

NAOMI CHAZAN
CURRICULUM VITAE

PERSONAL

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Born: 18 November 1946, Jerusalem

EDUCATION

- 1975 Ph.D., Departments of Political Science and African Studies, Hebrew University of Jerusalem.
- 1968 M.A., Political Science, Columbia University, New York.
- 1967 B.A. (with honors), Barnard College, Columbia University, New York.

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

- 2019 Patenkin Visiting Professor of Israel Studies, Department of Political Science, University of Chicago.
- 2017- Senior Research Fellow, The Van Leer Jerusalem Institute.
- 2009-2018 Co-Director, The Center for the Advancement of Women in the Public Sphere, The Van Leer Jerusalem Institute, 2009-present.
- 2005-2017 Dean, School of Government and Society, The Academic College of Tel-Aviv-Yaffo

- 2004-2005 Robert Wilhelm Fellow, Center for International Studies, Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT)
- 1992-2003 Member of the Knesset (Meretz Party)
- 1996-1998; 1999-2003 Deputy Speaker of the Knesset
1998-1999 Chairperson, Committee to Combat Drug Abuse
- Parliamentary Committees:
- Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee (Chair: Sub-Committee on Human Resources, 2000-2003)
Economics Committee
Committee for the Advancement of the Status of Women (Chair: Sub-Committee on the Personal Status of Women, 1992-1996)
Education Committee
Immigration and Absorption Committee
The Knesset (House) Committee
- Legislation:
- One of Israel's top ten legislators during her tenure in the fields of human rights, women's rights, consumer affairs, and civil liberties.
- 1992-2000 Professor, Departments of Political Science and African Studies, Hebrew University of Jerusalem (since 2000--Professor emerita).
- 1990-1992 Chairperson, The Harry S Truman Research Institute for the Advancement of Peace, Hebrew University of Jerusalem.
- 1987-1990 Head, Department of African Studies, Hebrew University of
1983-1985 Jerusalem.
- 1988-1990 Coordinator, Africa Research Unit, The Harry Truman
1975-1985 Research Institute for the Advancement of Peace, Hebrew University of Jerusalem
- 1988-1992 Associate Professor, Departments of Political Science and African Studies, Hebrew University of Jerusalem.
- 1986-1987 Visiting Professor of Government, Harvard University.
- 1986-1987 Matina Souretis Horner Radcliffe Distinguished Visiting Professor, Radcliffe College, Harvard University.
- 1985-1987 Visiting Scholar, Center for International Affairs, Harvard University.

- 1980-1982
- 1985-1986 Visiting Professor, Radcliffe College, Harvard University.
- 1983 Visiting Professor, Department of International Relations, University of Ife, Nigeria.
- 1982-1987 Senior Lecturer, Departments of Political Science and African Studies, Hebrew University of Jerusalem.
- 1983-1985 Director of Undergraduate Studies, Department of Political Science, Hebrew University of Jerusalem.
- 1980-1981 Fellow, Mary Ingraham Bunting Institute, Radcliffe College, Harvard University.
- 1980-1989 Research Associate, African Studies Center, Boston University.
1974-1975
- 1980-1981 Fulbright Exchange Scholar, Council for International Exchange of Scholars.
- 1977-1982 Lecturer, Departments of Political Science and African Studies, Hebrew University of Jerusalem.
- 1975-1977 Instructor, Department of African Studies, Hebrew University of
1972-1974 Jerusalem.
- 1971-1972 Visiting Instructor, Department of Political Science, Haifa University.
- 1970-1971 Tutor and Research Fellow, Department of Political Science, University of Ghana, Legon.
- 1968-1972 Assistant, Department of African Studies, Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

PROFESSIONAL AFFILIATIONS AND ACTIVITIES

Member of the Board, America-Israel Fulbright Foundation, 2017-present.

Vice-President, International Political Science Association, 1991-1997.

Member of the Executive Board, Israel Political Science Association, 1989-1994.

President, Society for International Development, Israel Chapter, 1985-1987; 1993-2000.

Member of the Editorial Boards: *Nations and Nationalism* (current); *Palestine-Israel Journal* (current); *Journal of Democracy* (until 2010); *Asian and African Studies*; African Studies Series, Cambridge University Press, African Development and Modernization Series, Westview Press.

Member of Professional Associations: International Political Science Association, American Political Science Association, Royal African Society, Israel Oriental Society, Israel Association of Political Science.

Member of Academic Committees of the Hebrew University: The Harry S Truman Research Institute for the Advancement of Peace; Leonard Davis Institute of International Relations; Lafer Center for Women's Studies; The NCJW Research Institute for Innovation in Education; The Development Committee, Faculty of Social Sciences; The Committee on Instruction, Faculty of Social Sciences.

PUBLIC ACTIVITIES

Chair of the Advisory Committee, The National Authority for the Advancement of Women, 2007-2013.

President of the Board, New Israel Fund, 2008-2012.

Member of the Board, New Israel Fund, 2007-present.

Member of the Board, Hotline for Migrant Workers, 2008-present.

Member of the Public Council, Yesh Din, 2013-present.

Member of the Board, Ir Amim, 2013-present.

President, HEMDAT (Israel Association for Freedom of Science, Religion and Culture), 2003-2007.

Founding Member, the International Women's Commission for a Just and Sustainable Israeli-Palestinian Peace, 2005-2011.

Member, Executive Committee, Parliamentarians for Global Action, 1999-2002.

Member, Executive Committee, Meretz Party, 1994-present.

Founding Member, Israel-Palestinian Peace Coalition, 2002-2008.

Participant, Track II Negotiations, 2000-present.

Founding Member, The Jerusalem Link: An Israeli-Palestinian Women's Joint Venture for Peace, 1994-2009.

Founding Member, Bat Shalom: Israeli Women's Peace Organization, 1994-2009.

Founding Member, Engendering the Peace Process, 1997-2001.

Founding Member, Israel Women's Peace Net, 1989-1994.

Member, Executive Committee, Ratz (Citizen's Rights and Peace Movement), 1989-1997.

Founding Member and Member of the Executive Board, Israel Women's Network, 1984-1991.

Member, Jerusalem Council on the Status of Women, 1984-1992.

Member of the Board, International Center for Peace in the Middle East, 1985-1993.

Member of the Board, HaMoked: Hotline for Victims of Violence, 1990-1993.

Member of the Board, New Israel Fund, 1991-1992.

Representative, Israel Delegation to the Fourth International Women's Conference, Beijing, 1995.

Representative, Israel Delegation to the Second International Women's Conference, Nairobi, 1985.

Member, Borough Council of the Katamonim, Jerusalem, 1983-1985.

Member, numerous human rights, peace, and women's organizations.

AWARDS

Doctor (*honoris causa*), Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, December, 2016.

Lifetime Achievement Award, The Israel Association of Political Science, 2013.

The Raphael Lemkin Human Rights Award, Rabbis for Human Rights, New York, 2010.

Freedom and Human Rights Prize, Foundation for Freedom and Human Rights, Switzerland, 2005.

Twentieth Anniversary Honoree for Lifetime Contribution to the Advancement of Women, Israel Women's Network, 2004.

Peace Builder's Award, American Friends of Neve Shalom, 1998.

Woman of Distinction Award, Women's League for Conservative Judaism, 1993.

MacArthur Foundation Fellowship for a Study on the "Attitudes and Behavior of Israeli Women on War, Peace and Conflict Resolution," 1987-1990.

Harry Frank Guggenheim Fellowship, 1987-1989.

Fulbright Exchange Fellowship, 1980-1982.

Mary Ingraham Bunting Fellowship, Radcliffe College, 1980-1981.

NAOMI CHAZAN

List of Publications

BOOKS

1. Naomi Chazan, Peter Lewis, Robert Mortimer, Donald Rothchild, and Steven Stedman, *Politics and Society in Contemporary Africa*. Lynne Rienner Publishers and London: Macmillan, 1999, 545pp. Third Edition, rewritten and updated.
2. Naomi Chazan, Robert Mortimer, John Ravenhill, and Donald Rothchild, *Politics and Society in Contemporary Africa*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers and London: Macmillan, 1992, 482 pp. Second Edition, revised and updated.
- 2a. Naomi Chazan, Robert Mortimer, John Ravenhill and Donald Rothchild, *Politics and Society in Contemporary Africa*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers and London: Macmillan, 1988, 457 pp.
3. Deborah Pellow and Naomi Chazan, *Ghana: Coping with Uncertainty*. Boulder: Westview Press, 1986, 239 pp.
4. *An Anatomy of Ghanaian Politics: Managing Political Recession, 1969-1982*. Boulder: Westview Press, 1983, 429 pp.

EDITED BOOKS

1. John Harbeson, Donald Rothchild and Naomi Chazan, *Civil Society and the State in Africa*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1994, 309 pp.
2. *Irredentism and International Politics*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1991, 160 pp.
3. Donald Rothchild and Naomi Chazan, *The Precarious Balance: State and Society in Africa*. Boulder: Westview Press, 1988, 357 pp.

4. S.N. Eisenstadt, Michel Abitbol and Naomi Chazan, *The Early State in African Perspective: Culture, Power and Division of Labor*. Leiden: Brill, 1988, 210 pp.
5. Naomi Chazan and Timothy Shaw, *Coping with Africa's Food Crisis*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1988, 250 pp.

In Press

Michal Shamir, Hanna Herzog and Naomi Chazan (eds.), *The Gender Gap in Israeli Elections*. Jerusalem and Tel-Aviv: Van Leer and the Kibbutz Ha'Me'uhad, 2020). In Hebrew.

MONOGRAPHS

1. "Promoting Inclusion in African Democracies," Kronti Ne Akwamu Series, no 11, Accra: Ghana Center for Democratic Development, 2015.
2. Naomi Chazan, Nurit Hashimshoni-Yaffe and Ella Keren, *Colonialism and Decolonization in Africa*. Tel-Aviv: The Open University, 2002, 350 pp. In Hebrew.
3. "Israel on the Eve on an Election Year: Some Preliminary Reflections," Jerusalem: PASSIA, November 1991.
4. "Negotiating the Non-Negotiable: Jerusalem in the Framework of an Israeli-Palestinian Settlement," Cambridge: American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Occasional Paper No. 7, March 1991.
5. "Alcances y Limites de Socialismo en Africa," Mexico City: Instituto Matias Romero des Estudios Diplomaticos, Number 43, April 1989.
6. "Israeli Perspectives on Israeli-South African Relations," London: Institute for Jewish Affairs, 1987.
7. "Politics and the International Women's Movement: The Case of Zionism," Center for International Perspectives, The University of New Hampshire, 1987.
8. "African Women on the Eve of Nairobi: Problems and Prospects," Jerusalem: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1985.
9. "Israel's Relations with Black and South Africa," Critical Issues for Israel and the American Jewish Community, VI, New York: Young Leadership Cabinet, Special Education Project, 1983.

10. "Development, Underdevelopment and the State in Ghana," Boston University, African Studies Center, Occasional Paper, No. 59, 1982.
11. *Colonialism and Decolonization in West Africa*. Tel-Aviv: The Open University, 1979, 258 pp. In Hebrew.
12. *The Human Factor in the Israeli Technical Assistance Program in Africa*. Jerusalem: The Truman Institute, 1974. In Hebrew.
13. "The Role of Pre-Departure Training in the Israeli Technical Assistance Program: Evaluation and Prognosis," Jerusalem: Institute of Asian and African Studies, 1972, 150 pp. In Hebrew.

THESIS

"Politics and Youth Organizations in Ghana and the Ivory Coast," Ph.D. Dissertation, Departments of Political Science and African Studies: The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1974.

ARTICLES

"Israel's Democracy at a Turning Point," in Yael Aronoff, Saliba Sarsar and Ilan Peleg (eds.), *Continuity & Change in Political Culture: Israel and Beyond* (Lexington Books, the Roman & Littlefield Publishing Group, 2020), forthcoming.

"Oslo, Then and Now," *Israel-Palestine Journal*, 23, 2&3 (2019), pp. 8-16.

"Israel at 70: A Gender Perspective," *Israel Studies*, 23, 3 (2018), pp.141-151.

"The Public Responsibility of Members of the Knesset," in Raphael Cohen-Almagor, Ori Arbel-Ganz and Assa Casher (eds.), *Public Responsibility in Israel* (Tel-Aviv: Kibbutz Me'uhad Press, 2014), pp. 193-217. In Hebrew.

"Israel and the World: The Democracy Factor," in Emanuel Adler (ed.), *Israel in the World: Legitimacy and Exceptionalism* (London: Routledge, 2012), pp. 73-96. (Also appeared in Hebrew in *Politika*, 2015).

"Israeli Peace Movements" in David Newman and Joel Peters (eds.), *Handbook of Israeli Politics* (London: Routledge, 2012).

"Israeli Democracy and Identity under Attack," *Israel Studies Review*, 26, 1 (Summer 2011), pp.17-20.

"Israel Facing Africa: Patterns and Perceptions," in Alfred Wittstock (ed.), *The World Facing Israel, Israel Facing the World* (Berlin: Frank and Timme, 2011), pp. 209-224.

"The Price of Failure: Future Directions for the Israeli-Palestinian Peace Process," in Moises F. Salina and Hazza Abu Rabi (eds.), *Resolving the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: Perspectives on the Peace Process* (Amherst, New York: Cambria Press, 2009), pp.9-22.

"Israel after the War: The Winograd Commission and Systemic Dysfunction," *Politika*, 17 (Winter 2008), pp. 177-181. In Hebrew.

"The Two-State Option: An Updated Israeli Perspective," in Aslam Farouk-Alli (ed.), *The Future of Palestine and Israel* (Pretoria: The Institute for Global Dialogue, 2007), pp. 161-181.

"Israel and Africa: Challenges for a New Era," in *Israel and Africa: Assessing the Past, Envisioning the Future* (Tel-Aviv: The Africa Institute, American Jewish Committee and Tel-Aviv University, 2006), pp. 1-15.

"Peace Action and Conflict Resolution: An Israeli-Palestinian Exploration," in Asher Kaufman and Elie Podeh (eds.), *Perspectives on Israeli-Arab Relations* (Sussex: Sussex Academic Press, 2005), pp. 283-318.

"The Knesset," *Israel Affairs*, vol. 11, No. 2 (April 2005), pp. 392-416 (also published in Raphael Cohen-Almagor (ed.), *Israeli Democracy at the Crossroads* (London: Frank Cass, 2005), pp. 118-142.

"Resettlement for Peace," *Bridges*, Spring 2004, pp. 86-96.

Sarai Aharoni and Rula Deeb (eds.), *Where Are All the Women? UN Security Council Resolution 1325: Gender Perspectives of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict* (Tel-Aviv: Pardes Publishing House, 2004), pp. 54-58.

"Preparing to Share Jerusalem" in Amneh Badran, Daphna Golan and Jack Persekian (eds.), *Sharing Jerusalem* (Jerusalem: Heinrich Boll, 1998), pp.17-25.

"The Role of Women and Female Leadership in the Intifada and the Peace Process," in Avraham Sela and Moshe Ma'oz (eds.), *The PLO and Israel: From Armed Conflict to Political Solution* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997), pp. 213-219.

"Civil Society, Ethnicity and the State: Some Observations from Africa and the Middle East," in Hans Schoenmakers and Wiemar Salverda (eds.), *State, Society and Ethnicity in Developing Countries: Lessons from the 1990s* (Groningen: Center for Development Studies, 1997), pp. 7-20.

"Jerusalem: The Search for Solutions," in Joel Kotek, Simone Susskind and Steve Kaplan (eds.), *Brussels and Jerusalem: from Conflict to Solution* (Jerusalem: The Truman Institute, and Brussels: Centre d'Etudes des Relations Internationales et Strategiques, 1996), pp. 141-148.

"Engaging the State: Associational Life in Sub-Saharan Africa," in Atul Kohli, Joel Migdal and Vivienne Shue (eds.), *The State in Society* (London; Cambridge University Press, 1994).

"Governability and Compliance," in Riaan de Villiers (ed.), *Governability during the Transition* (Johannesburg: Center for Policy Studies, 1993), pp.13-20.

Naomi Chazan and Mariam Mar'i, "What has the Occupation Done to Israeli and Palestinian Women?" in Tamar Meyer (ed.) *Women and the Israeli Occupation* (London: Routledge, 1994), pp. 16-32.

Naomi Chazan and Donald Rothchild, "The Political Repercussions of Economic Malaise," in Thomas M. Callaghy and John Ravenhill (eds.), *Hemmed In: Responses to Africa's Economic Dilemma* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), pp. 180-214.

"Between Liberalism and Statism: African Political Cultures and Democracy," in Larry Diamond (ed.), *Political Culture and Democracy* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1993), pp. 67-95.

"Israeli Women and the Advancement of Peace," in Aryeh Yoffe (ed.). *Israel in Face of the Conflict* (Rome and Paris: Baldini and Castoldi, 1993), pp. 221-246.

"African International Politics, 1960-1990: A Retrospective Assessment," *Asian and African Studies* XXIII, 2 (July 1992), pp. 90-94.

"Africa's Democratic Challenge," *The World Policy Journal* (Spring 1992), pp. 279-307.

"J.J. Rawlings," in Harvey Glickman (ed.), *International Handbook of African Leaders* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1992), pp. 239-244.

"The Study of Politics in Independent Ghana," in Mark W. DeLancey (ed.), *Handbook of Political Research in Africa* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1992), pp. 299-328.

"The Domestic Foundations of Israeli Foreign Policy," in Judith Kipper and Harold Saunders (eds.), *New Directions in Foreign Policy in the U.S. and the Middle East* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1992), pp. 82-126.

"Liberalization, Governance and Political Space in Ghana," in Michael Bratton and Goran Hyden (eds.), *Governance and Politics in Africa* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1991), pp. 121-142.

"Democratic Fragments: Africa's Quest for Democracy," in S.N. Eisenstadt (ed.), *Democracy and Modernity* (The Hague: Brill, 1991), pp. 111-141.

Naomi Chazan and Victor Le Vine, "Africa and the Middle East," in John Harbeson and Donald Rothchild (eds.), *Africa in World Politics* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1991), pp. 202-227.

“Approaches to the Study of Irredentism,” in Chazan, *Irredentism and International Politics*, pp. 1-8.

“Irredentism, Separatism and Nationalism,” in *ibid.*, pp. 139-151.

“The Political Transformation of Ghana under the PNDC,” in Donald Rothchild (ed.), *The Political Economy of Ghana* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1991), pp. 21-47.

“Israeli Women and Peace Activism: A View from the *Intifada*,” in Marilyn Safir and Barbara Swirski (eds.), *Calling the Equality Bluff* (New York: Pergamon Press, 1991), pp. 152-161.

“Planning Democracy in Africa: A Comparative Perspective on Nigeria and Ghana,” *Policy Sciences*, XXII (1989), pp. 325-357.

Naomi Chazan and Donald Rothchild, “Corporatism and Political Transactions: Some Ruminations on the Ghanaian Experience,” in Julius E. Nyang’oro and Timothy M. Shaw (eds.), *Corporatism in Africa: Comparative Analysis and Practice* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1989), pp. 167-193.

“La Agonia del Estado en Ghana: Des Integracion y Resistencia,” in Peter Anyang’ Nyong’o (ed.), *Estado y Sociedad en el Africa Actual* (Mexico City: El Colegio de Mexico, 1989), pp. 151-184.

“Gender Perspectives on African States,” in Jane Parpart and Kathleen Staudt (eds.), *Women and the State in Africa* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1989), pp. 151-184.

“Ideology, Policy and the Crisis of Poverty: The Africa Case,” *The Jerusalem Journal of International Relations* X, 4 (1988), pp. 1-20.

“Domestic Developments in Israel,” in William B. Quandt (ed.), *The Middle East: Ten Years after Camp David* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings, 1988), pp. 150-186.

“Democracy and Democratic Rule in Ghana,” in Larry Diamond, Juan Linz and Seymour Martin Lipset (eds.), *Democracy in Developing Countries: Africa* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1988), pp. 93-139.

“Patterns of State Incorporation and Disengagement in Africa,” in Rothchild and Chazan, *The Precarious Balance: State and Society in Africa* (1988), pp. 121-148.

“State and Society in Africa: Images and Challenges,” in *ibid.*, pp. 325-341.

S.N. Eisenstadt, M. Abitbol and N. Chazan, “The Origins of the State Reconsidered,” in Eisenstadt, Abitbol and Chazan, *The Early State in African Perspective* (1988), pp. 1-27.

S.N. Eisenstadt, M. Abitbol, and N. Chazan, "State Formation in African Perspective," in *ibid.*, pp. 168-2000.

"The Early State in Africa: An Asante Case," in *ibid.*, pp. 60-97.

"Naomi Chazan and Michel Abitbol, "Myths and Politics in Precolonial Africa," in *ibid.*, pp. 28-59.

"Naomi Chazan and Timothy Shaw, "The Political Economy of Food in Africa," in Chazan and Shaw, *Coping with Africa's Food Crisis* (1988), pp. 1-37.

Victor Azarya and Naomi Chazan, "Disengagement from the State in Africa: The Experience of Ghana and Guinea," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* XXIX, 1 (1987), pp. 106-131.

S.N. Eisenstadt (with M. Abitbol and N. Chazan), "Cultural Premises, Political Structures and Dynamics," *International Political Science Review* VIII, 4 (1987), pp. 291-307.

"Israel and Africa in the 1980s: The Dilemmas of Complexity and Ambiguity," in Olajide Aluko (ed.), *Africa and the Great Powers* (Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1987), pp. 201-236.

"The Anomalies of Continuity: Perspectives on Ghanaian Elections since Independence," in Fred M. Hayward (ed.), *Elections in Independent Africa* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1986), pp. 61-86.

"Ethnicity in Economic Crisis: Development Strategies and Patterns of Ethnicity in Africa," in Dennis Thompson and Dov Ronen (eds.), *Ethnicity and the State* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1986), pp. 137-158.

"The Transformation of a Faltering Giant: Studies of Nigeria under Military Rule," *Asian and African Studies* XVIII, 2 (July 1984), pp. 205-230.

S.N. Eisenstadt, M. Abitbol and N. Chazan, "Les Origines de l'Etat: Une Nouvelle Approche," *Annales: Economies, Societes, Civilisations* 6 (1983), pp. 1232-1255.

"The Fallacies of Pragmatism: Israeli Foreign Policy toward South Africa," *African Affairs* LXXXII, 327 (April 1983), pp. 169-199. Reprinted in Joseph Washington (ed.), *Black and Jewish Perspectives on the Afro-American Experience* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984).

"Politics and Ethnicity in Ghana," *Political Science Quarterly* XLVII, 3 (Fall 1982), pp. 461-484.

Timothy Shaw and Naomi Chazan, "The Limits of Leadership: Africa in Contemporary World Politics," *International Journal* XXXVII, 4 (Autumn 1982), pp. 543-555.

Reprinted in Marion Doro and Newell Stultz (eds.), *Governing in Black Africa* (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1986), pp. 222-228.

“Political Economy and Foreign Policy in Ghana,” in Timothy M. Shaw (ed.), *The Political Economy of African Foreign Policies* (London: Gower, 1984), pp. 94-121.

“The New Politics of Participation in Tropical Africa,” *Comparative Politics* XIV, 2 (January 1982), pp. 169-182. Reprinted in Marion Doro and Newell Stultz (eds.), *Governing in Black Africa* (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1986), pp. 55-70.

“Israel in Africa,” *Jerusalem Quarterly* 18 (Winter 1981), pp. 29-44. Translated into Hebrew in Benjamin Neuberger (ed.), *Diplomacy in the Shadow of Conflict* (Tel-Aviv: The Open University, 1984), pp. 607-625.

“African Voters at the Polls: A Reexamination of the Role of Elections in African Politics,” *Journal of Commonwealth and Comparative Politics* XVII, 2 (Summer 1979), pp. 135-158.

Naomi Chazan and Victor Le Vine, “Politics in a Non-Political System: The March 1978 Referendum in Ghana,” *African Studies Review* XXII, 1 (1979), pp. 177-208.

“The Africanization of Political Change: Some Aspects of the Dynamics of Political Cultures in Ghana and Nigeria,” *African Studies Review* XXI, 2 (1978), pp. 15-38.

“Ghanaian Political Studies in Transition,” *Development and Change* IX, 2 (1978), pp. 479-503.

“Political Culture and Socialization to Politics: A Ghanaian Case,” *The Review of Politics* LX, 1 (1978), pp. 3-31.

“The Manipulation of Youth Politics in Ghana and the Ivory Coast,” *Geneve-Afrique* XV, 2 (1976), pp. 38-63.

“Myths and Realities in African Socialism,” in S.N. Eisenstadt and Yael Azmon (eds.), *Socialism and Tradition* (New York: Humanities Press, 1975), pp. 141-171. (Translated into German: “Mythen und Relitäten im afrikanischen Sozialismus,” in S.N. Eisenstadt and Yael Azmon (eds.) *Sozialismus und Tradition* (Tubingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1977), pp. 155-190.

“Nkrumaism: Ghana’s Experiment with African Socialism,” in S.N. Eisenstadt and Yael Azmon (eds.), *Socialism and Tradition*, pp. 173-192. (Translated into German: “Nkrumaismus: Ghana’s experiment mit dem afrikanischen Sozialismus,” pp. 191-212.

“Israel and Africa: Dynamics of Relationships in the Seventies,” *Kidma: Israel Journal of Development* I, 2 (1973), pp. 7-12.

CONFERENCE PAPERS (Selected List)

1. "Civil Society, Ethnicity and the State: Some Observations from Africa and the Middle East," Keynote Address, Opening of the Center for Development Studies, University of Groningen, February, 1997.
2. "Civil Society, Democracy and the State in Africa," Paper presented at the conference on "Civil Society in Africa," Dakar, Center for African Studies, March, 1994.
3. "Liberalization, Democratization and Civil Society in Africa," Paper presented at the conference on "Democracy versus Authoritarianism: Third World Options," IMEMO, USSR Academy of Sciences, Moscow, August, 1991.
4. "Engaging the State: Associational Life in Sub-Saharan Africa," Paper presented at the workshop on "State Power and Social Forces: Domination and Transformation in the Third World," Austin, University of Texas, February, 1990.
5. "The Political Transformation of Ghana under the PNDC," Paper presented at the international conference on "The Political Economy of Ghana," Washington, D.C., Johns Hopkins University, School for Advanced, International Studies, April, 1990.
6. "The State, Politics and Economic Reform: The African Experience," Paper presented at the International Political Science Association Roundtable on "The State, Politics and Economy: Causal Relations," Seoul, Korea, May, 1990.
7. "Liberalization, Governance and Political Space in Ghana," Paper presented at the American Political Science Association Meetings, Atlanta, September, 1989.
8. "Citizenship, the State and Social Relations in Ghana," Paper presented at the Thirty-First Annual Meeting of the African Studies Association, Chicago, October, 1988.
9. "African Political Cultures and Democracy: An Exploration," Paper presented at the conference on "Democracy and Political Culture," Hoover Institution, Stanford University, August 1986.
10. "Politics and the State in Ghana: A Third Decade Reassessment," Paper presented at the conference on "West African States Since 1976," London, Center of African Studies, School of Oriental and African Studies, London, June, 1987.
11. Naomi Chazan and Donald Rothchild, "Corporatism and Political Transactions: Some Ruminations on the Ghanaian Experience," Paper presented at the Twenty-Ninth Annual Meeting of the African Studies Association, Madison, Wisconsin, November, 1986.
12. "The Challenge of Development in Africa: An Interdependence Perspective," Paper presented at the Radcliffe Symposium on "Changing Relations in an Interdependent World,"

held on the occasion of the 350th Anniversary of the founding of Harvard College, September, 1986.

13. "Democratic Rule and Democracy in Ghana," Paper presented at the American Political Science Association Meetings, Washington, D.C. August, 1986.

14. "Democracy and Governance in Ghana: Problems and Prospects," Paper presented at the conference on "Democracy and the Developing Countries," Hoover Institution, Stanford University, December, 1985.

15. "Patterns of State Incorporation and Disengagement in Africa," Paper presented at the international workshop on "The Reordering of the State in Africa," Jerusalem, July, 1985.

16. "Ideology, Policy and the Crisis of Poverty: The African Case," Paper presented at the Davis International Conference on "Ideology and International Politics," Jerusalem, January, 1985.

17. "Disengagement from the State in Africa: Reflections on the Experience of Ghana and Guinea," (with Victor Azarya), Paper presented at the Twenty-Seventh Annual meeting of the African Studies Association, Los Angeles, October, 1984.

18. "The Anomalies of Continuity: Perspectives on Ghanaian Elections Since Independence," Paper presented at the Twenty-Seventh Annual Meeting of the African Studies Association, Los Angeles, October, 1984.

19. "Ethnicity in Economic Crisis: Development Strategies and Patterns of Ethnicity in Africa," Paper presented at the International Political Science Association Round Table on "Ethnicity and Politics," Glasgow, August, 1984.

20. "Anti-Semitism, Politics and the International Women's Movement," Paper presented at the international conference on "The Women's Movement: The Road to Nairobi," Paris, August, 1984.

21. "The Political Economy of Food in Africa," (with Timothy Shaw), Paper presented at the Twenty-Sixth Annual Meeting of the African Studies Association, Boston, December, 1983.

22. "The Demise of the State in Ghana," Paper presented at the Social Science Research Council conference on "State and Society in Africa," Oaxtupec, Mexico, October, 1983.

23. "Israel and Africa in the 1980s: The Dilemmas of Complexity and Ambiguity," Paper presented at the international conference on "Africa and the Great Powers," University of Ife, Nigeria, June, 1983.

24. "The Demise of the State in Ghana: Disintegration and Self-Reliance," Paper presented at the Twenty-Fifth Annual Meeting of the African Studies Association, Washington, D.C., November, 1982.

25. "The Fallacies of Pragmatism: Israel's Policy towards South Africa," Paper presented at the annual symposium, Afro-American Studies Program, University of Pennsylvania, March, 1982.
26. "Political Economy and Foreign Policy in Ghana," Paper presented at the Twenty-Fourth Annual Meeting of the African Studies Association, Bloomington, Indiana, October, 1981.
27. "The State, Ethnicity and Power in Ghana: The Peripheralization of Politics," Paper presented at the Twenty-Fourth Annual Meeting of the African Studies Association, Bloomington, Indiana, October, 1981.
28. "Participation and Politicization in Africa: A Ghanaian Exploration," Los Angeles, African Studies Center, UCLA, June, 1981.
29. "Political Adjustments to Instability and Underdevelopment: The Case of Ghana," Bunting Institute Colloquium, Radcliffe College, April, 1981.
30. "The State in Africa: Concepts and Reformulations," Comparative Politics Seminar, Center for International Affairs, Harvard University, February, 1981.
31. "The New Nigerians: Minorities and National Integration," Paper presented at the International Conference on Minorities, Jerusalem, April, 1980.
32. "Africa in Israel's Strategic Environment," Paper presented at the Colloquium on Israel's Strategic Environment, Leonard Davis Institute, Jerusalem, January, 1980.
33. "Political Leadership and the Informal Polity," Paper presented at the Interdisciplinary Seminar on Social Stratification, Jerusalem, May, 1979.
34. "Africa and the Former Colonial Powers: Anatomy of Relationships during the Second Decade of Independence," Paper presented at the conference on "Africa and the Powers," Tel-Aviv University, January, 1978.
35. "Some Thoughts on the Reestablishment of an Israeli Aid Program in Africa," Paper presented at the conference on "The Middle East and Africa," Jerusalem, the Truman Institute, May, 1977.
36. "Images of Political Leadership in West Africa," Paper presented at the conference of the Israel Oriental Society, May, 1977.
37. "The Africanization of Political Change: Some Aspects of the Dynamics of Political Culture in Ghana and the Ivory Coast," Paper presented at the African Studies Association Meetings, November, 1976.

38. “Decolonization in the Ivory Coast: A Political Exploration,” Proceedings of the conference on “Israel and the Ivory Coast,” Jerusalem, Truman Institute, pp. 22-35 (in Hebrew).
39. “Youth and Society in the Ivory Coast,” in *ibid.*, pp. 193-204.
40. Invited lectures at dozens of universities, including: Harvard University, Princeton University, University of Chicago, Duke University, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, University of North Carolina, Cambridge University, Oxford University, University of London, University of California, Davis, University of California, Berkeley, University of California, Los Angeles, University of Pennsylvania, University of Ghana, University of Nairobi, University of Capetown, Sydney University, Boston University, University of Nigeria, Lagos, Uppsala University, Aarhus University, Ghent University, New School for Social Research, Columbia University, Monash University.

PERIODICAL AND NEWSPAPER ARTICLES

1. Bi-weekly political commentary/op-ed column, *The Times of Israel*, August 2012—present.
2. Bi-weekly political commentary/op-ed column, *The Jerusalem Post* (May 1997-2010). Over 250 columns appeared.
3. Occasional columns in *The Jerusalem Report*, *Ha’aretz*, *Ma’ariv*, *Yediot Aharonot*, *The International Herald Tribune*, *Bitterlemons*.
4. “Democratic Recession and the Changing Contours of Civil Society in Israel,” *Palestine-Israel Journal*, XVIII, 2 and 3 (2012), pp. 9-16.
5. “Gender, Power and Politics in Israel,” *Palestine-Israel Journal*, XVII, 3 and 4 (2011), pp.30-36.
6. “Walt’s Strategies for Enhancing American Power are both Isolationist and Condescending,” *Boston Review: A Political and Literary Forum*, XXX, 1 (February/March 2005), p. 173.
7. “The Time is Now,” *Tikkun*, XIX, 4 (July/August 2004), pp.23-25.
8. “The Israeli Gender Paradox: Achievement and Exclusion,” *Outlook*, XLII, 2 (March/April 2004), pp. 13-15.
9. “Towards a Settlement without Settlements,” *Palestine-Israel Journal*, VII, 3 and 4 (2000), pp. 46-51.

10. "Women in Israel: Progress and Inequality," *Middle East Insight* (November-December, 2000), pp. 93-95.
11. "Women in Decision-Making Positions in Israel: Trends and Strategies," *The Status of Women*, No. 23 (November, 1989), pp. 14-24 (in Hebrew).
12. "Gender Equality? Not in a War Zone," *Israeli Democracy* III, 2 (Summer 1989), pp. 4-7.
13. "Israel and South Africa: Some Preliminary Reflections," *New Outlook* (June, 1988), pp. 8-11.
14. "Ghana" and "Nigeria" *Facts on File*, New York, 1987.
15. "Current Trends in Israeli-African Relations," *Skira Hodshit (Monthly Review)*, No. 6 (June, 1984), pp. 17-28 (in Hebrew).
16. "Patterns in the Liberation of Africa," *Skira Hodshit (Monthly Review)*, No. 2 (February, 1982), pp. 23-32 (in Hebrew).
17. "Familles en Transition," *Femmes de Cote d'Ivoire* (1980), pp. 11-15.
18. "Israel and Africa: The Commencement of a New Era?" *The Jerusalem Post Peace Issue*, 15 April, 1979.
19. "1978: A Turning Point in African International Relations," *Skira Hodshit (Monthly Review)*, No. 11 (November, 1978), pp. 43-50 (in Hebrew).
20. "Israel's Shortsighted Policy on South Africa," *Interchange* I, 9 (1976).
21. "The African Arena," *The Jerusalem Post Magazine* 9 June, 1976.
22. "Israel's Position in Africa: An African Viewpoint," *Skira Hodshit (Monthly Review)* No. 2 (February, 1973), pp. 13-22 (in Hebrew).
23. Book reviews in numerous journals, including: *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, *The Annals of the American Academy*, *Israel Studies Review*, *HaMizrach Hahadash*, *Journal of Modern African Studies*, *Jerusalem Journal of International Relations*, *Worldview*, *African Studies Review*, *Comparative Politics*, *Journal of Commonwealth Studies*.

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