.”

Yoko Hayami (Kyoto University), “Reality or Mirage? Family in Southeast Asian Society.”

Session II: Themes in Southeast Asian Studies

Chair: **Helena Grinshpun** (Hebrew University)

Ran Shauli (Bar-Ilan University and the Truman Institute), “Studying Memory in the Southeast Asian Context.”

Nir Avieli (Ben-Gurion University of the Negev), “Hegemonic Masculinity: The Southeast Asian Perspective.”

Giora Eliraz (Truman Institute), “Two Regions in One View: Analytical Journey from the Middle East to the Malay–Indonesian World.”

Session III: The Southeast Asian Region and IR Theory

Chair: **Eyal Ben-Ari** (Hebrew University) and **Galia Press-Barnathan** (Hebrew University), “IR Theory Meets Southeast Asia—Imperialism or Cross-fertilization?”

Alon Levkowitz (Hebrew University), “ASEAN Institutionalization Under Question.”

Nissim Otmazgin (Hebrew University), “Cities in the Making of a Region in East and Southeast Asia.”

Session IV: Area Studies and Social and Cultural Theory

Chair: **Nissim Otmazgin** (Hebrew University)

Steven Kaplan (Hebrew University)

Arie M. Kacowicz (Hebrew University)

Avraham Sela (Hebrew University)

Yuri Pines (Hebrew University)

Harvey E. Goldberg (Hebrew University)

The Fifth Annual Graduate Conference in Political Science in memory of Yitzhak Rabin

Held 17-18 December 2009

This conference was co-sponsored by the Leonard Davis Institute.

The aim of this fifth annual international conference of graduate students in the fields of Political Science, International Relations, and Public Policy was to facilitate the exchange of ideas among graduate students and faculty from all over the world. The conference, which has become a tradition, provides a comfortable and friendly forum for graduate students to share their work with colleagues while learning about emerging trends in research and related disciplines. **Dr. Dan Miodownik** (Hebrew University) and **Prof. David Levi-Faur** (Hebrew University) convened the conference. Twenty panels and three workshops each had two senior faculty members as discussants and chairs. The conference proved to be a rewarding experience and will continue to be a major event in the graduate students' professional socialization.

ANNUAL EVENTS

CARMON PRIZE CEREMONY

Held 14 January 2010 at the Center for Special Studies in Memory of the Fallen of the Israeli Intelligence Community, Tel Aviv.

At the Leonard Davis Institute's fortieth annual Carmon Prize ceremony, Gadi Hanania was awarded the Carmon prize for his thesis, "The State's Responsibility for Illegal Transaction of Information and Nuclear Expertise by Private People." The Carmon Prize is awarded in recognition of an outstanding M.A. or Ph.D. thesis on Israel's security policy in the Middle East.

Brig. Gen. David Carmon (1921-1969) was a commander in the Palmach (an elite unit of the pre-state army) and Deputy Head of Military Intelligence. The keynote speaker of the event, which took place in the presence of the Carmon family and friends, was Minister Dan Meridor. He lectured on "Israel and the Region from the Six Days War to Today."

The Leonard Davis Institute for International Relations was established in 1972. As the only research institute in Israel dedicated solely to international affairs, the Institute plans its programs in accordance with three broad aims:

- To promote scientific research in the theory of international relations, adopting abroad interdisciplinary perspective aimed at the entire spectrum of the discipline.
- To present the universal themes of international politics to the Israeli public, thereby enhancing the national discourse on these matters.
- To put the Institute's expertise and consulting capability at the service of national institutions conducting the security and foreign affairs of Israel.

The Leonard Davis Institute has long served as a center where researchers from the International Relations, Political Science, and relate departments at the Hebrew University, as well as at other Israeli universities and academic centers, can develop and coordinate research programs. To this end, the Institute is by its nature and statues an interfaculty and interdisciplinary body, though formally anchored in the Faculty of Social Sciences.

The Institute's programs aim at deepening our understanding of Israel's foreign relations and diplomacy, Middle Eastern affairs, and the subject of world order.

This embraces, particularly, the critical choices that Israel faces as part of the international community, in such domains as international economic relations, the environment, human rights, global security and conflict resolution, and international organizations.

The Leonard Davis Institute for International Relations
The Hebrew University of Jerusalem
Alfred Davis (Truman) Building, Mount Scopus, Jerusalem 91905, Israel

המכון ליחסים בינלאומיים ע"ש לאונרד דיוויס הוקם באוניברסיטה העברית בשנת 1972.

המכון שם לו למטרה לעודד מחקרים בתחום היחסים הבינלאומיים על כל ענפיו מתוך ראייה בין תחומית רחבה, לפתח שיטות של ייעוץ והערכה היכולות לסייע בקבלת החלטות בתחום המדיני, ולהביא סוגיות מרכזיות בפוליטיקה הבינלאומית ומדיניות החוץ של ישראל אל הציבור הרחב כדי לטפח את השיח בהן.

המכון מעניק מלגות מחקר לתלמידים לתארים מתקדמים ולסגל של האוניברסיטה העברית בירושלים, מנהל פרויקטים מחקריים ומקיים פעילות ציבורית מגוונת הכוללת כינוסים מדעיים, סדנאות וימי עיון בסוגיות מרכזיות העומדות על סדר היום הלאומי.

המכון מפרסם מאמרים וספרים בעברית ובאנגלית ומוציא לאור את כתב העת פוליטיקה.

רשימה מלאה של הפרסומים אפשר לראות באתר או להשיג ישירות מהמכון.

המכון ליחסים בינלאומיים ע"ש לאונרד דיוויס

האוניברסיטה העברית בירושלים

בניין אלפרד דיוויס (טרומן), קמפוס הר הצופים, ירושלים 91905