

# The Israel Project's Guide to Proven Pro-Israel Communications



**The  
Israel  
Project**

for freedom, security and peace

**Based on Research Commissioned**  
**by**  
**The Israel Project**

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*"For too long supporters of Israel have lamented the bias of the media; this guide offers them the tools to finally do something about it. If you want to make the case for Israel anywhere from the campus to the Capitol, this guide will teach you how to do so effectively."*

**-- Mitchell G. Bard, Ph.D., Author, Myths & Facts: A Guide to the Arab-Israeli Conflict**

*"This effort to bring solid research and established PR methods to the pro-Israel community has literally revolutionized the way we approach making Israel's case. We now know what to say and how to say it."*

**-- David Bernstein, Washington Area Director, American Jewish Committee**

*"Not only the chapter on proven messages for the campus, but the entire manual is an invaluable resource for college students. Everyone can agree that pro-Israel language tested by the nation's top political strategists is a good starting point for effective, creative Israel advocacy."*

**-- Dan Fichter, Yale Friends of Israel**

*"We have relied on the The Israel Project's all-star team of Frank Luntz, Stan Greenberg and Neil Newhouse for superb work in the past-and this new tool is the best yet."*

**-- Gail Hyman, Senior Vice President of Communications, United Jewish Communities**

*"Since we only get a few minutes to make our points, it is critical we use the strongest arguments possible to be effective advocates for Israel. This manual is the ultimate "go-to-guide" for supporters of Israel. READ IT!"*

**-- Hannah Rosenthal, Executive Director, Jewish Council for Public Affairs**

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# 1 Preface from Jennifer Laszlo Mizrahi, Founder and President, The Israel Project

## What is this?

Israel is an amazing country filled with wonderful, diverse, and decent people. Under extremely difficult circumstances and facing many defensive wars, Israel made the deserts bloom, integrated refugees from virtually every corner of the earth, and built a democracy in a region where freedom of speech, religion, and a right to vote had not previously existed. But since the ACTUAL Israel is not the Israel that America sees in the news, we must be proactive in our response. Unfortunately, first impressions are lasting. Before people form a negative opinion of Israel, we need to communicate the truth.

This training guide recognizes that in the intense, 24/7, deadline-oriented world of reporters, all too often, “if it bleeds, it leads.” Thus, it’s up to those of us who care about Israel not only to point out good things about Israel, but also to do it in a way that is interesting, compelling, and relevant to non-Jewish Americans.

This guide of **proven** messages, which bring support to Israel, has been created specially for those on the forefront of making the world safer for both Israel and the Jewish people. Indeed, this manual is for those who understand that it is not up to any one of us alone to solve every problem, but that none of us can refrain from doing our part in improving Israel’s public image.

**This manual is NOT a primer on Israeli history, or a point by point on the facts of the crisis. It is a guide for how we can tell the truth about Israel in a way that will win the hearts and minds of the American people.**

For historical facts, we suggest reading [Myths & Facts: A Guide to the Arab-Israeli Conflict](#) by Mitchell Bard, Ph.D.

This training manual is a response to the fact that it is human nature for people to focus most on the issues that directly affect them and their families. Since most non-Jews are unlikely to spend considerable time studying about Israel or visiting Israel in person, it is up to those of us who really care about Israel to inform them in a way that will not waste their time. In doing this, we are no different from any other American group that wants other Americans to care about its issue. Schoolteachers, doctors, firemen, women’s groups and small businesses all utilize extensive public opinion research. They take complicated issues and put them into “sound bites” or “messages” designed to break through the clutter that bombards all of us. These organizations engage in strategic communications because they know that their fellow Americans are busy tending to their jobs, families, and personal lives. If groups want to have an impact, they need to communicate their points quickly and effectively.

The fact is, America is better off today because strategic communications have helped to reduce drunk driving, smoking, pollution, teenage pregnancy and a host of other problems. Just as other American groups have done, we have prepared a guide to advocate for a cause that we hold near and dear. Fortunately, the real story of Israel is a fantastic one to tell. Naturally, in telling Israel’s story, we must focus on the issues that are both relevant and compelling.

This guide offers **proven** messages that will help transport people who are capable of supporting Israel to actually being more supportive of Israel. Everything in this training manual is based on **tested quantitative and qualitative research**. **There is no guesswork involved**. All of the data and the resulting recommendations come from focus groups, polls and dial testing conducted by the best professionals in strategic communications.

The fact is, when it comes to Israel, there are three kinds of people:

1. People who will always love Israel
2. People who will always dislike Israel
3. People who have not yet FIRMLY made up their minds to support Israel, but who can be **persuaded** to either support or, at least, not work against Israel.

This guide was created to help Israel advocates to communicate with that third group – and especially with journalists, American leaders, and the general public. Our research has shown that – from the campus to the Capitol – the same principles and strategies can be employed. At the same time, this manual can be used to communicate with Jews who, primarily due to images and messages that they have seen in the media, need a reason to be proud of Israel again.

You will notice some duplication of information and repetition of messages at certain points in this manual. That is intentional since it is critical for you to stay on the **offensive** in your communications – bridging to **proven** messages that will bring support to Israel. To do this, we give you samples of how to communicate the same meaning in different ways so as to bridge to core themes and messages without sounding like a broken record. We also show you how the same arguments work as answers to multiple questions. The idea is always to take the conversation to an area that moves persuadable listeners. After all, the key to successful communications is not just being factually accurate, but using facts and techniques to bring support to Israel.

## **Why strategic communications?**

After the Holocaust, Jews said “never again” and turned the State of Israel into their greatest haven and hope. Against long odds, Israel survived a slew of seemingly impossible wars. At home in the United States, the successful creation of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee demonstrated that people who care about Israel will never again be shut out of the American political process. Nevertheless, more than sixty years after the Holocaust, the Jewish community has yet to fully come to terms with the fact that public opinions and public culture really matter to the security of Israel and the Jewish people.

Until now, supporters of Israel have not made a significant commitment to protect and improve the image of both Israel and Jews. This is in part because we have been trapped in a fear that somehow anti-Semites will claim that a vicious stereotype of Jews controlling the media is actually true. Indeed, whereas thousands of groups - from lovers of schools, the environment, cars, soda pop, and snack food all built message teams and sophisticated media efforts, Americans who support Israel did not. In an era when negative media coverage of Israel prevails, and, when many Americans see Israel as “Goliath” and the Palestinian people as “David”, both Israel and Jews around the world face increased danger.

Although I was born almost two decades after the Holocaust ended, I never forget that my father lived in Austria during the time of Hitler. He was one of the lucky few in our family who managed to escape Europe and survive. Many people don't realize that Hitler came to power in Germany through a democratic process, and that he took over Austria by yet another democratic process. Sophisticated communications helped bring support to the Nazi party and its evil goals. Sadly, Hitler's “spin doctor,” Joseph Goebbels, was one of the most brilliant strategic communications professionals in history. He marketed and “sold” the Nazi Party. Goebbels even went to the extent of encouraging the wide distribution of what was a fairly new invention at the time - radios - so that the public could hear the Nazi messages. People actually voted for Hitler and for his policies! The result, as you know, was that 6 million Jews - and countless others - died horrible deaths.

Sadly, **even today, strategic communications are being used as a powerful force for evil** - teaching Palestinian children from textbooks without Israel on the maps, creating official Palestinian television shows which glorify children who become suicide bombers, and showing millions of Egyptians anti-Jewish propaganda in a dangerous television series based on the “Protocols of the Elders of Zion.” Indeed, in the weekend leading up to the 30<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Yom Kippur war, a suicide bomber killed 20 innocent Israelis and was able to justify it to herself and her followers because of the systematic indoctrination of hatred perpetrated by those who want to destroy Israel.

**Bad guys rarely use stealth.** They use modern communications. Whether it was Mein Kampf in its day, or Bin Laden on Al-Jazeera, or Hamas, Arafat or others in the areas of the Palestinian Authority today - the bad guys fully announce and sell their wicked goals.

**Convince the public to hate us once, shame on you.**

**Convince the public to hate us twice, shame on us!**

Only sixty years after the Holocaust there are ominous indications that a dangerous and hateful era may be returning. **Isn't it time for us to build a system of strategic communications that will help protect Israel and the Jewish people from those who would use an indoctrination of hatred to destroy us? Isn't it time for us to communicate with good people who would otherwise stand idly by?**

## **The Goals of The Israel Project**

This brings us to the goals of The Israel Project and of this communications manual.

The Israel Project began in March 2002 when President Bush was not yet actively involved in looking at the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and when press coverage of Israel was overwhelmingly negative. As the head of a strategic communications company, I had my staff do a Dow Jones Interactive search of 6,000 newswires, newspapers, magazines and trade journals to measure just how much coverage Israel was getting. We found that in an eight month period, President George Bush had been mentioned 20,674 times, whereas Israel was mentioned a stunning 180,275 times. In an era where, according to Niensens, Americans watch an average of 4.3 hours A DAY of television, they were being bombarded with grossly one-sided images of Israel. Time and again, Israel was made to look like an aggressor and an oppressor.

I called leading colleagues in the business of strategic communications and asked them whether their research confirmed that public opinion was as bad as I thought. They said no - it was even worse. Indeed, it was obvious to those of us in the business of moving public opinion that the coverage of Israel had seriously tarnished Israel's image. This led not only to an erosion of support for Israel in the United States, but also to an increase in anti-Semitic incidents around the world.

Across the country, people who care about Israel recognized the same phenomenon, but either wasted time in hand wringing and complaining, or asked bright, well-intentioned Jewish leaders to solve the problem without bringing in communications experts. Many went to the media to complain about "anti-Semitism," undervaluing the intense, 24/7, deadline-driven environment of today's press. The pro-Israel community failed to understand that overworked and short-staffed media outlets need compelling facts and images that are easy to understand. The focus needs to shift away from complaining about "bias" and towards providing good information and resources to the media. While some bias and anti-Semitism do play a role and must be fought, the vast majority of the negative coverage occurred because the pro-Israel community failed to give reporters what they needed to do their jobs well: timely, relevant, and focused information.

Meanwhile, those who oppose Israel filled the press with their propaganda. Indeed, according to Odwyer's PR Daily, Saudia Arabia recently spent \$2 million in US ads. According to Reuters, Arab governments and Palestinian supporters contributed \$22 million to help the Palestinians with their communications efforts.

**What were we, as a community, thinking?** The fact is that we in the Jewish community know that you don't see a heart surgeon for a brain tumor. Likewise, for potentially fatal PR and image problems, we need the best strategic communications experts available.

After seeing that no major pro-Israel group was undertaking the specific role of using sophisticated communications techniques to improve Israel's image, I put together a team of the best and brightest strategic communications experts to handle the task. **The Israel Project was founded with the following goals:**

- Protect Israel and Jews by improving Israel's image in the US and other key countries around the world;
- Reduce anti-Semitism caused by negative images of Israel;

- Increase Jewish pride in Israel by improving Israel's image.

**The Israel Project team includes the following strategic communications experts:**

- **Frank Luntz, Ph.D.**, pollster and strategist behind the 1994 Contract with America that put Republicans in the majority in Congress for the first time in 40 years. He was also the pollster and strategist for Mayor Rudy Guiliani, and still does work for House Whip Tom DeLay.
- **Neil Newhouse**, winning pollster whose firm's strategy was behind the big wins of Governor Jeb Bush, Governor Mitt Romney of Massachusetts, Senator Coleman of Minnesota, and whose firm polls for more Senators, Congressmen and Governors than any other firm on earth. Neil also currently conducts public opinion research for the President of the United States, George W. Bush.

During a prior phase of our work, **Stan Greenberg, Ph.D.** conducted seven major polls on Israel in the United States. This included polls of opinion elites, registered voters, college students, and African Americans. Some of these polls will be referenced in this guide. Greenberg is former pollster to President Clinton, Prime Minister Ehud Barak, President Nelson Mandela, and to current British Prime Minister Tony Blair. He continues to conduct public opinion research on Israel in England, France and Germany.

Neil Newhouse has conducted focus groups in across America. He has completed focus groups with Jews, African Americans, Hispanics, opinion elites and college students. He has also carried out and analyzed literally thousands of interviews with American voters about Israel and the Middle East conflict. On our behalf he also conducted a series of seven focus groups on Israel in Russia.

Frank Luntz has traveled all across America, using sophisticated dial testing of pro-Israel spokespeople to identify the words and phrases that will help pro-Israel spokespeople succeed in media interviews. His handouts and training sessions on how to do interviews on Israel have become the most widely used source of "on message" interview material ever created to help Israel.

**This training manual combines findings from our research into a tool designed to bring more support to Israel.**

The research behind this manual was primarily supported by private family foundations and individuals. Support also came from the United Jewish Communities, American Jewish Committee, and ISRAEL21C. We are enormously grateful for the people and institutions that stepped up to the plate and said "heneini" – here I am.

**But the rest is up to you.** The funding of The Israel Project is extremely limited. We are a new non-profit organization comprised of just a core group of consultants, lay leaders and a paid staff of two people. Best intentions aside, we are too small to help Israel on our own. Your involvement is needed to take this guide and use it in TV interviews, radio call-in shows, campus lectures, and newspaper articles and in every available opportunity for pro-Israel communication. It is up to you to give powerful personal testimonials to those you encounter through schools, civic involvement and neighborhoods. **You, in your words and deeds, can make Israel, the Jewish people, and even America safer.**

## 2 Sixteen Rules for Effective Pro-Israel Communications

**If you read nothing else in this book, read this chapter!** This manual will provide you with many specific words and phrases to help you communicate in a pro-Israel manner. But what is the big picture? What are some general guidelines that can help you in your future efforts?

### **1. Americans want a team to cheer for. Let the public know the GOOD things about Israel.**

Many Americans – including our President - like to see the world in terms of good guys and bad guys. Unfortunately, our focus groups and polls show that all too often, Americans see Israel and the Palestinians as morally equivalent.

**The language of Israel is the language of America: “democracy,” “freedom,” “security,” and “peace.”**

These four words are at the core of the American political, economic, social, and cultural systems, and they should be repeated as often as possible because they resonate with virtually every American. **This is not rhetoric. It is fact.** Despite the non-stop coverage of Israel in the press, the **positive** news about Israel remains untold.

It’s our job to “wear white hats in public” – to remind Americans that Israel is a team for whom they can feel good about cheering. After all:

- **Israel, America’s ally, is the only democracy in the Middle East.** In Israel, Christians, Moslems and Jews all have freedom of speech, religion, and the right to vote. Indeed, more than one million Arabs are citizens of Israel and ten Arabs and eighteen women serve in Israel’s Parliament.
- **Israel is a key American ally in the global fight against terrorism and understands that if you reward terrorism, you only get more terrorism.**
- **In contrast to those in the Middle East who indoctrinate their children to become hate-mongers and suicide bombers,** Israel educates their children to strive for progress and peace. Israel is the one place in the Middle East where a young girl can grow up to be anything she wants – from a doctor to a mommy, to a businessperson and even to prime minister!

# Messages: Democracy and Ally

(All Populations – Percentage more supportive of Israel)

| Messages   | National Opinion Formers | Public | Jewish Americans | African Americans | College Students |
|--|--------------------------|--------|------------------|-------------------|------------------|
| Israel is the only democracy in the Middle East today. All Israeli citizens – Christians, Muslims, and Jews – have freedom of religion and the right to vote. Ten Arabs and eighteen women are in Israel's parliament, and both men and women have access to education, modern health care, and good jobs. Israel, like the U.S., is a true democracy based on freedom and equality. | 67                       | 68     | 83               | 58                | 70               |
| Israel is America's only real ally in the Middle East. It's a democracy that respects the rights of individuals – including women and children – and gives all its citizens the right to vote in free and fair elections. And in Israel, unlike other countries in the region, all people enjoy freedom of religion and the press.   | 65                       | 65     | 79               | 52                | 63               |

Figure i. Effectiveness of the Democracy Message (Greenberg 04/02 poll)

## 2. Remind people that Israel wants peace.

In thinking about foreign policy, Americans need a reason to invest their country's political and economic capital. If they see no hope for peace – if they see only a continuation of a 2,000 year long episode of "Family Feud" - Americans will not want their government to spend tax dollars or their President's clout on helping Israel. Unless Americans are convinced that there is hope for success, why should they want to invest the time of their Secretary of State, their President, and their tax dollars in dealing with the Middle East crisis?

For Americans to have hope regarding the Middle East conflict, they need to be reminded that:

- **Israel has a long-term commitment to peace.** When courageous Arab leaders, such as Egypt's President Sadat and Jordan's King Hussein, reached out their hands to Israel, peace was achieved.
- **Israel accepted that there should be a two-state solution as early as 1947, again at Camp David (2000) and in the Road Map process.** But Arafat rejected generous offers when he met with President Clinton and past Israeli Prime Minister Barak. Currently, Arafat is undermining President Bush and Prime Minister Sharon's work on the Road Map process. Arafat even caused his OWN Prime Minister to resign. Sadly, each time Arafat rejected the offer of a state and of peace, he chose terrorism instead. When the terrorism stops, peace can begin. When the Palestinians use non-violent means, there will be negotiations for a Palestinian state, and both sides of the conflict will be better off.

### **3. Draw direct parallels between Israel and America – including the need to defend against terrorism.**

From history to culture to values, **the more you focus on the similarities between Israel and America, the more likely you are to earn the support of those who are neutral.** Indeed, Israel is an important American ally in the war against terrorism, and faces many of the same challenges as America in protecting its citizens. For example, on September 11th, nineteen suicide terrorists hijacked American planes and killed our citizens. Today, when we go to the airport, we are screened and checked. Following an attempted “shoe bomber” we now have to take off our shoes. It slows travel down, is expensive and invades our privacy. But imagine what we would do if on more than 250 occasions terrorists had crossed into our land and killed our children while they were riding buses or eating pizza? What would America do?

Information showing the cooperation of Israeli doctors and scientists to solve important health and technological challenges can be helpful. So can demonstrating that Israel and America share a commitment to human rights, women’s issues, and even the environment.

### **4. Don’t point fingers at the Palestinian people -- show empathy!**

**If the heart of your communications is a chorus of finger pointing of “Israel is right, they are wrong” then you will lose more support for Israel than you will gain.** Some people who ALREADY support Israel may nod their heads in agreement but people who are not already supportive of Israel will be turned off.

There is an immediate and clear distinction between the empathy Americans feel for the Palestinians and the scorn they direct at Arafat. You must take pains not to attack the Palestinian people along with him. If that happens, your message will be ignored at best. Right now, Americans sympathize with the plight of the Palestinians, and that sympathy will increase if you fail to differentiate.

With every communication challenge, there is a set of core principles that should be woven throughout your language. We have identified fundamental, recurring themes that deserve particular emphasis. They will apply and lend guidance to your words no matter where the debate stands on a given day.

- **Empathy:** Even the toughest questions can be turned around if you are willing to accept the notion that the other side has at least some validity. If you begin your response with *“I understand and I sympathize with those who ...”* you are already building the credibility you will need for your audience to empathize and agree with YOU.
- **“Working toward a solution”:** Americans don’t expect the dispute between Israel and the Arabs to end overnight, but they do need to know that *“Israel is working to find a solution that is acceptable to everyone involved.”* This suggests movement. This suggests progress. This suggests hope. And all three are important components of a successful communication effort.
- **“Cooperation and compromise”:** This is an emotion one doesn’t expect to hear from either side, yet it is at the core of how Americans believe the conflict must be solved. The side that uses these words will definitely have an advantage.
- **“We need to take this one step at a time, one day at a time”:** It is essential to lower expectations and to reduce the pressure on Israel to rush into an agreement that is either not in its interests or jeopardizes its security. The *“one step at a time”* language will be accepted as a common sense approach to the land for peace equation.
- **Optimism:** *“The day will come when Israeli children and Palestinian children will grow up together, play together, and eventually work together side-by-side not just because they have to but because they want to.”*
- **Respect:** *“We hope that the Palestinian people will recognize that the leadership they have right now unfortunately has a very different agenda from the agenda of the real Palestinian people...We do not have the right to tell the Palestinians whom to elect to represent them but we hope they will choose leaders who will listen and truly care about them. We know that the Palestinians deserve leaders who will care about the well being of their people, and who do not simply take hundreds of millions of dollars in assistance from America and Europe, deposit them in Swiss bank accounts and use them to support terror instead of peace. The Palestinians need homes and jobs AND peace.”*

- **The Human Element:** *“It’s very difficult for both sides. We know that Palestinians are suffering. We know that when there is a ticking time bomb – a suicide bomber headed to Israel that must be stopped - Israel is forced to defend its citizens. But we also know that when Israel is forced to defend itself from what has now been more than 250 suicide attacks, real hardships and dilemmas for the Palestinians can be created. Innocent Palestinians have been hurt and killed. To protect people from terrorism, innocent people will need to have a security fence run past their yard. But it is even more difficult to look innocent Israeli children in the face knowing that there are suicide bombers - ticking time bombs - planning to commit terrorist acts, and not try to stop them before they kill.”*

Humility is critical to success.

**You must show that you care about both innocent Israelis AND innocent Palestinians.**

## **5. No matter what you are asked, bridge to a productive pro-Israel message**

**When asked a direct question, don’t just answer it – bridge to the message you want to communicate about Israel.** “Bridging” is a key method in communications. When asked a hostile question or a question about a divisive issue, you need to bridge to your own message. Remember, your goal in doing interviews is not only to answer questions – it is to bring persuadable members of the audience to take Israel’s side in the conflict.

**Asked about settlements?** Don’t get bogged down in an issue that could cost you support from one side or another. First, start with your message such as *“That’s a good question. As you know, as recently as Camp David in 2000, Israel offered the Palestinians a state – which included dismantling many, many settlements. But Arafat rejected a state and chose terrorism instead. The real question is: how do we get to peace for BOTH sides? Both the Israeli people and the Palestinians deserve a better life. Israel really wants peace. Indeed, when President Sadat of Egypt reached out his hand in peace – Israel took it - and gave up the Sinai. When Israel gave up the Sinai to have peace with Egypt, Ariel Sharon oversaw shutting down an entire Jewish town, Yamit, in order to have peace. Israel also made peace with Jordan. Today, Prime Minister Sharon has said he is willing to make painful sacrifices for real peace. Israel embraced the Road Map for peace. But the terrorism has not stopped. The question is not really the settlements. The question is: when will Arafat stop saying no to peace?”*

**Asked about the infighting between the Israeli political parties and leaders?** Don’t take a side in the internal politics of Israel. Remind your listeners that Israel is a democracy. It is the only country in the Middle East where all citizens – Christians, Muslims and Jews - have the right to disagree with their government, to say what they think, to publish what they want, and to run for office and win. Contrast this with other states in the region where people who disagree with their government are either jailed or executed. Point out that only Israel truly shares American values of freedom and democracy.

Below is a chart of the basic core messages that you should bridge to in order to bring more support to Israel. You can put this handy chart in your pocket before you give talks or interviews on Israel.

## 1. Democracy / Shared Values

Israel is the only democracy in the Middle East today. All Israeli citizens – Christians, Muslims, and Jews – have freedom of religion and the right to vote. Ten Arabs and eighteen women are in Israel's parliament, and both men and women have access to education, modern health care, and good jobs. Israel, like the US, is a true democracy based on freedom and equality.

## 2. Israel Wants Peace

Some say violence in the Middle East can never end. But it can, with courageous leaders like Egypt's Anwar Sadat and Jordan's King Hussein.

Sadat and King Hussein recognized Israel's right to exist in security and in peace. Both Israel and these neighbors made concessions and a lasting peace was achieved. Time and again Arafat has refused Israel's offers of peace. Israel stands ready to make painful concessions for peace.

## 3. America's Ally Against Terrorism

Israel is America's ally in the war against terrorism. Both countries are forced to defend their citizens as well. Israel and America understand that if you reward terrorism, you only get more terrorism.

## 4. Israel's Compassion

Israel regrets the actions it is forced to take to defend its citizenry. Israelis understand that measures implemented to prevent the murder of innocent Israeli citizens cause hardships to many innocent Palestinians. These measures will end when the terror ends.

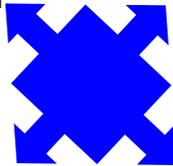


Figure ii. Key Messages for Communicating with Americans

## 6. Facts can be the enemy of the truth

**In communications, your word is your bond. Never lie. Nor can you forget that sometimes facts are the enemy of the truth!** Spending time giving Americans the history of the maps of Israel will put your audience to sleep at best. At worst, if you spend your communications capital (time and money) on history lessons of who got what land when and who promised what to whom, it will be viewed by Americans as an episode of "Divorce Court," and not a vision for a better future. Remember – communications is not a test for who can remember the most facts. Listeners want simple messages that will answer their simple, silent question – **"what is in it for America and for me to support Israel?"**

A simple rule of thumb is that once you get to the point of repeating the same message over and over again so many times that you think you might get sick – that is just about the time the public will wake up and say "hey – this person just might be saying something interesting to me!" But don't confuse messages with facts. **All messages must be factually accurate**, but the point is to bridge back to your message, for example, to show that Israel is a democracy that wants peace.

## 7. Don't pretend that Israel is without mistakes or fault.

**It's not true and no one believes it.** Pretending Israel is free from errors does not pass the smell test. It will only make your listeners question the veracity of everything else you say. Frankly, Americans know OUR government has not been free from making mistakes when fighting terrorists. We have not yet found Bin Laden. Thus, Americans do not expect Israel to be 100% successful in all their efforts to stop terrorism. **Admitting that Israel has and continues to make mistakes does not undermine the overall justice of Israel's goals: peace and security and a better quality of life for BOTH sides.** Use humility. *"I know that in trying to defend its children and citizens from terrorists Israel has accidentally hurt innocent people. But what can Israel do to defend itself? If more than 250 times terrorists had crossed America's borders and killed innocent citizens at pizza parlors, coffee shops and busses, what would we have done?"*

## **8. Get in the transportation business.**

Of course, as pro-Israel leaders and activists you must spend considerable time and energy in what we in politics call “the care and feeding of the base.” But you must recognize that there are three kinds of people – those who will always be with us, those who will always be against us, and those who are “persuadable.”

**Your communications efforts should always focus on transporting the “persuadables” from a less favorable position on Israel to a more favorable position on Israel.**

Remember that you can’t please everyone. Some people cannot be moved to support Israel no matter what words, themes, or language you use. Leave the hostiles alone. Your goal is to inform and empower your supporters and educate the neutrals. **Don’t yell. Don’t lose your cool.** Even if you are interrupted, you must always stay on message and don’t stoop to a food fight with your debate opponent.

Don’t let your messages get bogged down in long-winded finger pointing, history lessons, and newspaper ads. Stay focused with “on message” communications using media outlets proven to reach the most people.

## **9. Go where the people are!**

According to Nielsen ratings, on average, Americans now watch 4.3 hours of television a day. As was mentioned in the Introduction, a Dow Jones News search pointed out that Israel was mentioned more than 180,000 times in the press in just one eight month period of time. So don’t waste time and money fooling yourself that newspaper ads and campus lectures alone will bring new supporters to Israel. Research repeatedly shows that the people who come to those events have largely made up their minds, pro and con. Youth groups, Hillel, AIPAC and others can be terrific leadership-training events. They are very important for educating some Jews about Israel. Peer to peer communications can also make a highly positive difference from campus to the Capitol. You can use the tools in this guide to help you tell the true Israel story to friends at work, in your neighborhood and at civic events. At the same time, however, these methods do not reach the majority of the people who overwhelmingly get their information from the media.

## US voters get their information regarding world affairs affairs and US foreign policy predominantly from television and newspapers.

*"Now, I'd like to ask you something a little different. Which two of the following information sources are the most significant in shaping your understanding of world affairs and US foreign policy today?"*

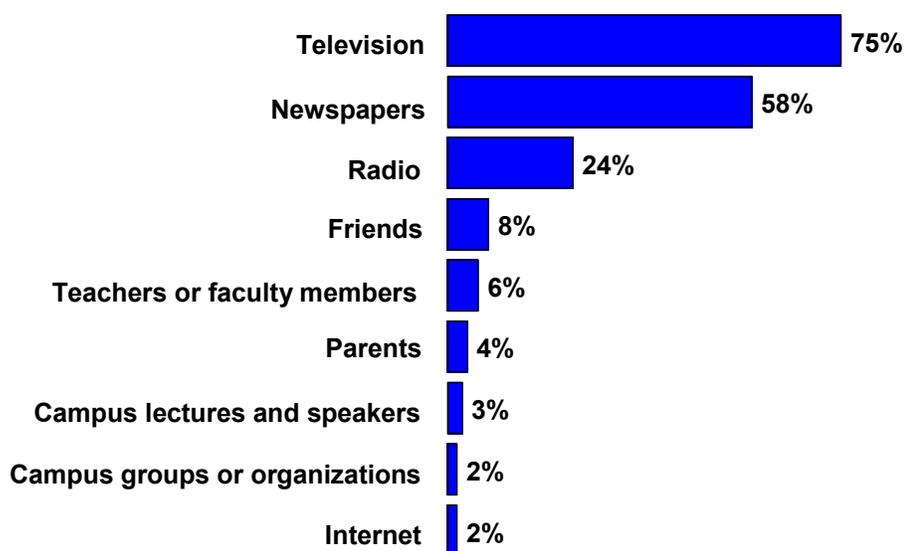


Figure iii. Where Do Voters Get Their Information? (POS 07/03 poll)

As these results from The Israel Project's polling clearly show, the media is the top source of information. Television, followed by newspapers and radio dominate the other sources that many believe are critical. One lecture simply can't compete with 4.3 hours of television per day. Pro-Israel leaders need to make sure that solid and "TV-worthy" stories are pitched and delivered to the media on a regular basis. If you want to persuade, you need to go where the people are – and that is on television and in other media. **Don't hesitate to reach out to your local reporters and media outlets to speak with them about Israel!**

### **10. K.I.S.S. and tell!**

A key rule of successful communications is "**Keep It Simple, Stupid**". Successful communications is not the SAT, MCATs, or LSATs. It is not about proving to the world how smart you are, or about being able to recite every fact from the long history of the Arab-Israeli conflict. It is about pointing out a few core principles of shared values – such as democracy and freedom – and repeating them over and over again.

Have I written often enough yet that **you need to repeat the messages of democracy, freedom, and peace** over and over again? For those who are not already pro-Israel, but who are a part of the persuadables, we need to repeat the message, on average, ten times to be effective. Go back to the message square and practice bridging to your message on Israel.

### **11. Avoid "analysis paralysis"**

**Avoid "analysis paralysis" at any cost.** It is a terrible disease that can cripple pro-Israel organizations with a thousand meetings and no results. How many meetings have you been to where people complain about the bad media coverage of Israel, but never put together a sensible communications plan to solve the

problem! The hand wringing “coulda, shoulda, woulda” team will always be around, but they will spend too much time second-guessing to ever achieve anything of real substance.

The fact is that many in the Jewish community still view anti-Semitism and horrible anti-Israel images in the press as inevitable – like a hurricane barreling toward us that we just have to survive. But the truth is that good strategic communications can significantly reduce these problems. Stop complaining, and get working!

### **12. The enemies of your enemies are your friends.**

Sometimes we in the Jewish community forget who our family and friends are. We think that “put two Jews together and get three opinions” is funny. We laugh at jokes about a Jew stranded on a deserted island who builds two synagogues – the one he goes to and the one he will never set foot in. But petty disagreements led to the destruction of the second Temple and could allow Israel to be hurt today. There is room for creative tension and varying approaches and ideologies among Jewish organizations. However, in our communications about Israel we must be more disciplined and adopt messages that will work. The fact is that Palestinians have excellent message discipline in shouting “occupation, occupation.” With all the communications challenges Israel faces, we need to be united and consistent in putting forth our successful messages. We also need to remember that people can disagree about specific Israeli policies, and still love Israel. From the right to the left, Israel deserves broad support.

### **13. Promote some good Arab leaders BEFORE you de-legitimize those who stand in the way of peace.**

Few Americans like Arafat, but supporters of Israel undermine their own message and strategy every time they assertively de-legitimize him. **You need to demonstrate your point, not say it.** A better answer is to compare Arafat with Anwar Sadat, an American icon, as well as King Hussein of Jordan. *“Sadat...King Hussein ... people of courage in the Arab world that have stood up to terrorists, told their people to put down their guns, and made peace with Israel. But Yasser Arafat?”*

### **14. There is NEVER, ever, any justification for the deliberate slaughter of innocent women and children. NEVER.**

The primary Palestinian public relations goal is to demonstrate that the so-called “hopelessness of the oppressed Palestinians” is what causes them to go out and kill children. **This must be challenged immediately, aggressively and directly.** *“We may disagree about politics and we may disagree about economics. But there is one fundamental principle on which all peoples from all parts of the globe will agree: civilized people do not target children for death.”*

### **15. Explain your principles.**

Both Arab and Israeli spokespeople go right into attacks against one another, and virtually no one on either side explains the principles behind the actions being defended. **Americans respond much better to facts, actions and results when they know why – not just how.** For example, why is there a security fence? Because more than 250 times terrorists have come through that area killing innocent people. Israel is forced to defend its citizens from terrorism, and the fence is a part of this defense.

### **16. Use Rhetorical Questions.**

Avoid direct attacks on your opponents. Use a soft tone. Show regret that the Palestinians have been led so poorly. Ask:

*“How can the current Palestinian leadership honestly say it will pursue peace when the same leaders rejected an offer to create a Palestinian state three years ago?”*

*“How can Yasser Arafat, whom Forbes Magazine says is worth more than three hundred million dollars, claim to be a leader who understands and represents an impoverished people when he has become rich at their expense? Why, when \$5.5 billion in international aid – including our tax dollars – has gone to the Palestinian Authority, not one refugee has been taken out of a camp and given a house?”*

*“How can you call it a Cycle of Violence when in reality, if Israel stopped fighting terror, the violence would not end? But if the Palestinians stopped terror, Israel would have no reason for curfews, fences, checkpoints and other defensive measures?”*

*“Is it too much to ask that the Palestinian leadership not sponsor terrorists? Is it unreasonable to insist that they stop killing innocent children before Israelis jeopardize their security and make concessions for peace?”*

**Bottom line:** What will happen if we fail to get Americans to care about the fact that Jews aren't safe eating a slice of pizza in downtown Jerusalem? What will Israel do if bad press causes American citizens to ask our government to turn its back on Israel?

Why do I care so much about The Israel Project and the success of your communications efforts? I care because I never want my children to live through what my family and yours lived through in the Holocaust.

People in Israel depend on us.

Together, we can use communications to make Israel and all Jews safer and more secure.

### 3 The Changing Context for Pro-Israel Communications in America

The American context of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict has fundamentally changed. It is essential that your words and messages adapt to this new context.

The second Iraq War has significantly altered the communications landscape for Israel – and not necessarily for the better. With Saddam apparently gone, the American anger toward the Arab world is dissipating – as is much of the fear. Americans are settling back into a sense of normalcy and are turning their attention back to domestic issues. Anything that diverts them back to the Middle East will be seen as an annoyance ... at best.

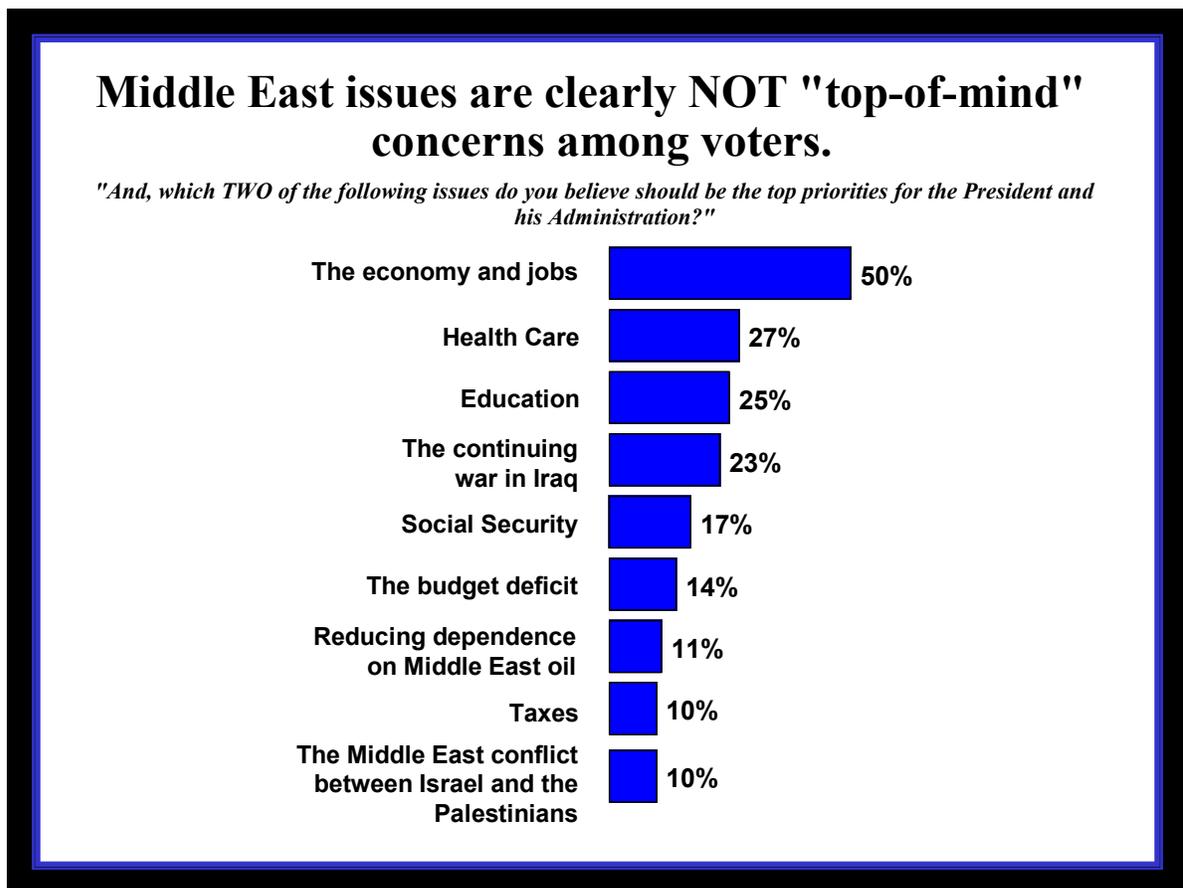


Figure iv. Where Does The Middle East Rank for Americans? (POS 7/03 poll)

While those who are actively involved in monitoring the conflict would not mirror these poll results, you should always be aware of the atmosphere in which you are communicating. Americans are much more concerned about the economy, health care and education. They do not believe that foreign policy has an impact on their daily lives, and for this reason, they don't want President Bush to make it a top priority.

Just as the end of the Cold War shifted international priorities and allegiances away from Europe, the end of Saddam Hussein could lead to shifts in attitudes that are potentially damaging to the Israeli cause in America. There was a time when Israel was seen as the best ally in preventing Soviet interests from dominating the Middle East. However, that function is no longer needed. Then, Israel became America's only dependable ally against Arab extremism. Now with the fall of Saddam and the potential for a stable Iraq, that perception may change as well.

Sure, more Americans still identify more closely with the Western nature of Israeli democracy than the more feudal Arab societies in general and the Palestinians in particular (though almost half don't identify with either side). For some Americans, the experience in Iraq has heightened their suspicions of Arabs. But among the opinion elite, those we really must appeal to, **there is a direct relationship between the perceived decreasing threat of radical Arab states and an increasing annoyance with America's involvement in the Middle East in general, along with the perceived inflexibility of Israel.** Hostility toward the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is stronger than at any time since the collapse of the peace process in 2000. Americans want it to stop now. They want Israel to make peace now. And they don't particularly care what sacrifices Israel has to endure to make it happen.

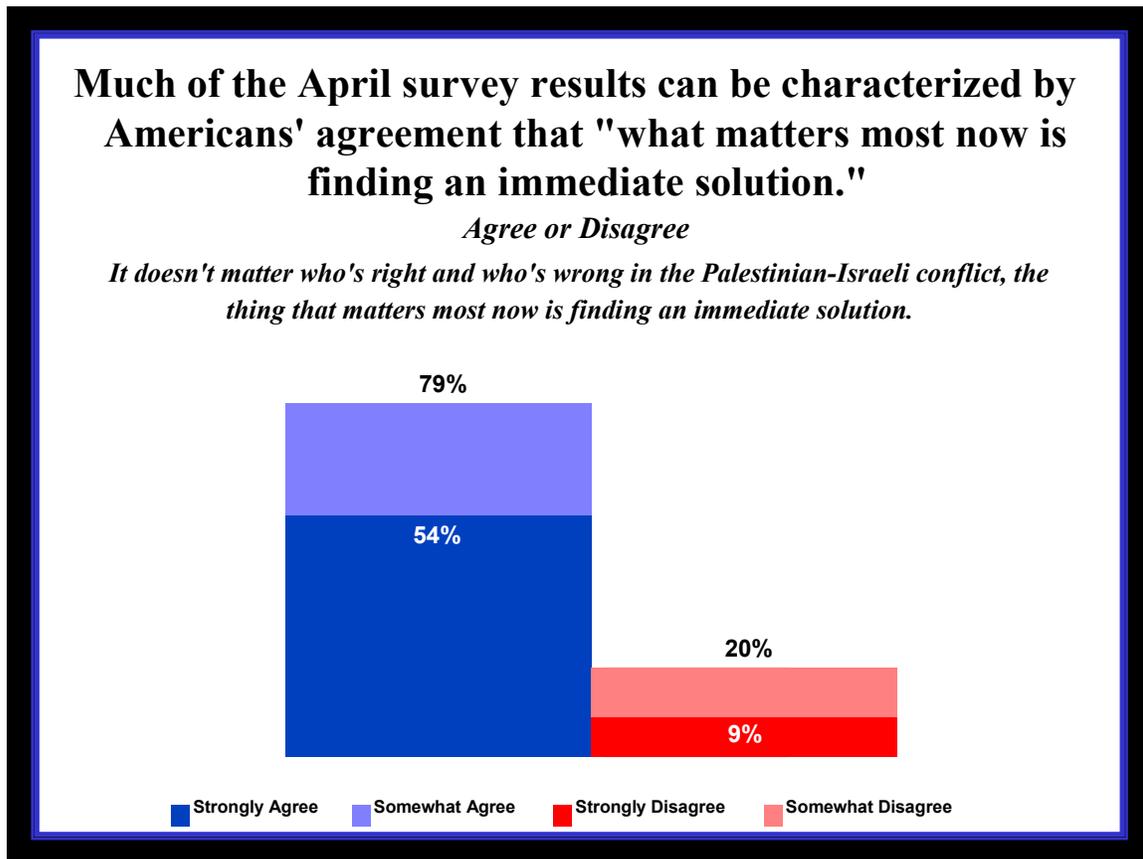


Figure v. ***Americans Want an Immediate Solution (POS 4/03, 5/03 polls)***

For a while after September 11<sup>th</sup>, Americans saw Israel and America as one in the fight against terrorism. That reasoning has begun to wane for three reasons:

1. **There is a limit to how much pain, suffering and bloodshed Americans will watch or listen to.** The first, second, even tenth suicide bomber attracted significant attention. Now, because there have been so many horrific incidents in recent months, the shock value has lessened and observers of world events have put up barriers against the emotional pain of empathizing with the victims and tuned them out. Remarkably, **lengthy discussions by either side about the horrors do not result in positive audience reactions.** This is clearly a change from previous years.
2. **The pain, suffering and bloodshed are not exclusively caused by Arabs or Palestinians.** You already know this to be the case but it deserves repeating. Every time an Israeli tank is seen leveling a Palestinian home, the IDF accidentally causes “collateral damage” during a “targeted killing of a ticking time bomb” or an Israeli soldier is shown firing at youths with stones, Israel’s support and credibility drops in the eyes of the non-aligned Americans. The reasons don’t matter. The justification is irrelevant. **A picture really is worth more than 10,000 words. Responsible supporters of Israel have to improve the visuals if we ever want to improve the message.**
3. **The loss of hope and lack of a potential solution.** *“Israel and the Palestinians have long been mortal enemies. The violence in the Middle East has been going on for centuries, and it will never end.”* Americans want to see a possible rate of return on the investment of their President’s time, their own emotions or their tax dollars; otherwise they simply will not want our government to be involved in trying to solve the Middle East crisis. Already, millions of Americans are saying that they can give you “87 billion reasons not to be involved in Iraq.” How much longer will they want their government to be engaged in the Israeli-Palestinian crisis? Unless there is at least a glimmer of hope, Americans will increasingly tune out. That is why every interview should end with the expressed desire for a **“permanent lasting peace”** and a commitment to work towards achieving it.

**In this new context, asserting Israel’s moral authority, asserting Israeli superiority, asserting Israeli rights... is destined to fail.** Americans are tired of war and they don’t want to hear any assertions, even from allies, that could eventually lead to another military conflict. Your opening tone and your first words will determine the reception you receive from your audience.

**Now more than ever, your words are being judged.**

**Now more than ever, you must choose them with extreme care.**

And now more than ever is when you need to understand the principles of effective communication. That is what this language manual is all about – effective communication for effective messaging. Here are some of the keys.

4. **Say what you mean and mean what you say – and don’t condescend.** Americans want to be spoken to candidly and without political posturing. Don’t use enormous words or refer to historical facts that only international studies graduate students understand.
5. **Educate.** To say the American public is undereducated about Middle Eastern history is to imply that they were ever even exposed to such a curriculum. In fact, most were not. Many are blank slates, and judgmental ones at that. You must present them with **some** history, **but too much history is like too much food.** Know when to stop. Inject emotion into your presentation. A good education begins with the heart, not just the head.
6. **If you say “no,” make sure you also say “yes.”** Negativity is the number one political attribute Americans dislike. For instance if you must call the Palestinian leadership onto the carpet for something terrible they’ve done, find something – however small – to say that is encouraging in the follow-up. If the answer is no land for peace, describe alternative approaches.
7. **Use visuals.** Pictures are vital. Footage that **PROVES** Israel wants peace – such as showing that Israel made peace with both Egypt and Jordan - is key. Images showing that Israel is a democracy– where all Christians, Muslims and Jews have freedom of speech, religion and a right to vote - is fundamental in helping Americans understand the shared values between Israel and America. At the same time, images of Palestinian boot camps for children, pictures of baby suicide bombers, women dressed to kill – these images will deliver more than just words alone.

8. **Repeat. Repeat. Repeat. Oh, that reminds me: Repeat!** You have only so much time on podiums and so much ground to cover within this ill-informed public. But you must settle on just a few points and repeat them over and over again. It's like advertising. You need to hammer the message if you expect it to stick. (Of course it is possible to overdo it, especially if you use exactly the same words over and over again. It is possible to be repetitive and creative - we'll get to this shortly.)

This may sound like nothing more than good, old-fashioned, common sense for the informed, which is exactly what it is. But when it comes to effective communication, common sense is exactly the correct strategy. Remember the three interlocking pieces of pro-Israel communications in America: Israel is a democracy that shares America's values; Israel is America's ally in the war to defend us from terrorism; and Israel wants peace. Most questions that you face on Israel should lead to these three messages. Rather than trying to find 10 different arguments, try to figure out how bridge to these three answers. All of our research shows that Americans become more supportive of Israel when these premises are used to establish the context of the discussion. You don't need to attack the Palestinians; they can't compete on these arguments.

This is a study of language and communication effectiveness. We have taken the actual, factually accurate, words of the leading spokespeople from both sides of the conflict (as spoken on American television) and tested them word-for-word with Jews, non-Jews, college students, retirees, and opinion leaders – the entire American population. But our primary focus is on appealing to those who place themselves neither in the Israeli nor the Palestinian camps – the “non-aligned” swing vote of American public opinion toward the Middle East. What follows is an explanation and analysis of their reaction to current Israeli language and a step-by-step approach for a more effective communication effort.

Americans are inherently peace advocates and they want the rest of the world to get along. This may sound simplistic or idealistic, but it's a fact. The blunt, in-your-face tone of some leading pro-Israel advocates is simply too provocative. With that in mind, we recommend the following approach:

1. **Link the goals and values of the U.S. and Israel in your opening statement.** Be blunt, direct and overt in your linkage between Israel and the United States. Americans expect their government to protect and defend them, and since September 11, 2001 they expect their government to **defend them** from attacks rather than just respond to them. But they will not apply those expectations and principles to another country unless told to do so.
2. **“Not again.”** September 11, 2001 was the darkest day in modern American history. So empathize. “After the tragedy of September 11, Americans had to change how they interacted with people at airports. The shoe bomber made matters even worse. It's hard to go through an American airport today without a full search and taking off your shoes. Sure, it's costly and invades our privacy, but isn't it worth it? Now imagine if terrorists had managed to successfully get through our defenses and kill innocent people more than 250 times? What would security look like? The sad reality of Israel is that terrorists force Israel to protect its citizens by looking for explosives and terrorist activity at every border, and in front of every mall and other public space.” **Don't make a direct comparison to the World Trade Center, but invoke the emotions surrounding that event.**
3. **Appeal to America as “the only nation on the globe capable of defending democracy and ridding the world of terrorism.”** This is not some abstract, theoretical observation. The language is very powerful: *“If we do not face the world's dangers head-on – if we do not proactively use American power to promote democratic values and make the world a more just and safe place – the enemies of freedom will prevail. The best defense against terrorism is a good offense. The best medicine is preventive medicine. Israel and America must stand together as one against terrorism of any kind.”*
4. **“Israelis cannot afford to make up their defense and foreign policy as they go along.”** Foreign policy is a serious, life and death business, so say it. Right now, it appears as though Israeli retribution is random. Americans need to know that Israeli policy has been studied and analyzed: *“Israel, just like America, treats the defense of its nation as a sacred obligation, not as an excuse or arbitrary action. What would America do if our own civilians – including babies - had been attacked on our own soil more than 250 times?”*

5. **Draw a specific moral comparison between Israel and her Arab neighbors.** Again, this must be articulated not with the air of superiority but with resignation and regret. But the moral comparison will say to Americans that we have much more in common with Israel than with the Arabs.
6. **Talk about Israel's "right to protect its people" ... "the right to prevent further casualties" ... and "the right to defend its borders."** These are the basic rights of a democracy that Americans will understand and support. You will see this language in much of this document because it transcends ideology and partisanship. Even those on the left of the political spectrum believe in "the right" of a democracy to defend itself against attack.

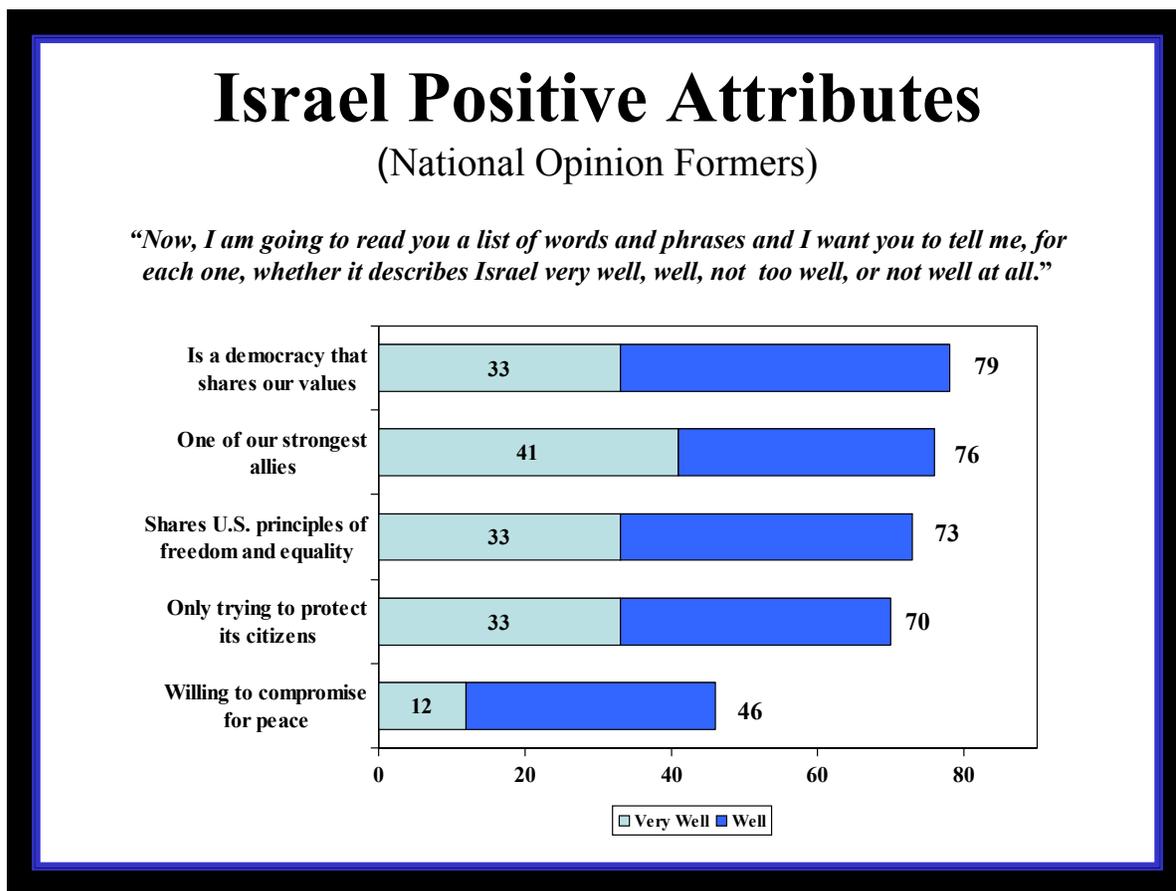


Figure vi. *Positive Attributes of Israel (Greenberg 10/02 opinion elites poll)*

Again, **nothing will build support for Israel more than linking it to the culture and values of the United States.** Israel represents the only democratic country in a region dominated by brutal, extremist nations that are entrenched in non-Western religious doctrine. Americans are fervent in their desire to protect and foster the democratic principles that define the United States, and are emotionally vested in the sisterhood between Israel and the United States that results from the shared values of freedom, equality, and security.

### The American-Israeli Context that Works

*"As the lone superpower, the United States has a unique responsibility. America is truly democracy's last resource, freedom's final defense against tyranny and aggression. But America is not the world's policeman, and we cannot right all of the world's wrongs."*

*“Like America, Israel is a democratic country. Israel shares the same values, and cherishes peace above all else. Like America, Israel was founded on the principles of freedom, democracy, and peace. Israel is the only country in the Middle East where Jews, Christians, and Arabs live side by side, where everyone, including women and Arab citizens can exercise their right to vote. Indeed, eighteen women and ten Arabs serve in Israel’s parliament.”*

*“And as America fights a war on terrorism to forever prevent another September 11<sup>th</sup>, so too does Israel defend itself against the extreme violence inflicted by the Palestinian leadership against innocent civilians. Like every democracy, Israel does not want violence; it wants peace.”*

*“Israel has two alternatives. One is to do nothing and just accept the daily killings of innocent people. The other is to act, as America has done, to stop the bloodshed. Due to military efforts, Israel has stopped or arrested almost 100 suicide bombers. If those suicide bombers had reached their target, there would have been a thousand more funerals, a thousand more grieving parents and orphaned children. But a thousand lives have been saved – and for that Israel should apologize to no one.”*

*“America didn’t negotiate with the Taliban leadership. America threw them out. People who declare the destruction of America as their goal and terror as their method are not partners for negotiation or partners for peace. This is true in America. This is true in Israel as well.”*

*“Like America, Israel will continue to work until that day when peace can be shared by all peoples of the region. It will not come overnight. It will require hard work and shared sacrifice. It will require commitment and determination. But a permanent lasting peace is Israel’s ultimate goal and Israel will not stop until it is achieved.”*

**You must show that you care about both innocent Israelis AND innocent Palestinians.**

Indeed, you cannot just issue recriminations, however justified, against the Palestinian Authority and expect American elites to be suddenly convinced of your righteousness. Finger pointing and angry tones will only turn off possible allies. All the evidence and common sense can be on your side, but it will be rejected as biased and one-sided. Here’s a specific example:

**Words that DON’T work**

*“There is no moral equivalency. On one side you have duly elected and appointed Israeli officials from a democracy that has been operating for more than half a century. On the other side you have Palestinian officials who actually admit they have failed to deliver the democratic reforms necessary for a fair and lasting peace and who have misdirected billions of dollars in humanitarian aid to weapons, military, and even terrorist organizations. Israel should not be forced into making painful concessions when this is the record of the people on the other side of the negotiating table.”*

Individually, the words are good, the facts are accurate and the message is correct. But this communication effort fails miserably because it is regarded as a complete rejection of negotiations and peace. Listeners see it as accusatory and contentious – exactly what they don’t want to hear and will not accept. We have a better approach, one that says virtually the same thing but in a more effective way:

## Words that DO work

*“Whatever the root causes of the Palestinian-Israeli crisis, there are certain tragic cultural facts and differences that stand in the way of peace negotiations between the people of Israel and the Palestinians. No Israeli child has ever strapped a bomb to his back and gone off to kill civilian Palestinians, and yet the Palestinian leadership does nothing to dispel the notion among its more extreme Muslim citizens that killing Israelis with a suicide bomb is the surest route to heaven. How can Israel – or anyone - deal with a population of people who do not value their own lives, much less the lives of others?”*

Yes, this is more explicit than the previous paragraph, but it works for several reasons:

1. **The human touch.** Mentioning parents and children humanizes the terror that Israel has to face every day.
2. **The rhetorical question.** Even pro-Palestinians have a tough time answering that final question. It’s time for pro-Israel spokespeople to ask a lot more unanswerable rhetorical questions as part of their communication effort.
3. **Acknowledging a cultural difference between Israelis and Palestinians is stating the obvious – and good for your case.** Even those Americans who have sympathies for the Palestinian struggle have an easier time relating to the Israelis because of the similarities between America and Israel in culture, tradition, and values.

## Proven Successful Sound Bites

- *“I think that anybody who is hoping for peace in the region was pleased to hear a brief statement of a number of very key principles—zero tolerance for terrorism and the fact that the Palestinian people deserve better. They deserve better leadership and they deserve a better society—with functioning institutions, democracy, and the rule of law. And also the hope is that at the end of the violence, the parties will get back to the negotiations as agreed to on the basis of 242 and 338. Secure and recognized borders can then be negotiated.”*
- *“Everyone hopes for a Palestinian leadership that really does reflect the best interest of the Palestinian people.”*
- *“As a matter of principle, Israel will sit down, negotiate, and compromise with those that wish all the peoples of the Middle East to live together in peaceful coexistence. Egypt made peace with Israel. Jordan made peace with Israel. And both agreements still live on today.”*
- *“Our earnest hope is that with the regime change in Iraq, democracy may finally take firm root in the Middle East. If the Palestinian people and the people of other Middle Eastern nations are able to see an example of a successful Arabic democracy, the tide will turn.”*
- *“Israelis know what it is to live their lives with the daily threat of terrorism. Sadly, Israelis know what it’s like to send their children off to school one day and bury them the next. For Israelis, terrorism isn’t something they read about in the newspaper. It’s something they see with their own eyes far too often.”*
- *“Please realize that by helping to keep Israel secure we are keeping in place a nation that will be there to help America build and grow other democracies in the Middle East.”*
- *“Israel doesn’t want to sign a meaningless agreement that isn’t worth the paper it is printed on. They want something real. If there is to be a just, fair, and lasting peace, Israel needs a partner who rejects violence and who values life more than death.”*

- *“As a matter of principle, the world should not force Israel to concede to those who publicly deny their right to exist or call for Israel’s annihilation.”*
- *“Right now, today, there are still terrorist groups like Hamas, Islamic Jihad and the Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigade that the Palestinian Authority has either been unable or unwilling to control—and Israelis continue to die because of it.”*
- *“Just as the American government pledges to secure life, liberty, and the chance to pursue happiness, so must Israel’s government guarantee that Israel will be secure and free.”*

#### **Rhetorical Questions that set the right tone**

- *With all the wealth of nations like Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, and all the oil money of Iran and Iraq, and the billions in support from Europe and the United Nations, why are the Palestinians so poor and their government so broke? Where did all that money go? Why is Yasser Arafat listed by Forbes Magazine as one of the richest men on earth? After \$5.5B in international aid to the Palestinian Authority, why has not one single refugee been given a house?*
- *If the Palestinian leaders understand, as they claim, the pain and suffering of the Israeli people, why do they deliberately cause more of it – and why do they target children? And why do they glorify terrorism to their own children?*
- *If the Palestinians laid down their guns today and said it’s time to stop the terror, there would be peace and a Palestinian state almost immediately. But if the Israelis laid down their guns today, do you really think there would be no more suicide bombers? (If you do, then explain why Israel did this six times in the past two years and why the violence only increased each time.)*

### **A Little Introspection**

Of all the components of this manual, this one will surely be the most controversial, but the value of introspection is something we discovered in our research – and it matters enough to include it here.

Again and again supporters of Israel who are assertive, aggressive, or declarative consistently test less convincingly with persuadable Americans than those who demonstrate humility. Fortunately, the supporters of Israel have several spokespeople who aren’t afraid to show doubt or admit mistakes – and such humility highly appreciated in America. Not coincidentally, the words that follow are some of the best that we have tested in over 18 months of dealing with a media that systematically portrays Israel’s military response as excessive:

#### **A Tough Question and a Perfect Answer**

**Q:** *Why can’t Israel ever admit that it went too far, that it used too much force, that it made a mistake? Why does Israel assert that it has all the answers?*

**A:** *I don’t think that Israel has all the answers to some of the tough questions, but I do think Israel has been asking the right questions. In this case, the right question is: ‘When you’re facing a threat that endangers the lives and the safety of civilians, what is the most effective and humane way of countering it?’ No democratic country in the world has come up with a totally effective and humane response to that question, but I do think that Israel is at the forefront of trying to fashion a legitimate response.*

*On a monthly basis, Israel has high-level talks with other countries that are facing the threat of terrorism. These countries are trying to learn from Israel’s*

*experience in dealing with suicide bombers, and Israel is trying to learn from the experiences of other nations. There are a growing number of countries working together to tackle the terrorist threat.*

*But the thing that enables Israel, and frankly, America as well, to move forward, is recognizing their mistakes. Many of the measures used to tackle terrorism are very heavy handed and cause tremendous hardship to innocent people. In Israel, for example, imposing a closure on the Palestinians' territories stops tens of thousands of Palestinians from getting to their jobs, and it stops tens of thousands from getting to their livelihoods. Likewise, the burdens we put on all Americans at our airports can be very frustrating.*

*But if you know that that's the only way to stop a terrorist from getting through, you have to weigh the options and ask the question: 'What is the human cost of terrorism ...and preventing terrorism?' That's a very tough question. Neither Israel nor America can get it right every time. But both countries are trying to do the right thing.*

## **The Personal Touch**

**The more humane the pro-Israel spokesperson, the more positive the reaction.** It really is just that simple. The greater the willingness to speak from personal experience, the greater the empathy generated for Israel. Just once in every interview we want to hear the spokesperson say something along the lines of the following – one of the highest scoring responses to a question we have ever tested:

### **A Tough Question and a Perfect Answer**

**Q:** *There are some who say Israel resists compromise because it has learned to live with terror. What is your response?*

**A:** *Israel continues to do everything possible for peace. Sure, Israel is more cautious today than it was three years ago. Why? Not because three years went by but because we're talking 1,000 victims later. Because Israel is a society that refuses to get used to the fact that you can send your children on a bus and fear that they'll never come home.*

*I am the father of two teenagers (replace with your true family facts there!) Imagine if I lived in Israel. Do you know what kind of life I would live here? Do you know how scared I would be, not for myself, but for my children? Israeli kids want to live a normal life just like Americans, just like anywhere else in the world – but they can't.*

*There are people, like you say, who believe that Israelis will get used to the terrorism. Well, let me tell you, no people will ever get used to it. No one could get used to violence against children who are killed while they eat pizza or go shopping for milk. And that's why Israel will continue to strive for peace. There's just one thing Israel won't compromise on - and that is security.*

## **3.1 Peace, Democracy and Hope**

**Peace is the word.**

**Americans want and need to hear that the terror can be stopped.** They have to believe that at some point, the sides can come together and find common ground. You may not want to hear this but ***the side that seems to want peace more will win more support from the non-aligned American public.*** This is exactly why the Palestinian spokespeople are repeating the word “peace” again and again. Unless this explicit desire for peace is conveyed in pro-Israel communication efforts, Israel’s support will continue to erode.

But it is perfectly acceptable and even desirable to use peace and security in the same sentence. Americans fundamentally believe that any democracy has a right to defend itself, and they do believe that Israel is exercising that right when it responds to these suicide bombers. The Arabs are getting away with the suicide bombings because they “condemn” them and then call for “peace.” Why? Americans are responding to the intention rather than the action. Supporters of Israel must use the same strategy. Every pro-Israel message should be about peace and security.

#### **Words That Work**

*Some say violence in the Middle East can never end. But it can, with courageous leaders – leaders like Egypt’s Anwar Sadat and Jordan’s King Hussein. Sadat and King Hussein recognized Israel’s right to exist, and in return, Israel made significant land concessions – and a lasting peace was achieved.*

*Contrary to what the current Palestinian spokespeople have said, it is absolutely possible to stop terror. Yasser Arafat says he is for peace, but he won’t try to stop the suicide bombers from killing innocents and has refused Israel’s offers of peace – even land for peace. For peace to occur, this violence must end.*

*There is a fundamental principle that Israel has learned from America: you cannot have peace without security. Americans have known pain and suffering only since 9/11. Israel has lived this for 55 years. Israel has been and will continue to be at the forefront of the war against terrorism and the efforts to secure a fair and lasting peace for everyone. But peace can come only when Arafat stops the terrorism and says yes to peace. Until then, Israel will use its defensive power to protect its people and maintain its security.*

**But talking about a commitment to peace is different than an assertion that Israel has done everything possible to achieve peace. Such an assertion is neither advisable nor credible.**

So far, one of Israel’s most effective messages has been that Israel is the *only* democracy in the Middle East. It’s time to take that message one step further. Emphatically state that while you are proud of Israel’s democracy, you would ***much rather have a future where Israel is not the ONLY democracy in the Middle East.*** Consider the following communication ladder:

1. **Democracy matters.** Never in the history of the world has a democratic government engaged in war with another democracy.
2. **Democracy can bring peace.** Lasting regional peace will come only when governments truly represent the interests of their people and guarantee their freedom and security.
3. **It’s time for true democracy for the Palestinian people.** They deserve no less.

## The "shared values" message is still potent.

*Now, I'm going to read you some reasons some people give to support Israel's position in the current conflict. For each one, please tell me whether it makes you feel more supportive of Israel's position in the conflict.*

*Israel is the only democracy in the Middle East today. Like Americans, all Israeli citizens – Christians, Muslims and Jews – enjoy religious, political and cultural freedoms that do not exist in any other country in the Middle East. In a region where many nations suppress their citizens' right to free speech, subordinate women and punish those who criticize the government, Israel, like the US, stands by its value of freedom and equality.*

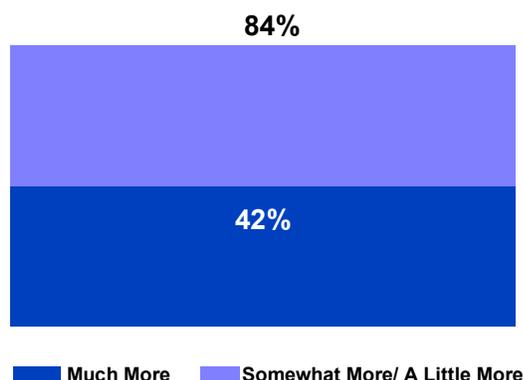


Figure vii. Shared Values Message (POS 04/03 poll)

This may seem simplistic but the message works when delivered this way and in this order. Americans sincerely hope that Iraq – a former adversary – can become a partner in peace once a representative government is installed. Insofar as the Palestinians yearn for freedom and deserve representative leadership, they are no different. This is exactly what Israel has asked of the Palestinian Authority for so long: to establish a legitimate government that will become a partner in peace.

As zealous as Americans are about their own democracy, they quite often have to be reminded why they defend it so fiercely. This reminder becomes your obligation when associating Israel's democratic values with those of America. This fact has been mentioned above, but it merits repeating. You cannot stress the shared democratic values between Israel and America too much.

At the same time, using the word "democracy" without giving examples of what makes this system of government so essential is like saying you want "peace" without giving evidence that you've made honest strides toward achieving it. Americans want proof that you know what these nice-sounding words mean. **When linking our common bond of democracy, use specific examples of why we hope that more nations establish the freedoms democracy guarantees:**

- Women are treated as equals
- The press operates freely
- All religions are respected
- The people choose who represents them in free elections
- Democracies do not make war on each other

Then make the argument that if these freedoms are so dear to Israelis and Americans, they are just as dearly missed by the Palestinian people. All people yearn to live freely, and the current Palestinian leadership denies its people that right. **These are core values for both America and Israel.**

## Talking about Arab-Israelis

The language in this section is essential to softening anti-Israeli impressions and winning converts. The fact is, no one knows anything whatsoever about the rights of Arabs within Israel. Most Americans, even on the ideological Left, have no idea that Arabs can vote, sit in the Knesset, and are active participants in the Israeli economy. They need to be told. Once they learn the **FACTS** – and that’s exactly the word you should emphasize – those openly hostile to Israel become silent, those silently hostile become neutral, and those neutral offer conditional support for Israel.

So tick off each of the following facts, one-by-one, and emphasize each time that these assertions are not rhetoric – **they’re fact:**

### Words that work

*“Arab-Israelis have more rights and a higher standard of living than Arabs in any other Middle Eastern country.*

*Arab-Israelis have been able to vote for Prime Minister and Parliament since 1948. No other Middle East state has offered Arabs such a long record of democracy.*

*Arab-Israelis serve in Parliament, on the Supreme Court and in leadership positions in every area of Israeli government business and law. No other country in the Middle East offers its minorities such freedom and equality.*

*The average Arab-Israeli has a higher income and higher standard of living than Arabs in any other Middle Eastern country.*

*An Arab-Israeli has the freedom to criticize the government and its leadership openly and publicly. In any other Middle Eastern country, a public criticism of the government will lead to jail time – or worse.*

*Arab-Israeli women have exactly the same standing as men in every way. No other Arab society can make that claim.*

*Arab-Israelis have more rights, more privileges, more opportunities, and more freedom in Israel than Arabs have in any other Middle Eastern country. Is Israel a perfect democracy? No. But it is a new country with a good start.*

*Are things perfect for minorities in America? No. Progress has been made but more can be done. In the United States Senate there are 100 seats – and an African American holds not one of them. America is making progress, and so is Israel.*

*This isn’t rhetoric. This isn’t spin. This is fact.”*

Take this and expand it. The longer you talk about Arab-Israelis, the more sympathy you will generate for Israel and the more credibility you will gain for your communication effort.

## Alleviating the suffering of the Palestinians

Of course in order to achieve democracy, a society must have a measure of stability and prosperity. Sadly, rather than doing something constructive to help the plight of the Palestinian people, the Palestinian leadership often exploits its people’s condition as a rhetorical weapon.

The Palestinians discovered a few years ago the sympathy Americans have for their economic and political problems. What they discovered more recently, thanks to the help of some anti-Israeli international organizations, is the opportunity to twist the facts and try to hold Israel 100% responsible for that plight. The need for Israel to protect itself from terrorism produces images of Palestinians being harassed by Israelis at the checkpoints, pictures of heavily armed Israeli soldiers pointing guns at unarmed Palestinian youths, and scenes of abject poverty in Gaza. These are impossible to refute.

But there is a way. This is the one situation where Israel should adopt an approach that seeks **not to lay blame but to solve the problem** by demanding greater changes in the Palestinian approach to their own people. Americans in general, and those left of center in particular, want to hear about human rights. Taking up the cause of the Palestinian people will win you applause on both sides of the American political spectrum.

So challenge the status quo. Begin with empathy, use the scapegoat line again, and close with a call for even more reform:

#### **A Tough Question and a Perfect Answer**

*Q: Israel closed the borders. Israel threw out Palestinians who had jobs in Israel. Isn't Israel at least somewhat responsible for the economic plight facing the Palestinians on the West Bank and Gaza?*

*A: Israel is very sympathetic to the difficult situation and difficult condition of the Palestinian population. They have already taken steps to relieve the misery and provide humanitarian assistance, including food and medicine. Israel tried and will continue to try to do even more. Tragically, for many months Israel was prevented from providing aid because of the terror and because Israel's efforts were opposed by the Palestinian leadership.*

*Israel will continue to offer assistance, but it will take new policies and real reform by the Palestinian leadership to make a difference. In the past, it was easier for the Palestinian leadership to blame the Israeli government for the bad and difficult situation that the Palestinian people were living in rather than accept responsibility for their own mismanagement and corruption. Hopefully that will change.*

*It is not constructive to find a scapegoat. We want to end both terror and misery and improve conditions for both Palestinians and Israelis. Israel will continue to keep trying.*

### **Empathy and a direct appeal to the Palestinian people**

This has been a strategy we have advocated for some time now. Unfortunately, very few pro-Israel spokespeople are either willing or able to speak to the challenges facing the Palestinians – and yet it is so effective. Much like the reaction to a description of the rights of Arab-Israelis, **Americans are pleasantly surprised when someone from the pro-Israel community expresses an understanding and empathy for the plight of the Palestinians.**

The fact is this should be an essential component of your communication efforts. **It builds a great deal of credibility for your argument of the failure of the Palestinian Authority for you to talk about what it has done for the people they represent.** And if you address the Palestinians directly, as Prime Minister Sharon has now done, the American audience will not only pay more attention to what you say but is more likely to agree with what you propose. Here's a perfect example:

#### **A Tough Question and a Perfect Answer**

*Q: If the Palestinians were listening to this interview right now, they'd hear that Israel doesn't trust them or their leadership. In your words, 'Every time Israel offered the Palestinians trust, they've tried to hang Israel.' How should a Palestinian respond to such abusive language?*

A: *I'm not talking about every Palestinian. I'm sure the vast, vast majority of Palestinian parents care for their children in the same way Israelis and Americans care for theirs. They want them to grow up, be educated, and succeed, to have a family and be happy and healthy. I'm sure that the examples of Palestinians who express pride at their children committing suicide bombings really is a fringe that can and should be marginalized.*

*What I would say to the Palestinians is this:*

*'Look at your leadership. What have they done for you? What have they done for your children? Don't think about what's good for Israel. I don't expect you to do that. But think of the type of society that YOU want to build. Think of the opportunities YOU want. Think of the organizations and the systems that are needed to provide that opportunity. Israel is here. It is not going away. It would like to help the Palestinian people achieve that opportunity.'*

*How can a child grow up in a Culture of Hate and even have the dream of the possibility of peace. Ultimately, that's the worst crime committed by the previous Palestinian leadership. They deprived an entire generation of even the dream of the possibility of peace. The world is hoping for new leadership with different ideas.*

### **3.2 The Seven Principles of Israel's Commitment to Peace**

This should always be included. One key aspect of any communication effort is to prove conclusively that Israel has been and will always be a partner in peace. With that in mind, you should begin any presentation about Israel and the peace process with the following:

1. **Israel accepted the 'two state' solution and offered peace terms as recently as three years ago that would have given Palestinians a Palestinian state.** Israel has been a flexible, thoughtful partner during the peace process, offering constructive solutions, seriously evaluating all proposals, and consistently negotiating in good faith.
2. **Israel has been willing to take great risks for peace.** From offering peace terms that met Arafat's interests to agreeing to the 'two-state' solution, Israel has knowingly made itself vulnerable in order to secure peace for all people in the region.
3. **Israel recognizes courageous Arab leaders, like Sadat, who are willing to partner with Israel to achieve peace.** This is not an issue of Arabs versus Israelis. Other Arab nations are developing constructive solutions and demonstrating the commitment to help Israel and the Palestinians achieve peace.
4. **Had there been a real fighter for rights, like a Gandhi or a Mandela, Palestinians would have had their own state long ago.** Real fighters for peace place compassion and respect for their people above their own egos. Real fighters for peace do not encourage physical violence against women and children as a means of achieving peace. Arafat did not care about creating peace for his people and their children and grandchildren. Let's hope that one day he will no longer be pulling the strings.
5. **Israel is a democratic country that shares our values and is ready to make peace.** Like America, Israel was founded on the principles of respect, quality, and freedom from oppression. As America fights terrorism only to prevent tragedies like those that occurred on September 11, so does Israel defend itself against the drastic violence taken by Arafat against innocent Israeli civilians.
6. **Where there is no freedom, there is no peace.** Every nation and every person has the right to go to a pizzeria and ride a bus without having to worry about suicide bombers. Every mother and every

father has a right to expect that when their children go out for a walk in the woods with their friends that they will not be brutally stabbed to death.

7. **Israelis crave peace.** As a country, Israel wants no more than every other decent person on earth – it wants security and peace. The Israeli people do not want to worry about safety when eating pizza or attending a wedding. They do not want to serve at checkpoints in the West Bank. Israel wants peace and is now ready, as it has been in the past, to take huge risks to achieve it. That’s why Israel’s leaders offered the Palestinians a state long ago. And that is why, once the terror ends and a true Palestinian peace partner emerges, they will offer it again.

**But while all this is fact**, it is not much recognized by the American public at large. By employing the language of these principles, and applying them to the substance of the findings discussed in this and following chapters, you will effectively make the case and bring this understanding to them.

**Presenting a fair evaluation of Israel’s past and focusing squarely on peace allows you to present a hopeful – and believable – vision of Israel’s future.**

The essential conclusion is to remain focused on your communication *priorities* from this point forward. **Define Israel as what it actually is – a democracy that shares American values.** Remind the public that Israel wants peace – and is willing to make painful sacrifices. But also remind the public that if the suicide strategy is allowed to succeed anywhere, it will succeed everywhere. The terror must end first. And throughout it all, supporters of Israel must exhibit humility and reaffirm that the Palestinian people deserve better.

We have identified language that effectively articulates why – and how – the Palestinian leadership must change. Critiquing the other side is always the easiest part of public communication, but it is only half of effective language.

Opinion elites in America will not find repeated criticisms of the Palestinian leadership credible unless they are coupled with a similar onus on the Israeli government to accommodate for peace and acknowledge past transgressions. Assertions that Israel enjoys a blameless history are *soundly* rejected. This will not be received well by everyone, but it is essential for pro-Israel spokespeople to acknowledge that Israel has made some mistakes. Not only does this build credibility but it also allows the spokesperson to then explain and assert Israel’s history of taking strides for peace.

## **Best Way to Develop the Peace Message**

### **Acknowledge the past: both bad and good**

1. *We know that the history of the Middle East conflict has been marked by frustration and mistrust by both Israelis and Palestinians, and Israel is willing to accept some of the blame for what has happened in the past.*
2. *However, throughout Israel’s history, Israel has demonstrated that it values peace above all else. In Israel’s quest for peace, it overcame differences and found agreement with its Arab neighbors Egypt and Jordan.*
3. *Israel remains committed to peace. It offered the Palestinian people a state of their own that included over 95% of the West Bank and all of Gaza. Their leadership rejected this proposal, showing once again that Israel does not have a partner for peace so long as the current Palestinian Authority remains the voice of the Palestinian people. It’s time for a change – not just for Israel but for the Palestinians as well.*

The toughest issue to communicate will be the final resolution of Jerusalem. Americans overwhelmingly want Israel to be in charge of the religious holy sites and are frankly afraid of the consequences should Israel turn over control to the Palestinians. That being said, the hope is for both sides to share the responsibilities for control, access and security. But until then, consider the following language:

## Words That Work

*Jerusalem is a holy city for Jews, but we know it is also a holy city for Christians and for Muslims and we respect that. Israel is committed to dealing with the question of Jerusalem. However, if Israel puts it on the front burner, it is not going to get anything else done. Israel has to deal with tangible issues to make life better today for Palestinians and for Israelis. The Israeli government has committed itself to dealing with the Jerusalem issue in the final status talks. But let's first support a positive momentum.*

### 3.3 Israeli Military Action and "Occupation"

***"The Palestinians make the point that there's been a 35-year Israeli military occupation of the Palestinian territories. And they feel frustrated. They're angry. They don't have F-16s. They don't have Apache helicopters. They have to do something to try to liberate their land."***

**- Wolf Blitzer, CNN**

**During periods of military action against Palestinians, the central communication principle of the pro-Israel community must be the fight against terrorism and for the preservation of freedom.**

As President Bush told a joint-session of Congress nine days after the World Trade Center attack, there is no middle ground. Just as every American foreign policy issue during the Cold War was examined in the context of the Soviet threat, every Israeli foreign affairs question must now be viewed through the prism of the war on terrorism.

Supporters of Israel must define its military actions as those of ***self-defense and deterrence***. These words resound with Americans' fundamental desire to protect a fellow democracy's values and sovereignty, as well as an individual's right to protect him or herself from attack. In light of September 11<sup>th</sup>, Americans now accept the notion of using an aggressive offense as a deterrent. So focus on protecting democracy and explain how Israeli actions in the West Bank and Gaza are taken only as a strategy of deterrence. Frame every military event in these terms.

In short, be sure to link the military action to terrorists and not to the Palestinian people. At the end of any discussion of military action or occupation, you should offer an emphatic conclusion that we know virtually all Americans would agree with:

**"No one should be able to gain even a single inch as a result of the deliberate use of terrorism. By definition, no one must yield to terror. By definition, there cannot be peace with terror."**

## An Arab Criticism that Does Not Work

*"President Arafat did not teach anybody to be a suicidal bomber. It is the Israeli occupation who taught people that they have - that seeking death is far more relevant than hoping for life, a life that they don't see any light at the end of the occupation tunnel."*

All the arguments that work are in the paragraphs that follow. Notice the themes: defining terrorism, self-defense, Yasser Arafat, personalizing and humanizing the pain, the desire for an alternative outcome – they all work in tandem to make the case that Israel is there (in the West Bank) because it has to be there, not because it wants to be there. That's the strongest argument you can make right now.

## Words that Work

*We have to distinguish between those engaging in terrorism and those engaging in self-defense. Today, the Israeli army is defending the people of Israel from what is unquestionably a war of terrorism against them. And any democracy attacked by terrorism has a moral right to defend itself; Israel is exercising that right.*

*Yasser Arafat has adopted the most extreme means of terror to attain his desired goals. Under his authority, murderers have been sent to kill innocent people in restaurants, shopping centers, and hotel lobbies—even at religious events. What option does Israel have? What option would the United States choose if Americans had to live under similar conditions?*

*When a young man walks into a cafe full of teenagers and blows himself up, that's called terrorism. You don't have to be an international lawyer to figure it out. Nothing, no cause can possibly justify the murder of innocent civilians and particularly the targeting of children. That is what the war on terrorism is about in Israel.*

*It takes two to make peace. Israel offered the Palestinians their own state as recently as THREE years ago, but Arafat himself said no. Israel has been a flexible, thoughtful partner during the peace process, offering constructive solutions, and negotiating in good faith, always with the goal of peace. It has placed peace above its own national security, and in doing so has risked a great deal.*

*Even today, Israeli military actions to prevent the suicide bombings are strictly in self-defense, as part of a struggle for its own survival and the survival of its people. All Israel has asked for is an end to the violence.*

*Israel does not want to govern a single Palestinian. Israel wants them to govern themselves. Israel doesn't want to be in the territories. But until the Palestinians choose peace, Israel has no choice.*

## Responding to Occupation: Land for Peace One-Step at a Time

### A Tough Question and the Perfect Answer

**Q:** *The Palestinians have said the violence will stop if Israel just returns to pre-1967 borders. Why not give peace a chance and return to those borders? What does Israel have to lose?*

**A:** *All of us need to think of a long-term solution, a long-term commitment between both people. This process has to be taken one step at a time, one day at a time. Today Israel has no guarantees that if they withdraw to 1967 lines that they won't be confronting exactly the same reality they have today – the violence, the bloodshed, and the daily acts of terrorism.*

*Israelis will take this one step at a time. With security comes confidence, and with confidence comes cooperation and compromise. Israel is prepared to negotiate land for peace – but peace is just as important to them as land is to the Palestinians.*

One more point here. It is covered throughout this document but it deserves its own specific mention. The fact is Arabs living in Israel have more basic rights, freedoms, and human rights guarantees than Arabs living in any other Middle Eastern country. It's incredible but it's true. From private property ownership to rule of law, from electoral participation to religious freedoms, Arabs in Israel can say and do things that would imprison or kill them in other countries. It is important for this message to get out.

### **A Tough Rhetorical Attack on Israel**

*“Any discussion of the situation between Israelis and Palestinians always leads to occupation, and the failure of Israel to end it, and terrorism, and the failure of the Palestinian leadership to stop it. But when you describe the latest diabolical terrorist attack, you can assume that the following response is coming:*

*The terrorism against Israelis is wrong, but we have to focus on why these terrorist attacks are occurring. They are occurring because Palestinians have been denied their freedom for many years. The only way we can stop the terrorism is to stop the occupation and give Palestinians their freedom.*

*Inhumanity is not a value of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century. Israel is in the power position in the Middle East ... you can't possibly argue that it is the impoverished Palestinians ... and Israel needs to stop denying the Palestinians their human rights. Israel was once the “David” of the region. Now it has become the “Goliath.”*

*We need to make clear that this can't go on. Israel's bullying of the Palestinians must stop. The land-grabbing settlements must stop. The random military attacks on refugee camps must stop. The flagrant denial of Palestinian human rights must stop.”*

### **A Strong Response**

*“Then the terrorism against innocent Israeli children must stop. Can you understand the anguish of the Israeli people? They have lived so long with fear and funerals, not for soldiers but for children. Even today, they have had to put armed guards in kindergarten classrooms. How can one justify or even explain a terrorist attack against kids in a Sbarro restaurant? How can one justify or even explain a terrorist attack against kids at a teenage disco? I ask you to imagine the final thoughts of the women and children on that burning bus – whether to remain on board and slowly burn to death or whether to exit and be gunned down by trained Palestinian marksmen.*

*Israelis have the right to a normal life. They have a right to security. They want, they need a responsible Palestinian partner to achieve that security and a permanent lasting peace that everyone – Israelis and Palestinians – all deserve. They want peace. They want Palestinian leaders they can negotiate with who can bring peace. They want Palestinian leaders who can stop the continued violence. Not talk about it but actually stop it.”*

## **3.4 Addressing Palestinian Terror**

*“The United States is Israel's best friend and ally. Israelis are in a very difficult situation – the relentless attacks; terrorism is a factor of daily life. And like the United States, which has every right to hunt down al-Qaeda operatives all over the globe, Israel should always retain the right to hunt down Hamas terrorists wherever they hide. This is a matter of self-defense. Democracies have only one way to defend themselves - stopping the terror before it can explode in their midst.”*

**- Combining democracy & terrorism**

### **The Six KEY Communications Principles**

“As a matter of principle, any person, organization, or government that supports, protects, or harbors terrorists is complicit in the murder of the innocent, and equally guilty of terrorist crimes.” These are the words of George W. Bush but they would be just as effective if spoken by a pro-Israel spokesperson. It is a principle that about 80% of Americans support. It sets the right context for everything that follows.

1. **Individualize and personalize the terror, but don't go overboard.** The graphic descriptions of the terrorist attacks no longer elicit positive or even sympathetic reactions. Americans have become numb to the bloodshed and explicit reference to what terrorism looks like will alienate the viewer. Instead, talk about the place, the victims, the timing, and the impact. One appropriate example is the father, a doctor who worked at the sites of terror attacks, killed along with his daughter the night before her wedding.
2. **Israel is being PREVENTIVE, not proactive.** Two similar words with similar definitions that generate a completely different reaction from audiences. "Proactive" is perceived as an aggressive position that Israel is acting unilaterally and possibly without provocation or legitimacy. "Preventive" suggests an attack is imminent or at least reasonably likely and that lives could be saved if the threat is eliminated.
3. **Never forget the children.** This is the one area where Americans are still fully and totally sympathetic to the plight of Israel. Terrorism against children is never acceptable, and it is one Palestinian weakness that they cannot explain or defend in any way.
4. **The "100 percent effort against terrorism" is exactly what Americans want to hear.** This is both good strategy and good communications. Americans do not expect the Palestinians to stop all terrorists immediately, but they will react quite favorably to the demand that they put in full effort to bring terrorism to an end. By demanding 100% effort, Israel appears to be reasonable while setting the Palestinian expectations bar quite high. Better yet, it gives Israel the ability to define what 100% effort actually means.
5. **You should specifically address "The Culture of Hate."** Nothing frightens people more than visuals of young Palestinian children singing songs of death to Israelis or seeing genuine Palestinian newscasts where young children are learning how to use guns and how to kill Jews. Once people see these images, it's hard for them to believe or trust the Palestinian spokesperson.
6. **Rebut the "Cycle of Violence" argument.** It is not symmetrical. If Israel stops fighting terror, the violence continues. If the Palestinians stop terror, Israel will have no reason for curfews, fences, checkpoints and other defensive measures.

Yes, terrorism is the hot-button issue. It is at the core of Israel's defense – and its offense as well. It is the issue where you must draw the distinction between Israel and the Palestinians. If you can't make the case on the grounds of terrorism, most of everything else you say will fail.

But, no, that doesn't mean you don't have to put it in context beyond saying the Palestinians have to stop it. Associate the Israeli struggle with America's war against terror. Spell out why having a next-door neighbor capable of terrorism requires heightened caution.

#### **Perfect Language**

*"A Palestinian state should be a reward for ending terror, not a concession resulting from an endorsement of terror. Until now, the primary obstacle for peace is not the absence of a Palestinian state – it is the presence of Palestinian terror. We support the principle of a Palestinian state in the framework of consistent and continued Palestinian action against terrorism and political reform. No one wants to see a terrorist authoritarian state as their neighbor just over the border."*

#### **Four Anti-Terror Sound Bites**

*The essential component is to put maximum pressure on the Palestinian leadership to stop the terror. Be reasonable but firm and uncompromising when it comes to holding the Palestinian leadership accountable for future terrorism.*

1. *“A single suicide bomber will not derail the peace process if there is a genuine effort by the Palestinian leadership to stop suicide bombings. On the contrary, Israel has offered to work with them, together, to deal with the problem. Israelis have been and will be patient and reasonable. If the new Palestinian leadership is true to its word, if the new Prime Minister lives up to his commitments, Israel will not allow a lone bomber to derail the process.”*
2. *“At the very moment of hope, within hours of the former Palestinian Prime Minister, Abu Mazen’s, swearing in, a terrorist bombing in downtown Tel Aviv, in the heart of the city, right next to the U.S. Embassy, killed innocent people. I think that is a clear signal that the terrorists are not about to give up, that more needs to be done.”*
3. *“There is an ongoing threat of suicide bombers who have attacked Israelis in shopping malls, schools, restaurants and discos. Every Israeli is a target, whether you’re young or old, male or female, Likud or Labor voter. Is the Israeli government supposed to sit there and wait for the next suicide bombing to happen? Like the United States, they have an obligation to defend their citizens. They have an obligation to prevent these attacks.”*
4. *“There’s nothing that Israel wishes for more than to see a better future and better everyday life for Palestinian children as well as for Israeli children. The fear should end; the fear when they board the buses to school, when they sit in an outdoor café, or play outside. There’s nothing that Israelis wish for more than to see the end of the suffering on both sides. But it is up to the Palestinian Authority to stop the terror.”*

### **3.5 Talking about Children**

**“Is it morally right for a society to intentionally turn its own children into suicide bombers?”**

**And, there is a general agreement that Palestinians are teaching their children to hate Americans and Jews and to become terrorists.**

*Agree or Disagree*

*The Palestinians have been indoctrinated by a generation of anti-Israel and anti-American propaganda; they are teaching their children to hate Americans and Jews and to become terrorists.*

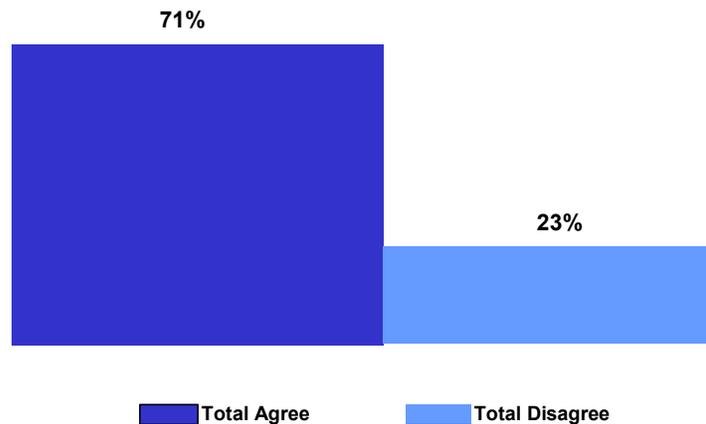


Figure viii. *Indoctrinating Children Into the Culture of Hate (POS 07/03 poll)*

***The children are where the next great language battle for the hearts of the world will be fought.*** Nothing quiets the Israeli-haters faster than the visuals of Palestinian children being taught how to load a machine gun, snap a person's neck, and sing songs about the destruction of Israel. Nothing. Seventy-one percent of Americans now agree that "the Palestinians have been indoctrinated by a generation of anti-American propaganda; they are teaching their children to hate America and Jews and to become terrorists."

The poll results above show that Americans know the truth. Americans now know about the summer terrorist camps for children. Why do you think the Palestinian Authority banned filming of children with fake suicide bomber belts? In America and in Europe, parents cannot understand other parents encouraging their children to become suicide bombers and terrorists.

While it is impossible to bring the tape that the IDF compiled of the various Arab news programs and other footage to every speech, it is essential that you refer to this tape whenever possible and show it to as many journalists as possible. The fact that it appeared on Arabic television makes the material credible, and the visuals are so strong that they do not need any voiceover. Most importantly, no one believes that the horrible things these Arab and Palestinian children are doing and saying occur in Israel – and it therefore destroys the moral equivalency argument and sympathy for the Palestinians at the same time.

But explicit appeals to the heart using the victims of terror simply will not work if they are seen as overtly calculating. If Americans perceive a deliberate attempt to generate sympathy, you will get none.

**Words That Do Not Work**

*"In a few hours, Israel will wake up to a new morning of funerals, funerals of babies, of innocent mothers and fathers. And this is what they face right now."*

And why did the words above not work? To Americans, it sounded like Israelis believed that their babies were worth more than the Palestinian babies they had killed for whatever reason throughout their occupation. It also seemed forced and fake. That's why you need to appeal to all mothers and fathers on behalf of all children in the Middle East.

Now, since you can't bring the IDF tape with you to every meeting, the following language will best evoke similar emotions:

#### **Words That Work**

*"Let me talk about the children of the Middle East for they are the future. It is so important that all educational institutions teaching children be violence-free and hate-free. The key to a true lasting peace in the Middle East is in the education of the next generation of Israeli and Palestinian leaders."*

Explain how Palestinian terrorism is more than just isolated incidents by discussing **"The Culture of Hate."** The video described earlier wasn't created in some Hollywood studio. It all aired on Arab television and it glorified martyrdom, exalted those who called for the death of Israelis, and had pre-teens singing songs with the worst sort of anti-Semitic and anti-Israeli lyrics while their teachers applauded. This was shocking stuff, but it explains in living color why so many young people blow themselves up in the name of whatever ... and take as many Israelis as possible with them. Until the Palestinians end this Culture of Hate, there will be no chance for a truly effective, permanent peace.

#### **MORE Words That Work**

*In Israeli schools, children are taught to respect Palestinians and empathize with their plight. Tragically, there are fewer teachers today in Israeli schools than in past years because of the need to hire so many security guards, add metal detectors and replace the windows with bulletproof glass. It shouldn't be this way. And yet Israeli children are still taught that the pursuit of peace is the highest calling.*

*But in Palestinian territories and some Arab countries, instead of using schools to promote peace with their Jewish neighbors, schools systematically indoctrinate their children with anti-Semitic stereotypes, anti-Israel propaganda, and material that is designed to promote hostility and intolerance rather than co-existence and understanding.*

Worse yet, the Palestinian Authority has also tried to convince Palestinian children that Israel is out to kill them. For example, the PA-controlled daily newspaper actually claimed that Israeli aircraft were dropping poison candy in the Gaza Strip. This is dishonest, destructive, and shameful. And in August 2002, the Palestinian Journalists Syndicate banned journalists from photographing Palestinian children carrying weapons or taking part in activities by militant groups, saying that the pictures harm the Palestinian cause.

**Instead of teaching their children to put down their guns, they are telling foreign journalists to put down their cameras.**

### **3.6 Combating the Indoctrination of Hate**

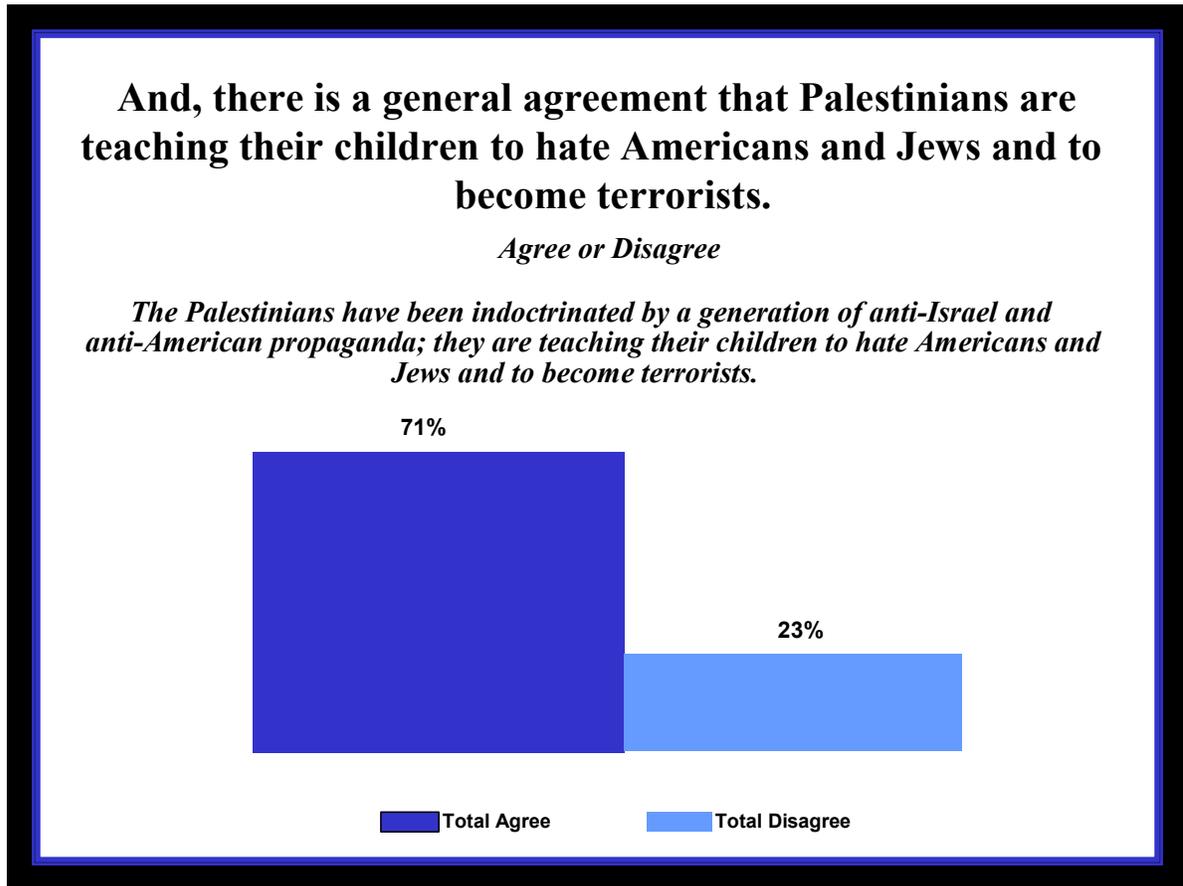
***"There is no reason whatsoever why Palestinian children sitting in schools today should STILL be exposed to the same vicious indoctrination against Jews and Israelis, the same hero worship for suicide bombers.***

***It doesn't take force to counter Hamas. It simply takes the will of the Palestinian leadership to stop this incitement on a daily basis. And stop the vicious propaganda from the religious leaders in the***

**mosques encouraging more people to become suicide bombers. That's what is needed on the path to peace."**

**- Pro-Israel sound bite**

Again and again our polling shows that Americans understand and agree with the need to end the culture of hate. Americans have reached a virtual consensus on that. "Before the Palestinians are allowed to establish their own nation, they need to stop teaching their children to become terrorists. This includes ending the incitement of violence on public television and in their textbooks."



*Figure ix. Teaching Children about Becoming Terrorists (POS 07/03 poll)*

We have just briefly addressed **The Culture of Hate** in connection with the indoctrination of Palestinian children but it deserves a renewed focus because it's accurate. It's fair. It's believable. It's credible. It stands in the way of a lasting peace. It needs to become a core message right now. Use The Culture of Hate response whenever asked about the desire for peace among the Palestinian people.

Nothing frightens Americans more than visuals of young Palestinian children singing songs of death to Israelis or seeing genuine Palestinian newscasts where young children are learning how to use guns and how to kill Jews. Once Americans see these images, it's hard for them to believe or trust the Palestinian spokespeople.

### A Tough Question and the Perfect Answer

**Q:** *What percentage of Palestinians do you think support groups like Hamas or Islamic Jihad and think terrorism will actually help get them to a Palestinian state?*

**A:** *I still believe that the majority of the Palestinian population is in favor of peace and supports peace. But remember, we're talking about a society, which to a very great extent is governed by fear. We're talking about a totalitarian society - no freedom of expression, no freedom of the press. It is ironic that the freest Arab press, not just in the region but also in the world, is in Israel.*

*I do believe that the lack of freedom combined with the Culture of Hate and the campaign of incitement within the population instigated and led by Palestinian Authority will undermine the advocates of peace. As long as the Culture of Hate and incitement continues, support for terrorist organizations like Hamas and Islamic Jihad will increase. End the Culture of Hatred and replace it with democracy and understanding and peace can be achieved.*

### Words That Work

*It's very easy to say one message in English to the outside world and another message to your own people in Arabic. It's easy, but it's wrong. The Palestinian leaders, most notably, Mr. Arafat, has said to Western media outlets that he's against terrorism, but to his own media he talks about jihad and about the suicide bombers, praising them as martyrs.*

*The fact is, these suicide bombers are given social legitimacy by the Palestinian leadership. These children believe that they are doing what their political leadership wants them to do. Pictures of suicide bombers are put up in classrooms. Squares in public places are named after suicide bombers. Soccer teams in the West Bank are named after suicide bombers. What message is the Palestinian leadership giving young Palestinians? They're saying, "This is a good thing." And that does not even include all the financial inducements that encourage poor Palestinian people to become suicide bombers.*

*A suicide bomber is obviously a criminal. But the greater criminal is the corrupt official who is sending that young person to commit suicide. Children are very impressionable, and what they learn at a young age they take with them for the rest of their lives. If the new Palestinian leadership is truly committed to a permanent peace, they need to throw out the history books that describe Jews using the same slander that Hitler once did.*

*So I ask the Palestinian leadership to stop incitement in schools and stop the propaganda on television and radio and in their newspapers. Stop declaring in your media and teaching in your schools that Israel is an illegal state. Do it not for peace, do it for your own people.*

If the Israelis and Palestinians are to achieve a peace that lasts for generations, we need to ensure the next generation is not raised in an environment of hate or bigotry.

## 3.7 The Security Fence

Helping the public understand the need for a security fence will be one of our most important tasks. As Palestinian leaders continue to call the security fence an "apartheid wall" or "separation wall", our telling the public that "good fences make good neighbors" would only pour salt on American views of what our citizens have already seen in the media as an obstacle to peace. As with all of our communications, we need to tell the truth. We need to show humility. We need to show empathy for the Palestinians.

In no other issue is it more important to use rhetorical questions. We need to recognize that Palestinian people have hopes and dreams too.

Through a poll done by Neil Newhouse, we have now spoken with more than 800 Americans regarding the security fence. As we look to the data for guidance in our communications, it is particularly important to check the intensity of the responses on this issue since the security fence elicits a lot of passion on both sides. The answers we use need to be the ones where the strongest support is shown – and those are for the reasons of security.

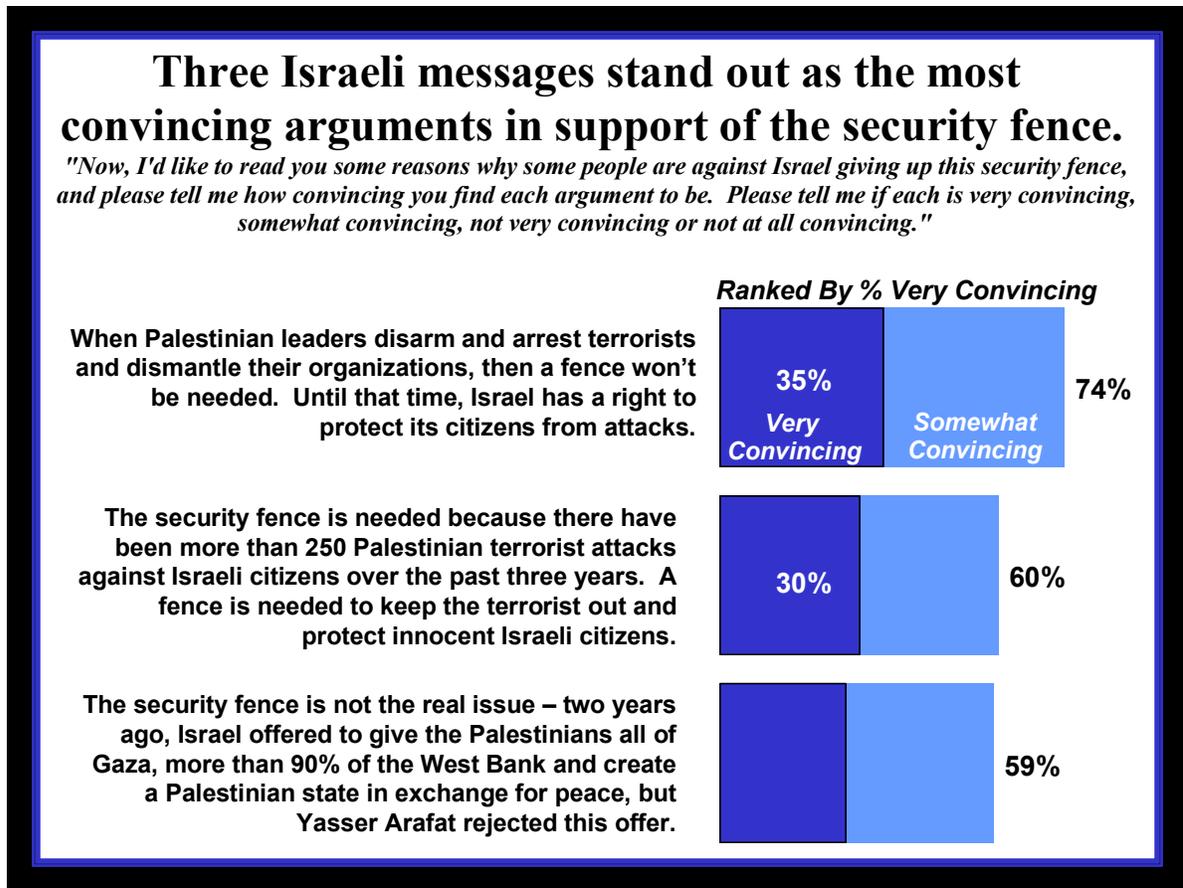


Figure x. *Convincing Arguments in Support of Security Fence (POS 07/03 poll)*

We tested several different arguments in support of the fence. The first three arguments were the most effective because of the percentage of people who found them “Very Convincing.”

Here are eight successful ways to talk about the Security Fence:

1. **When Palestinian leaders disarm and arrest terrorists and dismantle their organizations, then a fence won't be needed.** Until that time, Israel has a right to protect its citizens from attacks.
2. **After more than 250 different attacks – month after month of bloodshed for three solid years - what is Israel to do to protect itself?** The security fence is a necessary evil. Even the government of Israel was against it for years. But relentless terrorism has forced Israel to protect its citizens and until the terrorism stops, they do not have a better option.

3. **Israel wants peace.** Israelis want BOTH sides to live free of violence and fear. Indeed, Israelis understand that the lives of average Palestinians are very tough. But after three years of suicide bomber after suicide bomber, if I were a Palestinian, I would ask myself, *“What have I gotten for all this violence? What have I gotten for all the billions of dollars in international aid that has gone to Arafat and caused Arafat to be listed in Forbes as one of the richest people on the planet, while I live in suffering? Why, when Arafat met with Barak and Clinton, didn’t Arafat accept generous offers for a Palestinian state? Why do our leaders keep using a strategy of violence that gets us nowhere?”* The sad fact is that the fence is just the most recent tragedy caused by Palestinian leaders such as Arafat who use terrorism instead of negotiations to deal with their neighbors.
4. **Already there is a fence between Israel and Gaza.** And not one suicide bomber has come from Gaza to kill Israeli children. Not one. But now more than 250 suicide bombers have come through the West Bank and killed Israeli children, women, and civilians.
5. **What would America do if we had suicide bombers come and attack our people at pizza parlors, weddings, and on our buses?** What would we do? What is Israel to do?
6. **The suicide strategy. If it is allowed to succeed anywhere, it will succeed everywhere.** The 9/11 hijackers were suicide bombers who killed thousands of Americans. And now, we Americans are protecting ourselves. At airports we have extra screeners. We take off our shoes. It takes time. It invades our privacy. But it saves lives. And imagine if here, in America, suicide bombers came into our cities and blew up children and mothers. Imagine if they went on buses and killed innocent people. What would we do to protect ourselves? And then, what would we do if the suicide bombers kept coming - 250 times - from the same area time after time? What would we do to protect ourselves?
7. **Israelis value life.** Israel is a democracy that celebrates diversity – including 1.2 million Arabs who are citizens of Israel with freedom of speech, religion and a right to vote. But what about the Palestinians’ leaders? We know that their people deserve the freedom to ask their leaders, *“Why have you not stopped the violence and accepted a state? Why have you created a situation where Israel has no choice but to build an ugly security fence to protect its citizens? When will you stop using official Palestinian television to encourage a culture of hatred, violence and death? When will you stop the suicide strategy and adopt a strategy of peace? When will you begin to work for hope and opportunity for all the Palestinian people?”*
8. **Tell real stories of real victims.** Time and again innocent people have been killed because a security fence did not protect them. Put a human face on the crisis. Tell these stories one innocent victim at a time.

It is important for you to understand the background of the security fence. The fact is that it was designed to save lives, not to create political facts on the ground. It does not annex territory nor does it establish any borders. Most of the fence is not a wall, but at its most critical points, it looks a lot like a sound barrier on America’s highways.

The fence is being built in response to more than three years of Palestinian terrorism, much of which emanated from the West Bank. This isn’t the first security fence, as mentioned above; a similar arrangement already exists in Gaza. That fence has proven its ability to keep terrorists out of Israel.

Legal safeguards are already in place to ensure that any use of private land is carried out in accordance with the law and that the rights of all landowners have been respected. Legally, when the security crisis abates, the land will be returned to its owners.

Israel has done everything possible to try to limit the fence’s impact on local residents, including the Palestinians. It has attempted to avoid using private lands, and when this was impossible, Israel offered the owners full compensation. Additionally, Israel has offered to relocate olive and fruit trees growing within the Security Fence area – so far over 40,000 olive trees have been moved at Israel’s expense.

The simple fact is that the security fence is a response to Palestinian terrorism – had there not been 250 terrorist attacks against innocent Israeli civilians, there would have been no need for a fence.

### 3.8 The Road Map and Palestinian Statehood

As we go to press, little hope for the Road Map remains. However, we have still included key messages that will work in discussing the Road Map in the event that it re-emerges as a viable option.

#### **The Language of the Roadmap**

Americans have a lot of questions but receive insufficient answers, so they want to put equal pressure on both sides to reach an accord. This is what you absolutely need to know...and say in terms of the Road Map:

1. **“A Balanced Approach”** For those looking for the absolute shortest shortcut to messaging, these three words should be at the core of all discussions of the Road Map. Even those who regard themselves as pro-Israeli want a balanced approach that will end terrorism and the conflict. “A *balanced approach*” says that neither side wins – and therefore everyone wins.
2. **“Cooperation and Compromise.”** In the past, we have urged pro-Israel spokespeople to talk peace, peace, and peace. That has not changed. But Americans also want to hear about “*cooperation*” and “*compromise.*”
3. **“Flexibility”** If you can’t convey a willingness to be flexible, to bend a little for the sake of “**PROGRESS**” (another great word to use) you will find little favor among the American public. This is one area where Israeli spokespeople have been noticeably ineffective.
4. **“Say what you mean and mean what you say.”** It is not a coincidence that this attribute is exactly what the American people want in their leaders. It’s been a catchphrase in American politics and it works on an international level as well. As one Israeli explained with universal acceptance: “**Actions matter more than words.**”
5. **“This is not about Prime Minister Sharon. This is about the Israeli people and the Palestinian people.”** This is important, particularly among those on the American Left. It is essential that you focus on the human element of the peace process rather than the political component.
6. **“Let us never forget the human suffering.”** It is important that you communicate a respect for the Palestinians and their plight. Without suggesting or even implying that there is a moral equivalence between the two sides, Statements like “*All blood is equal. Every time an innocent person is killed, that’s a tragedy,*” will surprise listeners and build a reservoir of credibility and support.

#### **Key Communications Principles**

1. **Begin with a demand for the “rejection, prevention and elimination of terror.”** One reason why support for a Palestinian state has slipped in recent months is because of the continuing suicide bombings and the realization that the current Palestinian government is, at best, powerless to stop them or, at worse, an accessory to murder. Remember, while peace is the ultimate American value, national security is a legitimate demand. A majority of Americans will not support it if they think it will jeopardize the legitimate security needs of Israel.
2. **“Reform.” “Reform.” “Reform.”** This is the key word in explaining both American and Israeli policy towards a Palestinian state. Although the word means something different to every American, virtually everyone agrees that practically all definitions of reform should apply to a Palestinian government and society.
3. **“Accountability.”** This is at the very core of what Americans want and demand in their own government, and therefore respond well when “accountability” is applied to other governments. This also serves another important purpose: exposing the sham of a “democracy” run by the Palestinians today.

4. **Don't forget the economic component.** Americans are almost as committed to the principles of a free market system as they are to democracy. Most supporters of Israel address the political and military components of the conflict but forget to stress the importance of establishing a viable Palestinian economy. Stating a commitment to offering economic assistance is a perfect opportunity for supporters of Israel to extend their hand in cooperation. It worked for Egypt. It worked for Jordan. All the players will appreciate an Israeli offer to help build a strong Palestinian economy – but it puts the onus on the Palestinians to reform.
5. **Make a direct appeal to the Palestinian people.** The feeling in America is that the Palestinians are being poorly led by Arafat. But many Israel supporters lash out at Arafat so intensely that it sounds to the American ear like they are being anti-Palestinian as well as anti-Arafat. You will score real points if you talk about *“so much unnecessary pain and suffering experienced by the Palestinian people because of their leaders’ inability or unwillingness to stop their strategy of terror and violence. New leaders, responsible leaders, can bring an end to the suffering of Palestinians and Israelis if they are willing to join us as partners in peace.”*
6. **Personalize the Israeli experience.** As stated earlier, the primary reason why support for a Palestinian state has decreased in recent months is because of the relentless suicide bombings. The perfect close is to remind listeners of what the average Israeli has had to endure while still offering hope for a better future.
7. **Don't use the word “never.”** Remember, without hope for peace, Americans will not want to be involved in the Middle East.

In keeping with the philosophy behind this research, there will be no judgment on when or whether a Palestinian state should be created. However, we cannot ignore the topic because it is now at the core of all Palestinian communication efforts.

**Coinciding with many public statements by President Bush in favor of the creation of a Palestinian state, support for it has gone up.**

## Nationally, there is strong support for the creation of a Palestinian state.

*And, in the current situation, do you favor or oppose the establishment of a Palestinian state?*

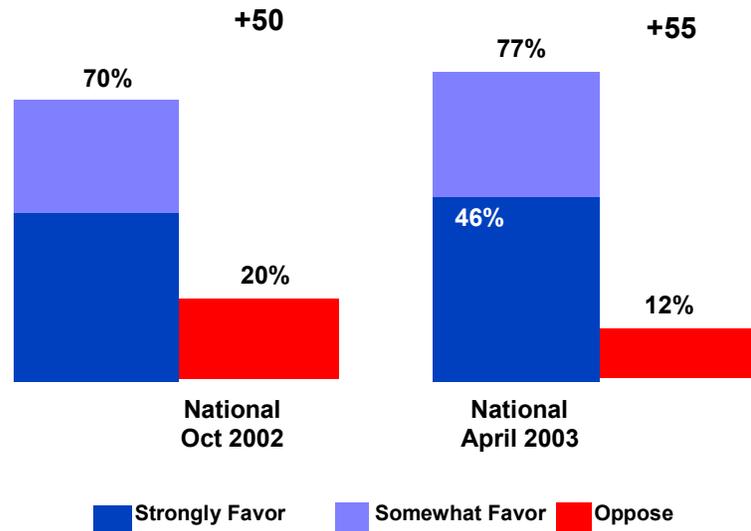


Figure xi. **Strong Support for the Creation of a Palestinian State (POS 07/03 poll)**

As our research indicates, when it comes to the issue of a Palestinian state, there is one individual whose language was so well crafted that it transcends party identification, Israeli-Palestinian loyalties and every other population division – President Bush. While the entire June 24<sup>th</sup> speech was very well received, there are several components that should be repeated by pro-Israel spokespeople simply because they resonate so well with American audiences. What follows are words from President Bush and others that effectively articulate the need for change **before** beginning discussions of a Palestinian state.

### Words That Work

*“The world community should oppose the establishment of a Palestinian state until its leaders engage in a sustained fight against the terrorists and dismantle their infrastructure.”*

*“A Palestinian state will never be created by terror. It will be built through reform. And reform must be more than cosmetic change or a veiled attempt to preserve the status quo. True reform will require entirely new political and economic institutions based on democracy, market economics and action against terrorism.”*

*“Today the elected Palestinian legislature has no authority and power is concentrated in the hands of an unaccountable few. A Palestinian state can only serve its citizens with a new constitution which separates the powers of government and gives ultimate authority to the people themselves.”*

*“The Palestinian economy must be allowed to develop. As violence subsides, we want to see freedom of movement restored, permitting innocent Palestinians to resume work and a normal life. We want the Palestinian workforce to build a better future for themselves, their family and their communities – and we’re ready to help.”*

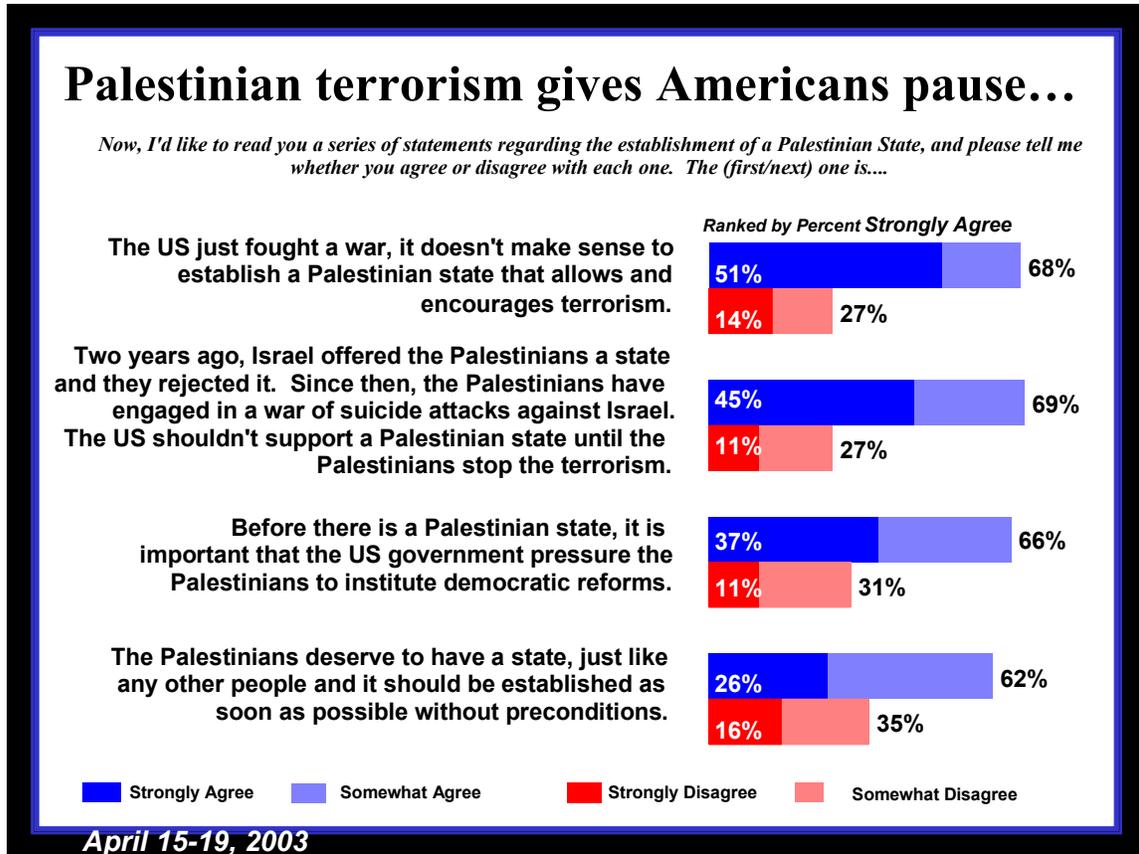


Figure xii. Palestinian Terrorism gives Americans Pause (POS 04/03)

These polls clearly demonstrate that terrorism is the single strongest issue that stands between the Palestinians and their own state. Americans don't want the state to be a haven for terrorists, they don't unconditionally support a state for the Palestinians because of their fears of terrorism, and they demand that Palestinian leaders take action against terrorists rather than just talk about it.

### Talking About the Roadmap

*“We’ve seen countless documents. There was the Mitchell Document, then after that the Tenet Document. The world has seen countless negotiations that have yielded empty promises. What matters much more than words is action.”*

- Perfect Words

Make no mistake: support for the concept of a Road Map for Middle East peace may not be among the highest priorities for Americans, but the principle and the concept generates significant support once Americans are made aware of the effort. Even the phrase “Road Map” generates support because it is immediately understandable and easily applicable to a journey that ends with a settlement between parties. Israel may have significant problems with some of the details, but since Israel really does want peace, you do not want to be perceived as undermining the principles or effort.

**RESPECT and UNDERSTANDING are the key words in a general discussion of the Road Map.**

Sometimes playing the modern role of “Baghdad Bob,” some Palestinians will say anything to improve their public standing regardless of whether it is accurate or sincere. The words below show successful messages on the road map. It raises the importance of intent while reducing the value of [empty] promises.

**Words That Work**

*The world has been presented with a Road Map to peace between Israel and its neighbors in the Arab world. I am hopeful that this is the first step in a final effort to bring about an end to terror and a new beginning of respect and understanding between neighbors.*

*I choose those words – respect and understanding – because they are at the very core of a permanent peace. Without respect between peoples and governments, a peace treaty would not be worth the paper it is written on. Without understanding, disputes and disagreements cannot be resolved.*

*It is essential that Israelis and Palestinians come together to the table not for the short-term purpose of signing an agreement but for the long-term effort of open and honest dialogue leading to respect and understanding.*

**Avoid process. Focus on “measurable results.”** The American people don’t want yet another discussion about a discussion about the details. They want to see tangible movement – but they don’t care which side moves first. The onus is on you to push forward not by appearing to delay the process (which is how Americans see it at this time) but by challenging the Palestinians to start now.

**Words That Work**

*“We want the implementation of the American vision now, not later. We have read the Road Map very carefully. It says: first, stop the terror attacks against innocent Israelis. Then, make a real reform in the Palestinian leadership. Only then come the confidence building measures and negotiations about the creation of a Palestinian state.”*

**These are principles that supporters of Israel, peace and security should invoke: COMPLIANCE, OBLIGATION, and ACCOUNTABILITY.**

These are not just words. For Americans, they represent the values that underpin a *permanent peace*, and no American, even in the current political environment, would ask Israel to enter into any agreement without Palestinian adherence to these three fundamental values.

These three principles serve another purpose – a history lesson of sorts. Israel has faithfully executed its side of the various agreements over the years, but the Palestinians have been far less forthcoming. If you don’t know the facts, watch the short and excellent documentary, “Relentless.” It is essential for you to express these principles in initial discussions about the Road Map because it is yet another area where the Palestinians cannot follow – and it will lay the communication groundwork should the Palestinians fail yet again to maintain their end of the bargain.

**The Perfect Statement**

*“I can say quite honestly, Israel has made mistakes and I think it is willing to do better. But what will help Israel move quickly on peace is to have a real partner on the other side of the table. If Israel and America see a Palestinian leader who means what he says and says what he means. If we can see a Palestinian leader who says on Monday that he’s going to dismantle the terrorists and on Tuesday starts doing so, both the Israeli people and American people will have so much more confidence that this process can and should move forward.”*

### 3.9 The Lessons of Yasser Arafat and the Palestinian Leadership

“I understand and sympathize with the Palestinians, but not with Arafat.”

“Suicide bombings don’t take place because of desperation. They take place because of indoctrination.”

The words and phrases used by Americans to describe Yasser Arafat were universally harsh and hostile. Even those who sympathized with the Palestinian cause held Arafat in contempt. Several called him a “terrorist” and most believed he had done little for his people.

Yet as much as “non-aligned” Americans disliked and distrusted Arafat, they consider him to be a legitimate leader. They do not want to see him killed, and they do not want to see supporters of Israel encourage that to happen. The reason is simple. Americans have a fundamental belief in and a commitment to democracy and the electoral process. They believe Arafat was fairly elected. Even if they acknowledge that Arafat was and continues to be an obstacle to peace, they still expect Israel to recognize and negotiate with him.

In fact, every time a pro-Israel spokesperson makes a statement that Arafat is in some way “irrelevant,” the liberal reaction will be immediate and harshly negative. Add to that the visual of Israelis laying siege to his compound, raising their flag during the fighting, and attempting to destroy the Palestinian infrastructure, you should begin to understand why an impression of Israeli arrogance and aggression now exists among the liberal elite.

That began to change with the rise of Mahmoud Abbas, but now he is no longer in a leadership role. As a new Palestinian Prime Minister gets to work, it is hoped that Arafat will cease to be an important party at the peace table. However, there is an important lesson to be learned here, especially if Arafat re-emerges onto the scene as a major player.

#### A Debate Israel Lost

|                    |  |
|--------------------|--|
| <b>PRO-ISRAEL:</b> | <i>“Frankly, we think Yasser Arafat is irrelevant, and we’ve said so. He’s had ten years to implement his obligations under the Oslo agreement and dismantle these terrorist organizations. He hasn’t, and Israelis have died.”</i>                    |
| <b>OPPONENT:</b>   | <i>“If the Israelis insist on talking about the democratically elected leader of the Palestinian people as irrelevant, that says a lot about their occupation. And that says a lot as to why the Palestinian people are fighting that occupation.”</i> |

With this in mind, we can identify the following lessons:

#### 1. Challenge policies, methods, and actions, but do not question the authority of any ‘elected’ leader – at least not initially.

One of the single most positive reactions to any Israeli came when one Israeli leader said that Arafat “is legitimate in the sense that he was elected by the Palestinian people. And we cannot replace the Palestinian people. We cannot elect their leaders or fire them.” The Israeli then went on to criticize Arafat strenuously, and that criticism was accepted and even endorsed because of this initial statement.

Supporters of Israel should not make Arafat’s irrelevancy or departure a core message. While it may be Israeli policy (and again, we do not comment on policy), this language erodes the credibility of the spokesman and Israel. It also raises questions as to whether Israel is pursuing a policy of deterrence or dominance.

It was acceptable to **erode Arafat's credibility by citing specific examples of his intemperance, anti-American behavior and acceptance/endorsement of terrorism. Quoting him verbatim was far more effective than a linguistic frontal assault. In particular, it was highly effective to emphasize that it was his signature that authorized the funding of terrorism against the Israeli people.**

#### Words That Work

*The Palestinian authority has received billions of dollars in international aid. Where did it go?*

*Why does Arafat have hundreds of millions of dollars stashed away in foreign bank accounts when there are few paved roads, schools, or hospitals for the average Palestinian?*

*Why are Arafat's wife and child living a life of luxury in Paris while he trains other Palestinians' children to be suicide bombers?*

*Why is Yasser Arafat one of the richest people on earth, but his people are so poor?*

*We do know where some of that international aid ended up: to purchase illegal weapons to wage a war against Israeli civilians. These weapons, including grenade and rocket launchers, were paid for by taxpayers, but they are not used for self-defense. They are used for committing acts of terror.*

*And where were they found? In official Palestinian Authority offices. How unfair and tragic that Mr. Arafat enriches himself at the expense of his people.*

#### 2. **Contrast any aggression and dishonesty with the constructive cooperation of other well-known and respected Arab leaders.**

Israel's relationship with Anwar Sadat of Egypt and King Hussein of Jordan are shining examples of how Israel and her neighbors "can work towards common goals in a respectful and peaceful manner." Messages should draw attention to these two specific relationships, reminding the American audience that the U.S. itself held Sadat and Hussein in high esteem. Such positive positioning will reinforce Israel's historic efforts of cooperation with her Arab neighbors, as well as draw a clear contrast between the courage and leadership of these two great leaders and the failed, violent record of Arafat's government.

#### 3. **Remind listeners that Arafat himself signed the Oslo Accord.**

Just as Americans will respect the democratic electoral process even if they dislike the outcome, they have respect for international agreements and expect leaders to uphold them. To commit in writing to peace and then go out and break it again and again is unacceptable. ***"Israel offered Arafat a state, and what they got was terror. Arafat could have been known as the father of his country, but instead he will only be known as a terrorist. Sadly, his signature means nothing. His word means nothing."***

#### Words That Work

*"Under the Oslo agreements, Yasser Arafat was supposed to become the man who would set aside violence as a political tool and renounce terrorism. Unfortunately, his jurisdiction itself has harbored a vast network of international terrorism.*

*"Remember, Israel offered Arafat a country. Israel offered Arafat virtually every acre of land he asked for. Israel agreed to almost every term. Arafat had the chance to stand for peace and father a Palestinian nation. Instead, he chose the path of violence. And for that reason Israel must now seek other avenues to pursue peace."*

Finally, there is a line of communication that will be effective but *only* if used rhetorically. ***Should the United States negotiate with terrorists? Should the United States negotiate with Osama Bin Laden?*** If articulated carefully, this is an effective closer.

### Words That Work Really Well

*"This is a tragedy not just for us Israelis but for the Palestinians as well. Consider what Yasser Arafat has done not just to the people of Israel, but also to his own people.*

*An entire generation of young, talented people are told by their leaders to strap bombs to themselves and kill as many Israelis as possible - that the more people they kill, the more likely they are to go to heaven.*

*How can Israel – or any country - negotiate with somebody who sends killers to blow up restaurants, pizzerias, discos, hotel lobbies, and college cafeterias?*

*Israel is at war with terrorists, who are operating with the support of Arafat. Israel faces an al-Qaeda type organization, Hamas, which is bent on Israel's destruction, and they are doing their murderous deeds under the approving eye of Arafat. Just look at what they say. They see one Palestinian state, an Islamic state, not side-by-side with Israel, but instead of Israel, and they are attacking Israel all the time in a relentless way. The only way Israel can protect itself is by self-defense.*

*Look, this is not just a terrible crime against Israel. It's a terrible crime against Palestinians, against all humanity. Just as Israel lives in peace with her Egyptian and Jordanian neighbors, Israel's future Palestinian partners, I am sure, will not educate their children to do this. The Middle East will have peace, but only once security is achieved.*

*Israelis cannot wait any longer. They want peace now."*

## 3.10 Talking about the Palestinians

***"While I have spoken about Israeli casualties, I want to recognize those Palestinians that have been killed or wounded, because they are suffering as well. I particularly want to reach out to Palestinian mothers who have lost their children. No parent should have to bury his or her child. And so I say to the Palestinian leaders ... you can stop the bloodshed. You can stop the suicide bombings. If you really want to, you can put an end to this cycle of violence. If you won't do it for Israeli children, do it for your children."***

**Being pro-Israel does not mean being AGAINST the Palestinian people.**

This may be an anathema to some readers but it's exactly what Americans in general and the American Left in particular want to hear. The Left has much more sympathy for the plight of Palestinians than do middle of the road or conservative Americans, and they see Palestinian efforts – even the suicide bombings – as a legitimate struggle for freedom. The language below will win applause everywhere – but particularly among the Left:

### Words That Work

*"The conditions of the Palestinians living in the West Bank and Gaza are unbelievably difficult. It is a catastrophe. Israel wants to change this.*

*The Palestinian economy must be allowed to develop. As violence subsides, freedom of movement should be restored, permitting innocent Palestinians to resume work and normal life. Palestinian legislators and officials, humanitarian and international workers, must be allowed to go about the business of building a better future.*

*But there is little anyone can do until the violence and the suicide bombing stops. Israel needs the cooperation of the Palestinian government and the Palestinian people – not only for its own benefit, but for the Palestinians’ benefit as well. The people who pay the price for all this terrorism are not just the Israeli victims. It is the Palestinians as well. If the terrorism stops, the borders can be opened and normal life can resume. But if the Palestinian terror continues, the tragedy will continue.”*

**But being pro-Palestinian does not mean forgiving or forgetting terrorism.** On the contrary, this allows you to criticize even more strongly and credibly the actions of Hamas, Islamic Jihad and the other radical forces operating in Palestinian areas and the failure of the Palestinian leadership to control these organizations. The US public already has a very negative impression of Palestinian terrorists (see POS poll below), so you do not need to rub their noses in it.

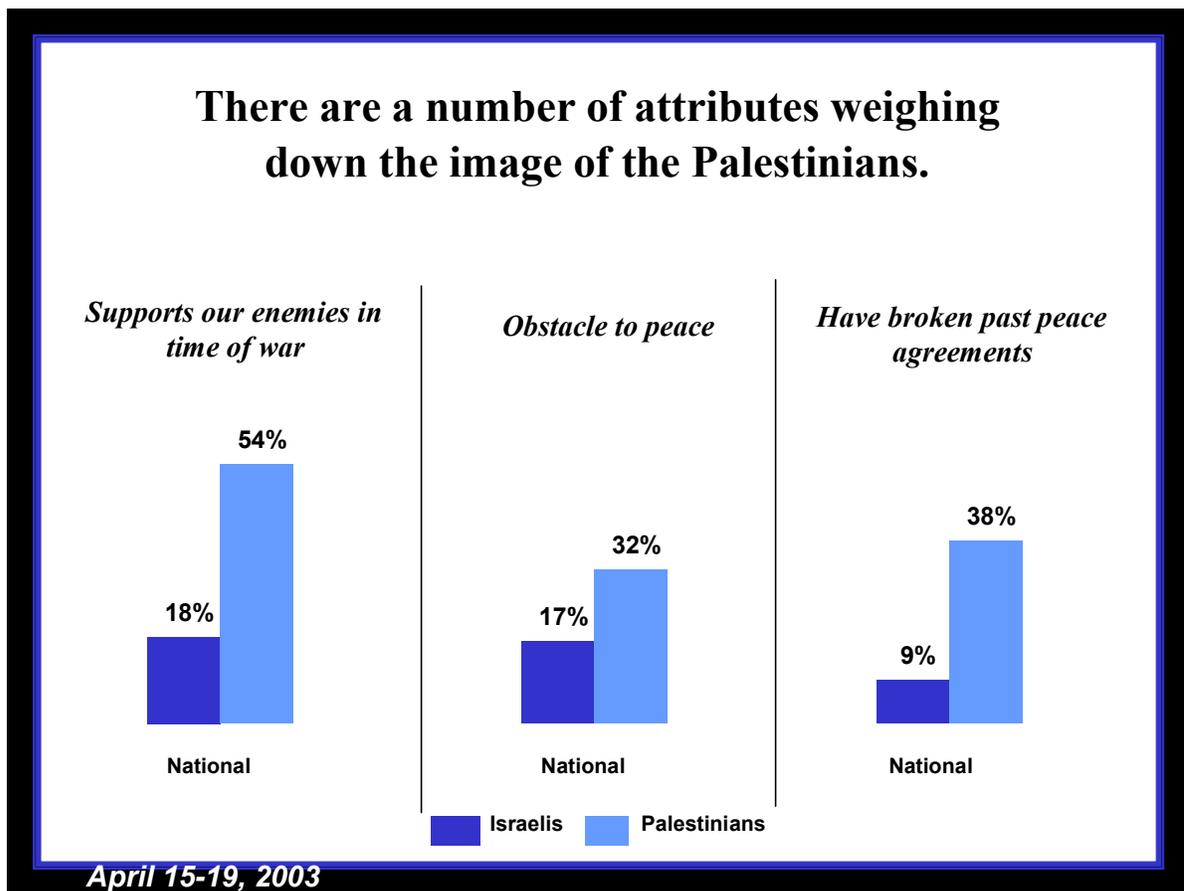


Figure xiii. *Palestinian Image (POS 04/03 poll)*

Americans are beginning to differentiate between Hamas and the Palestinian Authority of Yasser Arafat, blaming Hamas rather than the PA for the suicide bombers. This is actually a very dangerous trend because it could lead them to excuse or dismiss the terrorism promoted by the PA itself.

It is essential that you hold the PA responsible and accountable for all violence by all Palestinian organizations – and do whatever you can to link Arafat to these extremist organizations. Be careful to stick to the facts – which are all too plentiful on this issue. Any new Palestinian leader must be held accountable also. It must be ended. After all, Arafat himself controls the Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigade, a terrorist organization.

### Words That Work

*I want to see a future where the Palestinians govern themselves. Israel does not want to govern a single Palestinian. Not one. We want them to govern themselves. We want them to have complete self-determination.*

### MORE Words That Work

*“More than 800 Israeli civilians have died in the past months of organized Palestinian terrorism. More than 800.*

*And yet I have a surprise for you. Today, even after all those deaths of so many women and children, more Israelis support Palestinian self-determination than Palestinians support the existence of Israel. Let me repeat that. There are more Israelis who support Palestinian self-rule and self-governing than Palestinians who support the existence of Israel.*

*Yes, Israelis are afraid that a Palestinian state would serve as a staging area for terrorists – and those fears are well founded. In August 2003 a leader of the radical terrorist group Hamas yet again publicly called for pushing Israel into the sea. And still Israelis are prepared to accept the risks involved in exchange for peace. However, as you well know, it takes two nations to make peace, but only one to make war.”*

## **Accountability in the fight against terror**

**We have talked in the past about the difference between 100% effort and 100% results in fighting terrorism.** But what we haven't addressed, and what the American people would fully understand, is the importance of accountability in fighting terrorism. The acknowledgement that it is impossible completely to eradicate terrorism builds credibility. The demand for a full, comprehensive and ongoing effort generates a positive reaction. But you need to go one step further. The key line in this response: Palestinians and Israelis *“working shoulder to shoulder to prevent acts of terror.”* As the chart below indicates, the American people are almost unanimous in demanding that Palestinian leaders do more than just SAY they are against terrorists; they need to arrest terrorists, disarm them and jail those who are known to be responsible for killing innocent civilians.

## US sentiment against Palestinian terrorism is strong – American voters want Palestinian leaders to take action against terrorists.

*"Now, finally, please tell me if you agree or disagree with each of the following statements regarding this conflict."*

**Palestinian leaders need to do more than just SAY they are against terrorists, they need to arrest and disarm terrorists and jail those who are known to be responsible for killing innocent civilians.**

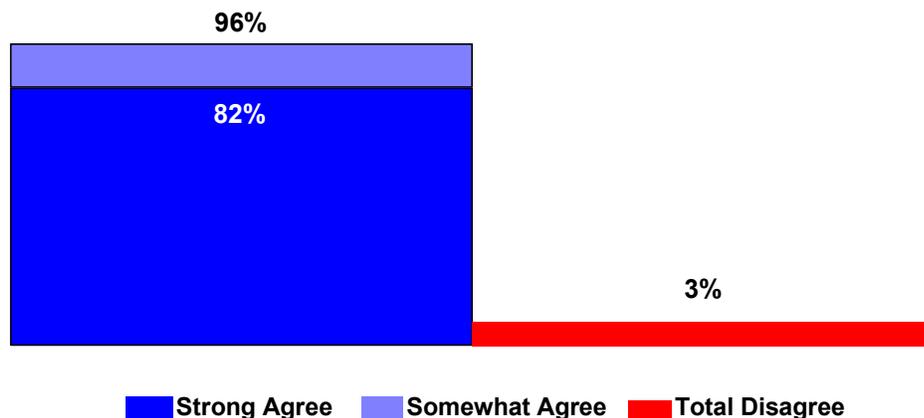


Figure xiv. Demand for Palestinian leaders to take action (POS 07/03 poll)

### A Tough Question and a Perfect Answer

**Q:** *Does a 100% effort in fighting terrorism, mean the same thing as 100% result? If there are continued attacks, would that derail the peace process? What amount of terrorism would derail the peace process?*

**A:** *We know you can't have a hundred percent success against terrorism. There's no democratic country in the world that has had 100% success.*

*There is no excuse, however, for having less than 100% effort and accountability, and that's what is needed from the Palestinians. But when suicide bomber belts are found in the Palestinian Force 17 Headquarters, which is directly accountable to the Palestinian leadership... then, Palestinian policemen are implicated in the killing of Israeli civilians. That's not what is needed to move forward.*

*The way to derail the peace process is for the Palestinian Authority or the Palestinian leadership to support terrorist attacks or refrain from taking all necessary action to stop them. The Israelis and Palestinians have to work shoulder to shoulder to prevent such acts of terror from occurring. Together, they need to go to the grass roots and make sure Palestinian society doesn't breed these terrorists and prevent them from getting all the necessary training, support, and encouragement to perpetrate them.*

*The Palestinian Authority needs to take responsibility and accept accountability, not for a perfect result, but for a 100% effort. That is a fair approach. That is a reasonable approach. That's how the cause of peace is advanced.*

### 3.11 Settlements

Whoever came up with and “branded” the phrase “settlements” set in motion a lexicon that hurt Israel from the start. However, when Americans take the time to focus on foreign policy, they are really smart. But it is up to us to educate the public on key facts. For example, when informed that Israel gave up the Sinai and made peace with Egypt, or that Israel made peace with Jordan, Americans understand that Israel really is willing to make painful sacrifices for peace. When informed that Israel offered the Palestinians a state at Camp David just three years ago – and Arafat refused, Americans understand that attacks regarding the settlements could be a Trojan horse for other issues. But whenever complaints about settlements are lodged, it is up to us to point out that settlements are not the real issue. It is up to us to remember the facts (see chart below) and to use them over and over again.

**The settlements are a tough issue for Israel**

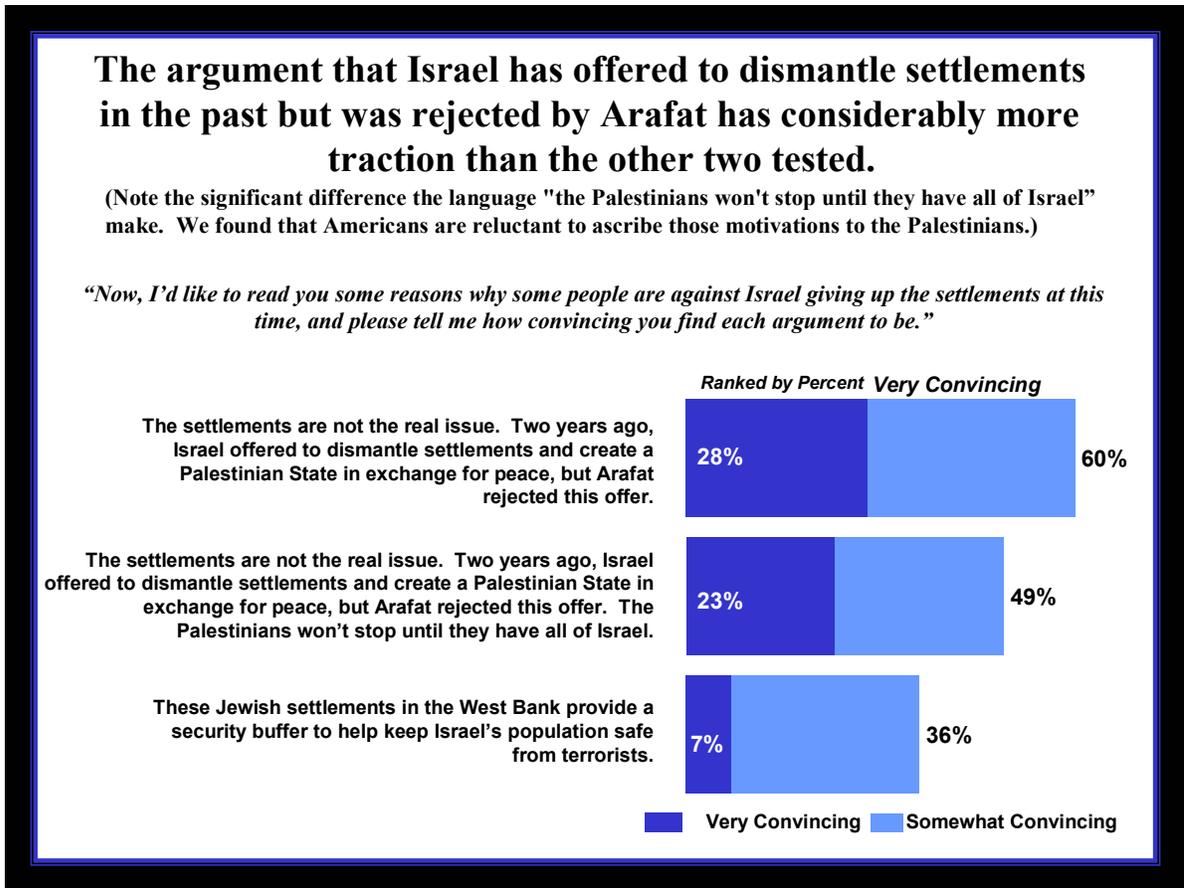


Figure xv. *Settlement Message – Offers of Dismantling (POS 04/03 poll)*

In responding to questions about the settlements, our advice is to bridge to a core message (see section on bridging at the start of this book). At the same time, point out the following facts:

1. **Three previous Israeli leaders have demonstrated a willingness to address the settlement issue.** Three prime ministers have been willing to dismantle some settlements proving Israel's credibility on the issue.
2. **Even Prime Minister Ariel Sharon has given up settlements in exchange for peace.** When Begin was Prime Minister of Israel, Ariel Sharon endorsed the decision to evacuate Yamit, a town in the Sinai with thousands of Jews. Sharon later personally led this evacuation. This was done to create peace – and peace was achieved. Under the Road Map, Sharon has made many other sacrifices and has said he will make more, but the terrorism has not stopped. The first priority for peace must be an end to terrorism.

### **How not to talk about the Settlements**

There are arguments that definitely do not work. **In particular, there are two arguments involving settlements that you should NOT make:**

1. **The religious argument.** Quoting from the bible in defense of the current settlements will be counter productive. Even your Jewish audiences will recoil at an attempt to use biblical passages to justify the settlements. This may work with some Christian Conservatives, but at a high cost with others in the audience.
2. **The ownership argument.** Some of those reading this document will reject this advice ideologically, but to claim that Israel “owns” the land that the settlements are on will cause most listeners to reject everything else you say. Semantics do matter, but if we challenge the Palestinians to use “*disputed territory*” instead of “occupied territory,” then we must accept that the settlements are disputed as well.

#### **Words that Somewhat Work**

*“Israel has shown a willingness to put the settlements on the negotiation table. Prime Minister Rabin and Prime Minister Barak both offered to dismantle most of the settlements but only if a real peace with real security could be reached. Both were prepared to face considerable political opposition and pay the expense of re-settling thousands of people within pre-67 borders – but only as part of a fully implemented peace plan.*

*When Prime Minister Barak offered to dismantle scores of the West Bank villages during the Camp David peace negotiations, the Palestinian Authority rejected the initiative, made no counter offer, and then launched a wave of terrorism. But Israel is still willing to talk. And when Israel has a true peace partner, Israel will once again address the settlement issue.”*

### **3.12 The Right of Return = Claim of Confiscation**

First and foremost, we cannot accept the phrase “The Right of Return”. We cannot allow it to enter the lexicon of the Middle East conversation.

**Whenever “right of return” is raised, we must immediately respond with “No, you are talking about the claim of confiscation. This is about Palestinian DEMANDS to destroy Israel - and we will not accept it.”  
Nothing less will do.**

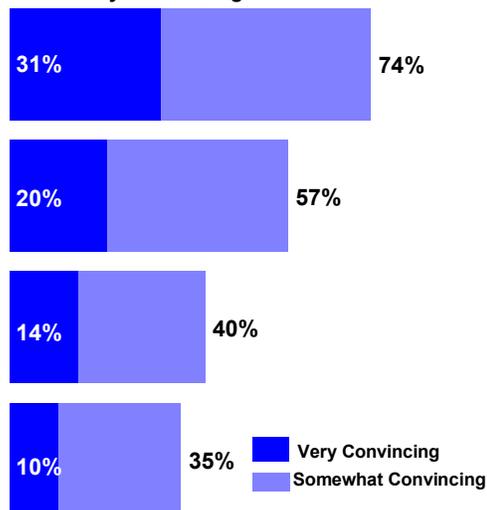
## The "turn back the clock" message is by far our most convincing argument.

Now, I'd like to read you some reasons why some people oppose allowing the Palestinians to return to their homes and property in Israel, and please tell me how convincing you find each argument to be.

### National Totals

*While the Palestinians complain that they lost their homes and property when they left Israel in 1948, just as many Jews were forced out of Arab countries since that time, also leaving their homes and property behind. We cannot turn back the clock on either side and must look toward the future.*

#### Very Convincing



*Palestinians who left Israel did so on their own accord, while those who stayed were made citizens and kept their homes and property. As part of any peace settlement, Palestinians who left Israel should live in Palestine, not Israel.*

*The details of this proposal call for allowing not just the Palestinians who left to return to Israel, but ALL relatives born or married into their families since 1948 – a total of more than three million Arabs into Israel, so that within ten years, there would likely be more Arabs in Israel than Jews.*

*Allowing Palestinians to move back to Israel would simply open the door to increased terrorism in the county, and would defeat the purpose of the entire peace plan.*

Figure xvi. Right of Return – Turn Back the Clock (POS 04/03 poll)

The strongest argument BY FAR in talking about the claim of confiscation is to point out that **“while Palestinians complain that they lost homes and property when they left Israel in 1948, just as many Jews were pushed out of Arab states since that time, also losing their homes and property. We cannot simply turn back the clock for either side and must look towards the future.”**

While this message tests by far the best of any of the messages in response to the Palestinian demands for a “right of return,” the fact is that most Americans DO NOT KNOW that close to a million Jews were pushed out of places like Yemen, Egypt, Morocco, Syria, Iraq and Iran since Israel was founded. This is an untold story that those who care about Israel must tell. To receive additional information about this issue, please contact us at [theisraelproject@aol.com](mailto:theisraelproject@aol.com) so that we can send you a free brochure that outlines the facts. In addition, the talented filmmaker, Pierre Rehov, is completing a new documentary on this topic that will break ground on this important topic.

Another successful message on the topic of the Palestinian claim of confiscation is to talk about how other Arab states have treated the Palestinians. Americans cannot understand why the Palestinians live in such poverty when some Arab backers have such incredible wealth. While it does not directly address the right of return issue, explaining why the Palestinians continue to live as refugees is effective in undercutting Arab credibility. There is one line that works particularly well:

*“If oil-rich nations like Saudi Arabia and Iran invested in the West Bank instead of investing in terrorist camps and suicide bombers, the Palestinians would have a much higher standard of living and a much better quality of life.”*

Similarly, focusing on the mismanagement and theft of billions of dollars in international aid is another approach that effectively undercuts Palestinian credibility. Both Fortune and Forbes magazine have pointed out that Arafat is one of the richest people on earth. Unfortunately, precious little of the staggering amount of funds the PA has received (much of it from US and EU taxpayers) has gone to helping the Palestinians.

#### Words That Work

*“All those billions of dollars disappeared, and not even Arafat himself can account for where it went. When the Palestinian Authority had the money to make a difference, it didn’t. You shouldn’t blame Israel for the corruption, mismanagement and neglect of the Palestinian Authority.”*

Facts you need to know regarding the claim of confiscation include:

1. **Most Arabs were not forced to leave Israel in 1948.** With only a few exceptions, almost all the Arabs that left did so voluntarily, thinking that Israel would be defeated in the war being waged against it, wiped off the face of the earth, and that the Arabs would then return triumphantly to split the spoils of war. Of course, it did not happen that way.
2. **The 150,000 Arabs that chose to remain in Israel after 1948 are now full citizens** with all the rights of any Israeli – and a lot more rights than the Arabs that fled to other Middle Eastern countries. Now there are more than 1.2 MILLION Arab citizens of Israel, all of whom have freedom of speech, religion and a right to vote. Indeed, 10 Arabs and 18 women serve in the Israeli Parliament.
3. **This is not a “right of return” but an issue of “confiscation” of Israeli land and property.** Since virtually all Arabs left voluntarily, they have no rights to the land they abandoned. This is a political claim by people who do not want Israel to exist.
4. **Since Oslo alone, Israel has let more than 100,000 Arab family members who left come back to reunite with other family members,** and has paid claims to those who were truly wronged.

#### Words that Somewhat Work

*“When Israel was founded, hundreds of thousands of Arabs were unwilling to accept an invitation to live as equal citizens in a Jewish state and, heeding the advice of the Arab leadership, abandoned their homes thinking they would be able to return once Israel had been destroyed by the promised invasion. But for the 150,000 Palestinian Arabs who chose to remain, and who grew into over one million Israeli Arabs today, they have continued to live peaceably as full citizens within Israel.*

*But today, those who left—and countless others who never even lived within Israel’s borders—claim they have a right of return and use this idea as a rallying cry as if Israel had evicted them in the first place. They don’t have the right to confiscation.”*

What doesn’t work is to compare the Palestinian situation today to the situation facing Jews in the 1940s and 1950s. The fact that Israel solved its own refugee problems is not relevant to people when they are asked to react to the right of return issue. *“If Israel can solve its refugee problem on its own, why can’t the Palestinians?”* may be a legitimate question, but it is a weak response and lacks credibility.

### A Tough Communication Issue

The right of return/claim of confiscation is a tough issue for Israelis to communicate effectively because much of Israeli language sounds like the *“separate but equal”* words of the 1950s segregationists. The fact is, Americans don’t like, don’t believe, and don’t accept the concept of *“separate but equal,”* even when they hear that both Palestinians and Israelis advocate this concept. The language is simply too foreign to American ears.

This linguistic problem did not develop overnight. As with the term *“occupation,”* Israel allowed the Palestinians to create and then redefine both language and history. But since we can’t go back and fix the mistakes, it is important to get the terminology right as we move forward.

Before demonstrating effective right of return language, there are several “rules” to the “right of return”/“claim of confiscation” debate.

1. **Call it a “demand.”** Americans don’t like it when either side makes “demands” on the other. It sounds too strident and uncompromising. Then say *“Palestinians aren’t content with their own state. Now they are demanding territory inside Israel.”*
2. **This involves people who NEVER lived within the borders of Israel.** A case could be made that those who actually had homes within Israeli boundaries *might* be entitled to some compensation, but Americans will reject the notion that the children and grandchildren who were born elsewhere have any rights or claims to anything.
3. **Emphasize “at some point in the future...”** The right of return is already an ill-defined concept with questionable justification. Pointing out that there is no start date, no end date, no ultimate conclusion, no final settlement, etc. will effectively undermine the Palestinian argument.
4. **Emphasize that this is not about disputed territories. This is about the State of Israel.** Americans will assume that since this is an issue about “land,” it must be wrapped up in the Palestinian effort to create a country, which they support. You have to be clear that this is about Israel itself, from Tel Aviv to Haifa – a demand for land **INSIDE** internationally accepted Israeli borders.
5. **“Mass Palestinian immigration.”** Thanks to 9/11 and the continuing threat of terrorism, Americans are particularly afraid of mass immigration of anyone right now. Comparing the challenges facing Americans in dealing with unrestricted immigration and Israel’s situation will be well received.
6. **“Undermining the peace process.”** This is the ultimate argument because Americans believe no demand is so important that it should be allowed to derail the effort to achieve peace.

#### **Tough Question and an Adequate Response**

*Q: Could you explain, for those who may not understand, what the right of return means for the Palestinians?*

*A: It is basically the Palestinian demand that all Palestinians, not just Palestinians who have lived here historically but their children and grandchildren, should be able at some point in the future to flood what is currently Israel with mass Palestinian immigration.*

*For Israel, it’s a tremendously worrisome statement by the Palestinians that they’re not willing to give up this demand. Because at the time when the world is trying to achieve a peace based on the notion of **two states for two peoples**, it suggests that the Palestinians are not going to be content with one state. The Palestinians are saying at the outset that they want a Palestinian state for the Palestinian people, which Israel accepts, but they are also making demands for land inside what everyone recognizes as Israel – and that is unacceptable.*

#### **Tough Follow-up Question and an Adequate Response**

*Q: And yet you believe that Jews, even converts, have the right to return, even Jews who may have never set foot in Israel in a thousand years have a right to immigrate. But Palestinians who actually lived in Tel Aviv don’t have the same right to go back to their homes? Isn’t that hypocrisy?*

A: *Anybody who looks at the history of the century will recognize that Jews over the world have been brutally persecuted and hounded because of their Jewish identity, wherever they've lived. Unfortunately some fifty years ago, we were witness to the atrocities perpetrated against six million because they had no place to go. The notion is that there should be at least one place where Jews are guaranteed refuge. That was one of the reasons for the establishment of the State of Israel.*

*That is very different from the Palestinians saying 'we want to have a state for our people, but we also want land in yours.' The former is acceptable, the latter is not.*

### **A Truly Awful Right of Return Response**

Q: *And what about Palestinians who actually lived in Israel, who personally grew up in Tel Aviv or Haifa. They themselves lived in the homes, went to the schools, they grew up in what is now the state of Israel. Shouldn't they have a right to return?*

A: *They have a right to live in a state of their own people. Yes they do. They have a right to live in the State of Palestine. They have a right to live with their own society, with their own culture, with their own mentality. The idea is to have a Jewish state for Jewish people and a Palestinian state for Palestinian people. But the influx of hundreds of thousands of Palestinians into Israel, into the Jewish state, is totally unacceptable.*

## **3.13 Talking about Religion**

**In a word, don't.**

Some of those who are most likely to believe that Israel is a religious state are most hostile towards Israel (*"they're just as extreme as those religious Arab countries they criticize"*). Unfortunately, virtually any discussion of religion will only reinforce this perception.

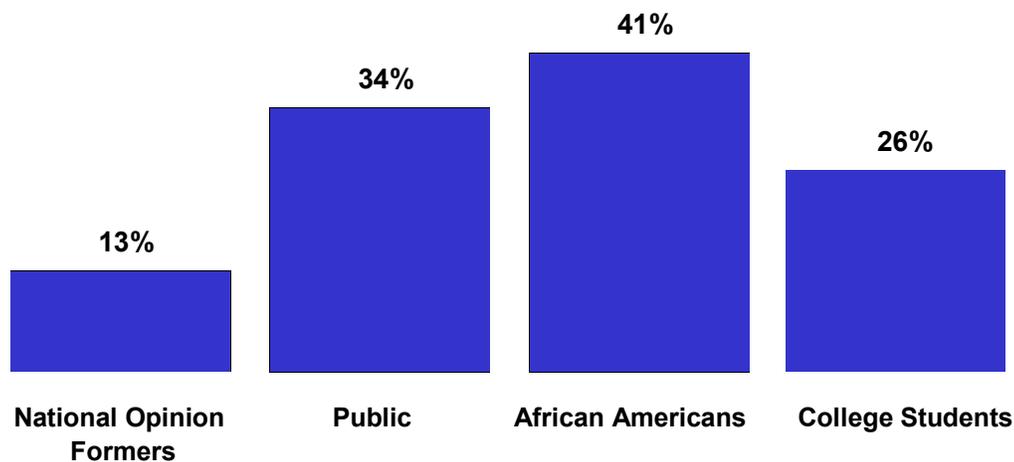
Therefore, even the mention of the word "Jew" is going to elicit a negative reaction – and the defense of Israel as a "Jewish State" will be received quite poorly. This may be hard for the American Jewish community to accept but this is how most Americans feel.

The exception is among the Evangelical Christian community – the same people whom many liberals criticize for bringing religion into American life. The fact is Evangelical Christians are more supportive of Israel and Israeli policy than almost any other subgroup in America – and sometimes even more supportive than liberal Jews. The primary reason for this is that their religion tells them to do so. As can be seen in national survey of registered voters, fully 34% of the American public (this obviously includes Evangelicals) believes that the Bible prophesizes Jewish control of Israel before Jesus can come. It is not surprising that the Evangelical population supports Israel so strongly.

## Jewish Control of Israel so Christ Returns

*"We should support Israel because the Bible prophesizes that Israel must be under the control of the Jews before Christ will come again."*

### *Agreement with "Return of Christ Statement"*



July 11-21, 2002

Figure xvii. Return of Christ Sentiment (Greenberg 04/02 poll)

Evangelicals are also absolutely adamant that the holy sites remain under Israeli control (78% want Israel control, only 2% prefer Palestinian control), both for reasons of security and access. That is why it is not surprising that the following words are among the only religion-based arguments that non-Jews respond to:

#### Words that Almost Work

*"Even in these warlike conditions, Israel is the only government in the modern history of the Middle East that has given people of every religion complete access to their holy sites. From 1948 through 1967, Jordan denied Jews and Israelis access to the Western Wall, the single holiest site in the Jewish religion, and desecrated Jewish cemeteries and synagogues. It is not as well known but the Jordanian government also passed discriminatory laws against Christians during this period as well.*

*But the fact is, when Israel unified Jerusalem, administration of the holy places was given to their respective religious authorities. The freedom of religion for EVERY religion at EVERY holy shrine has existed only under Israeli control."*

### 3.14 The United Nations

*"We believe the UN has an important role to play. We're in favor of working with UN authorities on humanitarian aid, helping people on the ground, whether refugees or others, in education, in economic support, and the World Health Organization..."*

***But as far as the Road Map, the parties need an honest broker between the Palestinians and Israel, and the UN has never played that essential role. They have consistently taken a one-sided, anti-Israel, anti-American position. Until they find a way to take the politics out of the UN, they should focus on their economic role.”***

- Perfect Language

The only people in America who want a major role for the United Nations in world affairs are those on the political Left – and many of them aren't sure anymore. The fact is, the UN is suffering from the greatest credibility gap since its founding, and about half of Americans are happy to see the organization's influence wane.

However, as your communication challenge in America is on the political Left, it is wise to offer at least some praise of some UN effort so as not to look intransigent. That being said, we also discovered that ridicule is a good device here. ***Even when praising the UN, remind the listener that Cuba, Iran, and Saddam's Iraq all headed up various human rights committees.*** If that's not laughable, nothing is.

#### Words That Work

*“When an Israeli issue comes up before the UN, there's an automatic Arab majority. They start with 22 votes on every issue. Is it therefore surprising that on all the United Nations resolutions since the establishment of Israel, every one is biased against Israel? Honestly now, what can we expect out of the United Nations when there are 22 Arab countries and only one Israel?”*

*Let me give you a specific example. It was International Women's Year. The U.N. passed a resolution condemning Israel for its treatment of women. Now Israel might not be perfect, but Israeli women have always voted, served in the military, and Israel has had a female Prime Minister. The UN Secretary General has never been a woman. Even the United States has never had a female president.*

*When countries like Sudan and Syria and Saudi Arabia vote to condemn Israel on their status of women, when women in those countries have virtually no rights whatsoever, all of us have a right to be concerned about that organization.”*

***Which brings up a good point: If you criticize the UN, do so with humor.*** Since the Left still harbors a strong affinity toward the United Nations, if you must criticize, laughter is the best approach. *“The UN is a rather unique organization. Only at the UN could Libya chair the Commission on Human Rights ... and Syria chair the Security Council.”*

#### Words That Work

*“By definition, you cannot have peace without security. It is part of the UN Charter – that sovereign nations have the right to security.*

*And so let's say to the United Nations, if the Palestinian leadership is unable to guarantee Israel's security, if Arafat is unable or unwilling to control Hamas, then, by definition, he is incapable of delivering peace. And if he is incapable of delivering peace, then, by definition, Israel must look for another partner to negotiate with.*

*And if the United Nations is truly committed to a lasting peace, they will put as much pressure on the Palestinians to stop the senseless violence against Israeli citizens as they put on Israel for simply existing.”*

## 4 Talking to the American Left

Liberals tend to care very deeply about the oppressed and dispossessed. Whenever they see a “David and Goliath,” they will want to support David. Indeed, Liberals pride themselves on helping the underdog. Their core philosophy is not to just get into the winners’ circle themselves; they want to expand the winner’s circle to include everyone.

Sadly, in looking at the Middle East conflict, many liberals see Israel as Goliath. Worse yet, some see Israel as an oppressor and/or an aggressor. While more liberals support Israel in the conflict than support the Palestinians, there is much work to be done. It is up to us to explain that the Middle East conflict is not a zero sum game, and that BOTH Israel and the Palestinians would benefit from peace.

Just as American liberals today can be patriotic while questioning their own government’s policies, there are people in the Jewish community, for example, who love Israel, but do not love all of its policies. We need to recognize that having a big tent helps Israel – which after all is a democracy with divergent views of its own. **In speaking with the left, we also need to be ready to openly recognize that the status quo is not acceptable to either side.**

We need to understand that for liberals, President Bush, America’s policy regarding Iraq, and Christian conservatives who support Israel, are all viewed as an anathema. To liberals, these leaders, policies and institutions can generate fear on issues that are near and dear to their hearts. Thus, we need to respect the goals of liberals while embracing the support of conservatives. We cannot afford to sacrifice one for the other.

In working with the left, we need to recognize that some of the ardent questioning of Israel’s policies is best done inside our own tent, rather than broadly advertised in a way that could undermine Israel’s very survival. While many in the Jewish community understand the fine lines and grey areas surrounding certain issues, the public overall can interpret the disappointment of a Jewish leader on one issue as validation that Israel deserves rejection.

Here’s what you need to know:

1. **Negative statements made by Jews in front of non-Jewish liberals can be seen by non-Jews as permission not to support Israel overall.** True, Israel is a democracy and people there are free to speak their minds. American Jews should also feel free to be concerned with individual policies of the Israeli government. But make no mistake: when well-intentioned Jews question policies of the Israeli government in front of the non-Jewish public, who are not as informed and nuanced about individual Israeli policies (which is true of the vast majority of Americans), they can cause severe damage to how non-Jews perceive Israel. If a liberal Jew who does not support Israel’s settlement policy explains to a non-Jew that they do not support this policy, they must tread very carefully and also explain why support for the Israeli people is still very important and just.
2. **With their heads, most liberals still support Israel. But their hearts go out to the Palestinians.** It explains why some liberals have become so openly hostile in the past two years. There is not enough sympathy for the plight of the Israelis from America’s Left, and incredible emotional support for the plight of the Palestinians.
3. **There is overwhelming liberal opposition to the perceived Israeli treatment of Palestinians.** Many liberals, along with some moderates and committed Democrats, have a hard time publicly justifying Israeli actions. Worse yet, there is even a growing “understanding” and justification of the suicide bombings. *(You have no choice but to address the “justification” challenge head-on at every opportunity.)*
4. **The suicide bombings have become a fact of life, but stories and pictures of Palestinian children hurt or killed by an Israeli soldier evoke significant anti-Israeli emotion.** While some of this can be blamed on the more liberal media outlets, the fact is, the pictures coming into people’s homes on a daily basis do a great deal to undermine our cause. If you don’t do something about news sources, the communication problem will only get worse. *(And you need to spend as much time focused on the visual component of the story as well as the language you use.)*

5. **The wealth, power, and success of Israel actually hurt our cause in the eyes of some on the Left, while the poverty and failure of the Palestinians work to their benefit.** Some in the liberal elite believe that Israel is using all of its advantages “unfairly” or “immorally” against the Palestinians. Israel is perceived by these people as rich and strong. They fail to see why it is necessary for armored tanks to enter Palestinian territories, why Israel needs to level homes, attack villages or, most importantly, why a Palestinian state is a threat to Israel’s existence. Making the argument that Israel is a small country with a tiny landmass with hostile neighbors all around doesn’t win either the hearts or the minds of the American people. They think Israel can survive anything or that Jews in Israel could just move somewhere else.
6. **Most Liberals hate President Bush.** Thus, when they see President Bush say something supportive of Israel, it can cause some of them to question if THEY themselves should support Israel. The same goes when liberals see Christian conservative leaders or those who have pushed an aggressive policy in Iraq take up Israel’s cause. The fact is that Israel really needs and appreciates the support of President Bush and others, but this support should not exclude liberals.

Tim Russert is correct: there are red states and blue states – and the two are quite different. Some are consistently much more liberal than others. Thus, you may want to tailor your arguments not only to the individual you are speaking with, but also to whether they are in a liberal community such as Berkeley, Boulder, or Boston. Much of this chapter is different than the rest of this document because the Left has such a different view of the world. Committed Democrats and liberals may portray themselves as the most intellectual segment of society, but their attitudes toward the use of force represent a complete rejection of their own history. And it is what leads so many self-defined “neutrals” in the Middle East conflict to articulate an openly anti-Israeli position.

Israel may be the only democratic country in a region dominated by brutal, extremist nations that are entrenched in non-Western religious doctrine, but some on the American Left see Israeli militarism and show of force as extreme and unjustified. Unlike more moderate Americans who are fervent in their wish to protect and foster democratic principles, some on the Left have a decidedly “live and let live” philosophy. There is a desire to give everyone what they want so that whatever conflict exists will just go away. And for them, that means ending the occupation and giving the Palestinians land and nationhood, even if it would be rewarding terror.

Point out to liberals that Israel protects both women’s and gay rights – and is the only county (including the Palestinian Authority) in the region to do so. Israel has an extremely active environmental movement that is unparalleled in the region. Also, in Israel ALL citizens not only have rights, those who feel pressured unfairly by their government can seek redress in court.

Part of an effective way to build support for Israel is to talk about “**working toward a lasting peace**” that “**respects the rights of everyone in the region.**” Notice there is no explicit mention of either Israel or the Palestinians. To the Left, both sides are equally at fault, and because the Israelis are more powerful, sophisticated and Western, it is they who should compromise first.

Remember, many on the Left are afraid of the manner and policies of Vice President Cheney and Defense Secretary Rumsfeld, and they hate the John Wayne-like swagger of President Bush. The very black-and-white, morally unambiguous language that makes many in the Left squirm, is exactly what they hear from some pro-Israel spokespeople – and it is doing our cause real harm with liberals.

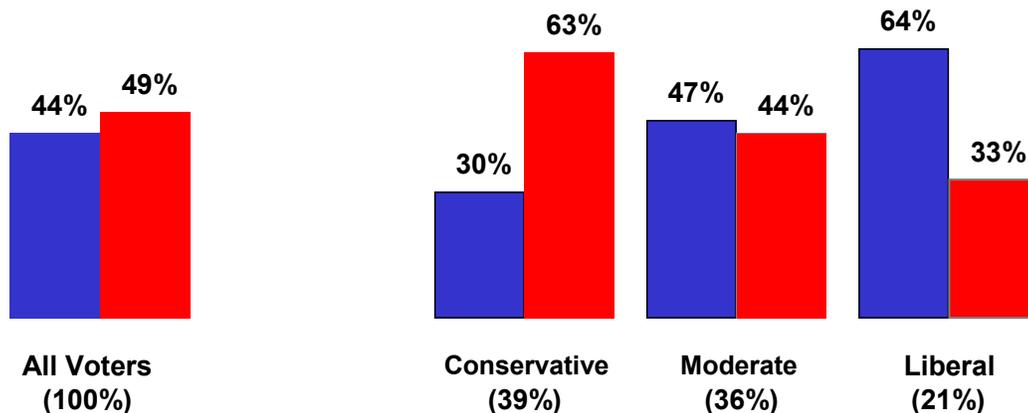
Let us be clear about this. Blunt, unequivocal language will be poorly received by the liberal ear because it is much too confrontational. The Left is inherently dovish, advocating for peace. They place their own peaceful existence above any involvement in any worldwide conflict. They tend to view the world as a place where if different peoples and cultures spent more time getting to know one another and communicating about their problems, we could all get along (see poll below). They do not like to see a world where we are divided by values and need to operate in a protective mode.

## "Is your view of the world that..."

*If different people and cultures spent more time getting to know one another and communicating about our problems, we could all get along.*

*The world is a place where some people's values just aren't the same as ours and we need to protect ourselves from terrorists and extremists who would destroy our way of life*

### By Ideology



July 21-22, 2003

Figure xviii. American View of the World (POS 07/03 national poll)

Unlike moderate and conservative Americans, many of the liberal elite believe that the Israelis TOOK Palestinian land. It is up to us to teach them the truth – that Israel was forced into defensive wars. But also unlike broader audiences, the Left does appreciate the arguments of history and will respond more favorably if historic references and analogies are used. But be explicit. Give dates, numbers, and facts – and don't dwell. A good history lesson lasts less than one minute.

With these observations in mind, what follows is a thematic guide to communicating with the American Left:

1. **The message of Israel Sharing Western Values** – a democracy where Christians, Moslems and Jews all have freedom of speech, religion and a right to vote and where 10 Arabs and 18 women serve in Parliament – trumps all other messages with liberals. Indeed, amongst African American liberals, the democracy message scores even better than messages about the fact that Israel rescued tens of thousands of Ethiopians and made them citizens of Israel!
2. **The nation that is perceived as being most for peace will win this debate.** Every time someone made the plea for peace – regardless of who the person was or how the plea was made – the reaction was positive. If you were to do a media content analysis of the airwaves, you'd find that the Palestinian spokespeople are using the peace word much more than the Israelis – and it is working. If you want to regain the public relations advantage, peace should be at the core of whatever message you wish to convey.

3. **Some in the Left reject the idea that Israel is a “democracy like them” but they do believe that Israel best represents “WESTERN VALUES.”** Liberals in general don’t appreciate the same patriotic jargon and flag waving that many other Americans like, and this is one area where following the general American communication guide would actually get you into trouble. So don’t talk only about democracy – you need to define democracy (i.e. in a region filled with repression, Israel is a place where all men and women vote, have freedom of religion and speech). To appeal to left-committed audiences, talk about ***“sharing Western values of...”*** or ***“In the American tradition of ...”*** or ***“Just like the American tradition...”*** There is no way a Palestinian could match you here.
4. **“Defensive” and preventive” are the words that best describe Israeli military action in the West Bank.** Understand that many of the military actions will be opposed by the Left but some will accept them if described this way.
5. **The Left differentiates between the Palestinian leadership and the Palestinian people and so should you when addressing their current and future leadership.** In our research, there was an immediate and clear distinction between the empathy liberals felt for the Palestinians and the scorn they directed at Arafat. If it looks like you are attacking the Palestinian people as well as their leadership, the reaction will be overly negative and you will lose support. The Left strongly sympathizes with the plight of the Palestinians, and that sympathy will increase if you fail to differentiate.
6. **There is NEVER any justification for the deliberate slaughter of innocent women and children. NEVER.** The primary Palestinian public relations goal is to demonstrate that the so-called “hopelessness of the oppressed Palestinians” is what causes them to kill Israelis. This must be challenged immediately, aggressively and directly. *“We may disagree about politics or economics. But there is one fundamental principle that all peoples from all parts of the globe will agree: civilized people do not target children for death.”*
7. **Say “YES” to something.** Democrats and liberals are tired of hearing pro-Israel spokespeople attack Palestinians. They want to hear something positive as well. Pro-Israel spokespeople should have a component in their presentations that does just that. *“We say yes to...”*
8. **The immigration/melting pot argument doesn’t work.** While immigrants and immigration had a positive connotation to Americans pre-9/11, today, immigration is a dirty word. Some on the Left like to make the case for Israel by emphasizing how it takes in the distressed peoples of the world. Sadly, this is simply not a strong argument with most Americans right now.
9. **Remind listeners that Israelis are victims.** Liberals are one of the groups where it can help to remind them that Israel was created after six million Jews were killed in the Holocaust, and that Israel has fought numerous **defensive** wars against a slew of Arab states trying to destroy it.

|                              |
|------------------------------|
| <b>Words That Don’t Work</b> |
|------------------------------|

|   |
|---|
| <i>“No nation in the Middle East ...in fact, no nation in the world ... has more immigrants from more countries than Israel. No nation is more willing to open its arms to people suffering from political oppression or economic hardship. It is a true melting pot of nations and cultures from Europe, Asia and Africa.”</i> |
|---|

**You can’t please, or even appease, everyone.** Some people cannot be moved to support or even tolerate Israel no matter what words, themes or language you use. Leave the completely hostile alone. Your goal is to inform and empower your supporters, educate the neutrals and disarm the mild opposition. Don’t lose your cool. Even if you are interrupted, you must always stay on message and don’t stoop to a food fight with your debate opponent.

|                        |
|------------------------|
| <b>Words That Work</b> |
|------------------------|

|  |
|--|
| <i>“When we talk about solving the Middle East conflict, we should talk about rights but also about roots. There is only one nation, one people that have been on the same land, spoken the same language, and practiced the same religion today that they did 3,000 years ago. That nation is Israel.</i> |
|--|

*The Jewish people settled and developed the land. Jewish communities have lived in Israel for the last 2,000 years. And yes, so have Arabs. But had the Arabs peacefully accepted the 1947 UN resolution, not a single Palestinian would have become a refugee. An independent Palestinian-Arab state would now exist beside Israel.*

*But instead of peace, virtually every Arab nation declared war on Israel in 1948. They did so again in 1967 and yet again in 1973. And what have they achieved? The shedding of Israeli blood and the destruction of their own economies. But no one has benefited. Everyone has been hurt.*

*And one more historic fact: Palestinian extremists claim they are justified in killing Israelis because of the “so-called” occupation of the West Bank. But when was the PLO formed and when did it begin its campaign of terror? In 1964, three years before the Six Day War – three years BEFORE the supposed “occupation.” The deadly assaults against Israel began long before the West Bank and Gaza came under Israeli control.*

*This so-called occupation is an excuse for terror, not a cause of terror. And may I add: there will always be excuses for terror, but never any justification for terror.”*

Just like moderate and conservative Americans, the Left wants and needs to hear that the terror can be stopped. Security is paramount. However, much more than the rest of America, liberals are committed to negotiations and resist the use of force.

But it is perfectly acceptable and even desirable to use peace and security in the same sentence. All Americans fundamentally believe that any democracy has a right to defend itself, and while some do not regard Israel as a democracy in the American sense of the word, **they will tolerate Israel’s right to respond to these suicide bombers – as long as Israel’s response is done in a “defensive” and “preventive” fashion and in the name of peace and security.**

The Arabs are escaping responsibility for the suicide bombings because they “condemn” them, blame the Israelis, and then call for “peace.” Why? The Left is responding to Palestinian intention (“it’s not their fault, they’re desperate”) rather than the action of murder. Israel must use the same strategy. Every Israeli message should be about peace and security. And again, a brief history lesson will help.

In an effort to prove that Israel does not want peace, there is an organized campaign among some Palestinians to blur or deny the moral distinction between suicide bombers and the defensive/preventive actions taken by Israeli security forces to protect its borders and people. You must respond. If Israel loses the high ground on this issue, you will lose the peace argument as well. The following response will work among all Americans, but particularly among the Left:

#### **A Speech for the Left**

*“Israeli civilians – civilians – have faced thousands of organized, violent and life-threatening attacks by Palestinians that have specifically and deliberately targeted women and children. Suicide bombers, car bombs, roadside ambushes, mortar barrages, machine-gun fire in crowded shopping areas, bus stops and even outside places of worship.... all deliberate... all indiscriminant....all designed to inflict as many casualties as possible.*

*The suicide bomber that killed nine people on an Israeli passenger bus this year – do you know where his explosives were hidden? In a Palestinian nursery school. What kind of people would hide explosives in a nursery school? Nowhere else in the world, and certainly not in America, is the murder of innocent civilians considered a “legitimate form of resistance.” These are not freedom fighters. These are terrorists.*

*I ask you, what possible explanation could defend the deliberate attack against teenagers at an Italian fast food restaurant, a children's disco, a hotel lobby, an out-door café? What is the justification for targeting women and children where they live and play? There is an absolute moral difference between deliberate, random acts of terror against women and children and Israeli efforts to prevent this violence from occurring. Is it legitimate for Israel to strike at a terrorist even if innocent bystanders could be hurt? Against a man who has already admitted committing multiple acts of vicious brutality and death and has said publicly that he is planning more acts of mega-terror, the answer is yes.*

*There is no moral equivalency between suicide bombers who knowingly target innocent women and children and the Israeli forces that specifically target terrorists. The Israeli goal is to minimize casualties. The Palestinian goal is to maximize casualties. And that's the difference."*

## 5 Winning Support for Israel on Campus

In looking at the issue of how to improve Israel's image on campus, we asked a simple question: **where do students and young people get their ideas and information on Israel?**

Specifically, in our survey of 400 college students, when asked to name what their two most significant sources of news and information on world affairs were, 50 percent of respondents listed local or national television, 40 percent listed local or national newspapers and 17 percent listed local or national radio. These numbers are especially startling when compared to the **6 percent who cited campus lectures and speakers!** In a July 2003 national poll done by Neil Newhouse, we found that the results for 18-34 year olds were even more dramatic.

Time and again, The Israel Project has found that how Americans view Israel – no matter their religion, ethnicity or age - is largely determined by what they see, read, and hear in the news media. (See the following chart with American student poll results). This is consistent with what we saw in the Luntz dial sessions that were the backbone of the "Israel in the Age of Eminem" report (an effort separate from The Israel Project). This publication showed that Jewish college students who were already inclined to be supportive of Israel found important outlets for leadership development and involvement through Hillel, AIPAC and other Jewish groups, but that those who were not inclined to seek out these options were in too many cases turned off by them. The Luntz report highlighted the need for the larger American Jewish community to rethink the ways we approach young people.

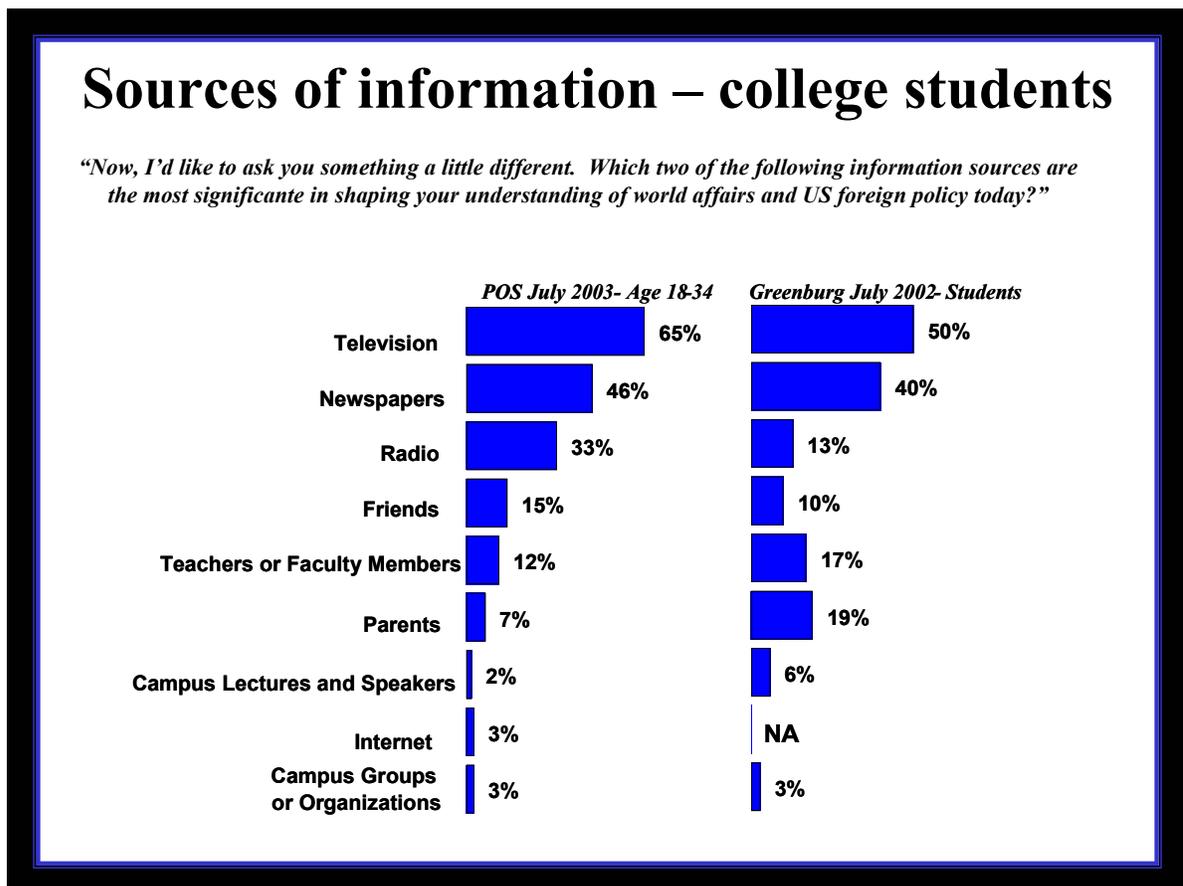


Figure xix. Media – Effect on Young People (POS and Greenberg)

The bottom line is as follows:

**In order to get the next generation of Jews and non-Jews to feel positively about Israel, we have to improve the source of how and where they see Israel – the news media.**

The pictures of Israeli troops firing on Palestinian children and Israeli tanks bulldozing Palestinian buildings have unfortunately created a deep and lasting impression of Israel as the aggressor in the current conflict. Make no mistake: all Americans have seen those pictures and even those who label themselves pro-Israeli are uncomfortable with the visuals coming out of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Those on the left of the political spectrum are particularly outspoken in their opposition to what they deem as an affront to human rights.

**The situation at America's colleges and universities is even worse.** The underlying mood on America's campuses is friendly to the enemies of Israel and hostile to Israel's supporters. When supporters of Israel come out and attack radical or militant fundamentalist Islam, many college students rebel or, worse yet, openly criticize Israel for its so-called intolerance. Yes, adults do see an Islamic threat from extremists, but their kids don't.

It is therefore no surprise that some college campuses have erupted in anti-Israeli rhetoric and have become the focus of pro-divestment campaigns. Using the same words and strategy that brought pressure on South Africa in the 1980s, those opposed to Israel have latched onto the business relationship between American and Israeli companies as a way to attack two entities, two Goliaths they dislike – Big Business and Israel – at one time.

To non-Jewish college students, all the speeches, all the debates, all the rhetoric, and all the violence is about one thing: **land**. Israel has it and doesn't want to give it up. The Palestinians deserve it but don't have the ability to take it. Hence, conflict. There is no sense of right and wrong – everyone's wrong. There is no sense of history – the Holocaust doesn't even register on their radar screen. We have a lot to teach and a skeptical audience to convince.

What follows is a step-by-step approach to build credibility and support. Together, our task will not be easy, but this document was created to give you the tools to make a real difference. This is only the beginning. As Rabbi Tarfon said, "**The day is short, the task is great...You are not expected to finish the work but neither are you excused from it.**"

1. **Remember to focus your communications efforts on people who already support Israel or who could be persuaded to either support Israel, or at least not to work against Israel.** Don't waste your time or cater your message to the unreachable. Let them go.
2. **Above all, talk about democracy, shared democratic values, and peace.** You have heard this message in other chapters, but it is important on campuses as well. If you want to regain the public relations advantage, democracy and peace should be at the core of whatever message you convey. The side that appears to be advocating peace more strongly is the side that will win student support.
3. **Personalize the conflict.** This is something the Palestinians have done quite effectively and where some pro-Israel spokespeople have failed miserably. Until we start using language that allows Americans to understand and feel the pain of the average Israeli, Americans just won't understand.
4. **Stress the American-Israeli relationship.** Unfortunately, this cuts both ways. While students do recognize that Israel and America share the same political and economic systems and values, non-Jewish students use this as an excuse to demand more from Israel. The fact that Israel is a democracy means it has an extra requirement to respect the wishes and will of the Palestinian people. The fact that Israel has a free market economy means that it is required to help the Palestinians and their economy. Make no mistake: we may talk about the David v. Goliath analogy but the kids really believe it: Israel is Goliath and the Palestinians are David.
5. **You can empathize with the Palestinians even if you oppose their leadership, their tactics and their political goals.** We must understand and accept the fact that American youths have sympathy for the plight of Palestinian youths and see their efforts as a struggle for freedom. While they might

not support their tactics (and clearly some do), they do support their aims. The more supportive we are of the average Palestinian, the more likely we are to earn the support of an average college student..

6. **Emphasize the rights of Israeli Arabs.** Here is a very positive story that few know - yet it does have the potential to change college opinions. Let students know that Israeli Arabs have more rights and a higher standard of living than in any other Middle Eastern country. Let students know that, since 1948, Israeli Arabs have been able to vote for Prime Minister and the Knesset and that no other Arab nation has such a long record of democracy. Mention that 10 out of 120 seats in Israel's Parliament are currently held by Arabs.
7. **Talk about Hamas.** In general, college students are beginning to differentiate between Hamas and the Palestinian Authority of Yasser Arafat, blaming Hamas rather than Arafat for the suicide bombers. This is a very dangerous trend because it could lead students to excuse or dismiss the terrorism promoted by the PA itself. It is essential that we hold the PA and Arafat responsible and accountable for all violence by all Palestinian organizations. If Israel is held accountable because of an extremist act performed by a settler, so must the Palestinian leadership and government be held accountable.
8. **Don't argue. Discuss.** While Jews make up a bigger percentage of the campus population than do Palestinians, the Palestinian students are better informed, more knowledgeable, and most importantly, better able to communicate their beliefs. Worse yet, the pro-Israel tone is often loud and emotional, while the Palestinian reaction is calm and rational. *If you are faced with an overly aggressive foe, use this rhetorical approach: "Have you ever noticed that those who shout the most have the least to say? Have you ever noticed that those who interrupt have the most to hide?"*

#### Words That Work ON CAMPUS

*"Can you understand the anguish of the Israeli people? They have lived so long with fear and funerals, having to avoid markets and public transportation. They have had to put armed guards in kindergarten classrooms. They have a right to a normal life. They have a right to security.*

*Every month, almost every week, people are killed, torn to pieces in coffee shops, cafes, in bus stations, even children on their way to school. College students like you and me who gathered in the cafeteria for lunch – and Americans, not just Israelis. And even with all this death and destruction, Israel still seeks peace. All we want, all we need is a responsible Palestinian partner to achieve that security and a permanent lasting peace that we all deserve."*

To ignore what is happening on campuses from Boston to San Diego would be a tragedy for Jews and non-Jews alike. At a meeting of 250 Jewish student activists, we found that:

- More than 85% said anti-Semitism is on the rise on college campuses, and nearly everyone has personally seen an example of anti-Semitism.
- Virtually everyone said pro-Palestinian activities and sentiments are on the rise at colleges and universities.
- Jewish students have still not personalized the tragedy in Israel. The reason why so many campus Jews have remained so silent is because they still don't see themselves in the faces of their Israeli brethren or how the challenges facing Israel affect them personally.

**Don't assume your audience knows the facts.** If you name-drop or use jargon, you risk losing your audience. The lack of political participation and historic knowledge among the American people has been well documented. However, the knowledge and awareness among college students about the post 9/11 world today is nothing short of shocking. Consider this: only **23%** of all U.S college kids - our best and brightest, the future leaders of government and industry - would pass a simple current affairs test by successfully answering more than half (five) of the following eight questions.

| WHO IS ...   | <u>% students who answered correctly</u> |
|--|--|
| The Leader of the Palestinian National Authority   | 55%                                      |
| The U.S. Secretary of State                        | 49%                                      |
| The Prime Minister of Israel                       | 35%                                      |
| The U.S. Secretary of Defense                      | 32%                                      |
| Bush's National Security Advisor                   | 19%                                      |
| The UN Secretary General                           | 19%                                      |
| The three countries that comprise the Axis of Evil | 25%                                      |

Figure xx. American College Students – Identifying World Leaders (Luntz poll)

The communication challenge goes beyond military issues. College students are noted for their tolerance of (and occasional practice of) alternative beliefs, value systems and religions. Despite all the public criticism of Islamic fundamentalism in general and the religious beliefs of Osama Bin Laden and the hijackers in particular, it is not surprising that Islam maintains a favorable impression on America's college campuses. In addition, consider the following statistics:

- Only a bare majority (53%) believes that recent Israeli military action against Yasser Arafat and the PLO is no different than the U.S. taking military action against Osama Bin Laden and Al Qaeda, while 38% reject the comparison. This is a real communication problem because the message of a united war against terrorism is so essential to reaching and convincing adults, but does not influence students nearly as well.
- One in five arts/humanities students have had a professor openly criticize Israel. Enough said.

**A warning:** There is a clear rise in the hostility toward perceived Israeli treatment of Palestinians that is working its way through the college campuses. There is even a growing “understanding” and even justification of the suicide bombings. That’s why we are planning to do more research on what works on campus in the future. Additionally, research on what works with teens does not exist at all, and thus we are planning to do significant work with teens as well. In addition, research on what works with teens has never taken place; The Israel Project will initiate it in the near future.

#### Words That Work ON CAMPUS

*“What Israelis are trying to do is protect their civilians and trying to get back to the peace process. And there will be peace – THERE WILL BE PEACE – but not until the Palestinian authorities stop the suicide bombers from killing innocent people during religious ceremonies, children in restaurants, and families in hotel lobbies.”*

## 5.1 Principles of Effective College Advertising

As mentioned in other chapters, according to Nielsen's, Americans now watch an average of 4.3 hours A DAY of television. Since young Jews are not immune to high levels of TV viewership, this must be taken into account. Given the amount of coverage that Israel receives on television and in the papers, local pro-Israel ads will not be successful unless they are done STRATEGICALLY as a way of leveraging more pro-Israel exposure. One full-page newspaper ad in support of Israel may be seen and appreciated by someone who is ALREADY supportive of Israel. But one newspaper ad is highly unlikely to convince someone who is not already supportive of Israel to change.

Many of the readers of this document are also active within the Jewish community. Therefore, it is important to understand how best to communicate to Jewish audiences about Israel – particularly young Jewish audiences. One of the things we need to understand is that many well-intentioned efforts are simply not effective, and that there are better ways to support Israel. While different people react to different ads quite differently, we were able to uncover a clear pattern that major Jewish organizations should be aware of in their future advertising efforts.

**The Middle East is serious business. So should the advertising be.**

Being cute or ironic may sell Isuzu cars or the new fall line-up on NBC but it's not going to sell Israel. There is nothing funny about the violence and death. Be straightforward in your message, and involve non-Jews in your advertising efforts whenever possible. Here's what we recommend:

1. **Advertise on television, not in the newspapers.** Television is more emotional, effective and cheap (when done correctly in a targeted cable buy on such stations as CNN, MSNBC and FOX). Pro-Israel groups can get pre-tested and proven TV ads from The Israel Project. The Israel Project can put the logo of a sponsor organization onto TV ads (i.e. YOUR logo can be on the ads) and assist in media buying strategies for pro-Israel groups. Already, we are running pro-Israel ads which are seen not only by America's leaders, but also by journalists who have an impact on the nightly news and newspapers seen all across America. For more information, email [theisraelproject@aol.com](mailto:theisraelproject@aol.com).
2. **Be sure to use a winning message.** Many messages that make sense to people who are already pro-Israel simply do not work in bringing in support from people who have not yet been persuaded to support Israel. To make sure you have a winning message, contact The Israel Project for free advice and consultation on your advertising.
3. **Less is more.** If you MUST buy newspaper ads or if someone offers you free space in their paper, remember that when it comes to message, less is more. Some organizations insist on packing as many words and pictures as possible onto the printed page. What they don't realize is that **the less cluttered the ad, the more likely it will be read.** Younger people read virtually nothing, and they will turn the page if there are too many words. White space will help make your ads more readable. Don't pack the text too densely, and do leave room for a large informative heading and tag line in bold. It may be the only thing read in the ad.
4. **The most important component is the tag line.** If the tag line is too extreme, too damning or too complicated, the entire ad will fail. The tag needs to be relevant, make a point and make sense. The tag line should pass a very simple test. Do people say, "That's a fair point" or "I didn't know that" after hearing it? Two successful tag lines: ***"No one is born hating...but too many are taught how."*** ***"What is the only country in the Middle East where Jews, Muslims, and Christians can vote and serve in government? Israel."***
5. **ONE picture is worth ten thousand words.** The picture will determine whether or not the ad is actually read. It should be a picture (or graphic) that is extraordinary but easily identifiable. Don't be predictable, but be relevant – and one photo is better than many. A real photo of masked suicide bombers, particularly those carrying guns or burning the American flag, is going to have a much greater impact because it is less predictable.

6. **Actual pictures of children killed in suicide bombings** (not photos of their bodies, but photos of them when they were alive) will be disturbing to see but they will have the desired impact.
7. **Tell or show me something I don't already know.** Too many of the ads we tested had a "been there, done that" reaction. Whether it's a surprising picture, a tag line with a twist, or a message that challenges conventional wisdom, you will break through the clutter if you do it differently.
8. **Talk peace.** We saw this in our earlier communication research. The Jewish community desperately wants a peaceful resolution to the Middle East crisis. Even the ads that overtly attack acts of terrorism are more likely to be read and receive a better response when a call for peace is included. In this case, be overt. Visuals meant to evoke peace (like a dove) are less effective than a heading or tag line with the word peace in it.
9. **The human touch is important.** Selling Israel is not about selling history, land, polling data or a philosophy. Students will accept the Israeli argument in print if it is humanized – the triumph and the tragedy of a nation and its people. Ads with real people and real words will generally be more effective than a more American political approach. And using polling data to prove a point is the least effective approach of all.
10. **History = credibility. Students will respond to the concept of "facts" more than statements or conclusions.** Give them the historical facts showing Israel's efforts for peace. They don't know it, they will appreciate it, and they will go out and communicate it. Students want facts more than interpretations or assertions.
11. **Relate your Israeli message to America.** This is important. Particularly since 9/11, students are looking to relate the American struggle with the Israeli struggle. Help them.
12. **Look for credible surrogates.** If they trust the messenger, they will trust the message. Some elected officials, former presidents, and even celebrities have credibility.
13. **Keep the number of words and clutter to a manageable level.** Remember, these are college students. They don't like to read.
14. **Prominently display a Web address on everything.** The younger generation uses the Web for their research. Point them in the right direction.
15. **Ask for their participation.** If you want to reach out to America's youth, give them a chance to do something, but don't demand it. Let them choose how they will make difference – but give them the opportunity to choose.
16. **REPEAT THE MESSAGE.** If you want to change minds, you have to run the same ad over and over. And then over and over. Studies show that on average a person needs to see the same message TEN times before they change their perspective on an issue. Since people don't rush out and buy papers or turn on the TV just to see your ad, you need to run your ad much more than ten times to be sure it reaches and persuades your target audience. If you do not have enough money to run your ad enough times for it to change minds, do not run it at all. Build your budget in advance to meet the needs properly since supporters of Israel cannot afford to waste a DIME of much needed resources to help Israel.

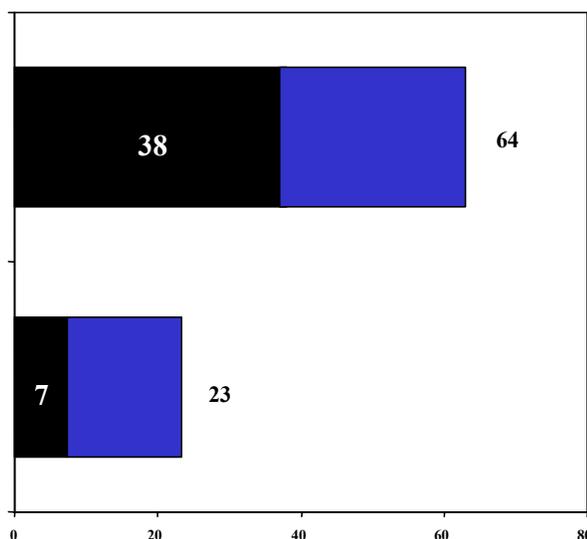
## **5.2 Opposing Divestment on Campus**

As the chart below indicates, the most effective argument against divestment is virtually the same as the most effective argument on behalf of Israel in general. By more than a 2-1 margin, Americans agree that *"Israel is the only country in the Middle East that has virtually unlimited freedom of assembly and speech. Any person in Israel - Jewish, Muslim or Christian - can criticize the government and its leaders. No citizen of any other Middle Eastern country can speak out against the government or protest without fear of imprisonment or death - and no other Middle Eastern country promotes human rights as much as Israel"* more than they agree with a pro-divestment message.

# Divestment

*Israel is the only country in the Middle East that has virtually unlimited freedom of assembly and speech. Any person in Israel—Jewish, Muslim or Christian – can criticize the government and its leaders. No citizen of any other Middle Eastern country can speak out against the government or protest without fear of imprisonment or death – and no other Middle Eastern country promotes human rights as much as Israel.*

*Divesting is an effective way to help push Israel to stop its human rights abuses against the Palestinians and curb the recent military attacks which have resulted in hundreds of deaths of Palestinian citizens. This campaign is not about changing Israel's economy but about changing Israel's behavior.*



“As you may know, faculty and students at some top American universities have started a campaign to get their institutions to get rid of their investments in companies that do business with Israel. These campaigns for universities to divest are modeled on a 1980s campaign that aimed to weaken the government in South Africa.”

Figure xxi. *Effective Divestment Messages (Greenberg 11/02 poll)*

1. **The language of Israel is the language of America: “democracy,” “freedom,” “security,” and “peace.”** Yes, you have read this earlier, but these four words are at the core of the American political, economic social and cultural system, and they should be repeated as often as possible in the anti-divestment effort because they will resonate with virtually every American.
2. **Israel is the only real democracy in the region where Jews, Christians and Arabs all have rights.** Israel represents the only democratic country in a region dominated by brutal, extremist nations. This may seem obvious to you but it needs to be restated again and again because it is NOT obvious to about half of America and an even greater number on college campuses. College kids will want to take punitive measures against Israel unless and until they come to see Israel as a democracy that treats its Arab population better than how Arab states treat their own people.
3. **Remind audiences that it is the Palestinians, supported by the money and tacit endorsement of their leadership, that are deliberately inflicting as much pain as possible on as many women and children as possible.** This is the underpinning of the whole divestment campaign – that Israel is the great abuser of human rights. So ask the question: Which side is deliberately targeting civilians, particularly women and children? Which side is walking into pizzerias, coffee shops and teenage discos to insure that as many children as possible are hurt or killed? Then conclude with “There is NEVER, ever, any justification for the deliberate slaughter of innocent women and children. NEVER. If you want to punish abusers of human rights, the answer is not to punish Israel. The answer is to punish Hamas and Islamic Jihad. Start with the Palestinians who condone or even support these senseless acts of violence against innocent people.”
4. **You can’t please everyone.** Some people cannot be moved to support Israel no matter what words, themes or language you use. Some people will support divestment as a way to oppose Big Business in

America. Leave the hostiles alone. Your goal is to inform and empower your supporters and educate the neutrals. Don't yell. Don't lose your cool. Even if you are interrupted, you must always stay on message and not stoop to a food fight with your debate opponent.

These four guidelines will help you frame and win the divestment debate. Realize also that the educational burden is yours and that you must shoulder it on your own:

- Americans do not know that Arabs vote in Israeli elections. Tell them.
- Americans do not know that Arabs serve in the Israeli Parliament, in the Israeli Cabinet and on the Israeli Supreme Court. Tell them.
- Americans do not know that Israeli Arab women have more rights than Arab women in any other Middle Eastern country. Tell them.

And more than just telling them, show them:

- The Arabic television programming that features children being taught to hate Jews and TV shows that glorify the suicide bombers. *"You won't find that on Israeli television."*
- The Israeli hospital with Jewish doctors that work to save Arab lives, beginning with a failed suicide bomber. Then ask the question: *"Could you imagine a Palestinian hospital working around the clock to save the life of a wounded Israeli soldier?"*

Yes, ***this is a blatant emotional appeal but that is what the divestment issue requires.*** Divestment is more than just an issue of dollars and cents. This is ultimately about choosing sides. Particularly for those on the left of the political spectrum, an emotional appeal that differentiates between the behavior of Israel and the Palestinians is necessary.

Remember, the primary Palestinian public relations goal is to justify divestment by demonstrating that the so-called *"hopelessness of the oppressed Palestinians"* is what causes them to go out and kill children. This must be challenged immediately, aggressively and directly. *"We may disagree about politics and we may disagree about economics. But there is one fundamental principle that all peoples from all parts of the globe will agree: civilized people do not target children for death."*

## 6 Communicating Israel to Adult Jews

When speaking to adult Jews, keep in mind the results of a Greenberg poll:

- Eighty-six percent of adult American Jews feel close to Israel – 48 percent feel very close and 38 percent feel fairly close – while only 13 percent feel distant.
- Eighty-five percent of American Jews support Israel in the ongoing conflict (64 percent strongly support, and 21 percent support Israel), one percent supports the Palestinians, while four percent don't support either side and 9 percent support both sides equally.
- Notwithstanding the continuing violence, 63 percent of American Jews favor the eventual establishment of a Palestinian state.

Still, there are very diverse views amongst American Jews regarding some specific issues. But they are united in their support of Israel. Indeed, there continues to be serious concern among American Jews regarding long-term U.S. policy in the Middle East. Fully eight of ten American Jews (80 percent) expressed concern that the U.S. will pressure Israel to make concession to the Palestinians in order to keep the Arab countries in the anti-terrorist coalition, while only 18 percent were not concerned at all.

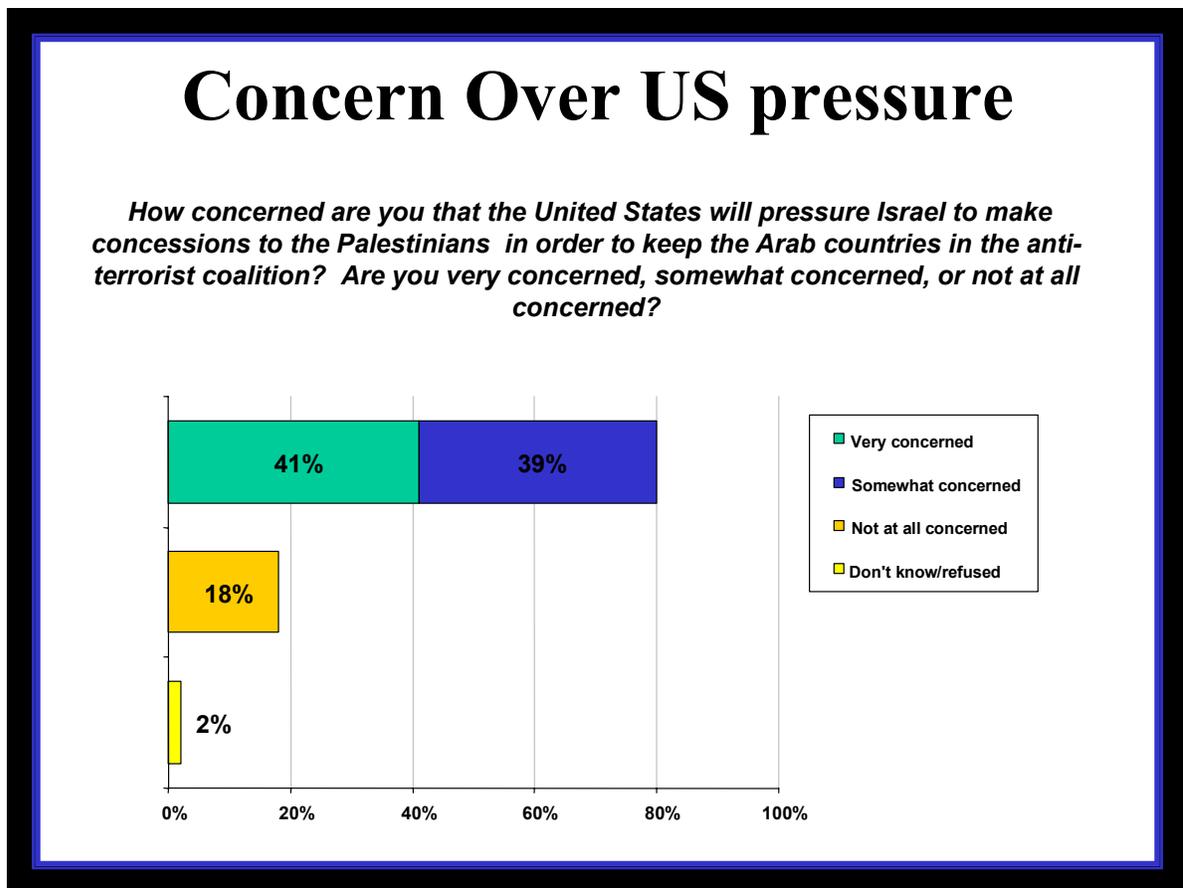


Figure xxii. Concern over American Pressure (Greenberg 07/02 poll of Jews)

When asked what policy the United States should have with respect to Israel, the poll found that 45 percent of American Jews want the U.S. to allow Israel to do what it needs to do to defend its citizens and 25 percent want America to support Israel's diplomatic and military positions. At the same time, 18 percent of US Jews say the U.S. should pressure Israel to negotiate for peace, and 6 percent say the U.S. should stay out of the conflict all together.

American Jews expect and want Israel to be a "light unto the nations". At the same time, the news media can show Israel as an aggressor and an oppressor. This causes most adult Jews to want to "circle the wagons" and protect Israel. For many young Jews, there exists an expectation gap that needs to be filled before younger Jews will be fully comfortable supporting Israel – especially in front of their non-Jewish peers. This can be done by parents, Jewish educators, campus speakers, and through better media relations by the pro-Israel community.

There are some very stark, significant differences in the receptivity of Jews and non-Jews to language involving the Middle East. These differences are so great that there should be separate speeches/talking points for the two audiences.

Accents and appearances aside, there are several important principles to keep in mind when communicating with Jewish audiences; these principles do not apply to other segments of the general American population. Let us be perfectly clear about one overarching point: what you say matters less than how you say it. The American Jewish community is hungry for language that is clear, concise, smart and effective. Make no mistake: Jews feel even closer to Israel in the post 9/11 world than before. But they are still frustrated with the perceived inability of pro-Israel leaders to articulate a strong message in response to a more aggressive Palestinian communication effort.

So with that in mind, please consider the following recommendations:

1. **Negative statements made by Jews in front of non-Jewish liberals can be seen by non-Jews as permission not to support Israel overall.** True, Israel is a democracy and people there are free to speak their minds. So too should American Jews feel free to speak their minds to each other concerning their questions about the individual policies of the Israeli government. But make no mistake: when Jews question policies of the Israeli government in front of the broad non-Jewish public, whose opinions – the vast majority of the time – are not as informed or nuanced about individual Israeli policies, even well-intentioned Jews can cause severe damage to how non-Jews perceive Israel. Thus, if a liberal Jew who does not support Israel's settlement policy explains to a non-Jew that they do not support this policy, they must tread very carefully and also explain why support for the Israeli people is still very important and just.
2. **The principles matter more than the policy. Instead of explaining what you are doing, you need to explain WHY.** Until September 11<sup>th</sup>, Jews were prepared to argue openly about the same policies that divide Israeli politicians. That is much less true today. In meetings, discussions and conversations among and between Jews across the country, Israeli policy has taken a back seat to the desire for an effective articulation of a general pro-Israel and anti-terror message. Sure, non-Jews will complain about the settlements, the occupation, the military brutality, etc. For the most part, Jews overall care more about *how* you articulate rather than *what* you articulate, and they are frustrated regarding the political wars within the Israeli government.
3. **The values that matter to Jewish audiences: "democratic," "moral," "freedom-loving," "cherishes life" and "educated."** The problem is that Jews are not necessarily hearing those values articulated by pro-Israel spokespeople. There is too much talk about "*religion*" (non-Jews would agree), too much "*assertiveness*" by pro-Israel spokespeople, and an insufficient discussion of the moral component of the conflict. Jews want the world to know that Israel is the only true democracy in the region – so say it.
4. **State your basic message at the outset – regardless of the question asked.** Too many pro-Israel spokespeople begin their presentation by answering the first question directly rather than setting the context for the entire interview. By comparison, the Palestinian spokespeople go right to "occupation" regardless of the interview, question or circumstance. ***Establish the context before you get to the specifics.***

5. **“There cannot be peace without security.”** Non-Jewish Americans prioritize peace more than any other attribute or characteristic. Not Jews. For them, security – the survival of Israel – is the highest priority. And as it is Israel’s top priority, SECURITY should be at the core of your message.
6. **Articulate the “Principles of Israeli Security.”** It is not enough to talk about security. You need to explain to Jewish audiences how security is achieved. But don’t just say it. ***Instruct listeners to take out paper and pencil and make them write it down.*** (This serves two purposes: (1) it adds to the seriousness of the presentation; and (2) your audience is more likely to pay attention and actually learn something.) Then tell them to go out and educate their friends, neighbors and colleagues.
7. **What would Israel be like today without the conflict?** Jewish Americans are the first to acknowledge (and justify) the imperfections of Israel, but they would still like to hear about how different life would be if there were no suicide bombers and no war with their neighbors. This may apply only when delivering speeches in America but you should develop a three-minute discussion of Israel’s future ***when*** the conflict is resolved.
8. **Say “YES” to something.** Jews want Israel to return to the time when it was held up as a shining example of justice and morality. They want Israel to be in favor of things and not just taking the defensive or negative position. So pro-Israel spokespeople should have a component in their presentations that does just that. *“We will say yes to...”*
9. **Don’t argue. Discuss.** Just because your opponents yell, interrupt and lie you should not in turn yell, interrupt and lose your composure. We tested all sorts of communication approaches to the varying Palestinian communication strategies and the one that does worst among Jews is the overtly aggressive, in-your-face, interjection-style debate. From resentment to embarrassment, the surest way to lose credibility among Jews is to engage in a food-fight on television. And it doesn’t matter what the opponent does. If you are faced with an overly aggressive foe, don’t stoop to his/her level. Instead, use the rhetorical approach discussed in this manual.

**Even Jews who care about Israel do not know all the facts. That is why this guide and books such as Myths & Facts can be such helpful references. There are many other excellent books on Israel as well – and they deserve reading!**

## 7 The Value of Rhetorical Questions

An effective communication technique to continue to apply pressure to the Palestinian leadership without looking like you are ignoring Israel's responsibilities is to pose rhetorical questions. These questions will lead to only one answer: **Peace cannot be achieved until real reforms are in place, and the terror must stop.**

### QUESTIONS TO ASK OPPONENTS OF ISRAEL

*"How can the current Palestinian leadership honestly say it will pursue peace when the same leaders rejected an offer to create a Palestinian state three years ago?"*

*"How can Yasser Arafat, whom Forbes Magazine says is worth more than three billion dollars, claim to be a leader who understands and represents an impoverished people when he has become rich at their expense?"*

*"Why, when \$5.5 billion in international aid – including our tax dollars – has gone to the Palestinian Authority, not one refugee has been taken out of a camp and given a house?"*

*"Is it too much to ask that the Palestinian leadership not sponsor terrorists? Is it unreasonable to insist that they stop killing innocent children before Israelis jeopardize their security and make concessions for peace?"*

*"How can Israel make peace with a leader who does not believe in or allow free and honest elections?"*

*"Why do Palestinian schools have pictures of suicide bombers hanging up in the hallways and celebrate them as martyrs? Why do they name sports teams in the West Bank after suicide bombers? How can peace be made with the Palestinian people when their leaders instill a culture of terror and hatred against Israelis?"*

*"How can the Palestinian people end their impoverishment if their leaders continue to steal precious resources from them, and use them to support terror?"*

*"Why has Yasser Arafat been in power for so long, and yet made so little progress towards a peaceful resolution? If he were truly committed to peace, would he not have made a sincere effort to achieve it by now?"*

*"The Palestinian Authority signed agreements to put terrorists in jail. When then has it not arrested Sheik Yassin, head of Hamas, a group that has publicly taken credit for killing innocent children?"*

*"Why, after Arafat supposedly engaged in a peace process, doesn't the Palestinian Authority have Israel on its maps? Why do the Palestinian schoolbooks, uniforms, and official documents show ALL of Israel as being Palestine?"*

*"When will the Palestinian people themselves have a voice at the peace table?"*

**The answer to every rhetorical question is the same: peace will come when the current Palestinian leadership is truly reformed and the terror tactics have ceased.**

## 8 DON'Ts and DO's

These are exact quotes from pro-Israel spokespeople, and all have one thing in common: an extreme, overly aggressive attack. You absolutely can achieve your goals – building support for Israel and isolating Palestinian extremists - but not with the “wrong” language below. If you would just change a sentence or two, you can say exactly what you want. So here’s what we recommend.

|               |  |
|---------------|--|
| <b>WRONG:</b> | <i>“Israel must go on fighting against these terrorists. But even more, they must target their leaders, the people who purchase the arms, the bullets, and the weapons of pain, destruction and death. Israel has to stop their leaders, because that is how they stop their army, and in the end, that is how you stop terrorism. Israel has tried everything else. This is the only answer left. And after having a cease-fire, Israel shall start immediately talking about peace.”</i>   |
| <b>RIGHT:</b> | <b><i>“No mother should live in fear. No mother should have to worry that when her daughter goes off to the store, she might be killed by a homicide bomber. No parent should worry that when their children go for a hike, they might be tortured and brutally murdered. Children should not be raised to kill and should not be used as human shields. The terrorism must stop. The purchase of guns and bullets by terrorists must stop. And all of us have to hold the terrorist leadership ultimately accountable for the pain and suffering they have caused. Fighting terrorism is not easy, it is not pretty, but it must be done. When it is done, we can again return to the ultimate goal – a true, fair, and lasting peace between Israelis and Palestinians.”</i></b> |
| <b>WRONG:</b> | <i>“There is only one side that perpetuates terror and one that defends against terror. Israel wants peace. Palestinians leaders want terror. And as long as they want terror, peace will not be able to prevail.”</i>   |
| <b>WRONG:</b> | <i>“The 60 bodies will be buried in the presence of Red Cross. This should put an end to this Big Lie, which has been repeated time and time again, about a massacre that didn't happen. People forget that Israel lost 23 soldiers in this battle.”</i>   |
| <b>RIGHT:</b> | <b><i>“What happened in [FILL IN NAME] is a tragedy for everyone. Everyone. It is particularly tragic when Palestinian terrorists choose to hide in homes, schools and places of worship. They turn innocent civilians and children into human shields and combatants and, too often, turn these civilians and children into casualties. If the Palestinian leadership was truly serious about ending terrorism, there would have been no [FILL IN NAME]. Both parties should talk, negotiate and work toward peace. Israel has repeatedly offered the Palestinians a state and they have chosen terrorism. What are Israelis to do? They cannot allow those who have killed their people to escape and kill again. Terrorists must be brought to justice.”</i></b>                |
| <b>WRONG:</b> | <i>“Occupation? Israel never occupied any Palestinian land. Palestinians never had independence, never had any government there. They never got the independence when this area was under a Jordanian occupation for 19 years.”</i>  |
| <b>RIGHT:</b> | <b><i>“I have several questions I would ask the Palestinian people. What have you achieved with your war of terror? Are you better off today than you were before the violent campaign? Is your economy stronger? Are your schools better? Are your people safer and more secure?</i></b><br><br><b><i>If Yasser Arafat had kept his word, if he had followed the Oslo Accord that he himself signed, there would be peace between Israel and the Palestinians and he would have been the father of a nation. So again I say to him what Israelis have said every day since Oslo: stop the violence. Honor the agreement that you yourself signed in front of the world. Stop the attacks. Stop the pain. Enough is enough.</i></b>  |

**And so I have one last question for the Palestinian people. Where would you like to be, and what would you like to see in your future? A state of your own? An honest government of your own? A police force of your own? Stop the attacks, stop the terror and you can have that future. “**

**WRONG:** *“The bible says, ‘I have set before you life and death. Therefore, choose life.’”*

**RIGHT:** *“Can we, as Americans understand the deep anger and anguish of the Israeli people? They have lived too long with fear and funerals. For too long they have had to avoid markets, outdoor cafes and bus stations. For too long, Israelis have had to put armed guards in kindergarten classrooms. The Palestinian Authority has rejected peace offers and instead funded this terrorism. Israeli citizens have a right to a normal life. They have a right to security. And so do the Palestinians. All the world is asking is for a reformed, responsible Palestinian leader to make peace. So join Israel in peace. Join Israel in choosing life.”*

**QUESTION:** **Does Israel really want to go in and start running Palestinian lives again and completely reoccupying Palestinian territory?**

**WRONG:** *“Israel is not acting out of retaliation. They are not reoccupying. It’s a response out of operational needs to stop the terror. Israelis already saw during Operation Defensive Shield, when the Israeli defensive forces were there in the towns, there was some quiet and calm in Israel for about four or five weeks. So they need to produce this kind of calm by the very presence of their forces as deterrence.”*

**RIGHT:** *“How many more children must die before the world allows Israelis to defend their borders, their communities, their homes, and their families? How many more restaurants, cafes, supermarkets, buses, dance halls, hotel lobbies will be destroyed before the world grants Israel the right of self-defense? Exactly what military value is there in a Sbarro restaurant or a hotel lobby? Exactly what would justify an attack on children riding a bus home from school?*

*The answer is that there is no answer. Nothing justifies these suicide attacks. Nothing justifies what is being done to innocent Israeli children. It is Israel’s responsibility as a democratic society to protect its citizenry from terrorist attacks like these and that is exactly what Israel is doing. When Israel uses force, it prevents many attacks. When Israel shows weakness, the attacks continue unabated. The Israeli position is quite reasonable: when the attacks stop, so will the countermeasures. But until then, Israel has to do what is necessary to keep its people safe.”*

## 9 Proven Pro-Israel Sound Bites

These statements work for all pro-Israel spokespeople. At the same time, they gain effectiveness when spoken by younger spokespeople and/or women. Too many pro-Israel spokespeople are older men. All of these sound bites, like everything in this guide, are factually accurate.

- ✓ ***“The Palestinians deserve better leadership and they deserve a better society - with functioning institutions, democracy, and the rule of law.”***
- ✓ ***“The world is hoping to find a Palestinian leadership that really does reflect the best interests of the Palestinian people.”***
- ✓ ***“As a matter of principle, Israel will sit down, negotiate and compromise with those who wish all the peoples of the Middle East to live together in peaceful coexistence. Israel made peace with Egypt. Israel made peace with Jordan. And both agreements still live on today.”***
- ✓ ***“Israelis know what it’s like to live their lives with the daily threat of terrorism. They know what it’s like to send their children off to school one day and bury them the next. For them, terrorism isn’t something they read about in the newspaper. It’s something they see with their eyes every week.”***
- ✓ ***“Israelis don’t want to sign a meaningless agreement that isn’t worth the paper it’s printed on. They want something real. If there is to be a just, fair and lasting peace, Israel needs a partner who rejects violence and who values life more than death.”***
- ✓ ***“As a matter of principle, the world should not force Israel to make concessions to those who publicly deny their right to exist and call for their annihilation.”***
- ✓ ***“When Menachem Begin signed the peace treaty with Egypt, it was Ariel Sharon who personally evacuated and returned the Sinai. It was Ariel Sharon who addressed the mothers and fathers of Palestinians directly, asking for no more bloodshed. And it is Ariel Sharon who is prepared to make peace if the Palestinian homicide bombers will stop making war.”***
- ✓ ***“Right now, today, there are still terrorist groups like Hamas, Islamic Jihad and the Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigade that the Palestinian Authority has either been unable or unwilling to curb - and Israelis continue to die because of it.”***
- ✓ ***“Just as the American government is pledged to secure life, liberty, and the chance to pursue happiness for us, so must Israel’s government guarantee that its citizens will be secure and free.”***

## 10 Postscript: The Future

### Perfect Language

*"We need to stop the killing of people on both sides. It has to stop. Every time a Palestinian is killed, it's a tragedy. There's no distinction between Israeli and Palestinian blood. All blood is equal. Every time an innocent person is killed, it's a tragedy. It's a life lost. If terrorism stops, the peace process can move forward and create a better future. Imagine what Israelis and Palestinians can do working together."*

### We end this report where you may want to begin.

The key image you want to project in all your interviews can be summarized in a single word: **IMAGINE**. Americans love to dream of a better future. Americans are the most forward-thinking population on the globe; hope is a core component of the American Dream. Every generation having a better quality of life, every generation doing better than the one before it, the best is yet to come. **IMAGINE** is about a better future for everyone.

This deep-seated belief in the future is a primary reason why so many Americans have grown so tired and frustrated with the fact that nothing seems to change between Israelis and Palestinians. The bickering which gives way to the violence, which gives way to more bickering, appears hopeless, so Americans turn away and give up hope. If you want to end up winning the hearts of Americans, you have to offer hope – and let people know of Israel's real commitment to peace and progress.

### Talking about hope and future: four key sentences

- 1. We hope that Israel can once again achieve peace with an Arab neighbor.*
- 2. We hope that terror will no longer separate Palestinians from having their own state and Israelis from living in peace.*
- 3. We hope that the Palestinian people will no longer languish under a leadership that refuses to be a partner for peace.*
- 4. We hope that Israel can negotiate a fair agreement with a democratic government that is committed to the rule of law.*

**So imagine a future where all pro-Israel communicators follow a consistent and effective message strategy that brings wider American support for security and peace in Israel and beyond. ..**

**We can imagine it. Can you?**