



The Israel Project's 2009 GLOBAL LANGUAGE DICTIONARY



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PREFACE

A PERSONAL MESSAGE FROM THE AUTHOR

I wrote my first Language Dictionary for The Israel Project in 2003. Since that time, Israel has had three Prime Ministers, several stalled peace initiatives, found itself the victim of attack from its northern and southern borders, and has suffered greatly in the court of public opinion.

On the other hand, the daily suicide bombings have stopped, and Hamas & Hezbollah have shown themselves to be the brutal terrorist organizations that Israel has warned about. The more things change, the more they stay the same.

All of the material in this document is new or updated based on research conducted in 2008 and 2009. Some of the language will be familiar; most of the “*Words That Work*” boxes come from Israeli representatives and spokespeople. But, the polling, strategic recommendations and guidance are all based on the current situation. I hope that advocates for Israel will benefit from the massive amount of work that went into the creation of this booklet. I also hope that this will be the last Israel Language Dictionary I ever have to craft.

And remember, it’s not what you say that counts. It’s what people hear.

Dr. Frank Luntz

April 2009

FROM THE ISRAEL PROJECT

On behalf of our board and team, we offer this guide to visionary leaders who are on the front lines of fighting the media war for Israel. We want you to succeed in winning the hearts and minds of the public.

We know that when you achieve your mission that you are helping both Israel and our global Jewish family. Thus, we offer these words with our sincerest wishes for your every success. May your words help bring peace and security to Israel and the Jewish people!

Sincerely,

Jennifer Laszlo Mizrahi

Founder & President

www.theisraelproject.org

CHAPTER 1:

THE 25 RULES FOR EFFECTIVE COMMUNICATION

This manual will provide you with many specific words and phrases to help you communicate effectively in support of Israel. But what is the big picture? What are some general guidelines that can help you in your future efforts? Here are the 25 points that matter most:

- 1) **Persuadables won't care how much you know until they know how much you care. Show Empathy for BOTH sides!** The goal of pro-Israel communications is not simply to make people who already love Israel feel good about that decision. The goal is to win new hearts and minds for Israel without losing the support Israel already has. To do this you have to understand that the frame from which most Americans view Israel is one of "cycle of violence that has been going on for thousands of years." Thus, you have to disarm them from their suspicions before they will be open to learning new facts about Israel.

The first step to winning trust and friends for Israel is showing that you care about peace for BOTH Israelis and Palestinians and, in particular, a better future for every child. Indeed, the sequence of your conversation is critical and you must start with empathy for BOTH sides first. Open your conversation with strong proven messages such as:

"Israel is committed to a better future for everyone – Israelis and Palestinians alike. Israel wants the pain and suffering to end, and is committed to working with the Palestinians toward a peaceful, diplomatic solution where both sides can have a better future. Let this be a time of hope and opportunity for both the Israeli and the Palestinian people."

Use 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.

Indeed, 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 and say "way to go," but people who are not already supportive of Israel will be turned off.

- 2) **Explain your principles.** All too often both Arab and Israeli spokespeople go right into an attack against the other, and virtually no one on either side explains the principles behind their actions. **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.

“As a matter of principle, we believe that it is a basic right of children to be raised without hate. We ask the Palestinian leadership to end the culture of hate in Palestinian schools, 300 of which are named for suicide bombers. Palestinian leaders should take textbooks out of classrooms that show maps of the Middle East without Israel and that glorify terrorism.”

“As a matter of principle, children should not be raised to want to kill others or themselves. Yet, day after day, Palestinian leadership pushes a culture of hate that encourages even small children to become suicide bombers. Iran-backed Hamas’s public television in Gaza uses Sesame Street-type programming to glorify suicide bombers.

As a matter of principle, no child should be abused in such a way. Palestinian children deserve better.”

- 3) **Clearly differentiate between the Palestinian people and Hamas.** There is an immediate and clear distinction between the empathy Americans feel for the Palestinians and the scorn they direct at Palestinian leadership. Hamas is a terrorist organization – Americans get that already. But if it sounds like you are attacking the Palestinian people (even though they elected Hamas) rather than their leadership, you will lose public support. Right now, many Americans sympathize with the plight of the Palestinians, and that sympathy will increase if you fail to differentiate the people from their leaders.

WORDS THAT WORK

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, put them in Swiss bank accounts, and use them to support terror instead of peace. The Palestinians need books, not bombs. They want roads, not rockets.”

MORE WORDS THAT WORK

“The obstacles on the road to a peaceful and prosperous Middle East are many. Israel recognizes that peace is made with one’s adversaries, not with one’s friends. But peace can only be made with adversaries who want to make peace with you. Terrorist organizations like Iran-backed Hezbollah, Hamas, and Islamic Jihad are, by definition, opposed to peaceful co-existence, and determined to prevent reconciliation. I ask you, how do you negotiate with those who want you dead?”

World view is especially important to the Left as they see a world where basically all people are good and with education and communication we can all get along. This is stark contrast to most conservatives who believe that there are good people (i.e. Israel) and bad people (i.e. Iran) and that good people need to be protected from the bad people.

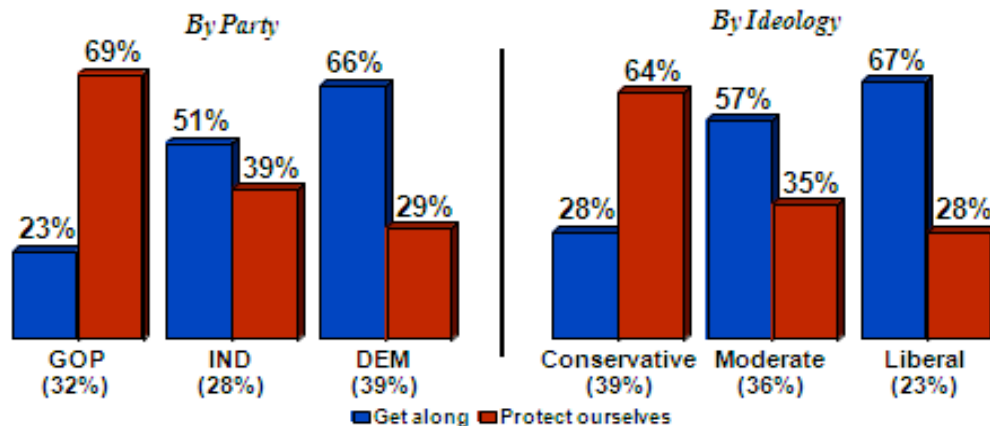
“World view” attitudes differ dramatically by both partisanship and ideology.

Please tell me which of the following two descriptions better fits your view of the world...

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

...or is your view of the world that..

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?



The most 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 much of 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.

- 4) **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 that all peoples from all parts of the globe will agree on: civilized people do not target innocent women and children for death.”

- 5) **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. **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 that Israel has accidentally hurt innocent people. I know it, and I’m sorry for it. But what can Israel do to defend itself? If America had given up land for peace – and that land had been used for launching rockets at America, what would America do? Israel was attacked with thousands of rockets from Iran-backed Palestinian terrorists in Gaza. What should Israel have done to protect her children? ”*

WORDS THAT WORK

“Are Israelis perfect? No. Do we make mistakes? Yes. But we want a better future, and we are working towards it.

And we want Palestinians to have a better future as well. They deserve a government that will eliminate the terror not only because it will make my children safer—but also because it will make their children more prosperous. When the terror ends, Israel will no longer need to have challenging checkpoints to inspect goods and people. When the terror ends we will no longer need a security fence.”

- 6) **Be careful of your tone.** A patronizing, parental tone will turn Americans and Europeans off. We’re at a time in history when Jews in general (and Israelis in particular) are no longer perceived as the persecuted people. In fact, among American

and European audiences—sophisticated, educated, opinionated, non-Jewish audiences—Israelis are often seen as the occupiers and the aggressors. With that kind of baggage, it is critical that messages from the pro-Israel spokespeople not come across as supercilious or condescending.

WORDS THAT DON'T WORK

“We are prepared to allow them to build.....”

Israelis cannot “*allow*” the Palestinians to move forward. They cannot “*permit*” or “*control*” or “*instruct*” the Palestinians to establish commerce, transportation, or a government. If the Palestinians are to be seen as a trusted partner on the path to peace, they must not be subordinated, in perception or in practice, by the Israelis. There is anxiety around activity in the Middle East. The way you talk about it should not add fuel to the fire.

- 7) **Stop. Stop. Stop.** Most of this document is written in a positive, hopeful, instructive tone. But there is one aspect of Palestinian behavior that you have every right to demand an end – and will win points by doing so. The more you talk about the militaristic tone and jihadist goals of Iran-backed terrorists – by using their own words -- the more empathy you will create for Israel.

WORDS THAT DO WORK

“Achieving peaceful relationships requires the leadership—political, business, and military—of both sides. And so we ask the Palestinians ... Stop using the language of incitement. Stop using the language of violence. Stop using the language of threats. You won’t achieve peace if your military leadership talks about war. You won’t achieve peace if people talk about pushing others to the sea or to the desert.”

MORE WORDS THAT WORK

“Israelis know what it is like to live their lives with the daily threat of terrorism. They know what it is 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 far too often.”

- 8) **Remind people – again and again – that Israel wants peace.** Reason One: If Americans see no hope for peace—if they only see 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.

Reason Two: **The speaker that is perceived as being most for PEACE will win the debate.** Every time someone makes the plea for peace, the reaction is positive. If you

want to regain the public relations advantage, peace should be at the core of whatever message you wish to convey.

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.

WORDS THAT WORK

“Israel made painful sacrifices and took a risk to give peace a chance. They voluntarily removed over 9,000 settlers from Gaza and parts of the West Bank, abandoning homes, schools, businesses, and places of worship in the hopes of renewing the peace process.”

“Despite making an overture for peace by withdrawing from Gaza, Israel continues to face terrorist attacks, including rocket attacks and drive-by shootings of innocent Israelis. Israel knows that for a lasting peace, they must be free from terrorism and live with defensible borders.”

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

Once you have established that you care about both Israelis and Palestinians and that Israel wants peace, you can begin the process of establishing a strong connection between Americans and Israel based on shared values and interests, including:

- Israel's cooperative efforts with Jewish and Muslim citizens working together to create jobs, cutting edge technology, science and research;
- Israel's remarkable advances in alternative energy;
- The work Israel has done in Arab neighborhoods and communities to raise health and living standards, including access, as full Israeli citizens, to Israel's world-class national health care system.

Information about the cooperation of Israeli doctors and scientists – Jews, Muslims, Christians and others alike - in solving important health and technological challenges can be helpful. So can demonstrating that Israel and America share a commitment to freedom of religion, press, speech as well as human rights, women's issues, and the environment

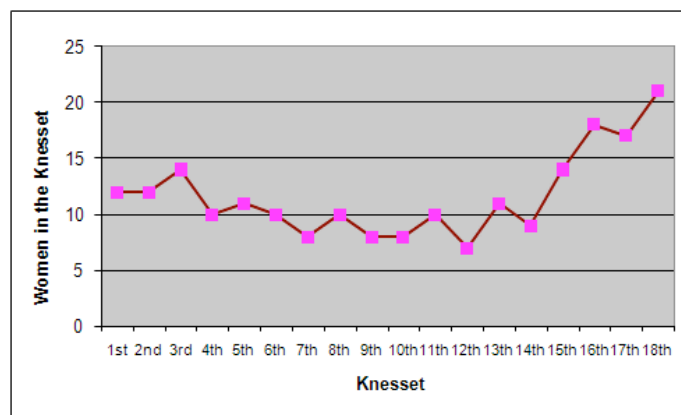
10) **Draw direct parallels between Israel and America—including the need to defend against terrorism.** From history to culture to values, **the more you focus on the similarities between Israel and America, the more likely you are to win the support of those who are neutral.** Indeed, Israel is an important American ally in the war against terrorism, and faces many of the same challenges as America in protecting their 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 Bombing” 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 more than 250 times terrorists had crossed into our land and killed our children while they were riding buses or eating pizza? What would America do? What would America do if America’s neighbors in Canada or Mexico were firing rockets into America?

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:

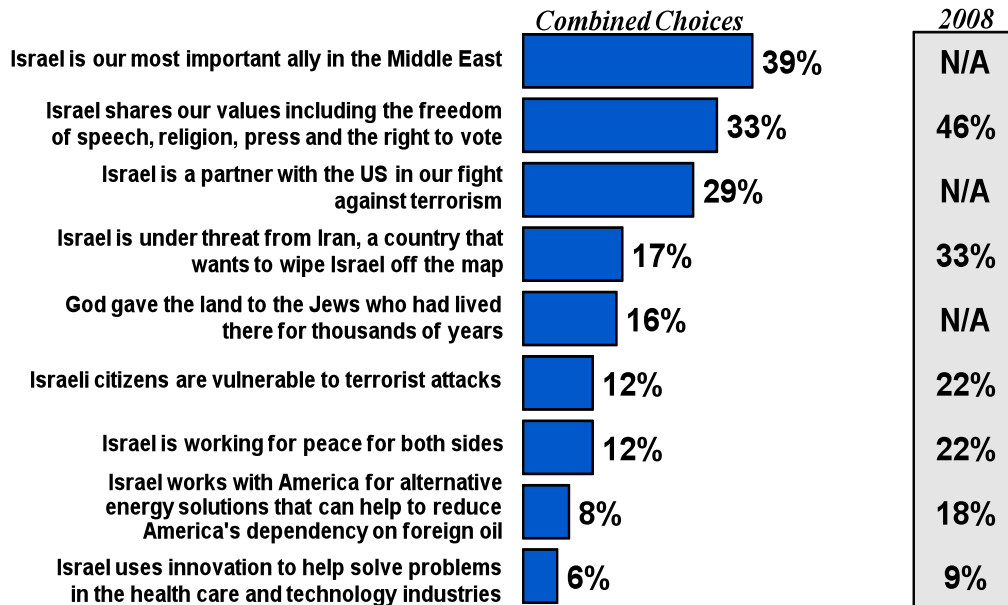
- **Israel, America’s ally, is a democracy in the Middle East.** In Israel, Christians, Muslims, and Jews all have freedom of speech, religion, and a right to vote. Indeed, more than a million Arabs are citizens of Israel, representing almost 20% of the population. Furthermore, 12 Arabs and 21 women serve in Israel’s 120-member Parliament, and an Arab judge sits on the Israeli Supreme Court. On a cultural level, a recent Miss Israel was an Israeli Arab and Israel is sending an Arab-Israeli and a Jewish-Israeli to sing together in the upcoming Eurovision contest. As the following chart shows, female membership in the Knesset is even on the rise:



- **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 be prime minister!
- **Israel is a key American ally:**

Voters feel that “Israel is our most important ally in the Middle East.”

And, thinking about the United States and its relationship with Israel... Which TWO of the following are the best reasons for the United States to stand with Israel? November



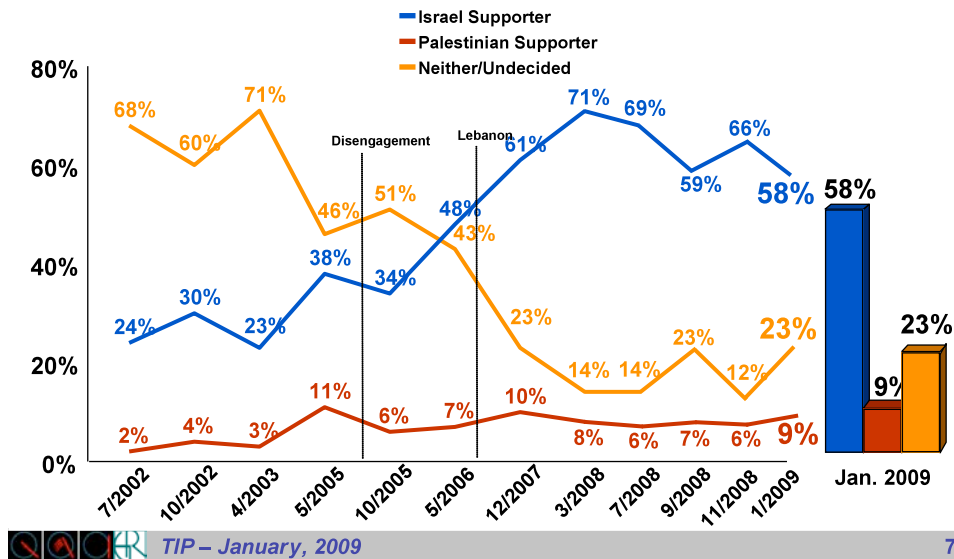
TIP – January, 2009

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Some positive news comes from the following question, which has been tracked for seven years and shows that Israel continues to receive strong support from Americans:

Voters believe the U.S. SHOULD support Israel.

Thinking about the ongoing conflict between Israel and the Palestinians in the Middle East, please tell me whether, in general, do you think America should...



- 11) **Don't talk about religion.** Americans who see the bible as their sourcebook on foreign affairs are already supporters of Israel. Religious fundamentalists are Israel's "Amen Choir" and they make up approximately one-fourth of the American public and Israel's strongest friends in the world. However, 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" in many Israel contexts is going to elicit a negative reaction—and the defense of Israel as a "Jewish State" or "Zionist State" will be received quite poorly. This may be hard for the Jewish community to accept but this is how most Americans and Europeans feel.

The exceptions are amongst the Orthodox Jewish and Evangelical Christian communities. The fact is that 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. You can speak about God to these groups (approximately one fourth of America) but do not extend your comments about religion beyond that.

- 12) **No matter what you are asked, bridge to a productive pro-Israel message.** When asked a direct question, you don't have to answer it directly. You are in control of what you say and how you say it. Remember, your goal in doing interviews is not only to answer questions—it is to bring persuadable members of the audience to Israel's side in the conflict. Start by acknowledging their question and agreeing that both sides –

Israelis and Palestinians – deserve a better future. Remind your audience that Israel wants peace. Then focus on shared values. Once you have done this you will have built enough support for you to say what Israel really wants: for the Palestinians to end the violence and the culture of hate so that fences and checkpoints are no longer needed and both sides can live in peace. And for Iran for Iran-backed terrorists in Gaza to stop shooting rockets into Israel so that both sides can have a better future.

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.

- 13) **Talk about the future, not the past.** Spending time giving the public a history lesson on 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 and Europeans as a game of gotcha 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 my country and for me to support Israel?”**
- 14) **Hope.** The expectations for peace are about as low as they can go. But the side that presents a more hopeful future – and the willingness to work hard to make it happen – will win hearts and minds going forward. This is the language people want to hear:

“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.”

Words That Work

“We must measure each other’s commitment to peace by actions, not words. Let us come together and bring about a new era of openness and tolerance. Let us declare that violence and bloodshed will not prevail. We must provide hope for all the people of the Middle East. We must provide hope for those who have none. It is my hope that we may all live in prosperity and peace—now and forever.”

- 15) **Use rhetorical questions.** Avoid head on attacks of your opponents. Use a soft tone. Show regret that the Palestinians have been led so poorly. Ask:

WORDS THAT WORK

“How can the current Palestinian leadership honestly say it will pursue peace when previous leaders rejected an offer to create a Palestinian state just a few short years ago and now refuse to live up to their responsibilities as outlined in the Road Map?”

“How can you call it a “cycle of violence” when in reality, if Israel stopped fighting terror, the violence would not end? 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 Hamas leadership condemn all terrorist activities, including suicide bombers? Is it unreasonable to insist that they stop killing innocent children before Israelis jeopardize their security and make concessions for peace?”

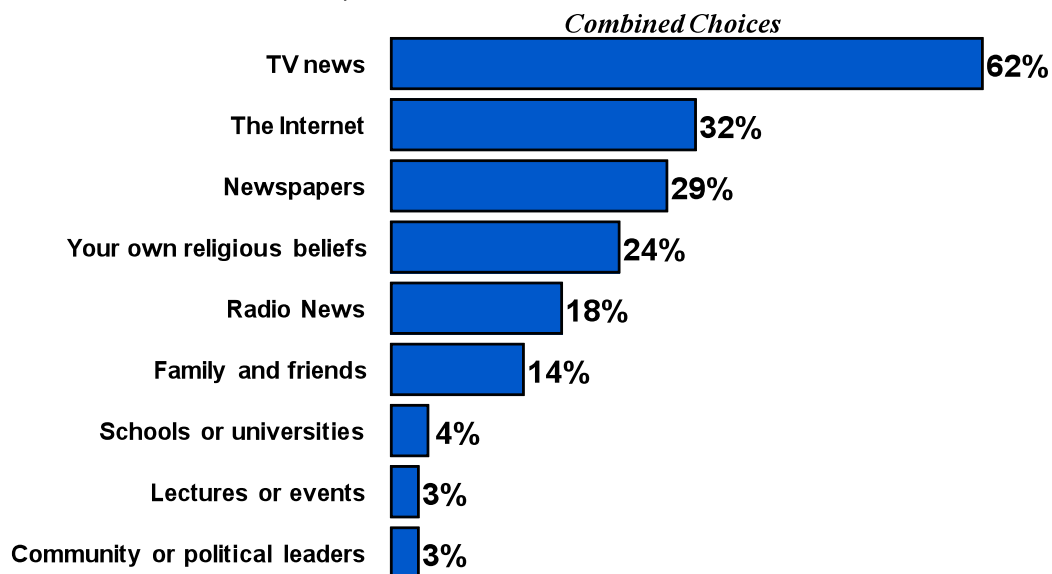
And here is a simpler batch of questions to keep in mind:

- *“How do I make peace with a government who wants me dead?”*
- *“How do I make peace with a population who is taught these words – taught to hate Jews, not just Israelis – from the moment they are born?”*
- *“Why is the world so silent about the written, vocal, stated aims of Hamas?”*

- 16) **Go where the people are.** According to Nielsen ratings, on average, Americans now watch 4.3 hours of television a day. Youth groups, Hillel, AIPAC, and others can be terrific leadership training grounds. 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. But, don't waste time and money fooling yourself that newspaper ads and campus lectures alone will bring large numbers of new supporters to Israel. Research repeatedly shows that the people who come to these events have largely made up their minds, pro and con, so they are about leadership development, not mass communications.

Most voters get their Middle East news from television coverage.

And, which TWO of the following information sources are the most significant in shaping your views on the Middle East?



TIP – January, 2009

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As these results from The Israel Project's polling clearly show, the media is the top source of information on the Middle East for the vast majority of Americans. 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.**

- 17) **K.I.S.S. and tell and tell again and again.** A key rule of successful communications is "Keep It Simple, Stupid". Successful communications is not 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 start with empathy for both sides, remind your audience that Israel wants peace and then repeat the messages of democracy, freedom, and peace** over and over again? For those not already pro-Israel, but who belong to the category of persuadables, we need to repeat the message, on average, ten times to be effective. Go back to the message triangle and practice bridging to your message on Israel.

- 18) **Avoid "analysis paralysis" and be pro-active.** This is the tendency to blame everything and anything bad that happens to Israel's cause on the media... and then to do nothing

else. It is a terrible disease that can cripple pro-Israel organizations with a thousand meetings and no results.

Instead, Focus on the Persuadables. 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 in how they view Israel—those who are with us and will always be with us, those who are against us and 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.

- 19) **It’s not just what you’re against – it’s what you’re FOR that matters.** The public demands *progress*. It doesn’t have to move at light speed. One day doesn’t always have to be better than the next. But the public turns off immediately whenever they perceive that one side has dug its heels in and refuses to remain committed to the overall mission of making progress towards peace. There are no excuses – no matter what is happening in the Middle East, you have to advocate how you remain committed to peace. If you’re only ever *against* things – even if they are things like suicide attacks, rocket firings, or inequality of rights – then you’ll never have the public *for* you.

Similarly, avoid putting things in terms of “not.” Tell the people what you are *for*. Use positive, active terms. Don’t say your goal is *not* to do this or *to avoid* that.

- 20) **Start your message, press release, sound bite, or debate segment with your best, positive message.** Credibility is so difficult to achieve but so easy to lose in debates about these issues. This is especially true in the first words you say or write. People make snap decisions about whether they find you to be credible, authentic, empathetic, or sincere. Time after time in group after group, we see good words go without impact because a speaker puts his foot in his mouth at the outset, rather than his best face forward.

Start with positive themes like *peace, mutual respect, empathy for the plight of Palestinians and their children*, and the like.

- 21) **Concede a point.** Look for opportunities in every TV debate or interview to concede a point to the interviewer or debate partner. It doesn’t have to be a major point. The point isn’t to undermine some essential plank of Israel’s foreign policy platform. But the simple words “*you make a good point*” do wonders among an audience.
- 22) **Never, never, NEVER speak in declarative statements. Never.** Americans and Europeans think in shades of gray – especially when it comes to conflict in the Middle East. They believe both sides are to blame, both sides are responsible for making sacrifices for peace, and both sides do have a positive story to tell. So every time you say “*every,*” “*totally,*” “*always,*” “*never,*” or the like, the reaction is immediate and negative. Soften the tone just a little bit and you’ll keep them tuned in.

WORDS THAT DO NOT WORK

Two statements from Israeli spokespeople that turned listeners off:

1. *“I can promise you that if there will be no agreement in 2008, it would not be the fault of the Israeli government.”*
2. *“Those who think that the conflict is driven by an Israeli desire to hold onto territories are totally wrong.”*

23) **Acknowledge the complexities of the situation and attempt to simplify and clarify.**

The public believes that the issues that cause conflict between Israelis and Palestinians are complex and date back hundreds or thousands of years. They agree that there are many different sticking points that need to be negotiated.

Yet while the *problems* are complex, they want the *solutions* to be simple: *Peace. Mutual respect. Two nations living side by side. Children growing up without fear for their safety.* These are all simple concepts that Americans want all sides to agree on as central goals.

WORDS THAT WORK

The situation in the Middle East may be complicated, but all parties should adopt a simple approach: peace first, political boundaries second.

24) **Don't try to stack your credibility up against the media's.** Yes, the press almost never gets the story completely right – and they often get it mostly wrong. And yes, many in the media have an agenda against Israel. However, many more do not. Also, Americans have no love lost for their own media's lack of bias. Nevertheless, Americans trust the media to report the situation in the Middle East more accurately than *either* Israel or the Palestinian government. Do not attempt to impeach the credibility of a media report head on. You'll just end up undermining you own. Here's an example of what *not* to do:

WORDS THAT DO NOT WORK

With all due respect, check your data. And, you know, don't write a story that doesn't hold water.

– Actual answer by an Israeli politician on live television

25) **Also, don't try to stack your credibility up against the global community's.** Yes, much of the world and many influential members of the United Nations are hostile to Israel's existence. But the public doesn't want to hear Israeli politicians complain about

this fact. The Israel-against-the-world, woe-are-we approach comes across as divisive. While you should be making the case for why a stable Israel is *good* for the world, messages like this just isolate you more:

WORDS THAT DO NOT WORK

If we were to listen to all of what the world says, I'm not sure that we would be a sovereign state or where we are today.

26) **Mutuality is a key concept.** We close with one more plea to humanize, empathize, and stress the equal needs for a better life for two equal peoples. The world sees Israel and the Palestinians on completely different plains – and this is why they allow/ignore Palestinian crimes against Israel. It's David vs. Goliath – only this time the Palestinians are seen as David. Using the “mutual” context puts both parties on the same level – and that is important in communicating the Israeli position. Here are the phrases to use:

- ***“Mutual respect”*** is even better than *“tolerance.”*
- ***“Living together, side by side, in peace”***
- ***“Israelis and Palestinians both have a RIGHT to...”*** The more you stress that *both* sides have *equal* rights, the better.
- ***“Cooperation, Collaboration, and Compromise.”*** All three words work to describe the relationship that Europe and America want Israelis and Palestinians to have. We recommend you use all three because the sound repetition drives the point home with three times the effectiveness.

Bottom line: What will happen if we fail to get the world to care about the fact that Israeli parents in southern Israel need to literally dodge rockets when they drive their children to kindergarten in the morning? What will happen if the world allows Iran, the world's largest state sponsor of terrorism, to get nuclear weapons? 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 success of your communications efforts? I care because I never want our children to live through what my family and yours lived through in the Holocaust.

People in Israel depend on us.

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

CHAPTER 2: A GLOSSARY OF WORDS THAT WORK

"What the world cannot remember the Israelis cannot forget."

-- Mort Zuckerman

For the first time in our communication effort, we have provided an A-Z glossary of specific words, phrases, and concepts that should form the core of any pro-Israeli communication effort.

- **"Accountability."** It is surprising that the value Americans want most in their own government has not been used by Israeli spokespeople to describe what's needed in the current dialogue. Stop using "*confidence-building measures*" and start using "*accountability*" to describe what's needed most within the Palestinian government(s).
- **"Building":** Never talk about "*giving*" the Palestinians something. It sounds too paternalistic. Instead, talk about "*building*" because it suggests a step-by-step, layer-by-layer improvement in conditions. *Giving* reminds people that you're in the stronger position and that creates more sympathy for the plight of the Palestinians.
- **Children:** As often as possible, make the stakes of achieving peace about providing a future for *both* Palestinian and Israeli children in which they can live, learn, and grow up without the constant fear of attack.
- **"Come to Jerusalem to work for peace":** The visual symbolism isn't lost on American ears. It's an active challenge to turn words into deeds.
- **"Cooperation, collaboration, and compromise":** This is how Americans believe the conflict must be solved. When you give a little, you get a lot.
- **"Deliberately firing rockets into civilian communities":** Combine terrorist motive with civilian visuals and you have the perfect illustration of what Israel faced in Gaza and Lebanon. Especially with regard to rocket attacks but useful for any kind of terrorist attack, *deliberate* is the right word to use to call out the *intent* behind the attacks. This is far more powerful than describing the attacks as "*random*."
- **"Economic Diplomacy":** This is a much more embracing and popular term than the current lexicon of "*sanctions*." It has appeal across the political spectrum: the tough economic approach appeals to Republicans, and the diplomacy component satisfies Democrats.
- **"Economic Prosperity":** Whenever Israel talks about the "*economic prosperity*" of the Palestinians, it puts Israel in the most positive light possible. After all, who can disagree?
- **Examples of Peace Efforts:** Constantly cite Israel's past efforts and sacrifices for peace with moderate Arab leaders also willing to work for peace. But don't dwell on the past.

Simply present these past examples as the best reasons why Israel remains committed to making peace in the future.

- **“Equal rights”**: Emphasize that Jewish Israelis and Arab Israelis enjoy equal rights and equal protections under the law in Israel. But don’t stop there: ***“The tragedy is that Palestinians have far less rights under their government than Israeli Arabs have under ours.”***
- **Human to Human**: Appealing directly to the Palestinian people on behalf of the Israeli people takes the issue out of the political realm and humanizes it. *“We know that the average Palestinian and the average Israeli want to come together and make peace. They want to live in peace. Israeli leaders have come together with Arab leaders to make peace in the past. But how do you make peace with Hamas and Hezbollah?”*
- **Humanize Rockets**: Paint a vivid picture of what life is like in Israeli communities that are vulnerable to attack. Yes, cite the number of rocket attacks that have occurred. But immediately follow that up with what it is like to make the nightly trek to the bomb shelter.
- **“If... If... If... Then.”**: Put the burden on Hamas to make the first move for peace by using If’s (and don’t forget to finish with a hard then to show Israel is a willing peace partner). *“If Hamas reforms... If Hamas recognize our right to exist... If Hamas renounces terrorism... If Hamas supports international peace agreements... then we are willing to make peace today.”*
- **“Living together, side by side.** This is the best way to describe the ultimate vision of a two-state solution without using the phrase.
- **“Militant Islam”**: This is the best term to describe the terrorist movement. Avoid Bush-era sounding terms like *“Islamofascism.”*
- **“Mutual respect”**: You want to put the conflict in perspective. *“The best way, the only way, to achieve lasting peace is to achieve mutual respect.”* This relieves the pressure on Israel and places it squarely on Hamas and Hezbollah. In fact, the fastest way to demonstrate an open-minded approach and differentiate Israel’s aims from Hamas and, frankly, Fatah, is to talk about your respect for the Palestinian people. *“We do not have the right to tell the Palestinians whom to elect to represent them. We hope they will choose leaders that will listen and truly care about them. We respect their right to live in peace and prosperity. All we ask is for them to respect the same for us.”*
- **“Nobody has to leave their homes”**: This is the most winning phrase in the lexicon of settlements. Use the principle of *mutuality* to explain that just as Arab Israelis are not expected to move out of their homes in Israel, Jews in a new Palestinian state should be allowed to stay in their homes, too.
- **“One step at a time, one day at a time”**: It is essential to lower expectations and 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.

- **“Peace before political boundaries”**: This is the best phrase for talking about why a two-state solution isn’t realistic right now. First the rockets and the war need to stop. Then both peoples can talk about political boundaries.
- **“Persistence” and “perseverance”**: It is not just the effort that matters. It’s the intensity of that effort. The fact that against great odds and obvious provocations Israel still seeks peace will be appreciated by all audiences.
- **“Prevention”**: With respect to Iran, this is your best word for the overall approach to their quest for nuclear weapons. Not *“preemption.”*
- **“The RIGHT to”**: This is a stronger phrase than “deserves.” Use the phrase frequently, including: the rights that both Israelis and Arabs enjoy in Israel, the right to peace that Israelis and Palestinians are entitled to, and Israel’s right to defend its civilians against rocket attacks.
- **“Societal Progress”**: This is a dangerous term unless used to address the aspirations of the Palestinian people. First talk about how “the Palestinians have the right to the same societal progress that is happening in Europe and Asia.” Then address the freedoms they lack – and the freedoms they deserve. Americans and Europeans see *“societal progress”* as a moral imperative and a fundamental necessity for eliminating the root causes of terrorism.
- **“Specific Plan of Action”**: Even if the plan will take time, Americans want to know that there is a specific plan of action to which both sides can and will be held *accountable*. Whether you’re talking about the peace process with the Palestinians or the process of preventing Iran from obtaining nuclear weapons, use this phrase to describe your approach.
- **“We have all made mistakes.”** People do not expect Israel to be 100 percent 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 everyone. It *does* gain you much needed credibility.
- **“We’re all in this together.”** One of the most powerful phrases of 2009 in America can easily be adapted to the situation in the Middle East. Acknowledging a common condition not only communicates a realistic approach from the Israeli perspective but also builds a sense of empathy.
- **“Working toward a solution”**: Americans don’t expect the dispute between Israel and the Arabs to end overnight, but they absolutely need to know that *“Israel is working to find a solution that is acceptable to everyone involved.”* This suggests positive intent. This suggests progress. This suggests hope. And all three are important components of a successful communication effort.

CHAPTER 3:

HOW TO TALK ABOUT PALESTINIAN SELF GOVERNMENT & PROSPERITY

We have divided this chapter into two important subsections:

- Section 1 is specifically about the perfect language for talking about Palestinian self-government and calls by others for a two-state solution.
- Section 2 focuses on building credibility by expressing support for improving conditions for the Palestinian people.
- *Both* sections are vitally important to understand and use in concert.

SECTION 1: TALKING ABOUT PALESTINIAN SELF-GOVERNMENT

We asked American opinion elites a simple question:

“Do you strongly support, somewhat support, somewhat oppose, or strongly oppose a two-state solution in the Middle East between Israel and the Palestinians, where both have independent nations?” (Luntz National Survey, January 2009)

We received a very clear answer:

Fully and exactly 50% of Americans *strongly support* a two-state solution. Combine this with the 28.2% who somewhat support it and you have the formula for a landslide in support of giving the Palestinians their own land and their own government. Again...

Over 78% of Americans support a two-state solution.

So when you're talking to Americans, you need to know that when you don't support a two-state solution you risk having a major public relations challenge in America and Europe. The new Israeli government knows this but feel so strongly about security concerns that they are willing to take this risk for the long-term security of their people. They feel (and were elected by voters who agree) that Israel's withdrawal from Gaza has made Israel LESS and not MORE safe. Thus, at least for now, the new Israeli leaders have not articulated support for a two-state solution outside of the context of supporting the Road Map for peace which gives a step-by-step performance based plan for reaching a two state solution.

That said, it is important to note that there are effective ways to uphold the ultimate goal of a Palestinian self-government while legitimately questioning how soon the solution can be reached. This is the rhetorical area in which you need to operate.

- (1) **Identify the goal, and be authentic.** Given the overwhelming American support for a two-state solution, it will make support much easier and faster if you set the tone for all discussions by articulating Israel's shared vision for the ultimate goal of two peoples, living side by side in a lasting and secure peace. In the name of gaining credibility for why you might later say that *a two-state solution isn't achievable overnight*, you should start with language like the following to signal how your goals align with the public's.

WORDS THAT WORK

Two homelands for two peoples living side-by-side in peace and security is not a fake slogan, but a real necessity for the stability in the entire region. Each homeland should provide a solution to the national aspiration of its people – Israel, as a homeland for the Jewish people, and the creation of a Palestinian homeland, as a fulfillment of their national desire.

Saying “*is not a fake slogan, but a real necessity*” sets the tone for the entire paragraph. It conveys authenticity and will keep the listener tuned in to what else you have to say. This is a perfect example of Language Rule #19 in Chapter 1. Start off with a strong, positive message. And particularly now that a “two-state solution” has been bandied about for years, people want to hear that you support Palestinian rights.

- (2) **Peace first. Political boundaries second.** One solution that would clearly be welcomed by the majority of Americans is, after articulating the long-term goal of a two-state solution, giving examples of why a two-state solution can't happen overnight. While these are essentially “anti” two-state arguments, you can and must still frame them positively if you want support of the majority of Americans.

And the most positive, powerful message you have in Israel's language arsenal is *peace*. It's the trump card. Peace today is the *most* important thing, because every day there is war. Second most important is long-term peace, which most Europeans and Americans equate with a two-state solution. But it's up to you to remind them that Israel gave up Gaza with hopes of peace and a two-state solution – and got only rockets from Iran-backed Hezbollah and Hamas in return.

The following paragraph works because it is all about *PEACE*. They accept the idea that a peace – if only in the form of a ceasefire that actually lasts – *can* occur before boundaries are established, and in fact *must* occur in order *for* boundaries to be established.

WORDS THAT WORK

The situation in the Middle East may be complicated, but all parties should adopt a simple approach: peace first, political boundaries second. All sides must remain committed to the ideal of two homelands for two peoples, peacefully living side by side in mutual respect. But we cannot hope to achieve that final solution until there is lasting peace between both peoples. There is military conflict on a daily basis. How can we expect good faith dealing for a two state solution in such a climate? A ceasefire and a peace that lasts long enough to engender honest discussions should be the immediate objective.

A few more things to pull out of this paragraph:

-- “*Peace before political boundaries*” sets up the perfect dynamic for you. It elevates the need to stop the rockets, stop the bombings, and create a ceasefire, while subtly downplaying the importance of a two-state solution by calling it “political boundaries.” *Peace* always beats *politics* in the opinion elite’s mind. Always.

-- This passage invokes several of the Rules of Effective Communication in Chapter 1:

1) Acknowledge the complexities of the problem, but simplify the solution.

2) Emphasize “the ideal of two peoples peacefully living side by side in mutual respect.

3) Use rhetorical questions.

Yes, we have repeated these concepts over... and over... and over... throughout this dictionary, but that’s just our way of obeying yet another Rule of Effective Communication – Keep It Simple Stupid and *REPEAT!*

- (3) **Emphasize the need to follow a “specific, step-by-step process” and a “plan of action.”** This communicates a serious approach to the conflict rather than the typical empty rhetoric. The public understands that the conflict is complicated, and they believe that all sides are guilty of mistakes in judgment and behavior. But by using this language, by focusing on plans and the step-by-step process, you have shifted the debate from what has happened in the past to what *could* happen in the future. It is not enough to say peace, peace, peace. It’s not credible without saying plan and/or process.

WORDS THAT WORK

The road map prescribed a very specific process – a step by step process – whereby *before* a Palestinian homeland can be created, they have to abolish terror altogether, to stop the Culture of Hate, and of course, to accept Israel as a Jewish state.

This is our hope and our vision, that there is a moderate Palestinian partner who we might disagree with, but who we can trust for his intention to bring about peace and who is willing to join us in a step-by-step plan of action to settle the conflict and end the bloodshed.

Don't forget:

- **When talking about a Palestinian partner, it is essential to distinguish between Hamas and everyone else.** Only the most anti-Israel, pro-Palestinian American expects Israel to negotiate with Hamas, so you have to be clear that you are seeking a “*moderate Palestinian partner.*”
- **Explain what you are trying to prevent at the same time you are talking about what you are for.** This is something many pro-Israel spokespeople do not do. Either they attack the Palestinians without giving any alternative, hopeful vision, or they talk about peace without reminding Americans that it is the Palestinian behavior that has prevented progress for decades. Both are wrong

- (4) **Link the political plan to the economic plan.** The economic argument is so powerful that it will allow you to talk about the delay in implementing a political solution without losing public support – as long as you raise the two components at the same time. The words of the Prime Minister work effectively here:

WORDS THAT WORK

An eventual solution is important, but not necessarily realistic right now. If we are to succeed, we have to weave an economic peace alongside the political process that gives a stake in peace for the moderate elements in the Palestinian society.

The plan will include creating thousands of jobs and the development of infrastructure and the removal of Israeli roadblocks across the West Bank in order to allow Palestinian movement without impeding Israeli security.

– Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu

The key concept here is the balanced construction. He has balanced the economic and the political. He has balanced removal of the Israeli roadblocks with greater Palestinian movement with Israeli security. Every positive action – starting with jobs – leads to another positive action, and another, and another. And in our words ...

“So instead of the cycle of violence, we now have a cycle of hope.”

- (5) **The fight is over IDEOLOGY – not land; terror, not territory.** Thus, you must avoid using Israel’s religious claims to land as a reason why Israel should not give up land. Such claims only make Israel look extremist to people who are not religious Christians or Jews.

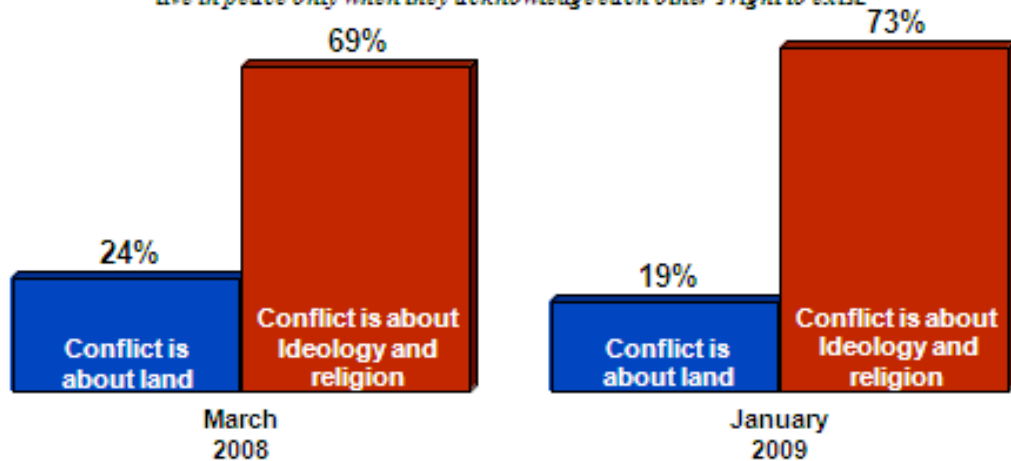
The belief among voters that this conflict “is about ideology and religion” is on the rise.

And, which statement do you agree with more...

The conflict between Israel and the Palestinians is really about land. Once agreements are reached on dividing Jerusalem and establishing borders, the two sides will live side-by-side in peace.

...or...

The conflict between Israel and the Palestinians is about ideology and religion. The two sides will live in peace only when they acknowledge each other's right to exist.



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- (6) **Although Americans support a two-state solution, they are aware that such a solution might create more problems for them and for the world.** As the survey results below show, Americans don't believe that they will be safer or that gas will cost less if the Palestinian state is established.

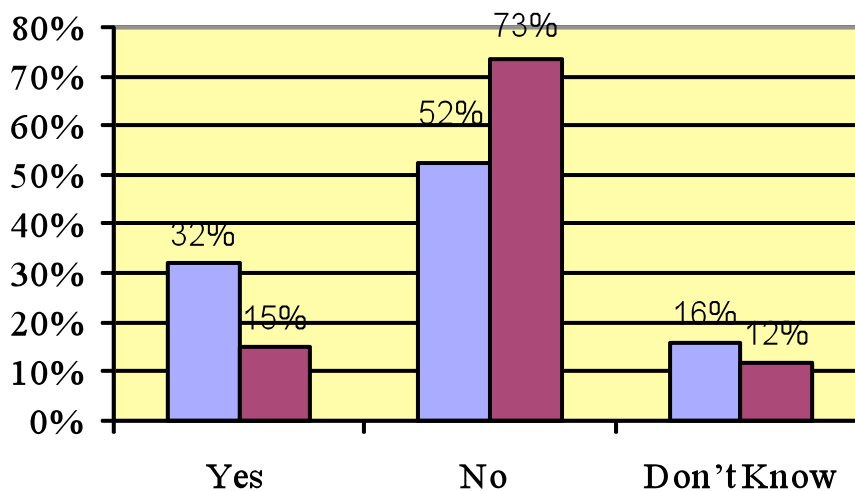
Do you believe that the establishment of an Independent Palestinian state would... (Luntz National Survey, January 2009)

Question A

Lead to a reduction in the threat of terrorist attacks on US soil by Islamic extremists?

Question B

Lead to a reduction in gas prices Americans pay at the pump?



Section 2: BUILDING ECONOMIC PROSPERITY FOR THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE

The Palestinian people get something of a free pass from opinion elites for their inability to hold their leaders accountable for undermining the peace process. Why? Because they believe they are an impoverished, unrepresented people without much reason for hope.

Moreover, elites expect Israel and the global community to solve this problem. They reject the idea that it is up to the Palestinian people to fend for themselves. If we are all interested in achieving peace, then we must all be interesting in spreading prosperity to the Palestinian people.

Do not underestimate the power of these arguments. They were consistently among the highest testing language in all of our research effort. You simply *must* talk about improving the plight of the Palestinian people as part of your overall approach to achieving peace.

Here's the best news: virtually *all* of the language in this chapter comes directly from Prime Minister Netanyahu himself. These words are both in line with the Israeli administration's policy *and* highly effective. That's what we call a homerun in America. The challenge now is to get all of Israel's spokespersons hitting the same notes.

- (1) **Advocate the need for “ECONOMIC PROSPERITY” and “SOCIAL PROGRESS” as a better alternative for the Palestinian people than support for terrorism.** This is the single most powerful message in shifting public sentiment among left-of-center Americans towards Israel. Especially among Democrats, the pervasive belief is that Palestinians turn to terrorism because they have no hope (and then they blame Israel for that lack of hope). Until there is a movement towards prosperity – or at least opportunity – among those people, Americans and Europeans believe that terrorism will always have a home among the Palestinians.

The language below originates from Prime Minister Netanyahu, and it scored as high as anything we tested:

WORDS THAT WORK

Prosperity breeds a partial agreement, which breeds more prosperity, which then breeds additional agreements – and it creates hope.

If you build thousands of jobs in the Palestinian Authority, real jobs, and people bring food to the table, wages are rising, and investments are made, it is worth a thousand international conferences and a thousand shelf agreements.

So that's what we must do, and Israel is ready to be a partner. But it's also time for someone to ask Hamas: What exactly are YOU doing to bring prosperity to your people?

-- Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu

What's more, you can perfect this argument by making it about *more* than just preventing terrorism. The public believes that the economic crisis in Palestinian territories is among the most important issues to solve in the Middle East because of *humanitarian* reasons, not just security. You *gain* credibility by offering to improve their lives *because* it's the right thing to do; this moves the needle far more than just doing it to protect your own safety.

As for specific word choice:

- **“*Prosperity*”** works particularly well at this time because Europeans and Americans want it for themselves, not just for the people of the Middle East.

- Never talk about “*giving*” the Palestinians something. It sounds too paternalistic. Instead, talk about “*providing*” or “*building*.” Giving reminds people that you’re in the stronger position and that creates more sympathy for the plight of the Palestinians.
- Keep reminding people that you are seeking a “*safe, stable society*” for the Palestinians. The words flow together smoothly and the message is one that not only everyone agrees with but will promote appreciation for the Israeli spokesperson who articulates it.

In fact, an expression of Israeli willingness to “*participate*” in the revitalization process in whatever way the Palestinians ask is a very powerful offer. Interestingly, the public believes that is it *not* the sole responsibility of the Palestinian leadership to build an economy for their people. They expect Israel and the international community to help. However, the words you describe that help need to be about *empowerment* not *patronage*.

- (2) **An effective second step to the above paragraph is to promote societal progress for the Palestinians, too.** The economic argument is stronger on its own, but combining the economic and the social component – particularly “*reform of government institutions*” that include “*accountability, transparency, the right to criticize and measurable results*” – delivers a powerful comprehensive message that it’s really up to the Palestinians and their leaders to bring about the changes their people deserve and that peace requires.

WORDS THAT WORK

The international community has to ask and demand that the Palestinians develop institutions of law and order, judicial institutions, and financial integrity. If you just have an economic growth, money can flow back to terrorism. It’s essential to build foundations for a safe, stable society over the long haul.

The way to do this is to provide security to the Israelis and the Palestinians – not just external security but internal as well. We advocate the process of promoting prosperity and institution building to the Palestinians. If we start now, we can soon proceed through this corridor to political negotiations.

-- Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu

- (3) **Once again, turn the issue back to peace.** It’s not enough to simply call for economic rebuilding among the Palestinians and then call it a day. You must next articulate exactly *what all this economic aid is in aid of*: It

is about creating the conditions necessary to build a lasting peace. Here's the perfect way to tie it together:

WORDS THAT WORK

We welcome and we support international efforts to help the Palestinians. So, once again, the Palestinian people are not our enemy. On the contrary, we want peace with the Palestinians.

We're interested in a historical reconciliation. Enough violence. Enough war. And we support international efforts to help the Palestinians both on the humanitarian level and to build a more successful democratic society. That's in everyone's interest.
– Mark Regev

- (4) **Be positive about world forces.** Americans don't hear enough positive messages from Israeli spokespersons. Yes, usually Israeli leaders are on TV to talk about truly terrible things, like rocket attacks and defensive actions. But you should still look for opportunities to talk about how Israel is optimistic about the world's future, and its role within it. Israel spends too much time being the international outsider. Find times to show how Israel is part of something bigger, too.

WORDS THAT WORK

The positive changes the global evolution in information and technology make freedom and choice available to hundreds of millions, if not billions of people. It allows them to take part in the world economy. This is a great hope for mankind and it's happening in our time.

It is an even greater impact than that of the industrial revolution in the 19th century. What has been taking place in the latter part of the 20th century and the 21st century is of monumental proportions. It will improve the material of and general law of mankind and womankind and children-kind of people everywhere.

Next, emphasize how Israel wants to make sure these new bountiful opportunities are available to the Palestinian people, too. State clearly that Israel wants its Palestinian neighbors to be a part of global progress, not left in the stone age.

THINK "PRO-PALESTINIAN"

"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 their child.

And so I say to my Palestinian colleagues ... you can stop the bloodshed. You can stop the suicide bombings and rocket attacks. If you really want to, you can put an end to this cycle of violence. If you won't do it for our children, do it for your children."

-- Effective Israeli Sound bite

Just because you are pro-Israel does NOT mean you need to get painted as anti-Palestinian – and you shouldn't. **The most effective advocates for Israel are also pro-Palestinian.** This may be an anathema to some readers but it's exactly what Europeans, Americans in general and the American Left in particular want to hear. Many on the Left have much more sympathy for the plight of Palestinians than do mainstream Americans, and they can 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. We want to change it. Israel wants to change it.

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 works, must be allowed to go about the business of building a better future.

But there is little we can do until the violence stops, until those who carry bombs into Israel stop the cycle of bloodshed. We need the cooperation of the Palestinian government and the Palestinian people – not for our benefit but for their benefit. 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 Iran-backed Hamas, Islamic Jihad and the other radical forces operating in Palestinian areas and the inability of the leadership to control these organizations.

Americans are beginning to differentiate between Hamas and the Palestinian Authority of Abbas, 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 and culture of hate promoted by the PA itself.

If Israel is held accountable because of an extremist act by a settler, so must the Palestinian leadership and government be held accountable. But to do this effectively, an explicit endorsement of the Palestinian people will make your presentation more credible.

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.

CHAPTER 4:

ISOLATING IRAN-BACKED HAMAS AS AN OBSTACLE TO PEACE

All Americans – even those on the Left – and many Europeans get that Iran-backed Hamas is a terrorist organization. They realize that Hamas has a stated objective of destroying Israel, targeting Jewish civilians and hiding behind Arab civilians. However, to Americans there is a vital distinction between the Hamas leadership and the Palestinian people that you *must* appreciate and weave into all of your language about Gaza.

To them Hamas is evil and hostile. But the Palestinian people are poor, unrepresented, and therefore without hope of peace. For now, your rhetorical quarrel needs to be with Hamas, not the people of Palestine. We have dedicated a whole chapter to language regarding the Palestinian people specifically. This chapter is about how to talk about Iran-backed Hamas, but we must stress again that they are two *very different* sides of the same Gaza coin to the public—so you need to keep both language approaches in mind, and know when to use each.

The big picture approach is this: **You must isolate Hamas as:**

- *A critical cause of the delay in achieving a two-state solution*
- *The biggest source of harm to the Palestinian people, and*
- *The reason why Israel must defend its people from living in terror*

- (1) **Read from the Hamas Charter.** Now, here's how to attack Hamas: indict them with their own indoctrination materials. Yes, people know Hamas is a terrorist organization – but they don't know *just how terrifying* Hamas can be. The absolute best way to heighten their awareness is to read from the Hamas Charter itself.

Don't just "*quote*" from it. Read it. Out loud. Again and again. Hand it out to everyone. Stop and ask them to read it. Draw arrows to the most offensive parts (English translation is in Appendix II). Take the time to give reporters and/or anti-Israel activists time to digest the words and meaning. Even people who lean towards supporting the Palestinians are rendered silent after reading the words of Hamas.

WORDS THAT SHOCK – AND CHANGE OPINIONS

“The Prophet, Allah's prayer and peace be upon him, says: "The hour of judgment shall not come until the Muslims fight the Jews and kill them, so that the Jews hide behind trees and stones, and each tree and stone will say: 'Oh Muslim, oh servant of Allah, there is a Jew behind me, come and kill him.'”
-- Hamas Charter

When people hear the words of the Hamas charter, Israel goes from bully to victim – and sympathy for the plight of the Palestinians dissipates. Frame this as:

“It's time to hold Hamas accountable for its own words and its own actions.”

- (2) **Remind listeners that Iran-backed Hamas is an extremist organization not just in the eyes of Israel, but of free peoples around the world.** Especially with the advent of the new administration, Americans and the world are weary of unilateral, America-will-go-it-alone approaches. They are eager to be on the same team as other democratic nations again. Hamas gives you the opportunity to make Americans feel like they are going *with* the international grain for once, not against it.

WORDS THAT WORK

It's not just Israel who refuses to speak to Hamas. It's the whole international community, the United States, Canada, Europe, Japan, Australia. Most of the democratic world refuses to have a relationship with Hamas because Hamas has refused to meet the most minimal benchmarks of international behavior.
– Mark Regev

- (3) **Better still, cite the examples of how Hamas is out of step even with its own people.** Americans easily forget that the Arab world is not monolithic. They need to be reminded that Hamas is condemned even by Arab leaders in their own global neighborhood. Better still, that Hamas is condemned by other *Palestinian* leaders, such as those in Fatah.

This argument also dovetails perfectly with the case you must make about how Israel has, can, and will make peace with moderate Arab leaders who are willing to work for peace.

Find the words of Palestinians and Arabs themselves to talk about the unrepentant and radical nature of Hamas. Shimon Peres did this expertly in what should be remembered as one of the most effective (and most passionate) presentations on behalf of Israel at Davos. And again, use the following words verbatim.

WORDS THAT WORK

Look what the people, of the Palestinian people, the Secretary General of Fatah is saying about Hamas, three days ago. His name is Yasser Abdel Rabbo, a Palestinian, the Secretary General of the PLO Executive Committee, and I quote him:

"Hamas has turned Gaza, Gaza schools and mosques, all universities into centers of detention, interrogation and torture. Dozens have been shot in their legs, beaten savagely, and had their bones broken. Hamas plundered trucks bringing food, and distributes it only to the supporters of their movement."

They didn't give the food to the people of Fatah. They killed hundred leaders of Fatah in full daylight. They throw them from the roofs.

– President Shimon Peres

(4) **“If... If... If... Then.”** You cannot simply beat Hamas like a piñata and hope to win the overall message battle. Calling Hamas the terrorists they are doesn't build Israel's credibility; it just reduces theirs. And Israel's credibility needs work. Supporters of Israel must always ultimately offer a positive approach with a negative condemnation. That said, there is a way to do both at the same time: by using *ifs*.

WORDS THAT WORK

It was the former U.N. secretary general Kofi Anan that put four benchmarks on the table. And he said, speaking for the international community ...

That if Hamas reforms itself ...

If Hamas recognizes my country's right to live in freedom ...

If Hamas renounces terrorism against innocent civilians ...

If Hamas supports international agreements that are being signed and agreed to concerning the peace process ... then the door is open.

I say if Hamas meets those four United Nations benchmarks, then the door is open. But unfortunately – tragically – Hamas has failed to meet even one of those four benchmarks. And that's why today Hamas is isolated internationally. Even the United Nations refuses to speak to Hamas.

– Mark Regev

The key word here is **if** ... **if** this ... **if** that. As long as the “ifs” are centrist and credible, the public will agree. But what makes this language work so well, and why it should be said almost verbatim, is that it isn’t you talking – it’s the United Nations. Any time you can quote from the UN to make your case, do it.

- (5) **Demand that Hamas be held accountable for the injustices it has done to its own people.** The difference between what people expect a Palestinian government to pursue and what Hamas actually does could not be greater. Call Hamas out for *using* its own people, rather than *empowering* them. Put the contrast in stark terms. Here are useful language tricks to make the contrast really stick:

- *“Buy books, not bombs,”*
- *“Invest in jobs, not jihad,”*
- *“Invest in food, not fear”*

WORDS THAT WORK

The Palestinian people have a right to a government of their own. And they also have a right to a government that will empower them, not use them as shields. They have a right to a government that will invest international aid in books, not bombs. In food, not fear.

Their children deserve the same opportunities to learn and have hope for the future that children in Israel have. And they deserve to learn in an environment that is free of hate.

Unfortunately, Hamas and their sponsor Iran will never allow any of these things to happen. Israel cannot allow the Palestinian people to be isolated from the world by the leadership of Hamas, and that is why right now a Palestinian state is not possible.

Note: The line: *“The Palestinian people have a right to a government that will empower them, not use them as shields”* is particularly effective. Also, use the phrase *“the right to”* as often as possible.

Also, It’s *“militant Islam,”* not **“Islamofascism.”** If you want the people in power in the American government and around the world today to listen and learn, you need language that doesn’t sound like it came from George W. Bush.

- (6) **“We offer this appeal directly to the Palestinian people.”** The problem with pro-Israeli spokespeople is that they often level criticisms at the Palestinian government that sound like criticisms of the Palestinian people. It is so essential that you separate and differentiate between the illegitimate aims and the bloody hands of Hamas with the

legitimate aims and victimization of the Palestinian people. And once again, use the three-question rhetorical approach:

- ***“How exactly do Palestinians benefit when their Hamas leadership fires rockets into Israeli towns?”***
- ***“Why is Hamas building bombs when they should be buying books?”***
- ***“Where did the billions of dollars in international economic aid go? Don’t the Palestinian people deserve more from their leaders?”***

This direct ***“human-to-human”*** appeal (say: ***“admittedly over the heads of Hamas”***) will be well received and appreciated.

Not only is it more *human* and therefore more impactful, but opinion elites *expect* you to appeal directly to the Palestinian people *because* their leadership is not a willing partner for peace. They actually place the burden on you to continue working with the Palestinian people.

- (7) **Call for an end to Hamas’ hijacking of the hopes of the Palestinian people.** Yes, Hamas was democratically elected, but it then staged a bloody coup in Gaza, killing hundreds of its Fatah opponents and continued to rule by tyranny. People believe that Hamas does not represent the hopes and desires of everyday Palestinians. They agree that if Hamas put down their guns, the Palestinian people would have a state of their own almost immediately; and that if Israel put down her guns, the nation would cease to exist.

Cap off your attacks on Hamas with a hopeful call for a better day for the Palestinian people.

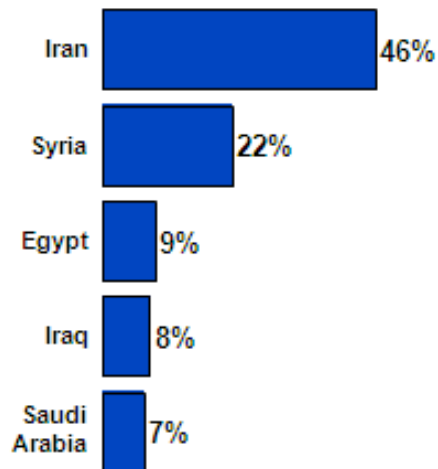
- *“We want all children – Palestinian and Israeli alike – to grow up in peace and without fear of attack. Let’s make it impossible for extremists to throw it all away.”*
- *“The Palestinian people have the RIGHT to democratic elections that are free, fair, and truly representative of the will of the people. We must do whatever it takes to protect that sacred right.”*
- *“We must support the Palestinian people as they strive to elect a moderate government that truly represents them and is a willing partner for peace.”*

- (8) **Continually establish the connection between Iran and “Iran-backed Hamas” and “Iran-backed Hezbollah.”** Doing so will help you continually remind the audience of

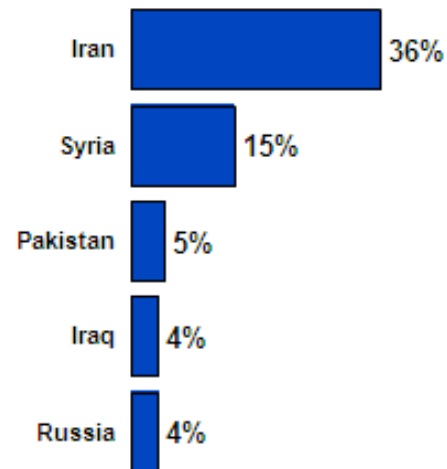
the threat presented by Iran – a reminder they need. And the audience will be receptive to the connection, as shown on the next page:

Voters accurately identify Iran as the main provider of support to both Hamas and Hezbollah.

In your view, which countries are the main providers of support for the military activities of Hamas?



In your view, which countries are the main providers of support for the military activities of Hezbollah in Lebanon?



CHAPTER 5:

THE LANGUAGE TACKLING A NUCLEAR IRAN

Americans and Europeans are aware that Iran's quest for nuclear weapons is a problem, but they are largely unaware of just how *great* and *immediate* a problem it really is. Americans have a President who is conducting YouTube diplomacy with Iran, sending holiday greetings and signaling to the world that Iran can be wooed out of its weapons.

Americans agree that President Ahmadinejad is dangerous. They agree that Iran must not be allowed to obtain a nuclear weapon. But between their war-weariness in the Middle East and under the diplomacy-heavy approach of President Obama, Americans are operating under a hazy understanding about how near Iran is to being able to strike. **Israel is aware of the threat. Americans and Europeans are not. You need to be aware of this disconnect in how you craft your language.**

And the scariest part is that if you try to convince them, most of them won't believe you. Among the American Left and Center-left, and Europeans, the new Israeli administration's warnings about Iran sound uncomfortably too much like President Bush and his call for preemption in Iraq.

So we suggest a rhetorical approach that is likely to gain Israel some credibility in talking about Iran. This language might not reflect the urgency of the threat, but it's the only way to keep people on board in advance of Israel's action.

(1) **The best approach to Iran – “step-by-step.”** Even if this rhetoric lags behind the reality of the situation, you still need to talk about Iran in terms of a methodical, step-by-step process of increasing pressure as the threat increases.

And the best phrase to achieve this objective is “*economic diplomacy*.” It has much more appeal across the political spectrum than simple “*sanctions*.” The economic component appeals to Republicans, and the diplomacy component satisfies Democrats.

WORDS THAT WORK

We need a careful, well planned, step-by-step approach to Iran. That approach should emphasize economic diplomacy. We need to prove to Iran that having nuclear capabilities are unacceptable, but this gives them the chance to save face.

If that fails, the next step after economic diplomacy is economic sanctions.

- (2) **Appeal to the global interest in keeping Iran non-nuclear.** An important emphasis for prevention in Iran is that *the whole world* stands to benefit from keeping Iran from obtaining the ability to strike with nuclear weapons. If the argument is *just* about protecting Israel, then the need for prevention is easily dismissed. That sounds more like Israel is just looking out for itself and its position as the most militarily powerful nation in the region.

WORDS THAT WORK

If Iran obtains a nuclear weapon, the whole world will be held hostage. Not just America and Israel, either. Arab nations like Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, which neighbor Iran but oppose many of its policies, will be under threat too. Most importantly, however, Iran shares funding, training and weapons with other extremists and terrorist groups -- and we cannot allow them to give nuclear materials to terrorists who could hit us at home.

Note also the use of *Arab nations* to marginalize Iran. Just as we recommend in the chapter about Hamas, there is immense value in isolating Iran's leadership as being out of step with Arab neighbors. Many Americans would be surprised to know that these nations are afraid of Iran, just like Israel. By surprising them, you open their minds to the rest of your message.

The following passage works because it puts a global, ecumenical, multi-cultural face on the problem.

WORDS THAT WORK

If there is a nightmare for all of us, Muslims, Jews, Christians, Hindus, Arabs, Israelis, Americans, it is the day that there will be this unsacred marriage between terror and nuclear. – Ambassador Sallai Meridor

In other words, "*We're all in this together.*"

- (3) **Advocate a policy of “prevention,” but justify it based on past experiences across the globe.** Obviously, stay away from anything “preemption” oriented. That brings up far too many bad associations with recent American foreign policy. But “prevention” is a proven winner. However, you need to tie “prevention” in to real, memorable examples of where prevention could have made a difference. If you just say prevention and leave it in a vacuum, people will assume you’re just using it as a cover for your real foreign policy objectives.

WORDS THAT WORK

When it comes to the pursuit of nuclear weapons by terrorist countries, *prevention* must be our central principle. We simply cannot risk finding out what happens if a state that sponsors terrorism obtains a nuclear weapon – and if they will share that technology with other terrorist organizations.

If we have learned anything from the last ten years, it is that we cannot afford to be caught by surprise. America was devastated by the surprise attacks of September 11 – and America is not alone. An Iranian sponsored or assisted attack on Britain, Spain, or India would be many times more devastating.

In dealing with Iran, prevention is a better approach than acceptance. If it becomes clear that the last chance to *prevent* a nuclear strike is to militarily target nuclear facilities, then the attack will be justified.

Notice how the military option only comes up *at the end*, and is presented *only as a last resort*. This is so essential.

Also, note the importance of describing attacks as “*militarily target nuclear facilities.*” To Americans, Israel has no right or reason to attack Iran or kill Iranian civilians. But, as a last resort, there is some support for directly and precisely targeting Iran’s facilities for making nuclear weapons.

- (4) **Remind listeners of specific examples of Iran’s aggressive behavior.** Europeans and Americans understand the fanatical nature of Iran’s administration. But it doesn’t hurt you one bit to remind them of it with specifics – in fact, it helps tremendously.

WORDS THAT WORK

Israel is very concerned about the Iranian nuclear program. And for good reason. Iran's President openly talks about wiping Israel off the map. We see them racing ahead on nuclear enrichment so they can have enough fissile material to build a bomb. We see them working on their ballistic missiles. We only saw, last week, shooting a rocket to launch a so-called satellite into outer space and so forth.

The Iranian nuclear program is a threat, not just to my country, but to the entire region. And it's incumbent upon us all to do what needs to be done to keep from proliferating.
– Mark Regev

- (5) **Personalize the problem for the American audience.** Just as the language drawing parallels between American and Israeli values, rights, and democracy is a proven winner, you should also outline an equivalency between each government's responsibility to protect its people.

This language comes from a television ad that worked very well. It helps Americans identify with the problem and paints a picture of the ties between threats facing Israel. Importantly, the final message of a peaceful resolution appeals to everyone.

WORDS THAT WORK

Imagine Washington, DC under missile attack from nearby Baltimore. Since 2005 Israel has been targeted by 8,000 rocket and missile attacks from Hamas and Hezbollah. Iran has helped fund, train, and arm these terrorist groups. A nuclear Iran is a threat to peace, emboldens extremists, and could give nuclear material to terrorists with the ability to strike anywhere. The world's leaders can peacefully prevent a nuclear Iran. The time to act is now.

– TV Ad by The Israel Project

- (6) **Use a successful example from recent history to justify economic diplomacy.** Just as Israel needs to highlight examples of how it achieved peace in the past, Israeli spokespeople need to use examples of how sanctions (but call it “*economic diplomacy*”) have worked in the past as proof that they can work now.

WORDS THAT WORK

A combination of economic diplomacy and sanctions worked with Libya. They stopped their support for terror and their nuclear program and now the world is safer. It is time to use

this proven method with Iran -- so that we can stop their terror and nuclear program without war and bloodshed.

Strategies toward dealing with Iran: by Party and Ideology

Which TWO of the following would be the best approach toward Iran right now?

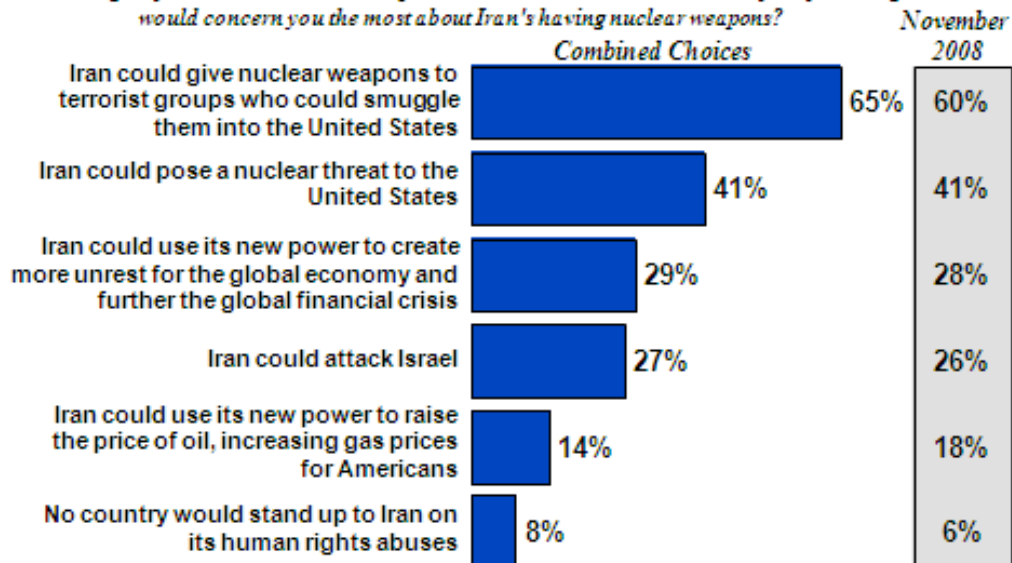
<i>Combined Choices</i>	GOP (28%)	IND (31%)	DEM (40%)	Cons (38%)	Mod (36%)	Lib (22%)
Increased diplomatic pressure	59%	45%	41%	54%	49%	35%
Direct negotiations with Iran	36%	39%	51%	30%	50%	56%
Increased economic sanctions	50%	44%	27%	51%	36%	25%
Establish normalized relations with Iran	17%	22%	31%	20%	26%	30%
Easing economic and diplomatic sanctions	17%	20%	25%	19%	19%	31%

TIP - January, 2009

49

Voters' greatest fear regarding Iran is the nuclear threat to the United States.

Now, imagine for a minute that Iran acquires a nuclear bomb. Which TWO of the following would concern you the most about Iran's having nuclear weapons?



TIP - January, 2009

51

- (7) **Do NOT compare Iran to Nazi Germany.** This is important. Even though the situation is eerily similar, the world simply does not buy it. Worse yet, they feel it is over the top and undermines your credibility.

WORDS THAT DO NOT WORK

What Iran is doing today is akin to what Hitler did in the years 1938 and 39. The difference however is that Hitler started a war and then tried to build nuclear weapons. Iran is working on the nuclear weapons first, but its goals are no less dangerous. Don't we wish today that people had stopped Hitler in 1939?

- (8) **Again – absolutely no absolutes allowed.** Right-leaning voters loved the passage below. Left-leaning voters hated it. Why? It's too absolute.

WORDS THAT DO NOT WORK

I think we have to do everything in our power to prevent the arming of Iran with nuclear weapons. And I have to say, there is absolute unanimity in this regard. There is no opposition. There is no coalition; not only on the declaratory level, but on every other level. There are no party lines on this. And there are no party divisions on this. I cooperate with the Prime Minister, with anybody. I think this is a growing consensus.

The first sentence is a little strong, but it is not what killed the passage. It's the portion stating "there is absolute unanimity in this regard. There is no opposition." Even if that's true in Israel, it doesn't play well anywhere else. We don't believe there is ever complete unanimity on anything, let alone important foreign policy questions and military action.

CHAPTER 6:

GAZA: ISRAEL'S RIGHT TO SELF DEFENSE & DEFENSIBLE BORDERS

"Stop the rockets. Start the peace."

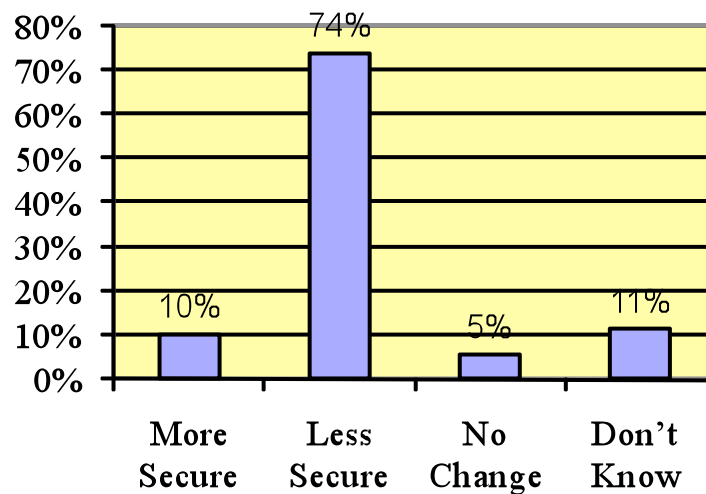
This chapter is divided into two sections.

- Section 1 focuses specifically on public opinion about Israel's right to defend itself from rocket attacks.
- Section 2 explores the importance of differentiating between public opinion regarding the West Bank and Gaza, and Israel's overall right to defensible borders.

SECTION 1: ISRAEL'S RIGHT TO DEFEND ITSELF FROM ROCKET ATTACK

You need to get this section right. There are some very good – and some very wrong – ways to talk about the recent Gaza War and Israel's response to rocket attacks. It is true that Americans understand Israel's security has been undermined by the ascent of Hamas to power. In fact, nearly three quarters of Americans agree:

Question: In 2005, Israel agreed to withdraw from the Gaza Strip in exchange for peace and to allow the Palestinians who lived there to democratically elect their own government. A Hamas-backed political group later won election and now governs Gaza. In your opinion, is Israel in a more or less secure situation today than when it controlled Gaza? (Luntz National Poll, January 2009)



Nevertheless, even though Americans agree that Hamas' control of Gaza makes Israel less secure, they *still* expect Israel to act with regard for the Palestinian people. Achieving this balance is the key.

(1) **First, empathy.** You cannot let the debate over the Gaza War be framed as “who did what first?” argument. Or a discourse on the appropriateness of “proportionality.” It *must* be framed as something that *must* be stopped because of the suffering it causes to both peoples.

-- “*It is sad.*”

-- “*It is tragic.*”

-- “*It must be stopped.*”

And the reason *why* it must be stopped is because *no* child – Israeli or Palestinian – should have to live in fear of a rocket attack or a military operation. It's the suffering on both sides that needs to stop. Israeli parents understand the fears Palestinian parents have for their children – because they have gone through the exact same thing. That's the textbook definition of empathy. You simply must frame this whole issue in terms of mutuality of empathy.

And we mean *frame* it. You have to start this argument the right way in order to maintain the credibility you need to finish it off. If you lay right into “rockets, rockets, rockets” you'll lose the entire left and more than half of the middle. But if you start with something unexpected and genuine, they'll hear you out for the rest of what you have to say.

As always, the best way to crystallize the emotion of the issue is to put it in terms of what it means for the most vulnerable people – children.

WORDS THAT WORK

“Let me also agree that the death of a Palestinian child is no less of a tragedy than the death of an Israeli child.”
- Meagan Buren

This next portion of language may be hard for some of you to say, but every result of research confirms that an approach like this is the best way for an Israeli spokesperson to truly *be heard* and therefore *make a difference*.

WORDS THAT WORK

Our goal must be nothing short of this: for Jewish children to go to school in Israel and Palestinian children in a Palestinian nation *without* fear for their safety. We must achieve a peace where no parent is faced with a day-in, day-out worry about the safety of their family. We must have a mutual concern for the security of both peoples.

Israel should not be bombing Gaza. I will repeat that. Israel should not be forced into a situation where they have to bomb Gaza.

Likewise, Hamas should not be deliberately firing rockets into civilian areas of Israel. If the rockets stop, we can achieve that peace where Palestinian and Israeli children live in safety.

- (2) **When it comes time to talk about rockets, the best word is “deliberate.”** Don’t say that Hamas is “randomly rocketing Israel.”

Do say “*Hamas is deliberately firing rockets into Israeli towns, communities, and civilian populations.*”

Some, especially on the left, have the perception that all Hamas is doing is firing glorified bottle rockets into an empty desert, just to make some noise. This is both factually wrong and rhetorically damaging to your cause. “*Deliberate*” reveals intent and “*into civilization populations*” proves their crime.

- (3) **Paint a vivid picture of what life is like for Israeli civilians and children under the constant threat of rocket attack.** You have to humanize why Gaza happened and what Israel has faced for weeks, months, even years. Normally, we don’t recognize numbers, but this time we do – only with a human component. For example:

- Over 2,300 rockets had been fired from Gaza into Israeli **neighborhoods** hitting, living rooms, kindergartens and playgrounds -- **women and children** driving to school and the supermarket.
- These rockets come five, ten, over 50 a day, hundreds of rockets in less than one week.
- For two years families have slept together in bomb shelters rather than bedrooms.

WORDS THAT WORK

And where was this outcry of support when 9,000 rockets were being fired at Israeli civilians in kindergartens and living rooms and bedrooms? People have been sleeping in bomb shelters for years, living their lives in fifteen-second increments, wondering whether or not they're going to have time to get to a bomb shelter in the next fifteen seconds when the siren goes off.

When is it enough?

-- Meagan Buren

Israel was not looking for war. She respected a ceasefire that Iran-backed Hamas broke, at which point Israel had no choice but to react in self-defense. People understand that Israel, just like any other sovereign country, has a right to defend its citizens.

So, use rhetorical questions to gain permission from the audience for Israel's actions.

When presented with the facts and questions, Americans and many Europeans will come to the right conclusions.

WORDS THAT WORK

What should Israel do? Imagine, if thousands of rockets were fired into your community every day and every night? What would your country do? What would you want them to do? Don't we have a duty to protect our citizens?

Israel tried very hard to avoid civilians in their actions in Gaza, but unfortunately, Hamas and other terrorists place guns, rocket launchers and weapons smuggling tunnels in the heart of their civilian population. Israel must defend its citizens, why does Hamas intentionally place Palestinians in the line of fire?

Please note: the rain of rockets is something that you need to identify, humanize, and then *move on from*. Whenever we tested spokespersons whose *every answer* was that Israel had to stop the rockets, Americans went from accepting the message... to tiring of it... to turning against it. You have to take the next step.

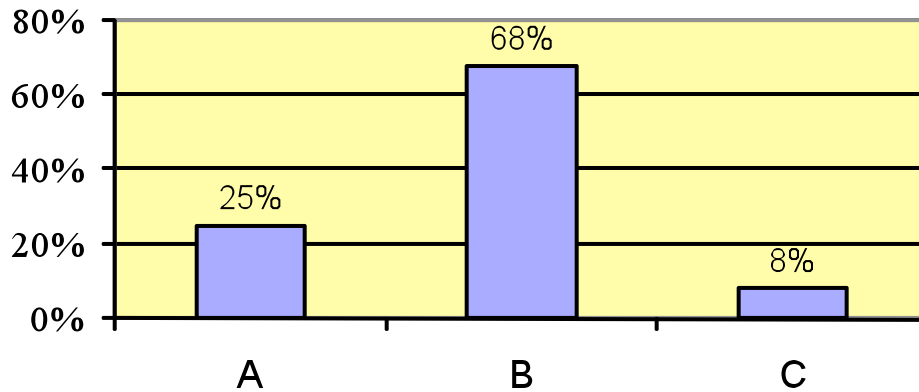
- (4) **Israel has a RIGHT to defend itself against rocket attacks.** When put to a choice, Americans believe by almost a three to one margin that Israel has the right to root out rockets if Hamas chooses to hide those rockets among civilian territory. However, we need to caution you against making the assumption that this excuses Israel for civilian casualties. Americans still place the burden on the Israeli military to use great care to avoid innocent deaths.

Question 1: Which of the following statements do you agree with more? (Luntz National Survey, January 2009)

Answer A: *Regardless of the circumstances or the rationale, it is always wrong for Israel to bomb Palestinian military targets that are located near civilians. The protection of innocent civilians is more important than military advantage.*

Answer B: *Israel has a right to defend itself from missile attack regardless of where the missiles are located. If Hamas puts those missiles near civilians, it is still Israel's right to remove them militarily.*

Answer C: *Don't Know/Refused*

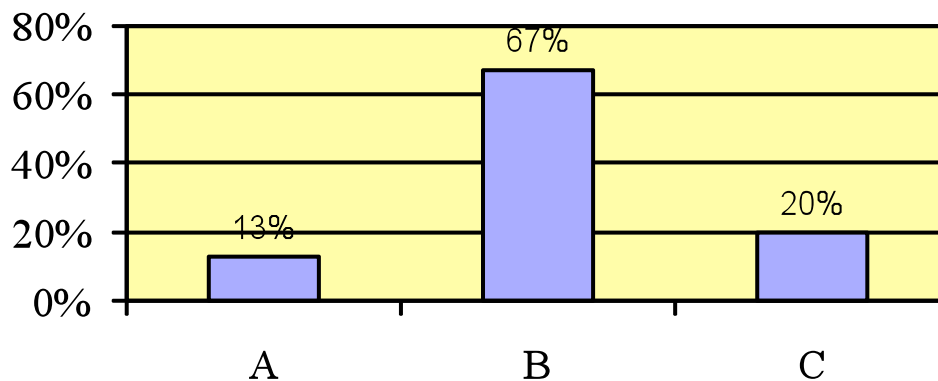


Question 2: Which of the following statements do you agree with more? (Luntz National Survey, January 2009)

Answer A: *Israel should be condemned for bombing civilian targets in Gaza and destroying Palestinian communities.*

Answer B: *Hamas should be condemned for launching unprovoked rocket attacks into Israel and housing those missiles in civilian areas.*

Answer C: *Don't Know / Refused*



- (4) **Renew your commitment to peace even in spite of continued deliberate rocket attacks.** Americans recognize that rocket attacks are an impediment to peace; but they do not accept rockets as an excuse to abandon peace. It is utterly expected that Israeli spokespersons will talk about *proportionality* and *prevention* of rocket attacks. But if you take the *unexpected* approach of talking about another “p” word – the most *important* “p” word to the public -- you generate immense credibility. That word is peace:

-- *“And yet even though every day Hamas deliberately fires rockets into our civilian population centers, we will still negotiate a peace.”*

- (5) **Take some time to talk about Israel’s efforts to prevent civilian casualties.** The issue of Palestinian civilian casualties is one of the most damaging in the entire debate. Americans accept Israel’s right to defend itself. They understand that Iran-backed Hamas hides behind civilians.

Nevertheless, they place the burden on the Israeli military to do everything in its power to avoid civilian casualties. They perceive Israel to have significant military superiority and to be held accountable to international standards of conduct. They will accept that some civilian casualties are inevitable, but if your *language* isn’t correct about how seriously Israel takes this issue, they will refuse to accept your arguments about the vulnerability of *Israel’s* civilians.

So here is the five-step approach to talking about civilian casualties in Gaza:

- STEP 1 – **Empathy:** *“All human life is precious. We understand that the loss of one innocent Palestinian life is every bit as tragic as the loss of an Israeli life.”*
- STEP 2 – **Admission:** *“We admit that Israel isn’t always successful at preventing civilian casualties...”*
- STEP 3 -- **Effort:** *“We remain committed to doing everything in our power to preventing civilian casualties.”*
- STEP 4 – **Examples:** *“Let me tell you how our armed forces are trained, tasked, and operate to ensure that Palestinian civilians remain safe.”*
- STEP 5 – **Turn Tables:** *“It is a great tragedy that Iran-backed Hamas shoots rockets at our civilians while hiding in their own. This causes tragic deaths on BOTH sides. What would you do if you were in this situation?”*

We need to call specific attention to Step 2. Don’t pretend that Israel is without mistakes or fault. **It’s not true and no one believes it.** It will only make your listeners question the veracity of

everything else you say. People do not expect Israel to be 100 percent 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 everyone.** Because Israel is seen as the more powerful party, you must use humility.

- (6) **Have you spent time where the rocket attacks occur?** If you haven't, then you shouldn't be fielding questions on television about this issue. Palestinian spokespersons have been very effective by saying they have been to the locations of the attacks and therefore can more accurately report on what's really going on.

You simply must be prepared to respond to this question with *"Yes, I have been there, and let me tell you how terrifying it is..."*

- (7) **If you get bogged down in justifying proportionality, again, use rhetorical questions.** The truth is that there is no good definition of a proportional response in a situation where your civilians are being attacked by rockets that are hidden in schools and hospitals. This is why Hamas puts the rockets in these sensitive locations. They know that it undermines your ability to tell the world that you're only doing what is necessary to protect your own people.

Rather than affirmatively stating the exact measure of force that should be used in these situations, use the rhetorical question to compel your debate partner (or the audience) to reach the answer that is obviously favorable to you:

"Every day Hamas deliberately fires rockets into Israeli communities..."

-- *"What do you think is a justified response?"*

-- *"How do you propose Israel can stop these rocket missile attacks?"*

-- *"What is a legitimate response?"*

This chapter has provided a step-by-step approach to the very difficult to communicate issue of Gaza and Israel's right to self defense. To sum it all up, here are the perfect three paragraphs:

WORDS THAT WORK

Is Israel perfect? No. Does Israel make mistakes? Yes. No country is perfect.

Israel wants a better future and they are working towards it. The Palestinians must have a better future as well. They need to have a place where they can have hope and a place of their own. They deserve a government that will eliminate the terror not only because it will make Israeli children safer—but because it will mean a better future for Palestinian children too. I know that in trying to defend its own children and citizens from terrorists that Israel has accidentally hurt innocent people.

But I ask you, what can Israel do to defend itself when it has a government positioned across a border with rockets that it fires indiscriminately almost every single day?

I ask you, if more than 4000 rockets had been fired into *your* community, into *your* neighborhood, across *your* borders, what would you ask from *your* government? What would you expect *your* government to do? No government would allow their civilian population to be the victim of indiscriminate attacks day after day.

SECTION 2: ISRAEL'S RIGHT TO DEFENSIBLE BORDERS

With more than three years of violent history since Israel's agreement to withdraw from Gaza and portions of the West Bank, Americans have had time to take stock of the situation and form opinions.

The big picture: they believe that Hamas' leadership of Gaza has made Israel and the region less safe, while some are more receptive to what they perceive as a moderate approach in the West Bank by Mahmoud Abbas. Based on these experiences, they are willing to grant Israel more leeway in resisting calls to give more land for more peace.

- (1) **First, recognize and embrace the differing American perceptions between Hamas in Gaza and the Palestinian Authority in the West Bank.** There is a HUGE credibility gap between Hamas and the Palestinian Authority. Nearly 6 in 10 Americans say that Hamas is *not at all interested* in peace, while only a third thinks the same of the Palestinian Authority. Nearly half (49%) think the Palestinian Authority is at least somewhat interest in peace, while only 36% think the same of Hamas. (*see graph on next page*)

Into this gap, your language must voyage. You can and should use the more moderate approach of those in the West Bank as the standard to which Gaza's leadership should aspire:

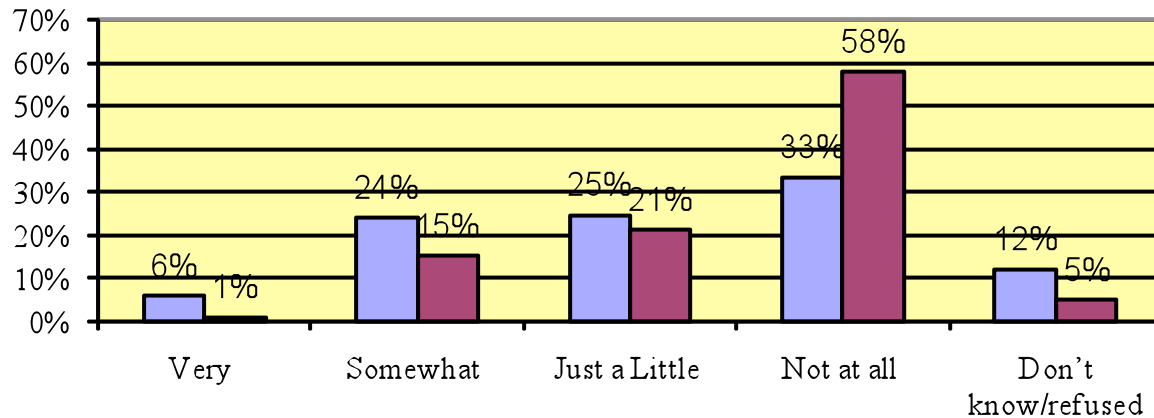
“We hope for a day when the Palestinian people in Gaza will have leadership that is truly willing to work for peace, like the more moderate leadership in the West Bank.”

Question A (blue bar) (Luntz National Survey, January 2009)

How committed do you think the Palestinian Authority, which controls the West Bank, and is led by President Mahmoud Abbas, is to reaching a peace agreement with Israel. Are they...

Question B (red bar)

How committed do you think the Palestinian leadership in Gaza, led by Hamas, is to reaching a peace agreement with Israel? Are they...



(2) **Americans agree that Israel “has a right to defensible borders.”** But it does you no good to define exactly what those borders should be. Avoid talking about borders in terms of pre- or post-1967, because it only serves to remind Americans of Israel’s military history. Particularly on the left, this does you harm.

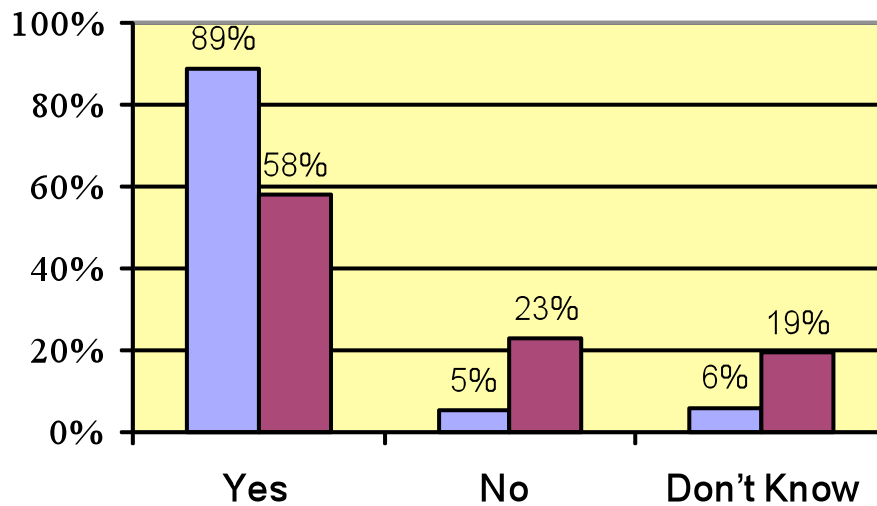
For instance, support for Israel’s right to defensible boarders drops from a heady 89% to under 60% when you talk about it in terms of 1967.

Question A (blue bar)

Does Israel have a fundamental right to “defensible borders?”

Question B (red bar)

Does Israel have a right to “defensible borders” if it meant retaining control over some minimal territory captured in 1967?

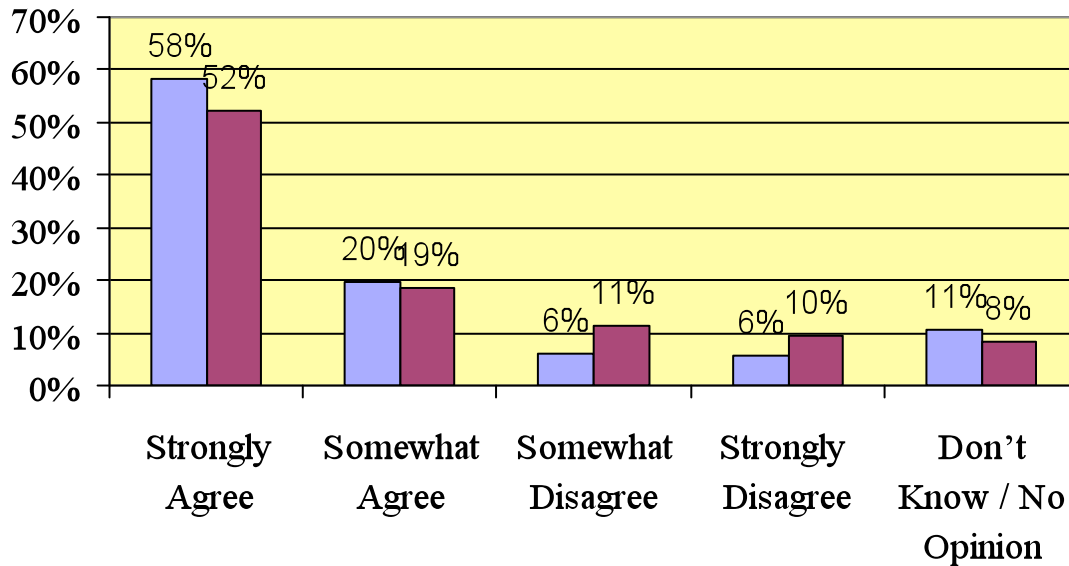


- (3) **In fact, when you talk about land in terms of 1967, you can completely *flip* public sentiment *against* you.** But if you call into question the danger of terrorists shooting down planes, you shore up support.

Question A (blue bar) (Luntz National Survey, January 2009)

Israel should return ALL of the land captured in 1967 regardless of security implications.

Question B (red bar) Israel should keep the hills around its airport so that terrorists can't shoot rockets at its airplanes.



A strong majority of Americans (58%) agree with the simple statement that Israel should give back the land it captured in 1967. And yet a similar majority (52%) would agree that Israel should keep some of that land in order to protect planes. *Words matter.*

And here are some of your best words of all, as fully 71% of the American public agree with them (52% strongly so):

WORDS THAT WORK

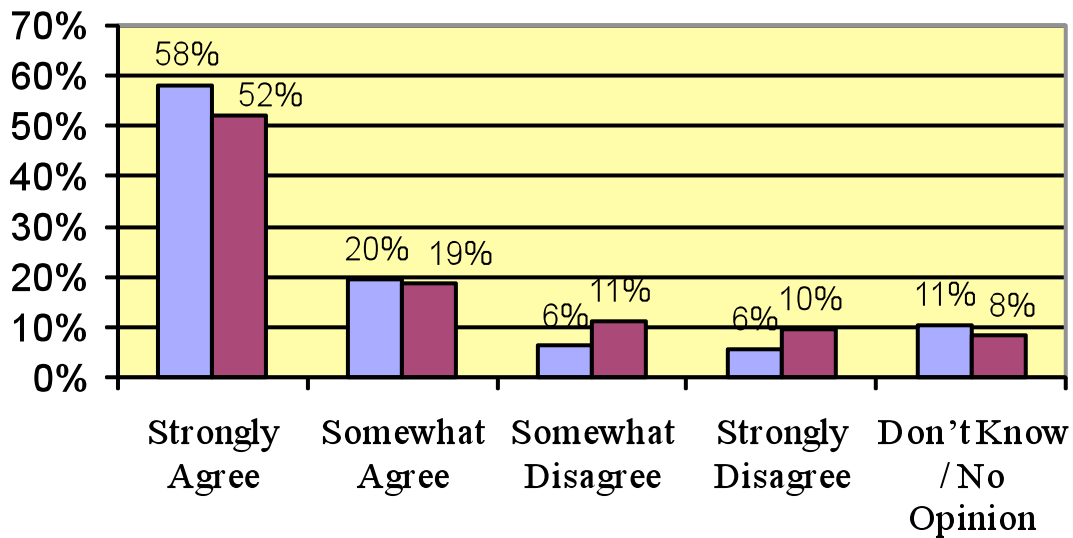
Israel should not give any more land for peace, because every time it does, it just gets more war.

Question A (blue bar)

Israel cannot under any circumstances offer to give up land that would put its international airport directly at risk of rocket attack from Palestinian terrorist groups that have already attacked Israel from other border positions.

Question B (red bar)

Israel should not give any more land for peace, because every time it does, it just gets more war.



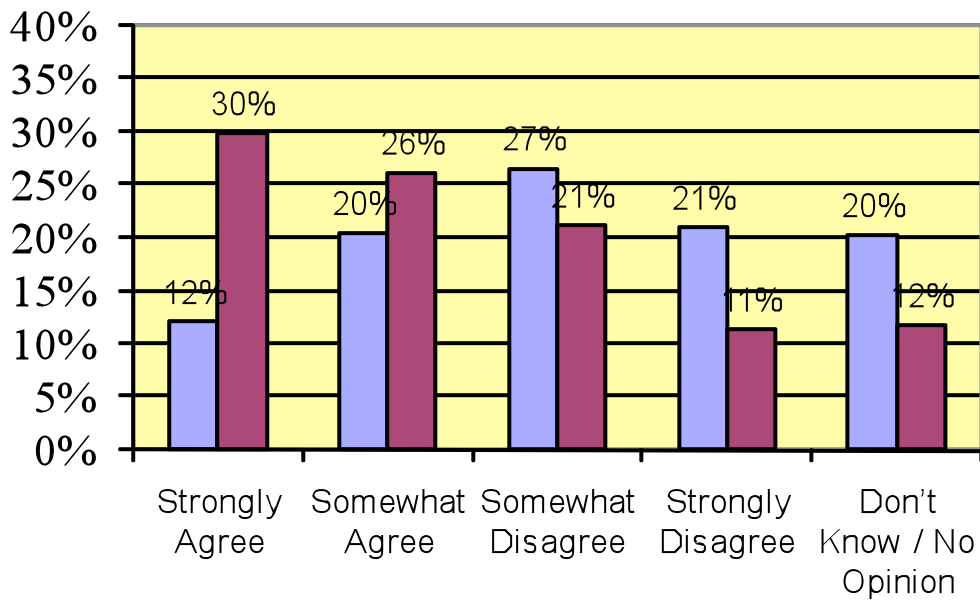
(4) **Overall, Americans believe that Israel's strength was undermined by withdrawing from Gaza.**

Question A (blue bar) (Luntz National Survey, January 2009)

Israel's withdrawal from the Gaza Territory in 2005 made Israel's military stronger.

Question B (red bar)

Israel's withdrawal from the Gaza Territory was a strategic disaster.



CHAPTER 7:

PEACE: THE CENTRAL MESSAGE

Peace is the word.

The world wants and needs 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 the support of the non-aligned 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 Israeli communication efforts, Israeli support will 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 homicide bombers. Arabs terrorists are getting away with homicidal bombings because they “condemn” them and then call for “peace.” Why? Americans are responding to the intension rather than the action. Israel must use the same strategy. Every Israeli message should be about peace and security.

Let’s get into some of the specifics about how to talk about peace.

- (1) **The best way to make the case for peace in the future is to prove how peace was made in the past.** Israel (unfairly) has a credibility problem among Europeans and left-of-center Americans when it comes to its intentions for peace. Two reasons. First, thanks to the media, all they see is Israeli force. They rarely see the instigation by Iran-backed Hamas and other terrorists. And second, people forget that Israel has a record of diplomatic success in achieving peace. It falls on you to explain the former and remind them of the latter. Highlight how Israel has made real, lasting peace with *moderate* Arab leaders and nations who shared the same vision of peace. This will help you make the necessary case for isolating Hamas as an extremist, militant, irreconcilable organization.

Just remember not to dwell on the past without pivoting to a more hopeful future. Connect the success of the past with the possibilities for the future. We recommend:

“A new peaceful reality that will be good for both Israelis and Arabs.”

This is so important. Don’t just hold up your past laurels and expect to win public approval. It helps, but it is not enough. The public wants to know that you remain equally committed to the future.

WORDS THAT WORK

Today Israel has peace with two of our neighbors—with the Kingdom of Jordan to our east and with Egypt to the south. We'd like to see peace with Lebanon, with Syria, with more countries in the Arab world. And there's no logical reason that we can't.

I say here today, I invite the leaders of all the Arab countries to come to Jerusalem. Renounce terrorism. End the Culture of Hate. Let's create a new reality, a new peaceful reality—one that will be good for both Jews and Arabs—that we can give a better Middle East to our children and our grandchildren so that they won't have to live in the fear of war, terrorism and violence.

We are determined to continue our quest to reach peace with those of the Palestinian side who are equally committed. We are eager to explore opportunities for peace with those who have decided to renounce terror and violence and truly represent a national aspiration and not an agenda of hatred.

Words to remember:

- **"Committed."** It says that you will do everything possible to make it happen. It is much more powerful word than a pledge or promise.
- **"Come to Jerusalem."** The visual symbolism isn't lost on American ears. It says you're serious in our outreach.

Notice how, after harkening back to the peace Israel made in the past, this spokesperson pivoted to focus on the future.

Here is how this message is best developed:

ACKNOWLEDGING THE PAST, BOTH GOOD AND BAD

- (1) We know that the history of our 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 our history we have demonstrated that we value peace above all else. In our hope for peace we overcame differences and found agreement with our Arab neighbors Egypt and Jordan.**
- (3) We remain committed to peace. We offered the Palestinian people a state of their own that included all of Gaza and almost all of the West Bank. In Gaza, their Hamas leadership has rejected progress for peace and launched rocket attacks into Israeli communities. In the West Bank, their leadership has made more earnest efforts for peace – proving that peace is possible. It's time for a change – not just for us but for our Palestinian cousins as well.**

CHAPTER 8:

SETTLEMENTS

“If we are to have real peace, then Israelis and Palestinians will have to live side by side. The idea that anywhere that you have Palestinians there can't be any Jews, that some areas have to be Jew-free, is a racist idea. We don't say that we have to cleanse out Arabs from Israel. They are citizen of Israel. They enjoy equal rights. We cannot see why it is that peace requires that any Palestinian area would require a kind of ethnic cleansing to remove all Jews. We don't accept it. Cleansing by either side against either side is unacceptable.”

-- The Best Settlement Argument

The settlements are the single toughest issue for Israel and the hostility towards them and towards Israeli policy that appears to encourage settlement activity is clearly evident. Unless and until Israeli government policy changes, here's the best communication approach:

- 1) **Talk about “a willingness to negotiate” and “Camp David” in the same sentence.** Without taking sides, Europeans, Americans in general nor American Jews in particular support the expansion of settlements in the West Bank. On the contrary, both non-Jews and Jews would support the removal of “some” of the settlements if it led to or was a component of a peace agreement – as was offered at Camp David.
- 2) **Provide specific examples of how Israel has already sacrificed in the name of peace.** Over 9,000 Israelis, including 1,700 families, were moved out of Gaza and the Northern West Bank in 2005 – all in an effort for peace. What did Israel get in return? Rockets from Iran-backed terrorists. There are more statistics available on this issue in Appendix III.
- 3) **Three previous Israeli leaders have demonstrated a willingness to address the settlement issue.** The fact that three Prime Ministers have been willing to dismantle some settlements proves Israel's credibility on the issue. Name them. While most people will not recognize them, and while some Likud leaders may find this uncomfortable, it does make your case stronger. Indeed, during Prime Minister Netanyahu's first Administration, he did not create any new settlements and at the Wye Accords he ceded control of Holy Jewish sites in Hebron. When there is a real partner for peace, Israel is there. But how many more rockets must Israel take?
- 4) **The settlements are necessary for the security of Israel.** Tell audiences that the settlements weren't created randomly. They were put on the tops of mountains and in important militarily sensitive areas to provide a security buffer between Israel and her Arab neighbors. Then remind audiences that Israel has faced a full-scale multi-national invasion four times in the past 55 years and that the settlements provide an effective early warning system. Cite the onset of rocket attacks from Gaza after the 2005 pullout as an example of what happens when Israel leaves these areas. Remind them that Israel needs defensible borders and that it would be dangerous to let Iran-backed terrorists control the hills around Israel's international airport – enabling them to shoot down airplanes with rockets.

SPECIFIC WORDS THAT WORK ON SETTLEMENTS

- (1) **Where possible, make the settlement issue about the larger challenge of achieving a peaceful solution where Arabs and Israelis live peacefully side by side.** Public opinion is hostile to the settlements – even among supporters of Israel. But if you make the issue part of the larger conversation about finding a way for two peoples to live side by side with equal respect and equal rights, then you move the debate to more favorable territory (so to speak). This passage works as a useful way to turn the issue away from settlements and towards peace.

WORDS THAT WORK

Peace is not just about settlements. It's about jobs, prosperity, and hope for all sides of the conflict – for Palestinians and Israelis alike. Every Palestinian child deserves a better future, and so does every Israeli child. If we can agree on that, and stop doing those things that hurt our children, we can start on the road to mutual understanding and mutual respect.

We have to look at the larger picture. We have to think about the future, not live in the past or complain about the present. This is not about territory. It is about terrorism. If – and when – we end the terrorism, we can sit down and resolve the issue of territory.

- (2) **Emphasize solutions wherein nobody has to leave their own homes.** Americans are far more favorable towards solutions that are “*just a redrawing of borders on the map*” and do not require anyone – Israeli or Palestinian alike – to leave their own homes, businesses, and communities. Again – mutuality and the right to live in your home are the key themes to weave in.

WORDS THAT WORK

Why should all the Jews have to leave a future Palestinian state? There are 1.2 million Arab citizens of Israel who will stay Israeli citizens in a future two-state solution. Why then should all Jewish people have to leave what will become Palestine? What does that say about the character of the future state? Shouldn't we expect a Palestinian state that is a true democracy to respect all religions and allows citizens to keep their homes and communities?

We especially recommend rhetorical questions, as above, for an issue that is as challenging as settlements. But here is an effective approach using statements:

WORDS THAT WORK

Israel does not talk about dismantling Arab settlements within Israel. In a democratic society, Jews and Arabs should be able to live side-by-side in peace. Nobody ever says Israeli territory has to be free from Arabs. One should ask the Palestinian leadership why they always demand land that is free from Jews.

- (3) **Stress mutuality in the issue of settlements and refugees.** Americans need to be reminded of how Israelis, too, understand the difficulties associated with being refugees. Be careful – this isn't leave for an Israel pity party. It just creates an opportunity to stress how *both* people deserve equal rights to remain in their homes.

HOW NOT TO TALK ABOUT SETTLEMENTS

Whoever came up with the phrase “settlements” set in motion a lexicon that was doomed from the start. Nothing is tougher to articulate effectively to neutral Americans than a message in favor of the settlements. Let me be clear about this conclusion. Plenty of Israeli and American Jewish leaders have tried, but American and European audiences rejected almost everything we tested. There is no magic language to unify public support.

That being said, there are language components that definitely work more effectively and several that do not. In particular, there are three arguments involving settlements that you should not make:

- 1) **The religious argument.** Quoting from the bible in defense of the current settlements will have absolutely the opposite impact. Even your Jewish audiences will recoil at an attempt to use biblical passages to justify the settlements.
- 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 does matter, but if we correct Palestinians using the words “*disputed territory*” when they say “occupied territory,” we have to accept that the settlements are disputed territory as well.
- 3) **The scapegoat argument.** Claiming that Palestinians and other Arab groups are using the settlement issue to gain political advantage may be correct but it does nothing to legitimize Israeli policy.

And, finally, a reminder to never speak in terms of absolutes – *especially* on an issue so controversial and full of shades of gray as settlements are to the public.

WORDS THAT DO NOT WORK

Those who think that the conflict is driven by an Israeli desire to hold onto territories are totally wrong. This may be a perception that some seek to promote, but it's not our reality. It's not our policy.

CHAPTER 9:

JERUSALEM

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. Consider:

- 71% of Americans trust Israel most to protect the holy sites in Jerusalem, compared to 6.1% who trust the Palestinian authority most. 8.5% percent trust neither.
- 54% of Americans believe that “Jerusalem must remain united under Israeli sovereignty” while just 23.9% believe that “Jerusalem should be divided into Israeli controlled and Palestinian controlled areas.”

Given the choice between the two, Americans of all political and demographic stripes trust Israel to protect and have sovereignty over Jerusalem. That said, the *hope* around the world is for both sides to share the responsibilities for control, access and security. Americans and Europeans also believe that Arabs and Muslims have valid claims to the importance of Jerusalem, just the same as Jews and Christians. Just because they trust Israel to protect Jerusalem doesn't mean they want Israel to monopolize it.

- (1) **A final solution for Jerusalem is probably the hardest issue of all to negotiate. Let's save it for last, in order to keep the rest of the peace process moving.** Americans agree with this approach. They are sensitive to the sensitivity of the Jerusalem issue and recognize that, if focused on now, it would derail all chance of progress for peace. You need to remind them of these facts. Here's how.

WORDS THAT WORK

Jerusalem is a holy city for us as Jews but we know it's a holy city for Christians and for Muslims and we respect that. Israel is committed to deal with the question of Jerusalem, but if we put it on the front burner, we're not going to get anything else done. We've got to deal with tangible issues to make life better today for Palestinians and for Israelis. The Israeli government has committed itself that Jerusalem is one of the issues for final status talks. But let's first start a positive momentum.

- (2) **They key to talking about Jerusalem is *mutual commonality*.** Americans believe that a final, lasting peace cannot be achieved unless there is a pluralistic approach to Jerusalem. That's because they believe there are legitimate cultural, ethnic, and religious claims to

the city from all parties that must be addressed. So the language below is the best approach.

WORDS THAT WORK

My commitment to serve people is irrelevant to what they believe in. I have to serve all citizens of Jerusalem. Secular religious, Jews, Christians, Arabs. We have them all and the role as mayor of Jerusalem is to look for the common denominator. And the residents whether Arab or Jews, my role as public servant is to improve their quality of life their education their ability to work in a better job.

– Mayor of Jerusalem Nir Barkat

Note: The arguments about demolishing Palestinian homes because they are not within the Jerusalem building code tested SO badly that we are not even going to dignify them with a Word's That Don't Work box. Americans hate their own local planning boards for telling them where they can and can't put swimming pools or build fences. You don't need to import that animosity into your own credibility issues.

Worse yet, talking about "violations of building codes" when a TV station is showing the removal of a house that looks older than the modern state of Israel is simply catastrophic.

CHAPTER 10:

LOAN GUARANTEES & MILITARY AID

Without being repetitive, Americans fundamentally believe that a democracy has a right to protect its people and its borders. And while Americans don't want to increase foreign aid in a time of significant budgetary deficits and painful spending cuts, there is one and only one argument that will work for Israel (in four easy steps):

- 1) *As a democracy, Israel has the right and the responsibility to defend its borders and protect its people.*
- 2) *Terrorist groups, including Iran-backed Hezbollah and Hamas, continue to pose a direct threat to Israeli security and have repeatedly taken innocent Israeli lives.*
- 3) *Israel is America's one and only true ally in the region. In these particularly unstable and dangerous times, Israel should not be forced to go it alone.*
- 4) *With America's financial assistance, Israel can defend its borders, protect its people, and provide invaluable assistance to the American effort against the war against terrorism.*

This is important. All the arguments about Israel being a democracy, letting Arabs vote and serve in government, protecting religious freedom, etc., won't deliver the public support to secure the loan guarantees and the military aid Israel needs – not when it comes to U.S. tax dollars. There must be a **national security** angle – one that clearly links the interests of both Israel and America:

WORDS THAT WORK: SELLING ISRAELI AID

“It was Israel who risked their pilots and planes in taking out Saddam Hussein’s nuclear reactors and thus thwarted his quest for nuclear weapons of mass destruction. It was Israel who provided much of the intelligence that helped America defeat Iraq back in 1991. Israel has been a key regional asset and military ally of the United States for more than 50 years. That relationship must continue, even and especially in the post-9-11 era. It is a partnership of democracies devoted to the war against terrorism and the fight for freedom.”

Americans have been thinking and talking about the war on terror for years now. The fact that Iran backed terrorist groups are a *direct* threat to Israel is especially important. Remind audiences that Israel and America have common values, but then stress that we also share a common enemy. The language below does exactly that.

But deterrence is only half the message. You really do need to emphasize Israel's historic willingness to compromise and sacrifice on behalf of America. This may not play well among some Israeli politicians but it will certainly play extremely well in the States. What follows is a speech that highlights the most effective language for loan guarantees and Israeli aid...

MILITARY AID SPEECH

As we all well know, Israel lives in the most dangerous region of the world. Every day we face a military threat to our people. The people who trained to kill Americans trained thousands of miles from American shores. The people who train to kill Israelis train in terrorist camps that sit not more than 10 miles from Israeli borders.

Israel, like no other American ally, understands self-defense. Israel, like no other American ally, understands the importance of fighting terror across the world. And we all know the importance of bringing genuine democracy and human rights to all nations so that the cycle of terrorist violence will cease to turn.

It's a huge undertaking. No one nation should bear the entire burden. The task of ridding the world of terror is so monumental that even the United States cannot meet the challenge all on its own. That is why Israel has appealed to the U.S. to partner in the effort to rid the world of terror.

Israel makes the request for military assistance out of self-defense. As a democracy, they have the right and the responsibility to protect our borders. As a democracy, they have the right and the responsibility to protect their citizens.

Israel does not ask for U.S. troops to protect itself. It does not ask for a single American soldier to protect its borders. It only asks for the funds for them to protect themselves. They need the equipment so that their own troops can ensure the safety of their civilian population through this gathering conflict with the enemies of democracy.

They didn't ask to have our nation built in range of Iranian missiles. They didn't ask that their nation be a focal point for religious extremists who have declared war on the West and on democracy. But they are, and they need your help.

61 years ago, America helped Israel build a nation out of sand. For sixty-one years Israel has paid its debts, followed American initiatives, and they are probably our best ally. They have always been there for us and will always be the one ally that we can count on. As allies, they are now asking for some modest support, for some assistance in a real hour of need. Yes, their military is strong, but they are still a very small nation and they are still in a very vulnerable place.

Let's help them to help themselves. By keeping Israel secure, we are keeping in place a nation that will be there to help build and grow other democracies in the Middle East. And remember, even in tragedy, Israel and America mourn together.

CHAPTER 11:

THE SECURITY FENCE & CHECKPOINTS

Helping the public understand the need for a security fence and checkpoints will be one of your 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 views of what our citizens have already seen in the media as an obstacle to peace. Keep in mind that the messages for the security fence and the checkpoints are almost identical and Americans and Europeans alike will understand that. 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.

Opinion elites support actions Israel takes to protect itself from terrorism, including building the security fence. Given the importance American opinion elites place on protecting their own people from terrorism, it is not surprising that many see the fence as a way to ensure Israeli security. But it is also a way for Israel to have secure borders, just like any other nation.

We tested several different arguments in support of the fence. The first three arguments were the most effective; the highest percentage of people found them “Very Convincing.” Here the eight most successful ways to talk about the Security Fence, ranked in descending order:

WORDS THAT WORK –

THE TOP 8 WAYS TO TALK ABOUT THE SECURITY

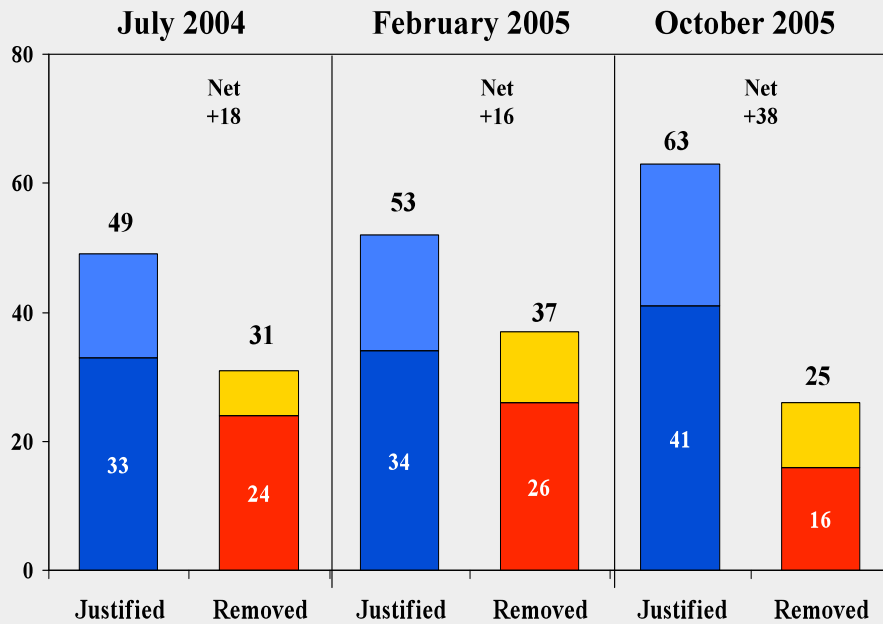
1. **When Palestinian leaders disarm and arrest terrorists and dismantle their organizations, then a fence won't be needed.** Until that time, Israel has a right to protect its citizens from attacks. And one way to protect them is with this **temporary** security fence. The idea that the fence is not the end—but rather a means to an end—is a point worth making and repeating. If the fence exists today so that future generations can live in peace, perhaps with open borders, then it is easier to accept and defend.
2. **After more than 250 different attacks—month after month of bloodshed for three solid years—what was 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 years and years of suicide bombing after suicide bombing, 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 went to Arafat and led to him being listed in Forbes as one of the richest people on the planet while I lived in suffering and genuine need? Why, when Arafat met with Barak and Clinton, didn’t Arafat accept generous offers for a Palestinian state? Why did Arafat not make a concerted effort to live by the Road Map? And why has today’s Hamas leadership in Gaza not done more to address the needs of the Palestinians who have suffered as a result of these actions? Why do Hamas leaders keep using a strategy of violence that gets people nowhere?”* The sad fact is that the fence is just the most recent tragedy caused by Palestinian leaders who allow terrorism instead of negotiations to be the primary method of dealing with their neighbor. The entire war in Gaza would not have happened if Hamas not sent rockets into Israel year after year. Peace remains the only real solution and it is within the reach of Israelis and Palestinians if both sides are willing to grab it.
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 more than 250 suicide bombers have come through the West Bank and killed Israeli children, women, and civilians. Israel now longs for a time when it will have a rocket-shield that will be able to protect from rockets in Gaza so Israel no longer needs to go to war there to stop the rockets.
5. **Today Hamas continues to send rockets from Gaza** – aiming them at civilians. This causes the need for checkpoints so that Hamas cannot get advanced rockets from Iran. Do they checkpoints stop all the flow of weapons? Sadly, because of tunnels and smuggling by water, it does not stop all the flow of rockets. But at least Hamas has fewer advanced rockets than Hezbollah had during its war against Israel just three summers ago.

6. **What would America do if we had suicide bombers attacking our people at pizza parlors, weddings, and on our buses?** What would we in America do if our neighbors shot rockets at us? What would we do? What is Israel to do?
7. **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. But 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?
8. **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 renounce 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?”*
9. **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.

When polled, nearly two-thirds of opinion elites support any action that Israel takes to protect itself from terrorism, including building the security fence.

Israel's Security Fence

(Percent Responding)



* Graph shows data taken from surveys of either registered voters or opinion elites

"As you may know, Israel is building a security fence between itself and the Palestinian territories. Do you believe that Israel is justified in building this security fence, or should it be removed?"

Israel's security fence (Luntz 10/05 poll)

- (1) **Emphasize that the purpose of the fence is to save lives, NOT to add land.** You can say this because it is completely true, and yet many don't know it. The fence was designed to (and has) saved lives. It does not annex territory nor does it establish any borders. Knowing this will change perceptions of the fence.

Words That Work

The fence is a temporary security tool. It's already been moved a couple of times when our Supreme Court has said we have to move it. When we reach peace with the Palestinians, and I hope that day isn't far away, the fence can come down, the fence can be moved.

But, in the meantime, the fence is saving lives, and the fence is providing a stability that allows this peace process to work. By preventing the need for Israel to respond to terrorist attacks because the terrorists aren't able to come into Israel, the fence is helping provide a quiet period which allows for political dialogue, which is so important.

A few other things to pull out of this paragraph:

- Explain how the fence has been moved in some places in order to conform to land requirements and the needs of the Palestinians, *according to Israel's rule of law and under its Supreme Court.* This

is not your strongest argument, so never lead with it or let it stand alone. But it does build credibility into the larger argument that this is not a land grab.

- Emphasize how the fence is a *temporary* tool being used to achieve safety and peace for everyone in the region.

(2) **The placement of the fence is a more controversial issue than its simple existence.**

Research reveals that the idea of the fence isn't abhorrent to Americans; it's the placement of the fence that offends. For most Americans, the fence isn't a pleasant concept but it's one that is completely acceptable when explained. At first blush the fence reminds them of the Berlin Wall, a lack of freedom, and stringent, physical restrictions placed on law-abiding citizens.

However, if you make the case for the dangerous reality of living in Israel, the existence of the fence becomes acceptable – especially because it is working. What is not acceptable is the fact that some of the fence sits on “Palestinian land.” Remind people that 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, 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.

Words That Work

The fence is being built because the fence works. The fence keeps suicide bombers out of Israel. In 2002 and 2003, we were having an almost daily suicide bombing in Israel because there was no barrier to keep suicide bombers from coming from the West Bank into Israel proper and that was a problem. We had a situation in Israel where people were scared. People were afraid to send their kids to school on a bus, people were afraid to go to shopping malls, people didn't want to go to restaurants. The fence is a nonviolent way to deal very effectively with that terrorist threat. In the areas where the fence is being built, there has been a clear and dramatic reduction in infiltration by suicide bombings, down some 90-95%.

Here is an example of how NOT to talk about the fence. Even the mere *mention* of an encroachment on Palestinian lands, even if that encroachment is relatively minor, completely turns the audience against you:

Words That DON'T Work

If you actually look to see where the fence is, it more or less goes along the old ceasefire line between Israel and our Arab neighbors. It's not intrusive. I think it takes in less than eight percent of the West Bank and basically those areas where there are now thriving Jewish communities that demand protection.

CHAPTER 12:

THE RIGHT OF RETURN = RIGHT OF CONFISCATION

First and foremost, we cannot accept this phrase. We cannot allow it enter the opinion leader lexicon. Whenever “*right of return is raised,*” we must immediately respond with “*No, you are talking about the right of confiscation. This is not about returning, it is about taking away and we will not accept it.*” Nothing less will do.

- (1) **Call for a refusal to turn back the clock on confiscating private property.** There are two components to the turn back the clock argument. First, that is simply not *practical* to carry out the policy. And second, that Jews, as well, have had their property taken (see chart below). The fact is that most people 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. You must make this case. The strongest argument *by far* in talking about the claim of confiscation is exactly this:

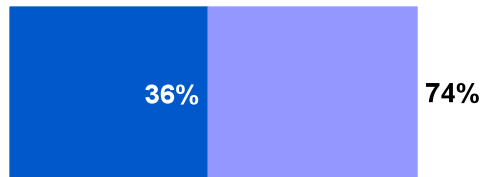
WORDS THAT WORK

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.

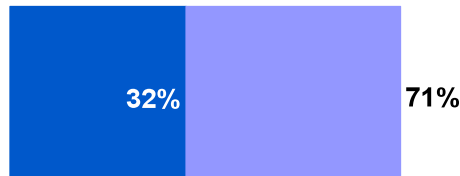
The top two messages deal with the practicality of such a move and with the need to look toward the future, not the past.

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 whether it is very convincing, somewhat convincing, not too convincing or not at all convincing.

It is simply not practical to move hundreds of thousands of Palestinians into Israel. Since Israel was created, new homes, offices and families have moved into the places inside Israel vacated by the Palestinians and it is simply not practical 60 years later to ask them to move or share that space with Palestinians.



While many Palestinians lost their homes and property when they left Israel in 1948, just as many Jews have been 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 ■ Somewhat Convincing



The Israel Project National Survey– May 2007

7

WORDS THAT WORK

The issue of the refugees has to be solved in the framework of a peace agreement. If we're going to establish a Palestinian state, if there's going to be a Palestinian state homeland for the Palestinian people in the framework of peace between Israelis and Palestinians, obviously that Palestinian state will be the answer to stateless Palestinians.

But if one really wants to be fair and wants to discuss the refugee issue, you can't be colorblind. It must be remembered that there were hundreds of thousands of Jewish refugees from Iraq, from Syria, from Egypt who fled anti-Semitism fled violence in the Arab world. They left property behind. They left assets behind. They came to Israel with nothing but the shirts on their back.

Surely if one wants to deal fairly with the refugee issue, one has to be colorblind and deal with Jewish as well as Palestinian refugees.

– Mark Regev

- (2) **Cite the lack of leadership by other Arab nations in providing a better life for 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:

WORDS THAT WORK

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.

WORDS THAT WORK

“All those billions of dollars disappeared, and not even Arafat himself could 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.”

A TOUGH COMMUNICATIONS ISSUE

The right of return 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 and Property of The Israel Project. Not for distribution or publication. 2009.

the 1980s advocates of Apartheid. The fact is, Americans don't like, don't believe and don't accept the concept of "*separate but equal*." even when told that Palestinians and Israelis advocate the same agenda. The language is simply too loaded 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*" 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 the 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.

A TOUGH QUESTION AND AN ADEQUATE RESPONSE

Q: Could you explain for those who may not understand 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 us it's a tremendously worrisome statement by the Palestinians that they're not willing to give up this demand. Because at the time when we are 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 we accept, but they are also making demands for land inside what everyone recognizes as Israel – and that is unacceptable.

A TOUGH FOLLOW-UP QUESTION AND 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 come. And yet 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 sixty years ago, we were witness to the atrocities perpetrated against six million because they had no place to go. The notion there should be a place no matter what where Jews can go for refuge was one of the reasons for the establishment of the State of Israel.

That is a very different than the Palestinians saying '*we want to have a state for our people, but we also want land in yours.*' We accept the former. We cannot accept the latter.

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 into Israel, into the Jewish state, is totally unacceptable.

Most of all, Americans want a better future. They don't want to dwell on the past problems with Palestinian refugees anymore than they think America should give New York back to the American Indians. Talk about how sometimes you can't turn back the clock – you need to move forward.

CHAPTER 13:

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 working out a peace agreement, we need an honest broker between the Palestinians and us, 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

Given the UN’s “Durban 2” conference, it is especially timely to look to how Americans see the UN overall. 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 wither away on the vine.

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 not to look intransigent. That said, we also discovered that ridicule is a good device here. *Even when praising the UN, remind the listener that Cuba, Iran, and Libya 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 our treatment of women. Now we might not be perfect, but Israeli women have always voted, served in the military, and we've 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 our status of women, when women in those countries have virtually no rights whatsoever, we 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 we say to the United Nations, if the Palestinian leadership is unable to guarantee our security, if Abbas is unable, unwilling or incapable of controlling Hamas, then, by definition, they are incapable of delivering peace. And if they are 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.”

CHAPTER 14

TALKING ABOUT ARAB-ISRAELIS

The language in this section is essential to using largely unknown facts to educate the public in order to soften anti-Israeli impressions and win converts. The fact is, few know anything whatsoever about the rights of Arabs within Israel. Most Europeans and Americans, even on the intellectual 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 each assertion isn’t rhetoric – they’re facts:

WORDS THAT WORK

“Israeli Arabs have more rights and a higher standard of living than in any other Middle Eastern country.

Fact: Israeli Arabs have been able to vote for Prime Minister and Parliament since 1948. No other Arab nation has such a long record of democracy.

Fact: Arab-Israelis serve in Parliament, on the Supreme Court and in leadership positions in every area of Israeli government, business and law.

Fact: the average Israeli Arab has a higher income and higher standard of living than in any other Middle Eastern country.

Fact: 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 – and worse.

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

The fact is, Israeli Arabs have more rights, more privileges, more opportunities, and more freedom in Israel than they have in any other Middle Eastern country.

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

CHAPTER 15:

TALKING ABOUT CHILDREN AND THE CULTURE OF HATE

“What makes a country so desperate that they would send their own children to die? And what choice do they have?”

The children are where the next great language battle for the hearts of the world will be fought. The above quote aside, 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.

While it is impossible to bring the tape 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 don’t need any voiceover. Most importantly, no one believes that the horrible things these Arab and Palestinian children are doing and saying occurs 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 calculating. If people 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 we face right now.

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

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 our future. It is so important that our educational institutions that teach our children should 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.

“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 bombings.

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 we need to get us on the path to peace."

-- Successful pro-Israeli sound-bite

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 is the strongest theme you have going for you right now. 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.

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 great 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. [Add where appropriate: It is ironic that the freest Arab press, not just in the region but 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 Hamas will undermine the advocates of peace. As long as the Culture of Hate and incitement continues, the larger the support for terrorist organizations like Hamas and Islamic Jihad. End the Culture of Hatred and replace it with democracy and understanding and peace can be achieved.

ACCOUNTABILITY IN THE FIGHT AGAINST TERROR

We have talked in the past about the difference between 100% effort and 100% result 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 to eradicate terrorism completely 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."*

The key to making the case that the Palestinian terrorism is more than just isolated incidents is via *"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 Property of The Israel Project. Not for distribution or publication. 2009.

applauded. This was sick 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. And 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 bullet-proof glass. It shouldn't be this way. And yet our Israeli children are still taught that the pursuit of peace is the highest calling.

But in Palestinian schools, rather than using schools to promote peace with their Jewish neighbors, Palestinians have persistently indoctrinated their children with anti-Semitic stereotypes, anti-Israel propaganda, and material that is designed more to promote hostility and intolerance 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 Palestinian daily newspaper actually claimed Israeli aircraft were dropping poison candy in the Gaza Strip. It's dishonest, destructive, and shameful. And previously, 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.

CHAPTER 16:
**LESSONS TO LEARN FROM PRESIDENT OBAMA'S
LANGUAGE**

"If somebody was sending rockets into my house where my two daughters sleep at night, I am going to do everything in my power to stop that, and I would expect Israelis to do the same." -- President Barack Obama.

We present our first-ever analysis of a specific American politician's language in the history of our work for you because President Obama is completely reshaping the American public discussion on issues in the Middle East. And he's doing it with the same language we've been recommending you use for years. The effectiveness with which his words have resonated with the American people should serve as a useful reminder of the importance of language.

The administration's language marks a sharp departure from the previous administration. In particular, his words bear close inspection on the issue of the peace process between Israelis and Palestinians and on the issue of Iran.

OBAMA ON THE PEACE PROCSS

- (1) **President Obama's language is so similar to what we have recommended you say for years that he could easily be stealing straight from our playbook.** Have a look for yourself, and see if this rings any bells.

WORDS THAT WORK FOR PRESIDENT OBAMA (AND CAN WORK FOR YOU, TOO)

I think anybody who has studied the region recognizes that the situation for the ordinary Palestinian in many cases has not improved. And the bottom line in all these talks and all these conversations is this: Is a child in the Palestinian territories going to be better off? Do they have a future for themselves? And is the child in Israel going to feel confident about his or her safety and security?

And if we can keep our focus on making their lives better and look forward, and not simply think about all the conflicts and tragedies of the past, then I think that we have an opportunity to make real progress.

– President Barack Obama

WORDS THAT WORK FOR PRESIDENT OBAMA (AND CAN WORK FOR YOU, TOO)

If we are looking at the region as a whole and communicating a message to the Arab world and the Muslim world, that we are ready to initiate a new partnership based on mutual respect and mutual interest, then I think that we can make significant progress. – President Barack Obama

Let's run down the list of reasons why this language scored through the roof:

- Overall theme of mutuality? Check.
- Appealing to the well-being and safety of *children* on both sides? Check.
- Humanizing the issue? Check.
- Acknowledging the errors of the past but focusing on the future? Check.
- Emphasizing the need to improve living conditions for the Palestinians and security for Israelis? Check.
- Finishing with a call for “*progress*”? Check.

In three short paragraphs, he hit all the right and important notes. President Obama is saying exactly what you should be saying – and he's getting rewarded for it. During this era of his immense popularity, you would be *extremely* well served to be on the same communications plane as he is – wherever it is consistent with Israeli policy.

PRESIDENT OBAMA ON IRAN

You might say that President Obama is bringing “discussion and diplomacy” back in style among the American people. After 8 years of the unilateral, never negotiate with the Axis of Evil approach of the Bush Administration, Americans are receptive to his approach. And it is essentially this:

“We must never be afraid to talk to our enemies.”

This approach scores very well with Americans and through the roof with Europeans. By saying “we must never be afraid” it actually appeals to American's sense of the need for courage in foreign affairs, while avoiding the trap of seeming weak by negotiating with terrorists.

In each of the examples below, we can apply what works for President Obama among Americans to what will work for *you* among Americans.

- (2) **President Obama has humanized the relationship with Iran by drawing connects between the *people of Iran and America*.** We can learn lessons from this. Israeli spokespersons can and should use the same approach in talking about the Palestinian

people, as we have advocated elsewhere in this document. You can simultaneously marginalize the extremist leadership (in your case Hamas, in Obama's case Ahmadinejad) while building credibility for your humanity. It's a proven winner.

WORDS THAT WORK

For nearly three decades relations between our nations (America and Iran) have been strained. But at this holiday we are reminded of the common humanity that binds us together. Indeed, you will be celebrating your New Year in much the same way that we Americans mark our holidays -- by gathering with friends and family, exchanging gifts and stories, and looking to the future with a renewed sense of hope.

Within these celebrations lies the promise of a new day, the promise of opportunity for our children, security for our families, progress for our communities, and peace between nations. Those are shared hopes, those are common dreams.
– President Barack Obama

- (3) **Call for the people to hold their extremist leaders accountable.** Again, just as you can and should appeal directly to the Palestinian people to elect moderate leaders reject terror, truly represent them, and will work for peace, President Obama is calling on the people of Iran to do the same.

WORDS THAT WORK

You, too, have a choice. The United States wants the Islamic Republic of Iran to take its rightful place in the community of nations. You have that right -- but it comes with real responsibilities, and that place cannot be reached through terror or arms, but rather through peaceful actions that demonstrate the true greatness of the Iranian people and civilization. And the measure of that greatness is not the capacity to destroy, it is your demonstrated ability to build and create.

CHAPTER 17:

TALKING TO THE AMERICAN LEFT

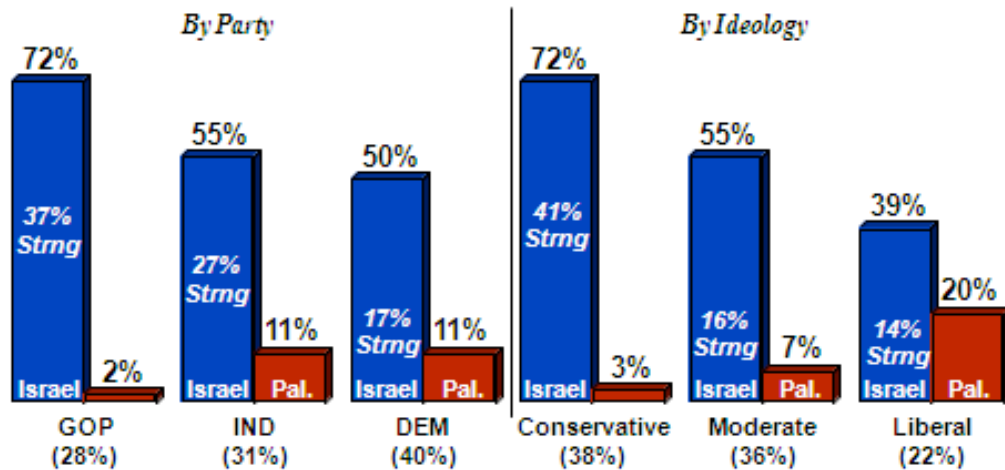
The aim of this entire document is to help you reach persuadable minds, especially those on the left, where you have the greatest communication challenge. However, this chapter is much more focused on unearthing the *underlying* sentiments of the left so you can understand them, and then address them head on. After all, Democrats control the White House, Congress and Senate – so you need to understand how they think. You also need to be very sensitive to the fact that while the Democratic leaders in public office have been to Israel and know the facts, vast numbers of their key voters don't know the basic facts about the Middle East.

To begin with, here is the partisan split with which you are faced:

Support for Israel is strongest among Republicans and conservatives...

Thinking about the ongoing conflict between Israel and the Palestinians in the Middle East, please tell me whether, in general, you consider yourself to be...

*a strong supporter of Israel, a supporter of Israel,
a supporter of the Palestinians ...or... a strong supporter of the Palestinians*



TIP - January, 2009

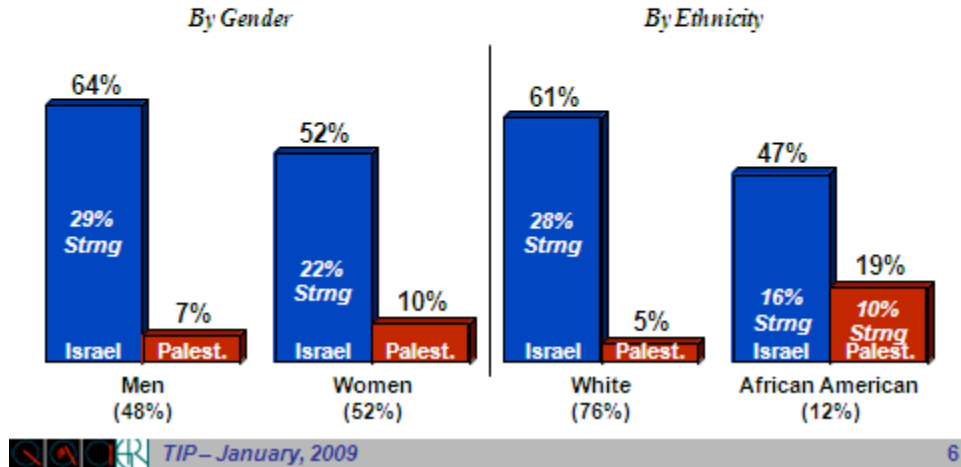
5

Your most favorable audience is white, male voters:

And, is higher among men and white voters.

Thinking about the ongoing conflict between Israel and the Palestinians in the Middle East, please tell me whether, in general, you consider yourself to be...

a strong supporter of Israel, a supporter of Israel,
a supporter of the Palestinians ...or... a strong supporter of the Palestinians



Here are the best arguments you can make, segmented by political ideology. As you can see, the Left is far less receptive to the kinds of arguments you'd like to make:

Most Effective Strategies: by Party

Next, I'd like to read you a series of short statements. After I read each one, please tell me whether it is extremely important, very important, somewhat important or not that important in helping to bring peace in the Middle East.

% "Extremely/Very Important"	GOP (28%)	IND (31%)	DEM (40%)
Stopping Iran from arming, funding and training terrorists.	94%	88%	82%
Getting Palestinians to stop teaching hate.	92%	92%	88%
Getting Palestinians to stop shooting rockets into Israel.	93%	88%	91%
Getting Iran to stop its nuclear program.	83%	75%	73%
Getting Israel to open all the borders to Gaza so that goods and services can flow freely to Palestinians.	27%	40%	52%
Getting Israel to stop its military incursions into Gaza.	27%	38%	54%
Getting Israel to stop expanding its settlements and give up land to the Palestinians.	24%	43%	44%

TIP - January, 2009

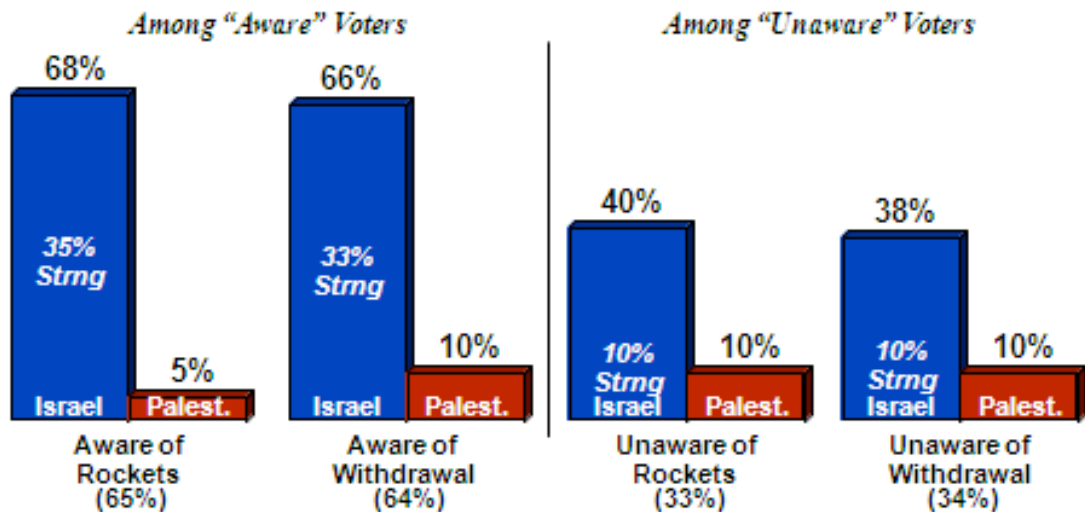
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For many on the left who are not elites – especially African Americans, women and young Americans -- data show that they know far less about Israel and Israel’s enemies than other Americans. That is largely because they are so focused on domestic issues such as jobs and healthcare that they are completely unaware of critical facts. Many simply don’t know that Israel gave up all of Gaza in 2005 with hopes of peace and that Israel got only rockets in return. When you can educate them about the facts it is clear that many are persuaded of Israel’s just cause.

The following charts show that *aware* voters are you best allies, and therefore demonstrates the need to make Women and African-Americans *more* aware.

“Aware” voters tended to support Israel at a higher rate...

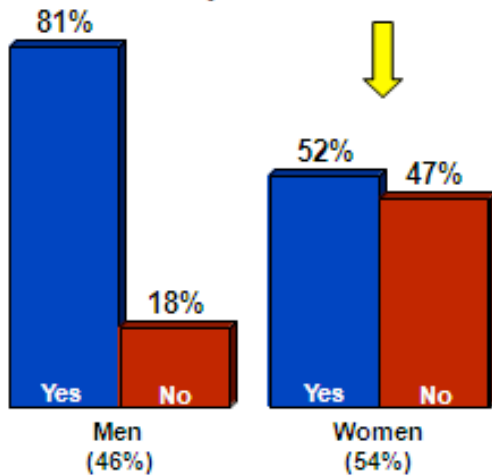
Thinking about the ongoing conflict between Israel and the Palestinians in the Middle East, please tell me whether, in general, you consider yourself to be... a strong supporter of Israel, a supporter of Israel, a supporter of the Palestinians...or... a strong supporter of the Palestinians



Women tended to be less aware...

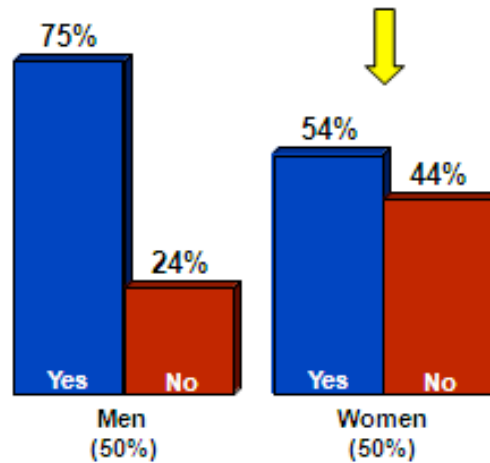
And, prior to the conflict over the past two weeks, were you aware that Palestinian terrorists have regularly been shooting rockets into Israel for years?

By Gender



And, are you aware that Israel withdrew its troops and settlers out of Gaza three years ago and turned Gaza over to the Palestinians?

By Gender



TIP - February, 2009

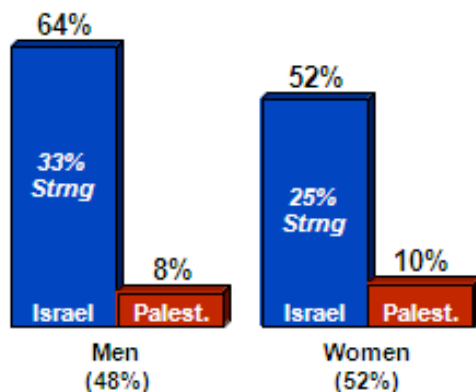
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With female voters and African-Americans believing so less strongly.

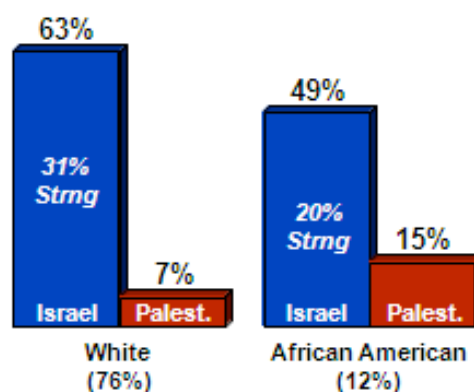
Thinking about the ongoing conflict between Israel and the Palestinians in the Middle East, please tell me whether, in general, do you think America should be...

a strong supporter of Israel, a supporter of Israel, a supporter of the Palestinians ...or... a strong supporter of the Palestinians

By Gender



By Ethnicity



TIP - January, 2009

9

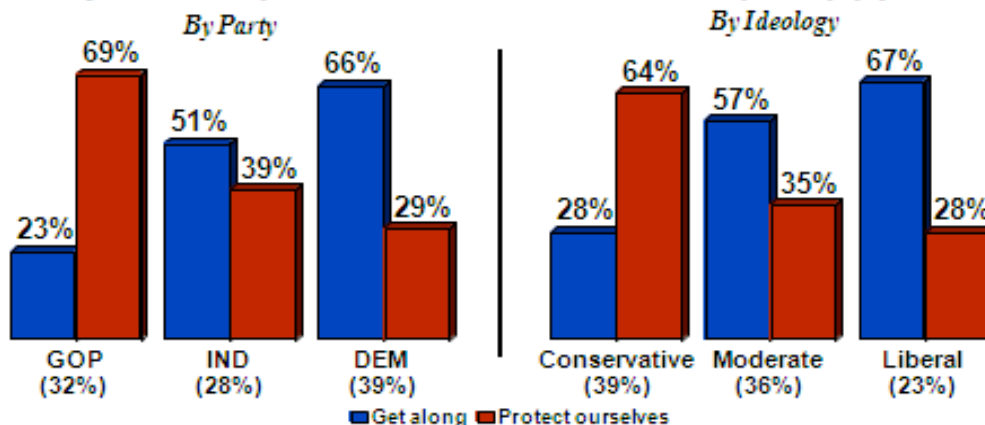
Israel may represent the only democratic country in a region dominated by brutal, extremist nations that are entrenched in non-Western religious doctrine, but the elites on the American Left see Israeli militarism and shows of force as extreme and unjustified. Unlike more mainstream Americans who are fervent in their wish to protect and foster democratic principles, 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 statehood, even if it would be rewarding terror.

As stated in our first chapter, world view is especially important to the Left as they see a world where basically all people are good and one in which, with education and communication we can all get along. This is in stark contrast to most conservatives who believe that there are good people (i.e. Israel) and bad people (i.e. Iran) and that good people need to be protected from the bad people.

“World view” attitudes differ dramatically by both partisanship and ideology.

*Please tell me which of the following two descriptions better fits your view of the world...
If different people and cultures spent more time getting to know one another and communicating about our problems, we could all get along?
...or is your view of the world that...*

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?



Here's what you need to know:

The most 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.

Let me be clear about this. ***Blunt, unequivocal language will be poorly received because, to the liberal ear, it is much too confrontational.*** The Left are inherently doves, advocates for peace, and they place their own peaceful existence above any involvement in any worldwide conflict.

Unlike mainstream Americans, the majority of the liberal elite believe the Israelis TOOK Palestinian land. You need to teach them otherwise. But also unlike mainstream 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, 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 to the American Left:

- 1) ***With their heads, most liberals still support Israel. But their hearts go out to whomever looks like the biggest underdog. Right now they feel that is the Palestinians.*** It explains why liberals have become so openly hostile since the start of the Gaza war and why life for pro-Israeli communicators will only get more difficult in the future. There is far too little sympathy for the plight of Israelis from America's left, and incredible emotional support for the plight of the Palestinians. *It is critical to make sure that Liberals understand this is a fight between Israel and Iran and its proxies, not just a territorial dispute between Israel and Palestinians. In Israel's short 61 years they have faced 7 wars and two intifadas. Almost no Israeli family has escaped the tragedies of war unscathed.*
- 2) ***The suicide bombings and rocket attacks 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.*** I blame some of this on key media outlets that wrongfully published as truth false allegations by UNWRA and others against Israel during the Gaza War. But, the fact is, the pictures coming into people's homes on a daily basis do a great deal to undermine Israel's cause. If you don't do something about both 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 the language you use.)*

- 3) **The wealth, power and success of Israel actually hurts you in the eyes of the Left, while the poverty and failure of the Palestinians work to their benefit.** The feeling among the liberal elite is that Israel uses all of its advancements and advantages “unfairly” or “immorally” against the Palestinians. Israel is so rich and so strong that they fail to see why it is necessary for armored tanks to shoot at unarmed kids or why Israel needs to level homes or 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 land mass with hostile neighbors all around you won’t win either the hearts or the minds of liberal Americans. They think Israel can survive anything.
- 4) **The nation and those who speak on their behalf that are perceived as being most for peace will win more hearts and minds.** Period.
- 5) **Because they believe “all people are basically good” and hate war, liberals think diplomacy can and should solve almost every conflict.** Don’t make the mistake of thinking you will win friends in the liberal community or from Europeans by publicly opposing opportunities for America or Israel to speak to Iran or their proxies. They believe in engagement. Thus, your job is to remind liberals that engagement is an important process but it is not an outcome. The outcome we want is security and peace for both sides.
- 6) **Liberals will NOT support a targeted military strike on Iran’s nuclear facilities if significant diplomacy to stop Iran was not tried first.** It just won’t happen. Don’t think that just because rockets are hitting Israel from Iran-backed Hamas that it means liberals don’t think Israel should negotiate with them. This is also true for many Europeans who think diplomacy is THE answer.
- 7) **Many on the left see an “Israel v. Palestinian” crisis where Israel is Goliath and the Palestinians are David.** It is critical that they understand that this is an Arab-Israeli crisis and that the force undermining peace is Iran and their proxies Hezbollah, Hamas and Islamic Jihad. You must not call Hamas just Hamas. Call them what they are: Iran-backed Hamas. Indeed, when they know that Iran is behind Hamas and Hezbollah, they are much more supportive of Israel.
- 8) **“Defensive” and preventative” are the words that best describe Israeli military action.** Understand that most military activities will be opposed by the Left but some will accept what Israel does if described this way. But it will only work if you actually put them in Israel’s shoes. Remember the words from President Obama:

“If somebody was sending rockets into my house where my two daughters sleep at night, I am going to do everything in my power to stop that, and I would expect Israelis to do the same.” -- President Barack Obama.

Just like mainstream America, the Left wants and needs to hear that the terror can be stopped. Security is paramount. But more than the rest of America, liberals are against almost any use of military force.

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 many do not regard Israel as a democracy in the American sense, *they will tolerate Israel's right to respond to these suicide bombers – as long as it is done in a “defensive” and “preventative” fashion and in the name of peace and security.*

- 9) **The immigration/melting pot argument doesn't work.** Today immigration is a dirty word. Some advocates like to make the case for Israel by emphasizing how it takes in the distressed peoples of the world. This is simply not a strong argument with most Americans right now.

WORDS THAT DO NOT WORK

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.

A SPEECH FOR THE LEFT

There is no doubt in my mind that there are good people on both sides of this conflict that are tired of violence and want to live securely in peace with their neighbors. I hope and pray that that day will come soon. Today people on both sides are living in very difficult circumstances because of the actions of terrorists that seek anything but peace and want to destroy our hopes and dreams.

Israel regrets the actions it is forced to take to defend its citizens, Israeli civilians – civilians – have faced thousands of organized, violent and life-threatening attacks by terrorists like Iran backed Hamas and Hezbollah that have specifically and deliberately targeted women and children. Suicide bombers, car bombs, roadside ambushes, mortar barrages, rocket attacks, machine-gun fire in crowded shopping areas, bus stops and even places of worship....all deliberate....all indiscriminant....all designed to inflict as many casualties as possible.

There was a suicide bomber who killed nine people on an Israeli passenger bus – do you know where his explosives were hid? In a Palestinian nursery school. What kind of people would hide explosives in a nursery school? This isn't just an attack on Israel, this puts Palestinian children in harms way as well. Where is the care for their future? 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 disco, a wedding reception, 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 meg-terror, the answer is yes.

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

CHAPTER 18:

ISRAEL ON CAMPUS COMMUNICATIONS

The pictures of Israeli troops firing on Palestinian children and Israeli tanks bulldozing Palestinian villages have created a deep and unfortunately 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-Israel 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 core mood on America's campuses is friendly to the enemies of Israel and hostile to Israel's supporters. When Israeli spokespeople come out and attack radical or fundamentalist Islam, many college kids rebel or, worse yet, openly criticize Israel for its so-called intolerance. Yes, adults do see an Islamic threat, but their kids don't.

It is therefore no surprise that some college campuses have erupted in anti-Israeli rhetoric in general and a pro-divestment campaign in particular. 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 and all the debates and all the rhetoric and all the violence is, as it is with liberals, are 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. You have a lot to teach and a skeptical audience to convince.

What follows is a step-by-step approach to build credibility and support. Your 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.*"

College students and young people in general can smell propaganda from a mile away. If you don't immediately position yourself as a credible, moderate with compassion and empathy for both sides, your audience will not listen to you.

- 1) **Above all, talk about peace.** The word, principle and concept of peace is the single highest priority among college students. If you want to regain the public relations advantage, 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.***
- 2) **Personalize the conflict.** This is something the Palestinians have done quite effectively and where the pro-Israeli 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 and feel the pain of the average Israeli.
- 3) **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. Still the core values of freedom of religion, speech and the right to vote for all citizens are critical to explain to your audience.
- 4) **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 students Jewish and non-Jewish alike. Differentiate between Hamas and the Palestinian people – and even between the more moderate approach by the leadership in the West Bank. College students must be made aware these distinctions.
- 5) **Emphasize the rights of Israeli Arabs.** Here is a very positive story that Israel has failed to emphasize and does have the potential to change college opinions. Let students know that Israeli Arabs have more rights and a higher stand of living than in any other Middle Eastern country. Let students know that Israeli Arabs are able to vote for Prime Minister and the Knesset and that no other Arab nation has such a long record of democracy.
- 6) **Don't argue. Discuss.** While Jews make up a bigger percentage of the campus population, the Palestinian students are better informed, more knowledgeable and, most importantly, better able to communicate their beliefs. Worse yet, the pro-Israeli tone is often loud and emotional, while the Palestinian reaction was calm and rational. If you are faced with an overly aggressive foe, use a rhetorical approach.

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, several questions were asked, and the answers were quite alarming:

- * More than 85% say anti-Semitism is on the rise on college campuses, and virtually everyone has personally seen an example of anti-Semitism.
- * Virtually everyone says pro-Palestinian activities and sentiment is on the rise at virtually every college and university.
- * 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.

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 what is happening in the post 9/11 world today is nothing short of shocking. Consider this: only **23%** of all U.S college kids ... our so-called best and our brightest, our so-labeled 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 (see below)

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%
National Security Advisor	19%
The UN Secretary General	19%

The President of Pakistan

14%

The three countries that comprise the Axis of Evil

25%

-- *Luntz '04*

APPENDIX I:

THE TOUGHEST QUESTIONS

Q: Will Israel ever talk to Hamas?

A: It's not just Israel who refuses to speak to Hamas. It's the whole international community, the United States, Canada, Europe, Japan, Australia. Most of the democratic world refuses to have a relationship with Hamas because Hamas has refused to meet the most minimal benchmarks of international behavior.

It was the former U.N. secretary general Kofi Anan that put four benchmarks on the table. And he said, speaking for the international community ...

That if Hamas reforms itself ...

If Hamas recognizes my country's right to live in freedom ...

If Hamas renounces terrorism against innocent civilians ...

If Hamas supports international agreements that are being signed and agreed to concerning the peace process ... then the door is open.

I say if Hamas meets those four United Nations benchmarks, then the door is open. But unfortunately – tragically – Hamas has failed to meet even one of those four benchmarks. And that's why today Hamas is isolated internationally. Even the United Nations refuses to speak to Hamas.

Their charter still reads- The Prophet, Allah's prayer and peace be upon him, says: "The hour of judgment shall not come until the Muslims fight the Jews and kill them, so that the Jews hide behind trees and stones, and each tree and stone will say: 'Oh Muslim, oh servant of Allah, there is a Jew behind me, come and kill him,' except for the Gharqad tree, for it is the tree of the Jews."

Q: Why did Israel use disproportionate force in Gaza?

A: The devastation in Gaza is heartbreaking. So much suffering that was so unnecessary. And none of it had to happen.

Israel left Gaza – uprooting 9,000 *Israeli* families, and turned it over, peacefully, to the Palestinians. They had every opportunity to succeed: support from the international community, financial aid from across the globe, and the aspirations of the people.

Israel gave up Gaza with every hope that this was the first step towards peace with the Palestinians, and all they got was rockets in return. Not dozens. Not hundreds. Thousands of rockets. Not monthly. Not weekly. Literally daily. Even since the fighting in Gaza stopped, more than 160 rockets been fired from Gaza towards Israel since Israel stopped fighting.

What would you have done -- or wanted your government to do -- if you and your family were under rocket attack every day? When will the terrorists in Gaza stop shooting rockets at Israeli civilians?

Q: Will Israel bomb Iran?

A: As President Obama and Secretary of State Clinton have said on multiple occasions, a nuclear Iran is an unacceptable threat to the safety, security and stability of the world. Israel supports America's efforts to reach a peaceful solution to the Iranian nuclear crisis as well as to stop Iran's support of terror.

This effort cannot be done alone. The entire world community needs to be involved. Iran is the world's largest state sponsor of terrorism, funding Hezbollah, Islamic Jihad, and Hamas, as well as Shiite insurgent groups. Iran is even recruiting its youth and students across the Middle East for suicide operations against Western targets. Iran's President has called for Israel to be wiped off the map and denies the Holocaust.

So let me ask you ... do we want this regime to have nuclear materials? Do we want these sponsors of terror to have nuclear know-how and materials that they have said they will share with others?

Time is running out to peacefully stop Iran. It is up to world leaders to act *now* with both economic and political diplomacy. But as President Obama and Secretary Clinton have said, the largest state sponsor of terror must not be allowed to have nuclear weapons.

Q: Do you support the Saudi Peace Plan?

A: As a matter of principle, Israel advocates any serious proposal for peace. Israel supports wholeheartedly a better future for Israeli and Palestinian children, one in which all our children

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can grow up and aspire to be doctors, lawyers and teachers – a future where neither Palestinian mothers or Israeli mothers have to fear when their children leave for school that they won't return safely.

The Saudi Plan has positive components, in that Israel would be finally recognized by her Arab neighbors. Missing from the Saudi plan, however, is the recognition that Israel needs defensible borders and that Palestinian refugees should be settled in Palestinian lands just as Jewish refugees have been settled in Israel.

It is also essential that the Middle Eastern nations do more – a lot more – for the economic well-being of the Palestinian people. Frankly, they haven't done enough. They call themselves Arab brethren, but they don't act that way. Instead of funding terrorism, they should be funding schools, hospitals, and new roads.

There is so much wealth among Arab populations ... so why do they ignore the financial plight of the Palestinians? Why are countries like Saudi Arabia so rich ... and the Palestinians so poor?

Q: Are you willing to divide Jerusalem?

A: Under Israel's control, Jerusalem is open and free to Christians, Muslims, Jews and all others who come to pray and visit in security and peace. Every religion is welcome. Every religion is free to worship as they please.

This was not the case before 1967. When Jerusalem was controlled by Arab leaders, Jews were not allowed to visit their holy sites – and they are not welcomed in Palestinian controlled areas today. Christians are also persecuted in many areas of the West Bank. But as long as Israel controls Jerusalem, all will be welcomed.

Q: Do you support the Palestinian right of return?

A: Living side by side in true sustainable peace, we must accept and embrace minority rights within each population. But we can't turn back the clock for either side. We must look towards the future. Just as Jewish exiles and refugees have found a place in Israel, so must Palestinians have the right to return to the land of their own, Palestine. And just as Arab Israelis have remained and flourished in Israel, so must Jews be allowed to remain and flourish in Palestine.

Q: Will Israel dismantle settlements?

A: Peace is about more than land or borders. It is about jobs, prosperity and opportunity for all. I wish that by moving some lines on a map that peace would magically come to the region. Sure, it worked with Egypt, because their leadership was committed to an end to war. But it has not worked with the Palestinians or Lebanese because they have not made such a commitment.

Let me be clear about this. Every Palestinian child deserves a better future, and so does every Israeli child. If we can agree on that, and stop doing those things that hurt our children, we can start on the road to mutual understanding and mutual respect.

We have to look at the larger picture. We have to think about the future, not live in the past or complain about the present. This is more than just territory. This is about terrorism. If – and when – we end the terrorism, we can sit down and resolve the issue of territory. It can be done – and will be done – when Palestinian children are taught in their schools and television to look for jobs and not jihad, to search for hope and not hate.

Q: With so many votes for Lieberman's party, and him now serving as Israel's foreign minister, has Israel become a racist nation?

A: Foreign Minister Lieberman has said publicly that he backs the Road Map for Peace which includes "*performance measurements*" - a step by step approach - to Palestinian self government. Lieberman's party is diverse and indeed, they even elected a Druze member of Parliament. One of the key platforms of Lieberman's party was to open up civil marriages – a more progressive position than many politicians here in America.

Q: Will the new Israeli government clash with the Obama Administration?

A: Israel looks forward to working with their American friends including President Obama, Secretary of State Hillary Clinton and Sen. George Mitchell as well as with other members of the Administration and Congress.

Israel and America are close allies because of the values, ideals and hopes that we share. President Obama has said "*Our alliance is based on shared interests and shared values.*" He has said that he "*will bring to the White House an unshakeable commitment to Israel's security*" and that he will "*ensure that Israel can defend itself from any threat — from Gaza to Tehran*". Israeli leaders and citizens hope that Israel and America can work for peaceful solutions to all the issues in the Middle East -- including for a better life for Palestinians who want peace.

APPENDIX II:

THE COVENANT OF THE ISLAMIC RESISTANCE MOVEMENT - HAMAS

“Although the continuity of jihad was interrupted by obstacles placed in the path of the jihad fighters by those who circle in the orbit of Zionism, the Islamic Resistance Movement aspires to realize the promise of Allah, no matter how long it takes.

The Prophet, Allah's prayer and peace be upon him, says: "The hour of judgment shall not come until the Muslims fight the Jews and kill them, so that the Jews hide behind trees and stones, and each tree and stone will say: 'Oh Muslim, oh servant of Allah, there is a Jew behind me, come and kill him,' except for the Gharqad tree, for it is the tree of the Jews." (Recorded in the Hadith collections of Bukhari and Muslim).

From time to time there are calls to hold an international conference in order to seek a solution for the [Palestinian] problem. Some accept this [proposal] and some reject it, for one reason or another, demanding the fulfillment of some condition or conditions before they agree to hold the conference and participate in it. However, the Islamic Resistance Movement - since it is familiar with the parties participating in the conference and with their past and current positions on the issues of the Muslims - does not believe that these conferences can meet the demands or restore the rights [of the Palestinians], or bring equity to the oppressed.

These conferences are nothing but a way to give the infidels power of arbitration over Muslim land, and when have the infidels ever been equitable towards the believers?

The day the enemies conquer some part of the Muslim land, jihad becomes a personal duty of every Muslim. In the face of the Jewish occupation of Palestine, it is necessary to raise the banner of jihad. This requires the propagation of Islamic consciousness among the masses, locally [in Palestine], in the Arab world and in the Islamic world. It is necessary to instill the spirit of jihad in the nation, engage the enemies and join the ranks of the jihad fighters.

The indoctrination campaign must involve *ulama*, educators, teachers and information and media experts, as well as all intellectuals, especially the young people and the sheikhs of Islamic movements. “

APPENDIX III: IMPORTANT FACTS

"If somebody was sending rockets into my house where my two daughters sleep at night, I would do everything to stop that, and would expect Israel to do the same thing."

President Barack Obama

Over 160 rockets and mortars have been fired from Gaza into Israel since the 1/18/09 ceasefire...

It has been over 1028 Days since Gilad Shalit was kidnapped from Israeli soil and held hostage...

And here is the conflict by the numbers...

Israel's Humanitarian Aid to Gaza

508	truckloads of humanitarian aid that have been delivered through Israeli crossings into Gaza since the beginning of Operation Cast Lead, including basic food commodities, medication, medical supplies, blood units and donations by various governments and blood units. [3]
80	truckloads of humanitarian aid expected to arrive in Gaza on Jan. 5 [4]
20	Palestinians evacuated to Israel for medical treatment (including two children) [5]
800,000+	Leaflets disseminated by the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) to Gaza civilians instructing them to stay away from terrorist and weapons storage sites [6]
70+	times the IDF warned populated areas before conducting airstrikes [7]
10,000	tons of aid transported into Gaza at the request of international organizations, the Palestinian Authority and various governments since the beginning of Operation Cast Lead. The World Food Program informed Israel last week that that it would cease shipment of food to Gaza because warehouses are at full capacity, with enough food to last two weeks. [8]
0	wounded Palestinians allowed by Hamas to cross from Gaza into Egypt for treatment. [9]

Iran-backed Hamas Rocket, Mortar Attacks and Nuclear Developments

10,000+	Rockets and mortars fired from Gaza since 2001. [10]
3,200+	Rockets and mortars fired from Gaza in 2008 alone. [11]
6,500+	Rockets and mortars fired from Gaza since Israel withdrew from Gaza in 2005. [12]
538+	Rockets and mortars fired from Gaza into Israeli territory during the ceasefire from June 19 to Dec. 19, 2008. [13]
480	Rockets and mortars fired from Gaza into Israel since Operation Cast Lead began Dec. 27. [14]
28	Deaths caused by rockets and mortars fired from Gaza into Israel since 2001. The dead include Israelis, Palestinians and foreign workers. Since the ceasefire ended, Iran-backed Palestinian groups in Gaza fired rockets and mortars that killed an Israeli-Arab construction worker and a mother of four who was seeking shelter in a bus station as a rocket warning siren sounded. [15]
1,000+	People in Israel injured from rockets and mortars fired from Gaza since 2001, including Israelis, Palestinians and foreign workers. Since the start of Israel's defensive operation in Gaza Dec. 27, 90 Israelis have been injured and at least 244 have been treated for shock. [16]
20,000	Hamas terrorists Israel is targeting as part of its defensive operations [17]
1,000,000	Israeli civilians Hamas is targeting and can reach. [18]
15	seconds Israelis have to get to a bomb shelter once a warning siren has sounded. [19]
8	years Israel has endured rockets and mortar fire from Gaza [20]
3	mosques in Gaza used as weapons, ammunitions and explosives depots that were struck by the Israel Defense Forces during the operation in Gaza. [21] The strikes occurred only at night and never during prayer times, to avoid civilian casualties.
4	UN Security Council resolutions passed since 2006 to try to stop Iran from enriching uranium. [22]
5,000+	number of centrifuges operating in Iran to enrich uranium, the material used to produce a nuclear weapon. [23]

What Israel Gave Up in Hopes of Peace - Gaza Withdrawal Aug. 2005

100%	proportion of the Gaza Strip evacuated and handed over to the Palestinians. [24]
300	square miles of the West Bank evacuated. [25]
21	Israeli settlements uprooted in the Gaza Strip. [26]
4	Israeli settlements uprooted in the West Bank. [27]
48	Graves uprooted in Gaza's former Gush Katif Cemetery, including six graves of area residents murdered by terrorists. [28]
9,000	approximate number of Israelis, including 1,700 families, who lived in Gaza and the northern West Bank. All of them were moved out as part of the withdrawal. [29]
38	synagogues dismantled in the Gaza Strip. [30]
5,000	School-age children who had to find new schools. [31]
42	Day care centers that were closed in the Gaza Strip. [32]
36	kindergartens that were closed in the Gaza Strip. [33]
7	elementary schools that were closed in the Gaza Strip. [34]
3	High schools that were closed in the Gaza Strip. [35]
320	Mobile homes, ordered by Prime Minister Ariel Sharon, to serve as temporary housing for settlers. [36]
45,000	Israeli soldiers and policemen who participated in the Gaza withdrawal. [37]
\$1.7 billion	the approximate cost to the Israeli government for the withdrawal initiative. [38]
166	Israeli farmers who were moved out of Gaza. [39]
10,000	People who were employed in agriculture and related industries in Gush Katif, including 5,000 Palestinians. [43]
3.5 million	Square meters (almost 1,000 acres) of greenhouses abandoned in Gaza. [45]
15	percentage of Israel agricultural exports that originated in Gaza – exports lost following Israel's withdrawal from Gaza. [48]
\$360,000	expected average compensation amount Israel expected to pay to relocate each family. [49]
\$870 million	approximate cost for Israel to facilitate the resettlement of former West Bank and Gaza residents elsewhere in the country. [50]
\$500 million	amount of money Israel's security establishment spent to relocate Israel Defense Forces bases outside the Gaza Strip and build new border crossing facilities. [51]

After Israel's evacuation from Gaza...

430,000	West Bank Palestinians able to move freely within and between Palestinian-controlled areas. [52]
1	Israeli remaining in Gaza. Staff Sgt. Gilad Shalit was abducted from Israel on June 25, 2006 by Hamas in a bloody cross-border raid in which the terrorists also killed two IDF soldiers and wounded four others. [53]
1.2 million	Arabs who remained full and legal citizens of Israel. All Israeli citizens – Christians, Muslims, and Jews – have freedom of speech, religion, press, and the right to vote. [54]
1.3 million	Palestinians living in the Gaza Strip many of them in Palestinian Authority-controlled refugee camps, who live under their own leaders. [55]
820,000	Jewish refugees forced to flee without their belongings from Arab countries between 1947 and 1949, and who have never been compensated by Arab governments for their losses. [58]
650,000	Arab refugees who left Israel from 1947-1949 and still need Palestinian leaders who will end terrorism and the culture of hate. [57]

In addition, Israel's withdrawal from four northern West Bank settlements created an area more than twice the size of Gaza's 140 square miles under Palestinian control and devoid of any Israeli presence. [58]

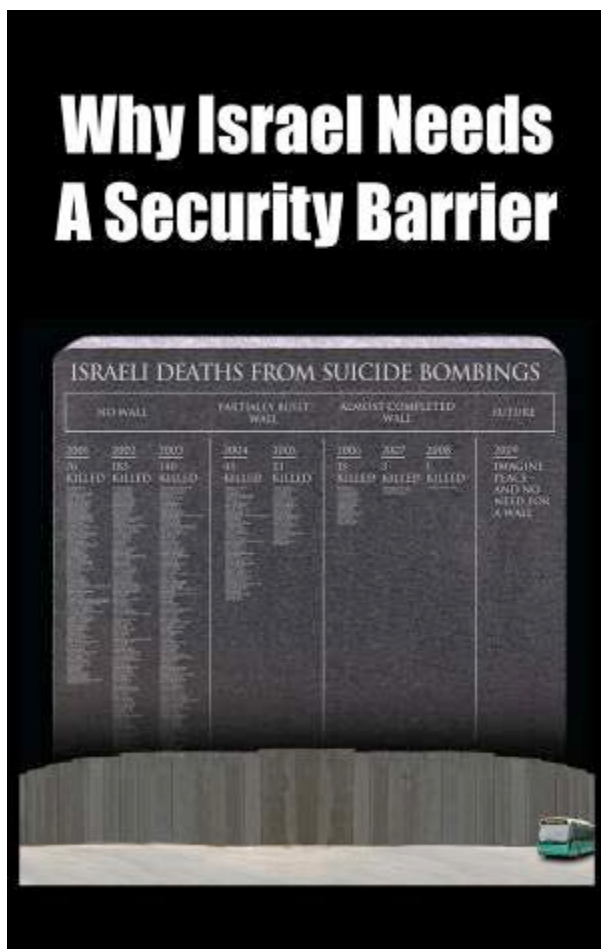
APPENDIX IV:

POSTERS THAT WORK

Posters that were *factually based* as seen above were far more effective than those that were “*shocking*” or were seen as “*extreme*”, including pictures of babies strapped in bombs or featuring Ahamdenijad as Hitler.

These findings are consistent with our general language findings. Just as the best rhetorical justification for the security fence is saving lives, the best poster emphasized the lives lost before the fence and the lives saved after it. And just as the best arguments for isolating Hamas are to show how it is a terrorist organization and how it is unaccountable it is to its own people, the “jobs not bombs” message ties it all together.

POSTERS THAT WORK




HAMAS & PA

**Create Jobs
Not Bombs**

Courtesy of StandWithUs

"Peace. Tolerance. Respect."

By TC² for The Israel Project



**Peace.
Tolerance.
Respect.**

Where in the Middle East do children learn these values?

A peaceful future in the Middle East is only possible if children are taught to value and embrace their neighbors. Israel wants the next generation to have a better and safer future. That is why peace is formally taught in Israeli schools beginning in kindergarten.

Israel teaches children the values of peace.

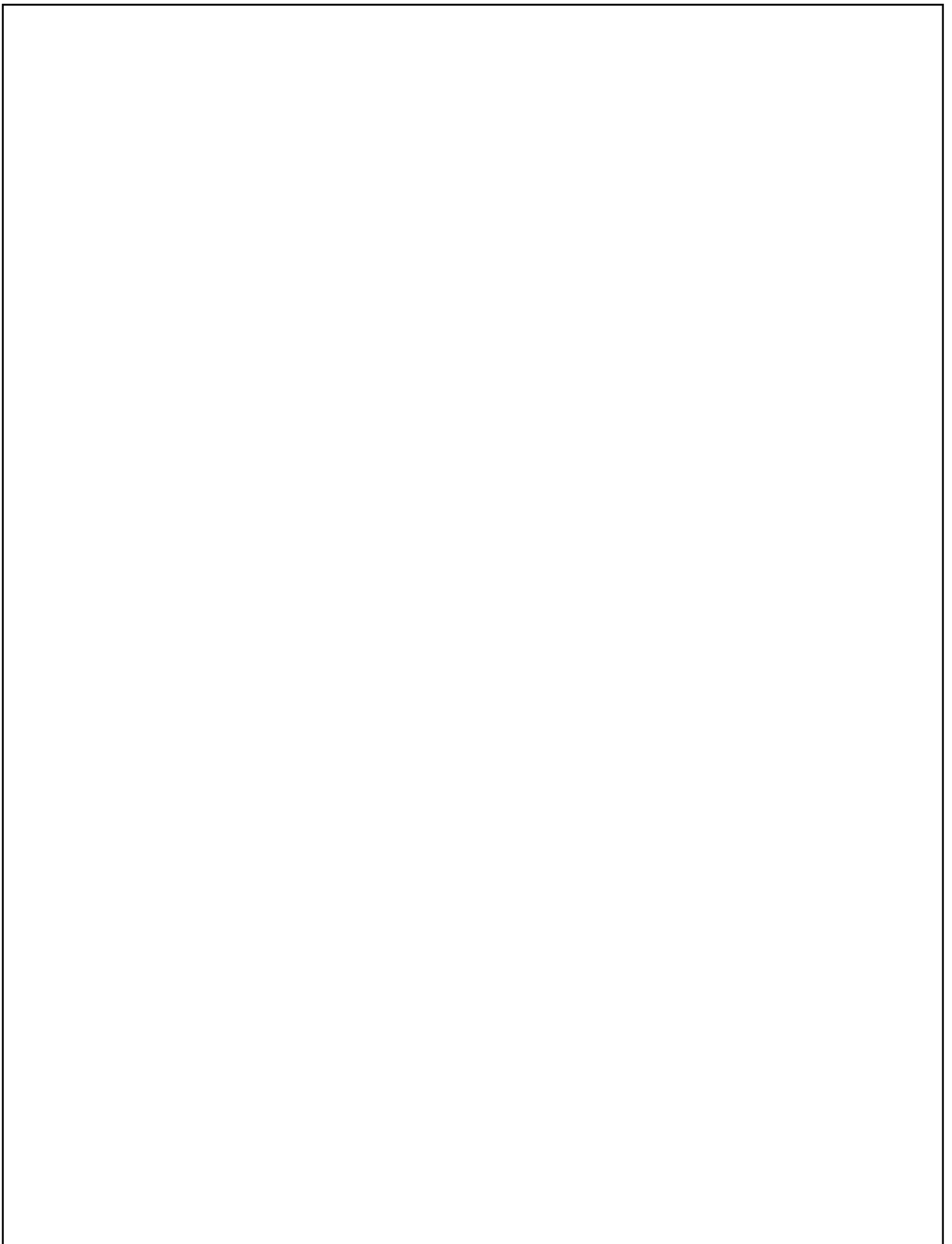
These are the three words and principles that the young elites value the most. Everything in the young elite's perspective begins with peace and focuses on the next generation. This ad evokes a feel-good reminder that children are the future; this is in stark contrast to the idea of adults being filled with hate. The idealism communicated speaks directly to an overly idealistic group.

"The child drawing smiley faces is a nice touch. The message is clear and powerful."

When you want to appeal to young elites, focus on the future. The message is enhanced with the classroom setting visual.

Only underline or bold when you think the reader needs extra focus. It's not needed here.

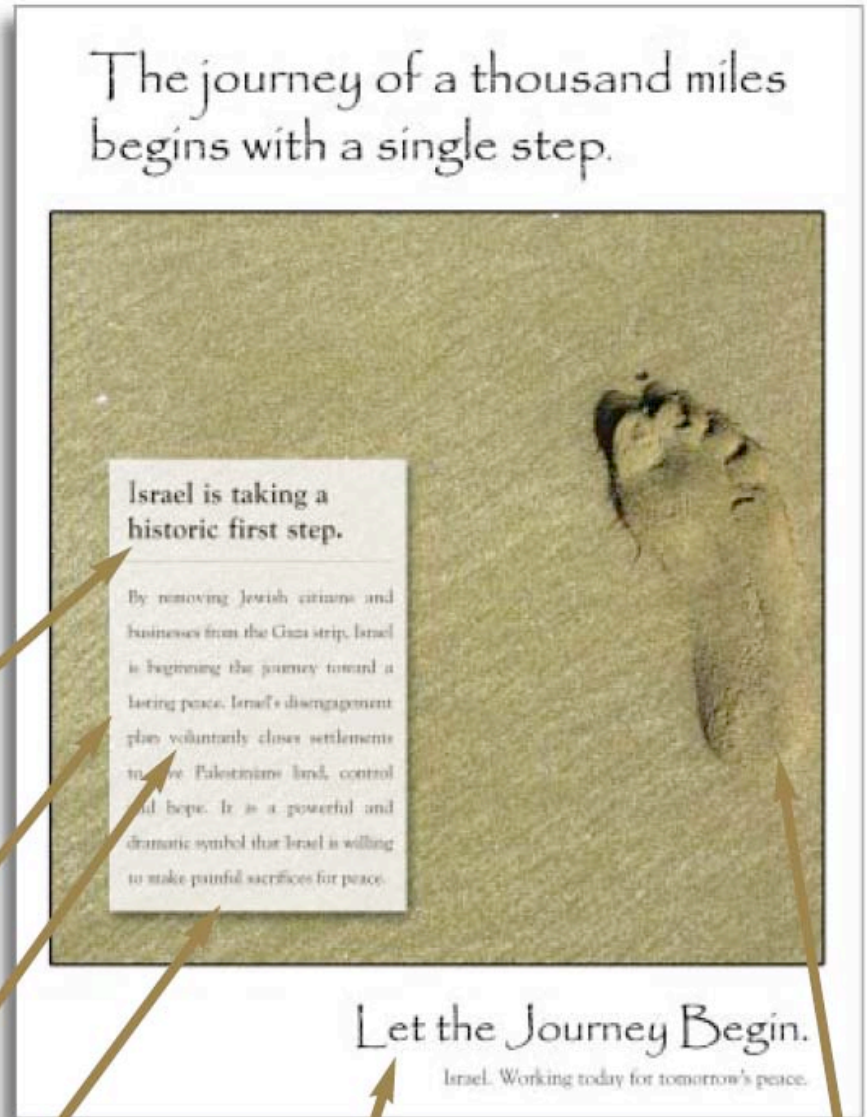
"Shows Israeli initiative to instill and teach peace to a younger generation."



"Let the Journey Begin"

By TC² for The Israel Project

This ad works because it represents a call to action and projects a message of progress and hope. The overtly positive tone erodes any suspicion of propaganda. The historic context and reminder that progress begins with individual steps of courage resonates well among elite graduate students. Israel's image as a pursuer of peace is enhanced, and it invites the other side to engage in the peace process. (Note: When Israel underscores the benefits peace can bring to the Palestinians, both sides win.)



Exactly what readers want to hear. This explicitly rejects the cycle of violence that the young elites themselves reject.

Articulates hope and shows ongoing commitment. Also, "it doesn't attack the other side."

Words like "voluntarily" make an important point in a non-confrontational manner.

"They're saying what is actually being done. It's so simple and factual."

"It's focused on NOW, not the past."

"It's very simple, very positive and reminiscent of the parable about the man walking through life and leaving footprints."