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

Annual Report
2008-2009

האוניברסיטה העברית בירושלים
The Hebrew University of Jerusalem

The Leonard Davis Institute for International Relations

The Hebrew University of Jerusalem

ANNUAL REPORT

2008–2009

CONTENTS

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

The fourth year of my tenure as academic director of the Leonard Davis Institute for International Relations was marked by continuity, in spite of two events that might have led to paralysis and stagnation had it not been for measures taken by the Institute. The first of these events was the financial crisis in the US, where most of the funds endowed by the Davis family are deposited and managed. The second was the sabbatical leave I took in the spring semester, during which I was replaced by my colleague Professor Avraham Sela. This latter event proved to be easy to handle, as the cooperation between Professor Sela and myself worked perfectly to our mutual satisfaction.

The financial crisis hit the Institute directly. One of the capital funds on whose annual returns the Institute relies to finance doctoral scholarships was unexpectedly found to be "under water" for the year 2008. This meant that the payments distributed to promising Ph.D. students out of the expected annual income (a decision made in December 2008) had to be provisionally suspended. The affected Ph.D. students — to their great credit — found temporary solutions in order to continue with their thesis studies; for some of them, this meant having to work extra hours in the private sector. Early on in the crisis, the Institute made it a priority to retroactively reimburse the selected Ph.D. candidates as soon as it became possible. At the time of this writing (July 2010), all the sums that had to be distributed during the academic year under review in this report (October 2008–September 2009) have been reimbursed. To prevent such an impasse from occurring again, we have decided that future allocation of Ph.D. scholarships on the basis of academic merit (apart from the President's Excellence Scholarship and the two Faculty of Social Science' Scholarships) will only take place after the corresponding funds have been secured well in advance. As a result, the Institute was not able to allocate scholarships to new Ph.D. students who began study during the current academic year, nor will it be able to do so for the academic year 2010–2011.

Continuity was the name of the game with regard to the two Research Groups set up and sponsored by the Davis Institute. In June of 2007, the Institute made the decision to extend the period for Research Group project work to two years. The two groups selected in the spring 2007 were thus set to receive the Institute's support until September 2009. In the time period of this report, one group (of ten researchers) was in its second year of research on issues of "Global Governance and International Law," and the second group (of eight persons) worked on "Internal Conflicts in Regional and International Context." Each of these teams, under the supervision of Professor Avraham Sela, organized an international conference in the academic year under review — a very welcome and concrete output.

The first, an international workshop on "Global Effects and Local Dynamics of Intrastate Conflicts," was held from May 17 to 19 and addressed a myriad of issues concerning intrastate conflicts in regional and international contexts. The presented papers encompassed a great range of cases (Afghanistan, Iraq, Lebanon, Israel/Palestine, Rwanda, Azarbaijan/Armenia) and research methods (both quantitative and qualitative). Following the workshop, most of the papers were edited by Professors Oren Barak and Dan Miodownik into a special volume for publication.

Following this workshop, from May 24 to 25, the Institute hosted the international conference "Multisourced Obligations and Overlapping Regimes in Global Governance and International Law." The conference was sponsored by the International Law Forum, the Faculty of Law,

the Hebrew University, and was led by co-directors Professor Moshe Hirsch and Dr. Yuval Shany. The conference looked into the theoretical and practical dimensions of some of the legal and political complications of multisourced obligations — that is, two or more norms that (1) are binding upon the same international legal subjects; (2) are similar or identical in their normative content; and (3) have been established through different international instruments or "legislative" procedures or are applicable in different substantive areas.

Another ongoing activity of the Institute is to support individual research projects presented by the Hebrew University staff. This year was marked by the diversity of the projects financed, both in terms of the university departments involved and the methods applied. The disciplines covered included law, sociology, anthropology, international relations, political science, communications, and history.

Although political economy and foreign policy were not represented in the research agenda of individual projects, they were not neglected entirely, as several public activities, mainly guest lectures, covered these fields. For instance, Dr. Jeff Dayton-Johnson from the OECD Development Centre spoke on two occasions. Also, in view of the initiative originally suggested by President Nicolas Sarkozy of France to create a new organization dealing with Mediterranean projects (later renamed the Union for the Mediterranean) — to which Israel belongs — I decided it was high time an Israeli academic institute like ours devoted resources and time to the study of the international political economy and foreign policy of Mediterranean countries.

To this end, I invited Professor Lahcen Oulhaj, dean of the Faculty of Social Sciences at the University Mohamed V in Rabat, Morocco, to come to Israel and lecture about his country's perspectives on the Middle East. As will be published in our next Annual Report, the same type of exercise was repeated in the current academic year (2009–2010) with visiting lecturers from Tunisia (Dr. Ahmed Driss) and Turkey

(Professor Subidey Togan). And, on the subject of the Mediterranean, I attended several meetings of the FEMISE (Euro-Mediterranean Forum of Economic Institutes), created in 1997; not only is the Leonard Davis Institute a founding member, but the Institute's director will be part of the steering committee for the coming two years.

As in previous Annual Reports, I must note that during this academic year the Institute hosted as lecturers quite a number of academic luminaries in their respective fields. Among them I note Louis Pauly from the University of Toronto and current co-editor of *International Organization* (one of the most quoted refereed academic journal in IR in recent years), and also William Zartman from SAIS-John Hopkins University, Amitai Etzioni of George Washington University, and Peter Katzenstein from Cornell University. Their performances attracted audiences well beyond the usual for the Institute.

Continuity was also maintained in terms of the Institute's pedagogical and educational functions and activities in two ways. First, the Institute, for the second year running, supported both logistically and financially the organizers of the fourth Annual Graduate Conference in Political Science in Memory of Yitzhak Rabin. The number of students attending from overseas has increased as this conference has become a regular event. And second, the Institute organized the fifth and last session of the "World Governance Series." In the last three years of my directorship, the Institute has introduced Israeli academic staff, students, and public officials to the work of different international governmental organizations through "Training Workshops." Each session, open only to a selected audience invited by the director, consisted of a seventy-five-minute lecture by an expert of the organization under focus, followed by an optional "Questions and Answers" seminar. The fifth workshop in the series was devoted to the Council of Europe. Mr. Denis Huber, the guest speaker from the organization, lectured to an audience of thirty invited guests.

Prof. Alfred Tovias

In terms of publications, the Institute had a better-than-average performance in the period reviewed. The Institute published four working papers, two in English and two in Hebrew (one more than last year). Furthermore, *Politika*, the flag publication of the Institute, was edited for the third and final year by Professor Arie Kacowicz. One special issue was devoted to "Globalization in Israel and Worldwide," and the second focused on alternative perspectives on the Arab-Israeli conflict. Thus, as required, the Institute is back to regularly publishing two issues per year of the Hebrew-written journal. A new editor, Amir Bar-Or, was chosen at the end of the period reviewed to replace Professor Kacowicz, whom I wish to thank from here for his excellent job over the last three years.

What is new and very encouraging is the active participation of the Institute in a number of cooperative ventures leading to publications of different books. First, the Institute organized the translation from Portuguese to Hebrew and subsequent publication of an introductory book on globalization and development, a subject at present neglected in Hebrew-written literature. The Institute also cooperated with the Einstein Center in the publication of a book on ethics and the international order.

Another event marking continuity was the organization of the Institute's annual David Carmon lecture, which was presented by Professor Asher Susser (Moshe Dayan Center, Tel Aviv University), who spoke on "The Israeli and the Palestinian — Between the City of Akko and Gaza." The David Carmon Prize was granted to Mr. Gil Limon for his thesis, "The Interaction between the Rules of International Law and the Rules That Deal with Terror."

On a more personal level, I must finally note that Dr. David Kimche, the representative of the public on the Institute's board of directors, fell gravely ill in the summer of 2009 and passed away early this year. He had been a member of the board for a long time and we will all miss him for the human touch that characterized his interventions at the board meetings.

After all, an institute like ours is made up of living, thinking, and acting people. In this respect, let me thank from here the three members of the Institute's administrative team (Ms. Anat Illouz, Ms. Hani Mazar, and Ms. Meital Lev) without whom all that is presented above would have been impossible to realize.

Alfred Tovias

GOVERNING BODIES AND STAFF

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

RESEARCH BY SCHOLARS BASED AT THE HEBREW UNIVERSITY

RESEARCH GROUPS

The Leonard Davis Institute launched an initiative of distributing research group grants in the year 2007–2008. These grants were issued for a period of two years, and the groups were selected by the Academic Committee of the Institute. This year, the groups finished their second and last year of the approved research projects. Each group organized — under the auspices of the Leonard Davis Institute — an international conference that summarized the two years of group research.

First Research Group: Multisourced Obligations and Overlapping Regimes in Global Governance and International Law

The proposed research focused on the theoretical and practical dimensions of some of the legal and political complications arising out of the existence of multisourced obligations: that is, two or more norms that i) are binding upon the same international legal subjects; ii) are similar or identical in their normative content; and iii) have been established through different international instruments or "legislative" procedures or are applicable in different substantive areas. Although much scholarly attention has been given in recent years to the interplay between inconsistent norms deriving from different legal regimes (such as the WTO and environmental treaties), the fact that international regimes may also be in competition with each other when the rules they elicit are

similar or identical has remained, until now, under-researched.

The group finalized its research with an international conference held in May 2009. The articles summarizing this research will be published by Hart Publishing, Oxford, in the next few months.

Members of the group included **Prof. Moshe Hirsch** (Head) (Faculty of Law and Department of International Relations, Hebrew University), **Prof. Yuval Shany** (Faculty of Law, Hebrew University), **Dr. Tomer Broude** (Faculty of Law and Department of International Relations, Hebrew University), **Dr. Guy Harpaz** (Faculty of Law and Department of International Relations, Hebrew University), **Mr. Gil Limon** (Faculty of Law, Hebrew University), **Mr. Gilad Noam** (Faculty of Law, Hebrew University), **Prof. Andre Nollkaemper** (Univeristy of Amsterdam), **Prof. Joost Pauwelyn** (The Graduate Institute of International Studies, Geneva), **Prof. Lorand Bartels** (Cambridge University), and **Prof. Isabelle Van-Damme** (Cambridge University).

Second Research Group: Internal Conflicts in Regional and International Context

Internal conflicts (or, civil wars) represent the most common form of conflict in the international system since 1945. These conflicts are, moreover, responsible for more casualties, physical damage, displacement, refugees, and regional and international instability than interstate conflicts. Although research on intrastate conflicts has grad-

ually expanded, especially since the end of the Cold War, significant "gaps" still exist in the literature, particularly with regard to the factors for these conflicts, their dynamics, and their external — regional and international — context. The research group addressed these issues from a broad theoretical and comparative perspective. Within the framework of their research, the group's members accorded special attention to the internal conflicts in i) Israel/Palestine, ii) Lebanon, and iii) Iraq; but they also considered other internal conflicts in the Middle East and beyond in their efforts to contribute to the general discussion of this phenomenon.

The group finalized its research with an international conference held in May 2009. The articles summarizing this research are now under review by a journal of international relations.

Members of the group included **Prof. Avraham Sela** (Head) (Department of International Relations, Hebrew University), **Prof. (Emeritus) Gabriel Sheffer** (Department of Political Science, Hebrew University), **Prof. Yosef Kostiner** (Department of History of the Middle East and Asia, Tel-Aviv University), **Dr. Oren Barak** (Department of Political Science and International Relations, Hebrew University), **Dr. Dan Miodownik** (Department of Political Science and International Relations, Hebrew University), **Dr. Nava Löwenheim** (Department of International Relations, Hebrew University), **Dr. Gallia Lindenstrauss** (Department of International Relations, Hebrew University), **Mr. Chanan Cohen** (Department of Political Science, Hebrew University).

PERSONAL RESEARCH GRANTS

Dr. Eitan Barak (Department of International Relations and Faculty of Law), **"Between Hostility and Cooperation: The Relationship between UN Peacekeeping Forces and Rivals of a Host Country (Lessons from Israel's Relationship with UN Peacekeeping Forces: 1957–2008)."**

The main objective of Dr. Barak's research was to identify the variables contributing to cooperation or, alternatively, hostility between UN peacekeeping forces and foes of the state in which they were stationed ("host State" for the research's purpose). Despite numerous studies on various aspects of the model describing peacekeeping operations (PKOs) executed between conflicting parties (the "traditional model"), this particular aspect has been ignored (excluding some limited research focusing on a single PKO). Exploiting the unique situation in which the foe's identity (Israel) remains the same in four cases involving three different host states (Egypt, Lebanon, Syria) and four different UN PKOs (UNEF I, UNEF II, UNDOF, and UNIFIL), Dr. Barak applied similar a priori criteria to evaluate the level of any cooperation that evolved in each case. Following in-depth study of the cases, he isolated the factors hindering/encouraging such cooperation by conducting a comparative analysis. In a subsequent stage, the non-UN force stationed in the Sinai (MFO) were studied in light of the previous findings. The purpose of the second stage of research was to locate weak points in UN PKOs with respect to future cooperation with a rival state.

Prof. Michal Frenkel (Department of Sociology and Anthropology), **"Security Threat and the Transformation of National Business Systems: Finland and Israel Compared."**

Prof. Frenkel's study explored how changes in the concept of "security threat" played a significant role in the business system transformation of both Finland and Israel. To this end, she examined the similar challenges faced by Finland and Israel as they strove to stabilize their respective national

business systems after World War II. Grounded in a historical comparative analysis of the two countries, Prof. Frenkel's study tracked the relationship among the conceptualization of security threat, globalization, and the reconfiguration of national business systems. The study of institutional dynamics outlined the different roles that political elites may adopt when directing the development of the local economy under various threats to security. The study traced the transformation in how security threats were conceptualized in both countries in two consecutive periods (the Cold War and Opening Up), and it explored the role of local business and military elites in reshaping the conceptualization of such threats. Theoretically, Prof. Frenkel's study provided insight on elite theory in political sociology and on social theory with regard to war-making, providing an understanding of the transformation of national business systems in the era of globalization.

Prof. Ifat Maoz (Department of Communication), **"Conflict Management and Peace Making through Track-two Diplomacy."**
Track-two diplomacy is facilitated discussion between influential non-officials (ex-government officials, academics, activists, journalists, and others) aimed at conflict management and conflict resolution (Burton, 1987). The Israeli-Palestinian conflict in particular has been a testing ground for numerous track-two interventions (Fisher, 2002), and while those interventions have obviously not resolved the conflict, they have produced some limited successes (Kelman, 1995). Prof. Maoz' research examined track-two diplomacy interventions and cooperative ventures between Israelis and Palestinians conducted in the context of the protracted conflict between the sides. The study focused on case studies of Israeli and Palestinian NGO's and organizations that are involved in cooperative projects and in track-two diplomacy efforts. Prof. Maoz' qualitative methodology was based on a combination of grounded theory analysis and discourse analysis techniques aimed at identifying and understanding i) the processes occurring under the surface of cooperative projects and track-two discussions; ii) the explicit and implicit strategies and tactics used by the sides in the framework of track-two negotiations. Further, these techniques allow an assessment of the effects of cooperative projects and track-two discussions on conflict management and peace making.

Dr. Dan Miodownik (Department of Political Science and Department of International Relations), **"Mapping the Complexity of Conflict: Natural Resources' Ethnicity and Civil War."**
Dr. Miodownik's research provided an overview of REsCape 1.0: an agent-based computational framework for studying the relationship between natural resources, ethnicity, and civil war. This system was developed at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and Michigan State University in conjunction with leading scholars of civil war and agent-based modelers from University of Michigan's Center for the Study of Complex Systems and the Swiss Federal Institute of Technology. REsCape 1.0 constitutes the first release of an advanced tool for analyzing the causes, underlying mechanisms, and consequences of civil war. The research pushed forward the development of a second release of REsCape, with the following objectives: i) to develop a geographical information system (GIS) interface to utilize country or region-specific landscapes; ii) to develop additional resource profiles (oil, timber, water), agents (military, corporate, regional, and international), and strategies (agent-look ahead); iii) to apply the framework in order to understand the dynamics of civil violence in select real-word cases (e.g., in Sub-Sahara Africa and Central Asia); and iv) to develop the architecture to host an on-line release of REsCape as an open-source toolkit, to be used, modified, and refined by students and scholars of civil war.

Dr. Diego Olstein (Department of History), **"The Global Rise of Anti-Hegemonic Party States."**

The objective of this project was to search for the similarities and connections between political regimes that have so far been compartmentalized conceptually and segregated regionally. Dr. Olstein portrayed political regimes as characterized by a reliance on state bureaucracy and party apparatuses. This leads to social mobilization in the effort to maximize the monopoly on violence, with the ultimate goal of improving the state's position in the world division of wealth and power. The historical narrative of the research was arranged in three waves: i) the rise of Communism in the Soviet Union and its impact on Mongolia and Kuomintang of China, Fascism in Italy, and Nazism in Germany; ii) Cardenas' rule in Mexico, Vargas' second presidency in Brazil, and Peron's Argentina; iii) Communist China, Egypt, Ghana, and Cuba. The study entailed three stages: conceptualization, historical research, and comparative study.

Dr. Tamir Sheafer (Department of Political Science and Department of Communication) and **Dr. Shaul Shenhav** (Department of Political Science), **"Political Culture and Public Diplomacy."**
This research project was based upon the claim that questions of public diplomacy should be examined in a wide theoretical framework designated by the concept of "soft power," — that is the ability of one state to achieve its goal by means of culture and attractive values rather than force. The aim of Dr. Sheafer and Dr. Shenhav was to evaluate possible predictors of states' success in promoting their desirable messages in the media of target-states and influencing public opinion in these states. Previous studies claim that values and cultural proximity or resonance between different states is a crucial predictor of successful public diplomacy; however, no empirical study actually measures the cultural and values effect on the success of public diplomacy. The project had three main goals. The first, related to the measurement

of political-cultural distances among states, was to test whether the model can improve predictability of existing models for questions of public diplomacy. The second goal was to use the model to explain and predict international public opinion toward countries. The third goal evolved from the assumption that a successful public diplomacy rests on a successful transition of "frames" from one state to another, mainly in the realm of mass media, an issue that the authors addressed and incorporated into their model.

POSTDOCTORAL RESEARCH

Dr. Nava Löwenheim
Dr. Löwenheim earned her Ph.D. in International Relations at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Her postdoctoral research at the Leonard Davis Institute examined **"Identities in Conflict: Apology and Ontological (In)Security in Protracted Conflicts."** She explored when and how the option of an apology can facilitate change in a protracted conflict. The study's aim was to provide a conceptual framework for studying protracted conflicts that can be applied not only to the cases examined, but to other cases as well. The research introduced an innovative link between the two concepts of political apology and ontological security — which are drawing increasing attention in the literature of political science and IR — in order to further our understanding of the prospects of ending protracted conflicts.

Dr. Amir Lupovici
Dr. Lupovici earned his Ph.D. in International Relations at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. His postdoctoral research at the Leonard Davis Institute examined **"Between Peacefulization and Securitization: The Social Construction of Peace."** In recent years, much attention has been given to the question of how issues are framed (and constructed) as threats to security, mostly with respect to the concept of securitization suggested

by the Copenhagen School. However, IR literature is quite silent on a related process that Dr. Lupovici terms "peacefulization" — a process in which issues are framed and constructed as those related to peace. He argued that acknowledging this process will help to explain how over the years distinct issues have been framed and constructed as relating to peace, and how this framing and construction may help or hinder the chances of achieving a stable peace. He suggested the Czechoslovakian partition as an intriguing case for exploring how an issue becomes "an issue of peace": the peaceful division of Czechoslovakia into the Czech and Slovak republics at the end of 1992 was enabled (and brought positive results) because it was constructed in the framework of peace and not as a solution to threats posed by the two parties against each other. Furthermore, this Czechoslovakian case provides valuable insight into the conditions necessary to successful separation of two peoples, an issue that is highly relevant for states plagued with seemingly irreconcilable internal conflict.

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 available and insightful Arabic sources from the last three decades, the thesis endeavors to provide a basis for understanding civil-military relations in contemporary Jordan while 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 post-modern army," and

the wider discipline of social network analysis form the theoretical framework of the research. Through this framework, 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 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 new argument of the dissertation is that there are in effect nonstate institutional agents that formulate European trade policy. State and nonstate institutional agents argue and pursue the formulation of the 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. It follows from the new argument 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. As services have become part of trade negotiations, this dissertation

asks how firm size affects trade policy preferences in services, and concludes that there are some substantial qualitative differences in the preferences of small and large firms. The main difference is 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 claims that the former is likely to advance SME preferences, whereas the latter is more inclined to further the less politically sensitive preferences of large enterprises.

Nimrod Rosler, "Messages of Societal Mobilization by the Same Leader in an Intractable Conflict and Its Settlement: Usage of Societal Beliefs and Collective Emotions in the Israeli-Palestinian and Northern Irish Conflicts."

This research examines messages of societal mobilization that urge first for the preservation and then for the settlement of an intractable conflict — both put forward by the same political leader. It will also consider how such a leader explains the change to the public. The research will include 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 significantly contribute to understanding 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 within this local community — and 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 the 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 the individual and the 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 analysis will be made on the cultural level in the narrow sense of the term — the ceremonies, everyday practices, values, politics of memory, education, language, etc. that provide a significant part of the reality and way of life of the displaced. Analysis of the "refugee culture" of the 2005 Gush-Katif displaced settlers will enable the development of a conceptual framework that could anchor the insights arising from the research into an extensive refugeeness model.

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/or 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 development of 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 cosmopolitan idea is clearly worthwhile — 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 the cosmopolitan idea and why it has not been implemented in international relations. The claim of this research is that alongside the desire to move toward this cosmopolitan ideal are other factors forcing human society in the opposite direction. These can be defined in terms of political ideologies — liberal, Marxist, and communitarian (including nationalism and religion). This study will contribute to theoretical literature in IR, which is quite meagre on the issue of cosmopolitanism and especially the opposition to it; more importantly, it may reveal repeating patterns in that opposition.

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

This research introduces the concept of "identity balancing," which posits that states facing a common threat will 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 a 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 tendency of post-Soviet countries to express their strategic choice between a Western and a Russian orientation in identity terms.

SCHOLARSHIPS FOR MASTER'S STUDENTS

Mor Mitrani, "The Narrative Structure of the Conflict in the Political Discourse in Israel."

Both warfare and peace processes, representing extreme options, require broad public recruitment and immense efforts to rationalize and legitimatize them through formal political discourse. The focus of this research is how the political leadership in Israel justifies its actions and attempts to enlist public support. The presumption is that speeches are based upon common attitudes and societal beliefs, and therefore serve as examples of how a common and public framework of meanings is necessary for the successful implementation of political and military actions. The main objective of

the research is to examine this framework through in the narrative structure of speeches on war and peace. Identifying these patterns and changes will explain different parameters in the domestic and international arenas and shed light on how historical circumstances shape political discourse.

Medi Nahmiyaz, "The Image of Armenians and Greeks in Turkish History Textbooks."

An analysis of primary and high-school level Turkish history textbooks shows that two main actors stand out as the enemy of the Turkish nation — the Greeks and the Armenians. The collapse of the Ottoman Empire was followed by the formation of the new Turkish Republic in 1923, which was faced with the difficult task of building a national identity. Construction of the image of the "Other" was an important consequence of the creation of this new identity. This thesis will investigate the image of the Other as it is presented in Turkish history textbooks by analyzing important historical events in Turkish history and examining how the Greeks and the Armenians are depicted.

SPECIAL SCHOLARSHIPS FOR DOCTORAL STUDENTS

Faculty of Social Science's Excellence Scholarships
The Leonard Davis Institute agreed to sponsor and finance 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 members of 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 study 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 discourse, ii) national Pan-Arab discourse, iii) socialist discourse, and iv) liberal discourse. Liberal Arab discourse, which is the focus of this study, developed from traditions that were influenced by both modern Western history and the Arab-Muslim history of the region. This research seeks to draw 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 after 1967? What are the challenges that this tradition faces? What kind of intellectual and religious use have Arab liberal intellectuals made of the Islamic tradition up to now? And how have these ideas been accepted in the Arab world? The examination of Arab liberal discourse in this era is essential. 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 agreed to sponsor and finance 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, the 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.
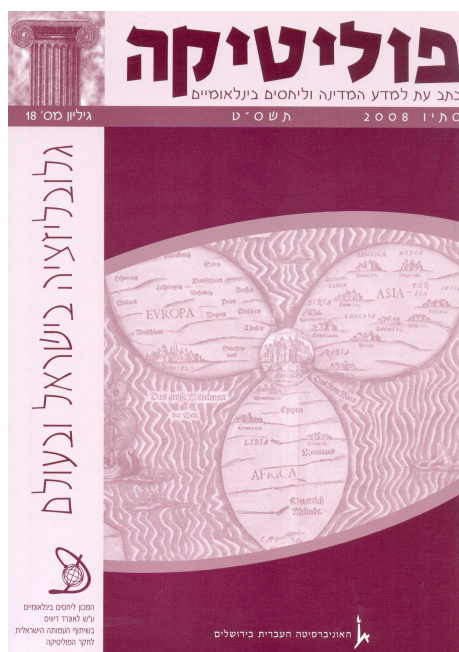
Issue No. 18 (Autumn 2008), **Globalization in Israel and Worldwide**

Academic editor: Prof. Arie M. Kacowicz

Language editor: Reuma Itzhaki

Articles published in this issue:

Part I: Globalization in Israel and Worldwide

"What Can We Learn from Soccer about Globalization, and Vice Versa," by Guy Ben-Porat.

"Local Action, Global Thinking: On the Nature of the Struggle of an Environmental Protest Movement: The Case of Greenpeace, Israel," by Benny Fierst.

"Business Communities in the Peace Process and Globalization: Cost-Benefit Anal-ysis of Political Participation and Public Policy in Jordan and the Palestinian Authority," by Nissim Cohen.

"The Capitalist Matrix: Towards a Critical Systemic Theory of Global Capitalism," by Shai Hershkowitz.

"Globalization and Poverty: Possible Links and Implications for International Relations," by Arie M. Kacowicz.

Part II: Comparative Politics and Israeli Society

"Citizen's Involvement in the Discussion about Constitutional Reforms and Regime Change: The Canadian Model and its Potential Application to Israel," by Amit Ron.

"Jewish Renewal in the Secular Israeli Space: From a Phenomenon to a New Social Movement," by Naama Azulai and Rachel Vertzberger.

"Prisoners in Israeli Culture, 1948–2008," by Dalia Gabrieli-Nuri.

Book Reviews

Gidi Rahat reviewed *Black Jews, Jews, and other Heroes: How Grassroots Activism Led to the Rescue of the Ethiopian Jews* (by Howard M. Lenhoff).

Assaf Meidani reviewed *On Institutional Reforms, Possible Implementation and Public Policy* (edited by Uriel Reichman and David Nachmias).

Keren Or-Schlesinger reviewed *The Removal of Magic from the East* (by Gil Eyal).

Articles published in this issue:

"The Incentive That Was Never Implemented: A US-Israeli Defense Alliance Treaty and the Peace Process, 1993–2000," by Nimrod Goren.

"'Militaristic Art' and 'Appropriating Militarism': The Case of the Song *Jerusalem of Gold*," by Dalia Gavriely-Nuri.

"Militarism and Negotiations: A Re-assessment of the Camp David II Summit from a Gender Perspective," by Daniella Shenker-Shrak.

"National Field and Religious Capital in a Spatial Struggle: The Case of Hebron," by Batya Roded.

"The Palestinian Struggle over the Spatial Design in Israel: From Personal Pilgrimage to Organized Collective Commemorations," by Azzam Abu-Rya and Efrat Ben-Zeev.

"Modern Myths of Modern Anti-Semitism," by Marc R. Cohen.

Book Reviews

Nissim Cohen reviewed Public Administration in Israel (by Itzhak Galnoor).

WORKING PAPERS IN ENGLISH
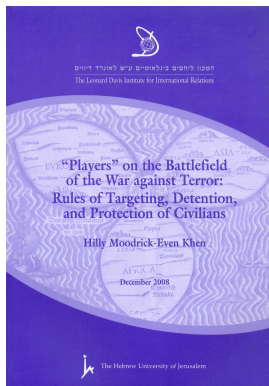
Hilly Moodrick-Even Khen, **"Players on the Battlefield of the War against Terror: Rules of Targeting Detention and Protection of Civilians."**

The spread and intensification of the phenomenon of terror in the twenty-first century has changed the modern battlefield. One of the main phenomena contributing to this change is the manner in which terror blurs the distinction between combatants and civilians. The center of gravity has shifted from the clear distinction between civilians and combatants to more subtle distinctions, where civilians undertake various activities — from information gathering for and logistical support of the combat forces to morally supporting them — giving them a central role. This paper presents and analyzes the assertion that the change which terror has created on the battlefield justifies an alteration in the attitude toward the various participants on the battlefield. Prof. Moodrick-Even Khen's argument is that this shift in attitude involves, inter alia, the influence of human rights law on humanitarian law, and she demonstrates the practical significance of this influence on how we react to the players on the battlefield: combatants, civilians, as well as civilians who participate (directly or indirectly) in combat.
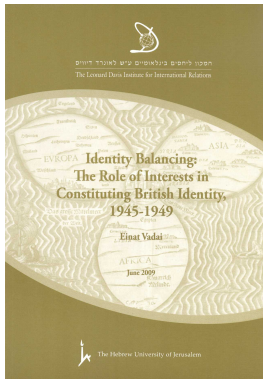
Einat Vaddai, **"Identity Balancing: The Role of Interests in Shaping British Identity, 1945–1949."**

Since the 1940s, Britain's transatlantic identity has been one of its most prominent features. This identity has been so profoundly internalized that Britain's "zigzagging" between three alternative — and even contradictory — identities since World War II has often been ignored. This paper examines the variations in British identity since World War II through the theoretical concept of "identity balancing," which postulates that states manipulate their identities in order to fulfill materialistic interests. Einat Vaddai presents the four phases of identity, and uses this framework to explain the shift in Britain's identity as deriving from a shift in its security interests. After World War II, Britain believed that its interests would be best served by forming an independent pole, and therefore emphasized the difference between its identity and that of its wartime allies. As the British economy deteriorated and the Soviet geo-strategic menace escalated, Britain realized that it needed American support. Since the US conditioned its support on a consolidated Europe, Britain sought to "invent" a common European identity. Once it realized that a European identity circle enabled the US to evade its commitment to Europe, it reverted to the strategy of forming close relations with the US, emphasizing the transatlantic identity dimensions common to both countries.

WORKING PAPERS IN HEBREW
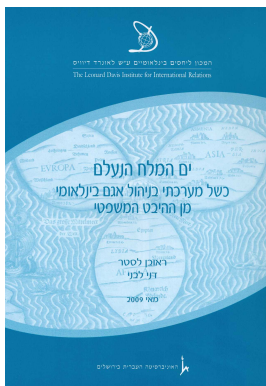
Richard Laster and Dan Livney, **"The Vanishing Dead Sea: Systems Failure in Managing an International Lake from a Legal Perspective."**

The Dead Sea's unique political and geographical location requires a special legal and administrative system for its protection. How can this be accomplished under five separate legal systems: Israeli, Jordanian, Palestinian, military, and international? This paper describes the shockwaves that have rocked the Dead Sea in light of a legal system that has left it unprotected. The researchers grapple with questions that others have been afraid to raise: Has the deteriorating situation been caused by neglect or by policies that are outdated and nonfunctional? Does the government have the right to provide water to one sector at the expense of another? Why has a private company been given a franchise on three percent of Israel's land without it being required to meet international environmental standards? Does Israel implement the principles of international law in its management of the Dead Sea? The final pages of the paper present conclusions, as well as recommendations for government implementation.

* * *

The following paper, published in cooperation with the International Law Forum of the Faculty of Law (Hebrew University), is based on research done by the writers under the auspices of the International Law Forum and the Leonard Davis Institute. Its main conclusions were presented in a joint seminar held in November 2007.
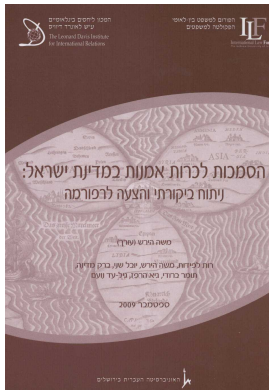
Ruth Lapidoth, Moshe Hirsch, Yuval Shany, Barak Medinah, Tomer Broude, Guy Harpaz, and Gilad Noam, **"Treaty Making Power in Israel: A Critical Appraisal and Proposed Reform,"** edited by Moshe Hirsch.

The increasing mutual dependence between countries and the need to establish a wide range of international regimes to maintain international cooperation emphasizes the growing need for international treaties. The significance of these international treaties goes well beyond the issue of foreign policy in each country. Despite this growing trend, there has been little change in local Israeli institutional law for the last several decades. This situation has led the research group to re-examine the suitability of local Israeli law over the past sixty years and to discuss the need for reform. The study's main conclusion is that Israel must abandon the approach in which the process of treaty making is connected exclusively to the State's foreign policy and to the authority of the Executive. Instead, treaty making should be seen as having important legal and public consequences in the field of internal and foreign policy. Therefore, it should be undertaken through the joint authority of the executive and legislative authority together.

BOOKS

The Leonard Davis Institute acquired the rights to translate into Hebrew and print the following book.

Globalization and Development. By Federico Bonaglia and Andrea Goldstein. Globalization has several multifaceted dimensions: integration of economic markets; the de-terrritorialization of international relations; the free movement of goods, capital, and human beings; the shrinking of space and time in political and social interactions; and the creation of a homogenous culture and a cosmopolitan identity. Furthermore, globalization has many and contradictory implications for war, peace, poverty, and prosperity throughout the world. Paradoxically, economists and sociologists address the processes of globalization in more depth than political scientists and international relations scholars, despite the obvious political dimensions and ramifications of globalization.

In this short book, Italian scholars Federico Bonaglia and Andrea Goldstein unfold the broad and complex network of interactions between globalization and development in the contemporary international political-economic system. By effectively combining a clear taxonomy and conceptualization with several empirical examples from around the world, the two authors succeed in deconstructing the globalization process into its different ingredients: free trade; integration of financial markets; production and multinational corporations; and immigration of labor force. They also re-construct globalization in relation to issues of economic development and poverty in the context of North-South relations. In this way, Bonaglia and Goldstein demystify a series of biases and misunderstandings with respect to the impact of globalization upon economic development.

<center>* * *</center>

The following book was printed by the Leonard Davis Institute in cooperation with the Einstein Center at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. The Einstein Center is an interdisciplinary research center that was inaugurated in December 2005 under the auspices of the German Federal Ministry of Education and Research. This book is based on a workshop held in November 2008 by staff and doctoral students from the Einstein Center and from the Free University of Berlin.
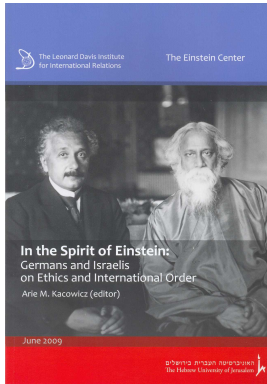
In the Spirit of Einstein: Germans and Israelis on Ethics and International Order. Edited by Arie M. Kacowicz.

The first part of the book considers the concept of global governance and its several manifestations. The second part refers to the issue-area of peace studies, and includes a myriad of related subjects such as security communities, apologies, and diaspora involvement in peace processes.

ACTIVITIES OF THE INSTITUTE

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES

GLOBAL EFFECTS AND LOCAL DYNAMICS OF INTRASTATE CONFLICTS
Held 17–19 May 2009

This conference was co-organized with the Center for Advanced Study of International Development, Michigan State University.

The aim of this conference was to bring together scholars dealing with theories of intrastate conflicts (including their causes, their dynamics, and the possible ways of coping with them) and scholars interested in global factors that affect these conflicts (and, to an extent, are affected by them). Although the main focus in the conference was on the conflicts in Iraq, Lebanon, and Israel/Palestine, an effort was made to reach broad theoretical and comparative conclusions that are relevant to other cases.

DAY ONE

Session I: Resources and Intrastate Conflict
Cameron Thies (University of Iowa) opened the first session of the conference with **"Rulers, Rebels and Revenue: State Capacity, Civil War Onset and Primary Commodities."** This paper investigated the relationship between civil war onset and state capacity through a focus on the role of primary commodities, by shifting the theoretical focus of the civil war literature away from the almost exclusive concern with the incentives of rebels to a consideration of both rebels and rulers as revenue-seeking predators. Prof. Thies dealt with the endogeneity of including fiscal measures of state capacity in single equation models of civil war onset by employing a simultaneous equations framework. This framework allowed him to capture the effects of civil war onset on state capacity and vice versa, as well as the effects of primary commodities on both

endogenous co-variates. The main findings from this analysis were i) that while state capacity does not affect civil war onset, civil war onset reduces state capacity; and ii) that primary products directly affect state capacity, but they do not directly affect civil war onset as has been found in previous contributions to the literature.

Richard Snyder (Brown University), in **"Does Illegality Breed Violence? Drug Trafficking and State-Sponsored Protection Rackets,"** argued that illegality does not necessarily breed violence. The relationship between illicit markets and violence depends on institutions of protection. When state-sponsored protection rackets form, illicit markets can be peaceful. Conversely, the breakdown of state-sponsored protection rackets, which may result from well-meaning policy reforms intended to improve law enforcement, can lead to violence. Through comparative case studies of drug trafficking in contemporary Mexico and Burma, Prof. Snyder showed how a focus on the emergence and breakdown of state-sponsored protection rackets helps explain variation in levels of violence both within and across illicit markets.

Session II: Territory, Transnational Linkages, and Conflict
Avraham Sela (Hebrew University) presented **"Local Communities and Foreign Volunteers in the 1948 Palestine War,"** in which he focused on the local and regional dimensions of the 1948 war through the conduct of indigenous militias and foreign Arab volunteers, their interactions with local communities and Arab governments, and the impact on the dynamics of cooperation and violence on local,

national, and inter-Arab levels. Prof. Sela's paper explored the significance of established economic and social links between local Arab and Jewish communities regardless of official national rhetoric and practice, and considered the causes for the variety of responses of local communities to national policies that seemed detrimental to their local interests.

In their joint paper, **"Modeling Trans-National Ethnic Linkages and Civil War," Ravi Bhavnani** (Michigan State University), **Rick Riolo** (University of Michigan), and **Petra Hendrickson** (Michigan State University) examined how the persecution of ethnic kin in one country affects the dynamics of civil violence in neighboring states. Ample evidence from recent civil conflicts suggests that the fate of ethnic kin is enough to warrant intervention by a state. This intervention often has a destabilizing effect on the target country, as has been the case in the Democratic Republic of Congo. However, even recent literature on transnational dynamics of civil war leaves largely unaddressed the causal mechanisms by which civil wars are able to spread across state lines. This paper addressed this gap by exploiting the granularity of agent-based computational modeling to analyze how individual preferences and characteristics aggregate to the group level. It is then possible to determine how group behavior affects the decisions of nominal rivals, which could result in strengthening or undermining existing configurations of ethnic domination within states and potentially diffusing violence across a cluster of states in a region. The agent-based modeling approach makes it possible to tailor model specifications to match the characteristics of particular regions, a feature the authors utilize in applying the model to a real-world example of transnational spillover.

Session III: Violence on the Local, Regional, and National Levels

Nils B. Weidmann (Princeton University) opened the session with his paper, **"Violence and the Changing Ethnic Map: The Endogeneity of Territory and Conflict in Bosnia."** He pointed out that examinations of the relationship between geographic settlement patterns of ethnic groups and violence are usually unidirectional. Many studies focus on the question of how certain settlement patterns lead to violent confrontations between groups while neglecting the reverse causal direction. Prof. Weidmann's paper addressed the question of the endogeneity of settlement patterns and conflict — that is, how settlement patterns affect conflict and how conflict in turn changes the ethnic map. He studied the dynamics of group geography and conflict in Bosnia using data on ethnic population shares at the municipality level combined with information on conflict events from the Armed Conflict Location and Events Dataset (ACLED). His findings revealed that as a result of conflict, the overall territorial contestation decreases. In contrast to the general assumption that violence against civilians as an attempt to "cleanse" territory is related to high degrees of strategic unmixing, Prof. Weidmann found that the trend towards ethnic homogeneity is not directly related to the application of violence but is a by-product of conflict.

This was followed by **Ravi Bhavnani** (Michigan State University), **Dan Miodownik** (Hebrew University), and **Hyin-Jin Choi** (Michigan State University), who presented **"Exploring the Logic of Control and Violence in Israel, the West Bank, and Gaza."** Their article tested and extended Stathis Kalyvas' theory of civil violence using new data from Israel, the West Bank, and Gaza. Apart from Kalyvas' own examination of the Greek civil war (1943-1949) and the Vietnam War (1969-1973), the theory of selective violence — the conditions under which specific individuals are identified and subsequently targeted based on information provided by collaborators — has not been further tested. The

authors begin analysis by framing their cases in the language of Kalyvas' theory: the distribution of control or degree to which rival parties to a civil war enjoy a local monopoly over violence; the ubiquity or absence of defection and denunciation; and the nature of violence between warring parties — be this selective or indiscriminate. Next, they tested the theory with a new dataset on violence between two rival political actors — Israelis and Palestinians — from 1987 to 2005. And finally, they extended the theory's formal logic to account for three political actors — Israel and rival Palestinian factions — before testing the extension empirically in the period from 2005 to 2008

DAY TWO

Session I: The Role of Nonstate Actors in Intrastate Conflicts

Oren Barak and Chanan Cohen (Hebrew University) opened the second day of the conference with **"The Modern Sherwood Forest: How Zones of Statelessness, Transborder Violent Nonstate Actors, and Universal Ideologies Challenge International Security."** This paper addressed the largely unexplored phenomenon of the Modern Sherwood Forest — that is, instances when zones of statelessness attract transborder violent nonstate actors that wage struggles in the name of universal ideologies. The modern sherwood forest, which has emerged in Iraq since the US-led invasion of 2003, was also manifest in Lebanon during the civil war (1975-1990). Other recent modern sherwood forests can be seen in Afghanistan during the Soviet invasion and since 2001, and Bosnia and Chechnya in the 1990s. Historical cases include the thirteen British colonies in North America during the American Revolutionary War; Greece during its war of independence from the Ottoman Empire; Palestine during the Palestinian Revolt and the first Arab-Israeli War; and Spain during the civil war (1936-1939). Dr. Barak and Dr. Cohen define the modern sherwood forest, situate it in broad theoretical

and historical perspective, and discuss the practical and conceptual challenges emanating from it. To this end, they dissect and explore the three constitutive elements of this concept — zones of statelessness, transborder violent nonstate actors, and universal ideologies — and ask when and how they converge.

David Malet (George Washington University) followed this with "Framing to Win: The Transnational Recruitment of Foreign Insurgents." This paper addressed the fact that in an increasing number of intrastate conflicts, the greatest levels of insurgent violence are produced by external actors who would seem to have no direct interest in the outcome. While contemporary examples include Iraq and Afghanistan, this phenomenon is neither new nor unique to Islamic groups. Debates over insurgent mobilization tend to focus on "greed and grievance" as tools of recruitment; however, the empirical data indicates that risk-taking foreign fighters are generally not mercenaries, and it is not immediately apparent how the grievances of the local insurgents would prompt outsiders to travel to a war zone to fight on the rebel side. In this paper, Dr. Malet argued that insurgencies recruit foreign fighters when they frame the issue of contention as an existential threat to a transnational community to which both the locals and foreigners belong. Because insurgencies are at a material disadvantage to the state when they begin conflicts, insurgents seek to change the balance of forces but largely lack the capacity to hire outsiders. Recruits believe that they are mobilizing for defensive conflicts, which suggests that alternative approaches to deterrence are necessary for counter-insurgency efforts.

Session II: Diasporas and Intrastate Conflicts
Gabriel (Gabi) Sheffer (Hebrew University) presented **"Diasporas and Intrastate Conflicts,"** in which he pointed out that diasporas have become major actors in many spheres on all political levels, involved in, among other things, conflicts in their homelands and in other countries in which they are interested. Because all diasporas are generally

lumped together, insufficient attention has been given to the differentiated motivations and actual involvements of various categories of such "others" in intrastate conflicts. Prof. Sheffer suggested that a distinction should be made between two categories of such diasporas. In the first, "organized transstate ethno-national diasporas," he made a distinction between members of stateless and state-linked entities. The second category is that of cultural and religious transnational dispersals; the paper argued that the involvement of these diasporas is not carried out by homogeneous and highly organized "Moslem" or "Arab" diasporas, but rather separately and autonomously by members of older organized and incipient transstate ethno-national diasporas. The only common characteristic of these and other such groups is that their religion is Islam. The paper then considered six clusters of deeper causes, and consequently the more immediate motivations, that lead ethno-national diasporic entities to get involved in conflicts in either their homelands or other host countries. Prof. Sheffer argued that the most prevalent causes and motivations are i) reaction to expulsion from a country of origin; ii) struggles for separation and independence in homelands; iii) absolute and relative cultural, political, social, and economic discrimination and deprivation in homelands and other states; iv) absolute and relative cultural, political, social, and economic discrimination in host countries; v) legal and political persecution in homelands; and vi) blatant racism in both homelands and host countries. Based on various reliable sets of data, he ranked the five types of diasporas according to the intensity and rates of their participation in intrastate conflicts, and then applied these categorizations and distinctions especially to Middle Eastern Diasporas

Jennifer M. Brinkerhoff (George Washington University) presented the paper, **"Diasporas and Post-Conflict Societies: Conflict Entrepreneurs, Competing Interests, or Contributors to Stability and Development?"** In it, she pointed out that analyses of the role of diasporas in security and

conflict concentrate on their support for insurgencies and their contribution to political instability, neglecting their role as potential contributors to stability and development. Following a review of what diasporas are and what motivates their interests vis-à-vis the homeland, her paper reviewed diasporas' potential constructive contributions to post-conflict peace and development. These include remittances (both economic and in-kind), human capital, political influence, and philanthropy. The role of diasporas in war-torn societies may be essential to peace and reconstruction owing to the short time horizons of international community support and the particularly salient needs to jump-start economic and political systems. At the same time, though unintentionally, these contributions may have detrimental impacts on sustainable peace. Dr. Brinkerhoff's paper concluded with the implications for both post-conflict homeland governments and the international community. She suggested that given the range of contributions that diasporas can make, both positive and negative, post-conflict homeland governments and the international community ignore diasporas at their peril.

Session III: Regional Involvement in Intrastate Conflicts

Yoseph Kostiner (Tel Aviv University) opened this session with **"Regional Coordination and Conflict Management in the Arab–Israeli Arena: The Role of Saudi Arabia,"** a paper that considered Saudi Arabia's mediation in Middle Eastern politics in recent decades: its role in initiating political processes such as the Fahd Plan (transformed into the Fez resolutions of 1982) in the Arab–Israeli arena; the 1989 Ta'if Agreement in the Lebanese conflict; the (failed) Jidda agreement between Kuwait and Iraq in 1990; and other initiatives in later years. His paper revealed that the Saudi role has evolved into that of a regional coordinator, hinging not just on mediation but also on balancing among rival parties, regional coalition–building, and cooperation with the superpowers. The paper focused on the Saudi role in several intrastate conflicts, which

developed and escalated in the Arab-Israeli arena during the early years of the twenty-first century. These include the Saudi response to the outbreak of the Second Palestinian Intifada in 2000; the peace initiative of 2002, which was renewed in 2007; and mediation during the Hamas-Fatah conflict in the same year. The paper analyzed the tactics adopted by the Saudis in each case, their performance vis-à-vis the conflicting sides, and the surrounding inter-Arab and international spheres. Finally, Prof. Kostiner evaluated the overall effectiveness of Saudi conflict management in the Middle East.

Avraham Sela and **Oren Barak** (Hebrew University) then turned to **"Regional Management of Intrastate Conflict: The Case of Lebanon."** This paper challenged existing theories in IR (particularly neo-realism and constructivism) that attempt to account for the behavior of regional players in intrastate conflicts. The authors did this by analyzing the manifold ways — formal and informal, overt and tacit — in which regional players in the Middle East managed the civil war in Lebanon (1975–1990). Based on an analysis of these players' behavior in the three major crises in the Lebanese conflict (1975–1976; 1982–1984; 1988–1990), the paper demonstrated that even in "conflictual zones" outside the West, regional players that take part in "ad hoc regional coalitions" can manage intrastate conflicts that threaten regional stability and commonly promote international security. At the same time, the authors suggested that the behavior of these players does not necessarily stem from shared cultural values and norms, but rather is traceable to more practical considerations, and especially the need to prevent spillover and escalation and restrain "revisionist" actors (both state and nonstate).

Session IV: Discourse and Politics of Intrastate Conflicts

Gallia Lindenstrauss (Hebrew University) presented the paper **"Turkey, the Kurds, and Iraq: From Securitization to a Real Problem, and Back,"** in which she addressed the fact of Turkey's military interventions into Iraq since the late 1980s. Although these were usually of short duration with limited objectives, the question arises as to why Turkey has repeatedly used this option — which violates Iraqi sovereignty and elicits international criticism. While Turkey claims that it only uses its forces to target the PKK (Kurdish Workers Party) fighters who find refuge in Northern Iraq and are infiltrating Turkey to commit terrorist attacks, Dr. Lindenstrauss advanced an explanation based on both intrastate and interstate dimensions. The Kurds, making up around 20 percent of Turkey's population, have for many years posed a challenge to Turkish identity, a challenge that has been securitized and presented also as a threat to national unity and the territorial integrity of Turkey. In recent years, Turkish efforts to enter the EU have also included Kurdish reforms, which have resulted in a de-securitization of some aspects related to the Kurdish problem. However, this de-securitization has not penetrated into the Turkish army. The paper posited that acknowledgement of this process of securitization and then partial de-securitization, combined with an analysis of interstate developments, provides a better understanding of Turkey's choice of actions vis-à-vis the Kurds in Northern Iraq.

Nava Löwenheim (Hebrew University) followed this with her paper, **"Troubling Past: Denial and Silence in the 'Age of Apologies'"** The growing incidence of political apologies places pressure on wrongdoers to come to terms with their past and solve the conflict related to their transgression. However, some former wrongdoer states do not acknowledge their own wrongdoing, even when the price is prolonged conflict. Her paper sought to understand this behavior through an analysis of the Turkish-Armenian case: more specifically, it considered Turkey's refusal to recognize the Armenians' suffering during World War I as genocide and to apologize for it. Dr. Löwenheim argued that the key to understanding the Turkish position can be found in the Turkish identity, constructed by the founder of the republic and its first president,

Mustafa Kemal Ataturk. The paper hypothesized that acknowledging the Armenian genocide would challenge the Turkish state memory and its identity, risking not only material interests (compensation) but their founding narrative. The Turkish-Armenian case illustrates a conflict between ethical action and definite identity, where the interest to protect the latter prevails. Moreover, it raises the possibility that apology might prolong a conflict instead of promoting its resolution. Dr. Lowenheim concluded that the Turkish-Armenian case can help us to understand when apology can facilitate the end of conflict, and to identify the obstacles facing apology and forgiveness in the context of protracted conflicts.

DAY THREE

Session I: Coping with Intrastate Coflicts: Institution Building, Governance, and Partition

In this session, **Lars-Erik Cederman** (Swiss Federal Institute of Technology) presented **"What Institution-Building and Identity-Forming Processes are Likely to Produce Democratic Outcomes."** In this paper, he pointed out that much of the recent literature on ethnic conflict discounts the state or treats it as if it were a neutral arena for political competition among ethnic groups. According to other studies, the state grants or withholds minority rights and faces ethnic protest and rebellion accordingly, while paying less attention to ethnic power configurations at the state's center. Drawing on a new dataset of ethnic power relations (EPR) that identifies all politically relevant ethnic groups and their access to central state power around the world from 1946 through 2005, the paper analyzed outbreaks of armed conflict as the result of competing ethno-nationalist claims to state power. The findings of the research indicated that representatives of ethnic groups are more likely to initiate conflict with the government i) the more excluded from state power they are, especially if they have recently lost power, ii) the higher their mobilizational capacity, and iii) the more experience they have of previous conflict.

Derick W. Brinkerhoff (Research Triangle Institute) then followed with **"Governance and Intrastate Conflict: Contributions, Challenges, and Caveats,"** in which he identified the significant intrastate conflict drivers as authoritarian and abusive rule, exclusion or oppression of minorities, inadequate and unequal access to services and jobs, and weak capacity to manage political contestation and adjudication of disputes. Each of these concerns the relationship between the state and society, and thus each is influenced by the quality of governance. Without better governance, the potential for ongoing or recurring intrastate conflict and state fragility remains high. In response, international post-conflict peacekeeping and stabilization missions in failed or fragile states have included attention to governance improvement. These efforts to restore or create good governance, however, have adopted a standardized template that focuses on democratization, national-level institutions, and formal structures. Dr. Brinkerhoff's paper explored the gaps in this template, building on the work of those who propose good enough governance as a more appropriate target for weak states. Employing a framework that sees governance as fulfilling a set of core societal functions (safety and security, effective provision of public goods and services, and authority and legitimacy), Dr. Brinkerhoff's analysis examined emerging experience in Iraq, Afghanistan, and other post-conflict countries with citizen participation, decentralization, local service delivery, and traditional governance in post-conflict societies. He argued that incorporating this experience into conflict risk assessments and into governance rebuilding and reform will contribute to reductions in intrastate conflict and state fragility.

In the next paper, **"What's in a Line? Is Partition the Solution to Civil War?"**, **Nicholas Sambanis** (Yale University) and **Jonah Schulhofer-Wohl** (Yale University) asked whether territorial partition of countries in civil war helps to end the war, reducing the risk of civil war recurrence. They assessed the state of the debate on this question by providing

a new dataset and a benchmark empirical analysis and by reviewing arguments in favor of and against partition. Their assessment was that on average partition is unlikely to reduce the risk of a return to civil war and in some cases may increase that risk. The paper identified the main shortcomings in quantitative studies of the effect of partition on the risk of renewed civil war and found that conflicting results in the extant literature are mainly due to data coding differences, selective use of case histories, and methodological problems. The authors identified important, yet unanswered, questions in the literature and, by scrutinizing the premises and assumptions of theoretical arguments in favor and against partition, they outlined the way forward in a research program on the desirability of partition.

THE INTERNATIONAL LAW AND POLICY GOVERNING MULTI-SOURCED EQUIVALENT NORMS (MSEN) — CONCLUDING CONFERENCE
Held 24–25 May 2009

This conference was co-organized with the International Law Forum, Faculty of Law at the Hebrew University.

Recent decades have witnessed an impressive process of normative development in international law. As a result, international relations have now reached an unprecedented level of normative density and intensity. While these developments clearly have some positive implications — for example, they promote the rule of international law, advance important values, and facilitate interstate cooperation — they also present several theoretical challenges worthy of further investigation. One major challenge identified by the International Law Commission (ILC) has been the fragmentation of international law.

One somewhat neglected specific aspect of legal fragmentation is the existence of situations in which distinct international legal rules direct similar or identical behavior — that is, situations governed by multisourced equivalent norms. In 2007, the Leonard Davis Institute for International Relations and the International Law Forum of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem established a research project addressing this field. The participants in the study group are **Lorand Bartels** (Cambridge University), **Tomer Broude** (Hebrew University), **Guy Harpaz** (Hebrew University), **Moshe Hirsch** (Hebrew University), **Andre Nollkaemper** (University of Amsterdam),

Joost Pauwelyn (Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, Geneva), **Yuval Shany** (Hebrew University), and **Isabelle Van-Damme** (Cambridge University).

The conference presented the work of the study group and other scholars and practitioners interested in the methodological and theoretical questions associated with the creation and operation of MSENs. The focus on MSENs enabled the conference participants to closely examine the impact of differences in background principles (for example, interpretative principles, responsibility allocating principles, exceptions, and defenses) and norm-applying institutions on the fragmentation of international law, and to develop a better understanding of international fragmentation, the problems it creates, and the solutions that may or may not be developed to address it.

Conference Program

Session I: MSENs and the Pluralism of Legal Orders
Luis Miguel Maduro (European Court of Justice)
Eyal Benvenisti (Tel Aviv University)
Ruti Teitel (New York Law School) and **Robert Howse** (New York University)

Session II: MSENs in National and International Courts
Lorand Bartels (Cambridge University)

Joost Pauwelyn (University of Geneva)
Ralf Michaels (Duke University)

Session III: Application of MSENs through Interpretative Principles
Benedikt Pirker (College of Europe, Bruges)
Tomer Broude (Hebrew University)
Andre Nollkaemper (University of Amsterdam)

Session IV: Regulating State Conduct through MSENs

Tarcisio Gazzini (Free University of Amsterdam)
Martins Paparinskis (Oxford University)
Claire Charters (Cambridge University)
Gil Limon (Hebrew University)
Carsten Stahn (Leiden University)

Session V: MSENs and Specific Legal Regimes
Guy Harpaz (Hebrew University)
Moshe Hirsch (Hebrew University)
Yuval Shany (Hebrew University)

CULTURE INDUSTRY, CULTURAL POLICY, AND CULTURAL DISCOURSE IN EAST AND SOUTHEAST ASIA
31 May–2 June 2009

This international conference was organized by the Harry S. Truman Research Institute for the Advancement of Peace at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. The conference was co-sponsored by the Japan Foundation and the Korea Foundation, with the support of the Leonard Davis Institute for International Relations, the Harry S. Truman Institute for the Advancement of Peace, and the Louis Frieberg Center for East Asian Studies.
H.E. Mr. Takeuchi Haruhisa, Japan's Ambassador to Israel, and **H.E. Mr. Ma Young-Sam**, Korea's Ambassador to Israel, took part in the opening ceremony. The two Ambassadors greeted the participants and shared their own views on the role of popular culture in international diplomacy.

The purpose of this conference was to contribute to the study of the economic, social, and cultural impact of the popular culture industries in East and Southeast Asia, and to construct an empirically plausible framework to examine related issues. The project is an attempt to conduct a comparative and multisited study of popular culture industries and cultural policies in East and Southeast Asia, especially regarding the popular culture industries of Japan, China, and Korea.

The papers in the workshop examined the recently emerging regional cultural production system in East and Southeast Asia and analyzed the wider political and cultural implications for the massive productions and marketing of musical and visual cultural commodities, such as television dramas, music, animation, and movies. The papers also looked at how governments in this region react to the emergence of the popular culture industries, and examined the popular and intellectual discourse they created. Beyond the case studies examined, this project offered an opportunity to explore the production and the intensive regional circulation of cultural commodities and images and to present a potential for a regional economy of transcultural production.

Keynote Speaker: **Prof. Peter J. Katzenstein** (Cornell University).

Prof. Katzenstein presented **"U.S. Standing in the World: Causes, Consequences, and the Future,"** a talk that drew upon a draft of the 2009 APSA Presidential Taskforce headed by Jeffrey Legro and Peter Katzenstein. It explored the meaning and substantive importance of standing; examined standing in different world regions, in international organizations and global society, in American politics, and across these three audiences. Prof. Katzenstein concluded with the relevance of standing for the future of American foreign policy.

GUEST LECTURERS

Prof. Robert Rothstein (Colgate University)
Held 7 October 2008
"If We Know the End and the Means, Why Can't We Get a Peace Agreement?"

Prof. William Zartman (School of Advanced International Studies, the Johns Hopkins University)
Held 7 January 2009
"In Search of a New Take on Negotiations: A Pact among Parties Rather than a Resolution of Issues."

Dr. Jeff Dayton–Johnson (OECD Development Centre)
Held 21 January 2009
"Migration and Developing Countries."

Dr. Jeff Dayton-Johnson (OECD Development Centre)
Held 22 January 2009
"Fiscal Policy and Economic Development in Latin America."

Prof. Amitai Etzioni, (Director, Institute for Communitarian Policy Studies, George Washington University)
Held 22 January 2009
"The Duty to Prevent: The End of the Westphalian Era."

Prof. Lahcen Oulhaj, (Dean, the Faculty of Law and Economics of the Mohammed V-Agdal University of Rabat)
Held 4 February 2009
"The Berbers, the MENA Region, and the Clash of Civilizations."

WORLD GOVERNANCE SERIES

The following lecture was part of a series organized by the Leonard Davis Institute. The purpose of the series is to introduce the work of international organizations established after World War II to Israeli academic staff, advanced students and representatives of the private and public sector.

FIFTH SESSION OF THE WORLD GOVERNANCE SERIES: "THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE"

Held 13 January 2009
Prof. Denis Huber (Directeur Exécutif, Centre Nord-Sud du Conseil de ÌEurope) presented **"The Council of Europe: A Simple Promoter or a Real Watchdog of Human Rights?"** His paper outlined the evolution of the Council of Europe (CoE) and considered Israel's place in it today.

The CoE was created to constitute the political framework for European unity in 1949, and by 1950 the CoE had fourteen member states. However, because of the profound split on the objectives and vision of Europe's integration process, six of the CoE member states launched a more integrated European process — which eventually became the European Union. Thus, the CoE turned to what remains its main mission: to promote democracy, human rights, and the rule of law in Europe.

With the breaking of the Berlin Wall, the CoE recovered its political role by integrating the former communist countries into the European process. Further, it strengthened its role as the "human rights watchdog for democracy, human rights, and the rule of law in Europe" and developed its action beyond Europe.

The basis for CoE cooperation with Israel is long-standing, as Israel has had an observer status with the CoE Parliamentary Assembly (PACE) since 1958 and with the UN Congress since 1994, and also participates in the activities carried out under the European Cultural Convention (in which it has enjoyed an observer status since the mid-1990s). This cooperation has increased recently, in particular through Israel's accession to the Venice Commission (in 2008) and through Israel's active participation in the "All different, all equal" youth campaign and on committees such as MONEYVAL (fight against money laundering) and CAHDI (international law).

Prof. Huber suggested that given Israel's involvement in the new "Union for the Mediterranean," a logical next step would be accession to the North-South Centre. A stronger involvement of Israel in the European Cultural Convention could also be mutually beneficial, and would open new prospects for the relationship between Israel and the CoE.

OTHER CONFERENCES AND SEMINARS

PARALLEL NORMS AND MONITORING SYSTEMS

Held 9 November 2008
This seminar was co-organized with the International Law Forum, Faculty of Law at the Hebrew University.
Conference Speakers

Nikolaos Lavranos, "Lessons from the Attempted Accession of the EU to the ECHR."

Guy Harpaz, "The ECJ and Its Relations with the ECHR."
Eyal Benvenisiti, "The Obligations of IGOs and Their Member States to Comply with General International Law."
Yuval Shany, "Reflections on the Behrami and Srbrenica Cases."
Moshe Hirsch, "Reflecting on the New Kadi Decision."

THE FOURTH ANNUAL GRADUATE CONFERENCE IN POLITICAL SCIENCE IN MEMORY OF YITZHAK RABIN

Held 17–18 December 2008

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

The aim of this fourth 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 and arena 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, during which eighty-five presentations were made by graduate students from all over the world. 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.

"THE TRANSGRESSOR," CONFERENCE IN HONOR OF PROF. GABRIEL (GABI) SHEFFER

Held 23 December 2008

The Department of Political Science at the Hebrew University, with the support of the Leonard Davis Institute, held a conference in honor of **Prof. Gabriel (Gabi) Sheffer**, who has recently retired from the Department of Political Science at the Hebrew University and who was the Director of the Leonard Davis Institute between 1980 and 1993. The conference consisted of two panels and one roundtable discussion that addressed a number of the major subjects and issues focused on by Prof. Sheffer in the course of his long and fruitful academic career.

Conference program:

Panel I: Doves vs. Hawks in Israel's Foreign Policy
Chair: **Oren Barak** (Hebrew University)
Alan Dowty (University of Notre Dame)
Uri Bialer (Hebrew University)
Naomi Chazan (Academic College of Tel-Aviv-Yaffo)

Panel II: The Study of Diasporas: The Emergence of a New Scholarly Field
Chair: **Hadas Rot-Toledano** (Hebrew University)
Peter Medding (Hebrew University)
Hedva Ben-Israel (Hebrew University)
Gabriel Sheffer (Hebrew University)

Panel III: A Jewish State in the Middle East
Chair: **Shaul Shenhav**, (Hebrew University)
Efraim Inbar (Bar Ilan University)
Avraham Sela (Hebrew University)
Aziz Heidar (Truman Institute-Hebrew University and Van Leer Jerusalem Institute)
Yaron Ezrahi (Hebrew University)

The conference closed with concluding notes by **Prof. Gabriel Sheffer** (Hebrew University)

ANNUAL EVENTS

CARMON PRIZE CEREMONY

Held 15 January 2009 at the Center for Special Studies in Memory of the Fallen of the Israeli Intelligence Community, Tel Aviv.

At the Leonard Davis Institute's thirty-ninth annual Carmon Prize ceremony, **Gil Limon** was awarded the Carmon prize for his thesis, "**The Interaction between the Rules of International Law and the Rules That Deal with Terror**." 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 **Professor Asher Susser** (Moshe Dayan Centre, Tel Aviv University). His lecture, "**The Israeli and the Palestinian — Between the City of Akko and Gaza**," concentrated on the distinction between the hostility of the Palestinians of Gaza and that of the Israelis in the context of the October 2008 riot in the city of Akko.

DEPARTMENTAL SEMINARS

The Leonard Davis Institute cooperates in the organization of the International Relations Departmental seminars for M. A. and Ph.D. students.

DEPARTMENT SEMINARS FOR M.A. STUDENTS

Academic Coordinator: **Dr. Piki Ish Shalom** (Department of International Relations)

26 November 2008
Benjamin Miller (Haifa University) and **Amnon Sella** (Hebrew University) "The International System following the Georgia War: Foreign Policy and International Relations Theory."

10 December 2008
Yael Bella-Avni (Association of Rape Crisis Centers in Israel), "Sexual Assault in Comparative Perspective."

22 December 2008
Amitai Etzioni (George Washington University), "The Duty to Prevent: The End of the Westphalian Era."

31 December 2008
Ellis Joffe (R.I.P) (Hebrew University), "Is China a Military Threat?"

7 January 2009
William Zartman (John Hopkins University), "In Search of a New Take on Negotiation: A Pact among Parties Rather Than a Resolution of Issues."

28 January 2009
Uri Bialer (Hebrew University), "Intelligence and National Security."

4 February 2009
Lahcen Oulhaj (Mohammed V-Agdal University of Rabat), "The Berbers, the MENA region and the Clash of Civilizations."

25 March 2009
Avraham Sela (Hebrew University), "Gaza and the Hamas: Domestic and Regional Aspects."

22 April 2009
Nava Löwenheim (Hebrew University), "Requesting Forgiveness for Wrongdoing in International Relations."

27 May 2009
Louis Pauly (University of Toronto), "Changing Politics of Financial Crisis Management."

24 June 2009
Emanuel Adler (University of Toronto), "The Future of IR Theory from the Vantage Point of International Organization."

CHRONOLOGY OF PUBLIC EVENTS

Date	Event
October 7, 2008	Prof. Robert Rothstein (Colgate University)
November 9, 2008	International workshop: "Parallel Norms and Monitoring Systems"
December 17–18, 2008	The Fourth Annual Graduate Conference in Political Science in memory of Yitzhak Rabin
December 23, 2008	"The Transgressor," Conference in Honor of Prof. Gabriel (Gabi) Sheffer
January 7, 2009	Prof. William Zartman (School of Advanced International Studies, the Johns Hopkins University)
January 13, 2009	Fifth Session of the World Governance Series: "The Council of Europe", Prof. Denis Huber (Directeur Exécutif, Centre Nord-Sud du Conseil de ÌEurope)
January 15, 2009	Carmon Prize Ceremony
January 21, 2009	Dr. Jeff Dayton–Johnson (OECD Development Centre)
January 22, 2009	Dr. Jeff Dayton–Johnson (OECD Development Centre)
January 22, 2009	Prof. Amitai Etzioni, (Director, Institute for Communitarian Policy Studies, George Washington University)
February 4, 2009	Prof. Lahcen Oulhaj, (Dean, the Faculty of Law and Economics of the Mohammed V-Agdal University of Rabat)
May 17–19, 2009	International conference: "Global Effects and Local Dynamics of Intrastate Conflicts"
May 24–25, 2009	International conference: "The International Law and Policy Governing Multi-Sourced Equivalent Norms (MSEN) — Concluding Conference"
May 31–June 2, 2009	International conference: "Culture Industry, Cultural Policy, and Cultural Discourse in East and Southeast Asia"

Expenditures 2008–2009
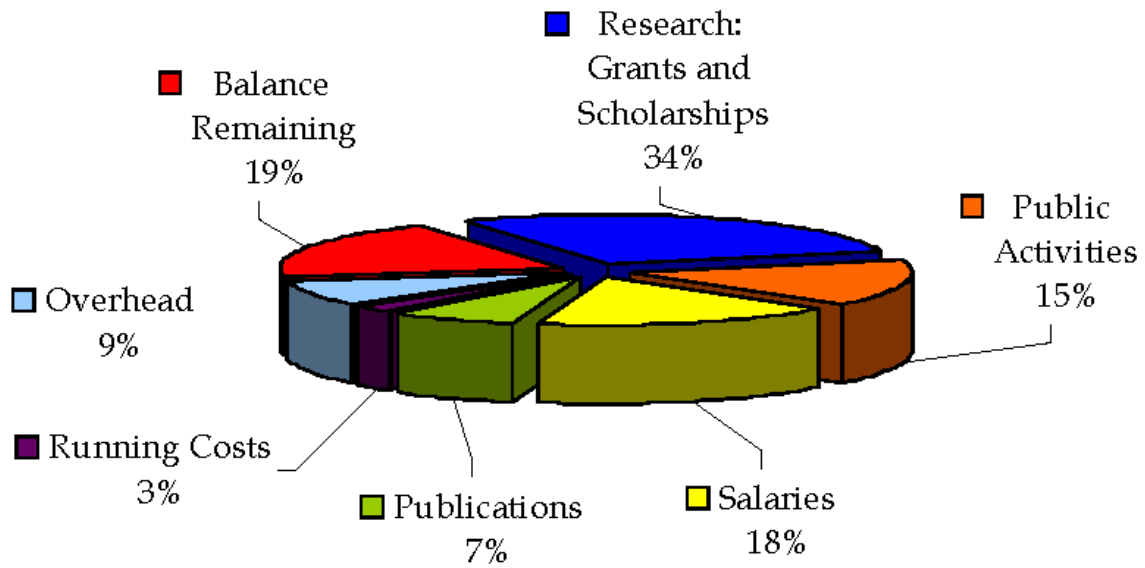
The Leonard Davis Institute for International Relations was established in 1972. As the only research institute in Israel dedicated solely to international affairs, the Institute plans its programs in accordance with three broad aims:

- 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