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## IN MEMORIAM

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### ASHER ARIAN

Asher Arian, one of Israel's most prominent political scientists, died on July 6 after a long illness, a four-year battle with cancer. He was 71. Asher Arian was a leading political scientist both in Israel and the United States.

Born in Cleveland in 1938, Arian graduated from John Adams High School, earned a bachelor's degree at Western Reserve University in 1961 and went on to master's and doctoral degrees in 1965 at Michigan State. Joining Tel Aviv University in 1966, he founded and led its political science department. He later led the Golda Meir Institute of Labor and Social Research there. He also became the university's dean of social sciences. Arian continued his professional affiliations in Israel with appointments in 1990 as a professor of political science at the University of Haifa and, in 1995, as a research fellow at the Israel Democracy Institute in Jerusalem. He later served as senior fellow there. He brought the Guttman Institute for Applied Social Research (now Guttman Center) to the Institute. In 2006, the Guttman Center won the Tolerance Prize from the Public Committee of Tolerance, a nonpartisan organization to curtail violence. In 2005, Arian was awarded a Distinguished Lifetime Achievement Award by the Israel Political Science Association.

In the late 1980s and early 1990s, he led the Robert F. Wagner Sr. Center for Urban Public Policy at the City University of New York's Graduate Center. He was a distinguished professor at the City University Graduate Center, having joined the faculty in 1986 and also serving as the executive officer of the department of political science. Arian wrote or co-authored more than 25 books and dozens of articles that have appeared in prestigious academic journals. Among his books are a series on elections in Israel and, in 1973, *The Choosing People: Voting Behavior in Israel*. He was considered the pre-eminent scholar of public opinion in Israel. As a researcher, he was one of the initiators of the use of survey research in Israeli political science. His books and articles on Israel spanned nearly half a century. His first book was *Empathy and Ideology: Aspects of Innovative Administra-*

*tion*, published in 1966 by Charles Press. He turned then almost exclusively to Israel studies (he wrote a book on New York City politics in the 1990s, as well), publishing *Ideological Change in Israel* in 1968. His most recent book was *Elections in Israel 2006*, which appeared two years ago. The latter was one of a series of books edited by Arian (often with Michal Shamir) on the Israeli elections, starting with the 1973 elections. He also issued a series of reports on Israeli public opinion and national security. Other important books by Arian include *Hopes and Fears of Israelis: Consensus in a New Society* (with Aaron Antonovsky); *The Choosing People: Voting Behavior in Israel*; *Politics in Israel: The Second Generation*; *Security Threatened: Surveying Israeli Opinion on Peace and War*; *National Security and Public Opinion in Israel*; and *Executive Governance in Israel* (with David Nachmias and Ruth Amir).

A founder and head of the Israeli Political Science Association, Arian was also a key leader in the International Political Science Association. He helped establish the place of Israeli political science in the IPSA. Later, he served as editor of the association's prestigious book series.

He will be remembered by many for his mentorship and collegiality. A person of great wit and humor, he encouraged and guided a second generation of Israeli political scientists.

Survivors include his wife, Carol Gordon-Arian; three children; 10 grandchildren; and three stepchildren, including Seth Gordon, associate artistic director until recently of the Cleveland Play House.

Joyce Gelb  
City University of New York,  
Graduate Center

Asher Arian, pioneer and founder of modern political science in Israel and probably the best known scholar of Israeli politics, passed away on July 7, 2010.

Asher Arian made Aliya in 1966. Within a few years, he had founded the political science department at Tel Aviv University and established it as a vibrant, first-rate, modern, and empirically oriented alternative to the Hebrew University of Jerusalem department—until then, the only place

that political science was practiced and taught at in Israel. He imported to Israel the behavioral revolution, concepts, and research tools. He established the scientific research of elections and public opinion. He brought into being the Israeli Political Science Association, was its first chair, and fostered its connection to the International Political Science Association. In 2005, he deservedly received its Distinguished Lifetime Achievement Award. He initiated and institutionalized the major ongoing research projects in and about Israeli politics, including:

1. *The Israel National Election Studies (INES)* comprises an election survey and an edited book published after each election, which covers the elections and Israeli politics from various perspectives. The first election study was carried out in 1969, and since 1984, this became a collaborative project with Michal Shamir.
2. *The National Security and Public Opinion Project* was initiated in 1985 at the Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies and includes annual surveys and reports of Jewish public opinion on issues related to national security.
3. *The Democracy Index*, carried out under the auspices of the Israel Democracy Institute, came into being in 2003 and includes a yearly audit of Israeli democracy based on comparative and historical system-level indicators and survey data.
4. *The Guttman Center* was established in 1998 within the Israel Democracy Institute. It maintains the most comprehensive database on public opinion surveys in Israel, including surveys since 1947 of the Israel Institute of Applied Social Research.

Each of these projects was groundbreaking when initiated. They all have been institutionalized and carried on since their establishment. They have both academic and public import and impact. Taken together, they provide essential sources for the study of Israeli democracy over time regarding its peculiarities, strengths and weaknesses. Asher Arian drew on them in his own work; many

Israeli and international scholars and students rely on them in their studies of Israeli politics and society and continue to do so.

Asher Arian authored and coauthored dozens of books and articles on Israeli government and politics, elections, public opinion, and political behavior that were published in the major journals and academic presses in English and in Hebrew. Although most of his studies focused on the general public, he thought of politics as elite politics. His most influential books were *Hopes and Fears of Israelis: Consensus in a New Society*; *The Choosing People: Voting Behavior in Israel*; *Security Threatened: Surveying Israeli Opinion on Peace and War*; his textbook (published in three editions) *Politics in Israel: The Second Generation*; and the 13 volumes of *The Elections in Israel* series.

Asher Arian moved between the United States and Israel in his professional and personal life. He was born in Cleveland in 1938, received his Bachelor of Arts degree from Western Reserve University in 1961 and a doctorate in political science from Michigan State University in 1965. In 1966, he made “Aliya” to become the founding chair of the political science department and one of the founding fathers of the social sciences faculty at Tel Aviv University. Since the late 1980s, together with his spouse Carol, he divided his time between the United States and Israel and held joint appointments at the Graduate Center of the City University of New York (CUNY) and the University of Haifa and the Israel Democracy Institute. Without doubt, the center of his life and academic career was Israel. Israel was his major field of research, and his family lives there: three children and seven grandchildren. He was an involved citizen and an astute observer of Israeli society and politics; his opinion was sought after by academics, politicians, and journalists.

Asher was loved and admired by generations of students and research associates, whom he loved to mentor and foster; many of them became his friends. His fight against cancer in his last years was courageous and stubborn. He continued to work relentlessly until the very last days. His most recent article “The Election Compass: Party Profiling and Voter Attitudes” (co-authored with Andre Krouwel, Mark Paul, and Raphael Ventura), will be published in the *The Elections in Israel—2009*, which he co-edited with Michal Shamir.

Asher was fun to be with: his wisdom and good sense, his wit and humor, his compassion—widely conferred, though selective—touched the lives of many. The loss of Asher is thus both private and public. It is a personal loss to so many of us—family, friends, colleagues, and students. And it is a great loss to the profession, upon which he left such a significant imprint since he came to Israel almost 45 years ago and where he stayed until his very last days.

Michael Shamir  
Tel Aviv University  
Ranan Kuperman  
University of Haifa

#### ROBERT V. DANIELS

Robert V. (“Bill”) Daniels died in Burlington, Vermont, on March 28, 2010, at the age of 84. He was a distinguished scholar and teacher at the University of Vermont for more than three decades, a respected administrator in various university positions, a president of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, and an elected state senator in the Vermont legislature for nearly a decade. He authored two dozen books on themes of fundamental importance, mostly on revolution and modernization, power and authority, leadership and opposition, participation and bureaucracy, representation and communication, and ideology and culture in the Soviet Union.

The present writer did not know Daniels well but has long esteemed the man and his work. Bill’s colleagues can expound on his energy, integrity, generosity, loyalty, and other personal qualities. Here is a tribute to his intellectual curiosity, creativity, acuity, productivity, and legacy to political history.

Daniels was a lifelong student of tsarist Russia, Soviet Russia, and post-Soviet Russia. He focused on “Russian national politics and political thought, the realm most crucial in shaping the destiny of the Soviet peoples.” Daniels described policymaking and implementation in the Soviet Union and reconstructed motives and beliefs of Soviet leaders and oppositionists. Moreover, he explained changing functions of ideology and bureaucracy and compared Soviet political and social development with worldwide and long-term patterns of revolution and modernization. His arguments were inductive and deductive and

his evidence was qualitative and quantitative. A historian by discipline, he was a political scientist by trade.

#### Major Books

Daniels’s first and last books and documentary history are exceptionally important. *The Conscience of the Revolution: Communist Opposition in Soviet Russia* (1960) is a classic in Soviet studies. It is still the most authoritative and comprehensive analysis of the Bolshevik Party factions that were less authoritarian than the party leadership and unsuccessfully opposed many decisions and decision-making processes from 1917 to the mid-1930s. Daniels contended that “the Left Opposition” and “the Right Opposition” suffered “an unmitigated series of defeats at the hands of an apparently omnipotent party organization.” Opposition movements “failed” because “at each critical juncture, the Opposition displayed vacillation, disunity, tactical obtuseness, and organizational ineptness,” which were “traceable to a deeper defect: the Opposition lacked the necessary vision or self-consciousness about what it was and where it wanted to go.” This thesis is clearly formulated, empathically developed, and meticulously documented.

*The Rise and Fall of Communism in Russia* (2007), Daniels’s excellent last book, is a tightly integrated collection of his best essays on Soviet political history and its Russian antecedents and legacies. The stimulating introduction was commissioned by the Russian Academy of Sciences and is subtitled “Revolution, Modernization, and Socialism—Baselines of Modern Russian History.” The book’s topics include the origins of Marxism and Leninism in Russia, the Bolshevik revolution, Stalinization and Stalinism, Nikita Khrushchev’s authoritarian populism, Leonid Brezhnev’s bureaucratic ossification, and Mikhail Gorbachev’s “ill-fated reforms.” The final chapter is a rejoinder to critics of Sovietology for its alleged “failure” to foretell the collapse of the Soviet Union and the Soviet bloc. This thought-provoking and wide-ranging volume is an ideal core text for graduate and undergraduate courses on Russian and Soviet politics and history in the twentieth century.

Daniels’s third outstanding book is *A Documentary History of Communism in Russia: From Lenin to Gorbachev* (1993), which is complemented by *A Documentary History of Communism and the World: From*