Final Paper Research Proposal Form

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Subject: Utilizing the diaspora as a tool of national security strategy

Background: As a model for analyzing national security, Israel uses a “Four Axis” model which includes Society as one of the four axis. Similarly, the United States analyzes national security with five categories which includes a “Cultural” element. The diaspora is a key soft power piece of this cultural/society connection to national security. On the surface, Russian strategy appears to involve controlling its periphery, or Near Abroad, by destabilizing countries that might threaten it through NATO or EU or by stabilizing it through relations with “friendly” states. Israel’s strategy, via a strong diaspora connection, seeks to strengthen relations with the United States while leveraging political influencers. Some of this can even be seen via its Ministry of the Diaspora. Israel and Russia have developed strategies utilizing, with success, their diaspora both tactically and, more importantly, strategically. It is this strategic utilization that impacts national security strategy for the long term. Examples of this can be seen with Russia, during its invasions of both Georgia and Ukraine, and with Israel, both politically and economically, with its utilization efforts in the United States. These case studies show the successful utilization of the diaspora to fulfill strategic objectives.

The United States has failed to keep up and needs to develop a strategy to utilize its own American diaspora as an additional tool for national security strategy. For the United States, these case studies are models of successful strategy involving that diaspora utilization and emphasize the importance of diaspora development for future objectives. In better understanding how other states utilize their diaspora, the U.S. can better understand their overall strategy and measure their success. Second, the American diaspora can provide a key link to national security via this cultural/society connection but their unique insight and access can help achieve critical elements of the existing National Security Strategy and Military Security Strategy. For example, what better way to advertise and spread American values such as “advancing equality” or “empowering young leaders” than by utilizing these soft power diaspora as elements of that strategy. Like with Israel, the American diaspora can be utilized as potential influencers. These ideas are difficult enough to achieve but the diaspora can provide a key bridge between the United States and the target state.

Goal of the paper:

1. To analyze existing models of utilizing the diaspora in efforts to develop a methodology for the United States to utilize its own diaspora as a tool of national security
2. To utilize the 4-axis/DIME-C approach with focus on Society and Culture as suitable models for capturing the diaspora utilization concept for national security. Further, to utilize these existing state models as examples for successful utilization of the diaspora therefore encouraging the U.S. to develop its own capability. In the end, similar to developing an aircraft to counter another states aircraft or a tank to keep pace with another states tank, the U.S. must develop this strategy of the diaspora to utilize all potential tools for national security success.
3. To look at a “two step” process before utilization which includes strengthening the diaspora network and then developing a strategy for the utilization. To show the linkage between a strong network and successful strategic diaspora utilization. To develop basic principles for this utilization that might be useful across a broad spectrum of ideas.
4. Are there possibilities to identify, strengthen, and utilize an “e-diaspora?”

Research questions: How have states had success utilizing the diaspora for strategic success as part of their national security strategy? What challenges and successes were present in strengthening the network and developing a strategy for utilization as part of the national security strategy. How can the United States best utilize its diaspora as a tool of the national security strategy? Might it be best to consider the utilization of a global e-diaspora for this purpose? Finally, should the United States develop a counter-strategy for diaspora utilization by states of concern?

Research claims:

1. Despite models recognizing culture and society as elements of national security strategy, the United States has failed to develop a strategy to utilize its society, specifically its diaspora, as a tool to benefit its national security strategy.
2. The American diaspora abroad is not strongly connected as is present with the diasporas of other states. This emphasizes the need for the previously noted two step process; the strengthening of the network and development of the strategy are two separate parts. It is possible that they could be done simultaneously. However, before the diaspora can be utilized strategically, the network must be strong enough to support this objective.

Limits of this paper:

1. In some cases, states have neither transparent national security objectives nor is their strategy for utilizing the diaspora observable before utilization. This prevents thorough examination. However, the main goal is to develop a process for which the United States can make its own strategy for utilizing the diaspora.
2. Also, it is not the goal of this paper to develop a strategy to utilize the diaspora. Ideas may come forth from the research, but the main focus is analyzing successful models and incorporating the findings into a framework for the United States. The lessons and key principles are the goals, not the strategy itself.

Method:

1. Introduction
2. Modeling
   1. United States; DIME-C; Culture
   2. Israel; Four Axis; Society
   3. Soft power discussion
3. Challenges
   1. Defining the diaspora
   2. Dual citizens
   3. Utilizing versus using the diaspora; concern with infringing on the rights of U.S. citizens or impacting their business opportunities abroad
   4. Americans don’t move in packs while abroad? The e-diaspora could be the most effective way to utilize the American diaspora
4. Utilizing the American diaspora
5. Two steps
   1. Strengthen
      1. Tactical utilization
      2. Strong end state with the diaspora
      3. Prepare a strategy (in parallel or in series?)
   2. Strategy development - policy
6. Case studies
   1. Israeli diaspora in the United States
      1. strengthening a partner relationship
      2. transparent
   2. Russia in Georgia and Ukraine
      1. defeating a neighbor
      2. not-transparent - clandestine
   3. Armenia in France
      1. balancing relationships abroad with partners and allies; impact on NATO
      2. overt but unwelcomed by Turkey
7. United States
   1. Challenges
   2. Development
   3. Way ahead for strategy
8. The importance of the paper:
   1. For the United States, improving the understanding of diaspora utilization, in of itself, is important for better understanding international actors. This isn’t just limited to states but could be applied to terror groups also utilizing diaspora. With partners, in better understanding diaspora utilization, the United States will become better partners and allies to these states. In better understanding diaspora utilization of a potential nemesis, the United States can potentially counter these efforts. Finally, in understanding diaspora utilization by states in which the United States might want to maintain an element of neutrality, this is also important.
   2. Other states, like Israel and Russia, have had tremendous success in achieving national security goals because they successfully utilized their diaspora. These are strategic level goals that might not have been realized without this strong connection to the diaspora. The absence of a strategy to utilize the American diaspora leaves the United States in a position of weakness vis-a-vis other states. This forces strategy development without an important potential tool.
9. Connection of the paper to national security: The connection to national security is strongly rooted in the Israeli Four Axis and American DIME-C models for analyzing national security. The strength of nesting the diaspora utilization within the core society or cultural elements firmly connects this paper to national security. Further, the whole goal for utilizing the diaspora is to help with broad, national security level issues. The start, for the United States, in developing this strategy should be existing National Security Strategy and Military Security Strategy documents. All of these elements firmly connect this paper to national security.
10. Author’s link to the work: The author is an Air Force Foreign Area Officer with a background in Europe and Eurasia. Further, the author is a student attending the Israeli National Defense College. So, using Former Soviet Union and Israeli case studies was a natural draw. The lack of Asian or South American models, for example, should not be viewed as a lack of options in these regions. The author felt that it was most important to identify case studies with partners/allies, neutrals, and states that have traditionally been adversaries.
11. Person that created the work: The author, Col Doug Brock, USAF
12. Accompanying Instructor: Dr. Anat Stern, Mr. Shmulik Weiss, and others To Be Determined
13. Observations: The connection of the government of Russia to its diaspora in Israel is an interesting one. Although there remains a cultural, linguistic, and religious connection, as of now, the only observations of direct Government of Russia involvement with its diaspora has been with senior leader visits and the payment of Russian military pensioners living in Israel.