Strategic Paper
# Soft Power - A National Asset

From an overall perspective, might it be preferable for Israeli decision makers to forgo acquisition of two war planes and invest those resources instead in strengthening Israel's soft power?

**by Dr. Sharon Pardo**

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כריכה עמוד אחרון חיצוני

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### Foreword: Towards a Multi-Dimensional Political-Security Strategy

The development of a political-security doctrine for the State of Israel has been debated since the establishment of the state. Hesitations regarding such a doctrine continue to this day. Up until the Six Day War, despite occasional failures, the approach adopted contributed to Israel's overall success. Since 1967, Israel achieved impressive political-security successes, such as its recovery from the surprise attack launching the Yom Kippur War and the development of a special relationship with the United States.

Failures began to mount. Most of these can be attributed in large part to incorrect analysis of developments and adherence to outdated doctrines. To illustrate, one need only recall the words of Prime Minister Ariel Sharon, "Settlement of the Gaza Strip was a strategic mistake".

With the passing years, important attempts to develop a new security doctrine have been and are still being made. These include the initiative of former Minister of Defense, Yitzhak Mordechai; the "process of thinking" initiated by current Chief of Staff, Moshe (Bugi) Ya'alon; and most recently, the establishment of the committee headed by former Minister and Knesset Member, Dan Meridor. The Government also established units whose task it was to deal with this issue, among them the Planning Division of the IDF, the National Security Council, the Diplomacy-Security Division of the Ministry of Defense, and a number of units in the Foreign Ministry. However, despite all these endeavors, Israel is still very far from developing a comprehensive, multi-dimensional, and long-term political-security doctrine.

This failure to formulate a comprehensive political-security doctrine is rooted in two apparent conceptual "fixations". (1) Development of the security doctrine is isolated from crystallization of a political doctrine. (2) The adherence to the concept of 'war', with qualifiers such as low and high-intensity, as if types of conflict to be expected, including aggressive and perhaps lethal ones, fit the conceptual world and frames of thinking of 'war'

The concept of 'soft power' highlights the weakness in current Israeli thought and action. Despite some improvement, the way Israel currently handles the need for soft power is very poor in every respect - from image building to enlistment of support. . A blatant example is the Israeli decision not to appear before The Hague International Court of Justice during its discussion regarding the separation fence. Quite apart from the question as to whether Israel's appearance would have affected the Court's Advisory Opinion, Israel's refusal to appear was widely regarded as demonstrating lack of respect for a body to which many countries (with the exception of the United States) attribute international importance. In addition, Israel's absence from the proceedings deprived it of the opportunity to explain its position before a forum that generates significant media interest and coverage worldwide.

Israel's soft power was originally based on its establishment as a Jewish state in the aftermath of the Holocaust, as well as by its success as a newly-independent developing nation in "beautiful" deeds (agriculture that makes the desert bloom, the Kibbutzim and their attainment of social justice, development assistance to Africa, etc.). Later, however, several factors eroded its soft power, among them: Israel's image following the Six Day War; certain domestic processes such as decline of the

Kibbutz movement; and its emergence as a regional power. Despite this erosion, no creative efforts have been made to build soft power on alternative foundations.

Israel is viewed today as having substantial 'hard power', with significant military and quasi-military capabilities, as well as resources provided by American Jews that contribute significantly to Israel's standing from the standpoint of political and economic power balances. But Israel's soft power continues to wane to the point that Israel currently suffers from 'negative soft power'. It not only lacks support, but in fact generates negative and even hostile attitudes. The Jewish people has a lot of soft power but is also subjected to increasing antisemitism which is correlated with negative soft power. This situation harbors real dangers, and has already had a negative impact on the stance of many countries toward Israel, on the policies of the EU, and on Israel's standing in international organizations including the United Nations. As emphasized by Dr. Sharon Pardo, today's global changes dictate that we adopt an attitude that differs from the dismissive attitude towards the United Nations that characterized the early days of the Jewish state.

If an in-depth study would find that it is impossible for Israel, together with the Jewish people, to take any decisive steps toward increasing soft power, there would be no choice but to give up on this important power dimension. However, as explained and demonstrated in Dr. Pardo's paper, there are many ways of building and consolidating Israel's and the Jewish people's soft power, without damaging the vital components of Israel's national security or that of the Jewish people in general. His paper also presents practical examples for doing so.

From an integrated political-security point of view the utility of soft power in terms of the cost-benefit-risk ratio leads to the following question which needs serious consideration: **From an overall perspective, might it be preferable for Israeli decision makers to forgo acquisition of two war planes (or other defense systems of similar cost) and invest those resources instead in strengthening Israel's soft power?**

Israel continues to make decisions and act without a comprehensive, multi-dimensional and long-term political-security doctrine. The development and application of such a doctrine is a central task of the National Security Council. This, however, requires a strengthened position and far more resources than are at its disposal today.
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Dr. Sharon Pardo's important work is worth reading, not only as an exposition of the problems related to Israeli and Jewish people soft power as such, but also as an illustration of the need for a comprehensive multi-dimensional strategy as outlined in Professor Nye's book (and explained in Dr. Pardo's paper). The dangers inherent in neglecting the importance of soft power are significant. However, the dangers stemming from the lack of a high-quality political-security doctrine are far greater. There is no more striking or painful evidence of this than the hard and fateful decisions that Israel will have to make in the near future, in part at least as the result of past mistakes that might have been avoided.

Professor Yehezkel Dror
Founding President

# Soft Power – A National Asset

## Dr. Sharon Pardo

## A. The Hostile International Arena

We witness today an openly visible stream of events in which Israel and the Jewish people have become increasingly easy targets of political, physical and personal attacks throughout the world. This coincides with a resurgence of antisemitism, or a new anti-Jewishness[1]. This process involves global incitement unprecedented since World War II.

The international arena has become the primary center for the expression of this new anti-Jewishness. The UN World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance held in Durban, South Africa in September 2001, represented one of the high points in this process. During this conference, it became clear to Israel and the Jewish people that international conferences and conventions have become fertile breeding grounds for anti-Jewish and anti-Israeli activity. In the words of then Israel Foreign Minister, Shimon Peres, "the Durban Conference was a festival of hate and false accusations toward the State of Israel and the Jewish people"[2].

The international arena, and mainly the UN and its institutions, has rarely been a source of much sympathy or support for either Israel or the Jewish people, other than during the first years of Israel's establishment. One recalls in this regard, the decision taken by the UN General Assembly in 1975 declaring Zionism a 'racist movement'. The Jewish people and its state are small and isolated from a diplomatic standpoint, and therefore make an easy target in the international arena. In the UN Commission on Human Rights, for example, Israel was condemned six times in 2001, and eight times in 2002, while, no other country in the world, despite widespread human rights violations, has ever been condemned by this body more than once in any given year. Over the past four years, the UN Commission on Human Rights has demonstrated a great deal of hostility toward Israel and the Jewish people, and published a stream of harsh condemnations against Israel, while almost totally ignoring violent attacks against its citizens. Only recently, in November 2004, and for the first time in its history, the Commission passed a proposal, with the support of European states that addresses religious tolerance and condemns any outbreak of antisemitism or hatred toward Moslems or Christians.

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[1] See publication of The Jewish People Policy Planning Institute on this subject: Irwin Cotler, *The New Anti-Jewishness* (Jerusalem: The Jewish People Policy Planning Institute), Alert Paper No. 1, November 2002

[2] Foreign Minister Shimon Peres, 4 September 2001; Yair Sheleg and Dalia Shehori, "Efforts toward Compromise Failed and the Delegations Left" Ha'aretz, 4 September 2001

The new wave of anti-Jewishness intensified significantly following the failure of the Israeli-Palestinian negotiations at Camp David and subsequently Taba (July 2000 – January 2001) and the outbreak of the Second Intifada in September 2000. It reached a peak after Israel's 'Defensive Shield' campaign of March 2002. Certain of an automatic majority, Arab states, with the Palestinians leading the fold, turned the international arena and the legal arena, into an effective means for spreading the Palestinian message and attacking Israel and the Jewish people in the media on a worldwide scale. In addition to international conferences and conventions, the campaign to ostracize Israel and the Jewish people has also been conducted outside of UN institutions, at professional conferences of international organizations such as labor, women's, health and welfare organizations, and others.

This incitement seeks to reinstate the Jewish people in its former position prior the establishment of the State of Israel – as 'the Jew among nations'. It seeks to tie every subject under the sun to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and cast Israel as a 'second South Africa', thus preparing the groundwork for the imposition of sanctions on Israel to precipitate its absolute isolation from the international community.

The trend currently prevailing in the international legal system is to extend enforcement of international criminal law. In the last few years, ad hoc International Criminal Tribunals were established to deal with Yugoslavia and Rwanda, supplementing the International Criminal Court in The Hague. Another expression of this trend is evident in the national laws of various countries, which grants local courts universal jurisdiction over human rights abuses, crimes against humanity and genocide, and provides law enforcement agencies the option of issuing international arrest warrants. Similarly, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is also undergoing a process of 'judiciation'. The international and national legal systems represent additional mechanisms that can be employed against Israel. In 2003, a lawsuit was filed in Belgium against Prime Minister Ariel Sharon for war crimes and crimes against humanity. Palestinians and relatives of victims of the Sabra and Shatila massacres in Lebanon in 1982 filed the lawsuit. The claim was dismissed only after the intervention of the Belgian Parliament and amendment of Belgian law.

In July 2004, the Israel sustained one of its heaviest blows from the international legal community, with the publication of the Advisory Opinion of the International Court of Justice (ICJ) at The Hague on the subject –"Legal Consequences of the Construction of a Wall in the Occupied Palestinian Territory"[3]. In its Advisory Opinion, the ICJ determined that the construction of the separation barrier violates international law, constitutes a form of a de facto annexation and is, therefore illegal. The judges determined that Israel cannot justify construction of the separation barrier on the grounds of self-defense, and it must immediately cease further construction, disassemble sections that have already been built, and compensate the Palestinian residents for damages arising from its construction. The court further called for placing those responsible for supervising the planning and construction of the barrier on trial. Regarding the Jewish settlements, the court ruled that their establishment violated international law as well.

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[3] Legal Consequences of the Construction of a Wall in the Occupied Palestinian Territory (Request by the UN General Assembly for an Advisory Opinion) ICJ Reports, No. 131, 2004

The court concluded that the construction of a separation barrier infringes a long list of human and humanitarian rights held by the Palestinian population. In addition, the court stated that construction of the barrier precipitates demographic changes in the West Bank, since it severely damages the fabric of life of the Palestinian population, forcing many to leave their homes.

The court did recognize that "Israel has to face numerous indiscriminate and deadly acts of violence against its civilian population. It has the right … to respond in order to protect the life of its citizens. The measures taken are bound nonetheless to remain in conformity with applicable international law". In addition, the court ruled that it is not convinced from the facts presented in this case that the specific alignment of the barrier is essential for Israel's defense against terror. In any event, Israel cannot use the claim of self-defense to justify "its unlawful conduct".

The court charged the UN Security Council with the responsibility for taking effective steps to ensure that "Israel's illegal activities" are halted. The Security Council has the authority, among other things, to impose sanctions on Israel until such time that the court's rulings have been implemented. The same month that the Advisory Opinion of the ICJ was presented, a sweeping majority of 150 states in the UN General Assembly voted their support for a proposal submitted by a group of UN-member Arab countries, calling for the implementation of the Advisory Opinion. This proposal lay the groundwork for intensifying Israel's isolation and promoting the implementation of sanctions against Israel.

The Advisory Opinion of the International Court of Justice constitutes a severe political set back, as well as a heavy blow to Israel's image. In the short-term, it seems that Israel, with the assistance of the US, will succeed in preventing the imposition of UN Security Council sanctions. In the long-term, however, the court's opinion interfaces with the new anti-Jewishness, vindicating it and lending it momentum, and challenging the legitimacy of the Jewish state by presenting it as a rogue, delinquent state. Israel will have a hard time claiming that the court ruling is just another hostile political decision by the UN General Assembly, since rulings by the International Court of Justice are perceived by the rest of the world as objective pronouncements from a respected professional institution – an institution which has designated Israel a systematic violator of international law for the last 37 years. The Advisory Opinion of the International Court of Justice has both directly and indirectly created a new international reality for Israel and for world Jewry. This new reality is likely to catalyze various kinds of harmful activity in a number of international forums, including UN-affiliated and professional organizations. This occurs in tandem with the rise of anti-Jewishness throughout the world.

The above discussion underscores the difficulties the Jewish people and its state encounter in directly engaging on legal and the international fronts. It follows, therefore, that a broad strategic perspective is required to examine this issue – a perspective that assesses the 'soft power' of the Jewish people and Israel, and investigates ways of augmenting it. An understanding of the soft power of the Jewish people is imperative to reaching a comprehensive and long-term assessment of the threats confronting it.

# B. The Jewish people and its Soft Power

## What is Soft Power?

Professor Joseph Nye, in his most recent book, *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics* (hereafter referred to as Nye's book), defines soft power as:

"the ability to get what you want through attraction rather than coercion or payments. It arises from the attractiveness of a country's culture, political ideals, and policies. When our policies are seen as legitimate in the eyes of others, our soft power is enhanced"[4].

Nye compares relationships between world powers to a three-dimensional chess game. The upper dimension is military power, where currently the US is the only real player; the middle dimension is economic and includes of a number of major players: the US, the EU, China[5], and Japan; and the lower dimension consists of 'special interests', such as international crime, climate changes, contagious diseases, and so on. This dimension has many players and power is divided among nations, international organizations, Non Governmental Organizations, etc.

It is common practice among policy makers to concentrate on the military and economic dimensions while neglecting the lower dimension, which primarily involves the employment of soft power.

Nye points out that when behavior is determined by an observable but intangible attraction, soft power is at work. In contrast to military force or monetary power, soft power uses a different type of currency to engender cooperation - not force, not money - it draws on attraction to shared values, and commitment to justice and duty to enlist support for the achievement of these values.

Soft power – the ability to shape what others want – can rest on the attractiveness of one's culture and values or the ability to subtly influence the agenda of political choices in a manner that induces others to refrain from pursuing preferred policies as seemingly untenable. Between the two powers – hard power and soft power – lies a full gamut of activities ranging from coercion, through economic inducement to agenda setting to pure attraction.

To clarify the concept of soft power, Nye cites several historical examples: the affect that former US President Franklin Delano Roosevelt's "Four Freedoms" had on post-World War II Europe; the impact of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty on young people residing behind the 'Iron Curtain'; the symbolism of the Statue of Liberty as evidenced by the model erected by Chinese student protestors at Tiananmen Square; and the impact of American videos viewed by Iranian youth today in defiance of government prohibitions.

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[4] Joseph Nye S. Jr., *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics* (New York: Public Affairs), 2004, p.x

[5] For an in-depth discussion of China and the Jewish people, see: Shalom Salomon Wald, *China and the Jewish People: Old Civilizations in a New Era* (Jerusalem: The Jewish People Policy Planning Institute – Gefen Publishing House) November 2004

The information age has enhanced the effectiveness of soft power by increasing opportunities to disseminate information and mobilize public opinion. It should be emphasized that although soft power includes propaganda, its meaning is much broader, extending beyond public relation images or transient popularity trends. Soft power creates real, tangible power – the ability to attain set objectives. Causing another to uphold your ideals or internalize your goals obviates the need for both "carrot and stick" incentives. Attraction or persuasion is far more effective than coercion, and many values, such as democracy and human rights, hold a strong inherent attraction. Soft power builds a more extensive capacity for influence than that attainable by the hard power rooted in the political balance of power. On the other hand, the source of attraction can turn to a source of repugnance if administered with condescension, in a manner undermining the basic values being promoted .

Hard power - the ability to coerce, derives primarily from a nation's military and economic power. For the most part, it is a necessary but insufficient condition for the full realization of a nation's policy objectives. History does not necessarily favor the rich nations nor those with the greatest military might. In Nye's opinion, in a world of increasing ability of the few, such as terror organizations, to kill more, hard power is of great importance. However, soft power is known to be of decisive importance in inhibiting recruitment of supporters and perpetrators for terror organizations, and in influencing other activities entailing multilateral cooperation.

Notwithstanding the above, it is worth noting that generalized definitions do not fully apply to every case. This holds true for the case at hand. For instance, based on Nye's definition, one cannot state categorically whether the influence of the Jews in the US is a result of their hard power or their soft power. There are far more facets to their power than those described in Nye's definition, such as influence in the media, electoral power, and other facets not discussed in his book.

Immediately following World War II and the *Shoah*, the Jewish people attained international support. The establishment of the State of Israel was seen in eyes of the world's nations as a moral act and the realization of historic justice. During the early years of its statehood, Israel's soft power rose consistently. Its military victory in the War of Independence was seen as a heroic struggle of "the few against the many", or "David against Goliath". Its capacity for nation-building within the framework of a pluralistic democracy contrasted with the experience of many emerging nations of the day. Socio-economic achievements such as absorption of waves of mass immigration, establishment of the kibbutzim, development of the Negev, the construction of a Jewish-Israeli educational system, establishment of the defense industry, and more, were also applauded. These achievements and events generated identification and support throughout the world. Jewish-Israeli culture, political ideals, and the policies of the nation's leaders headed by David Ben-Gurion, were all attractive and brought volunteers from every corner of the globe to help the fledgling state realize its vision of building a Jewish homeland in the Land of Israel.

Since 1967, however, the Jewish people's and Israel's soft power has been declining steadily. This erosion deepened after the outbreak of the 'Second Intifada' in September 2000. A survey conducted by a European Commission in October of 2003 reported that 59% of the total European population considered Israel to be "the

greatest threat to world peace"[6]. In another survey conducted by the Italian newspaper 'Corriere della Sera' in January 2004 among the EU population, it was found that 46% of respondents believed that Jews have a "different mentality" than the rest of the world's population. Forty percent indicated that Jews have a "particular relationship to money" and 35% agreed that the Jews "should stop playing the victim because of the Holocaust and persecution of 50 years ago"[7]. Yet another survey, from the French newspaper 'Libération' in November 2004, revealed that in light of the security events taking place between the Israelis and the Palestinians, support for Israel is on the decline. Only 12% of respondents expressed support for Israel, while 32% supported the Palestinians. A similar survey conducted by the same newspaper in 2000 showed that 14% supported Israel and 18% supported the Palestinians. The message in all of this is clear: Israel and the Jewish people continue to arouse suspicion; they no longer inspire sympathy, and the extent of erosion of their soft power is cause for worry.

**The Policy-Values-Culture Triangle**

The image of the Jewish people and Israel, and their attractiveness in the eyes of the nations of the world, is based on a wide spectrum of ideas and attitudes. In addition to Israel's policies, the image of the Jewish people and Israel is determined, among other things, by Jewish-Israeli values and culture. This triangle of policy, values and culture, is Israel's and the Jewish people's main source of soft power, the ability to achieve desired results through the ability to be attractive rather than to impose one's wishes on others. In the end, soft power is the ability to motivate others to cooperate without having to pay them or coerce their cooperation. For this reason, soft power is dependent in part on our ability to map out our objectives and aims. Comprehensive policies based on broad, comprehensive and long-term definitions of our national interests will be more attractive than short-term, narrow policies.

**(i) Policy**

Israel's policies, particularly regarding security, are among the key factors affecting the soft power of the Jewish people and of Israel. The escalation of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict not only projects on political values, but also affects the way the rest of the world looks at Israel and the Jewish people. Incessant agitation in the Middle East attracts the attention of the entire world, staining Israel's image and international standing, while adding pressure on Diaspora Jewry. In addition, the close ties between Israel and the US create antagonism among other nations, Western nations among them, contributing to the hostility toward Jewish communities[8].

- **Global Governance and Internal Policy**

It can be concluded from the first section of this strategic paper that making use of, turning to, and receiving assistance from international organizations and institutions enhances soft power[9]. Since Israel's and the Jewish people's attractiveness constitutes the source of its soft power, the attraction derived from common values and the commitment to implement policies that reflect these values, through multilateral

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[6] Flash Eurobarometer, *Iraq and Peace in the World – Full Report 151* (Brussels: European Commission) October 2003

[7] Peter Popham, "Poll Shows Rising Tide of Antisemitism", The Independent 27 January 2004

[8] See The Jewish People Policy Planning Institute, *Annual Assessment: Between Thriving and Decline-The Jewish People 2004* (Jerusalem: The Jewish People Policy Planning Institute) November 2004

[9] For an in-depth discussion of global governance and modern governance, see Yehezkel Dror, *The Capacity to Govern* (London: Frank Cass & Co.) October 2001

consultation and activities, enhances and strengthens Israel's soft power and that of the Jewish people. When the soft power of states appears to be legitimate in the eyes of others, those states encounter little opposition to their wishes. If the culture and ideological outlook of a state are attractive, others willingly stand up for it. If a state can shape international norms to match its own interests and values, its activities will appear more legitimate in the eyes of others. When a state uses international institutions and follows all the rules that encourage other states to channel or increase their activities in ways congruent to that state, there is little need for behavioral inducements. A report published in August 2004 by an Israeli inter-departmental task force for the examination of the Advisory Opinion of The Hague International Court of Justice (see aforementioned) concluded that, in order to minimize the damage of the Advisory Opinion, Israel and its spokespersons must emphasize that Israel acts in accordance with international law in principle and respects the decisions of the international institutions and organizations. This includes, of course, the decisions of the International Court of Justice at The Hague. The report further suggested that, in order to reduce tensions *vis á vis* the international legal arena, the government should adopt decisions regarding realignment of the separation barrier and the normalization of life along the barrier which conform to the decision of Israel's High Court of Justice (*Bagatz*). The inter-departmental task force emphasized that activities backed by government decisions will send the world the message that Israel is implementing international law regarding the building of the separation barrier, and doing so in accordance with the decisions of its own internal legal system.

Yet, it is clear from the above discussion, that international organizations such as the UN, with its associated institutions, are influenced by the majority voice of its member nations, and display a blatant prejudice against Israel and the Jewish people. As a rule, the realpolitik inability of Israel and the Jewish people to rely on international institutions or strictly adhere to international rules and norms, creates antagonism in the world arena, which in turn leads to severe hostility toward Israel and toward Jews throughout the world, weakening their soft power[10].

- **The United States and Israel**

The relationship between Israel/the Jewish people and the United States is based on hard power, as well as soft power. The diplomatic, military, economic, cultural pact between Israel and the US has assisted Israel since its inception in every international forum and every military campaign aimed at protecting the existence of the Jewish state. American Jewry, involved in the highest levels of society, work tirelessly for Israel. In addition, this close relationship provides an incentive to many states throughout the world who are interested in strengthening their ties with the US, to try and do so through closer ties with Israel and the Jewish people. Many such nations looking for a way in to Washington, approach Israel and world Jewry first. Examples include Jordan, Mauritania, Turkey, Eastern and Central European countries, China, and even Libya, whose ruler, Colonel Khadafi, approached the Jewish community in America to ask their assistance in strengthening ties with Washington.

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[10] It should be noted that other nations that behave in a similar fashion, or worse, do not "enjoy" a similar reaction.

On the other hand, Israel's and the Jewish people's pro-Americanism creates hostility among some, especially European countries. Israel's unconditional support of the US eats into its soft power in the eyes of European countries.

### (ii) Values

Policies that express important common values are attractive. A case in point is Israel's environmental policies. Based on international platforms such as the Kyoto Protocol (that Israel already ratified), such policies strengthen Israel's soft power, and present Israel as a partner in the concern for the environment regarding global warming, which affects the future of mankind. Emphasis of universal Jewish values and ideals, such as *Tikun Olam* ('mending the world'); 'love your fellow as yourself'; 'do not stand idly by the blood of your fellow man'; the 'Seven Laws of Noah' (Noahide Laws)[11], etc. in Israeli policy-making can serve to strengthen Israel's and the Jewish people's soft power.

### (iii) Culture

The attractiveness of Jewish-Israeli culture is the third element comprising soft power. Universal culture, neither narrow nor parochial, constitutes an important source of soft power. Many facets of Jewish culture transcend geo-political borders. However, it must be remembered that aspects of our culture that are attractive in the US, for instance, arouse repugnance in Arab nations in the Middle East. We must therefore be aware of the cultural borders, or limitations of soft power. Although culture can help enhancing soft power, there are also instances in which it has no positive value whatsoever.

Israeli kibbutzim and the culture that grew up around them, positioned Israel in the eyes of the world as a progressive nation, both pluralistic and egalitarian. It was a pull to young people from around the world who wanted to experience this culture by living and volunteering to work on kibbutzim.

Successful television programs that are aired all over the world, such as 'Seinfeld', 'Sex and the City', "Will & Grace", and 'Friends', 'The Nanny' present Jewish culture, among other things, in a positive and progressive light, causing viewers to want to be in the company of Jews and be like them. Successful Hollywood films such as 'Exodus', 'Fiddler on the Roof', 'Yentle', 'Schindler's List', 'Raid on Entebbe ', 'The Pianist', 'Keeping the Faith, 'The Matrix'[12], 'The Mosad' (a new Steven Spielberg project) also present Israeli/Jewish history and culture, and arouse the world's sympathy toward the Jewish people and the State of Israel. Many Nobel Prize laureates are Jews – by 2004, over 130 Jews, among them also Israelis, were presented with the Nobel Prize in a variety of areas. Authors such as Chaim Potok, Isaac Bashevis Singer and Arthur Miller have a prominent place in modern American literature. Philosophers such as Emanuel Levinas and Jack Derida forged new inroads in philosophical thought. The Bible and the Jewish religion are, of course, a major source of attraction in themselves. In this regard it is worth mentioning the recent intense interest being shown by famous artists and prominent people throughout the

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[11] "Seven commandments were the sons of Noah commanded: (1) concerning adjudication, (2) and concerning idolatry, (3) and concerning blasphemy, (4) and concerning sexual immorality, (5) and concerning bloodshed, (6) and concerning robbery, (7) and concerning a limb torn from a living animal" -- (Talmud Sanh.56a).

[12] In the 'Matrix' series of movies, the last surviving enclave of humans on Earth was called Zion.

world, such as Madonna, in the study of Kabala. Supporters such as these also act as a cultural magnet to the world at large. Jewish-Israeli literature, music, design, fashion, food, are all sources of cultural attraction to the world and make a significant contribution to the soft power of the Jewish people and Israel.

## Economy and Globalization

In Nye's opinion, economic power represents the middle dimension, in his three-dimensional chess metaphor. It is positioned between hard power and soft power. In regard to Jewish-Israeli matters, it seems to the current author that the economic power of the Jewish people is primarily a soft power, leaning on – among other things – economic influence, money and sources of funding. Israel is generally accepted among the nations of the Western world. The economic barriers not yet breached by the Jewish people in these countries are few and far between. In the world arena, there are Jews who are counted among the wealthiest sectors of the global economy. The State of Israel, despite global and domestic recession, is positioned number 22 among the world's richest and most developed nations according to per capita Gross Domestic Product. Many Jews fill key positions in the global economy, and there are many who admire the economic success of the Jewish people. However, there are also many who see this success as an expression of Jewish control of the world economy, so that this success is also a source of anti-Jewishness.

In this regard, it would seem that the process of globalization carries tremendous potential for strengthening the soft power of the Jewish people scattered throughout the world, who often occupy key positions in the world economy. But although globalization enhances trends toward specialization, class stratification and social dependence, it also damages social justice, causing aggressive response on the part of the anti-globalization movement. In addition, though it is true that globalization strengthens the soft power of the Jewish people, at the same time it also amplifies the wave of anti-Jewishness. As Professor Yehezkel Dror notes: "Globalization could have been expected to reduce antisemitism by displacing atavistic habits with universal humanistic perspectives and concerns, but this has not happened. Instead, globalization can be seen as aggressive antisemitism in at least four ways: it stimulates 'tribal' and fundamentalist reactions which have taken in part the form of antisemitism; it precipitates trauma, which in turn stimulates extreme movements and search for 'enemies'; it engenders significant hardship, such as frictional unemployment. Jews are often seen as main drivers of globalization; the 'shrinking world' provides anti-Semitic actors with opportunities to network more effectively and become more efficient in anti-Jewish actions, including terrorism targeted at the Jewish community"[13].

## Jerusalem

Jerusalem, the capital city of Israel and the Jewish people, is no ordinary city, nor 'just another capital' among the world's capital cities. Its religious significance to Jews, Moslems and Christians makes it of central interest to the entire world. Jerusalem resounds with holiness, hope, and history. It is a primary strategic asset to the soft power of the Jewish people and the State of Israel. On the other hand, there is no escaping the political reality in which Jerusalem finds itself at the forefront of the

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[13] Yehezkel Dror, *Confronting Antisemitism – A Strategic Perspective* (Jerusalem: The Jewish People Policy Planning Institute) May 2004, pp.4-5

Israeli-Palestinian/Arab conflicts. The city's sanctity intermingles with politics and ignites strong feelings around the world. Indisputably, the religious, national and ethnic conflicts inherent in the Jerusalem question, erode Israel's and the Jewish people's soft power.

## Jewish Demography

Even Jewish demography has an impact on the soft power of the Jewish people. The proportion of Jews in the world population is small indeed – just over 0.2% of the total world population. Outside of Israel, most Jewish communities around the world have a negative growth rate (registering more deaths than births). A major cause of this is interfaith marriage, an increasingly frequent phenomenon among the younger generations that have not had the benefit of a Jewish education. The resulting erosion of the younger generation leads to an accelerated aging of the Jewish community with a higher death rate and a general thinning of the community. Additional results of the continued changes taking place in the Jewish family and culture are a blurring of the boundaries of Jewish identity, and an increasingly complex definition of Jewish community.

In Israel, the demographic balance between Jews and non-Jews gives rise to a population equation that is directly tied in to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. "Demography also crucially affects the nature of relationships between Jews and the world, namely the weight of the Jewish communities facing competition with other groups or the majority in society". Professor Sergio DellaPergola states that, "There may be fewer Jews in the world than commonly thought, and if the current demographic trends continue unchanged, there might be even fewer in the future"[14]. Lower birth rates and the aging of the Jewish population present serious demographic problems that call into question the long-term survivability of the Jewish people and significantly weaken their soft power.

## Moslem Extremism and Increasing Ability of Fewer to Kill More

The ability of fewer to kill more with greater ease[15], together with the new wave of antisemitism, Moslem extremism and other nationalist organizations, represent a real and serious threat to the survival of the Jewish people. These bodies have designated the Jewish people as a primary target of their activities. Modern technology enables terrorist organizations to access arms and unconventional weapons of mass destruction fairly easily. Moslem fundamentalist terrorists are also dependent on soft power, through which they cull general support and recruit operatives to their service. In this struggle for survival, Israel and the Jewish people must mobilize not only all their hard power, but every component of their soft power as well.

## *Aliya* (Jewish Immigration to Israel) and Emigration

Migration patterns constitute yet another component of soft power. In recent decades, Israel and Jewish communities outside of Israel – mainly the US, Germany, and Canada – saw a notable immigration of Jews primarily from the former Soviet Union.

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[14] Sergio DellaPergola, *Jewish Demography: Facts, Outlook, Challenges* (Jerusalem: The Jewish People Policy Planning Institute) June 2003, pp. 1-2; Forecast of the Jewish population based on assumption of medium productivity, 2010-2050, in thousands: 2010 – 13,428; 2020 – 13,847; 2050 – 14,480. *Ibid* p.8

[15] See also, Yehezkel Dror, "Confronting Atrocious Evil", Midstream, January 2003, pp. 18-20

Immigration expanded the populations of Israel and certain Jewish communities, and added to their soft power.

**Personal Contacts**

Personal contacts are another form of soft power. Tourism and business facilitate such contacts. Foreign students studying in Israel are an important element of soft power. Their numbers have dwindled, however, since the 'Second Intifada'.

**The Limitations of Soft Power**

As with other types of power, soft power has its limitations. Soft power depends more than hard power upon the existence of willing recipients and beneficiaries. Furthermore, attraction is often diffuse, creating general influence rather than effecting readily identifiable specific action.

Generally speaking, we achieve specific aims through hard power while the achievement of more general aims depends largely on soft power. For instance, hard power is required for deterrence, securing borders and defending allies. At the same time, however, attracting masses of people to democracy is more effective than coercing them to be democratic.

Attitudes and perceptions among the general public are subject to rapid change. Soft power, expressed as popularity, is 'volatile'. Leaders are often required to make unpopular decisions, based on the understanding that these are the correct decisions, and in the hopes that their popularity will improve once it becomes clear that they are the correct decisions. Popularity in itself should not be an objective of policy.

Nevertheless, the price of unpopularity resulting from soft power decisions must always be taken into account in policy management. Public opinion polls have their limitations, but they provide a good primary indication of the amount of public support for a particular state and the price it pays for unpopular decisions. As an example, we can cite the European Commission survey of October 2003 mentioned previously. According to this survey, 59% of the population of the European Union thinks that Israel represents the greatest threat to world peace. It can be assumed that this perception is based on Israel's handling of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and on its defense and foreign policies.

Military power also has its limitations. Militarily, Israel has grown stronger, but at the same time, limitations on its military power have increased. Today, democratic countries are developing in the area of welfare and less in the area of military might. Increasingly, more moral justifications are needed to ensure moral support of confrontation. As Nye notes "the most powerful states have lost much of the lust to conquer".

The existence of 'islands of peace', such as the European Union, that share common values regarding normative behavior between democratic nations is proof of the increasing importance of soft power. As Nye concluded, "In their relations with each other, all advanced democracies are from Venus"[16].

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[16] Nye, p. 20, In this regard, one must recall Robert Kagan's statement: "…on major strategic and international questions today, Americans are from Mars and Europeans are from Venus"; See Robert

# C. Proposals for Action

The first part of this strategic paper has made it clear that the image of Israel and the Jewish people has been eroded. Israel and the Jewish people have failed in their attempts to cope with the anti-Jewishness in the legal and international arenas. There is, therefore, a need for a comprehensive strategic perspective to investigate ways of enhancing their soft power. An innovative approach such as this would generate, is vital for a correct and long-term assessment and for an understanding of the new arenas of activity. This approach will also prevent Israel and the Jewish people from inefficiently allocating resources, such as on unsuccessful advocacy.

In order to enhance soft power, promote Jewish values and fill realpolitik needs, Israel and the Jewish people must adopt the values of *Tikun Olam*. Israel and the Jewish people must renew Jewish values regarding the universal subjects and challenges that face mankind today, such as genetic engineering, world equality, and so on. In light of the above discussion, the following is a list of suggested initiatives and actions to be taken:

## The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict
The Israeli-Palestinian conflict impacts the moral and international standing of Israel and the Jewish people, the Jewishness of Israel, and - as arises out of the present discussion - its soft power. There is no doubt that a solution to this conflict, even a partial solution, will enhance the soft power of Israel and the Jewish people in every sphere, and will significantly strengthen its realpolitik standing.

## Increasing Cooperation between Israel and the Jewish people, and International Organizations
The famous comment made in the mid-50s by Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion, '*UM-Shmum*'[17] still colors Israel's foreign policy. It is imperative that Israel recognize the danger inherent in its arrogant handling of the international arena. As far as possible, and of course without impinging on Israel's vital interests, Israel should work on changing its standing in the UN, and in other international organizations and institutions. At the same time, Israel should embark upon an internal educational program among its citizens to improve the standing of these organizations in Israel and to stress to its citizens their importance for the State of the Israel.

Israel must present itself as a law-abiding nation, respecting the international legal system and the decisions of international organizations and institutions. For example, Israel is currently in contact with the UN regarding definition of the legal status of the territories from which it withdraws as part of the Disengagement Plan. Existing international law precludes recognition of 'termination of occupation' based on the Disengagement Plan, since it relates to only two conditions – 'occupation' or 'no occupation' – and does not recognize any intermediate condition. In light of this, Israel, which is interested in international legitimization of its claim that occupation of the Gaza Strip will be terminated with its planned withdrawal, is cooperating fully

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Kagan, *Paradise & Power. America and Europe in the New World Order* (London: Atlantic Books) 2004, p.3

[17] An Israeli derogatory reference to the UN. *UM* is the Hebrew acronym for UN, and meaning in effect, "the UN is nothing".

with the UN, the US government and the Europeans. Israel's soft power will increase if it also behaves in a similar way, as far as possible, with international bodies regarding other political and security issues.

In other words, Israel's recognition of international organizations, and readiness to make use of them, approach them and seek their assistance, will serve to enhance its soft power. In this regard, it would be advisable for Israel to take another look at the possibility of its joining the International Criminal Court (the Rome Statute), NATO and other international/multilateral organizations.

## Establishment of a Group of Legal Advisors, and Experts in Foreign Relations and Security for Proposing Changes to International Law and International Institutions

The UN and the rule of international law is currently in a state a severe crisis.  Their status and influence under the current format have been undermined by the recent war in Iraq. International law, and particularly the 'Laws of Armed Conflict' and the laws regarding the 'Use of Force', sorely lags behind reality. The UN appears now more than ever before, to be an outdated body, or in the words of US President George W. Bush, "The UN is facing the danger of fading into history as an ineffective, irrelevant debating society".

As UN Secretary General Kofi Annan said: "The UN and the international law reached a fork in the road … a moment no less decisive than 1945 itself, when the UN was founded". Meaningful reforms are required in the international legal and institutional arenas. Israel and the Jewish people, standing at the apex of the new legal and international front, must initiate the establishment of a group of legal advisors and international foreign relations and security experts to propose needed reforms. These should include topics such as the definition and implications of international terror, use of weapons of mass destruction, preemptive self defense, self defense against terrorist attacks, collective self-defense, humanitarian intervention, use of force based on 'necessity', the doctrine of the 'just war', human rights, Geneva Conventions, and the institutional reform of the UN institution – particularly in the Security Council, and more.

The endeavors of Israel and the Jewish people to change international law require a broad base of support. It is therefore imperative that the group not be composed solely of Jews, although it is desirable, of course, that it include renowned Jewish legal advisors, and foreign affairs and security experts. To promote this initiative, it is suggested that Israel and relevant Jewish organizations such as The International Association of Jewish Lawyers and Jurists, work in cooperation with relevant bodies and nations such as the US, the UK, Canada, Russia, Japan, India, China, South Africa, the European Union, and Australia.

## Participation in Global Initiatives

The enhancement of the Jewish value of *Tikun Olam* involves the participation of Israel and the Jewish people in global initiatives on issues such as human rights, women's rights, environment and conservation, the war against contagious diseases, drugs, and organized crime, etc. Intensifying the feeling of Israel's and the Jewish people's responsibility and commitment to these global objectives, along with allocation of resources, including Jewish creativity and involvement in research and

development regarding these issues will significantly strengthen Israel's and the Jewish people's soft power.

## The Information Age

In the information age, the most attractive countries are those that have at their disposal the widest possible spectrum of media channels and means of communication. Israel and the Jewish people must be active in every possible channel of communication to promote Jewish and Israeli values – values that coincide with global norms. The Internet should be recruited among these channels. The introduction of 'balanced' websites should be encouraged, alongside propaganda sites. Films, documentary programs and TV series on Jewish/Israeli subjects should be produced to be screened throughout the world. A Jewish TV station modeled after the Arab *Al-Jazirah* station, as well as Jewish radio station similar to the Voice of America, should be launched.

## The Jewish People and Islam

Alongside the struggle with radical Islam, which threatens to destroy Israel and the Jewish people, it is necessary to separate short-term considerations from a long-term view, and Israel's ad hoc political interests from a broader historic perspective of the Jewish people. In the long term, the ability of Israel and the Jewish people to continue to thrive and strengthen their soft power rest upon reaching an understanding with moderate Islam. In an attempt to counter-balance the influence of fundamentalist Islam, the Jewish people must occupy the forefront of supporters for moderate Islam and respect for Islamic culture. After all, there is a great deal of similarity between the two religions, starting with the belief in one God and including issues pertaining to religion and state. Judaism must step up activities designed to stem the tide of Western attempts to demonize Islam. One example of this can be the support of Moslem communities in all Western countries that are outlawing the wearing of traditional religious symbols in public places. The mergence of Jewish and Moslem communities in all the countries in which they reside side by side will enhance the soft power of the Jewish people.

## Improving Israel's and the Jewish People's Soft Power in Emerging Super-Powers without Biblical Tradition

Shifts in the global political constellations requires augmentation of Israel and the Jewish people's soft power in those states that are becoming major players in the global arena, such as China and India. These states, particularly China, constitute emerging super-powers that can be expected to have increasingly substantial political, economic and military power in the twenty-first century. Contact with or interest in the Jewish people in these states, devoid of any Biblical tradition prior to the twentieth century, has been negligible.

Israel and the Jewish people must strengthen their position in these emerging super-powers that offer the Jewish people opportunities to improve their status and enhance their soft power. The Jewish People Policy Planning Institute has recently published a strategic paper, *'China and the Jewish People: Old Civilizations in a New Era'*[18], which also includes policy recommendations for enhancing the soft power of the Jewish people in China. These include, *inter alia,* the establishment of a permanent

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[18] *Supra* note 5

delegation in China of major Jewish organizations, initiation of a high-level symposium for Chinese policy makers on shared global issues and mutual relations, symposium for Chinese business leaders on entrepreneurship and innovation, training courses for university teachers, and an academic Judaism center in Beijing.

## Strengthening the Ties between Israel/the Jewish People, and the European Union

The European Union enjoys a positive image and a very high level of soft power throughout the world. Its influence on world issues is growing steadily, and its diplomatic standing is commensurate with its political, economic and commercial power.

The EU is Israel's most important trading partner, accounting for 30% of Israel's exports and 40% of its imports. However, Israel's and the Jewish people's soft power has significantly declined throughout the European continent. Hand in hand with the growth of Moslem communities in Europe, we witness to an increase in the manifestations of antisemitism and erosion of the standing of European Jewish communities, which have a collective population of 1.1 million people. A low birth rate, aging, emigration to Israel, and interfaith marriage characterize most European Jewish communities, with the exception of those in Germany. As the status of Israel declines in Europe, the status and influence of European Jewry weakens.

For some reason, despite this, Israel and the Jewish people tend to neglect the European arena and we witness today a process of demonization of the EU in Israel and in Jewish communities around the world. This is in spite of the fact that the EU shows willingness for cooperation with Israel and the Jewish people to uproot antisemitism on the continent, and despite EU efforts to actively contribute to solving the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

Enhancing the soft power of European Jewry is the most pressing need of the hour. Israel, the Jewish people, and Europe are faced with the task of bridging the growing rift between them and creating a new pact between Europe and the Jewish people. Such a pact with the EU, which enjoys a positive image and formidable soft power throughout the world, would strengthen Israel's standing and that of the Jewish people in the eyes of the rest of the world. It is crucially important to develop relations with the continent that is the world's third largest population center, the second most powerful economic block, and the world's largest trading framework.

## Judaism and Christianity

The current Pope, John Paul II, adopted an unprecedented policy for bringing together Christianity and the Jewish people, recognizing the State of Israel, and strengthening the dialogue between Jews and Christians. At the same time, Protestant and Evangelist Christians developed a sympathetic approach toward the Jewish people and Israel, with the aim of hastening the return of Jews to Zion as a means of bringing on the Second Coming. On the other hand, alongside these groups are other groups of Christians who negate Israel's right to exist.

In the short term, these positive developments strengthen the standing of the Jewish people and enhance its soft power in the Christian world. However, the inevitable passing of the current Pope, and the inability of Messianic Christianity to fulfill

expectations, does not bode well, neither from a religious nor political standpoint. In order to preserve its soft power, Israel and the Jewish people must – while cooperating with the Christian world – restrain the desire for the theological-political pact with Messianic Christianity and with the leaders of fundamentalist Christianity.

## Jerusalem – World Center for Humanistic Thought
Jerusalem should be turned into a world center for human values, ethics and moral humanistic thought. The center would cope with two major issues confronting mankind today: the negative potential of science and technology, and the gap between abundance and riches and poverty and starvation.

## Jewish-Israeli Culture and Literature
European countries such as France, the United Kingdom, and others, have a long tradition of exporting their culture and literature through international cultural programs. Jewish-Israeli culture and literature is in demand. Israel and the Jewish people must act as these European countries do by intensifying efforts and resources on cultural exports. This can be accomplished by increasing the translation of books and Jewish-Israeli shows in foreign languages, increasing teaching of the Hebrew language in universities around the world, promoting student exchange programs, and establishing Jewish-Israeli cultural centers.

## Israeli-Palestinian International Conflict Resolution Teams
The future settlement of the Israeli-Palestinian problem will endow these two peoples with 'professional status' in international conflict resolution. Combined teams of Israelis and Palestinians, will be able to – and one can assume, will be requested to – assist other countries and peoples in finding solutions to their conflicts.

## A Strong and Acceptable Jewish State in the International Community
It is clear from this strategic paper, that understanding of the sources of soft power will enable the State of Israel and the Jewish people to make a comprehensive and long-term assessment of anticipated threats and opportunities. Enhancing soft power is vital as a basis for the development of decisive and effective counter-strategies to diminish threats. A holistic and long-term approach is required, which looks beyond current events. A multi-dimensional strategic approach alone will not suffice to stem the new tide of anti-Jewishness, but it is an essential element for safeguarding the security and the survival of the Jewish people. It will also, undoubtedly, help Israel flourish as a Jewish state and as a strong and welcome member of the international community.