

**קורות חיים**  
**פרופסור שמואל סנדלר**

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Ph.D. The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland, 1977

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BA: אוניברסיטת חיפה 1970

**Ph.D. Dissertation:**

"Reconciling Domestic and International Politics -- The Eisenhower and Nixon  
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**תפקידים אקדמיים נוכחיים**

נשיא מכללת אמונה אפרתה, ורןשלים

פרופסור מן המניין אמריטוס במחלקה למדעי המדינה, אוניברסיטת בר-אילן.

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**תפקידים אקדמיים בעבר**

ראש מערך המכללות, אוניברסיטת בר-אילן.	2011-2016
חבר בוועדת המנויים העליונה של אוניברסיטת בר-אילן	2013-2015
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2011 Visiting Ginor Professor for Israel Studies at The Jewish Theological Seminary, New York.

2006-2010 דיקן הפקולטה למדעי החברה, אוניברסיטת בר-אילן.

1998-2001 ראש המחלקה למדעי המדינה

1996-2006 The Sara and Simha Lainer Professor in Democracy and Civility.

2000-2006 Head of the Henry Taub Program in Democracy and Civics.

2006 Visiting Scholar , The Jewish Theological Seminar, New York.

- 1992-1993 Visiting Professor, Department of Political Science, The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland, USA.
- 1993 Visiting Scholar, Center for International Studies, MIT, Cambridge, Mass. USA
- 1989-1999 Head of the Center for International Communications and Policy, Bar-Ilan.
- 1984-1985 Visiting Professor, Department of Political Science, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, Canada.
- 1983-1984 Visiting Professor, Department of Political Science, Concordia University, Montreal, Canada.

#### תפקידים ציבוריים:

1978-היום- חבר הנהלת המרכז הירושלמי לעניני ציבור ומדינה  
 1987-2007- עמית במועצת המרכז האקדמי בקהיר, האקדמיה הלאומית למדעים.  
 2000-2009- עורך כתב העת *Jewish Political Studies Review*  
 1999-2000 חבר המועצה הציבורית של הרשות השנייה לרדיו ומלוויזיה  
 1978-1981- חבר במועצה הציבורית להסברה, משרד החוץ, ירושלים.

#### **Awards, Honors and Grants:**

- 1970-72 Hebrew University Scholarship and Fellowship
- 1972 Fulbright Travel Grant
- 1972-76 Johns Hopkins University Scholarship and Fellowship
- 1979 Leonard Davis Institute Scholarship
- 1980-1982 Ford Foundation Research Grant
- 1987 The M. Landau Award of the Israeli Lottery for the Best book of the Year on the M.E.
- 1995 The Canadian Enrichment Studies Award
- 1999-2000 The Ihel Foundation Research Grant
- 2000-2002 Israel Science Foundation Research Grant

#### תחומי מחקר והוראה:

יחסים בינ"ל, פוליטיקה פנימית ומדיניות חוץ, פוליטיקה אתנית/דתית במדיניות החוץ הישראלית.

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## Publications

### Books

Shmuel Sandler and Hillel Frisch, *Israel, the Palestinians and the West Bank: A Study in Intercommunal Conflict*. (Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1984).

Shmuel Sandler, *The State of Israel, The Land of Israel: Statist and Ethnonational Dimensions of Foreign Policy*. (Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing, 1993).

Shmuel Sandler, *The Nation-State: Introduction to International Relations* (Tel-Aviv: The Open University, 1999).

Hemda Ben-Yehuda and Shmuel Sandler, *The Arab-Israel Conflict Transformed: Fifty Years of Interstate and Ethnic Crises*. (New York: State University of New York Press, 2002).

Jonathan Fox and Shmuel Sandler, *Bringing Religion into International Relations*, (Palgrave, NY: 2004).

Shmuel Sandler, *The Jewish Origins of Israeli Foreign Policy: A Study in Tradition and Survival*. (London: Routledge, 2018).

### Edited Books

Daniel J. Elazar and Shmuel Sandler eds., *Israel's Odd Couple: The 1984 Elections and the National Unity Government*, (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1990).

Daniel J. Elazar and Shmuel Sandler, eds., *Who is the Boss in Israel: Israel at the Polls, 1988-1989*, (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1992).

Daniel J. Elazar and Shmuel Sandler eds., *Israel at the Polls, 1992* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 1995).

Efraim Inbar and Shmuel Sandler, eds., *Mid-East Security: Prospects for an Arms Control Regime* (London: Frank Cass, 1995).

Daniel J. Elazar and Shmuel Sandler, eds., *Israel at the Polls, 1996*, (London: Frank Cass, 1998).

Shmuel Sandler, Ben Mollov, Jonathan Rynhold, eds. *Israel at the Polls 2003*, (London: Routledge, 2004)

Jonathan Fox and Shmuel Sandler, eds. *Religion and World Politics*, (London: Routledge, 2006)

**Shmuel Sandler**, Jonathan Rynhold, and Manfred Gerstenfeld eds. *Israel at the Polls 2006* (London: Routledge, 2008).

**Shmuel Sandler**, Hillel Frisch, and Manfred Gerstenfeld eds. *Israel at the Polls 2009* (London: Routledge, 2011).

### Chapters in Books

**Shmuel Sandler**, with Hillel Frisch, "The Political Economy of the Administered Territories," *Present and Future in the Administered Territories*, ed. Daniel J. Elazar (Washington, D.C.: The American Enterprise Institute, 1981): 123-144.

**Shmuel Sandler**, "The National Religious Party: Towards a New Role in Israeli Politics," *Comparative Jewish Politics: Public Life in Israel and the Diaspora*, eds. Bernard Susser and Sam Lehman-Wilzig (Ramat Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 1981): 158-170.

**Shmuel Sandler**, "Partition and Power Sharing in the Arab Israeli Conflict," *Governing Peoples and Territories*, ed. Daniel J. Elazar (Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues, 1982): 221-247.

**Shmuel Sandler**, "Linkage and Decoupling in American Foreign Policy," *When Patterns Change: Turning Points in International Politics*, ed. Nissan Oren (London: St. Martin's Press, 1984): pp.155-167.

**Shmuel Sandler**, "Presidential Strategies and Presidential Personality," *Image and Reality in International Relations*, ed. Nissan Oren (London: St. Martin's Press, 1984):163-183.

**Shmuel Sandler**, "The Impact of the Great Powers on Transformation in the Arab-Israeli Conflict," *The Great Powers in the Middle East*, eds. Paul Marantz and Blima Steinberg (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1985): 265-282.

**Shmuel Sandler**, "The Religious Parties," *Israel at the Polls, 1981*, eds. Howard Penniman & Daniel J. Elazar (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986): 105-127.

**Shmuel Sandler**, "Judea, Samaria, and the Gaza Strip," *Short Jewish Encyclopedia in Russian*, Vol. III, (Jerusalem: Society for the Study of Jewish Communities, The Hebrew University, 1986). Columns 679-692.

Daniel J. Elazar and **Shmuel Sandler**, "The National Unity Government Under Shimon Peres," *Survey of Jewish Affairs, 1987*, ed. William Frankel (Teaneck: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1988): 15-30.

Daniel J. Elazar and **Shmuel Sandler**, "The Two Bloc System -- A New Development in Israeli Politics," *Israel's Odd Couple: The 1984 Elections and*

*the National Unity Government*, Elazar and Sandler, eds., (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1990): 11-24.

Daniel J. Elazar and **Shmuel Sandler**, "Governing Under Peres and Shamir," *ibid*: 221-241.

**Shmuel Sandler**, "The Origins of the Israel-Diaspora Relations Structure," *Israel-Diaspora Relations: Ideological and Political Perspectives*, Eliezer Don-Yehiya, ed. (Ramat Gen: Bar-Ilan University Press, 1990): 143-159.

**Shmuel Sandler**, "De l'Emancipation et l'Independence: Strategies Juives International au Temps de l'Etat-nation", *la Societe Juive Travers l'Histoire*, Vol. 3, Shmuel Triganon ed., (Paris: Librairie Artheme Fayard, 1992).

Daniel J. Elazar and **Shmuel Sandler**, "Forging a New Political Center," *Who is the Boss in Israel, Israel at the Polls, 1988-1989*, Elazar and Sandler, eds., (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1992):13-41.

Daniel J. Elazar and **Shmuel Sandler**, "Coalition Government in Israel and the Need for Electoral Reform," *ibid* pp. 277-302.

**Shmuel Sandler**, "The Politics of Functional Cooperation," in *Political and Structural Arrangements in the New Israeli-Palestinian Relations*, (Jerusalem: Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs, 1994): 153-158.

**Shmuel Sandler**, "Rabin and the Religious Parties: The Limits of Power Sharing," in *Israel under Rabin* Robert O. Freedman ed. (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1995).

Daniel J. Elazar and **Shmuel Sandler** "Change and Continuity in Israeli Politics: The Political Behavior of the Rabin-Peres Government," In *Israel at the Polls 1992* eds., Daniel J. Elazar and **Shmuel Sandler** (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 1995): 321-343.

Efraim Inbar and **Shmuel Sandler**, "The Arab-Israeli Relationship: From Deterrence to Security Regime," in *Regional Security Regimes*, Efraim Inbar ed. (Albany: State University Press, 1995): 273-297.

**Shmuel Sandler**, "Ethnonational and Statist Aspects in the Foreign Policy of the Yishuv on the issue of the Land of Israel: The Partition Debate, The Partition Plan and the 1948 War," in *The Age of Zionism*, Anita Shapira, Jehuda Reinharz and Jay Harris, eds., (Jerusalem: Mercaz Zalman Shazar, 2000) (Hebrew), pp. 241-269.

**Shmuel Sandler**, "Religious Zionism and the State: Ideological, Social and Political Dimensions." in, *Studies in Religious Zionism and Mishpat Ivri*, Eds. E. Don Yehiya, E. Belfer, M. Chalamish, (Ramat-Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 2001): 59-80, [in Hebrew].

**Shmuel Sandler**, "The Domestic-External Linkage in the Israeli Involvement in Lebanon: Then and Today," *Studies in Middle Eastern Security*. Ramat-Gan: BESA, 2002, pp. 333-338, [In Hebrew].

**Shmuel Sandler**, "Land and State in Zionist Foreign Policy," ed. Eliezer Don Yehiya, *Between Tradition and Innovation, Studies in Judaism, Zionism and the State of Israel*, (Rmat Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 2005): 81-116.

**Shmuel Sandler**, "Judaism and Politics," in *The Politics of Religion* Jeffrey Haynes ed. (London:Routledge, 2006): 37-47.

**Shmuel Sandler**, "Judaism and the State," in *Routledge Handbook of Religion and Politics* Jeffrey Haynes, ed. (London: Routledge: 2009): 128-141.

**Shmuel Sandler** and Aaron Kampinsky, "The Religious Parties after the Rabin Era: Between Crisis Politics and Arrangement Politics," Robert Freedman, ed. *Contemporary Israel* (Boulder, Co: Westview Press, 2009): 77-96. .

**Shmuel Sandler**, "The Arab Spring and the Linkage between Israel's Domestic and Foreign Policies," ed. Efraim Inbar, *The Arab Spring, Democracy and Security* (London: Routledge, 2013): 128-144.

**Shmuel Sandler**, "The Impact of a Transformed US Global Stance on Israel's National Security Strategy," *US Foreign Policy and Global Standing in the 21st Century* Efraim Inbar, ed. (London: Routledge, 2016 ).

**Shmuel Sandler**, " Judaism: state and foreign policy," in *Routledge Handbook of Religion and Politics* Jeffrey Haynes, ed. (London: Routledge: Forthcoming).

### **Articles in Journals**

**Shmuel Sandler**, "The Impact of Protracted Peripheral Wars on the American Domestic System," *The Jerusalem Journal of International Relations* (Summer, 1978): 27-59.

**Shmuel Sandler**, "Historique de Conflict Israelo-Arab," *Les Cahiers de Federalisme* (Janvier-Mars, 1979): 13-26.

**Shmuel Sandler**, "Ben-Gurion's Attitude Toward the Soviet Union," *Jewish Journal of Sociology* (Fall, 1979): 145:160.

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**Shmuel Sandler**, "Is There a Jewish Foreign Policy?" *The Jewish Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 29, No. 2, (December, 1987): 115-121.

**Shmuel Sandler**, "Israel and the West Bank Palestinians," *Publius*, Vol. 18, No. 2, (Spring, 1988): 47-62.

**Shmuel Sandler**, "The Protracted Arab-Israeli Conflict: A Temporal-Spatial Analysis," *The Jerusalem Journal of International Relations* Vol. 10, No. 4, (November, 1988): 54-78.

**Shmuel Sandler**, "The 1988 Knesset Elections and the Transformation of the Israeli Polity," *Middle East Review*, Vol. XXII, No. 2, (Winter, 1989/90): 17-24.

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Efraim Inbar and **Shmuel Sandler**, "Israeli Deterrence Strategy Revisited," *Security Studies*, Vol. 3, No. 2 (Winter, 1993/94): 330-358.

Daniel J. Elazar and **Shmuel Sandler**, "The 1992 Elections: Implications for the Future," *Israel Affairs*. Vol. 1, No. 2 (Winter, 1994): 209-226.

Efraim Inbar and **Shmuel Sandler**, "The Changing Israeli Strategic Equation: From Self Reliance to a Security Regime," *Review of International Studies*. (January, 1995): 41-59.

Efraim Inbar and **Shmuel Sandler**, "Regional Security in the Middle East: The Political Context of a Security Regime," *Contemporary Security Policy* Vol. 16, No. 1 (April, 1995): 173-185.

**Shmuel Sandler**, "The Ethnonational Dimension of the Foreign Policy of Nation States," *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* Vol. 1, No. 2 (Spring, 1995): 250-269.

Yossi Katz and **Shmuel Sandler**, "The 1938 Origins of the Conception of Israel's State Borders and its Impact on the Strategy of War in 1948-49." *The Journal of Strategic Studies*. Vol. 18, No. 2 (June 1995): 149-171.

**Shmuel Sandler**, "Israeli Arabs and the Jewish State: The Activation of A Minority in Suspended Animation," *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 31, No.4 (October, 1995): 932-952.

E. Inbar, E. Karsh, **S. Sandler**, "Arms Control and the New Middle Eastern Environment," *Defense Analysis*, Vol. 12, No. 1 (1996): 33-52.

**Shmuel Sandler**, "Religious Zionism and the State: Political Accommodation and Religious Radicalism in Israel," *Terrorism and Political Violence*, Vol. 8, No. 2 (Summer, 1996): 133-154.

Efraim Inbar and **Shmuel Sandler**, "The Risks of Palestinian Statehood," *Survival*, Vol. 39, No. 2 (Summer, 1997): 23-41.

**Shmuel Sandler**, "Territoriality and Nation-State Formation: The Yishuv and the Making of the State of Israel," *Nations and Nationalism* Vol. 3, No.4, (Fall, 1997): 667-688.

Hemda Ben-Yehuda and **Shmuel Sandler**, "Crisis Magnitude and Changes in the Arab-Israeli Conflict," *Journal of Peace Research* Vol. 41, No. 1, (January, 1998): 83-109.

Daniel J. Elazar and **Shmuel Sandler**, "The Battle over Jewishness and Zionism in the Post-Modern Era," *Israel Affairs*, Vol. 4, No. 1 (Winter, 1998): 1-29.

**Shmuel Sandler**, "The Religious-Secular Divide in Israeli Politics," *Middle East Policy*, Vol. VI, No. 4, (June 1999): 137-141.

Inbar, E. and **Shmuel Sandler**, "Security in the Eastern Mediterranean: The Imperative for Cooperation among Cyprus, Greece, Israel and Turkey," *Middle East Quarterly*, Vol. 8, No. 2 (Spring, 2001). Pp. 51-58.

**Shmuel Sandler**, "The Arab Israeli conflict in the Post Cold War," *The Review of International Affairs*, Vol. 1 No. 4 (Summer 2002): 73-90.

Hemda Ben-Yehuda and **Shmuel Sandler**, "Magnitude and Endurance in Interstate and Ethnic-State Crises: The Arab-Israeli Conflict 1947-2000," *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 40, No. 3 (May, 2003): 271-285.

Jonathan Fox and **Shmuel Sandler**, "Regimes Types and Discrimination against Ethnoreligious Minorities: A Cross Sectional Analysis of the Autocracy-Democracy Continuum," *Political Studies*, Vol. 51, No. 3, (October 2003)



Jonathan Fox and **Shmuel Sandler**, "Quantifying Religion: Toward Building More Effective Ways of Measuring Religious Influence on State-Level Behavior," *Journal of Church and State*, Vol. 45, No. 3 (Summer 2003): 559-558.

**Shmuel Sandler**, "Towards a Conceptual Framework of World Jewish Politics: State, Nation and Diaspora in a Jewish Foreign Policy," *Israel Affairs* Vol. 10. nos.1-2 (Autumn-winter, 2004):301-312.

Hillel Frisch and **Shmuel Sandler**, "Religion, State and the International System in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict," *International Political Science Review*, Vol. 25, No. 1, (January, 2004): 77-96.

Jonathan Fox and **Shmuel Sandler**, "Separation of Religion and State in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: Comparing the Middle East and Western Democracies," *Comparative Politics*, Vol. 37, No. 3 (April, 2005): 317-335.

Jonathan Fox and **Shmuel Sandler**, "The Question of Religion and World Politics," *Terrorism and Political Violence*, Vol. 17, No. 3 (Summer 2005): 293-303.

**Shmuel Sandler** and Jonathan Rynhold, "From Centrism to Neo-Centrism," *Israel Affairs*, Vol 13, No. 2 (Summer, 2007): 1-22.

**Shmuel Sandler**, "Towards a Theory of World Jewish Politics and Jewish Foreign Policy, in *Hebraic Political Studies*, vol. 2 no. 3 (Summer 2007): 326-360.

**Shmuel Sandler** and Hillel Frisch, "The 2009 Knesset Elections: A Foreign Affairs Perspective," *Israel Affairs*, vol 16, no. 2 (January 2010): 1-13.

### Book Reviews

**Shmuel Sandler**, *The Wrath of Jonah, The Crisis of Religious Nationalism in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict* By R. Reuther and H. Reuther in *Journal of Religion*, (July, 1991).

**Shmuel Sandler**, *Ambiguity, Coping, and Governance* by Ira Sharkansky, *Middle East Studies Association Bulletin*, Vol. 36, No. 1 (Summer 2002).

**Shmuel Sandler**, *Despite Nationalist Conflicts, Theory and Practice of Maintaining World Peace* By Kristen P. Williams in *Perseptives on Politics*, Vol.1, No. 1 (March 2003).

**Shmuel Sandler**, *"The Invention of a Nation, Zionist Thought and the Making of Modern Israel by Alain Dieckhoff," The Middle East Journal*, Vol. 57, No. 4 (Autumn 2003).

Shmuel Sandler, *Judaism Does not Equal Israel*, by Mark H. Ellis, *Shofar*, Vol. 29, No. 24, 2011.

**Selected Papers Delivered at International Academic Conferences (since 1995).**

"Ethnic Conflicts and the Great Powers in the Middle East," **The Georgetown University - Besa Center Conference** on "The US and the Changing Middle East," Washington DC, September 14-15, 1995.

"Toward a Theory of World Jewish Politics: State, Nation and Diaspora in Israeli Foreign Policy" a Conference on "Israel in Comparative Perspective: The Dynamics of Change," **University of California at Berkeley** September 2-4, 1996.

"Ethnonational and Statist Aspects in the Foreign Policy of the Yishuv," Conference on "**A Hundred Years of Political Zionism**," **Boston, Harvard and Brandies Universities and Jerusalem, Mercaz Zalman Schazar**, October 1996 and May 1997.

"Religion and State in Israel," **The Israel-Turkey Dialogue at Bosphorus University**, Istanbul, December 2, 1997.

"The Context of Israeli Foreign Policy," **The Indian-Israeli Dialogue, Institute for Defense and Strategic Analysis, New Delhi, India** February 18, 1998.

"Realism, Institutionalism, and Ethnonationalism in the Arab-Israeli Conflict: Crisis Behavior in a Protracted Conflict," **International Studies Association, 40th Annual Convention, Washington DC**, February 16-20, 1999.

"The Religious-Secular Divide in Israel," **The Sadat Forum, Cosponsored by the Brookings Foreign Policy Program and The Anwar Chair for Peace and Development, the University of Maryland, Washington D.C.**, February 23, 1999.

"Israel and the Arab-World in the Post Cold War Environment: The International Crisis Perspective," **A Research and Development Center Conference on "The New Geopolitical Environment in the Eastern Mediterranean and Beyond," October 21-23 1999, Nicosia, Cyprus.**

"The Winding Down of the Arab-Israeli Conflict, **International and Ethnic Crises**," **International Studies Association**, 41st Annual Conference, Los Angeles, March 14-18, 2000.

"Civilization and International Order: **The Ethnonational Dimension in the Arab-Israeli Conflict**, **98<sup>th</sup> APSA Annual Meeting** Boston, Aug. 29-Sept. 1, 2002.

"Separation of Religion and State in the 21st Century: Comparing the Middle East and Western Democracies." **International Studies Association Annual Conference** in Portland Oregon February 2003.

"Towards a Theory of World Jewish Politics," A Workshop Sponsored by **The Carnegie Council on Ethics and International Affairs and the American Jewish Committee**, March 6-7 2003.

*"Religion, State and Nation in the International System,"* **An International Conference sponsored by the BESA Center and the Lainer Chair for Democracy and Civility** on The Religious Dimension in World Politics, May 21-23, 2003.

"World Separation of Religion and State into the 21st Century," **International Studies Association Annual Conference** in Montreal, Canada March 2004.

"Towards A Theory of World Jewish Politics and Jewish Foreign Policy," **Political Hebraism: Jewish Sources in the History of Political Thought,"** A **Shalem Center International Collouium** , December 26-29 2006.

The American Factor in Israeli Foreign Policy. **An International Conference sponsored by the BESA Center and the Argov Center**, May 20-21, 2007.

"Is there a Jewish Foreign Policy?" **23 Annual Conference of the Association for Israel Studies**, June 11-13-2007.

"Is there a Jewish Approach to Foreign policy?" **104<sup>th</sup> APSA Annual Meeting** Boston, Aug. 29-Sept. 1, 2008.

" Religion and Foreign Affairs: A Jewish Approach to Foreign policy," **Annual Conference of the International Studies Association**, New York , February, 2009.

" Domestic Politics and Middle East Issues," **The Saltzman Institute of War and Peace at Columbia University and BESA Conference** on "US Policy in the Middle East," March 28, 2011.

"Religion and Foreign Policy: Towards a Theory of Jewish International Behavior." **The 2013 Annual Meeting of The International Society for Political Psychology**. Herzliya, 2013.

" Tradition and Survival: The Jewish Foundations of Israel's Foreign Policy" **Association for Israel Studies 32<sup>nd</sup> Annual Meeting Jerusalem - June 20-22, 2016**

"In Memory of Daniel J. Elazar: Advancing the Jewish Political Tradition." **The 17th World Jewish Congress.Jerusalem, August 2017.**