

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

כתובת: רח' שמריהו לוינ' מס' 24 ירושלים  
טל. 02-6414234  
נייד: 054-4674597  
פקס: 077-3414234

**E-mail:** [sandls@biu.ac.il](mailto:sandls@biu.ac.il); [sandler.shmuel@gmail.com](mailto:sandler.shmuel@gmail.com).  
[Sandler@emef.ac.il](mailto:Sandler@emef.ac.il)

תאריך לידה: 3 למרץ 1947

מצב משפחתי: נשוי + 4 ילדים  
למודי יסודי ותיכון: יבנה חיפה

תארים אקדמיים: Ph.D. The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland, 1977  
MA: האוניברסיטה העברית ירושלים 1973  
BA: אוניברסיטת חיפה 1970

**Ph.D. Dissertation:**

"Reconciling Domestic and International Politics -- The Eisenhower and Nixon  
Presidencies"

**Supervisors:** Prof. Robert W. Tucker, Prof. George Liska and Prof. Francis Rourke

תפקידים אקדמיים נוכחיים  
נשיא מכללת אמונה אפרתה, ירושלים

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

חוקר בכיר במרכז בגין-סאדאת ללימודים אסטרטגיים.

תפקידים אקדמיים בעבר

ראש מערך המכללות, אוניברסיטת בר-אילן.	2011-2016
חבר בוועדת המנויים העליונה של אוניברסיטת בר-אילן	2013-2015
חבר בוועדה המרכזת של אוניברסיטת בר-אילן	2011-2014
ראש הקהדרה לדת ופוליטיקה ע"ש יהודה אבנר.	2011-2015

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.

מחקר נוכחי: דת ויחב"ל; המימד היהודי במדיניות החוץ הישראלית.

## 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.

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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.

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**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.

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**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.

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**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 ).

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**Aharon Kampinski and Shmuel Sandler**, "The Religious Parties in the Netanyahu Era: The Politics of Israelization,"in *Israel under Netanyahu: Domestic Politics and Foreign Policy* ed. Robert O. Freedman, (London and New York: Routledge, 2020), pp. 74-90.

**Shmuel Sandler**, "The Jewish Origins of Israel's Democracy," in Kumaraswamy P.R. (ed.) *The Palgrave International Handbook of Israel*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2021.

**Shmuel Sandler & Aharon Kampinski**, "The Rise and Fall of the National Religious Party," Kumaraswamy P.R. (ed.) *The Palgrave International Handbook of Israel*, Palgrave Macmillan, (2021).

**Ben Mollov and Shmuel Sandler**, "Reinhold Niebuhr and the State of Israel: A Study in the Foreign Policy of a Christian Realist", Christoph Rhode (Ed.) *Religion and the Liberal State in Reinhold Niebuhr's Christian Realism*. VS. Wiesbaden Germany: Springer, (2022).

**Shmuel Sandler**, "Israel: History," in *The Middle East and North Africa 2023* (Abingdon: Routledge 2022): 334–347.

### Articles in Academic 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 Israélo-Arab," *Les Cahiers de Federalisme* (Janvier-Mars, 1979): 13-26.

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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.

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**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.

**Shmuel Sandler**, "The Origins of the National and the Statist Traditions in Zionist Foreign Policy," *Jewish Political Studies Review*, Vol. 2, Nos. 3-4, (Fall, 1990): 129-164.

Efraim Inbar and **Shmuel Sandler**, "Israel's Deterrence Potential -- A Reappraisal" in *Maarachot* (January, 1993): 1-17. [In Hebrew].

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, (Janury, 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.

**Shmuel Sandler**, "Political Tradition and Foreign Affairs: A Study in Jewish Foreign Policy, *The Review of Faith and International Affairs*, vol.16. no. 2 (2018)

**Shmuel Sandler**, "Pro E Contro La Legge Della Nazione," *Limes Rivista Italiano Geopolitica*. (9/2018):63-70.

### **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 *Perpectives 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,

**Shmuel Sandler**, *The Paradox of Jewish Politics* (Hebrew version of Jews and Power), by Ruth Wisse, *Jewish Political Studies Review*, Vol. 30, Numbers 1–2. (Spring, 2021)

**Shmuel Sandler**, *"The Star and the Scepter: a Diplomatic History of Israel,"* *Israel Affairs*, Vol. 27 No 3, (Summer, 2021)

### **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.**

"Religion and International Relations Theory Century Realism, th Relations Theory: The Jewish Experience and 20<sup>th</sup> Realism." **The 2018 Annual Meeting of the Israeli International Studies Association Raanana.**

"The Compund Arab-Israeli Conflict: A Study in the Patterns of a Protracted Conflict." **The 8<sup>th</sup> Annual Euroasian Peace Science Conference, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, January 14-15, 2019.**