

Public Diplomacy in Low Intensity Conflict: Israel as a case study

Course number:

Course hours and location:

Emory Institute for the Study of Modern Israel

Instructor: Dr. Nachman Shai

Email: Nachmanshai@Gmail.com

Office hours:

Course Description

Israel is constantly in the heart of international media coverage. Since its inception in 1948, it has been struggling against external threats by neighboring states and terrorist organizations. Israel has developed a combination of diplomatic and military strategy to deter its enemies as well as crisis management in the diplomatic arena. Today, the era of "big wars" has been replaced by "limited wars" and low intensity conflicts which are reflected in the Middle East and in Israel specifically.

This course demonstrates the efforts to use public diplomacy in the face of external and internal security threats, as well as the limitations of this approach. In contrast to the "big wars" that we know from history, governments nowadays have to deal with "small" ones, often facing insurgency and a threat of terror. Israel has experimented with approaches tested in the face of internal threats that were applied in other countries. It has also developed its own, and accumulated many lessons in public diplomacy. This course will describe the leading theories, the methods tried in the Arab-Israeli conflict, as well as the challenges and learning moments in public diplomacy. It will conclude with discussing the paths that are currently being considered in the war for "hearts and minds". The lecturer is a seasoned expert on public diplomacy and government affairs, with a background in journalism, military strategy, and politics.

Goals

By the end of the course students will be able to:

- Understand the complexity of the Israeli endeavor for legitimacy, conducted simultaneously in the military and diplomatic arenas.
- Identify the interests, values and objectives of state and non-state actors, and analyze the interaction between them through leading case studies.
- Recognize the theories and practices of Public Diplomacy – a primary tool in contemporary world politics.
- Apply acquired knowledge in similar academic research, and in further non- academic fields.

Course Methods

This course will make use of different methods of study: lectures, electronic media inserts, group discussions and simulations, student presentations and writing assignments. We have flexibility in our schedule and can take time to discuss issues you may raise. I welcome any ideas and initiatives from the students regarding the course material.

Course Requirements

1. Attendance and class participation is mandatory and vital to our learning community. Students are expected to come to class on time, having read assigned reading material.
2. Once a week, the class will open with a student presentation. Each student will be required to present a brief on Israel's current affairs. The topic of the presentation will be sent to me for approval by 12:00 of the day before.
3. The final paper will consist of 3 general questions of which the students will be required to answer 2.
4. Computer policy: Students are invited to use laptops\tablets in class provided that Wi-Fi is turned off. If this permission appears to distract students from participating in the class, I may institute a no-electronics policy.
5. Accommodating disabilities: If you have any sort of condition that may require special accommodation(s) you MUST register with ADSR; please see the instructions at <http://equityandinclusion.emory.edu/index.html>. Then, please follow ADSR's steps and notify me as soon as possible so that we make the appropriate arrangements.
6. Academic conduct: Emory College has established an Honor Code outlining an appropriate code of conduct with respect to academic honesty and plagiarism. Information on Emory's Honor Code can be accessed at: <http://catalog.college.emory.edu/academic/policies-regulations/conduct-code.htm>. Please familiarize yourself with the policies of this Honor Code as a violation will not be tolerated.

Grading:

1. Attendance and participation **(15%)**.
2. Student presentations- Israel and the Middle East in the news **(10%)**.
3. Class simulation and debate **(15%)**.
4. "Reflection paper" - 2 written pages (Each student or more will draft a 2-page paper double spaced, on their major conclusions and thoughts on the previous class's topic. The paper will be submitted weekly- **10%**).
5. Final exam. 10 written pages, double spaced. In class, during the exam period, date TBD **(50%)**.

I encourage creativity and academic initiative. Thus, any further ideas regarding the course framework will be welcomed warmly and if possible, rewarded in final grade credit. The grading scale is as follows:

A 93-100	C 73-76
A- 90-92	C- 70-72
B+ 87-89	D+ 67-69
B 83-86	D 63-66
B- 80-82	D- 60-62
C+ 77-79	F 0-59

Oral Presentation Rubric (10 points)

Oral Presentations	Possible	Earned
Student presents a brief of Israel's current affairs as reflected in the daily news. Information will be gathered from various news outlets and introduced in a concrete and realistic way.	4	
Presentation is well organized and easy to understand.	2	
Delivery is clear and fluid, using vocal variety and eye contact.	2	
Presentation is at least 7 minutes long and finishes within the time limit, without having to be stopped by the instructor. The presentation includes a conclusion.	2	
TOTAL	10	

Reflection paper (10 points)

Written Paper	Possible	Earned
Paper reflects the topic and analyzes the complexity discussed in class.	2	
Paper is well organized and easy to understand.	2	

Paper addresses the topic in a professional and academic manner.	2	
Paper provides an in depth review of the previous class's topic with a focus on practical conclusions.	4	
TOTAL	10	

Office Hours: To be determined.

I will be available beyond office hours, please send me an email if you wish to meet outside these stated hours.

Required Reading

1. Kissinger, H. 1994. *Diplomacy*. New York : Simon & Schuster.
2. Nye, Joseph S. 2004. *Soft power: the means to success in world politics*. New York: Public Affairs.
3. Berridge, G. 2015. *Diplomacy: Theory and practice*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
4. Shai, N. 2018. *Hearts and Minds. Israel and the Battle For Public Opinion*. Suny Press.

Course schedule (subject to changes):

Week 1: Course overview, Introduction (Week of Jan. 13th)

Golan, G. 2018. The challenge of Peace. In Peters, J. (Ed.), Pinfold, R. (Ed.). *Understanding Israel*. London: Routledge. pp. 199- 216.

Kurtz, A; Brom, S. 2018. Strategic Survey for Israel 2018-2019, The Institute for National Security Studies. (Please read Preface. I recommend briefly reading other chapters). https://www.inss.org.il/wp-content/uploads/2019/01/INSS2018-2019Balance_ENG.pdf

Week 2: Diplomacy- Talking Peace (Week of Jan. 20th)

Shai, N. 2018. *Hearts and Minds. Israel and the Battle For Public Opinion*. Suny Press. pp. 29-41.

Nye, Joseph S. 2004. *Soft power: the means to success in world politics*. New York: Public Affairs. Pp. 1-33

Gilboa, E. 2000. Mass Communication and Diplomacy: A Theoretical Framework Global Communication and Foreign Policy, *Journal of Communication*, 52, 4. <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/epdf/10.1111/j.1468-2885.2000.tb00193.x>

Goals:

- Introduction of the evolution of Diplomacy- from traditional to new Public Diplomacy
- Learn the tools and practices of the new Public Diplomacy

Week 3: From “HIC” to “LIC” (High Intensity Conflict to Low Intensity Conflict) -Week of Jan 27th

Freilich, C. 2018. Security challenges and opportunities in the 21st century. In Peters, J. (Ed.), Pinfold, R. (Ed.).**Understanding Israel*. London: Routledge.

Kober, A. 2003. Attrition in Modern and Postmodern war. In B. A Lee & K.F Walling (Eds.) **Strategic Logic and Political Rationality*. London, Uk: Frank Cass. pp. 74-98.

Ware, Lewis B., Stephen Blank, Lawrence E. Grinter, Jerome W. Klingman, and Thomas P. Ofcansky. *Low-intensity conflict in the third world*. AIR UNIV MAXWELL AFB AL, 1988. Pp. 161- 178.

https://media.defense.gov/2017/Apr/06/2001728006/-1/-1/0/B_0024_WARE_LOW_INTENSIT_Y_CONFLICT.PDF

Goals:

- Understand the development of war from physical to cyber warfare and the battle on Hearts and Minds.
- Compare between the International Arena and the Middle East scene.

Week 4: Globalization and the Information Revolution (Week of Feb. 3rd)

Shai, N. 2018. *Hearts and Minds. Israel and the Battle For Public Opinion*. Suny Press. pp. 49-59.

Feist, S. 2001. Facing down the global village: The media impact. In R. Kugler & E. Frost (Eds.), *The Global century*. Washington, DC: National Defense University Press. pp. 709-725.

<http://indianstrategicknowledgeonline.com/web/C33Feist.pdf>

Livingston, S. 1997. "Clarifying the CNN effect: An examination of media effects according to type of military intervention."

<Http://genocidewatch.info/images/1997ClarifyingtheCNNEffect-Livingston.pdf>

Robinson, P. 2013. "Media as a driving force in international politics: The CNN effect and related debates." *E-International Relations* 17.

<https://www.e-ir.info/2013/09/17/media-as-a-driving-force-in-international-politics-the-cnn-effect-and-related-debates/>

Seib, P. 2004. Hegemonic no more: Western media, the rise of Al-Jazeera, and the influence of diverse voices. Paper prepared for the international studies association annual convention. March 17-20, 2004, Montreal. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3699677>

Goals:

- Introduction to The new age of Globalization and the Information Revolution and their effects on Public Diplomacy.
- Identify the new Public Diplomacy actors and their influence on International affairs.

Week 5: “Hasbara” - Israel’s Public Diplomacy (Week of Feb. 10th)

Shai, N. 2018. *Hearts and Minds. Israel and the Battle For Public Opinion*. Suny Press. pp. 95-110.

Peters, J. 2018. Israel in the world the quest for legitimacy. In Peters, J. (Ed.), Pinfold, R. (Ed.). *Understanding Israel*. London: Routledge. pp. 247- 263.

Optional:

Stein, Kenneth W. "US-Israeli Relations 1947-2010: The View from Washington". In Alfred Wittstock, ed. *The World Facing Israel – Israel Facing the World*. Berlin: Frank & Timme, 2011: 159-176.

https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Fateme_Dabiri2/publication/328224836_Frank_Timme_The_World_facing_Israel-Israel_facing_the_World_Images_and_Politics/links/5bbf599a299bf1004c5a456b/Frank-Timme-The-World-facing-Israel-Israel-facing-the-World-Images-and-Politics.pdf

Goals:

- Introduction to Israel’s Public Diplomacy in modern history.
- Identify Israel’s old and new Public Diplomacy actors and their role in National affairs.

Week 6: al-Dura Case Study (Week of Feb. 17th)

Shai, N. 2018. *Hearts and Minds. Israel and the Battle For Public Opinion*. Suny Press. pp. 5-17.

Fallows, J. 2003 "Who Shot Mohammed al-Dura?." *Atlantic Monthly* 291, no. 5 . https://sciencepolicy.colorado.edu/students/envs_5000/fallows_2003.pdf

Poller, Nidra. 2011. "The Muhammad al-Dura Hoax and Other Myths Revived." *Middle East Quarterly*(2011). <https://www.meforum.org/3076/muhammad-al-dura-hoax>

Goals:

- Analyze and understand Israel's failure in the case of Muhammad al- Dura, a 11 year old child who was killed in the first day of the second Intifada.

Week 7: The Ramallah Lynching Case study (Week of Feb. 24th)

Shai, N. 2018. *Hearts and Minds. Israel and the Battle For Public Opinion*. Suny Press. pp. 145-159.

"Coverage of Oct 12 Lynch in Ramallah by Italian TV Station RAI". Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs. 2000-10-17

https://web.archive.org/web/20100418160039/http://www.mfa.gov.il/MFA/MFAArchive/2000_2009/2000/10/Coverage%20of%20Oct%2012%20Lynch%20in%20Ramallah%20by%20Italian%20TV

Tylor, Adair. "Fighting the Information War." *Fortnight*, no. 391 (2001): 12-13. <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.bgu.ac.il/stable/25560135>.

Goals:

- Evaluate the Israeli effort to divert attention from the al-Dura case to the Ramallah lynchings.
- Analyze the case and draw conclusions.
- Expose the double standard of the International media coverage.

Week 8: Low Intensity Conflict- Threats and Responses (Week of Mar. 2nd)

Shai, N. 2018. *Hearts and Minds. Israel and the Battle For Public Opinion*. Suny Press, pp. 41-49.

Inbar, E. 1991. "Israel's small war: The military response to the Intifada." *Armed Forces & Society*18, no. 1 : 29-50.

<http://web.ebscohost.com.ezproxy.bgu.ac.il/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?vid=2&sid=fa52139d-c47c-42cf-b9b1-1f3c8ea6c4dc%40pdc-v-sessmgr02>

Eiland, G. 2010. "The IDF in the Second Intifada." *Strategic Assessment* 13, no. 3: 27-37. [https://www.inss.org.il/he/wp-content/uploads/sites/2/systemfiles/\(FILE\)1289896504.pdf](https://www.inss.org.il/he/wp-content/uploads/sites/2/systemfiles/(FILE)1289896504.pdf)

Goals:

- Demonstrate Israel's Technological and conceptual responses to the challenges of the battle on consciousness.

- **Spring Break**

Week 9: The Diplomatic Front - The Durban Conference and BDS Movement (Week of Mar. 16th)

Part one: The Durban Conference

Robinson, M., & Mandela, N. 2001. Tolerance and diversity: A vision for the 21st Century. The vision declaration – world conference against racism. <http://www.un.org/WCAR/e-kit/vision.htm>

Cotler, I. 2001. The conference against racism that became a racist conference against Jews. Global Jewish Agenda Website. <http://www.jafi.org.il/agenda/english/wk3-22/6.asp>
<https://www.jcpa.org/brief/brief2-5.htm>

Jones, J. 2001. Durban daze – when anti-Semitism becomes ‘anti-racism’ - Durban conference on racism. The Review. AIJAC – Australian/Israel & Jewish affairs council. <http://www.aijac.org.au/review/2001/2610/durban2610.html>

Steinberg, G. 2006. Soft Powers Play Hardball: NGOs Wage War against Israel, Israel Affairs, 12:4, 748-768 <https://doi.org/10.1080/13533310600890083>

Part two: B.D.S Movement

Shai, N. 2018. *Hearts and Minds. Israel and the Battle For Public Opinion*. Suny Press, pp. 199-217.

JPPI Annual Assessment 2014-2015. pp. 73-93
http://jppi.org.il/new/wp-content/uploads/2015/JPPI_AA2015E.pdf

Efrati, A. 2017. Who’s Afraid of BDS? Economic and Academic Boycotts and the Threat to Israel. Strategic Assessment, Volume 19, No. 4.
<https://www.inss.org.il/wp-content/uploads/2017/03/3.pdf>

The Ministry of Strategic Affairs and Public Diplomacy website:

<https://4il.org.il/>

B.D.S Movement website:

<https://bdsmovement.net/>

Goals:

- Observe Israel’s lack of preparation prior to the Diplomatic Battle in Durban.
- Identify the B.D.S strategy as the substitute for the Palestinian failure in the Intifada.

Week 10: Home Front, The new Front - The first Gulf war as a case study (Week of Mar. 23rd)

Shai, N. 2018. *Hearts and Minds. Israel and the Battle For Public Opinion*. Suny Press, pp. 61-77

Shai, N. 1998. *The Spokesperson---in the Crossfire: A Decade of Israeli Defense Crises from an Official Spokesperson's Perspective*. Joan Shorenstein Center on the Press, Politics, and Public Policy, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University. http://dev.shorensteincenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/03/d29_shai.pdf

* Arens, M. 2018. *In Defense of Israel: A Memoir of a Political Life*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press. pp. 161-196

* **Optional:** Schiller, H. I. 2018. "Manipulating hearts and minds." In *Triumph of the Image*, pp. 22-29. Routledge

Goals:

- Follow the Israeli Home Front, the new front which was revealed in the Gulf War and endured the subsequent intifadas.

Week 11: The deficiencies of Israel's Public Diplomacy (Week of Mar. 30th)

Shai, N. 2018. *Hearts and Minds. Israel and the Battle For Public Opinion*. Suny Press, pp. 159-177

Goodman, Hirsh, and Jonathan Cummings. 2003. *The Battle of Jenin: A Case Study in Israel's Communications Strategy: Conference Proceedings, Tel Aviv, July 2002*. Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies. pp. 15-22

[https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/94533/2003-01_\(FILE\)1190277272.pdf](https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/94533/2003-01_(FILE)1190277272.pdf)

Goals:

- Conduct a detailed evaluation of the deficiencies and difficulties of the Israeli Public Diplomacy in general, and particularly the Battle of Jenin.

Week 12: Molecular Public Diplomacy (Week of Apr. 6th)

Shai, N. 2018. *Hearts and Minds. Israel and the Battle For Public Opinion*. Suny Press, pp. 177-199

Gilboa, E. and Shai, N., 2011. Rebuilding public diplomacy: The case of Israel. In *Trials of Engagement* (pp. 33-54). Brill Nijhoff.

https://brill.com/view/book/edcoll/9789047441755/Bej.9789004179400.i-309_004.xml

Kuperwasser, Yossi. 2009. "Battling for Consciousness." *INSS Strategic Assessment* 12, no. 2 41-50.

<https://besacenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/05/470-The-Six-Day-War-An-Inevitable-Conflict-Karsh-final.pdf>

Goals:

- Introducing “Molecular Public Diplomacy”- a new model that combines different aspects of Public Diplomacy adjusted to Israel’s special case.

Week 13: Simulation and class debate (Week of Apr. 13th)

Week 13 will be devoted for a class simulation allowing the students to implement the knowledge and tools they have accumulated during the course. The simulation will focus on a hypothetical issue concerning Israel’s Public Diplomacy and contemporary affairs. Students will research and represent different actors in the International arena and will conduct a class debate. It will take place during two class meetings in week 13. The simulation and debate will be graded.

Guidelines for the simulation:

- Egypt is the Moderator of negotiations, since it is the only political power who has access to both parties and enjoys their trust.
- The simulation is based on three rounds of discussions and consultations: The first round is aimed to present the actors initial demands and positions regarding a hostage situation, and to showcase agreements and disagreements between them. (40 Minutes)
- The second round is aimed to assess the situation and begin class negotiations. (40 Minutes)
- The third round is aimed to present post-negotiations solutions and public diplomacy campaigns conducted by each political actor. (40 Minutes)

Actors: Israel, Hamas, Egypt, USA, EU, Palestinian Authority, UN, NGO’s, International Jewish Organizations

Goals:

- Exercise the knowledge acquired during the semester by way of class simulation and debate.
- Evaluate the ability to implement class material and create Public Diplomacy campaigns.

Simulation and Debate Rubric (15 points)

Simulation	Possible	Earned
S&D (Simulation and debate) display knowledge and understanding of the issues and challenges discussed in class.	5	
S&D implements the diplomatic and practical tools and showcases flexibility and adaptation to circumstances. The presented stances and solutions are practical and can be materialized.	5	
S&D are done in a professional matter, and provide information displayed in a fluent and coherent manner.	5	
TOTAL	15	

Week 14: Israel Public Diplomacy in practice- a visit to Israel’s Consulate General in Atlanta and summary (Week of Apr. 20)

Part 1: Meeting with Israel’s Consul General Sultan-Dadon alongside other Israeli representatives.

Part 2: Course summary and discussion on the future of Public Diplomacy and Smart Power.

Final Paper Rubric (50 points)

Criteria	Value	Points
Paper provides a strategic approach and overview of an issue based on the course material.	0 – 10	

Paper is based on syllabus bibliography.	0 – 10	
Paper is based on additional bibliography and academic and non-academic sources.	0 – 10	
Paper contains examples, new ideas and displays creative thought.	0 – 10	
Paper is well written, organized and informative	0 – 10	
Total	50	

Optional Reading:

- Barston, J. W. (1988). *Modern Diplomacy*. London: Longman.
- Conway, M. (2007) *Terrorism and the making of the “New Middle East”*: New media strategies of Hezbollah and al Qaeda. In P. Seib (Ed.), *New media and the new Middle East* (pp. 237-258). New York: Palgrave
- Clark, I. (2001). *Globalization and the post-cold war order*. In J. A. Scholte (Ed.) *Globalization of World Politics* (pp. 634-647). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Critchlow, J. (2003). *The power of public diplomacy*. *New Leader*, 86, 12-14.
- Cusimano-Love, M. (2003). *Global media and foreign policy*. In M. J. Rozell (Ed.) *Media Power, Media Politics* (pp. 235-264). Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Diker, D. (2002). *Why are Israel’s public relations so poor?* Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs, report 487, 15 October-1 November 2002.
- Denning, D. E. (1999). *Information Warfare and Security*. Reading, Mass: AddisonWesley
- Eshel, D. (July 2002). *The battle of Jenin*. *Jane’s Intelligence Review*, 20-24.
- Nirenstein, F. (2005) *Terror – the new Anti-Semitism and the war against the West*. Hanover: smith and Kraus Global.
- Feist, S. (2001). *Facing down the global village: The media impact*. In R. Kugler & E. Frost (Eds.), *The Global century* (pp. 709-725). Washington, DC: National Defense University Press.
- Fugiel, M. M. (2005). *U.S. public diplomacy and the American experience: A theoretical evolution from consent to engagement*. (Master Thesis, School of Oriental Studies and Diplomacy, USC Annenberg School of Communication).
<http://uscpublicdiplomacy.com/pdfs/fugiel.pdf>

- Gutmann, S. (2005). *The Other War – Israelis, Palestinians, and the struggle for media supremacy*. San Francisco: Encounter Books.
- Johnson S., & Dale H. (2003). How to reinvigorate U.S public diplomacy. The Heritage Foundation Backgrounder. No. 1645. April 23. Washington D.C.: The Heritage Foundation. <http://www.heritage.org/Research/PublicDiplomacy/bg1645.cfm>
- Leonard, M. (2002). Diplomacy by other means. *Foreign policy*, 132, 48-56.
- Melissen, J. (2005). The new public diplomacy: between theory and practice. In J. Melissen (Ed.) *The New Public Diplomacy – Soft Power in International Relations, Studies in Diplomacy and International Relations*, (pp. 3-27). New York: Palgrave Macmillan
- Muravchik, J. (2003). *Covering the Intifada – how the media reported the Palestinian uprising*. Washington: The Washington Institute for Near East Studies
- Nye, J. S. Jr. (2006). Soft Power and Smart Power. *Internationale Politik* IP, 7, 10- 13.
- Pieterse, J. N. (2004). *Globalization and culture – global mélange*. New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers
- Ross, C. (2003). Public diplomacy comes of age. In: A. T. J. Lennon (Ed.) *The battle for hearts and minds – a Washington quarterly reader*. Cambridge Mass: The MIT Press
- Powers, S. Gilboa, E. (2005) *The Public Diplomacy of Al Jazeera*, In P. Seib (Ed.) *New Media and the New Middle East* (pp. 53-80), Plagrave Macmillan
- Scholte, J. A. (2001). *The Globalization of world politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Steinberg, G. M. (2006). The centrality of NGOs in the Durban strategy. *Yale Israel Journal*, 9, 3-20. <http://www.spme.net/cgi-bin/articles.cgi?ID=799>
- Taylor, H. (2006). The practice of public diplomacy. In J. Fouts (Ed.) *Public diplomacy: practitioners, policy makers, and public opinion*. Washington, D.C.: A report of the public diplomacy and world public opinion forum, April 9-11, 2006
- USC Center on Public Diplomacy (2008) *An Evaluation of Alhurra Television Programming*. University of South California: Annenberg School for Communication, 31/7/2008.
- Wilson, E. J. III. (2008). Hard power, soft power, smart power. *The ANNALS of the American academy of political and social science*, 616, 110-124.
- Wolfsfled, G. (2003). The role of the news media in unequal political conflicts. In N. Palmer (Ed.) *Terrorism, War, and the Press* (pp. 223-257). Harvard: Harvard University – the Joan Shorenstein Center on the Press, Politics and Public Policy, John F. Kennedy School of Government.
- Young & Rubicom Brands (2004) *Brand Israel – an American view*, Brandaset Presentation.

