

The Israel Advocacy Guide

Abridged from

The Israel Advocacy Handbook

http://zionism-israel.com/israel_advocacy.pdf

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Important Note

This guide is a shorter version of the *Israel Advocacy Handbook* that is online at http://zionism-israel.com/israel_advocacy.pdf. The handbook has more detailed examples, background information and resource lists. This guide explains the principles of Zionist advocacy.

Executive Summary

The core issue of Israel advocacy is the right of the Jewish people to self-determination, to be a "free people in our own land." Arab denial of this right is the cause of the Israeli-Arab conflict.. Almost all anti-Israel propaganda is intended to delegitimize Israel and deny Jews their rights. Zionism, the national liberation movement of the Jewish people, is the target of a concerted attack. Israel advocacy is not meeting the challenge. Israel advocacy should not be confused with conventional advertising or "Jewish Education." Successful Israel advocacy should use issues opportunistically to educate the public and build an organization. It should focus on essentials. It should be based on outreach to the widest possible audience, not on partisan politics. It should emphasize shared values and universal emotional appeal. It should provide basic information. We should expose bogus 'issues' and so-called peace movements that are intent on denying the right of the Jewish people to self determination. Israel advocacy is pro-peace, because real peace will grant our fundamental rights. We need to take the fight to the streets and campuses using grass roots techniques of community organizers and social protest movements such as demonstrations, leaflets and Web sites.

What it's about - Effective Israel advocacy:

- Stays focused on the core issue: Jewish right to self-determination;
- Is proactive rather than reactive;
- Appeals to common values;
- Provides basic information as a framework for understanding particular events;
- Is proactive for peace.

How to do it - Effective advocacy:

- Appeals to emotions as well as intellect;
- Reaches the widest possible audience, targeting and informing the unconvinced;
- Operates through grass roots efforts;
- Uses issues to build a movement;
- Builds coalitions and encourages cooperation when possible.

What it is not about - Successful Israel advocacy:

- Never excludes or gratuitously insults groups or their respected leaders;
- Avoids lavish announcements about planned advocacy campaigns that have no follow-up;
- Is not about censoring anti-Zionist views;
- Does not preach to the convinced and is not "Zionist education";
- Is not like "PR" that may be used to market products or political candidates.

1. The propaganda war against Israel

In the last decade, there has been a dangerous erosion of international perceptions regarding the legitimacy of Israel. There is also an erosion of support for Israel on particular issues in both the United States and Europe. The two problems are intimately related. The crisis is more serious in Europe than in the USA.

Ideas that used to be relegated to lunatic fringe groups have become popular in the United States and Europe. You can see, hear and feel the problem. It expresses itself in openly hostile media, in popular books by political personalities and others with titles like "Israel Apartheid" and "Israel Lobby" and in extreme cases, by demonstrators who scream "Jews to the gas." Popular British magazines see nothing wrong with showing a US flag with Jewish stars to illustrate "Zionist control," or a cartoon of an Israeli Prime Minister eating Palestinian children. Time Magazine recently expounded the thesis that Israeli Jews do not care about peace because they are too busy making money and enjoying the good life.¹



Jewish anti-Zionism is not new. But now, some Jewish organizations are even willing to express support for the genocidal [Hamas](#) in one way or another.

The wave of delegitimization propaganda is not an accident. It is part of an organized and systematic effort. An equal effort is needed to respond to it.

Internet search engine results for keywords like "Zionism" or "Israel Apartheid" reveal a nightmare. Dozens of groups and Web sites "explain" the "pernicious" nature of Zionism, expound on imaginary Jewish and Zionist control of Europe and the USA and urge boycotts and divestment from Israel. The miasma is caused by a concerted effort to delegitimize the idea of Jewish self-determination. It is not confined to, or due to, a specific issue or action of Israel. **Issues are used as platforms to rally support for the basic themes of destroying Israel and Zionism.**

Objective factors

There are many objective reasons why Israel is unpopular, but these have been true for a great many years and have never really impacted Israel's popularity before. The odds against Zionism and the odds against the Jewish people have always been formidable. We have always succeeded by fighting smart and fighting tenaciously. Every battle and diplomatic confrontation we have won has been won against seemingly insurmountable odds. The advocacy battle is no different.

Objective impediments are not reasons to give up, or excuses for failure, but factors to be reckoned with. We cannot fail failure means death, not only of individuals, but of an entire nation and culture. Instead

¹ Vick, Karl, *Why Israel doesn't care about peace*. Time, September, 2, 2010, <http://www.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,2015602,00.html>

of finding reasons why we ought to fail, we have to understand what we need to do to succeed. Undoubtedly, if Israel had the climate of Northern California and there were two billion Jews in the world, it would have been easier to set up and maintain a Jewish state, but a serious analysis must deal with reality as it is. Some factors to consider:

- Influence of Persian Gulf oil;
- Institutionalization of anti-Israel activities at the U.N.
- Anti-Semitism;
- Jewish anti-Zionism;
- Resentment of Israeli policies;
- Open vs. closed societies.

A New Strategy Is Needed

Obviously, whatever Israel advocates have been doing, it has not worked very well. Advocacy efforts do not get enough attention from the Israel government and enough funding from private financial resources, but doing a lot more of the same thing is not going to be good enough.

Whatever Israel advocates have been doing, it has not worked very well.

In some cases, "advocacy" is actually making the problem worse. This handbook is predicated on the assumption that Israel advocacy needs to learn from the opposition and from our own mistakes and build a new strategy, based on these principles:

- Aiming for outreach;
- Purveying a universal message;
- Taking up issues proactively;
- Providing basic information;
- Focusing on the core issues;
- Doing advocacy rather than "PR";
- Promoting grass roots efforts;
- Using the Web and Internet.

2. Basic Concepts

Approaches To Advocacy

There is more than one successful approach to persuading people, as there are different audiences and different Israel advocates who are suited to different styles. We do not pretend to have a monopoly on truth or technique. However, some points are so obvious that they must not be ignored. Many are cliches, but certainly true. For example:

- Doing nothing and saying it is all hopeless is not a strategy;
- Getting the audience angry at you will not communicate your message;
- Telling your story to people who think like you and are already convinced will not win anyone to your cause;
- Complaining that everyone hates you will not win friends - nobody likes a loser;
- If nobody visits your Web site or comes to your rally, you aren't doing advocacy;
- If you want people to believe you, make sure of your facts;
- Don't conduct internal quarrels in public;
- Direct advocacy at people who need convincing, not just at supporters;
- Try to reach everyone, not just people of your religion;
- Don't advocate racism or violence;
- Advocacy should respect peoples' beliefs and values.

These and other common sense principles should be obvious, but much Israel advocacy ignores them and some even insist it is not so.

Our Approach To Advocacy

Our approach to advocacy is based first on principles, then techniques and only lastly, particular issues which may be ephemeral. "Talking points" might be good for a particular audience, or useful at a particular time, or reflect a particular point of view or approach. We think it is more important to get the principles and technique right. We want to teach you how to make your own "talking points." We favor proactive advocacy rather than reacting to the other side, because proactive advocacy is the only way to really gain adherents for a cause. It is also the most effective way of countering fallacious propaganda.

Concepts And Definitions

Some concepts are basic to what we do, so we had better have a common understanding of what these terms are and how we will use them.

2.1.1 What Is Advocacy?

"Israel advocacy" is making the case for Israel in the broadest sense. Those engaged in advocacy have to agree on the main principles and consensus issues. They don't have to accept every policy of the Israeli government or defend every official in every case.

Advocacy is political and ideational persuasion. It is explaining a set of ideas and principles and getting others to accept those ideas and principles.

2.1.2 What Is Not Advocacy?

Advocacy is not "PR," "Branding," or "improvement of image," though these can help. It is not directly related to improving tourism or business investment.

Advocacy is also not challenging or undermining policies of a particular Israeli government in the name of "Zionism." It is not about promoting one (Israeli or Zionist) party's political platform at the expense of others. For those in the Diaspora, advocacy is not making dubious, disprovable claims about a particular political candidate or party in your own country because you disagree with his/her position on policies not related to Israel.

Understanding what is not advocacy also helps us understand what not to do. A political candidate has to win an election in a specific time frame. After that, people will forget all the spin that was generated until the next election. Talking points or ideas that don't work can be discarded in favor of others that will get votes. Advocacy is about winning a battle for survival. It doesn't stop after a certain date, though some issues may be time-limited. It has to convince people of ideas that will need to stand the test of time.

Israel can't give up on a vital issue like Palestinian Arab "right of return" for refugees or Jewish rights in Jerusalem because the focus panel decided that the sound bite is no good. Advocacy that is fashioned by PR people of the wrong kind can fall into some of these absurd errors.

Advocacy is not the same as Public Relations or marketing. However, it uses many of the same techniques. The other side will use those techniques. Unless you are aware of them (and sometimes even if you are) they will certainly be effective against naive and impassioned defenses. You need to know the techniques of the other side and be prepared for their various arguments. You need to understand what "works" in demolishing those arguments for a neutral audience. That's not the same as arguments that may sound convincing to you.

Israel Advocacy is not Jewish Education or Zionist Education. Educating the next generation of Jewish Zionists and winning Jews over to Zionism are important goals. However, the main focus of Israel advocacy must be the vast majority of people who are not Jewish or Zionist. They are not necessarily hostile and must not be viewed as such.

Israel advocacy is not fighting anti-Semitism - Anti-Semitism is often confounded with anti-Israel propaganda, but it usually is not an issue for Israel advocacy.

2.1.3 What Is Zionism?

Zionism is the national liberation movement of the Jewish people. It is political movement based on the beliefs that:

- The Jews are a people.
- The Jewish people have the right to self-determination.
- The only land that the Jews and the world have ever viewed as the legitimate home of the Jewish people is the land called Israel, or, by others, "Palestine."
- The Jewish people have the right to realize their self-determination in the land of Israel.
- The Jewish people, or those of them who wish to, should undergo a national rebirth and regeneration. The Jews have a right to become a nation like any other nation - a free people in our own land.

Achieving the goal - The goal set by the first Zionist congress was to obtain a national home for the Jewish people secured in international law (literally, "the law of peoples"). Formally, that goal was obtained first with the League of Nations mandate for Palestine. When that proved a failure, the right of

the Jewish people to self-determination was again recognized in the 1947 UN decision to partition the land into an Arab state and a Jewish state. In fact, a considerable portion of the nations of the world, the Arab states especially, never accepted either decision. They rejected the principle that the Jewish people has the right of self-determination. Many never agreed that there is such a thing as a Jewish people; they insist that Judaism is only a religion.

2.1.4 What Is Not Zionism?

Zionism is not a religious movement. There are religious Jews who support Zionism for their own religious reasons, just as there are anti-Zionist religious Jews who can "prove" that the Jewish religion is not compatible with Zionism. There are Christians who support Israel, some of whom are called "Christian Zionists," and there are Christians whose faith teaches them to be anti-Zionist or leads them to be anti-Semites. Zionism is not a religious movement. It is a political movement and ideology.

Zionism is not about "Greater Israel," real estate, chosen people or fulfillment of God's covenant. Zionism was not viewed even by religious founders of Zionism as any of the above. No borders were originally proposed for the Jewish national home. "Greater Israel" was first introduced as a boogie man by Arab propagandists about a hundred years ago, when they forecast that the Jews would try to take over all the land in the Middle East as far as the Euphrates River. In recent times, this has been a centerpiece of Arab propaganda.

Zionist is not the same as "pro-Israel." "Pro-Israel" is so ambiguous that it is a virtually meaningless term. Organizations that use that label for themselves are often using it to hide an anti-Zionist program. "Israel" is just a name..

Zionist advocacy is not about advocating a particular political program for Israel - It should not be the primary business of any Zionist advocacy group to advocate for a particular political program other than the current program of the Israeli government and its leaders. It is legitimate for groups and people to advocate for right or left wing programs, but that is not Zionist advocacy.

Zionism is not related to any local issues outside Israel, other than support for Israel - The Zionist movement and the state of Israel do not take any position about issues such as abortion, vegetarianism, drilling for oil in Alaska, health insurance in the United States or global warming.

Israel advocates may personally believe in any number of political, social or religious causes or work for particular political candidates in Israel or their country. They are entitled to have any such beliefs they like, and to work for them and advocate for them in the channels and organizations that are related to such causes. These activities have nothing to do with Israel advocacy and should not be associated with it. Associating Israel advocacy with an unrelated cause usually serves no purpose. It makes opponents of that cause despise Zionism for no reason.

Identifying The Core Issue

Since 1900 or so there has been only one real issue in the physical battle for Israel and in the public opinion or advocacy war: The Arabs do not accept the right of the Jewish people to self-determination. Often, they do not admit that the Jews are a people or have historic rights in Israel, AKA Palestine. That basic historic refusal is the reason for all the wars, and it has been translated into various "issues," masquerading as "Israel Apartheid," "Right of Return," refusal to recognize Israel as the state of the Jewish people etc. The core issue is historic and seemingly only of academic importance, but the issues it spawns are with us every day.

Almost all other issues flow from the stand of a person on the core question. "If one accepts the Arab premise, part of the original Palestinian Covenant, that Jews are only a religion and have no right to self-determination, then Israel indeed "discriminates" against people of other religions or outsiders with "racist" immigration laws." While they object to a state supposedly based on the Jewish religion, strangely, the same people may have no problem with Saudi Arabia, which will not allow non-Muslims into its capital, with the numerous Arab countries and the Palestinian Authority, whose constitutions all declare that their legislation must be based on Muslim Sha'aria religious law. Nor do they advocate regime change in Iran, which declares itself to be an Islamic Republic.

Of course, if you deny that the French are a nation, then there is no basis for French people to say arbitrarily that Americans or Chinese or Russians cannot automatically claim French citizenship or cross the border without passports and visas. That would make the French Republic a "racist" state as well. Likewise, if one accepts the Arab premise, then the Hezbollah and the Hamas, which are sworn to destroy a member state of the UN, have the legitimate right to "resist" the occupation of any and all territories (with terror). They have the right to sabotage efforts to achieve a two-state solution within "occupied Palestine," whether by suicide bombings or by setting impossible conditions such as "right of return" of refugees.

Therefore, almost all Israel or Zionist advocacy must begin with inculcating the idea that there is such a thing as a Jewish people and that the Jewish people has the right to self-determination within Israel, which is our historic homeland. If the focus groups or kibitzers or any audience do not accept that idea, you cannot move to a different strategy because that is the main point of what you are trying to do

"Hasbara" vs. Advocacy

Hasbara literally means "explanation." Israeli government officials must explain the actions of their government. It is not particularly your job, especially if you find it difficult to get definitive information about a specific issue. Your main mission is to defend the legitimacy of the Zionist idea. "Explanation" is always reactive to criticism. It is not proactive. Advocacy is a positive act. You are in the "business" of advocating for the rights of the Jewish people. You are not primarily in the business of explaining the latest actions of the Israeli government. You should not get bogged down in denying the latest atrocity stories invented by anti-Israel groups. You will have to do "Hasbara" as well. However, you need to focus on the main goal and not allow yourself to be entirely distracted by red herrings and marginally relevant issues.

3. Basics Of Advocacy And Persuasion

Having defined what advocacy and Zionism are, we can begin to discuss the basics of advocacy and persuasion in this and the following chapters.

Foundations Of Communication and Advocacy

These principles form a useful framework and standard for understanding what must be done and for judging your work. Many of them are the basis of successful conventional "Public Relations" in citizen advocacy² and others are useful for success in all projects:

- Define the goal;
- Choose a target for your campaign;
- Measure success and monitor progress;
- Numbers don't always tell the whole story;
- Identify and segment the target audience;
- Frame the issue and your group;
- Present you issue convincingly and effectively;
- Always tell the truth.

3.1.1 Defining your goal

Defining the goal is the first and most obvious task in any venture. It applies to a group or coalition you may form, to a specific campaign and to a presentation or broadside or video within that campaign. Exactly what do you intend to accomplish? It seems simple, but it is not.

If you are not clear on the goal from the start, your project or group are probably going to get bogged down in divisive arguments and philosophical discussions, and nothing will be accomplished. If the goal is not realistic, you won't get anywhere either. Is your goal countering groups that challenge the legitimacy of Israel, is it "Peace in the Middle East" or is it promoting "Jewish leadership?" Is running counter-demonstrations a goal, or is it a means to achieve a goal? For coalitions and groups, choose the most inclusive goal. For campaigns and "products." be sure they are serving that goal.

3.1.2 Choosing A Target

In planning a campaign, target a single organization, a media outlet, journal or a firm within an industry. Concentrate your resources, organize the community and form coalitions to publicize the misdeed or misdeeds of that one group. Choose the most extreme and blatant examples. Keep at it until you succeed. Shotgun approaches, complaints about "the media" or "academics" that are not focused are usually a guarantee of failure.

² http://www.fenton.com/FENTON_IndustryGuide_ProvingYourWorth.pdf; http://www.fenton.com/FENTON_IndustryGuide_ThisJustIn.pdf,
http://www.fenton.com/FENTON_IndustryGuide_NowHearThis.pdf

3.1.3 Measuring Success And Monitoring Progress

If whatever you are doing is "not working" you need to know, you need tools to understand why, and then you need to try new approaches to find out what will work. Social science does not provide exact measurement, but you can get a good idea if you are succeeding by combining some different measures. For example:

By the numbers - Is your group growing? Are you getting more people at demonstrations? Is your Web audience growing? Is your mailing list growing? Are you getting more contributions? Numbers are important but they are not enough, since every new enterprise may grow for a while, and the sort of people you are attracting may be already convinced or without influence. An energetic activist can add thousands of people to a mailing list, but those people may not be really interested in your issue.

By results - Did the legislation you supported pass? Did opinion change favorably about the issue you support? Did you popularize, or associate with your cause, a word or slogan such as "BUYcott," "Pinkwashing," "Two states for two peoples," "Hell no, we won't go," "Yes we can!" "Zionism is Racism," or "Israel Apartheid?"

3.1.4 Numbers are not everything

Numbers and results aren't everything, "Success" depends on how you define it. If there are twenty people at your demonstration and you expected a hundred, then it was a failure, but if only ten people came to the last demonstration, this one may be considered a resounding success. If the measure you advocated did not pass, but your campaign educated people about it, your campaign can be counted as a success.

The Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) campaign waged against Israel is an example. The BDS movement conducted numerous initiatives on the west coast of the United States for boycotting Israel or divesting from it. In the beginning the initiatives were conducted in student senates of universities, where they could have only a symbolic meaning in any case, since student senates do not decide any university policy.

Every such initiative failed, and Israel advocates were proud of their "successes." Even in the anti-Israel stronghold of the University of California at Berkeley, the BDS initiative was unable to win support. Then they were conducted in grocery cooperatives, where they have had a solitary success in the large cooperative of Olympia, Washington.³ Next, the boycott and divestment proposals will appear on the local and state ballots.

What is happening? Why do the boycott organizers invest so much effort in an initiative that keeps failing? The boycott organizers are gambling that the little failures will add up to a big success. They began with small and worthless targets where local factors such as alliances with the Hamas-supporting MSA could at least get them a hearing, and they are gradually escalating to larger and more valuable targets, counting on publicity generated by the outrageous nature of their proposals.

They have put their initiative on the public agenda and legitimized it. BDS has started to become a household word. When people are seriously discussing the merits of beating up Jews, the focus of public debate has shifted dangerously.

³ Haber Jon, *The Straight Coop*, Solomonia, 22.9.2010. <http://www.solomonia.com/blog/archive/2010/09/the-straight-coop>

They are also building an organization and legitimizing a world view. The boycott Israel movement began several years ago, but it has capitalized on recent incidents to attract popular support, each time building on the ideas and narrative that boycotters promoted in previous campaigns.

A failed boycott initiative in a co-op in Port Townsend, Washington, is an example. Port Townsend has a total population of about 9,000. A boycott proposal there failed by a vote of 4 to 2, an occasion for jubilation among Zionists. However, it was a glorious failure. The co-op board turned down the proposal on the ground that it does not engage in "politics." A totally unfair and illegitimate idea, the brainchild of a genocidal movement, has been legitimized as "politics." The boycott supporters had their proposal discussed at a public meeting where 175 people heard lectures about the evils of Israel from "peace" activists (Hamas supporters). This event that got a mostly favorable write-up in the local newspaper, which is published online, and therefore internationally. ⁴

A tiny local effort got international publicity, and was later reported by anxious supporters of Zionism as a victory, but it was not.. In the U.K., the boycott began by targeting the AUT, NATFHE and their successor the UCU, all teachers unions, and failed.⁵ After several failures, the boycott now encompasses the mighty UNISON trade union. The UNISON debacle illustrates why there is method in the madness of the boycott people. After the boycott vote, a union spokesperson explained:

“More than 2,000 delegates to UNISON’s national conference, representing our 1.4 million members, did indeed carry a motion condemning the Israeli attack on the Gaza freedom flotilla, in which nine people were reportedly killed...”

“The motion noted that the boats were carrying much needed humanitarian aid for the people of Gaza [and that] the passengers on the boats were civilians.”⁶

There is no truth at all in the statement. The union removed the Trade Union Friends of Israel (TUPI) and excluded them from the meeting before there was any vote. The vote was about a boycott not about a condemnation. The Mavi Marmara, the ship that was boarded, carried no humanitarian aid.⁷

The boycott motion was only carried because a long campaign had already convinced union members that the genocidal Hamas regime was a "humanitarian" cause worth supporting. UNISON members would never have voted to boycott Britain over its blockade of Nazi Germany, even though the blockade caused a lot of real suffering, with the result that the growth of the Hitler Jugend and Bund Deutscher Madel youth was probably stunted. How many young rocket launcher members are suffering the same fate in Gaza.

In the same Jerusalem Post report,⁸ we also learn the following:

UNISON’s deputy general secretary, Keith Sonnet, a pro-Palestinian activist and patron of the Palestine Solidarity Campaign – a fringe group that advocates a one-state solution and major player in the boycott and delegitimization campaign against Israel....

⁴Bermant, Charlie, *As 175 watch, Port Townsend Co-op rejects request to boycott Israeli products over Gaza issues*, Peninsula Daily News, 22.9.2010, <http://www.peninsuladailynews.com/article/20100922/news/309229987/as-175-watch-port-townsend-co-op-rejects-request-to-boycott-israeli>

⁵ *An Introduction to the Academic Boycotts of Israel*, Zionism On the Web, January 25, 2009, http://www.zionismontheweb.org/academic_boycott/

⁶ Paul, Johnny, *British trade union calls for boycott*, Jerusalem Post, June 24, 2010, <http://www.jpost.com/International/Article.aspx?id=179475>

⁷ *No Humanitarian aid on Mavi Marmara ship* 6.9.2010 <http://middle-east-analysis.blogspot.com/2010/06/report-no-humanitarian-aid-on.html>

⁸ Paul, Johnny, *British trade union calls for boycott*, Jerusalem Post, June 24, 2010, <http://www.jpost.com/International/Article.aspx?id=179475>

The boycott people had been working for many years to put their people in key positions. The racist, genocidal, "one state" solution was masked in a "humanitarian" campaign. The Post should understand that when a group has won the support of a major national union, it is no longer a "fringe group."

Persistence pays. The Palestine Solidarity Campaign has arrived.

We need some failures like these.

3.1.5 Identifying And Segmenting Target Audiences

Identify who decides a particular issue: Congress, the President? Your Prime Minister? Journalists? The European Parliament? A Church board? Young people? Women? a board? Church issues are decided by church leadership, student senates decide how the student senates will vote, union leaders decide union policy. They are special segments of your audience to reach. You also need to reach more general audiences, but you specifically need to target these key people, get their addresses, be certain they know who you are, and make sure they hear from you and from your constituency. The general audiences are needed to help convince the leaders. Make sure you are reaching all segments of the general audience, especially young people.

3.1.6 Framing Your Issue And Your Group

Framing is about the same as "branding" or positioning. It determines how the public will perceive your issue or product and your organization. A cheap automobile can be an "economy model" sold to young families seeking transportation. The advertisements show housewives shopping in it or families on vacation. With some added trim, the same automobile can be "trendy and innovative wheels for young people." Are you "pro-choice" or "pro-abortion?" Which sounds better? Is a leader a "freedom fighter" or a "spiritual leader" or a "master terrorist?"

Are you for murdering the Jews or for "Peace and Justice in Palestine?" In some parts of the world, the former goal actually sounds better. The opposition has framed their issues so cleverly that they have progressives supporting a reactionary genocidal ideology. We have framed ours so poorly that we often cannot even get the support of our own people.

3.1.7 Presenting your issue convincingly

Activists are always convinced they are right. Frequently, they don't understand that it is not obvious to others that they are right.

"Whenever you think: 'The fact that I am right should be enough,' think about the nerd at the frat party, who, around midnight, starts warning people about toxicity levels in beer."⁹

Frame your communications and issues so they tie people to issues and groups they already support: "It's the Christian way," "It's the democratic way," "It's fair play." "It's the American way."

Learn to summarize issues in easy to understand points that all support your solution. Leave the complexities for academic discussions.

Never associate your issue or your group with extraneous or unpopular issues or political leaders.

Admired public figures should deliver the message. Who says it is as important as what they say.

⁹ http://www.fenton.com/FENTON_IndustryGuide_NowHearThis.pdf

Present issues concretely and illustrate them by tying them to people and their stories, and groups and their stories.¹⁰ An interview with a female Arab IDF combat soldier tells people more about Israeli democracy than a hundred pages of statistics.

3.1.8 Always Tell The Truth

Never, let someone persuade you to adopt a position you know to be untrue. Truth is your biggest stock in trade. If you are caught in a few fibs, you will have destroyed your credibility. You will not be able to convince others.

The need to tell the truth is one reason why you should be very familiar with all the issues and history insofar as possible. You are not the Israeli government or IDF, however. You cannot know and nobody should expect you to know information that is not public. Don't allow yourself to be maneuvered into a position where you are answering questions like "Will Israel bomb Iran?" How could you possibly know the answer to that question without a crystal ball and a spy in the Israel Ministry of Defense?

Do not ever engage in passing on hoax letters or propagating hoaxes. Always check the reliability of sources. The reputation of advocacy volunteers and information is the most precious and important asset we have. The credibility of Arab "information" was destroyed for quite a long time when Gamal Abdul Nasser was caught lying about supposed US participation in the 1967 Six Day War.

Do No Harm

The first principle of anything you do should be "Do No Harm." You can do harm if:

- Your statements can be shown to be false, implying that the arguments they support are false.
- Your actions, statements or slogans can be used to portray Zionism or Jews as racists, extremists, warmongers and reactionaries.
- Your themes or "explanations" can be used to delegitimize Zionism.
- Your statements offend particular groups or insult their leaders.

Examples of statements and actions that do harm:

- **Extremist, violent ideas** - An article that advocated "nuking" Mecca.
- **Mixing Zionism and domestic policies in Diaspora countries** - An article appeared in a Zionist publication, advocating a particular stand about US health care policies that was in no way related to Zionism or Israel. The title of the article called for denying medical care to AIDS patients. What does that have to do with Zionism or Israel?
- **Excessive zeal in the cause of "peace"** - A "Zionist" group featured a film by anti-Zionist Azmi Bishara; a "pro-Israel" group insists that the security fence is a "land grab." If these groups really have differences of opinion with Israeli policy, they should find constructive ways to express them.

¹⁰ <http://www.odi.org.uk/resources/download/155.pdf> page 8.

- **Settler violence** - Settlers who beat Arabs and uproot olive trees are used to show Israeli brutality. The problem is not just "Hasbara." The actions themselves do great harm to Israel and to Zionism, and the ideology they represent should not have any place in Zionism.
- **Glorifying use of force or attributing it to Zionist ideology** - Claim by right-wing extremists and some others that Zionism was always about use of force and that transfer was an integral part of Zionist ideology. Both claims can be shown to be false, but advocacy of these positions by persons who identify themselves as "Zionists" makes it easy to paint Zionism as heartless and evil.
- **The Holocaust** - In 1948 and since, Zionist advocacy used the Holocaust extensively as an emotional tool and as a rationale for "justifying" the need for a Jewish state. The Holocaust was a tragic illustration of the correctness of Zionist doctrine, but it should not be referred to as the "reason" for creating a Jewish state, It is not a good reason and it was not the reason for Zionism, which began long before.
- **Anti-Semitism** - Like the Holocaust, anti-Semitism has been overused and abused. It should be applied only when appropriate and when its use can be defended. A person who is opposed to the Israeli occupation is not an anti-Semite unless they use anti-Semitic terminology and ideas. A person who claims "Zionists" control the world or the U.S. government really is an anti-Semite.
- **Right wing advocacy** - "Advocacy" that brands all liberals or Democratic party voters as anti-Israel people with dangerous "leftist" ideas alienates a great many potential supporters for no good reason. Over half the American public voted for the Democratic party in the last election. Most of those people support Israel Don't lose half your audience! Anti-Zionists are quite happy to label all Zionists as "neo-cons." Don't fall into their trap.

3.1.9 Get The Facts Straight

You must get your facts right. For example, don't tell people that Mahmoud Ahmadinejad threatened to wipe Israel off the map. He never said that - it was a mistranslation. He said things that were just as bad or worse, but he did not say, "Wipe Israel off the map." If you attribute that to him, you may lose credibility.

3.1.10 Learn To Shut Up When Necessary

In some situations, the biggest contribution that one can make to Zionist advocacy is to shut up. Knowing when to shut up is important. It is the most important part of "doing no harm."

Examples:

A hostile telephone interviewer - You are being interviewed live by an interviewer who is badgering you or twisting your words, and who will not let you get your point across or even finish a sentence. Say politely, "It was nice talking to you, but I'm afraid I have to go now," and hang up as graciously as possible. Interviewers are usually very good at what they do. Unless you are adroit, you aren't going to outsmart the vicious ones.

Impaired capacity - An anti-Zionist interviewed drunken American students in an Israeli bar. He got them to cuss out President Obama, use racial slurs and exhibit their gross ignorance. One "expert" didn't know who Benjamin Netanyahu is. If you have such views and they can't be corrected, please don't share them in the name of Zionism or Israel. Never give an interview when your judgment is impaired..

Hostile media - Hostile media routinely go to the West Bank and find the most extreme group of English speaking settlers imaginable. They get them to make statements that paint Israel as a state of religious fanatics more extreme than the Islamic Republic of Iran. If you can't speak responsibly and give a representative view, please do not give interviews. You are not helping your cause. You are certainly not helping Zionism or the state of Israel by making extreme statements. If you give an interview, be sure to emphasize that you are for peace and justice, but that you think Jewish rights need to be respected as well as Palestinian Arab rights.

Be wary of journalists and interviewers, regardless of how they present themselves.

3.2 Advocacy As War

There are two aspects to advocacy. One of them is simply spreading basic information to interested parties. Do not make assumptions about the motives or political positions of those parties that are not warranted. Arabs and Muslims are not necessarily anti-Israel. An Arab wrote and asked for a book that explains Zionism. He just wanted to know. A Muslim wanted information about Judaism and Zionism in order to make a documentary dispelling common anti-Zionist and anti-Semitic slanders.

However, the second aspect of advocacy is very much adversarial. "The enemy" is a coalition of anti-Israel groups. Some of the groups were formed around a particular issue. Some are anti-Zionist groups using various issues to try to discredit the Zionist idea. Some are anti-Semitic groups "taking a ride" on the Israel-Arab conflict. Some are pacifist or "liberal" groups that believe they are supporting anti-colonialism.. The war is conducted using all the strategies and principles that are set forth in books of strategy beginning with the "Art of War" by Sun Tzu.¹¹ The most important ones to remember are:

- Form alliances..
- Maintain unity and discipline.
- Concentrate your forces.
- Divide the enemy,
- When at all possible, choose the battleground and the time - be proactive.
- Attack where the enemy is weakest.
- Be on the lookout for opportunities and exploit them.
- Follow up and reinforce successes.
- Do not defend hopeless positions.
- When you are strong, act weak.
- When you are weak, act strong.

Some examples of the above, applied to advocacy:

Form alliances - A coalition of small groups around the state or around the country can obviously accomplish much more than tiny groups. Anti-Israel groups have certainly used this principle well. Pro-Israel groups do not form alliances easily.. They tend to splinter off into smaller and smaller groups instead.

¹¹ <http://www.chinapage.com/sunzi-e.html>

Maintain Unity and Discipline - The coalition doesn't have to agree on everything. It has to find the main points of common ground that are the basis of your campaign, and then it must stick with them without deviation.

Concentrate your forces - Anti-Israel advocates have learned to focus their resources in a particular area, and on a particular issue, where they are strong. This requires coordination among many groups, bringing in advocates from out of town and carefully planning campaigns.

Divide the enemy - The anti-Israel advocates are usually part of a coalition. Each group has sacrificed some principles to be in a coalition. Jewish groups look the other way to ignore the genocidal intent of groups that support Hamas and Hezbollah. In a boycott coalition there are those who think they are advocating for a peaceful two state solution, and others who are really advocating for a one state solution. Make certain that the public and the supporters of these different groups understand that the real motive of the campaign is destruction of Israel, not "peace" or "justice."

Choose the battleground - be proactive - Don't wait until there is an "Israel Apartheid Week" on your campus. Initiate a "Middle East Peace Week" or a "Human Rights Week."

Attack where the enemy is weak - Expose the Palestinian record in peace negotiations and support for terror, where they are weakest, rather than allowing them to drag you into discussions about the latest human rights allegations about the IDF.

Be on the lookout for opportunities and exploit them - When Israel or Israelis do something good, be sure people know about it. When the other makes a mistake or commits an atrocity like burning churches, be sure people know about it.

Follow up and reinforce successes - If you succeeded in stopping a boycott initiative in your university, make sure people know about it, and help others to do the same in their university or union.

Do not defend hopeless positions - If you are alone in an auditorium full of *Kaffiyeh* clad students yelling "One state, one state, *Kulu al Ard Arabi!*" (all the land is Arab) don't start a fight. Get out.

When you are strong, act weak - People sympathize with the underdog. Never announce that you are bringing vast resources to bear against the anti-Israel camp, even if you somehow have such resources. Don't announce "Public Relations" campaigns. Acting weak also invites the other side to attack where you are really strong. Let the other side be surprised.

When you are weak, act strong - Groups composed of only a few enthusiasts or extremists have often created the impression of being an important movement. They demonstrate, attract publicity, claim a wide following and pretty soon they may really have one. Anti-Israel extremists do it all the time. They tell reporters, "We represent the silent majority of progressive Americans who are sick and tired of the Zionist Occupied Government." In reality, the group may have three members. Every large group had to start as a small one.

Advocates of the anti-Israel cause have succeeded so well in part because they have internalized and applied each and every one of the above maxims, and because they focus on outreach, rather than preaching to the convinced. They cultivate churches, unions and women's groups and others that are not Arab or Muslim, and aren't intrinsically interested in their cause. They also implement another of Sun Tzu's maxims on a grand scale: Deception.

3.2.1 Deception

Sun Tzu stated "All warfare is based on deception." Palestinians and Anti-Israel groups have internalized and practiced this precept at all levels. Hamas and other Palestinian terror groups have used ambulances to transport terrorists and arms, and Hamas leaders hid in a hospital during the 2008 Gaza War. Propaganda groups then claimed that Israel committed "war crimes" by attacking ambulances. The boycott and divestment campaign, ostensibly aimed at "ending the occupation" is really aimed at ending Israel. Though the goal is usually hidden, a quote from a meeting of anti-Israel activists is revealing. The boycott and divestment campaign is meant to block the two-state solution:

In the past, we used to assume that our struggle has two stages: the struggle against occupation and struggle for a just solution of the conflict and peace. We used to say that the end of occupation will not bring about an end of the conflict, but is a condition for the latter. We had short term and long term objectives, i.e. ending the occupation by means including armed struggle vs. the debate over one- or two-state solutions. The idea was that the final settlement should take place in a peaceful context rather than within armed struggle.

Now that we face the paradox of a so-called 'two-state solution' without an end to occupation.¹²..

Translating from their jargon, they intended to first end the occupation and then end Israel as part of a "just solution."

The speaker continued:

About sanctions/boycott campaigns as a necessary means:

- The legitimacy of Israel's regime must be challenged for its racism on the one hand, and its colonialist character on the other. The only way this regime can be brought to collapse is from outside. We have to call for boycott and sanctions against Israel.

The speaker gave these interesting instructions:

Divestment, sanctions and boycott campaigns should be launched in ways that best fit the specific circumstances of organizers and their constituency...

Translated into regular English, that means, tell whatever lies you have to tell in order to convince people to support boycott and sanctions.

3.2.2 Don't Telegraph Your Punches

We are engaged in a war, and the other side views it as such and acts accordingly. Israel advocacy groups and Israel government agencies often announce far and wide that they are starting an Israel advocacy or "Public Relations" campaign. This is done by press releases and media events. These are often the only visible product of their activities ever. Officials need to show they are doing something and groups need to raise money and support. These announcements provide an excellent target for anti-Israel activists who are quick to announce that the "Israel Lobby" is going to spend a lot of Zionist money to lie to people and use the "Zionist controlled press" to "shut out the truth" about Israel and Zionism. An announcement that you are going to be doing "Public Relations" and "image improvement" can be, and usually is, interpreted to mean that you are not sincere and that you are about to engage in lies and trickery. "PR" is not appropriate for advocates of a cause or ideology. Advocacy for a cause or providing information is not "Public Relations" in the sense of spin doctoring and should never be confused with it.

¹² http://www.badil.org/Campaign/Expert_Forum/Haifa/Summary.htm

Advocacy for a cause or providing information is not "Public Relations" in the sense of spin doctoring and should never be confused with it.

Be Proactive Rather Than Reactive

A frequent question of volunteer Israel advocates, too frequent, is something like this: "X has just published a book claiming that all Zionists have horns and tails, how do I counter it?" or "The Drive-into-the-sea" group is running a 'Zionism is Racism Week' at our university. What should we do?" The best answer, though it is not always accepted, is "be proactive." If people are already familiar with our side of the story, have the basic facts and are at least vaguely sympathetic, then the Zionism is Racism Week and the book about Zionists with horns and tails are not going to have much effect. If, on the other hand, you spend all your time trying to debunk fake Zionist quotes in the latest anti-Zionist book, you will find yourself in a hopeless trap. The other side can invent a new fib every minute. It may take a month to disprove each one. Of course, you should be picketing outrageous "one state" events and debunking books about the "Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine," but don't expect that type of activity to win many new friends for Israel. At the most, it will limit the damage a bit. Think carefully about why you are not convinced by the latest anti-Israel book or the university Israel Apartheid Week. You didn't get persuaded to be pro-Israel by some counter-pickets. In subsequent chapters, we will explore how opinions are really formed - they are not formed just by reading a few bits of propaganda.

You have a complex set of knowledge and understanding - basic facts and views about Israel, built up over many years. This background tells you that these people cannot possibly be right. That's what prevents you from falling prey to propaganda. It is that sort of basic knowledge, that schema of the way the world works, that narrative, that we must impart to others. It can only be done by proactive education and advocacy. Proactive advocacy is the only real way to counter fallacious propaganda.

Advocacy manuals that consist only of an aggregation of answers to "tough questions" are reactive. A strategy based only on such manuals is going to fail. It allows the other side to choose the "battleground" - the issues - which are often red herrings or fake slogans. That allows them to attack where we are weakest. They already heard most of the canned answers and they have answers for your answers.

Avoid participation in panels that discuss loaded propositions like "Removing the Israel Apartheid Wall." Avoid hostile interviewers. You are being used there. You are going to find yourself answering questions analogous to "How often do you beat your wife?" Go explain that you aren't married! If you are exclusively reactive, you will always be fighting the enemy on grounds they choose. You will be fending off attacks where you are weakest, and where they have meticulously prepared their case. You have to be prepared for these situations, but they can't be the basis of your entire advocacy program.

Proactive advocacy is the only real way to counter fallacious propaganda.

Be proactive - If you understand the basic principles of advocacy and persuasion, you are in a better position to define the issues and chose them. Set the "battle field" and make sure the other side has to answer tough questions about *their* positions. Putting across a coherent view or "narrative" requires a coordinated effort by a large organization or organizations, which is notably lacking in the field of Israel advocacy. The last chapter in this guide gives a few examples of possible proactive campaigns and issues.

Even in reactive and hostile situations, if you are skilled in presenting materials, can think on your feet in debate, and understand the major points, you can turn the situation around. Move the debate away

from red-herring "issues," like "proportionality" of Israeli responses, and empty slogans about "Israel Apartheid." Focus the debate on the substantive issues and the unacceptable positions of the other side that these smokescreens are meant to avoid.

You Are A Zionist, Not Zionism

Be careful to distinguish your own views on specific issues from those of the Zionist movement or the state of Israel. That frees you from the burden of defending policies you may not like and allows you to speak your mind freely (within the bounds of good taste and civility) and honestly. It frees Israel and Zionism from being saddled with your ideas in the minds of your audience.

Stick to the Zionist Issues- "What business are we in?"

Don't ever prostitute Zionism or Israel advocacy to advance a different cause, political party or issue that has nothing to do with Zionism or Israel. Don't try to sell a candidate as "good for Israel" unless you can really prove it. And don't claim that your political efforts on behalf of that candidate have anything to do with "Zionist advocacy." Zionism and Israel have nothing to do one way or the other with most American or other foreign local issues such as abortion, gay marriage or drilling for oil in Alaska, or with issues such as global warming. Don't use mailing lists constructed for Zionism in order to "push" these other issues or sell memberships in non-Zionist political groups or merchandise such as "I am a conservative" T-shirts.

Zionism is not anti-Islam and should not be confused with anti-Islam campaigns and "Islamophobia" or identified with them. However, radical Islamism is unabashedly anti-Semitic as well as anti-Zionist, and manifestations of racism in the Muslim and Arab world need to be pointed out. When Israel is attacked for "human rights violations", it is legitimate and necessary to point out egregious oppression of minorities, women, gay people and Christians in Muslim and Arab societies. However, campaigns against the Qur'an or the Muslim religion have nothing to do with Zionism and must be separated from them.

Sticking to the program is a basic tenet of business administration. If you are in doubt about an issue, always ask yourself, "What business are we in?" You are not in the Muslim-bashing business or the anti-abortion business or the global warming business or the anti-global warming business or the Democratic or Republican Party business. Make allies with anyone who will listen, but keep focused on your business - defending Israel and propagating the Zionist idea. Don't make needless enemies by announcing positions on irrelevant issues and defending them, and don't drag Zionism into someone else's fight.

3.2.3 Z-Word J-Word and H-Word

"Jew" has always been a word with bad connotations, but we are stuck with it. The entire point of Zionism is the right of national self-determination for Jews. A tenacious campaign has turned "Zionist" into an equally bad word. It is usually and not too subtly used as a synonym for "Jewish." It is pointless to try to evade the problem, because whatever we call ourselves, the same groups will attach the similar sets of slanders to the term. The "Jew Zionist" business is the business we are in.

"Hasbara" has also undeniably assumed a very negative connotation, as has Israel advocacy. Anti-Israel groups, to hear them tell it, are never engaged in "advocacy" or "PR." They are simply "explaining their position," and "demanding their rights." Be ready to expose their techniques and pretenses.

Be aware of these issues and the problems they will cause, even if we do not have a good solution right now. However, don't pretend you aren't Jewish if you are, and don't pretend you are not Zionist. Present your case and explain that you are fighting for your rights and for justice.

3.2.4 Different Politics, One Goal

Different factions of the Zionist movement have different political visions. When you are doing Israel advocacy, you need to leave your internal political behind. Take a queue from pro-Palestinian groups. They can form powerful coalitions, where Jewish Voice for Peace, American Friends Service Committee (Quakers) and the Muslim Students Union work together on an issue, despite deep political and religious divisions. It will not matter how big Israel ought to be or what borders it ought to have if our opponents have their way, because there will not be any Israel.

Be Efficient And Focus your Energies

Ask yourself if what you are doing is the best use of your time and limited resources. The size of your audience is one criterion, but not the only one. Not everyone can address a nationwide TV audience or write an editorial for *The New York Times*, and that is not always the best way of convincing people.

Commenting in talkbacks is not usually a substitute for advocacy. It is important to comment from time to time in certain well-read venues, but that should not be the organized focus of your advocacy activity.

Voting in Internet polls is *always* a waste of time. Polls in Al-Jazeera.net will always be anti-Israel and polls in *The Jerusalem Post* will invariably be pro-Israel. One enterprising person or group produced a fake polling site that was touted for months as a "CNN poll." The only purpose of the site was to draw partisans who would click on the advertising.

If you can spend that time developing your own Web log or speaking to a university group or writing a letter or article for your local newspaper, you are far more likely to have an impact. If you are known from your own writing, your occasional comments will also have more importance.

If some obscure anti-Israel group starts a tiny Web site or action group around an issue that isn't attracting much attention, there is no point in "going after them," because very likely you will only succeed in getting them some publicity. Any publicity is usually good publicity for a small group. That's true for your small group as well.

4. How People Form Opinions

Changing people's opinions and mobilizing social activism is an art, a science and an industry. As with any art, persuasion is helped by talent. There are individuals who have "leadership qualities" and personal charisma that make them "natural" persuaders, whether they are "selling" vacuum cleaners or free enterprise or socialism or Palestinian "rights" or Zionism. They may not be deep thinkers, but they instinctively know how to communicate. But there is also a large literature that studies the techniques of persuasion, as detailed in [Appendix F](#) and [Appendix G](#) (see, for example, the Web sites [Changing Minds](#)¹³ and [The Spin Project](#)¹⁴). And there is an industry, not only in conventional "Public

¹³ <http://changingminds.org/>

¹⁴ <http://www.spinproject.org/>

Relations," but also in selling skills and knowledge to build a successful political movement. The pioneering firm in this industry is probably [Fenton Communications](#).¹⁵ Fenton clients include numerous advocacy and social change organizations. Their Web site also includes several useful advocacy guides. Fenton serves pro-Palestinian groups among others. They were recently hired to represent the "al Fakhoora" project, which is aimed at giving publicity to the anti-Israel view of the "humanitarian" flotillas to Gaza.¹⁶

Fundamentals of Persuasion

Soon after World War II, Yale University published the results of a multiyear multi-project survey, now known as the Yale Attitude Change approach. Some of the key results came to be part of marketing fundamentals and helped to spawn the "soft sell" and other sales approaches.¹⁷

The Yale approach spawned other studies that elaborated on the earlier findings. The principle results can be summarized under several headings.

4.1.1 The Source of the Communication

- The credibility of the messenger: experts are more likely to convince the audience than people with no expertise or no credentials presenting the same arguments.¹⁸
- An attractive speaker is more likely to convince an audience than an unattractive speaker, presenting the same arguments.¹⁹

4.1.2 The Character of the Communication

- Messages that do not seem to be trying to persuade the audience are more successful in persuading the audience.²⁰
- Presentations that give the both sides of the argument and then defeat the less desired alternative are most persuasive. However, if there are no good counter arguments, it is better to discuss only one side of the issue.²¹

¹⁵ <http://www.fenton.com/>

¹⁶ [Qatar enlists PR firm with Obama ties for pro-Hamas campaign](#), World Tribune, June 21, 2010

¹⁷ Hovland, C. I., Janis, I. L. and Kelley, H. H. (1953) *Communications and persuasion: Psychological studies in opinion change*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press

¹⁸ Hovland, C.I and Weiss, W. The influence of source credibility on communication effectiveness. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 15, 1951. 635-650; . Petty, R.E., Wegener, D.T and Fabrigar, L.R.. Attitudes and attitudes change. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 1997, 48, 609-647.

¹⁹ Eagly, A.H. and Chaiken, S. An attribution analysis of communicator characteristics on opinion change. The case of communicator attractiveness. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 1975, 32, 136-244; Petty, R.E Wegener, D.T and Fabrigar, L.R.. Attitudes and attitudes change. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 1997, 48, 609-647

²⁰ Petty, R.E and Cacioppo, J.T. 1986 *Communication and Persuasion: Central and peripheral routes to attitude change*. New York: Springer Verlag, 1986; Walster, E. and Festinger, L. 1962. The effectiveness of "overheard" persuasive communication. *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 1962, . 65, 395-402.

²¹ Allen, M., Meta-analysis comparing the persuasiveness of one-sided and two-sided messages. *Western Journal of Speech Communication*, 1991, 55, 390-404; Crowley, A.E. and Hoyer, W.D. An integrative framework for understanding two-sided persuasion. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 20, 1994. 561-574; Lumsdaine, A.A. and Janis, I.L.. Resistance to "counterpropaganda" produced by on-sided and two-sided "propaganda presentation. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 17, 1953, 311-318.

- Primacy and Recency - The first message presented is most persuasive in a series of two, unless there is an interruption or pause between them. If there is a pause between the two presentations, the later one is more influential.²²

4.1.3 The Audience

- An audience that is distracted during the persuasion is more likely to be persuaded than one that is not distracted.²³
- People of low intelligence are more likely to be persuaded by a message than those with higher IQ scores.²⁴
- People with a normal self-esteem are more likely to be persuaded those with very high or very low self-esteem.²⁵
- Subjects between the age of 18 and 25 are easier to persuade than older persons, and their attitudes remain set once formed in that critical period.²⁶

The age effect is perhaps the most ominous for Israel advocacy. While support for Israel remains strong in the United States, it is considerably weaker among young people than in the older generation.²⁷

Role of Schemas and Perceptual Set in Persuasion

People do not form opinions based on isolated events or issues, though these are used to help build opinion on a subject. Kristallnacht would make you into an anti-Nazi only if you were already sympathetic to Jews. People get information from many different sources: Television, Internet, newspapers, friends. That is not necessarily how they form opinions.

To understand the world and new phenomena, people build a knowledge schema. The schema may begin with very basic concepts and emotions about those concepts: "Jew - greedy - Christ killers - dishonest - bad" "Palestinian - oppressed - good." The schema and the associations in that schema provide a context for all new events and issues. Once they know their way around that schema people can fit events into it and understand, or think they understand, what the events signify and how to

²² Haugtvedt, C.P. and Wegener, D.T. Message order effect in persuasion: An attitude strength perspective. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 21, 1994, 205-218; Miller, N. and Campbell, D.T., Recency and primacy in persuasion as a function of the timing and speeches and measurements. *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 1959, 59, 1-9.

²³ Festinger, L. and Maccoby, N. On resistance to persuasive communications. *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 1964, 68, 359-366; Petty, R.E and Cacioppo, J.T., *Communication and Persuasion: Central and peripheral routes to attitude change*. New York: Springer Verlag, 1986.

²⁴ Rhodes, N. and Wood, W. Self-esteem and intelligence affect influenceability: The mediating role of message reception. *Psychological Bulletin*, 1992, 111, 156-171

²⁵ *ibid.*

²⁶ Krosnick, J. A., & Alwin, D. F., Aging and susceptibility to attitude change. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 1981, 57, 416-425; Sears, D. O.. Life stage effects on attitude change, especially among the elderly. In S. B. Kiesler, J. N. Morgan, & V. K. Oppenheimer (Eds.), *Aging: Social change* (pp. 183-204). New York: Academic Press, 1981

²⁷ [Quinnipiac Survey: Israel's image improving rapidly in the USA](http://zionism-israel.com/israel_news/2006/12/quinnipiac-survey-israels-image.html). Israel News, December 2, 2006, http://zionism-israel.com/israel_news/2006/12/quinnipiac-survey-israels-image.html.

[Modest Backing For Israel in Gaza Crisis](http://people-press.org/report/482/), Pew, January 13, 2009, <http://people-press.org/report/482/>,

interpret them. Once they are committed, people look for information that reinforces their beliefs and tells them they are right. Perceptual and memory experiments showed over and over that people tend to see what they expect to see and to remember what they expect to remember. People organize information by building schemas²⁸ and fitting new information into the schema of the familiar, or the "narrative" that they have already formed. An event or item that doesn't fit somewhere in a familiar schema will often be ignored or remembered as something different and familiar.

Next time you want to take action over an outrageous anti-Israel initiative, think about why you were not influenced to change your mind by this initiative. You have a different set of facts and a different relation to the facts. Building that set of facts is what is needed to gain commitment to a cause and neutralize red herring propaganda. It is slow work, but worth the investment.

The knowledge schema and the emotional valences of different positions, movements and events are usually imparted by authority figures, parents and other important people. Many an activist became one because of a boyfriend or girlfriend. These authority referents don't always impart the information, but they influence the person as to how and what to think about the information. They also filter the information that the person gets through their own value system and perspective.

People see what they are prepared to see and what they want to see.

The concepts of Perceptual Set and Perceptual Readiness are related to the Schema concept. Perception is influenced by experience and attitude. The experience of the human observer determines what is important in the incoming information, and how it will be perceived.²⁹ People who do not have opinions about specific issues rarely retain much about the news regarding those issues even if they watch it. They are not interested and have not equipped themselves to understand it. I am really not likely to remember much about events in local politics in Japan because the places, persons and issues involved are unknown to me. For someone who doesn't know where Israel is or what Hamas is, it is pretty much a matter of indifference if Hamas attacked Israel or Israel attacked Hamas. .

Once the opinions are formed, they are used to select sources of information and to filter information. A lot of "information gathering" is then done in order to buttress existing opinion rather than to find out what really happened. That is often done unconsciously. Republicans and conservatives are more likely to watch Fox News, while liberals and Democrats may be more likely to watch MSNBC or read *The Nation*. These different sources attract their audiences by selecting information that reinforces a particular set of opinions.

Obviously, this is not a totally rigid process. People do change their minds based on new information. However, it is more difficult to change minds with new information once people have formed a strong opinion or impression. There is no single valid channel of communication, but rather many paths to persuasion. The channels that reach the largest audiences are not necessarily the most effective by any means. A conversation with four friends may convince all four of them of the justice of your cause. A television appearance seen by 10,000 people may convince none of them to change their opinions.

²⁸ [Schema ; Schema theory of learning http://www.sil.org/lingualinks/literacy/ImplementALiteracyProgram/SchemaTheoryOfLearning.htm](http://www.sil.org/lingualinks/literacy/ImplementALiteracyProgram/SchemaTheoryOfLearning.htm)

²⁹ Bruner, Jerome & Cecile C Goodman, 'Value and need as organizing factors in perception', *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* 1947, 47: 33-44; Bruner, Jerome & Leo Postman, 'On the perception of incongruity: A paradigm', *Journal of Personality*, 1949, 18: 206-23; Bugelski, B R & Delia A Alampay, 'The role of frequency in developing perceptual sets', *Canadian Journal of Psychology*, 1961, 15(4): 201-11; Leeper, Robert 'A study of a neglected portion of the field of learning: The development of sensory organization', *Journal of Genetic Psychology*, 1935: 46: 41-75; Leuba, Clarence & Charles Lucas: 'The effects of attitudes on descriptions of pictures', *Journal of Experimental Psychology* 1945, 35: 517-24; Levine, Robert, Isidor Chein & Gardner Murphy : 'The relation of the intensity of a need to the amount of perceptual distortion', *Journal of Psychology*, 1942: 13: 283-93;Lloyd, Barbara B, *Perception and Cognition: A Cross-Cultural Perspective*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972.; Loftus, Elizabeth 'Reconstructing Memory: The Incredible Eyewitness', *Psychology Today* (December) 1974): 116-9; Loftus, Elizabeth: *Eyewitness Testimony*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1979; Lowe, Donald *History of Bourgeois Perception*. Brighton: Harvester Press, 1982; Vernon, M D *Perception Through Experience*. London: Methuen, 1970:

However, a TV appearance or YouTube posting that convinces 0.1% of a hundred thousand viewers to change their minds may result in dozens of new supporters.

4.1.4 Paradigm Shifts

Thomas Kuhn³⁰ analyzed the progress of scientific reasoning from the point of view of perceptual set. Kuhn showed that rather than changing their views gradually as new data accumulated, scientists accepted theories that did not agree with the data for quite a long time, until a critical discovery or explanation forced them to change all of their assumptions.

Scientists are trained to fit data into a conceptual framework that Kuhn called a paradigm, and we may call a schema. The "paradigm," or schema dictate what experimental questions are important, and how to interpret the results. The theories and assumptions of the paradigm or schema are not changed because of new data, but because of a different way of interpreting the same data. It may take a generation or more before revolutionary concepts such as heliocentrism or relativity replace older theories.

Applying the same reasoning to Israel's image problem, in Europe, Yoram Hazony concluded that Europeans had undergone a paradigm shift. As Hazony explains:

As Kuhn points out, even a mountain of facts will not change the mind of a scientist who has been trained in a different paradigm, because the fundamental framework from which he views the world is different: The facts themselves mean something completely different to him. In fact, very few scientific paradigms, including the most famous and most successful, are able to provide the kind of decisive experimental evidence that can force scientists to give up the old paradigm.

Hazony³¹ argues that whereas previously Europeans were oriented toward the nineteenth century model of the liberal nation-state, they are today oriented toward internationalism and anti-colonialism. The problem with this thesis is that it does not explain why Zionism, rather than Arab imperialism, should be viewed as colonialist, or why a Palestinian Arab nation-state should be viewed as "internationalist," while a Jewish state should be viewed as a parochial nation-state. The same Europeans who are supposedly eager for Jewish internationalism, do not seem to be in a great hurry to give up their own national identities or to force internationalism on any country other than Israel. Hazony's discussion is useful for understanding why persuasion is not a simple matter of facts and logic, and how people might change their views, but it should not be used as another excuse for the failures of Israel advocacy.

Who, What, How, Where And When Of Persuasion

Who - People are more likely to listen to authorities and to people they know than to strangers. "Authority" is a relative concept. It is not always based on objective credentials. Noam Chomsky is a professor of linguistics at MIT, yet some consider him an authority on American foreign policy. Authority can be gained by a track record of visible advocacy which includes media appearances, since these appearances themselves, rightly or wrongly, imply authority and expertise.

³⁰ Kuhn, Thomas, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (2nd edition), Chicago, Chicago Univ. Press, 1970 . An online version is available here: <http://svn.assembla.com/svn/awt/literature/kuhn1970.pdf>

³¹ Hazony, Yoram, *Israel Through European Eyes*, Jerusalem letters, July, 2010, <http://jerusalemletters.com/letters/july2010.html>

How - People will probably respond to the spoken word and presentation more readily than they will to written material, The written material will be effective after it has been recommended and explained by someone they value. Written material with images that elicit emotion is more effective than plain text.

What - Opinions and ideas that are closer to your own and that are couched in terms of values you understand and concepts that you understand and identify with are more likely to change your attitude or position than those that are identifiably alien. People respond to concrete instances: events, heroes and villains that have dramatic impact and become nodes that organize the schema or narrative.

Where - If you see the idea in a respected information source, or a setting that conveys authority or credibility, you are more likely to attend to it. The same opinion article may gain no adherents when published in a tiny Web site, while it may ignite a movement when published in a major newspaper.

When - You will be more likely to attend to information and ideas if the general topic is already being discussed. If Gaza is in the news and people are thinking about it, they may be more likely to attend to opinions about the Gaza situation. Young adults are more readily influenced than older people.

Language is also used to give cues, subtle or otherwise, as to what is "right" and what is "wrong," who is "with us" and who is "against us," depending on the audience. Separate chapters will explore the role of narratives and language.

4.1.5 Repetition

Repetition induces familiarity. Therefore, it can help to popularize even the most noxious and alien ideas, as well as teaching the best ones. Repetition, like any other technique, can be used for imparting truth or fabrications.

Ideas, slogans and facts must be repeated many times in different contexts, in different media and formats, and from different sources, before people will

- 1 - Remember them
- 2 - Believe them
- 3 - Keep them in mind (availability)
- 4 - Be emotionally motivated to act on the ideas.

If you hear something from one source, you might not believe it. If you hear it from a dozen sources you may assume it is true. If you hear it a few times, you might believe it, but you might forget it. You learned many facts in school, but you don't remember many of them, right? If you hear it practically every day, and it is talked about by people who are important to you, it will always be in your consciousness.

4.1.6 Dramatic Events

A searing event like the terror attacks of 9-11 can change opinions. It becomes an organizing point in a narrative.

4.1.7 Activism and Participation

People tend to place higher value on a cause or event if they contributed to it. It becomes a part of them. This is in part due to cognitive dissonance (see below). Supporters who have signed a petition, joined a demonstration or given even a symbolic amount of money are more likely to become involved,

enthusiastic and committed. Demonstrations and the like are not just events where outsiders are educated and convinced, but events where the participants are convinced. The people at the demonstrations chanting slogans like "Long Live Hitler" "Put Jews in Ovens" "Hamas, Hamas, Jews to the Gas" were convincing themselves in part.³²

Demonstrations and the like are not just events where outsiders are educated and convinced, but events where the participants are convinced.

4.1.8 Peer Pressure and Bandwagoning

A famous series of social psychology experiments, the Asch experiments,³³ showed that people's opinions could be changed by peer pressure. This was true even for obvious matters of fact. When a large number of students intentionally picked a wrong answer in comparisons of the length of a line, they could influence the choice of a target subject.

When a movement or politician becomes popular, people are more willing to join the "bandwagon." Some are cynically interested in sharing the rewards of success, but others are drawn by the attraction of conformity: "If everyone agrees, it must be right."

Survey information is often deliberately distorted in press releases by interested organizations to "prove" that most people support their point of view. In many cases, the questions asked in the survey are loaded to produce the accepted response.

Obviously, advocates should avoid giving the impression that the advocate is in the minority, or that "everyone is against us." By doing so, they announce that their opinion is not part of the mainstream and repel followers rather than attracting them.

4.1.9 Spiral of Silence

The "Spiral of Silence" of Elizabeth Noelle-Neumann³⁴ is another manifestation of the effects of peer pressure:

"People will be unwilling to publicly express their opinion if they believe they are in the minority. They will also be more vocal if they believe they are a part of the majority. Thus, the more marginalized you become, the less you speak and so spiral into a fully marginal position.

This works because we fear social rejection. and that when a person appears to be rejected, others will back away from them, fearing being rejected because they associate with the rejected person. It also makes marginalization a powerful way of eliminating political and social competition.

Public opinion is the 'attitudes or behaviors one must express in public if one is not to isolate oneself, in areas of controversy or change; public opinions are those attitudes one can express without running the danger of isolating oneself.'" ³⁵

³² see http://beltwayblips.dailyradar.com/video/la_hamas_supporters_scream_long_live_hitler_put_jews, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jE9cme76fIs>

³³ Asch, S. E. (1951). Effects of group pressure upon the modification and distortion of judgment. In H. Guetzkow (ed.) Groups, leadership and men. Pittsburgh, PA: Carnegie Press ; Asch, S. E. (1955). Opinions and social pressure. Scientific American, 193, 31-35; Asch, S. E. (1956). Studies of independence and conformity: A minority of one against a unanimous majority. Psychological Monographs, 70:416 (entire issue)..

³⁴ Noelle-Neumann, E. *The Spiral of Silence*. University of Chicago, Chicago, 1984.

³⁵ http://changingminds.org/explanations/theories/spirals_silence.htm

4.1.10 Sympathy For Underdog And Identification With Winners

The rise in sympathy for Palestinians is often attributed to sympathy for the underdog. Perhaps so, but paradoxically, people also like a "winner" and shy away from "losers." Jews were never more unpopular than they were in 1939 when they were powerless and threatened with extinction. Zionism was never more popular than it was in 1967 after the victory of the Six Day War. Along with their "oppressed" image, the Hezbollah in 2006 and the Hamas in 2009, were anxious to propagandize their "victories" over the Zionists. The relative importance of "acting weak when you are strong" (sympathy for underdog) and "acting strong when you are weak (to elicit identification with winners) depends on how the issue is presented and the nature of the audience. Point out that the "powerless" Palestinian terrorist groups are backed by hundreds of millions of Arabs, but don't say that Europeans and Americans or "Mainstream Media" "all support" the Arab cause. When appropriate, remind people that the "victorious" Hezbollah and Hamas are not too anxious to repeat their "victories."

4.1.11 The Bad Information Often Drives Out The Good

The truth is often nuanced, complex and requires some background to understand. The truth can be BORING. A false version can be easily stripped of the background information and nuances and turned into an aggregation of accusatory slogans that help mobilize emotions and are easy to remember.

Good information: *"Palestinian Arabs participated in a war to destroy Israel, which they lost. Many fled the country and others were expelled. The expulsions were often due to military necessity. The Arab Palestinians harbored irregular armies that shot at nearby Jewish neighborhoods or participated in road blockades and ambushes intended to isolate and starve out Jewish towns and villages. In isolated cases there were also, apparently, unjustified expulsions and even massacres. Arab countries refused to absorb the refugees in the same way that Israel absorbed Jewish refugees. This created the Palestinian Arab refugee problem."*

Whew! Who wants to listen to that? B*O*R*I*N*G. Historical truth can be made interesting however, when it is illustrated with personal stories and people are made to feel the immediacy of the events. The book "O Jerusalem"³⁶ is proof that good history doesn't have to be B*O*R*I*N*G.

Propaganda: *"In 1948 Zionists ethnically cleansed and massacred the Arabs of Palestine, leaving them destitute and homeless. They did it to create a exclusivist racist colonialist Jewish state. This was the Nakba."*

That's much more interesting, isn't it? It is not true, but that hardly matters to those who propagate this "narrative."

Note - the above are not actual quotes, but you can certainly find similar examples.

4.1.12 Source Credibility - Who Forms Opinions For Whom?

People grade information according to the source. If your rabbi or minister or a respected analyst or public figure says it is true, you are far more likely to believe it than if the same information appears, for example, in the *al-Ahram* newspaper. It goes without saying that most people will tend to believe sources that agree with their opinions or sources that have built a reputation for neutrality and accuracy - whether deserved or not. Regrettably, the BBC, which had built up enormous credibility in the dark days of World War II, has squandered its integrity by obviously biased journalism, but it is still believed by a

³⁶ Collins, Larry and Lapierre, Dominique .: *O Jerusalem!*, Simon and Schuster, 1972

large segment of the population. Mainstream media aim at the central, middle-of-the-road audience, and therefore tend to be believed much more than extremist publications. Government sources are generally discounted by those who do not support that particular government.

When pro-Zionist and pro-Israel articles appear in publications that are associated with extreme right-wing ideas, Zionism gets the "bad politics seal of disapproval."

Perhaps even more important is who and what people disbelieve. An idea is known by the company it keeps. If the Hamas Web site supports ketchup as "Islamic" you might think twice about using ketchup. If Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad comes out in favor of socialized medicine, you may well be inclined to oppose it. When pro-Zionist and pro-Israel articles appear in publications that are associated with extreme right-wing ideas, Zionism gets the "bad politics seal of disapproval." Israel is relegated to the camp of the "bad guys" by a very large segment of the population. You may think these publications represent mainstream views, but they do not. They represent a tiny proportion of public opinion. The same is true, for example, of endorsements of Israel by extremist politicians like Geert Wilders in Holland. A lukewarm article in the *New York Times* or CNN about Israel that presents a fairly reasonable picture of the facts is going to be far more persuasive to far more people than a very enthusiastic write up in *Pyjamas Media* or *Front Page* magazine. Don't label your organization or publication by associating it with political movements and positions that are despised by a large proportion of the population, and don't circulate material from such sources exclusively. The anti-Israel crowd is always looking for an excuse to pin the "neo-conservative" label on Zionists.

It works both ways of course. A British "progressive" advocate of boycotts and divestment from Israel embarrassed themselves and their cause when they cited an article from the racist and reactionary David Duke Web site as a good explanation of why boycotting Israel is justified. Many of the more extreme "criticisms of Israel" originate in, or are enthusiastically adopted by, neo-Nazi and reactionary groups. These connections should always be pointed out.

When citing critical facts and especially quotations, it is very important to your credibility to refer to the original source. This helps to build trust and credibility. **If the source is notably biased and not respected however, find a different source or do not use the material.**

4.1.13 Soft Sell Versus Hard Sell

"Soft Selling" has been variously defined, but we know the "soft sell" and the "hard sell" when we see them. A business dictionary defined soft selling as:

Sales philosophy oriented toward identifying the customer's expressed and tacit needs and wants, through probing questions and careful listening.³⁷

Wikipedia defines Soft Sell as:

a **soft sell** is an advertisement or campaign that uses a more subtle, casual, or friendly sales message.³⁸

Wikipedia defines Hard Sell as:

³⁷ "Soft Sell," <http://www.businessdictionary.com/definition/soft-selling.html>

³⁸ "Soft Sell," http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Soft_sell

a **hard sell** is an advertisement or campaign that uses a more direct, forceful, and overt sales message.³⁹

In the same article Wikipedia concludes that:

Theorists have examined the value of repetition for hard sell versus soft sell messages to determine their relative efficacy. Frank Kardes.⁴⁰ and others have concluded that a soft sell with an inferred conclusion rather than an overt hard sell can often be more persuasive.

An article about soft selling describes how befriending customers and talking about their needs, rather than pushing a product immediately, helps promote sales.⁴¹

Opinions are divided about the effectiveness of Hard Sell versus Soft Sell.⁴² But these and various other articles each give a somewhat different explanation of what the "Soft Sell" is and how it is practiced.. One emphasizes befriending the customer and understanding customer needs. Another claims that the main point of soft selling is that it gets the customer to infer a conclusion rather than forcing the conclusion on them. A third claims that press releases, publicity and giveaways are all part of the soft sell.

People are more easily persuaded if they do not know they are being persuaded. Their "sales resistance" and defense mechanisms are not immediately activated. They don't become upset and can actually listen to what they are being told. Suppose that a group is opposed to Israeli policy, but also supports women's rights and gay rights. If your message explicitly mentions Israel, they will shut their ears. But if you just talk about repression of women and persecution of gay people in the Palestinian territories, you are creating cognitive dissonance (see below). Eventually, the person or group will understand they can't both support the Palestinian cause and rights for women and gay people.

If you listen to your target audience or "customers," you can tailor the message to their needs and concerns. A church group may be interested in what the Bible has to say about Israel and the Jews, but a women's rights group will be more interested in comparisons of women's rights in Israel and Gaza or Iran. You can also learn to speak their language. You will discover, for example, that for most people, "PR" is a dirty word that implies dishonesty and manipulation, and should never be used in the context of Israel advocacy.

Anti-Israel advocates make use of deceptive "Soft Sell" techniques by sailing under the false sail of "peace and justice," or by "blue-washing" anti-Semitism or anti-Zionist propaganda as "legitimate criticism" of Israel.

4.1.14 Cognitive Dissonance

Cognitive dissonance is the theory of Leon Festinger that people are made uncomfortable by facts that do not fit their world view or preconceptions.⁴³ This tension motivates attitude change. The change is not always in the expected direction. When the end of the world predicted by a cult did not take place, most

³⁹ "Hard Sell," http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hard_sell

⁴⁰ Frank R. Kardes. Spontaneous Inference Processes in Advertising: The Effects of Conclusion Omission and Involvement on Persuasion. *The Journal of Consumer Research*, Vol. 15, No. 2 (Sep., 1988), pp. 225-233

⁴¹ Konrath, Jill, "Art of the Soft Sell: How a Soft, Unassuming Style Leads to Stellar Sales Results." undated, <http://www.businessknowhow.com/marketing/softsell.htm>

⁴² Mattern, Jennifer, "http://bizammo.com/marketing/soft-sell-vs-hard-sell/," Sept. 11, 2007, <http://www.businessknowhow.com/marketing/softsell.htm>

⁴³ Festinger, L. *A theory of cognitive dissonance*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1957.

cult members were disillusioned, but a significant number continued to believe.⁴⁴ When students were paid well to do a boring task and convince others to do it by claiming it was interesting, they had no problem admitting that the task was boring. When they were paid poorly, they tended to deny that the task was boring.⁴⁵ The high pay provided an easy way to excuse their dishonesty. Those who were poorly paid could not admit as easily that they had not told the truth.

You also need to be aware of the defense mechanisms that make people ignore or explain away inconvenient facts and devise conspiracy theories to resolve cognitive dissonance. Thus, anti-Israel and anti-Zionist advocates may insist that the terror attack of 9-11 and the Islamist terror attack in Mumbai were the work of the CIA or the Mossad. They may also claim that Israeli emergency aid to Haiti allowed the evil Israelis to secretly engage in stealing organs for transplants. They try to explain away Muslim suppression of women and homosexuals, economic backwardness and tyrannical regimes in Arab and Muslim countries as results of Israeli aggression and the Israeli-Arab conflict.

Cognitive dissonance theory has inspired a great deal of research of many more or less related theories and effects, some of which are described below.

4.1.15 Confirmation Bias

Confirmation Bias is one of the many offspring of cognitive dissonance research. A person will seek reinforcement for their beliefs in supporting facts, and will ignore contradictory information.⁴⁶ This behavior avoids cognitive dissonance and it is probably one of the biggest barriers to attitude change once an opinion has been formed. To get beyond confirmation bias, advocates need to reach young people and neutral audiences with basic facts, before their opinions were formed, and they need to present the facts to all audiences in ways that do not directly challenge their established beliefs - the "soft sell."

4.1.16 Blaming the Victim

Blaming the victim⁴⁷ can be viewed as a way to resolve cognitive dissonance. If something bad happened to someone, there "must be a reason." If women are raped, it is because they were "asking for it." If the Jews were persecuted, they must have done something wrong.

4.1.17 The "Just World" Principle

The "Just World" principle, hypothesis or theory, is closely related to Blaming the Victim and Cognitive Dissonance theory.⁴⁸ It can be summarized as, "individuals have a need to believe that they live in a world where people generally get what they deserve and deserve what they get." If people see you as a victim or "loser" whom they cannot help, they may tend to distance themselves from you and your cause on the excuse that you "got what you deserved."

⁴⁴ Festinger, L., Riecken, H.W., & Schachter, S. *When prophecy fails*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1956

⁴⁵ Festinger, L., & Carlsmith, J.M. *Cognitive consequences of forced compliance*. *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 1959, 58(2), 203-210.

⁴⁶ Snyder, M. and Cantor, N., "Testing Hypotheses about Other People: The Use of Historical Knowledge," *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 1979 15, 330-342; Fischhoff, B. and Beyth-Marom, R., Hypothesis evaluation from a Bayesian perspective. *Psychological Review*, 1983, 90, 239-260.

⁴⁷ Janoff-Bulman R, Timko C, Carli, LL Cognitive biases in blaming the victim *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology* Volume 21, Issue 2, March 1985, Pages 161-177

⁴⁸ Lerner, Melvin J. The Belief in a Just World A Fundamental Delusion (Perspectives in Social Psychology) 1980; Lerner, M. and Simmons, C.H. Observer's Reaction to the "Innocent Victim": Compassion or Rejection? *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 1966: 4, v. 2.; Montada, Leo & Lerner, Melvin J. Responses to Victimization and Belief in a Just World (Critical Issues in Social Justice) 1998.

4.1.18 Reciprocity Principle

The Reciprocity Principle may be an extension of the "Just World" Principle. Receiving a gift or favor puts the recipient under an obligation to the sender.⁴⁹ It is a very common social norm. In one study, researchers sent Christmas cards to people they did not know. Many of them were returned. In some cases they remained on the person's Christmas list for years.⁵⁰

4.1.19 True Believer Syndrome

The term "True Believer Syndrome" was coined by M. Lamar Keene⁵¹ to describe the behavior of people who continue to believe in paranormal phenomena and psychics even after they were conclusively shown to be delusions or trickery. It can be explained as a mechanism for avoiding cognitive dissonance. The believer has too much invested in the belief to change their ideas, so they find it easier to ignore the facts. It explains some of the frustrating behavior of those who refuse to be convinced by facts.

4.1.20 Hostile Media Phenomenon

Hostile media phenomenon is the tendency of believers on both sides of a question to insist that neutral media are hostile to their cause. Vallone and his colleagues found that pro-Arab and pro-Zionist people each were convinced that the same media reports were biased against their side.⁵² You need to be aware of this bias when doing media analysis. Try to avoid blanket assertions that all media are biased against Israel, or that a particular source is biased. It is always better to take a matter of fact approach to every error in a journal and concentrate on disproving the false assertion.

4.1.21 Yeasaying

People tend to agree, evidently because they seek approval. The phenomenon is known by various other names such as agreement bias or affirmation bias.

The "Yeasaying" effect⁵³ is well known. People tend to agree because they want to appear to be agreeable.

For example, if people are asked if they support the policies of X leader, they will tend to say "Yes."

In forced-choice reply surveys, the "Donkey effect" replaces Yeasaying if the survey is poorly designed. This describes the tendency of people to agree to the first of several choices.⁵⁴

Biased surveys and biased reporting of surveys are tools used by deceptive public relations to create "bandwagon" effects and take advantage of the Spiral of Silence. The simplest sort of "bias" and the most blatant is invention. A speaker may cite survey results that supposedly agree with his or her opinion, whereas in reality there are no such results. "A recent survey found that..." says the speaker. Most of the audience will not bother to try to check this vague reference.

⁴⁹ Cialdini, R. *Influence: Science and practice* (3rd edn), New York: HarperCollins, 1993; Regan, D. T.(1971). Effects of a favor and liking on compliance. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, , 7,627-639.

⁵⁰ Kunz, P. R and Woolcott, M. (1976). Season's greetings: From my status to yours. *Social Science Research*, 5, 3, 269-278.

⁵¹ Keene, M. Lamar *The Psychic Mafia*. St. Martin's Press; New York, 1976.

⁵² Vallone, R. P., Ross, L. and Lepper, M. R. The hostile media phenomenon: Biased perception and perceptions of media bias in coverage of the Beirut massacre, *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 1985, 49, 577-585

⁵³ Toner, B. The impact of agreement bias on the ranking of questionnaire response. *J. Social Psychology* 127, 221-222, 1987..

⁵⁴ [Ray, J.J. Acquiescence and problems with forced-choice scales. *Journal of Social Psychology*. 130\(3\), 397-399. 1990.](http://jonjayray.tripod.com/forcho.html)

One technique speakers may use is to get the audience to agree to a series of questions, some of which may seem to be harmless: "Do you want to see justice done?" "Do you want peace in the Middle East?" etc. The successive affirmations in a large audience help to convince the skeptics that "everyone" believes the claims of the speaker. Having demonstrated that "we are all of one mind," the speaker can lead the crowd toward the desired (and by now inevitable) conclusion, "Do we all support Israel boycotts?" and the expected chorus of "Yes"s.

4.1.22 Sleeper Effect

The persuasive effect of messages decreases over time, which is why repetition helps. However, with time, people may remember the message, but not the source. If the source was one they did not trust, they may be more likely to accept the message after a long time. They may forget that they read that the Jews started the Iraq war in the Stormfront Web site, and begin to assimilate the claim as if it is a fact that came from a reliable source.⁵⁵

4.1.23 Weak Ties Theory

Weak ties theory posits that new ideas are propagated through weak ties between individuals in social subgroups, rather than by close friends or family. Outsiders are more likely to be sources of new information and innovative ideas. People with many weak ties tend to be "Early Adapters," though they are not necessarily innovators. The guest from abroad or the new acquaintance you met at university is more likely to bring fresh ideas than your family or childhood friends. Working class people and small groups in traditional societies are less likely to have many such weak ties.⁵⁶

Of course, this reinforces what can be deduced from common sense: We cannot influence people without outreach to the general community.

4.1.24 Inoculation

Inoculation Theory or the Inoculation Effect is the finding that a weak argument will tend to strengthen resistance against persuasion.⁵⁷ The application is obvious: Don't go to a meeting or talk unprepared. Don't make factual assertions that can be easily disproved. Be sure that you can back your statements, and don't telegraph your punches.

Basic Information Is All-Important

Basic information is the most important commodity you can offer. It is often the one that is most sorely needed and in shortest supply. Opinions often far outrun the information on which they are based. "Advocates" learn some "talking points." Their knowledge is often not deeper than those points. The points are very effective at first especially if they are new or obscure, even if they are not exactly true, but they may be built on a foundation of nothing.

One lady, the wife of a rabbi, had some outspoken views about Israel - a dusty and dangerous place according to her. It developed that she had no knowledge of Israel and was never there. She did not

⁵⁵ Hovland, C. I., Lumsdaine, A and Sheffield, F.. Experiments on mass communication. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1949; Stiff, J. B. Persuasive Communication, New York: Guilford, 1994..

⁵⁶ Milgram, S., The small world problem . Psychology Today , 1967: 6 , 62 - 67; Granovetter, M.). The Strength of Weak Ties. American Journal of Sociology, 1973, 78(6), 1360-1380; Granovetter, M. The Strength of Weak Ties: A Network Theory Revisited, Sociological Theory, 1983, 1 , 201-233

⁵⁷ Papageorgis, D., and McGuire, W. J. The generality of immunity to persuasion produced by pre-exposure to weakened counterarguments. *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*: 1961, 62, 475-481.

know that Israel is located by the sea. An American university professor could not understand why Israel was unwilling to give up territories conquered in the 6 Day War. He expounded at length and with apparent expertise on "Israeli expansionist militarism," until he was shown a map of Israel by a visiting Israeli high school student. He was amazed to find that Israel is only a few miles wide at its narrow waist. He said, "You would have to be out of your minds to give up any of these territories." This true story also illustrates the operation of "Weak Ties" discussed above.

People who dispute about obscure minutiae of the history of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict often have no idea how big Israel is, when Jews started coming to Israel or what the Hamas or Hezbollah are, or what Zionism is. Nonetheless, their audiences look to them as "authorities."

The Middle East is a "specialty" field, so uncommitted audiences know even less than those involved in the conflict. A survey in 2006 at the height of the Lebanon war found that 20% of American voters could not identify Hezbollah and 25% could not identify Hamas. A Frank Luntz survey found that only 19% of American college students could name the Secretary General of the United Nations, 35% could name the Prime Minister of Israel, and 55% could name Yasser Arafat as the President of the Palestinian Authority!⁵⁸ Similarly, a 2007 PEW survey⁵⁹ found high levels of ignorance among US respondents about current events information such as identifying the Vice President or Secretary of Defense.

Remarkably, lack of knowledge does not prevent people from having an opinion. An Israel project survey found that a substantial number of American voters had not heard anything about the Iranian nuclear development program. However, the percentage of those people favoring sanctions against Iran was about the same as it was among those who claimed to be familiar with the Iranian nuclear development program.

Of course, regardless of facts, you will never be able to overcome the selective screening out of information, the willful ignorance, of the "true believers." Stephen Colbert, the US comedian said, "Remember, kids! In order to maintain an untenable position, you have to be actively ignorant."

Never Assume Knowledge

Because your audience lacks basic knowledge, they often literally do not understand you. They think Hamas is just another group, they may think Israel is the size of France, and they have no idea what radical Islamist ideology is and what it aims to accomplish. They may believe Jews constitute 20% of the United States population (they are about 2%). Thus, they might have no problem believing that Jews want to take over the world or control the US government. Unless your audience understands you and has basic knowledge of the Middle East, you won't have the same frame of reference. It is meaningless, for example, to tell people that negotiating with Hamas is not good for Israel and cannot bring peace if they don't know what Hamas is. They don't understand what Hamas aims to do or what it does to further its aims. They will think you are a "bad person" because you are against negotiations. Negotiations, after all, are a good thing, as they learned in civics class.

⁵⁸ Luntz, Frank, America 2020: how the Next Generation Views Israel, The Israel Project, 2004 (no longer on the Web); An online summary is given here: http://www.zionism-israel.com/ezone/Explaining_Zionism.htm

⁵⁹ <http://ipsnews.net/news.asp?idnews=37368>

This means that your talks, presentations, answers to questions, articles and Web sites must go over the same basics repeatedly. For example:

- Show the tiny area of Israel.
- Explain the historic ties of the Jewish people to the land.
- Explain that Zionism is a national liberation movement like any other, and that the Jewish people have a right to self-determination like any other people.
- Explain who Mahmoud Ahmadinejad is and what his views are on the future of "Zionism" and America.
- Quote extensively from the genocidal plans of the [Hamas Charter](#).⁶⁰
- Explain that the Israeli-Arab conflict began about a hundred years ago, because of Arab and Muslim opposition to any Jewish settlement in the land, and not in 1967, following the Six Day war.

Getting There First Is All-Important

It is very difficult to unseat a fictive narrative or bogus "fact" once it has taken hold, or to undo the damage caused by a fake "Zionist quote." Getting your side of the story to specific audiences before the other side is there, and consolidating support, may be critically important. Once they have adopted the Palestinian "narrative," a person or group is not likely to listen to your counter-arguments.

5. The Audience

This may be the most important section of this guide: It points out the biggest problem of Israel advocacy: It is not reaching the right audience. The object of advocacy is primarily to reach unpersuaded, neutral people. That audience must be the ultimate target of all advocacy. If you are not reaching them, your advocacy is not effective. Understanding who is the audience, who is not the audience, and trying to reach the target audience with our side of the story are the most important aspects of advocacy. That's what we are trying to do. Israel advocacy often fails to reach the audience it should reach, because it is directed at closed forums and reaches convinced friends of Israel. When it does reach the audience, it often reaches it with a message that is more appropriate for friends of Israel, couched in language that doesn't interest a general audience.

The challenge for Israel advocates is to refocus their groups and strategies and messages from targeting Jewish and Zionist and sympathetic audiences to reaching the general public with a universal message. They need to de-emphasize Jewish themes that are the traditional stuff of Zionist advocacy, such as anti-Semitism and the Holocaust, and to emphasize facts and themes that everyone can understand and with which everyone can identify.

Who Is The Audience?

There are about six billion people in the world and most of them are our potential audience. When you appear on television you have no control over who is watching. When you write a Web article in

⁶⁰ <http://mideastweb.org/hamas.htm>

English, your potential audience is virtually the entire English-speaking world - not just other Jews, and not just other Zionists.

That is good. You need to reach all those people, not just preach to convinced audiences of Jews or Zionist supporters. However, remember that what you write in your Web log or say in a TV program may be read or reported around the world. If it is extremist, racist or otherwise harmful to the Zionist cause, and if you have any degree of prominence, the anti-Israel camp is likely to pick it up and use it against us.

The object of advocacy is primarily to reach unpersuaded, neutral people. That audience must be the ultimate target of all advocacy.

Telling The World

Usually, your message has to be directed at a very broad and often less-than-sympathetic audience. You can do a lot of damage with an extremist message that doesn't really represent Zionism, or with information that you have transmitted in good faith, but which is untrue. You also have to be sensitive to how your ideas may be received by the people you want to convince -- not other Zionists. You have to speak their "language" in terms of vocabulary and values. To give a cynical and obvious example, Arab publications may describe a "glorious martyrdom operation" in Arabic, but the English translation will say that there was a suicide bombing.

The Self-Selecting Audience

Your audience is going to be self-selecting to an extent. A very limited segment of the world's population is interested in international affairs and of these, not everyone is interested in the Middle East, Israel and the Palestinian problem. Most TV viewers will switch channels when there is a program about the Middle East.

Most Web surfers are NOT looking for information about the Middle East. The number of Google searches for word **Sex** in a typical month is reportedly 414 million. The number of monthly searches for **Middle East** is 1.8 million. We are talking to a fairly restricted audience. That audience often consists of the opinion leaders, however, so they are important. Almost everyone has heard of the Israeli-Arab conflict. It is a hot topic. They probably have an opinion. But comparatively few people are interested in getting in-depth knowledge and seek it out.

Who Is Not The Audience?

Convinced anti-Zionists and anti-Semites are not the target of your advocacy. They aren't going to change their minds. They have set their opinions against us. They usually are not going to listen to contrary arguments. Don't waste time trying to defend Israel at a Palestine Solidarity Movement meeting and don't gear your arguments to convince followers of anti-Zionists like Noam Chomsky, Ali Abunimah or Norman Finkelstein. They aren't going to listen. In the United States, there are not (yet) enough of them to make a difference anyhow. Try instead to convince the same neutral audiences that they are trying to win over. The purpose of picketing an al-Awda ("the return") meeting is not to get into arguments with their followers, but to show your presence, to call the attention of outsiders to the noxious program and activities of this group, and to draw like-minded people into your own group.

Convinced Zionists and supporters of Israel are not the main target of your advocacy either. You want them to be there for you and to provide support and constructive criticism of talks and articles. They need information and "talking points" and motivation for activism and participation. However, you can't gear your whole approach to them. "Iran must be stopped because it is a threat to Israel" is a good argument for a pro-Israel audience. But Iranian leaders know that and try to discredit all their opponents as "neo-con Zionists" and "Israeli agents." American and European audiences have to understand that Iran is intent on a "World without America" and without Western values, not just a "World without Zionism."

Who Are The Audiences?

The large general audience is composed of sub-groups. You cannot completely control who will read your materials or hear your speeches, but you should be aware of the different types of audiences. Some are more relevant to you than others. Each may require different types of materials and appeals. Educational materials directed at elementary school students have to be written differently from materials directed at informed adults.

Local Audiences - Some of your advocacy and activism is going to be directed to local groups. It is best done by local meetings and by emailing people from a mailing list or contacting them by telephone, rather than posting at a Web log. If you are announcing a meeting or demonstration to an open forum such as a Web log or a wide distribution email list, remember to tell people what city the meeting is in. Believe it or not, omitting that information is one of the most common errors.

The Palestine Solidarity Movement tells their people that it is easier to affect small communities. That's good advice, if you live in or near a small community. A local newspaper is more likely to publish your letter, because your patronage is important to them. Other readers are also more likely to know you in a small community. You are more likely to get a hearing at a local branch of a church or activist group or union in your town, than on a national level.

Special Groups - At least some advocacy should be directed to concerns of special groups - women, gay people, African Americans, Hispanics, union people, academics, Christians and other religions. Web materials should be produced in different languages. If you are going to be addressing a special group, make sure you are conversant with the issues that they need to hear about. Israel has good cases for almost every group and the Palestinians and Arab/Muslim world have very bad stories that they try to hide - persecution of homosexuals, blatant prejudice against Africans, repression of women, honor killings, persecution of Christians...

Aim For The Center

The central mass of public opinion includes the most people, who share a consensus of values and a common language and approach to problems. Most of your advocacy has to be pitched to that center.

5.1.1 Be Inclusive

We want everyone inside our tent.

Zionism is for religious Jews and non-religious Jews, for those who want to go to Israel and those who are only going to look on. Support for Israel is for leftists and rightists and in-betweenists, Evangelical Christians, Unitarians, Congregationalists, Presbyterians, Episcopalians, Lutherans, Roman, Greek,

Armenian, Polish, Orthodox and Pravoslaviv Catholics, Atheists, Hindus, Buddhists and even Muslims. Yes, there are Arabs for Israel and Muslim Zionists! We need and want their support.

That doesn't mean we agree with all the beliefs of these groups and accept their stands on all other issues. We must welcome their support for Israel and for Zionism as they understand it, but they don't set the program for us, just as we cannot set the program for them.

5.1.2 Aim for Key Audience Segments

Key audience segments include those most susceptible to change and those you aren't reaching. Studies show that women are key agents for social change, and that young people aged 18-25 are most susceptible to change. But support for Israel seems to be greater with older men and less accepted among the young and among women.⁶¹, ⁶² Women and young people tend to be more liberal. Older men tend to be more conservative.⁶³ Appeals to justice, emotional appeals and emotive graphics appeal to young people and women more than they do to older men.

Outreach

Obviously, the business of advocates and advocacy is outreach. However, Jewish groups don't seem to know that. Jewish groups by tradition are not geared for "outreach." This is true of non-Zionist Jewish efforts as well. Most "Jewish Outreach" groups are really engaged in reaching out to other Jews. Your business is to reach out to everyone!

Zionist and Israel advocacy groups are almost never in the business of real outreach, even if they say they are. Their materials and stands are geared to Jewish audiences and audiences that are already pro-Israel. Their goal very often is to demonstrate to their own supporters that they are doing a good job defending Israel and therefore deserve financial support. They are doing "development" under the guise of advocacy. It is necessary to build enthusiasm and motivation within the group of your own supporters. However, advocacy is pointless if it can't be made to reach outsiders who are not yet convinced of the justice of your cause. Conference calls of the convinced, closed email lists, closed lectures and Web sites that are obviously Jewish and aimed at Jews only have a very limited utility for spreading the word.

Make sure that what you write, say or do appeals to a general audience. Don't fill your speeches or your writings with unexplained and unnecessary Yiddish or Hebrew words, so that they become one big "in-joke" that is of no interest to outsiders. Don't take it for granted that your readers or audience know who the various politicians are in different countries or are familiar with details of the history and local customs. A person who begins reading an article and is assaulted with references to "Bibi" and "Abu Mazen," "Bil'in" and the "Jilbab" will stop reading if they don't know what those terms refer to. Ignorance is self-enforcing. Break the circle by explaining terms when necessary.

6. Narratives And Issues

Palestinians and their supporters have been generating various "narratives" that try to replace historical fact with propaganda and wishful thinking. These "narratives" create a ready-made context and schema

⁶¹ [Quinnipiac Survey: Israel's image improving rapidly in the USA](#). Israel News, December 2, 2006.

⁶² [Modest Backing For Israel in Gaza Crisis](#), Pew, January 13, 2009

⁶³ Hamilton, James T. 2004. *All the News That's Fit to Sell*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, page 72.

for believers, which allow them to interpret the facts as they wish. There are different versions of the narratives, some more extreme than others. Some examples of main points of these narratives:

The Palestinian refugees were expelled by the Zionists in 1948 for no reason - The war started by the Palestinians and the Arabs, the leadership of the Nazi Mufti and other details are omitted. Likewise, all Zionist settlement and Jewish presence before 1945 may be omitted. According to the narrative, in response to the Holocaust, the land was suddenly flooded by European Jews after World War II, and they threw out all the Arabs for no reason.

Jews did not live in Palestine or Jerusalem in ancient times - Of course, irrefutable historical and archeological evidence documents the history of the Jewish people in the land between the Jordan river and the sea. There are variants and embroideries of the "narrative" that eradicate Jewish presence in Israel in ancient times. In some versions, Jesus was a "Palestinian." In others, the modern Jews are all supposedly descendants of the Khazars. Genetic evidence disproves this theory, but in any case, nations are not composed of genetically homogenous groups and mainstream Zionism never made racist genetic claims.

Jews did not live in East Jerusalem in modern times before 1967 - This "narrative" takes advantage of the Arab ethnic cleansing of Jerusalem in 1948 - as there were no Jews in East Jerusalem after 1948, it is possible to imagine that none lived there previously. It is used even by moderate Palestinians.

Palestine was paradise before the Zionists arrived - According to this tale, Jews and Arabs lived in peace and harmony in a prosperous land before the arrival of European Zionists. Photos and historic accounts show that the land was in fact poor, disease-ridden, under-populated and anarchic. There were vast areas of deserted farmland and barren hillsides. Villages were deserted owing to frequent attacks by marauders and bandits ruled the roadways. A description of 19th century Nablus, probably the most prosperous Arab town in 19th century Palestine, by a modern sympathetic Palestinian author, reads like a description of a medieval European farm center.⁶⁴

The conflict began in 1967 - This narrative pretends that the cause of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is the settlements. Before 1967 according to believers, there was no problem, but then Israel inexplicably conquered the "Palestinian" territories and settled them with Jews. The language used is intended also to convey the idea that Israel had conquered a Palestinian state. There was no such state.

Israel was created because of the Holocaust - The lie that "Israel was created because of the Holocaust" and "The Palestinians are paying for the Holocaust" coexists with the contradictory "conflict began in 1967" narrative. Even Desmond Tutu subscribed to this fable. The League of Nations mandate for Palestine was issued in 1922, in recognition of the right of the Jewish people to self-determination. Prince Feisal had expressed support for the Zionist project, but later rescinded it. The United Nations partition decision of 1947 was a compromise that the Zionist movement accepted, however reluctantly. The Holocaust may have made world opinion conscious of the justice of the Zionist cause, but Israel was created because the world had previously recognized the Jewish right to self-determination. Palestinians paid the price of resisting a U.N. decision and waging an aggressive war. Hitherto secret British documents reveal that Palestinians were active collaborators of the Nazis, and that Arab and Palestinian pressure forced the British to abandon their commitments to the Jews (see [Arab Uprising](#)⁶⁵)

⁶⁴(Doumani, Beshara, **Rediscovering Palestine, Merchants and peasants in Jabal Nablus 1700-1900**, Univ Calif Press, 1995.

⁶⁵ http://zionism-israel.com/israel_news/2009/09/nazis-armed-palestine-arab-uprising.html

stranding many hundreds of thousands in Europe. The Palestinians are not wholly innocent of the Holocaust.

The Jenin Massacre - The lie that Israeli soldiers killed 500 Palestinians in Jenin in Operation Defensive Shield continues to be circulated, though it has been disproven decisively. There are numerous similar instances.

Be aware of these "narratives" and try to put across the truth. We cannot take it for granted that everyone knows even simple facts. Most people are not knowledgeable about the Middle East, and a concerted effort has been made to replace them with more "convenient," "improved" "facts."

Remember that the important goal of anti-Israel propaganda is not these individual examples, but the creation of a credible alternative "narrative" - a fake history that provides a schema which people use to interpret new events. If you believe in the ethnic cleansing 1948 story, then it makes sense that Israelis would commit "genocide" in Jenin and in Gaza. It's not always logical either.

That's why history is important. Making sure people know the real facts is important. History with pictures and personal stories, related to current events, is not "B*O*R*I*N*G." It is the stuff of the conflict and it is misused all the time to discredit Israel.

Events and Personalities: Nodes and Organizing Points in Narratives

Historical narratives "come alive" because of events and personalities that we humans use to organize the story. George Washington, the Minutemen at Concord, Bull Run, and the Battle of Stalingrad, all are made central in our perception of history. That's the way human beings think. This propensity is also used to convince people and to create narratives with "good guys" and "bad guys" in order to advance a cause. The hero or martyr is made to come to life with graphics as well as personal anecdotes, true or otherwise (the fable of George Washington and the cherry tree, for example). Sometimes the event or personality is "improved" in the telling in order to make a point. In the Israeli Palestinian conflict, we can identify crucial events and personalities of each side: - Joseph Trumpeldor, Izzedin al Qassam, the Arab attack of 1948, the "Nakba," the Jenin 'massacre, Muhammad Al Dura, Rachel Corrie, The Second Intifada. It is remarkable that our side has "manufactured" few remarkable events or personalities in recent years. Many of the events used by opposition have been invented -- they were not exaggeration but rather, never happened at all,

Issues

Movements, particularly pernicious ones like the anti-Israel cause or the former Communist party of the USSR, use issues and personalities to provide concrete instances that can validate the narrative and make it real. A "martyr" or a "Gaza siege" story arouses emotion and attracts new activists. The real purposes behind the campaign, however, are not to free the prisoner or lift the siege, but to attract new adherents to the movement and to put across the "desired" version of the narrative and advance the core issue, which in our case is delegitimization of Israel. There may be a subsidiary short term strategic goal.

Thus, the Palestinians instigated violence in 2000, and then mobilized protests in favor of an international force that would supposedly protect them from Israeli violence.

Building Movements With Issues

Ideological advocacy is really aimed at several different audiences. It is trying to do several different things at the same time:

Long term education: Explain positions and provide information to outsiders - Anti-Israel groups are always trying to inculcate their "narrative." Fake Zionist quotes and biased history are provided as "background" for issues and particular campaigns. The "Free Rachel Corrie" petition table will have materials such as flyers about the "Nakba," the Jenin Massacre, the Palestinian Refugees and the poverty of the Palestinians. Your petition tables should have handouts that explain the facts as they are.

Long-term education is also carried out via books, Web sites and review articles. It is your job to make sure people know the facts. The facts must be presented beginning with the basic knowledge needed to understand a complex situation. Don't take it for granted that your readers know who Ariel Sharon or Ehud Olmert are, or that there was a war in 1948 and another in 1967.

Recruit new activists for the cause - From the organizational point of view, the main purpose of a campaign based on an issue is to recruit new sympathizers and activists. Each contact address from a demonstration, each signature on a petition, helps to build a movement. Many of the people who demonstrated for Rachel Corrie can be counted to demonstrate in support of the Gaza Hamas regime when needed, and some of them can be tapped for donations and volunteer work. The main pool of new activists generally comes from the pool of sympathizers. They will help raise support and money and popularize the cause.

Mobilize and motivate existing activists - Provide "talking points" as well as deep background and explain to them how to do advocacy - that's what this document is for.

6.1.1 Issues, Events And Principles

Individual issues and approaches to issues are, to an extent, concrete instances of generalized principles. How a person views and interprets an event depends on what their attitude is regarding the conflict. Conversely, approaches to the conflict may be swayed by particular issues and images.

Events versus Principles

A Palestinian suicide bombing reinforces a basic perception that "Palestinians are terrorists."

BUT if you are convinced that "Zionists" are cruel occupiers, then the suicide bombing is a "blow for freedom" struck by "resistance fighters" in "occupied Tel Aviv."

A picture of a Palestinian Arab child killed by Israeli troops, or of Israeli soldiers pointing guns at civilians, reinforces the perception that "Zionists" are cruel occupiers.

BUT if you are already convinced that Palestinians are genocidal terrorists, then the troops are just exercising Israel's right to self-defense and the child is an unfortunate victim.

If you do not "feel" the above, think of the difference between the way you might view the bombing of London during the World War II Blitz and the fire bombing of Dresden and Hamburg, Germany in the same war. Your interpretation of what happened, and your emotional reaction, depends on what you think of the two sides in the war.

Effective advocacy tries to handle all of these - to explain principles and the basic facts. This gives people a framework for contextualizing events and a system for explaining the events and individual issues, and makes it possible to use favorable issues to advance the cause.

6.1.2 Using Issues To Persuade And To Build Movements

Ideological advocacy engages in several types and levels of persuasion:

- Persuading people that you are right about an issue;
- Persuading people that your side or movement is right about most issues;
- Persuading people to join your movement as activists and or financial supporters.

As an example, take the case of Captain Alfred Dreyfus, the target of an anti-Semitic campaign in 19th century France. The event was turned into an issue by both Jewish rights activists like Emile Zola and anti-Semites. Pro-Dreyfus advocacy could produce three effects:

- Arouse sympathy for Dreyfus and get him freed;
- Arouse sympathy for Jews and against anti-Semitic prejudice in general;
- Help persuade Jews to join the new Zionist movement.

The role of issues in electing a candidate or of "features" in persuading people to buy a product is somewhat different from their role in ideological persuasion and the building of movements. A candidate chooses their stand on issues in order to please the public and win votes. A political movement uses issues both to persuade people of the justice of its cause and to build its movement - a long-term proposition. You can make designer soap according to the specifications of market research, and you can, to an extent, build candidate positions in the same way, but nobody should seriously contemplate making a designer political ideology. People support ideologies and causes because they believe in them.

An issue can be the subject of dedicated organizations, op-eds, demonstrations, lectures, discussions, Web sites, and petitions. In addition to bringing out specific points about the issue, these different activities are also used to gain adherents and build a larger organization by building a database of signatories and attendees. They are also used to hammer home the "basic truths" of the movement's point of view. This was recognized quite well by the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party led by V.I. Lenin, who used strikes and industrial organization and later anti-war protests, to build a revolutionary political movement that became the "Bolshevik Party." Today, it is used with striking effect by anti-Israel organizations such as the Palestine Solidarity Movement ⁶⁶

6.1.3 Exploiting "Martyrs:" Rachel Corrie vs Carlos Chavez

Rachel Corrie was a volunteer with the International Solidarity Movement. This group gave hospitality to terrorists who planned and carried out a suicide bombing. Rachel Corrie went to Gaza, a war zone, of her own free will. She tried to stop the IDF from destroying houses used for smuggling weapons and explosives through tunnels. She was killed by a civilian Israel bulldozer operator who evidently did not see her as she stood in front of the blade of his machine. Her death was cynically exploited to start an anti-Israel cult and recruit people to the "hate Israel" movement. A play was made about Rachel Corrie, and the anti-Israel propaganda machine ensured that large numbers of people would know the name of Rachel Corrie.

[Carlos Chavez](#)⁶⁷ was also a volunteer. He came to a Negev kibbutz bordering on Gaza in order to work the fields and help make the desert bloom. He was deliberately murdered by a Palestinian sniper while he was engaged in working in the fields. Nobody did anything about popularizing his case and he is

⁶⁶See http://www.zionism-israel.com/ezine/PSM_Palestine_Subversion_Movement.htm.

⁶⁷ <http://www.zionism-israel.com/log/archives/00000479.html>

more or less forgotten. There are many other Carlos Chavez's who are innocent victims of vicious terrorism - all forgotten.

Tragic personal stories including that of Carlos Chavez, as well as the many innocent victims of terror attacks make the point.⁶⁸ Each one of them has a better case for claiming "martyrdom" than Rachel Corrie, especially the children.

COLLECTIVE PUNISHMENT



Sderot Children: Victims of Hamas terror - More innocent than Rachel Corrie

Democracy vs. Closed Society

Advocates for closed societies and totalitarian systems always have an advantage: there is no visible internal opposition. This was true of Fascist countries and of Communism, and it is true to a large extent of anti-Israel groups.

Anti-Israel groups are always going to have more "issues" they can use against Israel than pro-Israel groups can find against Palestinian and Arab society. They will always find it easier to support those issues. The issues and the support are generated by the open and democratic nature of Israeli society. Corruption of Israeli politicians is reported in Israeli journals, as are real or imagined misdeeds of Israeli soldiers. They are investigated by the government and the IDF. Corruption of Palestinian and other Arab officials might be whispered about, but such corruption is rarely reported and exposed. There will be no Hamas inquiry into charges that Hamas committed war crimes by firing rockets at Israel. Nobody expects it. You can point out that a similar situation existed between the United States and the USSR. Soviet propaganda organs featured stories about racism and poverty in the United States. American reporting of Soviet Gulags and poverty was rare for most of the Cold War. There just wasn't that much "newsworthy" material to be had. Nonetheless, the facts were there for those who wanted to know them. The paucity of media coverage of repression of Christians, Hamas atrocities against Fateh, corruption and similar ills in Palestinian and Arab society makes it all the more urgent for individuals and groups to use issue campaigns to make people aware of the truth.

7. Language And Persuasion

Language signals are important persuaders, both for and against a point of view. Slogans and epithets are designed to associate opponents' causes with "bad" things such as "colonialism," "oppression,"

⁶⁸ For example, see <http://zionism-israel.com/vic/sderot1.htm>

"apartheid," "illegitimate," "reactionary" and "racism." They also try to one's own cause with "good" ideals - "progressive," "freedom," "rights" and "legitimacy."

At the same time, language provides signals that tell people if they are reading neutral material, or material from one or another camp. Partisan opinion - spoken or written - almost always carries verbal signals that can tell the alert reader or audience what the bias of the speaker is. Former communists could often identify each other because of overuse of words like "concrete," "framework" and "praxis," which formed part of their ideological jargon. Be aware of the signals in the materials produced by others and in your own speech. Make sure your use of language is not telling people that you are an extremist or "one of them." **If you label yourself, people will stop listening before you start talking.**

Slogans And Epithets

A slogan is an important device for getting across a key bit of information or better, an emotional association. Epithets likewise make it easy to demonize the other side. Slogans and epithets make it easy to repeat the same information in a memorable form in many different contexts:

- Zionism is Racism
- Israel Apartheid
- Racist Israel
- Zionist Nazis
- Ethnic cleansing of Jerusalem.
- Neo-con Zionist

As for slogans of the other side, you need to deconstruct them at every opportunity. Handouts, Web pages, and lectures with the slogan or epithet included need to explain why it is false.

Language Truth And Logic

Logical arguments should be capable of convincing people and changing points of view, but too often they are irrelevant. It is nonetheless crucial to know the facts and understand the logic needed to disprove fallacious claims. Each such claim that you deconstruct helps to undermine the credibility of the other side.

"Palestinian right to a capital city in Jerusalem" sounds good, but there is no such right. It is not granted in any legal document, nor is there any historical basis for such a claim. It is simply an invention. The "illegal Israeli occupation" and the "right of return of refugees guaranteed under international law" are also fictions of Palestinian propaganda, but they are used and repeated - they "sound right."

It can be shown that strictly speaking, under international law, the Palestinian territories are not "occupied." The law defines "occupied territory" as territory conquered from another sovereign. There is no other recognized sovereign for these territories. The PLO, the Hamas and the Palestinian Authority are not states and are not sovereigns. They were not in possession of the territories before 1967. The West Bank and Gaza are not more "occupied" now than they were before 1967, when they were "occupied" by Jordan and Egypt. Usually however, that argument will get you nowhere. The problem is greatly complicated by the fact that Ariel Sharon rightly referred to "kibbush" in Hebrew regarding the territories. This word means conquest and was born about 2,500 years before any international conventions. But it also means "occupation" in modern Hebrew, including the formal, legal definition.

The Language Of Delegitimation

Rhetorical language techniques are used by anti-Israel activists to delegitimize Israel, Zionism and its advocates, and conversely, to legitimize anti-Israel and anti-Semitic ideation. They can occasionally be turned around and used against their originators, with justice and effect.

Associate your cause with good words - "Legitimacy" and "Legality" - Invented "rights" are given "legitimacy" simply by saying they are "rights" or by tying them in dubious ways to international law. "Right of Resistance" to occupation is meant to allow armed struggle against armed forces of invaders. It is used to justify killing babies in Tel Aviv. "Right of Return" of refugees is an invention of the anti-Israel camp, since in international law, refugee rights are never transferred to descendants. Both Israeli Jews and Palestinian Arabs have a right to self-determination that is strong law - "*Jus Cogens*" - and would override any "right" of return. "Illegal occupation" is another anti-Israel invention. Occupations are not illegal (see below), and are recognized in international law. Yet by associating these two words repeatedly, the occupation becomes "illegal" in the eyes of many. Terror groups *are* illegal. Why not talk about the illegal Hamas terror group?

A major fallacy of arguments based on "legality" is the hidden assumption that "legal" = "moral." Actually, laws often reflect power relations in a society and the world as well as current sentiments of the community. One hundred and fifty or so years ago, slavery was legal in the United States. Helping runaway slaves was "illegal." The Nazi Nuremberg laws made it "illegal" for Jews to participate in society as normal citizens. The British White Paper of 1939 made it "illegal" for Jews to immigrate to Palestine, though the White Paper itself was deemed illegal by the League of Nations. People need to be reminded that "illegal" doesn't mean "bad."

Associate the other guy's cause with "bad" words - Zionism is associated with "colonialism" "expansionism," "aggressiveness," "apartheid," and even with "Nazism" by anti-Israel advocates, and more recently with "right-wing" and "neo-con." The essence of colonialism was the attempt to profit from the labor of exploited natives and steal the resources of a country for the benefit of another country. Zionism had no such program. Instead of profiting from exploitation, it poured huge sums of money into the land of Israel in order to turn it into a modern industrial economy.

The Obama administration considered appointing Charles Freeman to a sensitive intelligence post. Freeman was clearly unsuited for the post. In addition to being director of a pro-Arab lobby that receives support from Saudi Arabia, he expressed cynical sentiments about Chinese suppression of democracy protests and of the Tibetan people. He made it clear that if nominated, he would have tried to put his political views into practice. His partisans tried to quash opposition to the nomination by insisting that all of his opponents are "right-wing Zionist neo-conservatives." In the same way, Jeremy Ben Ami, head of the J Street lobby told an interviewer,

For too long, the loudest voices in the American political and national policy debates when it comes to Israel and the Middle East have belonged to the far right – neoconservatives, right-wing American Jewish leaders...⁶⁹

But who are the people Ben-Ami was talking about? They include, for example, Alan Dershowitz and Abe Foxman, both people with impeccable liberal credentials. The only thing that makes them "right-wing neoconservatives" is the fact that they support Israel.

⁶⁹ <http://meretzusa.blogspot.com/2008/04/q-on-new-dovish-israel-lobby.html>

Turn the other guy's cause into a bad word - By associating Zionism with "neo-cons" "colonialism" and extreme right-wing causes, anti-Israel groups were able to turn "Zionism" into a bad word.

Friendly fire - The demonizers are assisted greatly by groups and publications that associate Zionism with unrelated causes, and even with causes that Zionists usually oppose: Opposition to programs to combat global warming, advertisements for "I am a Conservative" T-shirts, opposition to government supported health care, etc. None of these is a "Zionist" cause in any way. Israel has a socialized medical system and it works, for example, but socialized medicine is not a Zionist cause, and Zionists should not take stands on any of those issues as part of Zionist advocacy.

Abuse Of War Crimes Statutes And Language

International conventions against war crimes evolved to humanize war and make some "rules of the game." Their history began before the "total war" and genocidal wars of the 20th century. Like all international law, they are laws that apply between nations. With the exception of genocide which now may be prosecuted under international law,⁷⁰ the internal actions of a government are usually exempt from war crimes statutes. They do not apply to terrorist groups either strictly speaking, since such groups are not the regular armies of nations. The behavior of the Nazi SS divisions and the Wehrmacht in World War II changed the meaning of "war crimes." Following World War II, "war crimes" became indelibly associated with Nazi monsters in the dock at Nuremberg for intentional mass murders of millions of people.

By their nature, "war crimes" are generally not prosecuted in a fair and equitable way. Victors are generally immune. Nobody investigated the extensive allied bombings of civilian targets in Germany during World War II, for example, and nobody is going to determine the rights and wrongs of civilian deaths caused by NATO in the war in Afghanistan. The treatment of US prisoners of war in North Vietnam has never been investigated, and the those responsible for violating the law were never brought to justice. There are many other examples.

The "war crimes" statutes and the epithet of "war criminal" are unfairly and consistently applied to Israel and Israel is singled out for international persecution. In the Iran-Iraq war, both sides used gas warfare and other forbidden weapons and tactics, but at the time, there were no war crimes tribunals. After the US invasion of Iraq, Iraqis guilty of crimes against humanity were tried for crimes they committed in Iraq, but not for war crimes in Iran. Iranians were never brought to justice at all.

During Israel's wars with Arab states, Israeli prisoners of war were tortured, denied proper medical attention and denied access to the International Red Cross. Some died in captivity. Some were hacked to pieces by mobs before they reached captivity. However, there was no international outcry about "war crimes."

7.1.1 Proportionality

Criminal statutes against harming civilians were meant to protect against intentional targeting of civilian populations primarily. They are being used against Israel whenever civilians are killed as an accident of operational necessity or due to misaimed artillery fire. International doctrine regarding civilian casualties is based on Article 57 of Protocol 1 of the amended Geneva Convention of August 12, 1949.

⁷¹ This protocol is not ratified by Israel or the United States, in particular because it can be construed as

⁷⁰ <http://online.wsj.com/article/SB124890587995691589.html>

⁷¹ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Protocol_1

protecting non-uniformed combatants such as terrorists, as if they are civilians. Nonetheless, some nations construe this protocol as "customary law" that is binding even on non-signatories.

The relevant parts of Article 57 state that:

(a) those who plan or decide upon an attack shall... (iii) refrain from deciding to launch any attack which may be expected to cause incidental loss of civilian life, injury to civilians, damage to civilian objects, or a combination thereof, **which would be excessive in relation to the concrete and direct military advantage anticipated;**

(b) an attack shall be cancelled or suspended if it becomes apparent that the objective is not a military one or is subject to special protection or that the attack may be expected to cause incidental loss of civilian life, injury to civilians, damage to civilian objects, or a combination thereof, **which would be excessive in relation to the concrete and direct military advantage anticipated;** [Emphasis added]

The bolded wording is the basis of the proportionality doctrine. It is not very clear in itself, since "excessive" is a matter of judgment. However, the doctrine has been distorted by Israel's detractors to mean that enemy casualties must be proportional to one's own casualties. If Israel suffered few civilian casualties, it is claimed that it is unjustified to allow the deaths of large numbers of enemy civilians. But the convention has no such criterion. In the case of operation Cast Lead and of the Second Lebanon war, Israeli cities were blanketed by rockets, making life unbearable. Few civilians were killed because Israel took reasonable self-defense precautions. The point of the Israeli attack was not to punish civilians or exact "revenge" but to stop the rocket attacks. There is no way to make an objective judgment about the "concrete and direct military advantage" anticipated. If rockets are falling on you, then you will understandably go to great lengths to stop them.

7.1.2 Collective Punishment

Article 33 of the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949 states in part:

No protected person may be punished for an offense he or she has not personally committed. Collective penalties and likewise all measures of intimidation or of terrorism are prohibited.

"Collective punishment" is not defined, but the framers had in mind the German practice of killing villagers arbitrarily in retaliation for partisan raids and activities. It is not possible that the framers intended that it was illegal to take any action at all that harms civilians in response to an act of war or belligerent act, as that would rule out, for example, any sort of economic sanctions, such as those imposed on Iraq after Operation Desert Storm, as well as blockades or any bombing of strategic targets that might also harm civilian targets.

"Collective punishment" is regularly cited nonetheless by anti-Israel advocates and media in just that way, as if the statutes outlawed any act that might harm civilians. An article in *Electronic Intifada* of July 26, 2006 by Shane Darcy, entitled "Israel's long-standing practice of unlawful collective punishment" made precisely that claim, as well as citing the false interpretation of "proportionality:"

The extensive military operations that have been conducted by the Israeli army in and around the Gaza Strip over the past weeks have displayed a marked disregard for international humanitarian law and have involved the imposition of grave and unlawful measures of collective punishment on the Palestinian population. The principle of proportionality has been completely abandoned.⁷²

⁷² electronicintifada.net/v2/article5247.shtml

Terrorists Or Militants?

Both Hamas and Hezbollah are considered terrorist organizations by the United States and the European Union. However, a peculiar journalistic convention dictates that members of these terrorist organizations, even while engaged in acts of terror, will be referred to as "militants" or "gunmen," or in media originating in Arab countries as "fighters" in English, and "resistance" in Arabic. ETA is the Basque separatists terror organization in Spain. A Google search reveals that the term "ETA terrorists" appears in 7,420 pages, while "ETA militants" appears in only 2,680 pages. The use of "terrorists" for ETA is almost 3 times as frequent as the use of "militants." For Hamas, the ratio is reversed. About 155,000 pages refer to "Hamas militants" while only about 80,000 refer to "Hamas terrorists." For **Lockerbie** and **militant** 245,000 pages are listed, but 776,000 are listed for the words **Lockerbie** and **terrorist**.

Pro-Zionist Signals

Legitimate words like "Zionism" and "Jew" have been delegitimized. We need to work to restore proper understanding and respect for them. Other terms sometimes used by Israel advocates really are extremist propaganda jargon or may be innocently perceived as such even if that is not the intention. Some usages and phrases that are associated with "Zionist extremism" or religious extremism or with pro-Zionist sentiments of varying degrees:

- Land of Israel
- Eretz Yisrael (it has a different resonance in Hebrew)
- Greater Israel
- Judea and Samaria
- "Hashem" (Hebrew substitute for "God" used by very Orthodox Jews)
- G-d
- God-given right
- United Jerusalem
- Anti-terror fence
- There are no Palestinians
- MSM (for "Main Stream Media" - an indicative characteristic of right-wing Web logs and journals)
- Jordan is Palestine

If you aren't part of the movements and ideologies represented by the more extreme terms and words, do not use them. You may think Jews have rights in Jerusalem, but that is not the same thing as "United Jerusalem." You may think Jews have the right to live to the east of the Green Line armistice border. That is not the same as being an adherent of the Greater Israel movement (see previous discussion).

Anti-Israel Signals

Be aware of the way in which the anti-Israel propaganda machine uses words to delegitimize Israel, Zionism and Jews. Some of these terms have made their way to mainstream media, while others are, as yet, confined to pro-Arab sources. Here are some of the terms that mark their writings and speech:

Apartheid Israel - Apartheid South Africa was a racist regime that discriminated against South African black people. It denied them the right to vote or to live where they wanted to and outlawed "mixed" marriages among other strictures. The term "apartheid" was grafted on to Israel in an attempt to delegitimize it. Numerous South Africans and others have explained why the analogy does not fit, but it continues to be used. Israeli Arabs have equal rights under the law. Palestinians across the green line are a belligerent population and the steps taken to separate them from Israelis are not done for racial reasons, but to prevent terrorists from infiltrating and carrying out attacks. Arab and Muslim societies are, to an extent, "Apartheid" societies by nature and custom. Each group is quasi autonomous as a "millet." Each group has its own quarter or *mellah*, and its own leaders by tradition: the Armenian quarter, the Jewish quarter, the Coptic quarter, the Greek Christian quarter, the Assyrian quarter... Each may live in their own village or area. Each group has their assigned place in society according to Muslim Sha'aria law. The millets do not mix very much.

Be familiar with all the arguments.⁷³ Make a Web page or handout about "Israel Apartheid." You can use the handout at university "Israel Apartheid Week" events. If someone uses the Israel apartheid slogan in a debate or interview, explain to the audience that they are trying to delegitimize Israel and deny the right of the Jewish people to self-determination.

Apartheid Wall - This epithet is applied to the Israeli Security Barrier. The Israeli Security Barrier, a fence for most of its length was adopted in desperation as a security measure to prevent terrorism, not to discriminate against people of a particular race. The security fence has saved hundreds of lives. It will be removed when the threat of terror is past.

Arab East Jerusalem - This term is part of an inventive and imaginative Palestinian Arab narrative that erases the Jews entirely from parts of Jerusalem east of the 1949 Green Line armistice border. This tries to obliterate the fact that for hundreds of years before 1948, Jews had lived in the old city and other parts of Jerusalem. The narrative ignores the existence of the Hebrew University campus, Hadassah Hospital and other Jewish institutions in East Jerusalem prior to 1948. The extreme version also claims there was never a Jewish capital in Jerusalem in ancient times. This narrative is used to claim that East Jerusalem was always "Arab" and should be the exclusive territory of Arab Palestinians where they will form the capital of their state.⁷⁴ In his book, *Once Upon a Country*,⁷⁵ Sari Nusseibeh managed to write extensively about returning to Jerusalem as it was "in the good old days" without ever mentioning that there were Jews in East Jerusalem before 1948. Jerusalem was never, at any time in history, the capital of an Arab state. There is no such thing as a Palestinian "right" to a state with its capital in Jerusalem, as they claim.

Colonialist - This epithet was attached to Zionists by leftist extremists and especially by the false anti-Semitic Soviet "science" of Zionology. As explained elsewhere, it is not really appropriate, since Jewish settlers in Palestine were not exploiting the country for the benefit of another country, and were not representing any other country, but rather, were investing in their own country.

"Illegal" Occupation - Military occupations are not illegal. They are legitimate and covered by international law. The Israeli presence in the West Bank is not necessarily an occupation according to some legal experts, since occupation takes place when the land in question belonged to another recognized sovereign before it was conquered. Jordanian annexation of the West Bank was not recognized by most of the world and therefore there was no recognized sovereignty there between 1948

⁷³ See www.mideastweb.org/israel_apartheid.htm www.zionism-israel.com/issues/Apartheid.html www.mideastweb.org/log/archives/00000416.htm zionism-israel.com/israel_news/2007/05/apartheid-israel.html

⁷⁴ http://www.adl.org/Anti_semitism/arab/temple_denial.asp, <http://www.aish.com/jw/me/48942991.html>

⁷⁵ Nusseibeh, Sari, *Once Upon a Country*, Farrar, Strauss and Giroux, 2007.

and 1967. The status of Jerusalem is different again. It was to have been internationalized under U.N. resolutions, but in 1948 the Jordanians occupied the eastern half and Israelis occupied the western part of the city in 1948. Neither annexation was recognized. But Jerusalem was never supposed to be part of any Palestinian state. The United Nations has never rescinded the international status resolutions. However, it has never made any move to implement them either.

When groups such as Hamas refer to "ending the occupation" of Palestinian land, however, they are not referring to land conquered in the 1967 Six Day War. They are referring to any land under Israeli sovereignty, since they consider all of Israel to be "illegitimate" and "occupied," including Tel Aviv and Haifa.

International Legitimacy - Refers to U.N. resolutions as interpreted by the Arabs, and is applied only to those parts of the resolutions that are favorable to the Arab side. It should be noted that [General Assembly Resolution 194](#)⁷⁶ ("return of refugees") is not international law. General Assembly resolutions are not binding in international law.

IOF - "Israel Occupation Forces" - the inciteful way that anti-Israel publications refer to the IDF.

Israel Lobby - This doesn't refer to the actual groups that support Israel. Rather, it refers to a mythical monolithic entity that allegedly controls United States policy and is supposedly responsible, for example, for American antipathy to Iran following the taking of US personnel as hostages by Iranian students in 1979 as well as the recent war in Iraq. The Israel Lobby is supposedly behind efforts to ensure that Jimmy Carter's book about "Apartheid"⁷⁷ is not published, and Professors Walt and Mearsheimer's book about the "Israel Lobby"⁷⁸ is suppressed. In reality, AIPAC is one visible manifestation of the Israel Lobby. Christians United for Israel might be another. There are really pro-Israel lobby groups and interest groups. However, there are also groups, often larger and more powerful, that support Arab or Muslim interests, like CAIR, the Middle East Policy Council (MEPC) and the American Iranian Council (AIC).

However, the term "Israel Lobby" has anti-Semitic overtones. "Israel Lobby" is portrayed as a shadowy entity. The lobby is generally assumed to be supported by "Jewish money" and it is implied that it is steered by the non-existent Elders of Zion. It is reminiscent of the "International Finance Jewry" of Adolph Hitler. When Jimmy Carter complained of the "Israel Lobby," the term was simply and accurately translated as "the Jews" by Al Ahram newspaper. The failure of the efforts of the mythical Israel Lobby to suppress anti-Israel and anti-Semitic propaganda is generally ignored. Arab countries and their agents spend far more than the "Israel Lobby" does to influence opinion, but you almost never hear about that.

Justice - "Justice" as in "Peace with Justice" "Justice for Palestine" and in Hebrew, "Brit Tzedek," has been totally abused. The use of this word in the title of an organization and its literature has become a dead giveaway that the group is anti-Zionist, and has defined "Justice" as whatever serves the Palestinian cause. The definition is loaded. Thus it is "justice" to allow Palestinian Arabs to return to their land in Beersheva (now greatly developed) but it is "settler Zionism" to allow Jews to return to their homes in Gush Etzion or the Jewish quarter of the old city of Jerusalem from which they were ethnically cleansed in 1948.

⁷⁶ <http://mideastweb.org/194.htm>

⁷⁷ Carter, Jimmy, *Peace Not Apartheid*, Simon & Schuster, 2006.

⁷⁸ Mearsheimer, John J, and Walt, Stephen M., *The Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy*, Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2007.

Nakba - The "disaster" suffered by Palestinian Arabs who fled Palestine in 1948, used as a cultic symbol of the victimization myth. [See Palestine Nakba](#),⁷⁹ and more detailed discussion in a later chapter. Note the spelling of Nakba with a "k," never "Naqba," which means "female" or "grooved" in Arabic.

Palestinian-State-with-its-capital-in-Jerusalem - This demand, which has no historical basis, is being converted into a "right." Palestinian advocates repeat the formula over and over, until it seems to have a certain logic and justice, though it does not. You might as well say, "Amerindian state with its capital in Washington D.C." Jerusalem was never the capital of a Palestinian state, as there was never any Palestinian state, nor was it ever a regional capital under any of the Arab or Muslim empires. If you encounter this slogan, be ready to deconstruct it.

Racism - In anti-Israel lingo, this epithet is used to describe any manifestation of Jewish national rights, such as use of the "racist" Israeli flag or Jewish star, law of return, use of Hebrew in schools etc. It is also directed against security measures like the security fence ("Apartheid Wall")

Rights - Anything demanded by Palestinians is called a right, giving the impression that it is firmly anchored in law. Examples - "Right of Return" of Refugees, "Right" to a capital in "Arab" East Jerusalem, "Right of Resistance" - blowing civilians to bits in suicide bombings and rocket attacks.

Right of Return - Palestinian Arab refugees have a unique status under U.N. refugee law. They are the only refugees who inherit their status from generation to generation. Though some refugees have been returned to their homes within reasonable times after a war, there is no "right of return" that is implemented consistently. Right of return never applies to enemy belligerents, and it has never been extended over 60 years to second and third generation descendants. A special section will deal with this "right."

Settlements - This originally neutral word has been turned into a pejorative, implying an illegal "colonial" outpost set up by stealing land from oppressed Palestinian Arabs. Any establishment of Palestinian Arabs, no matter how recent, is called a "neighborhood" or a "village." Palestinians are setting up new "villages" and "neighborhoods" all the time, without planning or building permits. Any attempt to control such illegal building and squatting evokes protests about "Ethnic Cleansing." These new villages and neighborhoods, as they are called, include summer tent villages in the West Bank set up for farming activities. When Israel tried to remove the squatters, it provoked an intensive campaign by "rights" groups. Likewise, Arab squatters settled in Silwan (the Valley of Siloam) after 1967. This "neighborhood" was built without any building permits over the City of David, a valuable historical site containing antiquities from the time of the first temple. Attempts to move the squatters have met with outrage.

On the other hand, any Jewish community; no matter how well established or how old, peaceable or legal is a "settlement" in Palestinian propaganda parlance. That includes for example the "settlement" of Ashdod shelled by Hamas rocket fire. Hamas news reports regularly refer to rockets fired on the "settlements" of Sderot and Ashdod, inside the Israeli Green Line. America has a short memory. About 1950, a hit song of the progressive Weavers group was "*Tzena Tzena*," celebrating the birth of the state of Israel. The words mean "Come out, girls, and see, there are soldiers in the settlement."

Tel Aviv Government - Phrases such as "The Tel Aviv government stated" or just "according to sources in Tel Aviv" are a way that certain media remind readers that they do not recognize Jerusalem as the capital of Israel. The government offices that are the sources of these "Tel Aviv" statements are usually in Jerusalem. If you encounter these phrases in a news story, it is probably biased. The correct

⁷⁹ http://www.zionism-israel.com/his/Palestine_Nakba.htm

neutral phrases are "The Israeli government" or the "The Israeli Department of Defense" etc. These avoid the problem of taking a stand on the status of Jerusalem. The "Tel Aviv" usage, once the exclusive property of Arab and Muslim governments and Communist government publications, is gradually finding its way into mainstream media in the West.

8. Applying The Basics

Making the principles of persuasion work for you in a hostile environment, such as a live debate, and being aware of how opponents misuse the "hidden persuaders" are arts as well as sciences.

Never Underestimate The Other Side

The assault against Israel is being managed by experts who are often the best of their kind at what they do. Learn what they do and how they do it and take these people on. However, a few exposures of fake quotes and fake media photos can help deconstruct some of their hype.

The communications teams, infiltration strategies and messages are shaped by talented people and repeatedly tuned to provoke sympathy in audiences.

The Palestine Solidarity Movement and others have well designed strategies for infiltrating just about any sort of organization, including some very unlikely ones, and using it for their own ends. Whether the group was originally about women's rights, a union or a church group, a professional association or even a gay rights group, soon after it has been targeted, it will start cranking out Israel boycott and divestment resolutions couched in the same monotonously familiar terms. Our side has to reach these groups early, with our side of the story, and prevent them from being subverted. We need to make groups aware that they are being targeted as part of an insidious campaign.

Opposition media people have awesome prowess in staging "events" that didn't happen and getting journalists to use their "stories" because they are attractive. We need to make sure that justice and truth are seen as well as done.

8.1.1 Understanding Enemy Tactics

The anti-Zionist, pro-Arab and pro-Muslim propaganda machine has greatly emphasized and exaggerated the "Israel Lobby." The role of the Arab lobby, the Muslim lobby and the Palestinian lobby are practically unknown and unappreciated. Without understanding the Arab and anti-Israel lobby, their size, and the tactics used against us, it is impossible to stop the onslaught of unfair propaganda.

The techniques of building any political movement are well known and apply equally to good causes and bad ones. Many of them were pioneered by obnoxious characters including V.I. Lenin, Josef Stalin, Adolf Hitler and Joseph Goebbels. Likewise, you can find an edifying and very important "how to do it" guide in the approach of the [Palestine Solidarity Movement \(PSM\)](http://www.zionism-israel.com/ezone/PSM_Palestine_Subversion_Movement.htm),⁸⁰ a Palestinian group that seems to have read all the above masters and is assiduously applying their doctrines. Their basic plan is to form alliances with like-minded groups and to subvert existing groups and institutions that were formed for other purposes.

⁸⁰ http://www.zionism-israel.com/ezone/PSM_Palestine_Subversion_Movement.htm

The principle of subversion - The principle that makes subversion work is that most members of the target groups are apathetic and leave the activism to a few leaders. Only that small leadership group must be subverted, either by convincing existing leaders or by inserting leaders of the subverting cause. If the chair of the union meeting is anti-Israel, the union is going to keep considering boycotts of Israel until the rank and file adopts a boycott resolution. In this way, "ownership" of key positions in an organization can be leveraged into control of the organization. An existing structure, with all its acquired resources and prestige, is harnessed for the anti-Israel cause. After it is done, it is too late, as the anti-Israel people control the key positions, and therefore they control the organization. They pack meetings with their followers, call meetings on Saturday to keep out observant Jews, and invite the Sabeel organization or the Palestinian Academic Boycott groups to address the union or church group.

Be Prepared: Know Your Materials

It is really heart breaking to see some of the "great and famous" advocates of Israel go down before opponents because they were not prepared. They didn't bother to check facts, didn't prepare for well-honed attacks by the other side, or they tried to use arguments that might be convincing to sympathetic Zionist audiences, or sources that have credibility only among Zionist audiences. "There are no Palestinians" may sound great to committed followers in a Jewish center, but it is not true and should not be used as an argument for Israel.

Talking Points

Talking points can be a useful tool or a pernicious obstacle depending on how they are chosen and how they are used. Remember that the goal is to persuade neutral people by providing credible information that speaks to their values and helps them build a correct "schema" with regard to Israel, Zionism and the conflict.

8.1.2 Useful Talking Points

"Talking points" in the positive sense are a way of organizing your knowledge and ensuring that you have not omitted anything important from a presentation. They should be researched, honed and reduced to the bare minimum of concepts, issues and dramatizations that are well founded and likely to convince. They help you reduce a mass of information to manageable proportions. They should always be judged by a neutral or skeptical observer for effectiveness and accuracy.

Examples of useful talking points:

Israel is a democracy - This point is admitted by Palestinians as well. Arabs in Israel have more rights than they do in most surrounding Middle Eastern countries. The point can be illustrated easily by discussing the history of oppression of Bahai in Iran compared to their freedom in Israel, gay rights, women's rights, political rights of Israeli Arabs versus one party states and fake elections in Syria, Egypt and Iran, and the appalling record of the Palestinians.

Right of Return of Palestinian refugees is a bogus claim intended to destroy Israel - This can be extensively documented with quotes from Arab sources, international legal documents and opinions (see discussion in the previous chapter).

8.1.3 Pernicious Talking Points

"Talking points" in the negative sense are a series of slogans that are gleaned from reading propaganda literature. They represent very little knowledge. While they may help to rally your own adherents, they will probably only annoy neutral observers. They may be "bad" because:

- They can't be defended because they are based on dubious or incorrect information.
- They don't really support any important point.
- They challenge accepted values and portray Zionists as intolerant and unfair.

In a debate situation, they may be attacked and dissected by the opponent, with embarrassing results.

Examples of "bad" talking points:

"There are no Palestinians" - While there might not have been a Palestinian people 100 years ago, the world accepts that there is one now, and the Palestinian Arabs assert their peoplehood. The counterpart of this statement is the obnoxious claim that the Jews are not a people"

God promised all the land to the Jews" - Indeed He did, according to the Old Testament, but He did not state when or how He would fulfill His promise. He also made several different promises that seem to contradict each other. For example, the borders delimited in Numbers 34 are much more limiting than earlier promises to Abraham.

"The Jews became a nation in 1312 BC" - Statements such as this may generate enthusiasm among the faithful, but there is no way to defend them. The importance of this statement is unclear, since the Iroquois Indians became a nation before the American people, but do not have a recognized national claim to their land.

"Ahmadinejad threatened to wipe Israel off the map" - Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad said that the Ayatollah Khomeini wanted a world without Zionism and without America, and that this goal is achievable. He talked about erasing the stain of Zionism or the Zionist regime, but he didn't literally say "wipe Israel off the map." Making that claim can get you into a pointless argument.

8.1.4 Abuse Of Demographic Figures - "There were no Arabs in Palestine"

In the 1980s, based on the book, "From Time Immemorial" by Joan Peters,⁸¹ it became popular to claim that "there were no Arabs in Palestine" before the arrival of the Zionists, and that the Arab population of Palestine were mostly immigrants. This claim has persisted, though numerous articles as well as recollections of Israelis and their ancestors who lived in the country prove that it is not so.

Demography is a complex applied science that appears deceptively simple. Population figures for the nineteenth and early twentieth century in areas of the Ottoman Empire that later became British mandatory Palestine and population figures of the British census have been abused and twisted in various ways. The issues are discussed in detail in [Population of Ottoman Palestine](http://mideastweb.org/palpop.htm).⁸²

⁸¹ Peters, Joan, From Time Immemorial: The Origins of the Arab-Jewish Conflict over Palestine, JKAP Publications, 2001.

⁸² <http://mideastweb.org/palpop.htm>

Universalist Rather Than Particularist Approach

People are interested in themselves and in those like them. Palestinian and Arab propaganda failed as long as it was couched in particularist terms and had a negative slant. It began to succeed when it created images and slogans that had a universal appeal: Suffering children, appeals for rights, destroyed homes, tales of cruelty, appeals to peace and to universally accepted rights.

Proud of Who We Are

It is silly to try to conduct Israel advocacy while hiding the fact that we are Zionists. However, emphasizing these words is not always going to be helpful. Focus group studies by Frank Luntz suggest (not surprisingly) that people seem to have an aversion to the words "Jew" and "Zionism." We already knew that though, didn't we? We have to use these words and defend them, but when we use these words we have to know why we are using them. We must be sure to explain why we are proud to be Zionists and to defend Jewish rights.

Maintain Unity

Maintaining unity in a group or coalition seems to be an obvious necessity. Regrettably, it is the basic maxim that is most frequently ignored by Zionist groups and coalitions. It seems all too easy to forget that the other side is out to destroy Israel entirely, and to get embroiled in deciding exactly what sort of Israel there ought to be. The most divisive issues are discussed below.

8.1.5 Borders of Israel

"What is the Zionist position on the borders of Israel?" The activist who asks this question is looking for trouble. That person is aiming to break up the coalition or control it for narrow partisan reasons.

There is no long term Zionist position on the borders of Israel that is accepted by all Zionists. Moreover, it is not relevant to discussing the issues with anti-Zionists. They do not even recognize a postage-stamp sized Israel. Why should it be more important to discuss what sized state the anti-Zionists won't let us have, then to combat the claims of those who insist we have no right to any state?

8.1.6 Religious Issues

Zionism never wholly resolved its attitude toward religion. It has always been clear, however, that religion is not the basis of the political Zionist movement, and that religion should be used to unify rather than divide the Jewish people. Policies of the state of Israel that are in effect at one time or another must not be confused with Zionism.

8.1.7 Peace and Tolerance

Zionism is not a "racist" ideology and no Zionist group should be advocating racist or exclusivist positions. If you do not understand it is so, then at least understand that when people who are Zionists advocate expelling Arabs from Israel or expelling Muslims from Europe they are doing irreparable harm to Zionism, to Israel and to the Jewish people. There is no way to defend racism.

Be Persistent

It may take a long time to build a local activist movement and then a network of such movements, and then a national movement. The Anti-Israel groups spent many years and a lot of money to make slogans

like "Israel Lobby" and "Israel Apartheid" respectable, and to get otherwise respectable and logical people to advocate genocide and murder of civilians. The unfortunate truth is that the rules that govern advocacy work just as well for vile causes and lies as they do for good causes and truth, and sometimes work even better.

Be Opportunistic - In The Good Sense

"Opportunism" sounds bad, but every movement or idea succeeds by taking hold of opportunities and using them. The success of the Six Day War put Israel and Zionism into the news and was successfully exploited to create, for a time, a ground swell in support for the Zionist movement. For various reasons, this was not exploited very well. However, events such as the attacks of 9-11 and personalities such as Mahmoud Ahmadinejad can provide opportunities for activism and advocacy that need to be acted upon.

Another sort of opportunity is provided by the opponent who asks a deliberately loaded question or yells out a slogan in a talk. Don't evade the question. Use the opportunity to expose the reasoning behind it and turn it to your advantage. If the opponent yells about "Israel Apartheid," stand on Israel's record of democracy and integration, ask them to explain why intermarriage between Africans and Bedouin is frowned upon in Bedouin society. Ask them to explain why Christians are separated and suffer persecution in virtually every Arab and Muslim country, why Egyptian religious leaders declared that it is a sin to build a church.⁸³ Ask them if their use of the false "Apartheid" slogan indicates that they are opposed to the existence of Israel as a Jewish national home, rather than to any particular Israeli policy. Use the opportunity to draw them out and expose their real views, which are often extremist and racist, and hide behind a veneer of "progressive" rhetoric. Get them to explain enthusiastically that they support a one-state solution and genocide of the Jews, that the Jews control the media, that the Jews are somehow inferior or that "Hitler was right."

Censorship Versus Proactive Creativity

It seems there is a great attraction to censoring or attempting to suppress other groups and Web sites. If you get that Nasrallah page off Facebook, stop a group that distributes Holocaust denial information, or point out the bias in a movie about Jenin you attract Zionist adherents to your group, because you are perceived as "effective." Such initiatives certainly can help curb the worst excesses of racist anti-Israel propaganda. But sometimes it is better to ignore the enemy and to expend your energies in creating and distributing your own truthful information. Some of the drawbacks of censorship:

You are drawing attention to the offending item or group. As soon as the neo-Nazis and bigots learn there is a new boycott initiative or anti-Semitic Web site they, will flock to it. Hundreds of pro-Israel bloggers and Web sites will link to the Drive-the-Zionazis-into-the-Sea Web site. It will be discussed everywhere. An obscure play about the evil Elders of Zion can become "famous" overnight due to the efforts of Israel advocates to shut it down. Articles about the boycott Israel initiative of the Amalgamated Brotherhood of Belly Lint Pickers suddenly put obscure boycott leaders in the limelight.

You may not be able to stop them. Universities often barricade themselves behind "academic freedom" and newspapers invoke freedom of the press. That is their right. It is sad that these freedoms may be abused, but there is often little that can be done. Your failure will be turned into a "victory" over the "Israel Lobby" that is supposedly trying to stop "legitimate criticism" of Israel. You cannot, for example, get Google to de-list Web pages even if they are blatantly racist.

⁸³ See <http://www.christianpost.com/article/20090901/egypt-muslim-council-building-of-churches-is-sin-against-god/index.html>.

Jewwatch.com and Jrbookonline's "International Jew" are among the top ten Google search engine listings for keyword Jew. There doesn't seem to be a way to remove them.

The same claims will appear in different form. You might succeed in "nailing" a group because of a specific claim they make such as Holocaust denial. However, this may only give them a valuable lesson. They will soon learn how to fashion their message to deliver the same information, without being liable to prosecution for racism. "Jewish control" will become "Zionist control." The "Jewish lobby" will become the "Zionist lobby."

Be aware of the Ironic Process effect In some cases at least, it seems that telling people they must not think of a word or phrase makes them think about it much more frequently. Perhaps the phrase becomes "desirable" because it is "forbidden fruit." or the anxiety aroused by suppressing the thoughts makes them more frequent.⁸⁴

It's harder to be proactive and create our own original materials, but the investment is worthwhile. The only way to really stop the hate mongers and the liars is to make the truth popular.

Learn From Mistakes

If nobody showed up at a demonstration you organized, or your 2,000 page Web site is not attracting any visitors, or your group has been trying to change media attitudes but has not been successful, try to find the reasons why this is so and fix the problem. You need to make an objective assessment of whether there is a better way to achieve your goals.

Build On Successes

A successful activity gets publicity for you and your group. Be prepared to film a lecture or demonstration and be sure to alert media. Use the film and the media publicity to popularize your group further. A lecture or demonstration that reaches 50 or 100 people originally, can be and should be made to reach thousands, tens of thousands and hundreds of thousands.

Cultivate Empathy And Self-knowledge

Empathize with the other side. Don't fake it for effect. Do it! It will help you understand them better and it will help you understand yourself better. It will help you to see yourself and to see your favorite advocacy points, the ones you thought were the strongest arguments, as others are apt to see them.

The people on the other side do not see themselves as the incarnation of evil. Even Waffen SS had wives and kids and really believed in what they thought was correct. Your heroes are their villains.

To fashion your message for a neutral audience, have empathy with neutral people. Try to picture your own reaction to a conflict in which you are not involved and haven't taken a stand. What sort of arguments might convince you? What sort of arguments leave you indifferent? What sort of arguments will repel you? What arguments would cause you to support the other side? Follow the golden rule - do not do to others what is hateful to you. When anti-Israel authors write that there is no Jewish people or that Jews have no rights in Israel, how does that make you feel? Do you think those ideas persuade or repel neutral people? Are those legitimate positions? Is it morally OK to use that sort of hate rhetoric to defend Israel? Would it be convincing?

⁸⁴ Wegner, D. M. (1994), "Ironic Processes of Mental Control", *Psychological Review* **101** (1): 34-52

Don't Be Distracted By Red Herring Issues

Remember the core issue - the Jewish right to self-determination. Keep the discussion in focus and don't let it be sidetracked. Your opponents will want to talk about issues such as settlements and the "right" of return and their latest fabrications about massacres, IDF organ theft etc. For legitimate issues, respond by saying that such issues, while difficult, can be dealt with in the context of peace and mutual recognition. Ask your opponent if he or she would recognize Israel's legitimacy as the state of the Jewish people if Israel were to withdraw to the June 1967 lines. The response you will almost always get is "no." Then point out that Israel has no incentive to withdraw if the other side promises more war. Moreover, the so-called "right" of return would eliminate Israel as the state of the Jewish people. Thus, you unmask your opponent as not someone in favor of Palestinian rights, but as someone who simply is opposed to Jewish rights.

The Core Issue In Other Words: Our War is Peace

In the previous chapter, we explained that the core issue of the conflict is Arab refusal to recognize the Jewish right to self-determination. Keep the discussions focused on that issue. As much as possible, opposition debaters will try to evade that issue and it is your job to pin them down.

Recognition of "Israel" is not enough, if they mean an Arab state called "Israel." "Peace" is not enough, because peace is meaningless if the Jewish state is wiped out. Do your opponents want peace with Israel, or peace without Israel?

Do your opponents want peace with Israel, or peace without Israel?

Another way of saying the same thing is that peace is the number one issue for Zionism and it always has been. Peace requires that the Arab states recognize Israel as the state of the Jewish people and admit that it is legitimate for there to be such a state. The goal of Zionism, a national home for the Jewish people secured in international law, cannot be achieved without peace.

The core issue of the conflict is Arab refusal to recognize the Jewish right to self-determination. Keep the discussions focused on that issue.

9. Advocacy: Techniques and Tactics

Advocacy that does not attract adherents and attention is not accomplishing its goal. The problem of advocacy is not just to formulate logical positions, but to popularize them and to persuade: to tell the world and get everyone to understand. Very often the resources available to volunteers are very limited and they must work with what they have, rather than with what is desirable or needed.

This chapter and the following ones on grass roots activism and use of the Web are about the "how" of advocacy. They show you how to implement the principles explained in previous chapters. At the nuts and bolts level, the Web site, rally, article or television appearance for which you are frantically preparing is your "goal." But you always need to keep in mind the larger goals that the particular tactic or issue serves. Remember too that "techniques" or "tactics" should never be a euphemism or for lying or deceptive practices. Techniques and tactics are about how to make the truth shine through and how to spread the word.

At the same time, remember that in practical work, details count - and there are a lot of them. The best Web site with the best information is worthless if you do not know how to promote it and ensure that you will get visitors. The rally for the best possible cause will not attract any people if you neglected to write what city the rally is in (a frequent failure) or what time it is supposed to happen, or if you didn't provide transportation to a remote location.

These chapters are oriented to North America. Specifics of political organization, culture of demonstrations and university behavior and other conditions may be different in other parts of the world, including the UK and continental Europe. However, the principles are often the same.

The Goals

Advocacy activities have a number of tactical goals:

- To publicize your cause.
- To mobilize opinion that is already sympathetic to your cause.
- To convince others of the correctness of your cause.
- To publicize your particular group and attract adherents and financial support to your group.

Each of the above requires somewhat different tactics and approaches. When done well, activities and initiatives can serve all the goals. When done poorly, they may conflict. Focusing too much on mobilizing existing opinion and drawing people to a particular group may discourage cooperation with competition. It may make a message that is too narrow, extreme and particularistic to appeal to a broad audience. Suppose for example, that the Palestine Islamic committee to drive the Jewish sons of dogs and apes into the sea needs to raise money. It also needs to attract outsiders such as church groups. On the one hand, calls to Jihad and promises to liberate Tel Aviv are very effective in gathering the hard core of the faithful and attracting funds from Wahhabi oil Sheikhs. On the other hand, such calls may repel broader sectors of the population in the United States, that have to be sold a message of "human rights" and "Palestinian suffering." Keep this general principle in mind in devising your own activities.

The last goal, making your group grow, should be achieved as a byproduct of serving the main cause. It is the least important from the point of view of serving the cause. However, organization-centered promotion often becomes the paramount activity. It drives all others because of the realities and economics of advocacy. Advocacy requires labor, much of which is unavailable for free, and advocacy

requires money. An organization is set up. The salaried employees of that organization often spend a large part of their effort in raising more money to support their salaries - "development" rather than publicizing and advancing the cause itself. A considerable quantity of their publicity is devoted to showing how much their group did and why they are worthy of support by their own public, to the exclusion of "competition" For cultural and sociological reasons, this seems to be truer of Zionist advocacy organizations. At that point the organization is no longer doing Israel advocacy. It exists to support itself. It does advocacy for its own group rather than advocacy for Zionism and Israel. It refuses to cooperate with other groups.

The Necessary Revolution In Israel advocacy

Zionist and Israel advocacy outside the Jewish community has usually relied on expensive organizations and on targeting of governments and opinion makers. This approach evolved in a European culture of autocracy and racial and religious oppression, where Jews were not really part of the community. They communicated with the community leaders through their own leaders. Jews may be very prominent in grass roots advocacy for peace, social justice and civil rights, but grass roots Jewish Zionism and Israel advocacy are almost completely lacking. They seem to go against ingrained cultural habits. In modern European and North American society, that is surely an anachronism. The only real way to build solid support for an idea in a democracy is through grass roots activism, rather than by addressing centers of power through power brokers. Israel advocacy cannot be effective without a large grass roots movement that does the normal things that grass roots movements do, and that involves large segments of the community who support Israel, not just handfuls of Jews.

9.1.1 The Best Things In Life Are Free

Especially in times of economic hardship, grass roots activism and voluntarism become a vital factor in pleading your cause. Large organizations require an infrastructure and overhead. A dedicated corps of volunteers can often minimize the need for money and make the same investment provide a much more effective return. Computers and printers, available in virtually every home, allow production of printed material that in the past would require a lot of money to print. Blogging is free, and Web sites can be set up at low cost as a means to disseminate information. A Web site that costs \$30 a year and is staffed by volunteers can reach a million people in that year. A colored brochure that cost \$5,000 to produce may be seen by a thousand people, most of whom discard it without reading. Email communication can eliminate the need for a physical office. Social networking applications like Twitter and Facebook are creating a revolution in the way information and opinions are disseminated. Technology has allowed volunteers to leverage their labor into far more influence than ever before.

Some advocacy organizations are far more effective than others, even though their budget is much smaller. The difference is often in how the successful organizations can use grass roots techniques to mobilize unpaid volunteers, how well they use the Web and Internet and how successful they are in employing creative strategies that attract the attention of media and provide free publicity,

Organizing

In building a political movement your aims are to convince and to organize. The organizational aspect consists of compiling ever-larger lists of contacts who are going to support your work, and of gathering resources to help generate various initiatives and kinds of publicity. Organizing lots of people is also helps to convince others.

9.1.2 Volunteer Groups And Coalitions

The heart of your work is organizing a group and building coalitions. Organizing volunteer groups and coalitions is an art rather than a science. It is often very difficult. Someone remarked that it is "like herding cats."

A friendly working atmosphere and a feeling of accomplishment help attract and hold people to your group. If the group is growing, make certain that people know it. You need to find ways to get the most out of what each person or group is willing and able to offer. People can surprise you and themselves and discover unsuspected talents.

Regrettably, sometimes the most difficult people are those who contribute the least; you need to decide if that person is a net asset or liability. That also depends, of course, on how many volunteers you have. However, even beggars sometimes need to be choosers. If a person or association is going to change the character of your group or give it a bad name, if they won't work according to democratic decisions and group principles, if they are trying to intrude their agenda on yours, you are probably better off without them.

Other organizations want to see that they are joining a good thing when they consider cooperating with your group. They have to have the impression that they will gain something from partnering with your group. A few successes and some media publicity will make you a more valuable partner. Money and resources will certainly help too.

9.1.3 The Contact List

A central tool of advocacy work is the contact list. And a great part of your time should be expended on making that list grow. The contact list or lists are the essential basis of any political organization as they are the basis of any marketing organization. The Web is often a good place to recruit new contacts through newsletters, petitions and sign up forms. However, for local activities, you will need to identify those of your contacts who live in your area, and it is usually better to gather such contacts through local demonstrations, petitions and tables that might be set up at a public event or university.

The contact list is your means of organizing and directing activities, calling for volunteer support, running letter-writing campaigns and any other directed activity, as well as being a means to project your point of view through newsletters. Be careful not to abuse the contact list and the people on it, who have placed their trust in you, by releasing their information for use by others, or by using the list to propagandize for political candidates or causes unrelated to Zionism. There is no official Zionist position on global warming, abortions in the United States, health care in the United States or other domestic issues; these issues have nothing to do with defending Zionism or Israel.

9.1.4 Self-Identification

The way in which you identify your movement, cause, publication or Web site depends on its nature and on your goals. Are you conciliatory or confrontational? Are you trying to mobilize people who are already sympathetic, or are you trying to attract outsiders? Are you trying to legitimize a specific

Whatever you name your group, Web site or publication, your sympathies will soon be evident to most people. It is hard to get confused between "Palestine Remembered" www.palestineremembered.org/ and "Palestine Facts" www.palestinefacts.org/ after visiting their Web sites. If you are trying to reach a neutral audience, you will probably need to present a reasonably balanced perspective, not just a neutral or innocent name.

9.1.5 Networking: The Secret Weapon

Working with other organizations and building networks and coalitions are vital keys to the success of any political or advocacy effort. The anti-Israel groups understand this. They have excelled at building local groups that network into national organizations such as the Palestine Solidarity Movements. All these groups are under the guidance of a central "International Solidarity Movement." Anti-Israel groups also form ad-hoc local coalitions. A Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) rally to support Hamas was sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee and the Jewish Voice for Peace group. A hidden hand seems to coordinate the efforts of all the different anti-Israel movements, whether in churches, labor unions, on campus or elsewhere. Slogans and initiatives that may start in one place are quickly taken up and echoed by all the groups. The "Israel Apartheid" slogan spread like wildfire. Materials written in one place can be adapted very slightly and used elsewhere. This cooperation also allows anti-Israel groups to coordinate boycott efforts and to schedule multiple demonstrations in numerous cities across the globe on a given day. This makes it possible to translate the local strength of different groups into a newsworthy international initiative. An extreme example of such cooperation was provided by Marwan Barghouti's National and Islamic Front, which featured Marxist and radical Islamist groups in the same "movement."

Networking is one of the most important things you can do, but Zionist organizations seem to be very bad at doing it. Organizations need to change the regulations and ways of doing business that prevent cooperation, and our people need to change attitudes that shut out other Zionists because of ideological differences or other reasons.

Communicating

You need to get your message across in many different ways. Each is suited to a different audience, different purpose and different budget.

9.1.6 The Medium and the Venue

People who tell you that they know what communication channel or method is best, or that "Internet is a waste of time," are leading you astray.

Firstly, you have to ask "Best for what?" A talk to a closed group of 500 invited Zionists is probably the most effective way to raise money for a Zionist cause. However, you are not going to reach many new people who could be converts to your cause.

Some channels and approaches might be a waste of time for most of the things you will be doing. That depends on your goals and on the activity. A campus Hillel group might be a good place to recruit volunteer activists, but you won't make new converts there for Zionism. All the people who would go to Hillel are generally pro-Israel. Of course, if someone shows a film about Israeli "atrocities" at a university Hillel or in a Jewish center or film festival, they are reaching a new audience for that sort of material.

Secondly, you have to ask "Best for whom?" A large organization can buy television or radio advertising time or organize public relations coverage of an event. A small group of volunteers may have no money for any of that. Likewise, while books are wonderful, not everyone can write a book or produce a major motion picture. But almost everyone can make a placard and march in a demonstration or set up a table. Everyone has the money to make a Web log because it is free, or to picket an embassy

or give out handouts. The French, American and Soviet revolutions came about without television or the Web.

Books and dramatizations - especially historical novels and dramatizations, works of fiction and history, and likewise movies, can have an enormous influence on public opinion. It is regrettable, but true, that people may form opinions about conspiracy theories or Jihadist terrorists based on the latest spy thriller. Academic history and analysis books are going to reach fewer people, but those people may be the decision makers.

Grass Roots activism and initiatives as communication - Grass roots activism and face-to-face talks are also a "communications channel." Demonstrations, petitions, boycott or anti-boycott initiatives make news and may get wide coverage in different media. An event shown on nationwide television can give your group and your views instant fame or perhaps notoriety, but intimate talks with local groups may be more important in cementing allegiances and making real friends for the cause, and occasionally they will get wider coverage and allow you to publicize your side of the story. Networking of small, local groups gives them nationwide and international coverage and leverage.

Rallies and "tables" at universities and elsewhere - A local rally is good for influencing local public opinion and forming local grass roots groups in your town or university. No matter how many people you can reach by television, there is no substitute for talking to people face to face. If you can have your rally AND get television and other media coverage for it, then you can benefit from several different channels. Make sure your posters and spokespeople transmit an effective and intelligent message. Palestinian and Muslim groups get coverage for many of their rallies, but it is not clear if they are really helping their cause by people chanting "Hamas, Hamas, Jews to the Gas" or holding up posters that say, "Europe is the Cancer, Islam is the Answer" and "I hate Juice" (Jews).



9.1.7 Content

Advocates produce a wide variety of written content and videos for different purposes: Newspaper and Web site articles, historical materials, advertisements, letters to editors and letters to organizations, histories, fact sheets, brochures and handouts for use in demonstrations, rallies and tables set up at rallies.

The content of all materials you distribute should be accurate, concise, appeal to common values, and avoid divisiveness and un-provable accusations. Hysterical, un-provable assertions repel fair-minded people. Attacking popular American leaders is committing political suicide.

Content can be prepared at different levels for different purposes and audiences. Some content is thoroughly researched academic accounts which should include detailed references. However, advocacy content must follow rules of good journalistic practices, scientific writing and advertising copywriting. That doesn't mean such content is "PR" or "hype." It means it has to be interesting, concise and include effective graphics. Even academic papers should follow common sense rules of clarity and conciseness that apply to scientific writing.

The same rules apply for most content.

- 1- **Keep it Simple Stupid** - An advocacy page should be about one message, with the simplest and most basic truths needed to support that message. Don't let the bad information drive out the good. Make sure the good information is delivered in the same simple and direct way that people use for propaganda and disinformation. Remember - it doesn't have to be B*O*R*I*N*G.
- 2- **Keep it Short Stupid** - Billboards, advertisements and one page broad sheets don't have a lot of room. Get your message across in a few words and as many pictures as possible. The main points should be in large type to attract attention. Check proposed subway, bus and billboard ads by viewing them from far away - what you see is what most people will see. They don't have the copy on a light table 20 inches from them.
- 3- **Keep it General** - "They are killing children" speaks to everyone. "They are killing Jews" tends to speak only to Jews. There are not that many Jews.
- 4- **Be personal and concrete** - Stalin is reported to have cynically said, "One death is a tragedy. A million deaths is a statistic." Build a story around people and specific issues. The story of a victim of terror, for example.
- 5- **Use credible, accepted sources and provide references** - Remember that people are more likely to believe information that comes from sources they trust. Make sure that information you present is true and try to use accepted neutral sources rather than Israeli government or "Zionist" sources. Every quote should be accompanied by a reference to the original archival source or at least the publication where you saw it referenced.
- 6- **Use visuals** - Blood and gore pictures are obnoxious, but they dramatize the truth of suffering. Without them, people are often just statistics. Hanged homosexuals and Bahai in Iran, terror victims in Sderot, "moderate" troops goose-stepping and giving the fascist salute all tell about the reality of the conflict that most people do not see.
- 7- **Be flexible** - Materials, messages, talks and advertisements must be adapted to suit the occasion and the audience. An audience of academics is probably going to be more sophisticated than a group of "just folks (but don't count on it). A message suitable for a flyer at a demonstration would probably have to be reframed for an article. Images that might work for a student audience in California might not be effective for a union group in Nijmegen in the Netherlands.

9.1.8 Ten Commandments of Israel Advocacy Literature

Frank Luntz's 2003 study, "Israel in the age of Eminem," targeted Jewish American young people and was meant to be applied to advertisements. Most of his findings are classical advertising maxims. It is

equally applicable to handouts, to older people, to non-Jews and to non-Americans. He summarized his findings in "10 Commandments,"⁸⁵ quoted or summarized below:

- 1. Less is More: Make your point quickly or it won't be made at all.** - The life of a handout is generally about a minute. If people can't see your point immediately from a picture and a slogan, they will not read the page. They will throw it away. The same is true for ads. Use large fonts, white space and graphics to create an effect.
- 2. Tell or show them something they don't already know.** - Give the reader a new message or a message packaged and presented in an original way.
- 3. Talk peace.** - "This is a component of all our work on behalf of Israel and the American Jewish community. It is at the core of what Americans in general and Jews in particular most want for the Middle East and for Israel."
- 4. Facts = credibility. Names = nothing.** - "Give them the historical facts showing Israel's efforts for peace – that will be much, much more helpful than a list of students, a list of professors, a list of organizations or whomever that supports Israel." Actually, give them any sort of basic knowledge. You could fill a library with what people around the world do not know about the Middle East and Israel. Most of them (except those who are already convinced) never heard of the people whose names may impress you.
- 5. Relate your Jewish and/or Israel message to their country.** - Most people are proud of their country and its values. Israel Advocacy should always try to link Israel to Western values such as democracy, emancipation of women, religious tolerance and technical excellence.
- 6. Religious appeals will usually fail.** - Unless you are addressing Christians who believe in the restoration of Israel, avoid religion. Among Jews in the USA in particular, religion is a sore point, because of the divisive controversy between the Israeli orthodox rabbinate and the American Conservative and Reform streams, and because most Jews are secular. Religion also muddies the image of Zionism, which is a secular political movement.
- 7. Images connect the reader to the message** - . "Generally, ads without visuals may generate agreement but they won't generate emotion or connection. Yes, words convey facts, but pictures are what tug at the emotions."
- 8. Be inclusive** - Luntz states, "Jews will tend to look for signs that exclude them from the communication, message or activity. Therefore, do not exclude Jews from the larger community by using the word "you." Use "we" instead. In fact, those messages that allowed readers to see themselves in the advertising were generally the most popular and effective," Actually, everyone likes to feel they are included. "We" can backfire if you are a Jewish group and the message is intended for non-Jews as well. Better to say "Everyone" or "Americans." ...
- 9. Prominently display a Web address on everything.** - Young people especially are increasingly using the Internet to get information, A Web address gives them a place where they can find out more about the issues and your group - and refer others as well. ***Do not forget to put the name of your organization and contact information on anything you distribute!!***
- 10. Ask for their participation.** - You attracted the attention and concern of your readers, now give them a way to express their support. If the handout is about a specific campaign, invite the reader to sign

⁸⁵ Frank Luntz, *Israel in the Age of Eminem*, 2003 pp 46-48. <http://www.acbp.net/About/PDF/Report%20-%20Israel%20in%20the%20Age%20of%20Eminem.pdf>

the petition, demonstrate or write to politicians and media. If not, then invite them explicitly to join your organization. You can use some boilerplate text that will appear in every handout or advertisement: For example:

Join us today - If you want to help bring peace to the troubled Middle East, then please join the XXX. Our contact information:

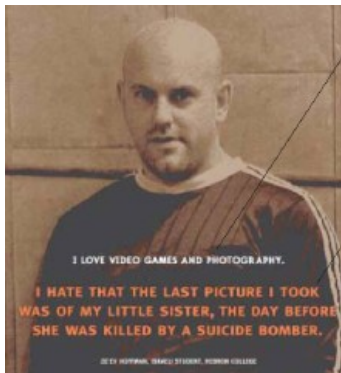
Making The Audience Identify With Your Cause

Make your audience identify with you and your cause. To do that, you must know who your audience is, how to talk their language and what is of concern to them.

Those already on our side may come up to you and ask, "How can I help?" Sign them up to your mailing list and get them involved. Those who hold firm positions on the other side say, "Why should I listen to you?" Don't waste your efforts on people who just want to give you a hard time. If you argue with them, remember that the real audience for the argument are the people who have not decided. Don't let hecklers make you lose your cool. Use arguments that will convince neutral people, not extremist slogans. Try to draw out the hecklers and get them to admit to their extremist positions, support for one Arab state and support for Jihadism and Hezbollah. David Horowitz did this very effectively in a university setting. He got a young Muslim lady to admit that the MSA supports genocide.⁸⁶

Those in the middle, or those who may not even come to the rally may ask, "Why should I care about this?" To get them to care, you have to appeal to them in language that resonates with them, and in ways that grab their attention. Show them that Israel, like the United States and European countries, tolerates diversity and respects individual rights. Show them hanged homosexuals and Bahai in Iran. The goal is attract the readers or listeners. You need to get their attention, and to show them that their values are much better represented in Zionism than in the ideologies of the International Solidarity Movement, the Hamas, the BDS coalition, the al-Awda movement or the Free Gaza Movement.

Advertisements And Flyers



Advertisements and flyers given out at activities are the spearhead of your advocacy campaign. They may be the first thing a prospective recruit sees. Messages must be brief and attractive. **Grab readers' attention** with compelling images, effective use of colors and fonts, and one-line slogans. Avoid needless controversy and negative references. Lead the readers to take action: Seek more information at your Web-site, contact your group, write to their representatives or join a demonstration. Unlike talks and articles, flyers given out at a demonstration and advertisements often use "hard sell" - frank and terse presentation of the message. The audience already knows you are trying to convince them anyhow. You need to tell the story unequivocally.

Using Images

Sparse text can be combined with striking images to drive across a message. On a single page, present a single message.

⁸⁶ "MSA Student Says She Wants Second Holocaust," <http://dailyradar.com/beltwayblips/story/video-msa-student-says-she-wants-second-holocaust/>; "Is this evidence that UC San Diego's MSA beats UC Irvine's MSU at Jew Hatred?" Jewlicious, May 11, 2010. <http://www.jewlicious.com/2010/05/is-this-evidence-that-uc-san-diego-msa-beats-uc-irvines-msu-at-jew-hatred/>



Israel Apartheid?



Arab lady voting in Israel

Progressive cause?



Hanging Homosexuals in Iran

9.1.9 One message per page

An advertisement or flyer is not a handbook, article or in-depth study. Don't try to pack everything you know into one page. In a single page, limit yourself to a single message or issue and a single slogan. Repeat the slogan often and repeat the message in different flyers in different ways. Use the Web or additional materials to provide detailed background information.



Use familiar imagery or slogans in new ways to make the adversary's propaganda backfire.

Make them remember you and your message.

Make them remember you and your message

Flyers, advertisements and other marketing copy are much more important than Web pages and articles, word for word. Spend far more time on a flyer than you would on a page of an article.. Spend most of the time eliminating the unnecessary text and get the layout right.

Don't try to pack everything you know into one page

9.1.10 One Page, One Issue, One Slogan

Think of the handout or advertisement, with all its text, as one picture. You have about half a second to get the readers' attention and make an impression: .

Less is more: People won't read a lot of text. Use photos and white space extensively.

Use less than 160 - 200 words of text.

Nobody reads colored glossy brochures except donors.

Plain white paper is the best medium.

In a handout or advertisement, you have one page or less to promote your message.

You have about half a second to get the readers' attention.

You might have a minute in which they read the copy.

Make sure your organizations name, contact information and Website are on every page.

You can get across only one message in one handout or advertisement.

Avoid negative references as much possible.



One page, one issue, one slogan

9.1.11 Develop Templates

Use a few different standard layout templates for your flyers. Once you are satisfied with them, you will save time on subsequent flyers. The quality will probably be better too! Many believe that the way to create outstanding copy is to start from a blank sheet of paper, break all the rules and be freethinking. However, a 1999 study by three Israeli academics⁸⁷ concluded that individuals who were allowed to "think out of the box" are less creative and develop fewer ideas.

9.1.12 For the Web

A single broadside that is meant for reading on the Web is a special kind of Web page. It is different from a flyer. The principles are the same but you only have a single screen of information to grab the

⁸⁷ Goldenberg, J., Mazursky, D., & Solomon, S. 1999.

Creativity Templates: Towards Identifying the Fundamental Schemes of Quality Advertisements *Marketing Science*, 18, 3, 333-351.

readers' attention. If you don't grab their attention, they will not scroll down. Use a large title, an attention grabbing image and an effective slogan or brief text message near the top of the page. Don't waste precious top screen real estate on repeated logos and menus. That's also the design that will make search engines "like" your Web page. On the other hand, Web pages have advantages over print. You have as much room as you like beneath the top part of the page, and if needed, you can link to a different page with even more information.

9.1.13 Images, Layout and Color

Use images and color to grab attention. Red and yellow are particular attention getters, but red is also associated with blood and violence. Don't rely on color text or images for materials that will be printed in black and white, or at least check how they will look.

Images should be at the center or top left of the page. Use them with text to get attention and make points stick in the memory of readers.

A sample flyer or handout is on the following page. It is only an example-- there is more than one way to get across the same message.

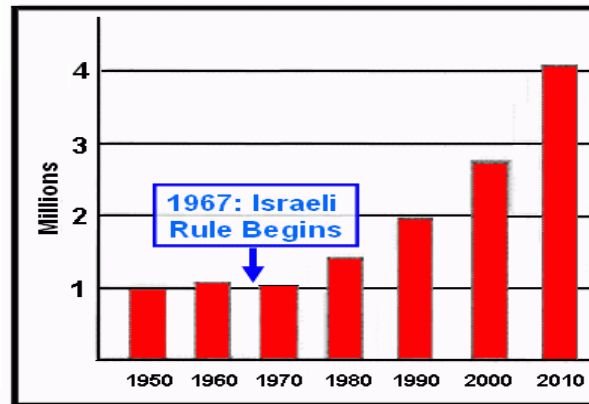
Is Israel committing genocide against the Palestinians?



"Genocide" means the murder of an entire people or its culture. Examples of genocide: The Nazi Holocaust against the Jews, the Turkish genocide against the Armenian people, and the genocide being perpetrated by the Sudanese government in Darfur. Hundreds of thousand or millions of persons were murdered in each case.

Judging from population figures, Palestinians are thriving

Palestinian population - 1950 - 2010⁸⁸



Does this look like genocide?

Between 1950 and 1967, Palestinian population in the West Bank and Gaza remained about 1 million. Since 1967, during the supposed Israeli "genocide," population quadrupled to an estimated 4.1 million in 2010. Between 1990 and 2010, at the height of the Israeli "genocide," population doubled. Under Israeli rule, Palestinian infant mortality rates fell from about 60/1000 to 18/1000, thanks to improved prenatal and infant care.

Palestinian population quadrupled under the Israeli rule!!

Join us! Help us fight the genocidal hate Israel campaign. For more information: [Your organization's name, address, Web site and email]

⁸⁸ *West Bank and Gaza Strip. Sources: 1950-2000: Justin McCarthy, Palestine's Population During The Ottoman And The British Mandate Periods, 2001, <http://palestineremembered.com/Acre/Palestine-Remembered/Story559.html>; 2010 Estimate: Palestinian State (proposed) <http://www.infoplease.com/ipa/A0776421.html>

News Releases

Whether you are a large organization, a grass roots startup or an individual, the press is a major tool for popularizing your events, views and findings. Create a list of key editors and journalists and make sure they hear about your activities loud and clear - and often. Cultivate relations with journalists across the media spectrum. If you can, hire a press agent or "public relations" expert who can get your story in the news. If not, you can make your own press releases and feed them to journalists. You can also publish them on the Web through both free and paid services.

Journalists are hungry for good ready-made news copy and information about events. If you give them free copy that is factual and well written, they just might use it. If you tell about a local event, or relate your news to local events and personalities, you have a better chance of getting coverage in local media. However, most news releases that editors get are ignored. They are ignored because there is no news in them, because the person or organization has labeled themselves as "kooks" or extremists, because the organization has poor credibility, or because they are poorly written and contain many English errors.

News releases are of two types: A media advisory tells reporters that something is going to happen: A demonstration, a news conference or a critical vote in your organization, for example. Example: "Arabs for Israel Press Conference To Announce Survey Findings," "Sheboygan Zionists to Protest Ahmadinejad Visit." A news release tells them about an event that did happen. Examples: "CUFI defeats Boycott Measure," "Muslims for Israel protest Ahmadinejad visit."⁸⁹

10. Practical Grass Roots Activism

The heart of any political movement is grass roots activism: the petition, the letter-writing campaign and the demonstration. The heart of grass roots activism is "taking it to the streets." A political movement that advocates a cause cannot exist only in the abstract, through advertisements or in closed meetings or gala gatherings or Web sites alone. In order to get mass support, a movement must have a presence on the street, on university campuses, in labor unions and church groups and political parties, and must be able to make that presence felt when it is needed to back an issue. The "spontaneous" anti-war demonstrations, like the "spontaneous" anti-Israel demonstrations, many of which happened "spontaneously" in several cities on the same day around the world, were well organized. Likewise the "spontaneous" boycott and divestment petitions that appeared in the same period, in churches and unions and universities in different parts of the world, all required masterful organization and a source of funds.

In every case, someone paid for publicity and transportation, someone compiled lists of the faithful, someone paid for publicity. To anyone who thinks about it, it is obvious that these are all the results of coordinated campaigns. To those watching the demonstration on television, it may seem like a "spontaneous" eruption of outrage at the "war crimes" of the Zionists.

Grass roots activities and initiatives are the way to build a movement while educating the public, as well as a way of changing public opinion and influencing government action.

The Zionist movement, especially in the United States, never excelled at grass roots activism. Now it seems reluctant to engage in it at all. A rally against Mahmoud Ahmadinejad was sabotaged by domestic political bickering. Large anti-Israel rallies often do not elicit counter-demonstrations. Pro-Israel demonstrations, if there are any, are organized by tiny groups, often extremists, with little following, or

⁸⁹ Based in large part on: "News releases," by the Spin Project; <http://www.spinproject.org/downloads/PressReleases.pdf>

they are organized through schools. It is difficult to get people to even write letters. It may take time and a directed effort to get Jews to be advocates for their own rights, but that is what must be done.

The main barrier to overcome in grass roots activism is your own reticence and characteristic Jewish fears of "making waves" in connection with Jewish political issues (it is no problem to get Jews to demonstrate on other issues). After you have engaged in some of these activities you will find that it becomes progressively easier and more natural.

Most of the information below is not arcane and does not involve "advanced techniques." Unfortunately, most of our groups and volunteers don't seem to know the basics.

Grass Roots Resources

There are comprehensive guides to grass roots activism for specific projects and with a general orientation, both published as printed books and online. Here are a few that you can and should consult for ideas

<http://www.middle-east-info.org/take/wujshasbara.pdf> - WUJS Israel advocacy handbook.

<http://www.november.org/BottomsUp/> - A Guide to Grass Roots organizing - how to do everything and what to do - prepared for an organization that lobbies against drug laws.

http://ran.org/fileadmin/materials/global_finance/Flyers_and_Signs_Posters/Toolkit_-_No_New_Coal_Campaign.pdf - A very valuable guide prepared by the "No New Coal" group, but useful for any group.

<http://www.peta.org/actioncenter/AAactguide10.asp> - PETA's activism guide tells you how to start a group, how to do public speaking, prepare materials, etc.

http://action.aclu.org/site/PageServer?pagename=AP_effective_activism - Almost all the activities recommended by the ACLU apply to any cause.

<http://changingminds.org/> - A huge compilation of articles, explanations and definitions related to attitude change research, with an extensive bibliography.

Overview

The methods and paraphernalia of grass roots activism are various. They are limited only by your imagination. Try to do memorable or interesting things at events that will attract media attention without alienating people. One group, Stand With Us, brought a bus destroyed by a suicide bombing to the Hague court. A rabbi protesting against Israeli policy "bought" a lot of publicity by deliberately getting himself arrested. Speakers, flyers, hats and T-shirts and pins and posters with slogans and symbols, demonstrations, counter-demonstrations, teach-ins, petitions, letter-writing campaigns, films, books, boycott initiatives and picketing of institutions are all important parts of a grass roots activist campaign. Each or any of these may "fizzle." Together, they will help spread the word about your cause, and you and your group will learn from your mistakes. One or two particularly successful activities can provide your group with a nationwide audience.

The basic idea of grass roots activism is to make yourself public and to involve the public - everyone - in your cause. The techniques vary, but the major tools of grass roots activism are:

- Demonstrations and counter-demonstrations;
- Petitions;

- "Tables" and handouts in universities and other public venues;
- University "days," "weeks" and panel discussions devoted to your cause;
- Letter-writing campaigns;
- Writing Op-Eds for newspapers and at your own Web site or Web log;
- Use of the Web, email and Internet (see Chapter 12 on Web use). .

All of these activities may "look simple," but they are not. They require careful organization and planning, a flair for publicity, and careful preparation of content and messages to ensure that they are effective in convincing "outsiders" - those who are not necessarily involved in the Middle East or committed to a particular point of view.

Advocacy groups can and must learn to do all of the above to be effective and reach a large audience. The different types of events are not isolated activities, but part of a process of building your group and gaining adherents for your cause. The events and initiatives must be public. When planning allocation of resources among events and planning the venue of the event, remember that you are trying to reach the public, not other convinced people. A "table" at a university that attracts a half dozen people who never thought about Israel before is more worthwhile than a Hillel event that attracts 200 people - all of them convinced Zionists who came to hear their own opinions being reinforced.

Events should be in public places that are "generic" and open to all - not Jewish centers or Hillel clubs that are going to attract a mainly pro-Israel audience.

Demonstrations And Rallies

Like the petition, the demonstration or rally should be about a specific theme and should be planned well in advance. BEFORE you announce the date or other information, make sure you have permission to hold the demonstration and that you will have funds, if needed, to cover transportation. After those are all in place, your Web site should have a flyer for the demonstration. You should notify media through press releases and telephone calls to journalists about the demonstration and try to ensure there will be coverage. Try very hard to have all your plans finalized before you start major publicity, to avoid confusing "corrections."

Announcements of the rally must be careful to state the time and place, including the city, and a telephone and email contact should be given for coordination and last minute information.

A committee should be in charge of trying to ensure that inappropriate placards and slogans are not displayed, and of ensuring discipline and defense if needed in case of confrontations with counter-demonstrators.

10.1.1 Counter-Demonstrations

For groups that do not have many members or contacts, it can be difficult to organize an effective demonstration. A counter-demonstration can meet some of the same objectives with much less time and logistical effort. Counter-demonstrations are also often important for specific issues, though they are inherently reactive rather than proactive.

A counter-demo involves getting a group of pro-Israel people together to stand, carrying pro-Israel placards and chanting pro-Israel slogans, across from an anti-Israel demonstration. It provides the

opportunity for some of the same activities as your own demonstration: signing up supporters, outreach to passersby, and media exposure. It also usually will not require any permits (check local regulations). It can be mobilized in a relatively short amount of time by email and social media; often people on our side will be more willing to come out to challenge and confront those who demonize Israel and distort the facts. The larger the original demonstration, the more likely it is that it had advance publicity and the easier it is for you to organize a counter-demonstration.

A counter-demo has its own specific advantages. It doesn't require as many people to get nearly equal media coverage. Media love to present controversy and people with opposing views. It doesn't matter quite as much if there are 2,500 people on one side of the street and 50 on the other, but of course, people may draw unjust conclusions if you have only a few demonstrators versus a large crowd.

The Petition

Petitions, whether they are run online or signed on actual paper, are a valuable way of expressing public opinion and of educating the public about a specific issue. They help build grass roots support and grass roots organizations around issues and proposals.

Writing Letters

Letter-writing campaigns and individual letters to media, to government institutions and to businesses are an important part of grass roots activism. Open letters, and letters that are made public through your Web site or mailing list, also help to educate the public and inspire activism. Be sure to include the address of the person or institution so that others can write.

Letters should always be polite and concise. Letters to newspapers should usually be no more than 150 words in length, and must include contact information so that publishers can verify that you sent the letter and want it published.

"Boilerplate" letters that repeat the same message are sometimes, but not always, a waste of time. Public officials often have functionaries who count the number of letters that advocate different issues. However, it is always better to be original or at least make modifications in a form letter.

Never write 'boilerplate' letters to newspapers or media. Sending different letters conveys the message of spontaneous protest or writing. Newspapers will never print letters that are not original. Do not send the same letter to different newspapers at the same time, either.

Tables And Handouts

A table can be set up and manned on busy streets, where permitted, and in universities. Be prepared for hecklers. Having several members manning the tables discourages problematic behavior. The table can be there to gather signatures for a petition, but it can also simply distribute information. The table should be focused around a specific issue, but handouts and fact sheets may cover numerous different issues. These can include, for example:

- Israeli democracy;
- Arab non-recognition of the Jewish right to self-determination as the cause of the conflict;
- "Anti-Zionist quotes" - Collections of quotes showing the real intent of Arab and anti-Zionist leaders.

- "Zionist quotes" - It is easy to find numerous quotes showing the pacific and progressive intent of the Zionist movement.
- Human rights in the Middle East;
- Biography of a terror victim;
- The Nazi background of Palestinian nationalism;
- The mythical "right of return" and why Palestinians raise this issue;
- Jewish national rights in Jerusalem;
- The Hamas charter;
- Israeli peace efforts;
- Why boycotting Israel is wrong;
- Israel is not an apartheid state.

The table can also be used to distribute announcements for an upcoming demonstration or counter-demonstration. All such tables should have a page where people can leave their names and contact information (make sure it is legible) as well as prepared handouts on plain white paper about different issues. A table can be part of an "Israel day" at a university, or it may be a "counter-demonstration" during a university "Israel Apartheid Week" demonstration.

University Events

Campus activism can consist of separate activities or a coordinated day or week around a theme. Anti-Israel activists have been fairly successful in promoting their Boycott Israel and Israel Apartheid campaigns through such tactics.

Events and activities can include, for example:

- Invited speakers;
- Tables and petitions;
- A political film such as *Obsession*;
- Israeli food and wine tasting - a great low-key way to make friends for Israel - and an opportunity to put across your message;
- Cultural events;
- Panel discussions.

Be sure to choose public, non-Jewish venues for events. You are not only more likely to get neutral people to attend that way, but you are also more likely to attract attendance of uncommitted Jewish students.

For panel discussions, be sure that a reasonable spectrum of opinion is included. If anti-Israel groups organize the panel, and even the Israeli speakers are anti-Zionist, it is probably not worthwhile participating. Make sure that panels are not scheduled for the Sabbath or Jewish holidays when there may be no Jewish students on campus, and make sure that "our side" knows about the discussion and will be there to help ensure that the audience gives everyone a fair hearing.

Naysayers

There is always an individual or group of people who are ready to explain why your initiative will not work, or is not worth doing. They will say things like: "You'll never get many people to view your Web

site" (how's 3 million and counting?), "Internet petitions never accomplish anything," "Politicians don't read those letters" and "Demonstrations won't change a thing/" Don't listen to them. If you need to convince them, point out that anti-Israel groups have used precisely these methods to change public opinion, a little bit at a time, and that's why Israel finds itself on the defensive.

Grass roots tactics work: Anti-Israel groups have used precisely these methods to change public opinion, a little bit at a time, and that's why Israel finds itself on the defensive.

11. Working With Community Institutions and Organizations

Networking is vital to the success of your group and to the larger effort of Zionist advocacy. Individuals form groups, groups form national networks and coalitions.

You can amplify and reinforce the work of your group through cooperation with other groups, especially on the local level. Cooperation can include coordinating demonstrations, links at Web sites and mentions in each others' publications, as well as providing facilities for a meeting, speakers or funding. Our experience suggests that you probably have to work a bit at getting cooperation. Cooperation will probably be based on considerations of mutual benefit, rather than considerations of altruism or working for the cause. You will need to convince the other organization that they are getting something valuable by working with you. You will also need to be on guard against being subverted or exploited to support causes and messages you do not want to support.

In the United States, there are a number of well-established community organizations engaged in Israel advocacy. Not surprisingly, the distribution of offices of these groups mimics the concentration of Jewish communities in the major urban centers of the country. Some of these are potential allies and some are sources of information and contacts. They have full time professional staff and have boards that raise considerable amounts of money. In addition there are local groups such as church groups and union locals that may be sympathetic or willing to join forces for specific issues like protests against Iran or protests for women's rights or gay rights in the Middle East.

Cooperation and formation of coalitions are essential. Coalitions can be built with any group or groups that share your stand on an issue, whether they are Zionist, Jewish or not. Cooperating with general organizations helps you to reach a general audience. The issues can be general, such as genocide in Sudan, oppression in Iran or Christian rights in Egypt. Coalitions can be built around issues or around an agreed consensus of principles.

Cooperation with other groups - Zionist, Jewish, or otherwise, is often essential if your demonstration, event, petition or university activity is to succeed. Other groups often offer publicity, facilities, attendees and handouts. Likewise, you can help form alliances by participating in appropriate events and showing that Zionists care about their cause. Non-Zionist groups including churches, unions and rights groups offer a unique and important opportunity for outreach. Form coalitions based on common interests. Churches may be willing to participate in protests against persecution of Christians in Middle East countries. Evangelical churches are often enthusiastic about helping Zionist causes. Women's rights groups may be eager to protest repressive practices in Muslim countries. Gay activists may be interested in activities related to gay rights. Many of these groups have been bizarrely subverted by anti-Zionists.

Below is a list of some of the organizations that may be interested in cooperation. It is not inclusive. It especially does not include groups whose positions are inconsistent with the principles in this document.

Prominent Jewish Groups

Jewish Council for Public Affairs: (<http://www.jewishpublicaffairs.org/>): JCPA (not to be confused with the Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs) is the umbrella organization for the local Jewish Community Relations Councils (JCRCs). JCRCs may have a significant amount of their activity devoted to Israel advocacy, depending on the local community needs. Sometimes a JCRC is a committee of the local Jewish Community Federation, and sometimes JCRCs are separate organizations. The local JCRCs can involve themselves in grassroots advocacy efforts and even demonstrations on behalf of Israel.

Anti-Defamation League: (<http://www.adl.org>) The Anti-Defamation League was founded in 1913 "to stop the defamation of the Jewish people and to secure justice and fair treatment to all." Israel is now one of its priorities. It has 26 U.S. offices. Their national leader, Abe Foxman, frequently makes statements regarding Israel. ADL will involve itself in letter-writing campaigns, in particular to the media. It does have a policy against officially endorsing demonstrations because they cannot completely control the message if individuals or other groups show up with signs that would be inconsistent with their principles.

American Jewish Committee: (<http://www.ajc.org>) AJC was established in 1906 by a small group of American Jews deeply concerned about pogroms aimed at the Jewish population of Russia. It has local offices in 27 U.S. cities and makes public statements about Israel through its Executive Director, David Harris.

American Jewish Congress: (<http://www.ajcongress.org>) "The American Jewish Congress is an association of Jewish Americans organized to defend Jewish interests at home and abroad through public policy advocacy - using diplomacy, legislation, and the courts." This organization was much more active and prominent in the 1930's and 1940's (when its members included Justices Frankfurter and Brandeis, Rabbi Wise, and Golda Myerson [later Meir]) than it is today. It has 4 regional US offices.

Hadassah: (<http://www.hadassah.org/>) "Hadassah, the Women's Zionist Organization of America, is a volunteer women's organization, whose members are motivated and inspired to strengthen their partnership with Israel, ensure Jewish continuity, and realize their potential as a dynamic force in American society." The Hadassah hospital in Jerusalem is probably their best-known project. They do encourage letters and emails to Congress.

Hillel: (<http://www.hillel.org/>) The Jewish Student organization, Hillel, has branches in major university campuses in North America, and international branches in Former Soviet Union and South America. They are a natural recruiting ground for Israel activists and should be enthusiastic participants in campus events. However, they should not be the major locus of campus Israel activities, which should not be directed at Jewish students primarily or exclusively.

WUJS: (<http://wujs.org.il/>) The World Union of Jewish Students provides information and resources for Israel activism. Their Web site includes a page of local affiliates in many major university campuses around the world.

Community Political Groups Focused On Israel

AIPAC (<http://aipac.org>): The American Israel Public Affairs Committee. AIPAC has one mission which it keeps in laser-like focus: maintaining the political support for Israel within the United States Congress. Its grassroots activities are all organized around lobbying Congressional representatives, usually with campaigns for letter-writing and telephone calls around specific pieces of legislation. It also organizes meetings between the pro-Israel leaders in the community and their Congressional

representatives, either in Washington DC or in the district offices. AIPAC does not involve itself, as an organization, in demonstrations, or in advocacy campaigns that are not directed at the US Congress.

Arabs for Israel (<http://arabsforisrael.blogspot.com/>) - Nonnie Darwish and her associates can provide a different view of Israel.

Bridges For Peace (<http://www.bridgesforpeace.com/>) - An American Evangelical Christian group based in Jerusalem.

Camera: (<http://camera.org>) The **Committee for Accuracy in Middle East Reporting in America** is based in Boston. CAMERA describes itself as "a media-monitoring, research and membership organization devoted to promoting accurate and balanced coverage of Israel and the Middle East" which "fosters rigorous reporting, while educating news consumers about Middle East issues and the role of the media." CAMERA further describes itself as a "non-partisan organization" which "takes no position with regard to American or Israeli political issues or with regard to ultimate solutions to the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Christians for Fair Witness in the Middle East: (<http://christianfairwitness.com>) A Christian lay group that advocates among mainline Protestants and Roman Catholics in North America for fairness in the churches' witness on issues related to the conflict between Israel and its Arab neighbors. A great source of press releases on their reactions to anti-Israel church initiatives, and a group that is aware of the great problems of Israel advocacy.

There are numerous additional groups, as well as umbrella groups like the Israel Campus Coalition (ICC).

Christians United for Israel (CUFI) (<http://www.cufi.org/>): provides funding as well as political support to pro-Israel projects.

Honest Reporting: (<http://honestreporting.com>) A Web site and organization that monitors news reporting and ensures that Israel gets a fair break.

StandWithUs: (<http://standwithus.org>): "StandWithUs is an international education organization that ensures that Israel's side of the story is told in communities, campuses, libraries, the media and churches through brochures, speakers, conferences, missions to Israel, and thousands of pages of Internet resources." It was founded in 2001. It has more of a focus on grassroots activism on campuses and in the community compared to other groups, and it is one of the few groups that encourages public demonstrations and counter-demonstrations; they have also made a wide variety of flyers and posters available on their website for free download. They have offices and chapters in Los Angeles, New York, Denver, Michigan, Chicago, Seattle, Orange County, San Francisco, and Santa Cruz.

The Israel Project: (<http://theisraelproject.org>) works with Media and offers media training seminars. <http://www.theisraelproject.org/> - devoted to educating the press and the public about Israel.

11.1.1 Advantages And Disadvantages Of Working With Other Organizations

Working with other organizations always involves a tradeoff. In general, you are trading control of your message and your tactics for access to money, to mailing lists and to other influential members of the community. Obviously, your message and your tactics have to be consistent with those of the other organization. Sometimes they will be willing to forward your announcements to their own email lists, sometimes they will provide funds for a specific project, sometimes they will help you make

connections with others who are in position to help. All of this, of course, must be individualized to your own local situation.

It is often necessary to have a track record of some successful local projects before approaching other groups. Otherwise, given the broad spectrum of local grassroots Israel activism, they will be appropriately wary of associating themselves with an individual or group whose message and tactics have not been demonstrated to be consistent with theirs. This process may take months or years. Do not be discouraged about that.

Personal connections can be extremely helpful here. Most of the community groups mentioned above have local boards. And if you belong to a synagogue or another Jewish community group, chances are good that you know at least one board member. They can provide you with the opportunity to speak at one of their board meetings. This can be extremely valuable. Even if the organization doesn't provide any specific support, individuals on the board may be very interested in what you are doing.

Problems In Cooperation

Cooperation of Zionist groups is not as good as it could be. Consensus Zionism suffered a great blow in the United States when the "Zionist Organization of America" stopped being representative of American Zionists. There is no organization today that is the "official" voice of Zionism or pro-Israel advocacy. The gap is filled instead by organizations with disparate views that often work at cross-purposes or do not cooperate. This means it is often difficult to form a coalition to fight a specific issue within a community

12. Using The Web

The Web deserves and gets a special section because it is the most undervalued and underused tool for Israel advocacy. Neither pro-Israel advocacy groups nor Israeli government institutions and departments seem to understand the Web or how to use it. Most of them do not seem to really care. **One "expert" is still insisting, even after the last U.S. election and after recent events in Iran, that the Web is not an important source of information and does not influence opinion!**

The Web was an important communications channel five years ago. Now it is fast becoming **the most important channel** in many respects, as printed newspapers fold or go online and television news becomes increasingly oriented to infotainment rather than informative news. The Web is an especially important source for activists. Television is still the primary source of information and has many advantages, but it often does not provide the level of detail and historical background that are needed by people who are really interested in a cause.

This section provides an overview and makes a case for Web use. If you have or are making a Web site or Web log or want to make one, see [Appendix C](#) for a technical discussion of the "how to do it" aspects.

Popularity Of The Web And Internet Versus Other Media

The role of the Internet in the 2008 USA election was studied extensively. According to Pew Research :

"...[T]he internet now clearly exceeds radio, and is on par with newspapers, as a major source of campaign and election news among the entire adult population (including internet users and non-users). Fully 26% of all adults now get most of their election news from the internet, nearly equal to the 28% who cite newspapers and double the

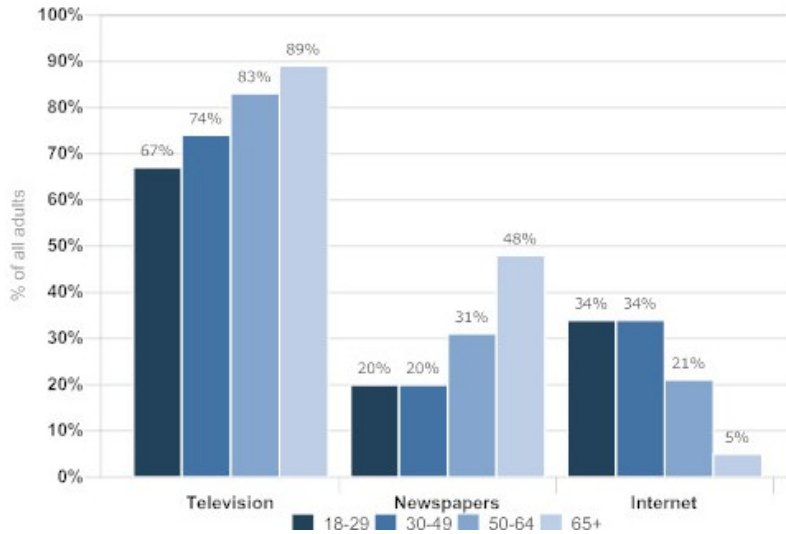
13% who listen to the radio. Television remains the most common source of election news, as 77% of Americans turn to election-related television programming for their campaign."⁹⁰

⁹⁰ <http://www.pewinternet.org/Reports/2009/6--The-Internets-Role-in-Campaign-2008/3--The-Internet-as-a-Source-of-Political-News/3--Media-sources.aspx?r=1>

Among young adults, the Internet is favored even more, as shown in the chart below.

Young adults rely heavily on the internet for political news

Most important sources of campaign or election news (among all adults, up to two mentions allowed)



Therefore, we can assume that the Internet will become increasingly important in the future.

The Pew⁹¹ report also tells us something about the long term trends and about who is most likely to use the Internet:

The growing audience for online political news

The % of adults who go online for news or information about politics or the election

	1996	2000	2004	2008
Among all adults	4	18	29	44
Among internet users	22	33	52	60

Source: Pew Internet & American Life Project and Pew Research Center for the People and the Press Post-Election Surveys.



⁹¹ <http://www.pewinternet.org/Reports/2009/6--The-Internets-Role-in-Campaign-2008/3--The-Internet-as-a-Source-of-Political-News/2--Online-news-audience.aspx?r=1>

Online political news consumption by different demographic groups

The % within each category who get political news online

	% of internet users who go online for political news	% of all adults who go online for political news
Total	60%	44%
Gender		
Male	64	49
Female	56	40
Age		
18-29	64	58
30-49	66	56
50-64	56	40
65+	32	12
Race/Ethnicity		
White, non-Hispanic	61	46
Black, non-Hispanic	51	29
Hispanic	62	48
Education		
Less than high school	**	13
High school grad	47	31
Some college	63	54
College grad	75	70
Annual Household Income		
Less than \$30,000	43	23
\$30,000-\$49,999	55	45
\$50,000-\$74,999	64	59
\$75,000 or more	75	72
Party Affiliation		
Republican	64	54
Democrat	61	43
Independent	59	44

Source: Pew Internet & American Life Project Post-Election Survey, November-December 2008. Margin of error is +/-3% based on internet users (n=1,591) and +/-2% based on all adults (n=2,254). Margins for error within subgroups are smaller. **Sample size is too small to analyze.

The young, college educated and wealthy are more than twice as likely as the poorest and least educated to use the Internet as a source of political news. These are the decision makers and opinion formers of today and tomorrow. It is obviously impossible to ignore this market.

The young, college educated and wealthy are more than twice as likely as the poorest and least educated to use the Internet as a source of political news.

Another PEW survey⁹² showed that there is an increasing likelihood that Internet viewers will watch a video at sites like YouTube.

PEW survey estimates may be conservative. A poll conducted by a Web log together with Zogby international reported in January of 2008⁹³ :

"We found that the Internet has dethroned radio and television as the primary source of candidate information for an increasingly Internet savvy electorate. 48 percent of those polled cited the Internet as the primary source of their knowledge of the presidential candidates. Only 31 percent and 13 percent cited television and radio, respectively, as the primary source. Nearly 67 percent of 18-29 year-olds cited the Internet as their primary source. Only 29 [percent] of those 65+ did so."

"--Internet = smart. 89 percent of respondents said that the access to information found on the Internet has made them smarter. Four percent say that the distraction and time-wasting online has made them dumber."

There is one other overriding factor we did not mention. Internet coverage can be free or almost free, while television advertisements are costly and getting television news coverage for an event requires quite a bit of public relations savvy and muscle. What you are fighting for there might be a one-minute mention that could be bumped by a welfare strike or a four-alarm fire. On the Internet, you can have a brief event description that links to a dozen "issues" pages, videos and photos with as much detail as you like.

The polls, of course, relate only to a "hot issue" - the Presidential campaign. How would television stack up against the Internet as a source of basic information about geography, population statistics, economy or history?

Who Visits A Web Site?

Your Web site is going to attract people from around the world. The public Web is public and global. Your Web log or Web site is not the right place to carry on internal arguments with your neighbors and friends using obscure jargon. The majority of your visitors may filter themselves selectively to suit your views. They may come from a particular part of the world. However, you are nonetheless still capable of reaching and influencing everyone on the Web. You can increase your chances of reaching outsiders if you have articles in their language and use language that they are likely to search for on the Web. That includes using terms you may not like, such as "West Bank," "Nakba." "Israel Apartheid" "Zionism is Racism," "Arab Jews" and "Ethnic Cleansing," Obnoxious slogans and campaigns can be turned against their users with appropriate popular Web pages on some of these topics.

The Web As A Source Of Basic Information

Web institutions like Wikipedia have become respected sources of basic information, for better or worse. A single Wikipedia article about a popular Middle East related topic may get 80,000 page views in a week. The high school students who are asked to report on Zionism or the Israeli-Palestinian conflict are likely to turn to the Web first for information. What they find there is likely to influence

⁹² <http://www.pewinternet.org/Media-Mentions/2009/TV-viewers-falling-for-the-evil-plot.aspx>

⁹³ http://463.blogs.com/the_463/2008/01/voters-to-prez.html

their perceptions for years to come. It really does make a difference if the first description a student reads about Zionism is an objective account, or if it states (actual quotes):

"What Zionism is -- and its pernicious influence upon the USA."

"Taking the position that any form of Zionism is heresy from the Torah. Links to other organizations, and additional information."

The above are taken from actual Web sites that are displayed by the Google search engine among the first 10 results for keyword **Zionism**. Thousands of people visit those sites each week.

Web sites are also used by teachers in preparing lessons and students are often referred to specific articles just as in the past they were sent to the library. We know this is so because teachers and digital text preparers have asked permission to use materials at our Web sites, and it is becoming an increasingly common practice. The changeover to the Web has now "gone public." A *New York Times* article states:

"And throughout the district, a Beyond Textbooks initiative encourages teachers to create -- and share -- lessons that incorporate their own PowerPoint presentations, **along with videos and research materials they find by sifting through reliable Internet sites.**" ⁹⁴

What Makes Web Sites Popular?

Web sites get most of their visitors from search engines. Search engines give priority to Web pages that they know are important for topics that users are searching for? How do they know? The pages highlight important and popular keywords like "Zionism," "Israel" and "Palestine." The pages highlight keywords by putting them in titles, tags of graphics and other "important" pages. The search engines decide which pages among those appropriate for a specific keyword will be displayed first according to how big the Web site is, and how many other sites link to the site or page. Making a page suitable for search engine display is called Search Engine Optimization. Zionist organizations are rarely aware of Search Engine Optimization and almost never practice it. They do not exchange links, and they bury their materials in PDF and other files that are hard to optimize, using keywords like "Hasbara" that nobody is searching for.

Organizational Web Sites

In planning a Web site for an organization, take into account that a Web site is not a "one time affair" that is set up by a technician or Web design firm and forgotten. It is not just a "calling card" for your organization. It is a living and growing center that must be updated regularly with news about your organization, new links, and new information and resources. It must be simple for non-technical members to update your Web site, in order to add new content, new pages and links. A Web log offers the easiest, simplest and cheapest (it's free!) method of providing non-technical Web access, but sites with Content Management Systems can do so as well. A Web log can be part of a Web site; if necessary, it can be the means to provide easy access for non-technical people.

Be sure to exchange links with almost any non-commercial group or person who offers to exchange links with you at a site that is related to Israel, politics or similar themes. That is the best way to popularize your Web site. Links are important not for the traffic they bring from another Web site, but

⁹⁴ <http://www.nytimes.com/2009/08/09/education/09textbook.html>

because they improve the visibility of the Web site in search engines. Search engines are the primary source of visitors to Web sites. Avoid "pay for link" schemes and do not link to anti-Zionist or anti-Semitic groups. It is probably best to avoid linking to sites that are not related in any way to your own. Do not accept exchange offers that offer to give you a link at a site different from the one you are asked to link to.

Don't count on the Web site as a means of publicizing events. A Web site is not a local tool, and small Web sites generally reach only a small audience. A page may get a few hundred viewers at most in a week, and most of those people may be out of your area. However, events can be publicized using search engine advertising directed at people who live in a specific area and linking to a specially prepared target page in the Web site.

Getting Active On The Web

Individuals - people like you - can get active and be effective on the Web in one of several ways:

Start your own Web site or Web log - If you have time, you can start your own Web site or Web log. Anyone can start a Web log for free at <http://blogger.com> and no Web "smarts" are needed. Bring yourself, your ideas and a bit of patience. We will be glad to help you get started. Just write to zio-web-owner@yahoogroups.com and ask for help. You can also start a Web site pretty easily with an investment of about \$30, which can buy you a domain name and enough Web space to keep you busy for quite a while. Even if your site or Web log is small, it can be useful by exchanging links with pro-Zionist Web sites, thereby helping to popularize them. [Details are given in Appendix C.](#)

Post at community Web sites - There are several community Web sites or forums such as Free Republic, Indymedia and OpEdNews that are based on user posts. Sometimes they are edited very heavily against Zionist or pro-Israel views, but in other cases they are not. These sites are a good way of propagating your point of view, or adding an article that you like (including one of your own!) - Don't forget to include a link to the original post if this is a copy of material that appeared elsewhere.

Controlling Web Information

You cannot control the Web sites that appear on the Web, their content or their placement in Google by boycott campaigns and petitions. Forget it. The anti-Semitic JewWatch is the top site returned for keyword **Jew**. Petitions, demonstrations, prayers, notes in the Wailing Wall or any similar action will not make a difference. Even if you could get rid of one Web site, it would be replaced by a different anti-Semitic site with the same or similar content. You can't suppress bad Web sites by force. Trying to do so is a wasted effort. You can create better Web sites with good content, popularize them and try to get people to link to them.

You can't suppress bad Web sites by force. Trying to do so is a wasted effort. You can create better Web sites with good content, popularize them and try to get people to link to them.

If we make enough good Web sites and invest in popularizing them, they can eventually push out the really bad ones from the top results of search engines.

It is important to focus on popular keywords like **Jew** and **Zionism** and **Palestine** and NOT to ignore them. That is what people are looking for on the Web. It is pointless to be number one in Google for keywords **Yiddishkeit** or **Hasbara**, because only a few people search for those words each month.

Nobody will find a Web page if they aren't looking for a keyword used in that page. If you don't remember this, you may be attracting only "convinced" people who already "speak your lingo."

The Web is also controlled to an extent by large-scale volunteer efforts like DMOZ and Wikipedia. DMOZ is a Web directory that used to be the number one source of Web site links and is still influential. Wikipedia is a huge online encyclopedia that is often listed as number one by Google for basic information of all sorts. For many people, it is the *de facto* final authority, even though many entries related to the Middle East are obviously biased or incomplete.

In theory, anyone can contribute to Wikipedia articles or become a DMOZ editor. In practice, it takes years to become an experienced editor of Wikipedia or DMOZ. The sites have complex and often arcane rules. Biased editors can and do use the rules to control content they don't like, often arbitrarily. Anti-Israel editors have installed themselves for key topics on both, and it may be impossible to get fair treatment of information or listings. You may be sorely tempted to try to right the injustice. Use your judgment. Remember that you are basically contributing to projects over which you don't have much control. It's not as easy as it may look.

A better volunteer effort by fair-minded editors and more attention to bias might yield better results. However, organized efforts are discouraged. Wikipedia caught and reprimanded editors that were allegedly part of a CAMERA project to clean up Wikipedia entries on Zionism and Israel-related topics.

Email Use And Etiquette

Email is an important and powerful tool that can be used in various ways for advocacy work. It is free and fast and takes the place of tedious mailing work. Once you have built appropriate contact lists, you can use email to instantly do the work that used to require a lot of envelope addressing and (if you didn't have a postage meter) a lot of stamp licking.

Beyond a few dozen names, it becomes very difficult to organize an email list without automated help. If you cannot pay for mailing software or a mailing service, use a Googlegroup or Yahoogroup service (for example see <http://groups.yahoo.com/group/znn/>) to distribute your mail, archive it on the Web if you like and keep track of subscriptions automatically. The list can be made to grow by "viral advertising" (recipients forward mail).

Emailing Articles - A bad way of propagating articles that you think are important is use of the "Email this article" widget in journals. The recipients get only a link to the article, rather than the article itself. Always cut and paste the entire article and include the URL address. Always give proper credit to authors and show provenance of any materials you send.

Discussion lists - There are two types of email lists: Newsletters, in which one person or group is broadcasting their opinions, and discussion lists. The latter are generally self-limiting in either size or participation. A list of 5,000 people all writing to each other would generate a huge amount of mail, much of it rubbish. Discussion lists generally need to be moderated to keep out spammers and to prevent trading of public insults. The attractive idea that you can actually organize a volunteer group wholly through an email list does not work. Volunteers are volunteers and do what they please, especially when there is no direct contact to generate social pressure. Often the most active members of lists join the list for reasons other than the stated purpose of the list, regardless of what guidelines you may impose.

Adding people without permission - A common tactic to make a mailing list grow is simply to add the name of every person who contacts the organization to a mailing list. Contact the NJDC to complain and you will be added to their list, like it or not. I find this obnoxious and pointless, but others can do as they please. Unwilling participants will simply ignore the mail, or they may be using it to spy on you. Some of the unsolicited mailings I get are very useful for understanding tactics used by the other side. However, if you do get a contact address because someone wrote to you, you should certainly make that person aware of your group and invite them to join the mailing list.

Confidentiality - Never forward emails that were sent to you or to a small group personally without permission unless you want to lose a friend. Always assume that someone else's mail is confidential unless it is material that was posted in a public Web site or e-list. On the other hand, because too many people ignore this rule of netiquette, always assume that any email you send, as well as anything you put on the Web, may become public or may be forwarded to the wrong people.

If you have signups for your group at public events or through the Web, assume that some anti-Israel people will sign up for the sole purpose of monitoring your group's activities.

Open addressing - Respect the privacy of friends and members of your group. If you are sending mail to dozens of people, use the "blind copy" feature unless they really all know each other.

No anonymous information - Never pass on anonymous letters for which you could not find a reliable source by inquiry or by searching on the Web. They are almost invariably hoaxes.

Try to give complete information - Do not send email messages that contain only a link. It is unlikely that many people will click on that link.

Neatness counts - Many people get hundreds of mail messages a day. Well-formatted and attractive mail is likely to be read and believed and to elicit a reaction. A letter that shows addresses of dozens of previous recipients, is full of irrelevant ads, large white areas, ">" angle brackets that signify replies and other email flotsam, will probably be ignored.

Promoting your Web site content - Emails can be used to promote articles at your Web site, by giving a one-paragraph "lede" with a link to each article. However, if you want to be certain that people will really read the information, put it all in the letter. Only 1 in 10 or 1 in 20 people will click a link in an email. And if there is substantive information in the message, people are more likely to forward it.

Notices and reminders - Every piece of information you send, and perhaps every email, should have a copyright notice. The most unscrupulous people will not be deterred, but others will think twice about stealing your content, or content you have taken from others with permission. Every message you send through a newsletter should have information about how to sign up for your group or newsletter and should have your contact information. Hopefully, at least some of the people who forward the mail will include the notice, allowing people to find you through the web.

Videos

Today, anyone can make a video easily with a Web cam and simple software provided with the Windows operating system. Making a good video, however, requires perseverance, planning and experience and may require much more elaborate equipment and software.

Effective videos posted at YouTube can reach hundreds of thousands of people. Many of these people would not otherwise read anything or see anything about Israel. A video of Israeli teens dancing got about two million viewers. A video of pro-Israel drunks sounding off about Obama in a bar got over 600,000 viewers in YouTube and did a lot of damage. Was it unfair? All's fair in love and war. If our side is too incompetent to take advantage of video, we have only ourselves to blame.

The IDF used YouTube during operation Cast Lead (Gaza, 2009) and got hundreds of thousands of viewers for its content. The videos could have been more effective if they had had more extensive explanations and perhaps some enhancement or labeling of aerial reconnaissance footage and the like. The extensive IDF documentation of use of human shields by Hamas, rocket attacks by Hamas, use of ambulances for combat purposes, did not prevent rights groups, media and the Goldstone report from raising various "war crimes" charges. They even denied that Hamas used human shields. This, despite the existence of a Hamas video that explained that use of human shields is part of their strategy. However, at least, "the truth was out there." A better grass roots Israel advocacy effort and better handling of the press might have made sure that the material was more effective in making the case for Israel.

Quality counts above all - For video, the medium is really the message. Many of the pro-Israel videos posted at YouTube have unrecognizable sound and jumpy filming or poor imagery. If nobody can understand it, a video is worthless. Don't bother.

Use the medium - A video that is composed entirely of a long lecture or text that could just as easily go in a Web page is generally going to be boring. Videos should be brief and filled with moving picture footage or at least attractive slides that illustrate your points. Humor, artistic presentations and personal stories can all do a great service in humanizing Israel. Narration has to be letter perfect. If you make a mistake, do it over. Delivery counts. It's not all politics and logic.

Naming the video - Be sure to use a relevant keyword such as "Israel" "Zionism" "Gaza" in the NAME of the video. Poetic or obscure names may be cute, but nobody will be able to find the video in search engines.

Use YouTube - Always put videos at YouTube because that is where people will look for them and that gives you the best chance of getting the most visitors. Embed the videos at your Web site as well. YouTube makes it easy to embed videos by providing the embedding code.

Social Media and Web 2.0

New generations of technology are constantly displacing or complementing the older ones. In recent years, "social media" applications like Facebook and Twitter, Digg and similar Web sites that allow users to share interesting content, chat applications, iPhone and texting have become increasingly popular. Some predict the end of email, which is relatively less popular with young people.⁹⁵ ⁹⁶ Twitter was said to have played a key role in the Iranian protest against rigged elections.⁹⁷ These applications may be particularly useful for certain types of communications, such as sending brief activist messages. But most Facebook political posts are links to materials created at other, conventional Web sites.

A Web 2.0 handbook by Fenton Communications notes:

⁹⁵ Vascallero, Jessie, [Why Email No Longer Rules](#)... Wall Street Journal, December 12, 2009.

⁹⁶ [Kanjilal, Chinmoy, Is The End of Email Nearing? Facebook COO Sheryl Sandberg Thinks So](#) Techie Buzz, June 17, 2010

⁹⁷ Grossman, Lev, [Iran Protests: Twitter, the Medium of the Movement](#), TIME Magazine, June 17, 2009

Platforms like Facebook and Twitter have become the go-to content sharing engines. Whether it's photos, video or blog posts, nonprofits can tap into these tools to reach ready-made networks.

People are gathering online in great numbers, talking about your issues, and creating relevant user generated content. More than 200 million people are on Facebook today, according to the latest figures.

Like the Health Jobs Starts Here campaign, you can tap into the natural momentum of social networking sites by integrating content and functionality with Facebook and Twitter (and others like them). Give people the content and functionality they can share with their network of friends and that directs them back to your site or connects them with your issue.⁹⁸

"Integrating content and functionality" is done by incorporating various scripts and widgets to your Web site that allow both you and viewers to bring your content or a link to it to applications like Twitter (<http://twitter.com>) and Facebook. Of course, the content is generally distributed only to the audience network you have built up in the social networking application. Facebook (<http://facebook.com>) is currently the largest such Web site, and there are multiple technical paths to integrating your Web content with Facebook, or using Facebook to promote a cause or start a social action group.

Ancillary Web Activism

Even people who do not create content and do not know much about the Web, people who do not even have a mailing list of their own, can "participate" in Web-based activism. They can do it by recommending articles through social media such as Facebook, Digg or Twitter. However, some "activities are probably a waste of time: commenting in blogs or talkbacks or voting in Web polls will do very little to advance the cause. If you have something to say, do it in your own Web site or commercial journal.

⁹⁸ [Watta Guide](http://www.fenton.com/WATTA_GUIDE_FENTON.pdf), Fenton. http://www.fenton.com/WATTA_GUIDE_FENTON.pdf

13. Issues For Proactive Action

Pro-Israel activists seem to be too often protesting AGAINST a foreign government action or a Palestinian claim or grass roots initiative such a boycott initiative. Perhaps this is a vestigial cultural habit from the bad old days of protesting decrees and expulsion orders of the Tsar, the Pope, the Pashas of the Turkish Empire and the rulers of Europe.

Proactive actions are usually more effective than defensive ones. Here is a partial list of important issues and subjects that can help bring our story to the people. The issues and topics can be used for university study weeks, petitions, demonstrations and letter-writing campaigns.

The Right Of The Jewish People To Self-Determination

The right of the Jewish people to self-determination should be the core of any Israel advocacy campaign, of course. Denying that right is the core of anti-Israel advocacy, no matter how it is disguised. It is logically impossible to advocate a state for Palestinian Arabs without admitting the same right of self-determination for the Jewish people. Fair-minded people will see your point. The refusal of Palestinians and Arabs to recognize Israel as the nation-state of the Jewish people (and this refusal's equivalent "Right of Return" that would flood Israel with refugees and eliminate the Jewish majority) is the central issue preventing peace, and has been since 1947 and even before.

Until Arab states recognize Israel as the state of the Jewish people, there can be no real justice for the Jewish people and the conflict in the Middle East cannot be resolved. To move toward that end, western governments should be encouraged to back, as policy, the assertion peace requires recognition of Israel as the national home of the Jewish People.

Jewish National Rights In Jerusalem

We have an unbeatable set of claims to national rights in Jerusalem, based on both ancient and modern history. Jerusalem is not a side issue. It is of central importance, because in the perception of the world and especially the Arab world, "Palestine" or "Israel" is mostly Jerusalem. Since the time of the Crusaders and before, whoever controlled Jerusalem has been considered to control the entire land. Therefore, in a sense, the issue of Jerusalem is about Israel's right to exist. It is an issue of national rights, not religious sentiment.

Learn the facts ⁹⁹and use them to build a Jerusalem Week program at universities, demonstrations for recognition of Jerusalem as the capital of Israel and other activities.

[W]hoever controlled Jerusalem has been considered to control the entire land. Therefore, in a sense, the issue of Jerusalem is about Israel's right to exist.

Peace

Be proactive for peace. This dictum, which was possibly devised by the writers of the WUJS handbook, should be the principle that guides all of your advocacy. Peace is ultimately an absolute necessity for Israel. It is the Arab side that has consistently refused to make peace by refusing to recognize the right of

⁹⁹ http://www.zionism-israel.com/his/Jerusalem_history.htm

the Jewish people to self-determination. That has been the basis of the conflict at least since 1947. As with the Jerusalem issue, extraneous claims and confused thinking have muddied the message. "Peace" plans that call for flooding Israel with refugees, giving up all rights to Jerusalem and denying that Israel is the national home of the Jewish people are not about peace with Israel. They are about peace without Israel.

Be Proactive for Peace

Plan a **Peace in the Middle East** event at your campus or a Middle East Peace day.

Jewish Refugees From Arab countries

About 800,000 Jews were forced to flee Arab and Muslim countries with no compensation. Amazingly, no claims were made by the Israeli government for their rights until recently, and most people were unaware that this massive ethnic cleansing took place. A coalition of groups has been conducting a campaign to raise awareness of the plight of these refugees, with some success. Some information to get you started:

www.zionism-israel.com/hdoc/Jewish_refugees_arab.htm
www.zionism-israel.com/issues/jewishrefugees.html
www.zionism-israel.com/log/archives/00000076.html
www.mideastweb.org/refugees4.htm
www.zionism-israel.com/log/archives/00000277.html
www.zionism-israel.com/log/archives/00000075.html

Human Rights In The Middle East

The plight of minorities in Arab and Muslim countries and suppression of religious and political freedoms is practically ignored by the U.N. and rights organizations.

Some materials that may inspire action programs -

www.zionism-israel.com/Israel_Human_Rights.htm
www.zionism-israel.com/Middle_East_Human_Rights.htm

Israel Is A Normal Country

Too many people, including Jews, picture Israel as a war-torn desert. Sponsor initiatives that show people that Zionism and Israel are a success. We have a prosperous economy, successes in hi-tech, great beaches, good looking and intelligent young people, glamorous fashion models and wonderful tourist attractions. Initiate an Israel Day on campus. Invite people to come to the campus for a visit, distribute articles about Israeli successes in hi-tech and Israeli humanitarian initiatives from Israel21c, show them films about Israel. Young Jewish people should be aware that they can visit Israel for free through the Birthright Israel program. Invite people who have been to Israel to relate their experiences. Write about daily life in Israel. Make people see Israelis and Zionists as human beings.

Fair Play For Israel At The U.N.

U.N. bias against Israel is institutionalized. It is not just a matter of anti-Israel resolutions, but more importantly, a set of institutions that were created in order to crank out anti-Israel propaganda. Nonetheless, the United States and other western countries continue to acquiesce in and pay for

programs that are designed to demonize Israel and perpetuate the Arab Palestinian refugee problem, such as UNRWA, the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People ("right" of return of the Palestinian refugees), the Durban conference that turned into a platform for Israel-bashing and anti-Semitism, and endless one-sided human rights resolutions.

Details and a link to a petition - http://www.zionism-israel.com/issues/The_Question_Of_Palestine.html

Disarm Hezbollah

Several U.N. resolutions call for disarmament of the Hezbollah. However, UNFIL and the U.N. have made no attempt to disarm the group and neither has the Lebanese government. Syria smuggles in weapons to this group. Hezbollah continue to threaten Israel and to hold the Lebanese government hostage to its program of terrorism and Islamism.

Get The Hamas Out of Gaza

Hamas took power in a bloody coup. The group abuses the rights of Palestinians, does not allow for basic freedoms like freedom of the press, of opposition groups and activities. It tramples on rights of women, gay people and Christians. It wages war against Israel in line with its declaredly genocidal policy. The [Hamas charter](#)¹⁰⁰ calls not only for the destruction of Israel, but for the killing of all Jews to make the End of Times possible. Hamas leaders call regularly for the killing of Jews, deny the Holocaust and call it a Zionist lie and invention, and Hamas TV programs call on little children to sacrifice themselves for the homeland. The children practice for "martyrdom" in numerous summer camps. Yet many political leaders and 'experts' advocate 'engaging' Hamas and recognizing it as an important factor, whose consent is necessary for any peace process to succeed. Peace with Hamas is impossible unless it changes both its ideology and tactics. Unless these do change, removing Hamas is the only hope for peace.

Stop Funding Incitement

Demand that support for organizations like UNRWA and the PA be accompanied by a more critical approach and review of what they do with the money. Demand that they stop incitement against Israel. Point out that hundreds of schools run by the PA are named after 'heroes of the resistance' and 'freedom fighters' that killed little children in buses and restaurants in Israel and that these same 'heroes' are often praised in PA supported media.

Funding Of Peace Groups

European and American governments and foundations should be investing in initiatives that promote peace and coexistence. Instead, funding is diverted to NGOs that claim that they are for peace but generate incitement and hate, advocate violent struggle and delegitimize Israel. Such "peace" groups are part of the problem, not part of the solution. Ask for funding to be channeled to real peace groups that promote dialogue, coexistence and education for peace. Funding should be governed by strict criteria. Demand a stop to USA/European support for organizations that advocate against Israel and peace, and that call for sanctions, boycotts and other punitive measures against Israel.

The European Union and its member states in particular, as well as other European states support a number of so-called peace and human rights organizations that are one-sided at best and sometimes

¹⁰⁰ <http://mideastweb.org/hamas.htm>

advocate against peace and a two-state solution. Examples are the Alternative Information Centre, Adalah, Betselem, Al Haq, BADIL, ICAHD, and many others. These organizations do not serve peace.

Additional funding of anti-Zionist organizations comes from surprising sources. The New Israel Fund has given grants to groups in Israel that demand boycotts of Israel, and to groups that advocate "Right of Return." The Ford Foundation supports the Coalition of Women for Peace, an innocently named group that agitates for boycotts of Israel.

13.1 The Zionist Transformation Of The Land

Until not long ago, it was still remembered that "Palestine" had been a poverty stricken, underpopulated country in the nineteenth century, a land in which Jews in particular, were targets of Muslim intolerance. Traveler after traveler reported the maltreatment of Jews, the emptiness and squalor of the land. The transformation wrought by Zionists in Palestine impressed even the most hardened critics. It impressed Winston Churchill even in the 1920s, and it impressed both the Anglo-American commission of inquiry and the UNSCOP commission.

Anti-Israel "narratives" have replaced these facts with a fictional tale of a prosperous nineteenth century paradise, wherein Jews and Arabs lived in peace, prosperity and harmony, under the gracious and wise rule of the Ottoman Sultan. It's up to us to help restore the truth. Israel is the only country in the world that had more trees at the beginning of the twenty-first century than it had at the beginning of the twentieth century. Making the desert bloom is more than just a slogan. In one day, the Israel National Water Carrier pumps more water than was pumped in all of Palestine in the entire year of 1948. As a result of Zionist investment, Israel supports a larger Arab population than the land ever supported in the past.

13.2 Israel Buycotts

An Israel buycott¹⁰¹ consists of buying Israeli products in an organized initiative. It is a great way to build a community of Israel supporters and get people to show their support for Israel. A boycott of Israeli Ahava cosmetic products in a Maryland suburb of Washington D.C. fell flat when it was countered by an Israel Buycott. Jewish and non-Jewish pro-Israel shoppers lined up to buy Ahava products, boosting sales dramatically.¹⁰²

Buycotts have been used to counter Israel boycotts, but we don't have to wait for the other side to start a boycott. If a supermarket chain or local supplier sells Israeli products, or a firm such as Intel, Microsoft Motorola or Caterpillar does business with Israel, you can organize people to support them en masse by buying those products or buying the firm's stock, and letting them know why you are doing it.

13.3 Israeli Democracy

Initiate an Israel Democracy Week at your university or community center, or start an advertisement campaign to educate the public. Tell people the facts about Israeli democracy, and about political repression in other Middle Eastern states.

¹⁰¹ Zionism-Israel, Say no to BDS, Join the Israel Buycott, <http://zionism-israel.com/ezine/Buycott-Israel.html>

¹⁰² Krieger, Hilary, Pro-Israel shoppers defy Ahava products boycott call, Jerusalem Post, June 25, 2010, <http://www.jpost.com/International/Article.aspx?id=182493>

13.4 Proud To Be A Zionist

Besides Israeli democracy, there are many reasons to be proud to be a Zionist. Make sure people know them:

Israel redeemed the honor of the Jewish people. Jews are no longer thought of as passive, contemptible cowards.

Israel has fought for the rights of Jews in the USSR and elsewhere and has helped them to win their freedom, regardless of whether they came to live in Israel or opted to live elsewhere.

The Zionist community in mandatory Palestine, despite meager resources and Arab and British opposition, rescued hundreds of thousands of European Jews who would have otherwise perished in the Holocaust.

Israel has successfully absorbed millions of Jewish immigrants from all over the world - people of many races and backgrounds including Jews from Europe, Asia and Africa. Israel has also given shelter to refugees from Vietnam, and to Muslim refugees from Sudan and former Yugoslavia.

Israeli aid organizations provide emergency disaster relief all over the world, including aid to countries that do not have diplomatic relations with Israel. The most recent example is the emergency field hospital provided by the IDF and other aid by private organizations in the wake of the 2010 earthquake in Haiti.

Not a single Jew remained in any of the places conquered by the Jordanians and Egyptians in 1948, including the old city of Jerusalem. In contrast, there are more Arabs living in Jerusalem today under Israeli rule than have ever lived there in all of recorded history.