
Elie Friedman, PhD

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E-mail: elie.friedman@mail.huji.ac.il; elief@edu.aac.ac.il**Academic rank: Senior Lecturer**

Education

- 2011-2016 Doctor of Philosophy, Department of Communication and Journalism
Hebrew University of Jerusalem
Dissertation topic: Political Message Targeting Within and Without: How do Israeli Leaders Present the Conflict within a Changing Media Environment?
Supervisors: Prof. Zohar Kampf and the late Prof. Tamar Liebes-Plesner
- 2007-2009 Masters of Arts, Department of Political Studies (with High Distinction)
Bar Ilan University
Thesis topic: Talking Back in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: Rational Dialogue and Reconciliation or Emotional Shouting Match and Confrontation?
Supervisors: Dr. Yehudith Auerbach and Dr. Atara Frenkel-Faran
- 1995–1999 Honors Bachelor of Arts, English Literature and Philosophy (with High Distinction)
University of Toronto

Academic Positions

- 2019-Present Senior Lecturer and Head of the Communication Division, the Department of Multidisciplinary Studies, Ashkelon Academic College. Designed and lectured BA courses: Rhetoric; Public Relations; Qualitative Research Methods; Verbal Communications, Visual Communications; Mass Communications; Media in Israel; Seminar in Media and Security; Digital Communications; Marketing in the Digital Age; Conflict, Global Communication, and Public Diplomacy.
- 2017-Present Visiting Adjunct Lecturer, the Department of Jewish Studies, University of Maryland
Designed and lectured BA courses Israeli War and Peace Discourse, 1967-2017; Media, Culture, and Society in Israel (online courses).
- 2017-Present Adjunct Lecturer, the Department Communication, International Program, Bar-Ilan University
Designed and lectured BA course Rhetoric and Public Speaking; Verbal Communications; Discourse and Public Diplomacy in Israel; The Media in Israel; Beyond State Control: International Organizations, NGOs, and Media Diplomacy.
- 2014-2017 Adjunct Lecturer, the Department of Politics and Communication, Hadassah Academic College
Design and lectured BA courses Discourse and Public Diplomacy in Israel; NGO Projects and Public Diplomacy; Israel: Society, Politics, and Media.
- 2013-2017 Adjunct Lecturer, the School of Communication, Netanya Academic College
Designed and lectured MA preparatory course Language in the Digital Age
Designed and lectured BA course Media and National Security
- 2012-2015 Teaching Assistant, the School of Communication, Netanya Academic College
Designed and lectured BA tutorials for course Linguistic Communication
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Research Fellowships

2019-Present	Research Associate at the Forum for Regional Thinking.
2017-2018	Lady Davis Post-Doctoral Scholar, Department of Communication and Journalism, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.
2016-2017	Visiting Post-Doctoral Scholar, the Department of Linguistics and English, Lancaster University. Supported by the Israel Science Foundation, Social Sciences grant for post-doctorates abroad.
2016-2018	Member of the research group: The Role of Blame in Peace Negotiations Failure: A Longitudinal Textual and Media Coverage Analysis of the Israeli-Arab Peace Process (with Alexandra Herfroy-Mischler, and Zohar Kampf), Truman Research Institute for the Advancement of Peace, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem
2015-2017	Associate Research Fellow, Truman Research Institute for the Advancement of Peace, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem
2013-2015	Doctoral Research Fellow, Truman Research Institute for the Advancement of Peace, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem
2012-2013	The Rabin Scholar for the Advancement of Peace & Tolerance (Canadian Friends of Hebrew University and the Truman Institute)
2013	Research Fellow in the project <i>Discourse, Education, and Culture in the Israeli Palestinian Conflict</i> , S. Daniel Abraham Center for Strategic Dialogue, Netanya Academic College Conducted research about recognition gaps in political discourse in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict

Academic Administrative Positions

2021-2022	Head of International Relations Office, Ashkelon Academic College. Responsibility for international relations of the college, including cooperation with foreign universities, international courses, and international exchanges.
2017–2020	Director, S. Daniel Abraham Center for Strategic Dialogue, Netanya Academic College. Overall responsibility for the center's projects, including international conferences, regional dialogue workshops, and research.
2008–2017	Project Manager, S. Daniel Abraham Center for Strategic Dialogue, Netanya Academic College. Planned and coordinated all aspects of international conferences, regional dialogue workshops and research projects, including grant writing, setting project and conference themes.

Other Professional Experience

2007–2008	Breaking News Editor, Haaretz.com. Wrote, translated, and edited breaking news articles. Edited and maintained Web site via back-office system.
2004–2007	Technical Communications Manager, Traiana Technologies. Managed the technical communications team, including project management, co-ordination, and requirements research for all technical and marketing publications.

Publications in Refereed Journals

Friedman, E. (2023). The “Balfour Gang” versus “the Saladin Gang”: Geographic metaphors and metonyms in Israel as securitized, polarizing constructs. *Language & Communication*. 93: 125-135.

Friedman, E. and Neubauer-Shani, M. (2022). The Dialectic Polarization of Consensus-Formation: An Analysis of Civic Studies Media Discourse in Israel. *International Journal of Communication*. 16: 1-20.

Friedman, E. (2022). The Dialectics of the Securitization and Desecuritization of African Asylum Seekers Discourse in Israel. *Journal of Multicultural Discourses*. 17(1): 44-60.

Friedman, E. and Manosevitch, I. (2021). Accounting for Culture in Deliberation through Meta-Discursive Analysis. *Javnost – the Public*. 28(4): 407-425.

Friedman E. and Herfroy-Mischler, A. (2020). The Media Framing of Blame Agency in Asymmetric Conflict: Who is Blaming Whom for the 2014 Israeli-Palestinian Peace Negotiations Failure? *Journalism Studies*. 21(13): 1873-1892.

Friedman, E. and Herfroy-Mischler, A. (2020). The "Blame Game Frame": Ethical Blame Strategies and Media Framing upon Negotiations Failure in the Middle East. *Journalism*. 21(9): 1192–1211.

Friedman, E. and Kampf, Z. (2019). 'To Thine Own Self be True': The Perceived Meanings and Functions of Political Consistency. *Language in Society*. 49(1): 89-113.

Friedman, E., Kampf, Z. and Balmas, M. (2017). Exploring Message Targeting at Home and Abroad: The Role of Political and Media Considerations in the Rhetorical Dynamics of Conflict Resolution. *International Journal of Communication*. 11: 1597–1617.

Friedman, E. (2017). Evasion Strategies in International Documents: When "Constructive Ambiguity" Leads to Oppositional Interpretation. *Critical Discourse Studies*: 14(4): 1-17.

Friedman, E. (2016). Recognition Gaps in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: The People-State and Self-Other Axes. *Journal of Language and Politics*. 15(2): 193-214.

Friedman, E. and Kampf, Z (2014). Politically Speaking at Home and Abroad: A Typology of Message Gap Strategies. *Discourse & Society*. 25(6): 1-19.

Friedman, E. (2011). Talking Back in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: Rational Dialogue or Emotional Shouting Match? *Conflict & Communication Online*. 10(2): 1-18.

Book Chapters

Neubauer-Shani, M. and Friedman, E. (2023). An Examination of Liberal-Conservative Polarization in Mediated Discourse on Civic Studies in Israel. In Friedman, E., Neubauer-Shani, M. and Scham, P. (eds.). *Polarization and Consensus-Building in Israel: 'The Centre Cannot Hold'*. New York: Routledge Academic Press, pp. 116-138.

Books

Friedman, E., Neubauer-Shani, M. and Scham, P. (eds.) (2023). *Polarization and Consensus-Building in Israel: 'The Centre Cannot Hold'*. New York: Routledge Academic Press.

Friedman, E. and Gavriely-Nuri, D. (2018). *Israeli Discourse and the West Bank: Dialectics of Normalization and Estrangement*. New York: Routledge Academic Press.

Book Reviews

Friedman, E. (2017). Book Review of *The Politics of Fear: What Right Wing Populist Discourses Mean*, by Ruth Wodak. *Critical Discourse Studies*. 14(5): 569-571.

Friedman, E. (2016). Book Review of Marwan Darweish and Andrew Rigby, *Popular Protest in Palestine: The Uncertain Future of Unarmed Resistance*. *Israel Studies Review*. 31(2): 160-162.

Friedman, E. (2016) Everyone's Talking about Peace - But Why and for What Purpose? Book Review of Gavriely Nuri, Dalia (2015). Israeli Peace Discourse. *Iyunim Be'Safa Ve'Chevra [Examination of Language and Society]* 9(1-2): 235-239.

Work in Progress

Friedman, E. The "Balfour Gang" versus "the Saladin Gang": Geographic metaphors and metonyms in Israel as polarizing constructs – submitted to leading discourse journal.

Non-Refereed and Selected Media Publications

Friedman, E. (2023). Israeli media and the normalization of the Operation "Safeguard the Coalition". *The Forum for Regional Thinking*. May 24: <https://www.regthink.org/normalization-of-military-operations/>

Friedman, E. (2022). Taking the streets just to restore a little bit of Republicanism? *The Forum for Regional Thinking*. December 27: <https://www.regthink.org/make-the-great-again/>

Friedman, E. (2022). Israel is afraid of the next Elor Azaria. *Srugim*. November 23: <https://www.srugim.co.il/734104-%d7%99%d7%a9%d7%a8%d7%90%d7%9c-%d7%97%d7%95%d7%a9%d7%aa-%d7%9e%d7%9e%d7%a7%d7%a8%d7%94-%d7%90%d7%9c%d7%90%d7%95%d7%a8-%d7%a2%d7%96%d7%a8%d7%99%d7%94-2?fbclid=IwAR1HjugRuH-avf6qoG2Fz9dVLBcEgn1vtz9pV0kSNRzUbK-X5vgjaZxfa5s>

Friedman E. (2020). The emergency lexicon government. *The Forum for Regional Thinking*. June 9: <https://www.regthink.org/en/articles/the-emergency-lexicon-government>

Friedman, E. (2020). "War is peace": words and reality in "the deal of the century". *The Forum of Regional Thinking*. February 11: <https://www.regthink.org/en/articles/war-is-peace-words-and-reality-in-the-deal-of-the-century>

Friedman, E. (2019). The stars will align for many more operations in Gaza. *The Forum for Regional Thinking*. November 28: <https://www.regthink.org/articles/the-stars-are-aligning-for-an-operation-in-gaza>

Friedman, E. (2019). Israeli politics: Talking about talking. *The Forum for Regional Thinking*. July 24: <https://www.regthink.org/articles/meta-discourse-and-the-democratic-deficit-in-israel>

Friedman, E. (2019). Election candidates as empty vessels (Hebrew). *The Forum for Regional Thinking*. February 19: <https://www.regthink.org/articles/candidates-as-empty-signifiers>

Friedman, E. (2016). Israel does not recognize the Palestinian people (Hebrew). *The Forum for Regional Thinking*. November 13. <https://www.regthink.org/articles/ישראל-אינה-מכירה-בעם-הפלסטיני>.

Friedman, E. and Snir A. (2014). Economics will bring Peace: Israeli Hi-Tech in Palestine? *YNET*, March 20: <http://www.ynet.co.il/articles/0,7340,L-4501404,00.html>.

Friedman, E. (2013). Recognition of the Other and Self-Constitution: Recognition Gaps of a Palestinian People and/or State in Israeli Political Discourse. In (ed.) Pedatzur, R. *Discourse, Culture, and Education in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*. Netanya, Israel: S. Daniel Abraham Center for Strategic Dialogue, Netanya Academic College: <http://www.netanya.ac.il/englishSite/Centers/DialogueCenter/Academic-publications/Documents/Discourse.pdf>.

Friedman, E. (2013). Making Peace with a Population. *YNetNews*, December 3: <http://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0,7340,L-4460786,00.html>.

Friedman, E. (2013). In Defense of NGO Meddling. *Haaretz Daily Newspaper*, January 11: <http://www.haaretz.com/opinion/in-defense-of-ngos-right-to-meddle.premium-1.493428>.

Friedman, E. (2012). What I Learned at Peace Camp. *Haaretz Daily Newspaper*, July 6: <http://www.haaretz.com/opinion/what-i-learned-at-peace-camp-1.449216>.

Friedman, E. (2009). Lieberman, You are not Loyal to the State. *The Jerusalem Post*. August 2: <http://www.jpost.com/Opinion/Op-EdContributors/Article.aspx?id=132140>.

Friedman, E. (2008). Politics as a Popularity Contest. *The Jerusalem Post*. February 12: <http://www.jpost.com/Opinion/Op-EdContributors/Article.aspx?id=122755>.

Friedman, E. (2005). Sharon and the Israeli Consensus. *The Jerusalem Post*. November 23.

Conference Organization

Book Launch Event: *Polarization and Consensus-Building in Israel: 'The Centre Cannot Hold'*. June 6th, 2023. Ashkelon Academic College.

Perspectives on Terrorism and Migration in Germany, Europe, and Israel: From Discourse to Policy March 24-26, 2019 DAAD Institute, Haifa University and Hebrew University (co-chaired with Tobias Ebbrecht-Hartman and Yael Ben-Moshe)

Judea and Samaria, the West Bank, and the Territories – the Impossible Discourse. Book Launch for the monograph: *Israeli Discourse and the West Bank*. January 16, 2018. Truman Institute, Hebrew University (co-chaired with Dalia Gavriely-Nuri).

Talking Peace – Going to War: The Third Annual Truman Institute Discourse Conference. April 30, 2017. Truman Institute, Hebrew University (co-chaired with Dalia Gavriely-Nuri).

The Rabin Scholars' Symposium: The Struggle to Shape Israeli-Palestinian Discourse at the Truman Research Institute, Hebrew University, April 10, 2013 (co-chaired with other Rabin scholars).

Invited Lectures

The "Balfour Gang" versus "the Saladin Gang": Geographic metaphors and metonyms in Israel as polarizing constructs
Presented at the Bar-Ilan University School of Communication end of year event, Bar-Ilan University, June 22, 2023.

The "Blame Game" Frame: Discursive Blame Strategies and Media Framing upon Negotiations Failure (with Herfroy-Mischler, A.)
Presented to the Centre de Recherche Francais de Jerusalem (CRFJ), June 25, 2018.
Presented to the Communications Departmental seminar, Haifa University, April 4, 2017.

Israeli Discourse and the West Bank: The Dialectics of Normalization and Estrangement (with Gavriely-Nuri, D.)
Presented to Visiting student group from Tulane University, The Harry S. Truman Research Institute for the Advancement of Peace, June 5, 2018.
Presented to the Language, Ideology, and Politics research group, Lancaster University, November 2, 2016.

Message Gaps at Home and Abroad: A Typology of Message Design Strategies

Presented to the Communications departmental seminar, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, December 5, 2017.

Recognition Gaps in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: The People-State and Self-Other Axes"
Presented at the Monk School for Global Affairs, University of Toronto, November 25, 2013.

Conference Presentations

The "Balfour Gang" versus "the Saladin Gang": Geographic metaphors and metonyms in Israel as polarizing constructs
Presented at the Israeli Communication Association Annual Conference, Jezreel Valley College, April 3, 2023.

Metadiscursive Comments in Deliberative Forums: Negotiating Tensions between Local Speech Practices and Deliberative Ideals (with Manosevitch, I. and Sprain, L.).
Presented at the International Association of Dialogue Analysis Annual Conference: The Dialogicity Continuum: Rethinking the Value-ladenness of Communication and Discourse, Bar-Ilan University, June 12-15, 2023.
Presented at the Israeli Communication Association Annual Conference, Jezreel Valley College, April 3, 2023.

An Examination of Liberal-Conservative Polarization in Mediated Discourse on Civic Studies in Israel (with Neubauer-Shani, M.)
Presented at the 73rd Annual International Communications Association Conference. May 25-29, Toronto, Canada.
Presented at the 38th Annual Association of Israel Studies Conference. June 27-29, 2022.
Presented at the 8th Critical Approaches to Discourse Analysis across Disciplines Conference (CADAAD), Università Degli Stui Di Bergamo, Italy, July 6-8, 2022.

The Dialectics of the Securitization and Desecuritization of African Asylum Seekers Discourse in Israel.
Presented at the Israeli Communication Association Annual Conference, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, June 20, 2022.
Presented at *the* 37th Annual Association of Israel Studies Conference. June 7 - 9, 2021.
University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign

Competing Discourses: Securitized versus Humane Discourses of Asylum Seekers in Collective Identity Formation
Presented at Perspectives on Terrorism and Migration in Germany, Europe, and Israel: From Discourse to Policy, March 24-26, DAAD Institute, Haifa University and Hebrew University

The Media Framing of Blame Agency in Asymmetric Conflict: Who is Blaming Whom for the 2014 Israeli-Palestinian Peace Negotiations Failure (with Herfroy-Mischler, A.).
Presented at the Israeli Communication Association Annual Conference, April 16, 2019.

Perceptions of Israeli Public Debate: A Meta Discursive Analysis (with Manosevitch, I.)
Presented at the International Communications Association annual conference, May 24-28, 2019, Winner of Top Paper award in the Language and Social Interaction division.
Presented at the Israeli Association for Political Science, May 23, 2019.
Presented at the Israeli Communication Association Annual Conference, April 16, 2019.

'To Thine Own Self be True': The Perceived Meanings and Functions of Political Consistency (with Kampf, Z.)
Presented at the International Communications Association annual conference, May 24-28, 2019

Presented at the 7th Critical Approaches to Discourse Analysis across Disciplines Conference (CADAAD), Aalborg University, Denmark, July 4-6, 2018.

Presented at the annual conference of the Israel Communication Association, the College of Management, March 29, 2018.

The "Blame Game" Frame: Discursive Blame Strategies and Media Framing upon Negotiations Failure (with Herfroy-Mischler, A.)

Presented at the 7th Critical Approaches to Discourse Analysis across Disciplines Conference (CADAAD), Aalborg University, Denmark, July 4-6, 2018.

Presented at DiscourseNet 19 Conference – Discourse, Knowledge and Practice in Society. July 7-8, 2017, University of Bucharest

Presented at Talking Peace – Going to War: The Third Annual Truman Institute Discourse Conference. April 30, 2017. Truman Institute, Hebrew University.

Presented at the Israeli Communication Association Annual Conference, April 2, 2017.

Israeli Discourse and the West Bank: The Dialectics of Normalization and Estrangement (with Gavriely-Nuri, D.)

Presented at the 6th International Conference on Multicultural Discourses, Tilburg University, Holland, October 23-25, 2018

Presented at the annual conference of the Israel Communication Association, the College of Management, March 29, 2018.

Presented at Talking Peace – Going to War: The Third Annual Truman Institute Discourse Conference. April 30, 2017. Truman Institute, Hebrew University.

Presented at the Critical Approaches to Discourse Analysis across Disciplines (CADAAD), University of Catania, September 5-7, 2016.

Presented at the *Association of Israel Studies* annual conference, Begin Heritage Center, June 20-22, 2016.

Evasion Strategies in International Documents: When 'Constructive Ambiguity' leads to Oppositional Interpretation

Presented at the *Israel Communication Association* annual conference, the Kinneret Academic College, April 16, 2016

Presented at *Political Discourse: Multi-Disciplinary Approaches* University College London, June 26-27, 2015.

Exploring Message Targeting at Home and Abroad: Political or Media Considerations

Presented at the annual conference of the *International Communication Association*, San Juan, Puerto Rico, May 21-25, 2015;

Presented at the annual conference of the *Israel Communication Association*, the Open University, Raanana, April 1, 2015;

Message Gaps at Home and Abroad: A Typology of Message Design Strategies

Presented at *Talking Peace, Making War* at the Truman Research Institute for the Advancement of Peace, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, January 13, 2014;

Presented at *Mitaksherim* ("Communicating"), Haifa University, December 1, 2013;

Presented at *The Truman Institute Researchers' Marathon* at the Truman Research Institute for the Advancement of Peace, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

Recognition Gaps in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: The People-State and Self-Other Axes"

Presented at the annual conference of the International Communication Association, San Juan, Puerto Rico, May 21-25, 2015;

Presented at *The Association of Israel Studies Annual Conference*, Ben-Gurion Research Center, June 23, 2014;

Presented at Discourse, Culture and Education in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict at Netanya Academic College, December 4, 2013;

Guest lecturer at the Monk School for Global Affairs, University of Toronto, November 25, 2013;

Presented at *the Rabin Scholars' Symposium: The Struggle to Shape Israeli-Palestinian*

Discourse at the Truman Research Institute for the Advancement of Peace, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, April 10, 2013; Served as academic co-chair of the conference.

Talking Back in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: Rational Dialogue and Reconciliation or Emotional Shouting Match and Confrontation?

Presented at the *Metaksherim* ("Communicating"), Haifa University, December, 2011; Presented at the *Association for Israel Studies Annual Conference*, University of Toronto, April, 2010; Presented at The *Fifth Annual Conference in Political Science, International Relations and Public Policy, in Memory of Yitzhak Rabin*, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, December, 2009.

Scholarships and Grants

- 2017-2018 The Lady Davis post-doctoral fellowship, Hebrew University of Jerusalem
Amount: \$23,000
Research topic: Airing Dirty Laundry: When "Back Stage" And "Front Stage" are Conflated
- 2016-2017 The Israel Science Foundation Science Foundation, Social Sciences grant for post-doctoral studies abroad
Amount: \$45,000
Research topic: Evasion Strategies in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict: Authorship and Media Interpretation in Conflict Resolution Documents (1967-2003)
- 2014-2015 The Truman Institute research group award (with Alexandra Herfroy-Mischler, and Zohar Kampf);
Grant Amount: \$10,000
Research topic: Peacemaking Expectations and Blame: A Longitudinal Approach to Understanding the Failings of Israeli-Palestinian Conflict Resolution
- 2013-2014 The Truman Institute doctoral fellowship
Amount: \$10,000
The Department of Communications and Journalism research student scholarship
Amount: \$5,000
Research topic: Political message targeting within and without: how do Israeli leaders present the conflict within a changing media environment?
- 2012-2013 The Truman Institute doctoral fellowship
Amount: \$10,000
Research topic: Political Message Targeting Within and Without: How Do Israeli Leaders Present the Conflict Within a Changing Media Environment?
- The Department of Communications and Journalism research student scholarship
Amount: \$5,000
Research topic: Political Message Targeting Within and Without: How Do Israeli Leaders Present the Conflict Within a Changing Media Environment?
- 2011-2012 The Rabin Scholarship for the Advancement of Peace & Tolerance (Canadian Friends of Hebrew University and the Truman Institute).
Amount: \$10,000
Research topic: Political Message Targeting Within and Without: How Do Israeli Leaders Present the Conflict Within a Changing Media Environment?
- The Department of Communications and Journalism research student scholarship
Amount: \$5,000
Research topic: Political Message Targeting Within and Without: How Do Israeli Leaders Present the Conflict Within a Changing Media Environment?
- The Eshkol-Shaine Scholarship for Economic and Political Research in Israel
Amount: \$5,000

Research topic: Political Message Targeting Within and Without: How Do Israeli Leaders Present the Conflict Within a Changing Media Environment?

2008-2009

The President's graduate student research scholarship, Bar-Ilan University

Amount: \$5,000

Research topic: Talking Back in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: Rational Dialogue and Reconciliation or Emotional Shouting Match and Confrontation?

Project Grants

2014

Granting organization: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Israel

Grantee: S. Daniel Abraham Center for Strategic Dialogue, Netanya Academic College

Project title: Strategies for Advancing an Israeli-Palestinian Peace Agreement: Learning from the Past and Understanding the Present

Grant Amount: 25,000 Euro

2013

Granting organization: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Israel

Grantee: S. Daniel Abraham Center for Strategic Dialogue, Netanya Academic College

Project title: Discourse, Culture, and Education in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

Grant Amount: 25,000 Euro

2012-2013

Granting organization: The European Union Delegation to Israel Partnership for Peace Program

Grantee: S. Daniel Abraham Center for Strategic Dialogue, Netanya Academic College

Project title: The Regional Implications of the Establishment of a Palestinian State

Grant Amount: 440,000 Euro

Languages

Mother tongue English and fluent Hebrew (written and spoken)
