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## CURRICULUM VITAE

February 2016

### ACADEMIC POSITIONS

Department of Political Studies, Bar Ilan University  
Founder, Program on Conflict Management and Negotiation  
Israel Higher-Education Council, Committee on Public Policy

### ADDITIONAL ACTIVITIES:

- Member of Israel Council of Foreign Affairs
- *Israel Law Review* International Academic Board (2005-2008)
- President, NGO Monitor (recipient of 2013 Begin Prize, awarded by the Menachem Begin Heritage Center)
- Participating researcher, Norwegian Institute of International Affairs, project on international responses to Middle East turmoil (2014-5)
- Team leader, *Israel at the Polls* research on the peace process and Israel-American relations (1988---2005)

### EDUCATION

Post-doctoral Fellowship, MIT-Harvard Program on Defense and Arms Control, 1979-1981  
Ph.D. Government Department, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, May 1981  
M.Sc. Physics Department, University of California, San Diego, 1975.  
B.A. University of California, Berkeley, Departments of Physics and Near Eastern Studies, 1973.

### Books:

*Best Practices for Human Rights and Humanitarian NGO Fact-Finding*, Primary author, co-authored with Anne Herzberg and Jordan Berman, Nijhoff Brill Publishers, Leiden, 2012

Resisting Reform: A Policy Analysis of the Israeli Health Care Delivery System, with Eta Bick, University Press of America, 1992

Lost in Space: The Domestic Politics of the Strategic Defense Initiative (author of 4 of 7 chapters and editor) Lexington Books and University of California Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation, 1988

Satellite Reconnaissance: The Role of Informal Bargaining, Praeger, New York, 1983

### Monographs (refereed):

“Arms Control and Non-Proliferation Developments in the Middle East: 2000-1”, BESA Center for Strategic Studies, Bar Ilan University (2002)

“Arms Control and Non-Proliferation Developments in the Middle East: 1998-99”, BESA Center for Strategic Studies, Bar Ilan University (2000)

“Dual use aspects of commercial high-resolution imaging satellites”, BESA Center for Strategic Studies, Bar Ilan University (1998)

Strategy and Deterrence in the Nuclear Age, for the course "Basic Concepts in International Relations" (Musagi Yesod Beyashsim Ben-Leumim), Stuart Cohen, editor, Universita Haptucha, 1993 (Hebrew)

Deterrence, Defense or Arms Control: Israeli Perceptions and Responses for the 1990's, California Seminar on International Security (in affiliation with the RAND Corporation and the California Institute of Technology), 1990. Paper #116.

**Chapters in edited publications (refereed)**

1. "Examining the NGO Security Discourse on Urban Warfare" (co-authors Anne Herzberg, Josh Bacon), in *Israel Yearbook on Human Rights 2016* (Forthcoming)
2. "Israel and the Arab Upheaval", in *International responses to the Arab Spring: Lessons and Implications* (tentative title), edited by Sverre Lodgaard, NUPI and Scandinavian Academic Press, Oslo, forthcoming
3. "Uncivil Society: Ideology, the Durban Strategy, and Antisemitism", *The Yale Papers: Antisemitism in Comparative Perspective*, edited by Charles Asher Small, Institute for the Study of Global Antisemitism and Policy (ISGAP) 2015
4. "The Limits of Peacebuilding Theory", in *Routledge Handbook of Peacebuilding* Roger MacGinty, Ed., 2013
5. "Unilateralism and Separation: Internal Developments and External Pressures after Oslo", David Newman and Joel Peters, editors, *Routledge Handbook on the Israeli Palestinian Conflict*, 2012
6. The Evolution of Israeli Military Strategy: Asymmetry, Vulnerability, Pre-emption and Deterrence, in *Israel Studies: An Anthology* (October 2011)
7. "Postcolonial Ideology and the Arab-Israeli Conflict", in Brigitte Bailer, ed. *Israel – Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Barumuller: Vienna, 2009
8. "Civil Society, Intercultural Dialogue and Political Activism: Rethinking EMP Policies", in *Intercultural Dialogue and Civilization: Translating Values into Actions* edited by Leonce Bekemans et al, Marsilio: Venice, 2007
9. "The Thin Line between Peace Education and Political Advocacy: Towards a Code of Conduct", *Educating Towards A Culture of Peace*, Yaacov Iram, Hillel Wahrman and Zehavit Gross, editors, Greenwich, CT, Information Age Publishing, 2006.
10. "The Centrality of Confidence Building Measures: Lessons from the Middle East", in *Conflict Resolution: Rhetoric and Reality*, Carment and Schnabel eds. NY: Lexington Books, 2004
11. "'Democratic peace' and the Jewish Political Tradition", in *Democratization in the Middle East: Experiences, Struggles, Challenges* edited by Amin Saikal and Albrecht Schnabel, United Nations University Press, 2003 (Chapter 8)
12. "Dual Use Aspects of Space Technology and the Implications for the Middle East", in *Toward Fusion of Air and Space: Surveying Developments and Assessing Choices for Small and Middle Powers*, Dana J. Johnson and Ariel E. Levite, editors, RAND, Santa Monica, 2003, pp. 86-97
13. "Israel and the U.S.: Can the Special Relationship Survive in the New Strategic Environment", in *The U.S. and Its Allies in a Changing World*, Frank Cass, 2000
14. "The Impact of Egyptian-Israeli Debate on Arms Control on the Middle East Peace Process" in Spiegel, S. L. Kibbe, J. D. and Matthews E. G., editors *The Dynamics of Middle East Proliferation*, The Edwin Mallen Press: New York, 2001
15. "The Security Impact of Commercial Observation Satellites in the Middle East and the Persian Gulf", in *Commercial Observation Satellites: At the Leading Edge of Global*

- Transparency*, edited by John Baker, Kevin O'Connell, and Ray Williamson, American Society for Photogrammetry and Remote Sensing (ASPRS) and RAND, 2001
16. "Israel and the U.S.: Can the Special Relationship Survive in the New Strategic Environment", in *The U.S. and Its Allies in a Changing World*, Thomas Keeney and Barry Rubin, editors, Frank Cass, 2001
  17. "Regional Security" (Bitachon Ezori), in *Bitachon Yisrael B'shanot Ha-2000*, Avi Kober, ed., Maarachot, MOD, Tel Aviv, 2001
  18. "The Middle East" in *Entering the New Millennium: Dilemmas in Arms Control*, James Brown, editor, Sandia National Laboratories, 1999
  19. "Israeli Security in a Changing Environment: Challenges and Responses", in *Mediterranean Security into the Coming Millennium*, Stephen J. Blank, editor, Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College, 1999
  20. "Chinese Policies on Arms Control and Proliferation in the Middle East", *China Report*, special issue on *China And The Middle East* edited by R. Kumaraswamy, 1998, no. 3-4 -- also published in *China And The Middle East: The Quest For Influence*, Sage
  21. "Obstacles to a Middle East Nuclear Weapons Free Zone", *Nuclear Weapons-Free Zones*, edited by Ramesh Thakur, MacMillan, 1998
  22. "The Political Economy of Israel's Military Technology Development Strategy: Its Implications for South Korea's Defense Technology Development Policy", in *Korean Security Policies: Towards Peace and Unification*, edited by Byong-Moo Hwang and Yong-Sup Han, The Korean Association of International Studies, 1996 (pp. 149-178)
  23. "Defence Procurement Decision Making in Israel", *Arms Procurement Decision Making*, Vol. 1, Oxford University Press and SIPRI, Ravi Singh, editor, 1998
  24. "Conflicting Approaches to Arms Control and CSBMs in the Middle East: Finding a Common Ground", *The Middle East Multilateral Talks: Substantive Recommendations*, edited by Steven Spiegel, Garland Press, 1995
  25. "A Nation that Dwells Alone? Foreign Policy in the 1992 Elections", *Israel at the Polls: 1992*, edited by Daniel Elazar and Shmuel Sandler, Rowman and Littlefield, 1995
  26. "The Iraqi-Israeli Deterrence Relationship: Lessons from the 'Mother of All Battles'", *Regional Security in the Middle East: Arab and Israeli Concepts of Deterrence and Defense*, United States Institute for Peace, Washington D.C., forthcoming
  27. "Israel and the Missile Technology Control Regime", in *The International Missile Bazaar: The New Suppliers Network Project* edited by William Potter and Harlan Jencks, Westview Press, 1994
  28. "The Political Economy of Science and Technology in Israel: Mutual Interests and Common Perspectives," in *The Science Compact: Scientists and the State in Comparative Perspective* edited by Etel Solingen, University of Michigan Press, 1994
  29. "Arms Control in the Middle East", *Encyclopedia of Arms Control and Disarmament*, Richard Dean Burns, editor; Charles Scribner's Sons, February 1993
  30. "Israel Among the Nations: Foreign Policy in the 1988 Election Campaign" in *Who's the Boss: Israel at the Polls 1988-89*, edited by Daniel Elazar and Shmuel Sandler, Wayne State University Press, Detroit, 1992 pp.
  31. "The Iraqi Chemical Threat During the Second Gulf War: Israeli Perceptions and Reactions" *Proceedings 3rd Annual Conference on Chemical Warfare, The 2nd Gulf War and the CBW Threat: The Impact on Threat Perception, Proliferation, Disarmament and European Security*, Vrije Universiteit Brussel, 1992
  32. "Verification Options in Nuclear Control" in *Arms Control in the Middle East*, Dore Gold, editor, Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies, Tel Aviv University, Westview Press, 1990

33. "Israel", in W. Potter (ed.), *International Nuclear Trade and Nonproliferation: The Challenge of the Emerging Suppliers*, Lexington Books, 1990, pp.181-198
34. "Coping with Supplier Control: The Israeli Experience" (coauthored with Alex Mintz - authors listed in alphabetical order), *The Dilemma of Third World Defense Industries: Supplier Control or Recipient Autonomy*, edited by K. Baek, et al, Westview, 1989 pp.137-151
35. "Science and Politics: The Links Between Israel and the European Community", in *Europe and Israel: Troubled Neighbors* edited by Ilan Greilsammer and Joseph Weiler, de Gruyter and the European University Institute, 1988 p.338-348.
36. "Political Factors in the Development and Implementation of Technology-Based Confidence-Building Measures", *Proceedings of the Conference on Technology-Based Confidence-Building Center for National Security Studies*, University of California and the Los Alamos National Laboratory, July 1989 pp.413-426
37. "The Impact of New Technology on the Arab-Israeli Military Balance" in *Soviet-American Competition in the Middle East*, edited by Steven Spiegel, Mark Heller and Jacob Goldberg, Lexington Books, 1987. pp.81-94.
38. "Israel and the Security of the West", Gerald Steinberg (primary author) and Steven Spiegel, in *The Middle East in Global Strategy*, Aural Braun, ed., Westview, 1987. pp.27-46.
39. "Israel: high technology roulette" in *Arms Production in the Third World*, edited by Michael Brzoska and Thomas Ohlson, Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), Stockholm, Sweden, Taylor and Francis, 1986, pp. 163-193.
40. "Israeli Nuclear Ambiguity: Evolution and Evaluation", *Security or Armageddon: Israel's Nuclear Strategy*, Ed. Louis Rene Beres, Lexington Books, 1985, pp.29-44.
41. "The Evolution and Economic Impact of the Israeli Defense Industry", in *The Role of the Defense Industries in the Industrial Structure of Modern Nations*, M. Leitenberg and N. Ball, eds., Croom Helm, 1983, pp. 278-309

### **Articles in refereed journals**

1. "EU Foreign Policy and the Role of NGOs: The Arab-Israeli Conflict as a Case Study", *European Foreign Affairs Review* 21:2, 2016 (forthcoming)
2. "Conflict or Conflict Management in Israeli-Palestinian Negotiations?", *Orient* (Deutschen Orient-Intsitut, Berlin), Vol 54, No. 3, 2015
3. "A farewell to arms? NGO campaigns for embargoes on military exports: the case of the UK and Israel", *Israel Affairs*, 19:3 2013 (with Anne Herzberg and Asher Fredman)
4. "Netanyahu's Foreign Policy: Between History, Geography, and International Anarchy", *Orient*, (Deutschen Orient-Intsitut, Berlin) Vol. 54 No.2, April 2013
5. IHL 2.0: Is There a Role for Social Media in Monitoring and Enforcement? (co-author, Anne Herzberg) *Israel Law Review* 45: 3 November 2012, pp 493-536
6. "From Durban to the Goldstone Report: The Centrality of Human Rights NGOs in the Political Dimension of the Arab-Israeli Conflict", *Israel Affairs*, 18:3, 2012
7. "International NGOs, the Arab Upheaval, and Human Rights: Examining NGO Resource Allocation" *Journal of International Human Rights*, Northwestern University School of Law, Vol. 11 no.1 (2012)
8. "The Politics of NGOs, Human Rights and the Arab-Israel Conflict", *Israel Studies*, Volume 16, Number 2, Summer 2011, pp. 24-54
9. Andre Oboler, Gerald Steinberg and Rephael Stern, "The Framing of Political NGOs in Wikipedia through Criticism Elimination", *Journal of Information Technology and Politics*, 7(4), 2010

10. 'Postcolonial Theory and the Ideology of Peace Studies', *Israel Affairs*, 13:4, 786 – 796, October 2007
11. Examining Israel's NPT Exceptionality: 1998-2005, *Non-Proliferation Review*, Vol. 13, No 1, March 2006
12. Soft Powers Play Hardball: NGOs Wage War Against Israel, *Israel Affairs*, 12:4 October 2006 pp. 748-768
13. "The UN, the ICJ and the Separation Barrier: War by Other Means" *Israel Law Review*, (38:1-2, 2005)
14. "Realism, Politics and Culture in Middle East Arms Control Negotiations" *International Negotiation*, Vol. 10 (2005)
15. Europe's Failed Middle East Policies", *Security Dialogue*, 35:3 September 2004
16. "The Impact of the Failure of Oslo on Israeli Politics", with Jonathan Rynhold, *Israel Affairs*, Vol 10 (4) Summer 2004
17. "Interpretations of Jewish Traditions on Democracy, Land and Peace", *Journal of Church and State*, 43:1 Winter 2001
18. "Parameters of Stable Deterrence in a Proliferated Middle East", *The NonProliferation Review*, 7:1, Fall-Winter 2000
19. "The Peace Process in Domestic Politics", *Israel Affairs*, Winter 2000/1
20. "Conflict Prevention and Mediation in the Jewish Tradition", in *Jewish Political Studies Review*, Fall 2000 12:1 & 2
21. "Peace, Security and Terror in the 1996 Elections", in *Israel Affairs* 4:1 Autumn 1997
22. "Deterrence and Middle East Stability: An Israeli Perspective", *Security Dialogue* 28:2 1997
23. "The 1995 NPT Extension and Review Conference and the Arab-Israeli Peace Process", *NonProliferation Review*, Vol. 4, No. 1, Fall 1996
24. "European Security and the Middle East Peace Process: Lessons From the OSCE", *Mediterranean Quarterly*, Vol. 7, No. 1, Winter 1996
25. "Israel and the Changing Global Non-Proliferation Regime: The NPT Extension, CTBT, and Fissile Cut-Off", *Contemporary Security Policy*, Vol. 16, No. 1, Spring 1995
26. "Non-Proliferation: Time for Regional Approaches?", *Orbis*, Vol. 38, No. 3, Summer 1994
27. "Israeli Responses to the Threat of Chemical Warfare", *Armed Forces and Society*, Vol. 20., No. 1 Fall 1993, pp.85-101
28. "Obstacles to Organizational Change in the Health System" (published in Hebrew) *Bitachon Soziali*, No. 34, 1989, pp. 75-99.
29. "Technology Transfer and the Future of the Center-Periphery System: A Realist Perspective", *Jerusalem Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 11, No. 2, 1989. pp. 96-117.
30. "The Strategic Defense Initiative and the Organizational Politics of Military R&D", *Armed Forces and Society*, Vol. 13, No. 4 October 1987, pp.579-598
31. "Large Scale National Projects as Political Symbols: The Case of Israel", *Comparative Politics*, Vol. 19, No. 3, April 1987, pp.331-346.
32. "Indigenous Arms Industries and Dependence: The Case of Israel", *Defense Analysis*, Fall 1986, Vol. 4. pp. 291-305.
33. "Technology, Weapons, and Development: The Case of Israel", *Technology in Society*, Vol. 7, 1985 pp.387-398
34. "Comparing Technological Risks in Large-Scale National Efforts", *Policy Sciences*, Vol. 18, March 1985 pp.79-93

35. "The Role of Process in Arms Control Negotiations", *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 22, No. 3 1985, pp.261-272
36. "Israel Science and Technology and the European Community Goal", *Science and Public Policy*, Vol. 12, No.5, October 1985, pp.264-268
37. "A Quantitative Model of Technology Transfer", *Journal of Technological Forecasting and Social Change* (w. B. Raz and A. Ruina) Vol. 24, 1983, pp. 31-44
38. "The Militarization of Space: From Passive to Active Systems", *Futures*, October 1983; revised and reprinted in *The Exploitation of Space: Policy Trends in the Military and Commercial Uses of Outer Space*, Butterworth, London, 1985. pp. 374-392.

### **Non-refereed publications**

1. "False Witness?: EU-Funded NGOs and Policy-Making in the Arab–Israeli Conflict", *The Israel Journal of Foreign Affairs*, VII:2, 2013 June 2013
2. "Starting Over: The Prospects for Regional Security and Arms Control in the Middle East in the Next Decade" *Disarmament Forum* (United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research) 2001:1

### **Grants And Research Awards**

Research Fellowship, United States Institute for Peace, Washington, DC, 1990-91

Leonard Davis Institute for International Relations, Hebrew University, Research Grant 1989-90

Faculty Exchange Program, Carleton University, Ottawa, Canada July 1989

Carnegie Foundation and the University of California Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation, Research Grant, 1985-86

Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Center for International Studies, Post Doctoral Fellowship, 1980-1982

**PAPERS PRESENTED AT ACADEMIC CONFERENCES**

17-Jan-11	University of Miami - "Fifty Years of the Special US-Israel Relationship (1962-2012): Walt-Mearsheimer in Perspective"	"Academic Attacks on Israel - Inside and Outside of Israel"
8-Feb-11	Interdisciplinary Center (IDC) - The 11th Annual Herzliya Conference	"Going to Zero – Global and Regional Nuclear and WMD Disarmament Initiatives"
28-Feb-11	Bar Ilan University - <b>כנס - ליבת הזהות, לב המחלוקת : מיהו ישראלי</b>	
17-May-11	BESA / CIC (Bar Ilan University) - "Democracies and the Right to Self-Defense"	"Myths of Asymmetrical Warfare and Civilian Victims"
2-Jun-11	Centre for Defence and Strategic Studies (Australia)	"The Arab-Israeli Conflict - Competing Perspectives"
11-Jul-11	Sixth Annual Tel Aviv University Workshop on the Israel and the Middle East	"Gaza, Human Rights and International Law: Operation Cast Lead to Today"
13-Sep-11	Interdisciplinary Center (IDC) - International Institute for Counter-Terrorism (ICT)	"NGOs, Human Rights, and Media Distortions in the Arab-Israeli Conflict"
14-Sep-11	Interdisciplinary Center (IDC) - International Institute for Counter-Terrorism (ICT)	"External influences on the Palestinian arena: Egypt, Turkey, Iran, the Arab League, Saudi Arabia, the United States and the international community"
7-Nov-11	Catholic University - Columbus School of Law	"NGOs and delegitimization campaigns"
10-Nov-11	Columbia University - Saltzman Center for War and Peace Studies	"The Politics of Human Rights in International Conflict: The Palestinian-Israeli Case Study"
29-Nov-11	Hebrew University - Minerva Center for Human Rights International Conference - "New Technologies, Old Law: Applying International Humanitarian Law in a New Technological Age"	"IHL 2.0: The Opportunities, Challenges, and Impacts of Social Media for Monitoring and Enforcement"
25-Dec-11	Interdisciplinary Center (IDC) - Israeli Association for International Studies (IAIS)	"From Durban to the Goldstone Report: Analyzing the Role of Human Rights in Soft Power Conflict"
26-Dec-11	Bar Ilan University - (BESA)	"New anti-Semitism and the Durban process to demonize Israel through the rhetoric of human rights and international law"
29-Dec-11	Bar Ilan University - (BESA)	" <b>הצעות לחוקה מטעם ארגונים לא ממשלתיים בישראל : מועילות או מזיקות לזכויות המיעוטים?</b> "
21-Feb-12	UCLA - Center for Middle East Development	"Israeli Responses to the Arab Spring"
16-Apr-12	Netanya Academic College - S. Daniel Abraham Center for Strategic Dialogue	"De-legitimization Campaigns, Demonization, and Boycotts against Israel"
23-Apr-12	Bar Ilan University - International Communications Center	"NGOs and Public Diplomacy"
21-May-12	American University - Israel Studies Conference	"Domestic Politics and International Negotiation in Israel"
30-May-12	Australian Centre for Defence and Strategic Studies (CDSS)	"The Arab-Israeli conflict - Competing Perspectives"
25-Jun-12	Association for Israel Studies, Haifa University	"Journalism and the Arab-Israel Conflict"
25-Jun-12	Association for Israel Studies, Haifa University	"Menachem Begin's Autonomy Plan: Between Political Realism and Ideology"

25-Jun-12	Association for Israel Studies, , Haifa University	"Centripetal or Centrifugal? Political Advocacy Civil Society Organizations and Majority/Minority Relations"
22-Oct-12	Tel Aviv University, "Israel and the Struggle over the International Laws of War"	"שיתוף פעולה עם וועדות חקירה?"
31-Oct-12	Bar Ilan, School of Communications "Broken Mirrors Conference: Human Rights Organizations, the Media and Israel"	"Human rights: Ethical or political discourse?"
10-Jan-13	Hebrew University, The Vidal Sassoon International Center for the Study of Antisemitism - SICSA	"Delegitimization, Lawfare and Human Rights: Israel in the International Arena"
21-Jan-13	Israel Association for the Study of European Integration, The European Neighbourhood Policy and Israel: Achievements and Prospects for the Future	"Shared Values" and the Clash over EU Funding of Israeli NGOs
2-May-13	הכנס השנתי של האגודה הישראלית למדעי המדינה	מימון השקיפות, חברה אזרחית ודמוקרטיה,
31-Oct-13	Tel Aviv University. Israel and the EU - A Crisis of Identity	Policy Outsourcing: NGOs and EU Foreign Policy on Israel
7-2014	Yonsei University, Seoul, Korea	Keynote lecture, "Examining the Israeli experience in the strategic adaptation of technological innovation in air and space warfare", Annual conference on military strategy and technology
9-2014	Institute for Counter-terrorism, Interdisciplinary Center, Herzliya	The Rhetoric of Human Rights and Humanitarian Aid in International Debates on Terror and Counter-terrorism
1-2015	Seminar, Vidal Sassoon International Center for the Study of Anti-Semitism, Hebrew University	Antisemitism, human rights and the boycott of Israel (with Prof. Irwin Cotler and Prof. Robert Wistrich)
6-2015	Association of Israel Studies, Concordia University	European Union Institutions and Relations with Israel: The roles of the European External Actions Service (EEAS), The Maghreb-Mashreq ("MaMa") Working Group, the European Council and the European Parliament (EP)
9-2015	Institute for Counter-terrorism, Interdisciplinary Center, Herzliya	The NGO Dimension in Terror, Antisemitism and Political Warfare
11-2015	Halifax International Security Forum	Soft power in a hard-power environment: the politics of human rights in the international security arena