



The Leonard Davis Institute  
for International Relations

# **Annual Report 2010-2011**

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

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

October 2011

Printed in Israel

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

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABOUT THE INSTITUTE.....	4
FROM THE DIRECTOR.....	6
GOVERNING BODIES AND STAFF .....	10
RESEARCH GRANTS AND SCHOLARSHIPS.....	12
POSTDOCTORAL RESEARCHERS.....	12
SCHOLARSHIPS FOR DOCTORAL STUDENTS.....	12
SPECIAL SCHOLARSHIPS FOR DOCTORAL STUDENTS.....	15
PUBLICATIONS OF THE INSTITUTE.....	17
<i>POLITIKA</i> (IN HEBREW).....	17
WORKING PAPERS IN ENGLISH.....	17
ACTIVITIES OF THE INSTITUTE .....	19
INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES.....	19
GUEST LECTURERS.....	22
INTERNATIONAL WORKSHOPS.....	23
SEMINARS.....	23
ANNUAL EVENTS.....	28
CARMON PRIZE CEREMONY.....	28

## ABOUT THE INSTITUTE

---

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

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

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

The Institute has three broad aims when planning its programs.

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

Since 1972, the Leonard Davis Institute has served as a center where researchers from the International Relations, Political Science, and related departments at the Hebrew University, as well as from other Israeli universities and academic

centers, can develop and coordinate research programs. To this end, the Institute, although formally anchored in the Faculty of Social Sciences, is by its nature and statutes an interfaculty and interdisciplinary body.

While other institutes of international relations and strategic affairs in Israel tend to specialize in local issues of war and strategy, we include questions of external affairs, diplomacy, international law and institutions, and negotiation and conflict resolution. Geographically, we emphasize the international relations of the Middle East, the Mediterranean, North America, and Europe (including Russia).

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

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

## FROM THE DIRECTOR

---

This is my first year as director of the Leonard Davis Institute (LDI), following Prof. Alfred Tovias' five year tenure as LDI director. Despite the financial crisis of 2008-2009, Prof. Tovias managed to expand the Institute's activities to new areas and subjects through holding a record number of international conferences and symposia, hosting lectures by leading scholars, and funding the research of individuals and groups. At the same time, the Institute made a supreme effort to fulfil its commitment to provide fellowships to advanced students, and to conduct intensive publication activity, including the bi-annual periodical 'Politika' and other occasional papers. I would like to thank Prof. Tovias for his invaluable contribution to the Institute's activities and international prestige.

The LDI's academic and public activities this year were severely reduced compared to previous years due to the Institute's limited budget and the accumulated debt of the previous two years, especially unfulfilled commitments for fellowships to Ph.D. candidates. As stated by Hebrew University President, Prof. Menahem Ben-Sasson, at the June 2010 Board of Governors meeting, the 2010-2011 academic year would be a 'transitional' year in terms of activities, with the hope that a return to the full scope of activity would be possible in the 2011-2012 academic year.

In view of these financial constraints and following my suggestion, the Institute's new academic committee approved the digitization of the Institute's publications, including 'Politika,' making it an electronic periodical with free access to its contents. To enable this change, an agreement was reached with a private company to store our publications and enable access to them via the Institute's website, which has been substantially upgraded. This will expose broader audiences to the LDI's publications, events and opportunities for research funding and fellowships.

In accordance with my suggestions, the newly appointed academic committee, headed by Prof. Arie Kacowicz, also approved a number of hitherto non-existent formal procedures concerning major financial spending. These include procedures for funding the travel of our post-doctoral fellows to international conferences abroad, early approval by the committee of international conferences, and the support of publications.

Despite the budgetary constraints, the Institute convened a major international conference on "Myth or Reality? The Promise of Economic Multilateralism"

in December 2010. The conference was initiated and organized by Dr. Claudia Kedar, the Institute's 2009 post-doctoral fellow, and included prominent international scholars in the field of international political economy, such as Prof. Miles Kahler (University of California, San Diego), Prof. Howard Stein (University of Michigan), and Prof. Assaf Razin (Tel-Aviv University and Cornell University).

In addition, in May and June 2011, the Institute convened three one-day conferences focusing on issues prominent in the current public agendas of the Middle East and Israel. These top-level conferences were well attended by members of the academic and non-academic communities.

1. **“Protest, Democratization, and Revolution in the Arab World: Comparative and Regional Aspects.”** The conference addressed both theoretical aspects of social conflict and their connection to democratization, with a special focus on the current turmoil in the Arab world and possible implications for the future political development in the region. The conference was held in cooperation with the Department of Political Science and attracted many students and faculty.
2. **“Captivity and Exchange of Captives between Israel and Terrorist Organizations – Law, Psychology and Politics.”** Leading Israeli experts addressed the conference on international law, the psychology of the individual and his family during and after captivity, and the history of Israeli negotiations with terrorist organizations on the release of prisoners in exchange for Arab prisoners held by Israel. The last panel included a discussion by politicians and public figures of the intricate and sensitive issues involved in negotiating the release of abducted Israeli soldier, Gilad Shalit, held by Hamas. The conference was well attended by students and faculty as well as by non-academics, and resulted in reports and interviews with participants in the electronic media.
3. **“The Declaration of the Palestinian State in September 2011 – Vision and Reality.”** The conference, which featured Israeli and Palestinian speakers, academics, former diplomats and officials, was devoted to elucidating the anticipated Palestinian initiative and its implications for Israel, the Palestinians, and the neighbouring Arab countries. Hence, the panels addressed the Palestinian initiative from the viewpoints of the practical development of the Palestinian Authority's institutions and ripeness for statehood, international law, and the initiative's regional and international implications. The conference was held in collaboration with the Truman Institute at the Hebrew University. It was massively attended by students, faculty and the general public, and received much coverage in the media.

During the course of the year, the LDI hosted lectures by leading scholars and researchers (Prof. Robert Lieber and Prof. Peter Katzenstein), as well as two prominent guest speakers, both in collaboration with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA). We were particularly delighted to host H.E., Dr. Jose Ramos-Horta, President of the Democratic Republic of East-Timor in February, and Dr. Surin Pitsuwan, Secretary-General of the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) in May. These lectures received much publicity across the campus and beyond, and marked the beginning of a new tradition of collaboration between the Institute and the MFA, that includes bringing leading decision makers and prominent diplomats to share their practical experience with our faculty and students.

Together with a number of Departments and Institutes of the Hebrew University, the LDI continued to manage and support the 6th Annual International Graduate Conference in Political Science, International Relations and Public Policy in memory of the late Yitzhak Rabin. More than 110 graduate students, one-third of them from abroad, took part in this conference which was supervised by Dr. Galia Bar-Nathan of the Department of International Relations and Prof. David Levi-Faur from the Department of Political Science.

This year, the Institute's traditional David Carmon lecture took place at the Hebrew University for the first time, having regularly been held, since 1973, at the Center for Intelligence Legacy in Gelilot. The keynote speaker was Mr. Carmi Gillon, Vice-President for Foreign Relations of the Hebrew University and former Director of Israel's General Security Service. The winner of the David Carmon prize was Mr. Lior Lehrs, who wrote an extraordinary thesis on 'private diplomats' mediating in international conflicts, including in the Arab-Israeli conflict.

In terms of its publication record, the Institute had some irregularity concerning its flagship publication, the periodical 'Politika', as a result of problems with the new editor. At the beginning of 2010-2011, a new arrangement was introduced in which the practical management of articles submitted to the Institute was entrusted to a Ph.D. candidate (Lior Avni), with the Institute's Director serving as editor-in-chief. Given the delay in collecting, reviewing and selecting the articles for the new issue (now being edited), one issue, rather than two, is being published this year. The Institute has also published, as a working paper, Dr. Nava Lowenheim's article "Reflections on Apologies: Promoting Order in the International Arena", which discusses the issue of apology in international conflicts. In addition, two occasional papers (by Nissim Rejwan and Wael Abu-Uksa) addressing intellectual currents in the Arab world are in the process of editing and will soon be published.

Despite the year's financial difficulties, the Institute was able to allocate full fellowships to 2 post-doctoral students (Dr. Rafi Netz and Dr. Ziv Rubinovich), to increase the number of stipends to Ph.D. candidates from four to seven, and to secure the necessary funding for all of these for next year as well. In addition, for the first time in three years, the Institute this year allocated funds to 4 individual researchers. It is our hope that next year we will be able to broaden the scope of research funded by the Institute and to establish at least one research group.

In June we were delighted to host Mr. Alan Davis and Ms. Mary Lou Dauray on their first visit to the Institute. The visit provided the opportunity to discuss our activities and vision for future development and to introduce them to some of the former and current LDI post-doctoral fellows. We look forward to continuing to work together.

Last but not least, I would like to warmly thank the Institute's administrative team (Ms. Anat Illouz and Ms. Hani Mazar) without whom all that is presented above would have been impossible to realize.

Avraham Sela

## GOVERNING BODIES AND STAFF

---

### THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES

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

Prof. Yaacov Schul, Vice-Rector, Hebrew University

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

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

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

Prof. Avraham Sela, Director, Leonard Davis Institute, and Department of International Relations, Hebrew University

Prof. Arie Kacowicz, Chairman of the Academic Committee, Department of International Relations, Hebrew University

### THE ACADEMIC COMMITTEE

Prof. Arie Kacowicz, Chairman of the Academic Committee, Department of International Relations, Hebrew University

Prof. Avraham Sela, Director, The Leonard Davis Institute, and Department of International Relations, Hebrew University

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

Prof. Yaacov Schul, Vice-Rector, Hebrew University

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

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

Prof. Alfred Tovias, Chair, Department of International Relations, Hebrew University

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

Dr. Tomer Broude, Faculty of Law, Hebrew University

Dr. Alexander Yakobson, Department of History, Hebrew University

Dr. Lihi Yariv-Laor, East-Asian Studies, Hebrew University

## STAFF OF THE LEONARD DAVIS INSTITUTE

Prof. Avraham Sela, Director

Ms. Anat Illouz, Executive Director

Ms. Hani Mazar, Public Affairs and Publications Coordinator

## RESEARCH GRANTS AND SCHOLARSHIPS

---

### POSTDOCTORAL RESEARCHERS

Dr. Lior Herman, “Integration Theory and International Trade in Services.”

Dr. Herman earned his Ph.D. in Economics from the London School of Economics. His postdoctoral research at the Leonard Davis Institute explored the dynamics and motivation behind the integration of trade services on an international level. Specifically, he addressed two main gaps in the literatures of international relations/political science and economics dealing with integration theory.

Dr. Arie Krampf, “Central Bank Autonomy, Sovereign States, and the International System: A History.”

Dr. Krampf earned his Ph.D. in History from Tel Aviv University. His postdoctoral research at the Leonard Davis Institute undertook a historical examination of the concept and practices of central bank independence. His research also investigated the history of central banking within the context of 19th- and 20th-century transformations of state structures and the international system.

### SCHOLARSHIPS FOR DOCTORAL STUDENTS

Rachel Adam, “Can International Law Stop Biodiversity Loss?”

This research critiques the role of international law in protecting biodiversity, aiming to disclose the underlying causes for IL’s unsuccessful efforts in this regard. Biodiversity is a domestic resource, “owned” by states. This thesis asks: Given that European countries did not need international law to govern their own biodiversity, why did states adopt international agreements that included species and ecosystems located within their own territories? It argues that the use of international law for biodiversity was promoted by European powers out of concern *not* over their own natural environments, but over those of their colonial

possessions—in particular, Africa. International cooperation for biodiversity thus developed in the context of colonialism, where the intention was to create agreements amongst seven European colonial powers to collectively govern the fauna of their colonies in Africa. The incentive for these agreements fizzled out with the break-up of colonialism and the transformation of former colonies into sovereign states.

**Osnat Grady-Schwartz**, “International Law in Domestic Court Judgments and the Global Expansion of Judicial Power: Institutional and Individual Aspects.”

This research aims at understanding the use of international law in domestic courts. It examines if—and to what extent—a connection exists between two phenomena: the growing reference to international law in domestic court decisions, and the global expansion of judicial power. This examination is conducted on two levels: the “macro” (international) and the “micro” (national). The links between these two levels is manifested in the identity of the judges, who are central to the two global trends. This thesis suggests an explanation for this correlation by developing a theory of “mutual empowerment” between domestic courts and international law.

**Roe Kibrik**, “The Idea, the Reality, and What Lies Between: The Gap Between National Discourse and Global Reality as an Element of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict.”

This study addresses the theoretical issue of the connection between theory and politics and ties it to the process of globalization and the conflict in Israel/Palestine. It examines the contribution of the perceptual gap between ideal-theoretical concepts—that is, the perception of reality versus ontological reality—to the persistence of the conflict over the last twenty years. Relying on the assumption that mutual relations between knowledge and power are social constructions and an expression of the ongoing dialogue between reality and knowledge, this thesis concentrates on the significance of the perceptual gaps within the sphere of existing knowledge in relation to the shaping of political activity.

**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 on actor behavior in armed conflict. Adopting a positivist approach, the study uses process tracing to identify the impact of shared ideas on decision making. To test key hypotheses, case studies will be selected to ensure variation on the dependent variable of atrocity mitigation and to determine the salience of all potential independent variables. Cases could include the abortive trials following World War I and the Armenian genocide; the Nuremberg tribunals; the Yugoslav and Rwandan tribunals; and ICC actions in relation to Sudan and Uganda. Scholarly and archival materials will be supplemented with participant interviews.

**Odelia Oshri, “Challenges for the European Integration: Legitimacy, Community Deficit, and National Pride.”**

Since its establishment, the EU has not simply expanded—from 6 to 27 member states—it has also deepened the cooperation among its members. From a partial economic cooperation embodied in the European Coal and Steel Community, the EU today has developed a single market through a standardized system of laws that applies in all member states and ensures free movement of goods, people, services, and capital; has adopted a common currency among sixteen of its member states; and has abolished passport controls. At the same time, and in conflict with the integration process, calls are being made to restrict the deepening/broadening of cooperation between EU’s members. These “voices” are significantly evident in Euro-barometer and EVS surveys conducted among European citizens and in the difficulties some members face in ratifying EU treaties. This research looks at the origins of the gap between, on the one hand, the scope and level of integration, and, on the other, the community deficit.

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

This work analyzes the intellectual origins of opposition to the idea of humanity’s unity (cosmopolitanism) in the modern era in general, and particularly since the beginning of the Cold War. Although the concept of cosmopolitanism is clearly useful—presenting values of political stability, co-existence, and economic and cultural prosperity—it has been criticized by both politicians and intellectuals.

This study investigates the failure of this idea, asking why cosmopolitanism has not been implemented in IR. It posits that the desire to move toward this cosmopolitan ideal is accompanied by factors that force human society in the opposite direction, which can be defined in terms of political ideologies—liberal, Marxist, and communitarian (including nationalist and religious). This thesis will address the current gap in IR literature on the issue of cosmopolitanism, and, more importantly, may reveal repeating patterns in opposition to cosmopolitanism.

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

The concept of “Identity Balancing” posits that when states face a common threat, they draw together by forming a common identity. The main argument of this thesis is that the US established the practice of identity balancing through a three-phase process. In the first, following World War I, the US forced Europe to agree to a de-legitimized traditional balance of power. In the second, following World War II, deteriorating relations with the USSR forced the US to engage in balance of power politics that appealed to the American public’s belief in manifest destiny, leading statesmen to cast balance of power politics with an ideological content. In the third phase, identity balancing, through frequent implementation, was internalized as customary behavior within the international system. This is manifested both in Europe’s employment of identity terms to balance against US hegemony and in the tendency of post-Soviet countries to express their strategic choice of identity between a Western and a Russian orientation.

## SPECIAL SCHOLARSHIPS FOR DOCTORAL STUDENTS

### Faculty of Social Science’s Excellence Scholarships

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

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

The intellectual discourse in the Arab Middle East is divided into four main (albeit not mutually exclusive) types: Islamic, national Pan-Arab, socialist, and liberal. This study focuses on the liberal Arab discourse, which developed from traditions influenced by both modern Western history and the Arab-Muslim history of the region. The research seeks to depict the limits, the sources, and the history of this discourse in the post-1967 era. Its main questions are: What is Arab liberalism and what are its characteristics since 1967? What are the challenges that this tradition faces? What kind of intellectual and religious uses have Arab liberal intellectuals made of the Islamic tradition up to now? And how have these ideas been accepted in the Arab world? From a domestic Arabic political, cultural, and social perspective, Arab liberalism is the main—if not the only—discourse that has challenged 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.

## PUBLICATIONS OF THE INSTITUTE

---

### POLITIKA (in |Hebrew)

*Politika* is a digital refereed journal of Israeli Political Science and International Relations that addresses timely issues affecting both Israel and the world.

### Issue No. 21 (Fall 2011), *General Issue* (forthcoming)

#### Articles published in this issue:

Arnon Gutfeld, “From ‘Nickel Grass’ to ‘Desert Storm’: The Development of American Intervention in the Middle East.”

Ronen A. Cohen, “A State in Transition and Politics on A Test: The Relations between the Mujahidin Khalq and the Iraqi’s Governments.”

Haim Cohen, “The Public and Reform in the Age of a New Public Management: An Empirical Examination of the Institutional Model, Service Satisfaction, and Public Organization Reform.”

Lior Avni, “Silent Bargaining: Israel and Hizbulla from Operation ‘Din and Heshbon’ to Operation ‘Grapes of Wrath.’”

Michal Livnat, “Foresighted Hindsight Bias and its Impact upon Third Party Decision-Making.”

Rafi Nets, “Why Were the Palestinian Refugees Abandoned during the War of Independence?—A Historical Israeli-Jewish Perspective.”

Efrat Osher, “The Closing of Educational Institutions in Judea, Samaria, and the Gaza Strip during the Intifada (1987-1993): Inter-Sociological Implications.”

Anat Feldman, “Non-institutionalized Faith Communities, Religious Entrepreneurship, and Trustee Pluralism: The Case of the ‘Miracle Asking’ Community.”

## Book Reviews:

Nissim Cohen reviewed *Public Policy* (by David Nahmias, Uri Arbel-Ganz and Assaf Meydani)

Oren Barak reviewed *Who Governs the Military? The Control of the Military and the Control of Militarism* (by Yagil Levy)

## WORKING PAPERS IN ENGLISH

Nava Löwenheim, “Reflections on Apologies: Promoting Order in the International Arena.”

This paper considers the role of apologies in the promotion of order in the international arena. It will introduce the following claims: first, that ethical issues, particularly the subject of dealing with moral wrongs through apologies, are an important part of the greater discussion of world and international orders; and second, that the strategy of dealing with a past transgression through an apology contributes to the realization of stable order. The main argument of this paper is that apology and forgiveness undertaken by international actors, even though not legally obligating, facilitate the maintenance of order. Although the legal aspects of world order and international order are prominent, they do not alone indicate the internalization of order and its values by actors. Common social “unwritten rules” accompany these legal obligations. Extensive compliance to these rules by actors is a valid sign of order. Apology and forgiveness can be seen as such rules: as social ordering principals.

# ACTIVITIES OF THE INSTITUTE

---

## INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES

### Myth or Reality? The Promise of Economic Multilateralism

*Held 20-21 December 2010*

#### DAY I

*Session I: Multilateralism and Latin America*

Chair and Discussant: **Prof. James Green** (Brown University)

**Prof. Arie Kacowicz** (Hebrew University), “Multilateralism and Latin America, Multilateralism in Latin America.”

**Prof. Raúl García Heras** (University of Buenos Aires and CONICET), “Politics and International Finance: The Early Involvement of the IMF and the World Bank in South America.”

**Dr. Claudia Kedar** (Hebrew University), “The Intimate Aspects of Multilateralism: The Case of IMF’s Relations with Argentina and Chile.”

*Session II: Multilateralism and Africa, Asia, and Europe*

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

**Prof. Howard Stein** (University of Michigan), “Multilateral Organizations and Policy Formation in African States.”

**Ms. Marcia Don Harpaz** (Hebrew University), “China’s WTO Compliance-Plus Anti-Dumping Policy.”

**Prof. Alfred Tovias** (Hebrew University), “A New Sort of Multilateralism: The Case of the Union for the Mediterranean.”

## DAY II

### *Session III: Bilateralism, Regionalism, Multilateralism*

Chair and Discussant: **Dr. Eugenia da Conceição-Heldt** (Freie Universität Berlin)

**Prof. Elise Brezis** (Bar-Ilan University), “Multilateralism vs. Regionalism: Is Aid of Multilateral Institutions a Curse or a Blessing?”

**Prof. Arie Reich** (Bar-Ilan University), “Bilateralism vs. Multilateralism in International Economic Law.”

**Prof. Moshe Hirsch** (Hebrew University), “The Interaction between Global and Regional Trade Agreements: A Sociological Analysis.”

**Dr. Lior Herman** (Hebrew University), “Multilateralizing Regionalism: The Case of E-Commerce.”

### *Session IV: Multilateralism in Times of Crisis, or the Crisis of Multilateralism*

Chair and Discussant: **Dr. Manfred Elsig** (World Trade Institute, Bern)

**Prof. Miles Kahler** (University of California, San Diego) “Economic Crisis, Emerging Economies and Multilateral Governance.”

**Dr. Jeffrey Chwieroth** (London School of Economics), “Controlling Capital after the Crisis of 2007-2009: The IMF and New Norms of Financial Governance.”

**Prof. Assaf Razin** (Tel-Aviv University and Cornell University), “The Eurozone in Crisis: A New Phase in the Global Recession.”

### *Session V: The Domestic and Legal Impact of Multilateralism*

Chair and Discussant: **Dr. Tomer Broude** (Hebrew University)

**Dr. Arie Krampf** (Hebrew University), “Revisiting Embedded Liberalism: Variation of Domestic Central Banking Practices within the Postwar Institutional Order.”

**Dr. Eugenia da Conceição-Heldt** (Freie Universität Berlin), “The WTO at the Crossroads? Negotiating under the Shadow of Time and Domestic Political Constraints.”

**Dr. Manfred Elsig** (World Trade Institute, Bern), “On the Democratization Effects of WTO Membership.”

**Ms. Sivan Shlomo-Agon** (Hebrew University), “The Goals of the WTO Dispute Settlement System: A Preliminary Stage in the Process of Assessing the WTO Dispute Settlement System’s Effectiveness.”

*Roundtable: The United States and the Multilateral Economic Organizations: Still a primus inter pares?*

Chair: **Dr. Claudia Kedar** (Hebrew University)

Discussants:

**Prof. Miles Kahler** (University of California, San Diego)

**Dr. Jeffrey Chwieroth** (London School of Economics)

**Dr. Tal Sadeh** (Tel-Aviv University)

**Prof. Howard Stein** (University of Michigan)

## GUEST LECTURERS

☞ **Dr. Mark Grigorian** (BBC Editor for the Caucasus & Central Asia)

*Held 17 November 2010*

**“Memory, Identity and Realpolitik: Explaining the New Turkish-Armenian Relations”**

☞ **Prof. Robert Lieber** (Government and International Affairs, Georgetown University)

*Held 2 December 2010*

*This lecture was presented in cooperation with the American Center.*

**“Staying Power and the Future of the American Era.”**

☞ **H.E. Dr. José Ramos-Horta** (President of the Democratic Republic of East Timor)

*Held 14 February 2011*

*This lecture was presented in cooperation with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.*

**“Timor-Leste, Peace Building, State Building and Reconciliation, Experience and Perspectives.”**

☞ **Dr. Glen Segall** (Editor of the London Security Policy Study)

*Held 2 March 2011*

**“Covert Intelligence Provision in Iraq: The Use of Information Warfare and Measurement of its Effects.”**

☞ **Prof. Peter Katzenstein** (Cornell University)

*Held 8 March 2011*

**Research Methodologies for Advanced IR Students**

☞ **Dr. Surin Pitsuwan** (Secretary General of the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN))

*Held 15 May 2011*

*This lecture was presented in cooperation with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.*

**“ASEAN, China and America: The Future of Southeast Asia.”**

## INTERNATIONAL WORKSHOPS

### **☞ The Sixth Annual Graduate Conference in Political Science, International Relations and Public Policy in Memory of Yitzhak Rabin**

*Held 15-17 December 2010*

*This conference, co-sponsored by the Leonard Davis Institute, was wholly organized and administered by the Institute.*

The aim of this sixth annual international conference of graduate students in the fields of Political Science, International Relations, and Public Policy was to facilitate the exchange of ideas among graduate students and faculty from all over the world. The conference, which has become a tradition, provides a comfortable and friendly forum for graduate students to share their work with colleagues while learning about emerging trends in research and related disciplines. **Dr. Galia Press-Barnathan** (Hebrew University) convened the conference. More than 110 students, a third of whom came from abroad, participated in sixteen panels and six workshops. The conference proved to be a rewarding experience and will continue to be a major event in the graduate students' professional socialization.

## SEMINARS

### **☞ The Doctrine of Diplomacy**

*Held 2 January 2011*

*This seminar was held in cooperation with the Department of International Relations.*

This seminar was organized in honor of Prof. Raymond Cohen on his retirement from the Hebrew University (Department of International Relations).

*Seminar Program*

*Session I: Jewish-Christian Relations*

**Chair: Dr. Amnon Ramon** (Jerusalem Institute for Israel Studies and Hebrew University)

Father David Noihouse (The Latin Patriarchy)  
Dr. Itzhak Minervy (Haifa University)  
Ambassador Mordechay Levi (Ministry of Foreign Affairs)

*Session II: Exploring Diplomacy* ם עינן לרגל פרישתו שני

Chair: Prof. Arie Kacowicz (Hebrew University)  
Prof. Uri Bialer (Hebrew University)  
Dr. Alon Liel (Hebrew University)  
Prof. Sasson Soffer (Hebrew University)

*Session III: Biblical Diplomacy*

Chair: Prof. Rafi Israeli (Hebrew University)  
Prof. Amnon Altman (Bar-Ilan University)  
Dr. David Elgavish (Bar-Ilan University)  
Prof. Yaacov Bar-Siman-Tov (Hebrew University)

*Session IV: The History of Diplomacy*

Chair: Prof. Moshe Hirsch (Hebrew University)  
Prof. Raymond Cohen (Hebrew University)

## ☞ Protest, Democratization, and Revolution in the Arab World: Comparative and Regional Perspectives

*Held 3 May 2011*

*This seminar was held in cooperation with the Department of Political Science.*

### *Seminar Program*

*Session I: Revolution and Democratization in a Comparative Perspective*

Chair: Eitan Alimi (Hebrew University)  
Mario Sznajder (Hebrew University), "Is Protest a Prerequisite for Democratization?"  
Tamir Sheaffer and Shaul Shenhav (Hebrew University), "Democratic Gaps and Political Stability: The Middle East in a Comparative Perspective."

**Aziz Haidar** (Al-Quds University, Van Leer Institute, and Truman Institute), “Sociological-Political Revolution in the Arab World.”

**Uriel Abulof** (Tel Aviv University), “On Uprising and Peoplehood in the Arab World.”

*Session II: Dynamics of Change*

Chair: **Wael Abu Uqsa** (Hebrew University)

**Eitan Alimi** (Hebrew University), “Dynamics of Protest: Restrictive and Accelerating Mechanisms of Political Change.”

**Asaf David** (Hebrew University), “Jordan and Spirits of Change: Between Political Liberalization and Constitutional Monarchy.”

**Avraham Sela** (Hebrew University), “State–Society Relations in the Arab World: Between Past and Future.”

## ☞ **Captivity and Redemption of Captives between Israel and Terror Organizations: Law, Psychology, and Politics**

*Held 30 May 2011*

Held on the one thousand eight-hundredth day of the soldier Gilad Shlit's being held captive by the Hamas.

*Seminar Program*

*Greetings*

**Prof. Avraham Sela** (Hebrew University)

**Mr. Carmi Gillon** (Hebrew University)

*Session I: Captives of War and Hostile Acts: Ethics and International Law*

Chair: **Dr. Tomer Broude** (Hebrew University)

**Prof. Yuval Shani** (Hebrew University), “Warriors, Illegal Warriors and Prisoners of War in the War of Terror.”

**Adv. Nick Kaufman**, “Defending the Rights of Gilad Shalit on the Basis of International Law.”

**Dr. Itzhak Benbaji** (Bar-Ilan University), “Morality in an Asymmetric War.”

*Session II: The Individual and the Family in Captive Situations: Sociological and Psychological Perspectives*

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

**Prof. Zehava Salomon** (Tel Aviv University), “Mental and Sociological Effects of Prison.”

**Dr. Itamar Barnea** (Chief of Psychology, Israel Trauma Center for Victims of Terror and War), “Redeemed Captives and their Families: Visible and Invisible.”

*Session III: Negotiations between Israel and Terror Organizations on POWs and MIAs*

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

**Adv. Amnon Zichrony**, “Managing Negotiation outside the ‘Systemic Box’.”

**Dr. Ronen Bergman** (author of *By Any Means Necessary: Israel’s Covert War for its POWs and MIAs* and senior commentator of journal *Yedioth Aharonot*), “Lessons from Negotiations for POWs and MIAs.”

*Session IV: The State of Israel and Negotiations on the Liberation of Captive Soldier Gilad Shalit: Security Aspects*

Chair: **Prof. Avraham Sela** (Hebrew University)

**Mr. Ami Ayalon** (Former Head of the ISA and Knesset Member)

**MK Israel Hasson** (*Kadima*, former Deputy Head of the ISA)

*Session V: The State of Israel and Negotiations on the Liberation of Captive Soldier Gilad Shalit: Civilian and Public Aspects*

Chair: **Prof. Avraham Sela** (Hebrew University)

**Mr. Meir Indor** (Lieutenant Colonel, ret.; Chair of Almagor: Terror Victims Association)

**Mr. Shimshon Libman** (Head of campaign for the release of captive soldier Gilad Shalit)

## ☞ The Declaration of the Palestinian State in September 2011: Vision and Reality

*Held 6 June 6 2011*

*This Seminar was held in cooperation with the Harry S. Truman Research Institute for the Advancement of Peace.*

*Seminar Program*

### *Session I: The Institutional and Economic Infrastructure: Changes and Developments*

Chair and Discussant: **Yohanan Tzoreff** (Ministry of Strategic Threats)

**Prof. Rasim Khama'isi** (Haifa University), "Spatial Planning and Institutional Assessment as a Basis for State Functioning."

**Dr. Ephraim Lavie** (Tel Aviv University), "The Palestinian Authority and Institution Building."

**Dr. Mohammad Shtayyeh** (President of the Palestinian Economic Council for Development and Reconstruction and former Minister of Public Works and Housing), "The Palestinian State: Economic and Financial Aspects."

### *Session II: The Palestinian and the Regional Context*

Chair and Discussant: **Prof. Avraham Sela** (Hebrew University)

**Dr. Anat Kurtz** (Institute for National Security Research, Tel Aviv University), "Fatah– Hamas Relations: Beyond Reconciliation."

**Dr. Assaf David** (Truman Institute), "Jordan and the Palestinian State: Between a Rock and a Hard Place."

**Prof. Aziz Haïdar** (Al-Quds University, Van Leer Institute, and Truman Institute), "Israel's Arab Citizens and the Palestinian State."

### *Session III: Legal and International Perspectives*

Chair and Discussant: **Mr. Charles Freilich** (Former Deputy Head of Israel's National Security Council)

**Prof. Robbie Sabel** (Hebrew University), "A Palestinian State and International Law."

**Prof. Munther Dajani** (Al-Quds University), "The Palestinian and Arab Perspectives."

**Ambassador Avi Primor** (Interdisciplinary Center Herzliya), "The View from Europe."

## ANNUAL EVENTS

---

### CARMON PRIZE CEREMONY

*Held 10 April 2011*

At the Leonard Davis Institute's 41st annual Carmon Prize ceremony, **Lior Lehrs** was awarded the Carmon prize for his thesis, "**Private Peace Initiators in Conflict Resolution Processes.**" 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 **Mr. Carmi Gillon** (Vice-president of External Relations for the Hebrew University and former Head of the ISA). He lectured on current events pending on the Israeli agenda: the revolution in Egypt, the leadership of Hamas, and, mainly, on captive soldier Gilad Shalit.