The Israel Advocacy Handbook

Justice for Jews and Israel: Making the case for Israel

An Introduction to Israel Advocacy, Activism and Information

Second Edition

Copyright

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Executive Summary

This handbook explains the principles of Zionist advocacy and how to apply them. 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. Resolving it is the prerequisite to peace.

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;
>
> Takes advantage of modern tools - especially the Internet;
>
> 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 Introduction

This handbook is meant for Israel advocates, primarily volunteers. It is intended to give you better grounding and awareness of what you should be trying to accomplish, why it is worthwhile and how to accomplish it.

Advocacy is best done by devoted amateurs who are convinced that their cause is right. An ideal or an ideology cannot be sold with gimmicks as if it was hand cream r breakfast cereal. If you don't believe in the ideals, you will not be able to convince anyone else,

"Amateur," however, does not mean untrained or incompetent. Amateur enthusiasm must be combined with professional know-how and experience.

Nobody can claim to have all the answers or an exclusive approach to advocacy. However the principles discussed in this book are accepted marketing and advocacy tenets. Most Israel advocacy groups do not follow them, and most would benefit from at least trying this approach.

A brief summary of main points that characterize our approach is at the Proud Zionist[1] Web page. If you do not need a detailed handbook refer to the Israel Advocacy Guide.[2]

If you don't believe in the ideals, you will not be able to convince anyone else.

1.1   How To Use This Handbook

A handbook provides both general information and a detailed reference. Read this book once, casually, to get the general idea. Then use specific sections when you are planning a campaign, organizing a demonstration or preparing a flyer or advertisement. The PDF search feature should make it easy to find the specific information you need.

1.2   Getting More Information About Israel And Zionism

This book explains the principles of advocacy. It provides examples of specific issues and events. It shows how they are used and abused in advocacy. However, the range and depth of information about the conflict, the history and the issues that you need to know are very large. Likewise, research on persuasion is a very large field. All the information could not possibly be presented in one document or learned in a few days. Don't despair. We will always be learning! For information about the conflict, use articles at http://zionism-israel.com and elsewhere, history books and other materials. Standwithus[3] has a very competent introductory summary and survey of the history and issues. A larger introductory summary of the issues is in the ADL Israel Advocacy guide.[4] You can find academic and practical

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[1] http://www.zionism-israel.com/proud_zionist.htm

[2] http://www.zionism-israel.com/Israel_advocacy_guide.pdf

[3] http://www.standwithus.com/images/online_booklets/israel_101/Israel%20101%20Distilled_April14,2008.pdf

[4] http://www.adl.org/israel/advocacy/advocacy_guide_facts_UPDATED.PDF

information about persuasion and advocacy in the articles and Web sites references in this handbook by searching the Web and of course, at good university libraries.

A fairly balanced (not "Zionist") history of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict from earliest times is posted at MideastWeb.[5] A summary of the history of Zionism is posted at Zionism & Israel.[6] These two documents are also hyperlinked to various in-depth articles.

These summaries should be supplemented by extensive study. Especially if you do not have ready access to a good library, learn how to do research using the facilities of the Web. Materials on the Web now include scientific journals available to those with university or other special accounts. It is not quite a substitute for a library yet, but the Web can provide you with a pretty fair education in the issues.

Appendix E: Web Resources has a large list of resources on the Web for historical and Israel advocacy materials as well as news and views.

Appendix F is devoted to online resources that teach the theory and practice of advocacy. Appendix G is a bibliography of sources related to advocacy and social change psychology.

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[5] http://mideastweb.org/briefhistory.htm

[6] http://zionism-israel.com/zionism_history.htm

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2 Statement Of Need

Since the foundation of the state of Israel and particularly in the last decade, there has been a dangerous and steady erosion in international perceptions regarding the legitimacy of Israel. At the same time, there is 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. There is not yet an Israel public relations disaster in the USA, where support levels generally hover between 50 and 63%, but even there, the problem cannot be ignored. [7]

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.[8]

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.**

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[7] Gallup, *Support for Israel in U.S. at 63%, Near Record High,* February, 24 2010, http://www.gallup.com/poll/126155/support-israel-near-record-high.aspx

[8] 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

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2.1 Objective factors

Undeniably, 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 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.

2.1.1 Persian Gulf Oil

Iran (not an Arab country). Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Bahrain and Qatar have leveraged their monopoly on oil to influence foreign policy, and use petrodollars to fund propaganda that favors their causes. This has always been true, British objections to a Jewish state were founded on fears of losing Saudi oil, a strategic asset. Before the Six Day War, Aramco executives tried to bring pressure on the United States to favor the Arabs, and after the Yom Kippur war, fear of an Arab oil boycott helped the passage of the infamous U.N. "Zionism is Racism" resolution. The Saudis in particular have been generous in endowing universities in the United States.

But the oil factor always existed. Leverage created by oil is used against Israel, but it is also used to further respect for Islam an burnish its image, and by non-Arab states such as Iran against Arab States. None of the Arab states bordering Israel have much oil.

Israel advocacy should emphasize the influence of oil-greed on foreign policy and should document the stupendous sums spent by the "Arab Lobby." But oil cannot be held up as the excuse for Idrael's image problems.

2.1.2 Anti-Israel activities at the U.N.

The Arab states, together with the former Soviet Union, turned the U.N. into a center of anti-Israel activity. As long as the Soviet bloc existed, this activity could be carried out through the General

Assembly and the Security Council, and the UNRWA, a refugee agency created in order to perpetuate the Palestinian Arab refugee problem.

After the Six Day War, and after the collapse of the Soviet Union, anti-Israel activities moved to new channels at the U.N. The secretariat *Department of Palestinian Rights* (DPR), the *Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People (CEIRPP)* the *Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Palestinian People*, and the *Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights in the Palestinian territories occupied since 1967* all are unique institutions. The DPR has 16 full time employees, compared to 20 employees for all the other secretariat departments. The CEIRPP maintains a network of NGOs and sponsors NGO conferences like the Durban conference which manufacture anti-Israel resolutions according to a formula. The U.N. spends millions of dollars on ant-Israel resolutions, activities and funding through these different agencies. Most of the money is provided by the United States and Europe.[9]

The U.N. devotes such attention to no other state, no other people and no other conflict. But the major channel for anti-Israel activities is the U.N. Human Rights Council (UNHRC) which cranks out numerous resolutions accusing Israel of war crimes and other violations, and mentioning no other country. This was formerly the Human Rights Commission. Attempts to reform this body, dominated by Muslim states, have been futile.[10]

Israeli and Zionist diplomatic and advocacy efforts to counter this network are sporadic and ineffectual. Most Israelis and most Israel advocates do not understand the weight given to issues by the prestige of the U.N. and most Zionist activists are only vaguely aware of the existence of these U.N. departments and institutions, or the part played in them by European and American support and funding. Particularly egregious U.N. - sponsored initiatives such as the first Durban conference or the Goldstone report stir some protests, but there is no attempt to attack or discredit any of the vast anti-Israel infrastructure of the U.N. or to educate the general public about it. The isolated protests by Zionist partisans and the Israeli government are therefore interpreted by the naive public as further evidence that Zionists ignore "human rights" and "international law." Israel's opponents spare no effort to exploit these resolutions, and the opposition they engender, to portray Israel as indifferent to human suffering.

Inevitably, U.N. activities have influenced large NGOs, so that now the prestigious Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch (HRW) have taken up the anti-Israel crusade.

2.1.3 Anti-Semitism

There is no doubt that anti-Israel propaganda exploits classic anti-Semitic themes and uses anti-Semitic motifs to further its aims, often substituting "Zionists" for "Jews" in tiresome slogans such as "Zionists control the press," "Zionists control the government." The Palestinian-inspired libel that the IDF kills Palestinians to harvest their organs for transplants[11] is a reincarnation of the blood libel story that is still

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[9] Isseroff, Ami, The Question of Palestine at the U.N. http://zionism-israel.com/issues/The_Question_Of_Palestine.html

[10] AJIRI Report Number 6, THE "REFORMED" UN HUMAN RIGHTS COUNCIL BEGINS::IT'S DÉJÀ VU ALL OVER AGAIN, July, 2006 http://www.zionism-israel.com/issues/Question_of_Palestine_UN_Human_Rights_II.pdf;

[11] Sofer, Roni, *Swedish daily: IDF killed Palestinians for organs,* YNET, August, 18. 2009, http://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0,7340,L-3763958,00.html

current in many Arab countries.[12] Time Magazine's complaint that Israelis do not want peace because the are too busy making money tried to play on the "Jews love money" shibboleth.[13]

While anti-Semitism should be pointed out, it is useless to dwell on the subject. The people who fall for this propaganda are probably anti-Semitic. They won't be impressed by your arguments, and they will deny that they are anti-Semitic. European and American Christians are anti-Muslim as well, but this hasn't done much to advance the cause of Israel.

Anti-Semitism is a fact of Jewish existence in the Diaspora and should not surprise us. The creation of a Jewish state cannot put an end to anti-Semitism, it can only make the Jews less vulnerable to attack and better organized to resist anti-Semitism. Anti-Semites will use supposed misdeeds of Israel against Jews. Anti-Zionists will use anti-Semitic beliefs, culture, slogans and symbols against Israel.

The confounding of issue and themes produces a dangerous situation that has permeated Jewish communal life in every Diaspora country for the past century. Zionism is predicated on the assumption that ant-Semitism will never go away in the Diaspora. The struggle against anti-Semitism in the Diaspora has been going on for over two centuries. It is predicated on the assumption that anti-Semitism will be banished by "progress," a characteristic belief of 19th century liberalism. Whatever the merits of this approach, groups founded to fight ant-Semitism abroad such as The Bnai Brith ADL should not be engaging in Israel advocacy, and Israel advocacy groups should not be fighting anti-Semitism. However, it often very difficult to distinguish between anti-Semitism and so-called anti-Zionism.

2.1.4 Jewish anti-Zionism

Some Jews have always been against Zionism for ideological or religious reasons.[14] Palestinians and their supporters have formed alliances with anti-Zionist groups and have specifically targeted "progressive" Jews. Anti-Zionist Jews must be taken into account and addressed, but Israel advocacy should not consist solely of fighting with these people. The are usually committed to their positions and for reasons that have very little do with Israeli actions or facts and will not support Israel under any circumstances. Jews who support the Palestinian position are a distraction. They are a very visible and very vocal minority. They are convenient for the Palestinian cause, as they an be trotted out to counter the argument that a particular claim is "anti-Semitic."

2.1.5 Resentment of Israeli policies

Israeli governments and their personnel make mistakes and come and go. Israel advocates should never feel obligated to defend every policy and ever utterance of every minister against all challengers, but some advocacy groups do. They fall into the trap of fighting according to the rules made by the other side. This has produced an absurd situation in which Israel is made to look like a rights violator in comparison with one party, totalitarian, brutal, reactionary dictatorships such as Syria, Libya and Iran. The best reply regarding a policy decision, official or personality you can't defend, is to explain that you

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[12] *Blood Libel.* http://www.zionism-israel.com/dic/blood_libel.htm

[13] 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

[14]

don't necessarily agree with everything that America or another country does, but that is not grounds for wiping out that country and its people or subjecting them to terror attacks.

2.2   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. 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.

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

Aiming for outreach - Jews constitute about 2% of the U.S. population, and are even a smaller minority in Europe. It is absurd and hopeless to try to build an advocacy network or a movement based exclusively on this tiny and often socially isolated minority. Unfortunately, that is what Israel advocacy movements do. Their messages are directed at Jews, often in closed forums or "Jewish" venues such as Hillel. They think they are doing Israel advocacy, when at most they might be doing "Jewish education." We have to reach the vast majority of people, who are not Jewish. This can only be done by advocacy that is conscious that it is talking to the world, that doesn't label itself as extremist in the eyes of others, that forms strategic alliances with non-Jewish groups that have common interests. That's how anti-Israel advocates managed to get the attention of church groups, unions, students and academics.

Purveying a universal message - Israel and Zionism are not just about Jews. They are about freedom, social progress, democracy and other ideals that appeal to large groups in the Western world. Our message has to be couched in these terms.

Being sensitive to what the audience hears - Audiences do not always hear messages in the same way as the people who create those messages understand them. A speech by Israeli PM Benjamin Netanyahu complaining of "hypocrisy" of international institutions that criticize Israel may have been well-received

by Israelis, but American focus groups were not interested in hearing attacks on international public opinion. [15]

Taking up issues proactively - Israel advocacy at present seems to focus on protesting this or that outrageous claim or initiative or trying to shut up obnoxious views. Usually these activities only give more publicity to the views they are trying to protest. People are only persuaded by proactive advocacy that tells a coherent story. It provides a schema and narrative that people use to understand the world. Once they are persuaded of a particular viewpoint, people won't change their mind because of a single book, article, demonstration or initiative. Proactive advocacy has to tell our story at the time and place of our choosing. Let the other side scramble to react.

Providing basic information - The various "issues" that are raised from time to time are used by smart advocacy as vehicles for building a movement. In reality, what is important is to use the issues to impart basic information, which people lack in order to make informed judgments. The purpose of the proactive initiatives is not just to "win" on a particular issue, but to educate the public about all the issues, and to change their perception of Israel.

Focusing on the core issues - In reality, there has only ever been one set of issues in the Israeli-Arab conflict: recognition that the Jews are a people, recognition of the historic rights of the Jewish people in the land and recognition of the right of the Jewish people to self-determination in our own country. These are all one issue: acceptance of Zionism as a legitimate movement. All the "issues" and boycott initiatives, books and pamphlets written by anti-Zionists are really about the core issue and their goal of delegitimizing the Zionist movement. All stands on the different issues depend on the answer to the question of whether the Jews are in the land by right, on sufferance, or because of a monstrous mistake. If we have no right to be here, then of course we have no right to defend ourselves, no right to live in Jerusalem and no right to live in Tel Aviv for that matter. Proactive Israel advocacy has to focus on this central issue. There is no way to do advocacy for Israel and avoid saying we are Zionists and no reason to do so. When we do reactive advocacy, we let the other side use issues to delegitimize Zionism. Rachel Corrie is not the issue and neither is Muhammed al Dura or the next real or imagined victim or incident. The issue is whether or not the Jewish people exist and have a right to a national home in Israel. Anti-Israel activists have convinced the world that the "issue" is Israeli occupation. They propose to end the occupation by ending Zionism. We must reframe the discussion.

Doing advocacy rather than "PR" - Advocacy can only succeed if the people doing it are sincere and enthusiastic. Advocacy for a cause is not the same as "Public Relations" as practiced by most professional public relations firms. Public relations or advertising is usually aimed at changing a relatively passive behavior. Advocacy is aimed at building a movement of people who carry the message to others. Only a few Public Relations firms such as Fenton Communications specialize in building movements for causes. Fenton's clients include social movements and pro-Arab causes. We cannot and should not try to sell Zionism like laundry detergent or soft drinks. PR campaigns (like the "branding campaign") backfire because people are conscious that they are being manipulated. PR often gets far away from the core issue and becomes irrelevant. Often PR is trying to distract attention from the issues, because the people doing it think they have no case. So what if we have pretty girls and thriving businesses and help sick people around the world? If we did not belong here, if we stole the land from its rightful owners, it would not matter. Sometimes PR people advise clients to "change the product," a strategy inappropriate to advocacy.

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[15] Hasbarapocalypse — Leaked Frank Luntz memo: Israeli public diplomacy in US on Flotilla failed dismally, Coteret, July 5, 2010

Promoting grass roots efforts - Top-down advocacy through "honored leaders" worked in the closed societies of nineteenth century Europe. Such "lobbying" is still the mainstay of Israel advocacy. In open societies where information is spread by the Web and cell phones, it is a fossilized anachronism. The success of anti-Israel groups was due primarily to their ability to organize what looks like a spontaneous "grass roots" campaign of "masses," that is in fact based on a relatively small group of well-organized and dedicated leaders and demonstrators.

Using the Web and Internet - The Web is a major tool of advocacy and for dissemination of information. It is used extensively and effectively by every political cause except Israel advocacy. Zionist groups continue to treat their Web sites as afterthoughts, not as communication tools. Since mainstream journalism is now moving to the Web *en masse*, it can no longer be ignored.

In reality, there has only ever been one set of issues in the Israeli-Arab conflict: recognition that the Jews are a people, recognition of the historic rights of the Jewish people in the land and recognition of the right of the Jewish people to self-determination in our own country. These are all one issue: acceptance of Zionism as a legitimate movement.

2.3 Our Successes - Some Good News

Israelis and other Zionists were slow to react to the problem. Activists, as well as organizations, are set in their ways. There didn't seem to be a real threat to Israel's existence. We have slowly begun to wake up to the reality and fight back. Groups like Stand With Us, The Israel Project, The David Project and many smaller organizations and coalitions have achieved real victories by applying simple rules with persistence, resourcefulness and ingenuity. Some examples:

- Attempts of the anti-Israel BDS coalition to get students at California universities to vote symbolic sanctions against Israel have thus far all ended in resounding failure, thanks to successful advocacy campaigns. [16]

- When a renegade Jewish group used Jewish community funds to stage an anti-Israel movie, activists forced the funding organization to enact guidelines that would prevent a recurrence. [17]

- When journalist Helen Thomas said that Israelis should go "back to Poland," protests got her dismissed from her job.[18]

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[16] Pazornik, Amanda, U.C. Berkeley senate upholds veto of divest-from-Israel measure, San Diego debates similar bill. Jweekly, April 29, 2010. http://www.jweekly.com/article/full/57943/divestiture-saga-rolls-on-in-berkeley-and-now-san-diego; Divestment bills fail at two Calif. universities, Jewish Herald-Voice, May, 6, 2010; http://jhvonline.com/clients/jhvonline/divestment-bills-fail-at-two-calif-universities-p8946.htm?

[17] http://sfjcf.wordpress.com/2010/02/18/policy/

- An attempted boycott of Israeli Ahava cosmetic products in Maryland 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.[19]

- The Israel Project group exposed the fact that Qatar was paying the Fenton Communications firm a hefty sum to represent the al Fakhoora group. The group was turning out propaganda for the Gaza Flotillas. Fenton specializes in political advocacy and has helped causes and persons near and dear to President Obama. After the TIP announcement, Fenton announced it would not renew its contract to represent al Fakhooura.[20]

Thus far, most of our successes are reactive, however. We have not yet really begun to spread our own message successfully by teach-ins, protests and other methods.

3 Basic Concepts

3.1 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.

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[18] Helen Thomas retires/fired over anti-Semitic remarks, Examiner, June 7, 2010, http://www.examiner.com/x-15870-Populist-Examiner~y2010m6d7-Helen-Thomas-retiresfired-over-antiSemetic-remarks

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

[20] PR firm to stop representing pro-Palestinian group, JTA, July 11, 2010http://www.jta.org/news/article/2010/07/11/2739986/us-pr-firm-to-stop-representing-qatari-group

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

3.2   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.

3.3   "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.

3.4   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.

3.4.1 What Is Advocacy?

"Israel advocacy" is making the case for Israel in the broadest sense. That includes popularizing the basics of Zionism that underlie the foundation of Israel even more than defending specific policies. 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.

3.4.2 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. Ideological advocacy is not the same as selling a commercial product or a political candidate, though marketing and advocacy have some common facets and techniques. Both involve persuasion.

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 living outside of Israel, 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. Principles cannot be discarded just because a particular audience will not accept them, or because the other side has given them a bad name. Vital issues cannot be postponed, and vital national concerns cannot be cast aside. A candidate can change a stand on abortions or medical care because he or she will get more votes.

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.

Partisan political propaganda that tears down the Israeli government or Israeli politicians is not advocacy. It is not helpful to Israel. Usually it produces an extremist and distorted view of Israeli supporters.

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.

3.4.3 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, in one sense, 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, 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.

Zionism and advocacy - These are not just abstract principles. Each of the above statements has a profound and practical bearing on just about every Israel advocacy issue. Without Zionism, Israel advocacy is meaningless. There are groups who try to do Israel advocacy but discourage people from mentioning "Jew" or Zionism because these words are disliked by focus groups. These are the things we have to "sell." There is no way around them. If we do not believe in them, we must close up shop.

Zionism has never been an "easy sell." "Jew" and "Jewish" have a long history of being the "Brand X" of the national and religious world. They are easy targets for racists and fanatics. But we are not Finns or Scots or French, Episcopalians or Greek Orthodox. We are Zionists. We are advocating rights for the Jewish people. If you are not proud to be a Zionist, don't do advocacy. You have nothing to explain or to advocate here. The delegitimation of the words "Jew" and "Zionism" is part of the central issue - the challenge to right of the Jews to dignity and to self-determination. If these words don't sit well with focus groups or the public at large. then we have to work on this problem, and not avoid it.

3.4.4 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. A rumor circulating in the Middle East claimed that the map of Greater Israel is shown on the roof of the Knesset. Yasser Arafat claimed that the Israeli 10 Agora coin showed the map of Greater Israel. The coin is shown below. The "map" is the bit of rock in which the Menorah is embedded. If, in the shape of the rock, you can see a map of Israel and surrounding countries including parts of Syria and Iraq, as well as all of Jordan as Yasser Arafat claimed, you were blessed with a great imagination.

Mentioning "Greater Israel" falls into a trap set by anti-Israel propaganda and will not gain sympathy for the Zionist cause among most audiences.

Following the Six-Day-War, "Greater Israel" (Eretz Yisrael Hashleima) was the name of a political movement in Israel that sought to keep the territories conquered

by Israel in that war. Some extremists who support "Greater Israel" claim that they are the only true Zionists, but their claim is not borne out by historical fact. The Greater Israel movement has been progressively marginalized. Today the major advocates of this idea are a minority at the extreme Israeli right, and include non-Zionist groups.

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. Christian dogma insisted at one time that the Church is "Israel" and replaced the Jewish people as Israel in the context of the scriptures. A "pro-Israel" group can be in favor of a state called Israel that does not allow Jewish self-determination, and doesn't foster or allow development of Jewish national culture or institutions. There are "pro-Israel" groups that favor legitimation of the anti-Semitic Hamas, which has vowed not only to destroy Israel, but also to destroy all the Jews, in order to bring about the "end of days."

The new J Street lobby likewise carefully avoids the "Zionist" label and states that it is "pro-Israel." It states:

> **"J Street is the political arm of the pro-Israel, pro-peace movement.**
>
> J Street was founded to promote meaningful American leadership to end the Arab-Israeli and Israeli-Palestinian conflicts peacefully and diplomatically. We support a new direction for American policy in the Middle East and a broad public and policy debate about the U.S. role in the region."[21]

Elsewhere, there are statements about J Street being "pro-Israel." J Street has for example, issued condemnations of boycott initiatives. The condemnations do not decry boycotts as illegitimate, but only oppose them because they are not helpful in furthering the peace process. Jeremy Ben-Ami of J Street

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[21] http://www.jstreet.org/about/about-us

made this quite clear as a participant in a rigged Tikkun "Round Table."[22] J Street has not, and probably never will, sponsor a political initiative that favors any Israeli policy or opposes any anti-Israel legislation or policy. J Street has not, and is not going to, defend the legitimacy of the Zionist idea or promote Hebrew culture or financial or political support for Israel. It is not an Israel advocacy or lobby group and it is not a Zionist group and should not be confused with such groups.

When you encounter a group that claims to be "pro-Israel," challenge their speakers to explain what this term means. When a person says they support "the right of Israel to exist" ask them if they support self-determination for the Jewish people. Similarly, a group that says it favors "security for Israelis and Palestinians" does not necessarily favor Jewish self-determination.

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.

It is legitimate for "peace" groups to advocate solutions to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, but if that is all they do, they are not Zionist groups. If they don't ever defend Israel, they are not doing Zionist advocacy. Following for example, is the mission statement of Brit Tzedek Veshalom:

> "The mission of Brit Tzedek Veshalom, the Jewish Alliance for Justice and Peace is to educate and mobilize American Jews in support of a negotiated two-state resolution of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict."[23]

There is nothing in that statement about support for Israel, and indeed, the organization has never done anything to support Israel or advocate for the Zionist cause. The above statement could apply as well to the Palestinian group American Task Force for Palestine. For that matter, it might apply to a branch of the PLO. In places and at times, Brit Tzedek says it is "pro-Israel" but it does not define if Israel is to be the national home of the Jewish people or perhaps a secular democratic state

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.

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[22] Is BDS the way to end the occupation? Tikkun Magazine, July-August, 2010. http://www.tikkun.org/article.php/july2010bds

[23] Taken from http://btvshalom.org/aboutus/mission.shtml; Brit Tzedek veshalom has since merged with J Street.

3.5 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.

For example, that is precisely the stand of Columbia professor Joseph Massad, who insists that the two-state solution is a "Zionist" and "racist" solution, and that all peace proposals are "racist" (See Appendix A: Joseph Massad).

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.

4 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.

This is a chapter about principles. They are not ideological principles. Rather they are basic concepts important to advocacy. It is misleading to call them "techniques" or "strategies," because that might lead people to think they are "spinology," deception or rhetorical tricks. That is not the case. A different chapter covers technical issues. Here we are trying to lay some conceptual and ethical foundations.

4.1 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 advocacy[24] 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.

4.1.1 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.

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[24] http://www.fenton.com/FENTON_IndustryGuide_ProvingYourWorth.pdf; http://www.fenton.com/FENTON_IndustryGuide_ThisJustIn.pdf, http://www.fenton.com/FENTON_IndustryGuide_NowHearThis.pdf

An example of confused goals Israel advocacy groups achieve many "successes" by getting Congress to pass resolutions supporting Israel, and legislation such as the Israel Embassy Act, which mandates moving the US embassy to Jerusalem. These "successes" are effective in getting support and contributions for the advocacy groups, but they have little effect on US foreign policy, because foreign policy is largely decided by the executive branch. What are the real goals of these advocacy organizations and how can they best be served??

An example of impractical goals: An organization sets out to dismantle the U.N. because the U.N. is anti-Israel. Without debating the merits of the issue, this goal is a non-starter unless the organization has huge resources. Most of the world is convinced the United Nations is a good organization. It will take a lot of convincing to get them to believe otherwise. Most people would consider U.N. resolutions against Israel to be a sign that Israel is in the wrong. If Zionists advocate dismantling the U.N., most people will probably conclude that Zionism is "against peace" or "against human rights."

4.1.2 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.

4.1.3 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?"

4.1.4 Numbers Don't Always Tell The Whole Story

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) 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.[25] 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.

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. [26]

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.[27] 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:

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

[26]Bermant, 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

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

> "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." [28]

There is no truth at all in the statement. The union removed the Trade Union Friends of Israel (TUFI) 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.[29]

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,[30] 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....

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.

4.1.5 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.

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

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

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

4.1.6 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.

4.1.7 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."[31]

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.

Present issues concretely and illustrate them by tying them to people and their stories, and groups and their stories.[32] An interview with a female Arab IDF combat soldier tells people more about Israeli democracy than a hundred pages of statistics.

Don't whine: Nobody likes a loser. Point to your successes and avoid negativity.

4.1.8 Always Tell The Truth

Never, never, never let someone persuade you to adopt a position you know to be untrue. Never! In a way, though only in a way, you are like the disciple of a religion. Truth is your biggest stock in trade. If you do not believe in what you are saying and doing, you will not be motivated to go on, because you are doing Israel advocacy voluntarily, ostensibly because you believe in the cause. Your insincerity will

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[31] http://www.fenton.com/FENTON_IndustryGuide_NowHearThis.pdf

[32] http://www.odi.org.uk/resources/download/155.pdf page 8.

also generally be apparent to others. 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.

Exaggerated and inaccurate claims tend to backfire. Joan Peters' claim, in her book, *From Time Immemorial*, that there were almost no Arabs in Palestine circa 1900,[33] was easily shown to be false.[34] Whatever valid points that book made, they were discredited by her exaggerated claims and sloppy statistics.

The *Im Tirtzu* group made a sensation in February 2010 by claiming that the New Israel Fund had funded organizations that are anti-Zionist, and which contributed substantially to allegations of Israeli human rights violations in the Goldstone report, causing widespread condemnation of Israel. Many of *Im Tirtzu*'s claims were valid, and New Israel Fund does pay for activities of groups that deny that the Jewish people have a right to self-determination. Allegations of over a dozen such organizations are cited in the Goldstone report. But *Im Tirtzu's* claims that these allegations made up the bulk of the report, and that there would not have been a report without New Israel Fund supported organizations, were false, and in two or three cases, New Israel Fund had not given grants to organizations cited by *Im Tirtzu*.[35] These errors were enough to lend credibility to the claims that *Im Tirtzu*'s report was a fabrication and a political smear.

4.2   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.

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[33] Peters, Joan, From Time Immemorial: The Origins of the Arab–Jewish Conflict Over Palestine, Harper and Row, 1984.

[34] See for example, Porath, Yehoshua, Mrs. Peters's Palestine, New York Review of Books, Volume 32, Number 21 & 22 · January 16, 1986 http://www.nybooks.com/articles/5249; There probably was substantial immigration, though not to the extent that Peters claimed.

[35] http://www.nif.org/media-center/under-attack/lies-damn-lies-and-the-im.html; http://coteret.com/2010/02/10/fact-checking-the-anti-nif-report-systematic-omission-and-distortion-of-data/#comment-812; http://jta.org/news/article/2010/02/09/1010548/breaking-down-the-im-tirtzu-report-on-new-israel-fund

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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.

- **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. It should not be used to excuse extremism and errors in judgment on the part of the Israeli government or its Jewish citizens. Zionist emphasis on the Holocaust helped to encourage the shibboleth that Israel was created only because of European guilt over the Holocaust. That erases the previous history of international commitment to a Jewish national home and the history of Zionist construction and settlement in Ottoman and mandatory times. Arabs were quick to say that they should not be made to suffer because of the Holocaust, as though Jews had no other claim on the land. The Islamic Republic of Iran may or may not be preparing a second Holocaust for the Jewish people, but talking about it is not going to do much good and won't convince many non-Jews that Iran is dangerous. Explaining that Iran oppresses political dissidents, women and homosexuals, and that Iran is seeking "A world without America" is probably going to be much more effective.

- **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.

4.2.1 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. You will let yourself in for a very long and irrelevant debate about the different versions of what he said, and you will lose the debate. Don't insist that there were no Arabs in the land of Israel before the Zionists arrived. The population figures say otherwise. Don't claim that Arabs started all the wars. Literally, it is not true, though Israel had sufficient cause for the Suez Campaign and the Six-Day War.

4.2.2 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. The cameras were rolling. Over 600,000 people saw these interviews of "racist Zionists." Even after the video had become infamous, the same interviewer was able to entrap a second set of people.

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. Even if you do give a reasonable interview, be aware that your words may be excerpted, twisted and distorted. If you have to 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. Abe Foxman of the B'nai Brith Anti-Defamation League allowed an Israeli film producer to do a documentary about the ADL and anti-Semitism. He allowed him access to anything and everything. Foxman is filmed saying

"He can't do us any harm." But the documentary producer did do harm. He is a follower of the notorious Norman Finkelstein. He is out to prove that anti-Semitism is a creation of groups like the Anti-Defamation League. He twisted Foxman's words to suit his own agenda. The video is shown at several anti-Semitic Web sites.

Defending the indefensible - Israel is like any other country. Israeli officials and personalities say and do silly things. Anti-Zionists seize on these incidents and blow them out of proportion. that is no reason for you to defend a racist rant by Rabbi Ovadia Yossef or a an undiplomatic utterance by an Israeli government minister.

4.3   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.[36] 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:

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[36] http://www.chinapage.com/sunzi-e.html

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.

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. The latter are the ones who started the boycott campaign. 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.

4.3.1 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.[37]..

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.

Faked photos, fabricated "Zionist quotes" like the "quote" of Moshe Yaalon, the fake Amos Oz Sharon interview and others, fabricated massacres as in Jenin, organized violence like the Second Intifadah disguised as a "spontaneous uprising," exaggerations of Israeli misconduct in the 2008 Gaza war - all these are part of the repertoire. There is an ongoing fable about the "Gaza Siege" that is supposedly

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

causing a "humanitarian crisis." To support it, candle-light vigils protest electricity cuts, but electric lights are visible in the background. Photos and videos show full shops amidst the supposed "famine." We must expose the deceptions wherever possible. We should keep in mind that they are usually not that effective. Despite the propaganda about the "Gaza Siege" aimed at legitimizing the Hamas, western countries have not yet been moved to recognize the Hamas regime, and even Egypt has not opened the Gaza border. Everyone understands what the game is about.

We cannot, should not, and do not need to lie. Palestinian lies, when exposed, are shrugged off by media or excused as the last resort of the weak. Any error or attempt at deception in Israel advocacy is immediately pounced upon as a "Zionist PR trick." The excuse is that "we expect more from Israel." Unlike its Arab neighbors and the Palestinians, Israel is an open and democratic society with a free press. Our own side will not let us lie. Israeli journalists and historians are often to the first to expose deceptions. Sometimes they "expose" deceptions that never happened as well.

Leave the lies to the other side. Expose their lies. Tell the truth, but do not be naive about telling the truth, because the other side is not going to be naive either. A hostile interview or panel discussion is not a pristine academic forum. They are going to distort any unfavorable information or speculation you give them about Israel. There is no need to give them ammunition, especially if you cannot put it into context, and most especially if you are not sure of your facts. "I heard from another soldier that a third soldier said that in his unit some people looted Arab homes" is going to be taken by an anti-Israel audience as a statement of fact, regardless of whether or not it really happened. It will be taken as characteristic of IDF behavior even if it only happened one time. Be aware of the limitations of your audience. Understand the ways in which statements that are quite true can be misunderstood by people who do not have sufficient knowledge, or twisted by those who wish to distort what you say.

4.3.2 Don't Telegraph Your Punches

We are engaged in a war, and the other side views it as such and acts accordingly. While we cannot and should not lie, discretion and good judgment about tactics are obviously needed. 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.

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

4.4   Rules For Radicals

Saul Alinsky's Rules For Radicals [38] is to some extent an application of the approach of Sun Tzu to public opinion campaigns. Anti-Israel groups have certainly studied this book, as well as the tactics of the Soviet Cominform and similar organizations. It is worth your while to learn how the opposition thinks and why they do the things that they do, and perhaps to adopt the rules that have helped build successful campaigns. The most important of Alinsky's rules are perhaps these:

Power is not only what you have but what the enemy thinks you have

Wherever possible go outside of the experience of the enemy

Make the enemy live up to their own book of rules

Ridicule is man's most potent weapon

A good tactic is one that your people enjoy

A tactic that drags on too long becomes a drag

The threat is usually more terrifying than the thing itself

The major premise for tactics is the development of operations that will maintain a constant pressure upon the opposition

4.5   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-em-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.

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[38] Alinsky, Saul D. (1971) *Rules for Radicals. A pragmatic primer for realistic radicals* (1972 edn), New York: Vintage. Rules are from pp 127 ff of the 1972 edition.

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.

4.6   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.

4.7   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. Do not identify Zionism or Israel advocacy with anti-Muslim politicians, academic figures, and spokespersons.

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.

4.7.1 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.

4.7.2 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.

4.8   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. Occasionally, talkbacks may be read and discussed, but usually they are forgotten. If the issue you are addressing is marginal and the people who read your comments are not likely to be convinced by them, then you are probably wasting your time.

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.

4.9   Make Certain You Have An Issue

Do not start a petition to boycott France or Germany over "anti-Semitism" or anti-Israel actions, unless you are certain that the facts of the case are correct. Don't start a campaign over a "false" Palestinian allegation if the IDF has already admitted it is true, and if there is proof that it is true.

There are numerous ways to check allegations. Never send out emails or start an initiative based on the say-so of one person whom you think is a "reliable source." Check on the Web and ask others for advice. Use the Google search engine to look for mentions of the issue with the word **hoax**. For example, search for **Holocaust teaching in UK hoax.** Look up the issue in snopes.com and urbanlegends.com, which often list such hoaxes. If you discover a hoax, inform the people who sent it to you, and ask them to pass the information back to those who sent them the hoax.

5 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 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 a 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[39] and The Spin Project[40]). And there is an industry, not only in conventional "Public Relations," but also in selling skills and knowledge to build a successful political movement. The pioneering firm in this industry is probably Fenton Communications.[41] 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.[42]

5.1 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.[43]

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

5.1.1 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. [44]

- An attractive speaker is more likely to convince an audience than an unattractive speaker, presenting the same arguments. [45]

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[39] http://changingminds.org/

[40] http://www.spinproject.org/

[41] http://www.fenton.com/

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

[43] 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

[44] 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.

[45] 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

5.1.2 The Character of the Communication

- Messages that do not seem to be trying to persuade the audience are more successful in persuading the audience. [46]

- 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. [47]

- 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.[48]

5.1.3 The Audience

- An audience that is distracted during the persuasion is more likely to be persuaded than one that is not distracted.[49]

- People of low intelligence are more likely to be persuaded by a message than those with higher IQ scores.[50]

- People with a normal self-esteem are more likely to be persuaded those with very high or very low self-esteem.[51]

- 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.[52]

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.[53]

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[46] 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.

[47] 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.

[48] 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.

[49] 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.

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

[51] *ibid.*

[52] *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

[53] [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/,

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5.2   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 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 schemas[54] 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.[55] 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

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

[55] 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:

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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. 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.

5.2.1 Paradigm Shifts

Thomas Kuhn[56] 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 heliocentricism 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.

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[56] 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

Hazony[57] 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 b used as an another excuse for the failures of Israel advocacy.

5.3 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.

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.

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[57] Hazony, Yoram, *Israel Through European Eyes*, Jerusalem letters, July, 2010, http://jerusalemletters.com/letters/july2010.html

5.3.1 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.

Anti-Israel demonstrators repeated the "Israel Apartheid" "Zionism is racism" and "Zionism = Nazism" slogans often enough until these absurd and cynical ideas began to take hold and assume "legitimacy" and respectability. The idea that "the Jews" control the press and censor out terrible truths has been advanced by anti-Israel propagandists in a thousand subtle ways, ranging from Web sites like "If Americans Knew" to Jimmy Carter's protests that the "Israel lobby" was trying to suppress his book. In fact, his imaginative diatribe about "apartheid" was an international best seller, and each protest he made about the "Israel Lobby" helped increase the sale of his book.

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. Different people are affected in different ways at different times. The written word may convince some people. Pictures or dramatizations may convince others, while a very effective speaker might be most successful at convincing others. Each presentation and each new format of presentation reinforces the others. You might not remember much about Mary Queen of Scots from a history course. However, if you also saw a movie about Mary Queen of Scots, some of the facts would stick in your memory.

5.3.2 Dramatic Events

A searing event like the terror attacks of 9-11 can change opinions. It becomes an organizing point in a narrative. But the truth is not entirely self evident. Pro-Arab propagandists have been busily at work trying to find ways to blame the attack on "the Jews" or "Israel lobby." They circulate vicious and unfounded rumors that "Jews" or the Mossad intelligence agency perpetrated the attacks. They imply that the attacks were "understandable" reactions to US support for Israel. The impact of such events, even huge catastrophes like the Holocaust, tends to recede with time.

5.3.3 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.[58]

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

5.3.4 Peer Pressure and Bandwagoning

A famous series of social psychology experiments, the Asch experiments,[59] 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.

Sometimes bandwagoning effects can be unintentional. Telling people that X% of people in Spain consider that Jews are devious in business publicizes data about anti-Semitism, but it also creates bandwagoning for these ideas: "If so many people believe it, it must be true." The information that large numbers of Europeans identified Israel as the number one threat to world peace should have caused a focus on European propaganda and politics. Instead it caused a focus on Israel as a supposed offender.[60] Speeches by Israeli politicians and Zionists activists that describe Israel as isolated and hated, tend to rally people to the anti-Israel cause because of Bandwagoning, and cause those who support Israel to be silent about their views because of the Silent Spiral. If a cause is perceived as having many adherents, whether it is Hare Krishna, democracy or Nazism, its views become more acceptable and respectable and it can get more adherents.

Getting publicity for your cause shows potential supporters that others think as they do, and it is "OK to think that way." Israel boycott groups often announce that a firm, institution or country has succumbed to an Israel boycott or divestment initiative when nothing of the kind has happened. The security was

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[58] see http://beltwayblips.dailyradar.com/video/la_hamas_supporters_scream_long_live_hitler_put_jews, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jE9cme76fIs

[59] 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)..

[60] http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/library/news/2003/11/wwwh31107.htm

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sold because it was financially unattractive or the product was not sold any more because it was out of season. The bogus announcement boosts the morale of their supporters and gives others the impression that boycotting is the "thing to do."

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

5.3.5 Spiral of Silence

The "Spiral of Silence" of Elizabeth Noelle-Neumann[61] 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.'" [62]

5.3.6 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."

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[61] Noelle-Neumann, E. *The Spiral of Silence*. University of Chicago, Chicago, 1984.

[62] http://changingminds.org/explanations/theories/spirals_silence.htm

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5.3.7 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"[63] 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.

5.3.8 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 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.

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[63] Collins, Larry and Lapierre, Dominique ,: **O Jerusalem**!, Simon and Schuster, 1972

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.**

5.3.9 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.[64]

Wikipedia defines Soft Sell as:

> a **soft sell** is an advertisement or campaign that uses a more subtle, casual, or friendly sales message.[65]

Wikipedia defines Hard Sell as:

> a **hard sell** is an advertisement or campaign that uses a more direct, forceful, and overt sales message.[66]

In the same article Wikipedia concludes that:

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[64] "Soft Sell," http://www.businessdictionary.com/definition/soft-selling.html

[65] "Soft Sell," http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Soft_sell

[66] "Hard Sell," http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hard_sell

Theorists have examined the value of repetition for hard sell versus soft sell messages to determine their relative efficacy. Frank Kardes.[67] 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 immediate, helps promote sales.[68]

Opinions are divided about the effectiveness of Hard Sell versus Soft Sell.[69] 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.

Probably they are all correct. Soft Sell and Hard Sell are both mixtures of different techniques, and they are both appropriate in different situations and for different purposes, if done correctly. If the Soft Sell is too softly or is used inappropriately, people may miss the point entirely. A one page ad or flyer has to be straightforward about its purpose without being obnoxious. But the Soft Sell is generally the best approach to winning over people to a cause for these reasons:

People will accept advice and opinions more readily from those who are their friends or in their circle of acquaintances. If you belong to a church, union or rights group, you have a bigger say in what that organization does than an outsider.

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.

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[67] 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

[68] 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

[69] Mattern, Jennifer, "http://bizammo.com/marketing/soft-sell-vs-hard-sell/," Sept. 11, 2007, http://www.businessknowhow.com/marketing/softsell.htm

5.3.10   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.[70] 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 cult members were disillusioned, but a significant number continued to believe.[71] 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.[72] 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.

Cognitive dissonance theory has been shown to work in a variety of situations and to have more predictive power than rival hypotheses,[73] including the generation of neural correlates of a state of dissonance. It has many more or less direct applications to attitude change campaigns. You want to convince skeptical audiences that their perceptions of Israel and attitudes to Israel and the Palestinians do not fit the facts and do not fit the remainder of their world view and positive self image. By getting people to volunteer and help in a cause, they become more committed to that cause. If the cause is not just, then they would have to accept that they did all that work for no reason, or for a bad reason.

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 they 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.

5.3.11   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.[74] 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."

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

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

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

[73] Zanna, M., & Cooper, J. (1974). Dissonance and the pill: An attribution approach to studying the arousal properties of dissonance. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1974: 29(5), 703–709.; Kiesler, C.A., & Pallak, M.SArousal properties of dissonance manipulations. Psychological Bulletin, 1976: 83(6), 1014–1025.

[74] 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.

5.3.12 Blaming the Victim

Blaming the victim[75] 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. It is a way to justify social isolation of groups, and of handicapped people, as well as a justification for rape and personal misfortunes. It obviates the need to extend help or right the wrong.

5.3.13 The "Just World" Principle

The "Just World" principle, hypothesis or theory, as formulated by Melvin Lerner is closely related to Blaming the Victim and Cognitive Dissonance theory.[76] 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.

5.3.14 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.[77] 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.[78] It may be related to Cognitive Dissonance. It can be used to involve people in your work or cause. If you give them something small, such as a button or flyer, they may feel somehow obligated to you. If you help a friend or group with their issue, they will be more inclined to help you with yours.

5.3.15 True Believer Syndrome

The term "True Believer Syndrome" was coined by M. Lamar Keene[79] 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 and has been extended to other, similar phenomena such as the Festinger's cultists who continued to believe in their "end of the world" prophecy. 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.

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[75] 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

[76] 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.

[77] 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.

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

[79] Keene, M. Lamar The Psychic Mafia. St. Martin's Press; New York, 1976.

5.3.16   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.[80] 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. It is easier to prove your point, and will evoke far less opposition from the journal. In general, neutral persons are often perceived by partisans as opponents, if they utter any criticism. It is better to discuss the critical assertion objectively and not to immediately antagonize the other person by insisting they are "anti-Semites" or "anti-Israel."

5.3.17   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" effect[81] 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." However, they may also agree that they support opposing policies of politician Y. Thus, majorities supported both the Middle East policies of U.S. President Barack Obama and of Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu , even though they have widely differing policies.[82] It is better to give a choice between Obama and Netanyahu. Suppose survey respondents are asked/told "Many people believe that Israeli settlements are an obstacle to peace. What is your opinion?" more people will express opposition to settlements than if they simply asked for their opinion.

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. [83]

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.

Other techniques are often used for printed material such as press handouts or articles. Results can be misreported intentionally for example, or the survey itself can be designed with built-in bias. A question

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[80] 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

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

[82] AJC 2010 Annual Survey of Jewish Opinion,
http://www.ajc.org/site/c.ijITI2PHKoG/b.5915517/k.D620/2010_Annual_Survey_of_American_Jewish_Opinion.htm

[83] 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

can be loaded by including broad hints or "information" in the question, or simply by phrasing the question so the "right" answer requires the respondent to say "Yes" or to agree with the question.

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.

5.3.18   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.[84] The "sleeper" effect may occur through some quite different routes. The message may be repeated often enough so that it becomes a familiar "shibboleth." Most people do not know who originated such sayings as "A stitch in time saves nine" or "A fool and his money are soon parted" or "A penny saved is a penny earned." In many cases, nobody knows. By now, people have also forgotten the origin of the "Israel Apartheid" phrase too, and many don't know the Nazi and racist origins of propaganda about the Jews controlling the finance, the press and the government. The same thing can happen to a whole story, especially as it moves across cultures. A story about a secret Israeli bio-weapon that was genetically engineered to kill only Arabs won a science fiction contest in an Israeli newspaper. About two years later, it was reported as "fact" by a sensationalist reporter.[85] Supposedly educated people believed the fantastic claims about the "ethnobomb." The libel that the IDF uses bodies of Palestinians for organ transplants was originally a fabrication of the Palestinian Authority. After several years it managed to work its way into the Swedish tabloid, Aftonbladet.[86]

5.3.19   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.[87]

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

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[84] 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..

[85] Uzi Mahnaimi; Marie Colvin. "Israel planning 'ethnic' bomb as Saddam caves in, Sunday Times, November 15, 1998

[86] Aftonbladet, Bostrom, Donald, August, 17, 2009, "Våra söner plundras på sina organ," http://www.aftonbladet.se/kultur/article5652583.ab

[87] 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

5.3.20　Inoculation

Inoculation Theory or the Inoculation Effect is the finding that a weak argument will tend to strengthen resistance against persuasion.[88] 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.

5.4　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 fellow in an e-dialog carried on a pseudo-erudite dispute about the meaning of the Balfour Declaration for quite a while. His advocacy group had equipped him with numerous "talking points." At length it was discovered that he had no idea what the Balfour Declaration was, who wrote it, or to whom it was addressed or why.

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 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![89] Similarly, a 2007 PEW survey[90] found high levels of ignorance among US respondents about current events information such as identifying the Vice President or Secretary of Defense.

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[88] 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.

[89] 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/ezine/Explaining_Zionism.htm

[90] http://ipsnews.net/news.asp?idnews=37368

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."

5.5 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.

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.[91]

- 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.

5.6 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

[91] http://mideastweb.org/hamas.htm

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.

6 The Audience

This may be the most important chapter of this handbook. 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.

6.1   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 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.

6.2   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.

6.3   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.

6.4   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."

Don't mix Israel advocacy with religious issues. You want to reach all religions and all non-religious people as well.

6.5   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...

6.6   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.

6.6.1 Be Inclusive

We want everyone inside our tent.

Justice Louis Brandeis said over and over that every Jew should be a Zionist and implied that every American should support the Zionist cause. When he led the Zionist movement, he came close to performing the nearly impossible task of getting the entire Jewish community to support Zionism, and he got the United States government to support the Balfour Declaration and the British Mandate for Palestine. He almost singlehandedly transformed American Zionism from a tiny fringe movement to a cause of American Jews recognized by the United States government.

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 Pravoslavic 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.

6.6.2 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. [92], [93] Women and young people tend to be more liberal. Older men tend to be more conservative. [94] Appeals to justice, emotional appeals and emotive graphics appeal to young people and women more than they do to older men.

6.7 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.

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

[93] Modest Backing For Israel in Gaza Crisis, Pew, January 13, 2009

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

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7 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 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. [95]

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.

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

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[96]) 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.

Samples of the anti-Israel "Narratives" are given in Appendix A. But the anti-Israel narrative is just a tactic. It changes all the time to suit objectives and to fit what is believed will influence Western ears and what limits it is thought that Westerners will find acceptable. The limits are being pushed constantly. It is now becoming acceptable, for example, to claim that Jews had no historic connections with Jerusalem or Israel in ancient times, This idea is being pushed increasingly. The departure from reality is progressive, and builds on previous departures. Appendix B gives the main points of the Israeli/Zionist narrative.

7.1   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.

Some examples of the ways in which the anti-Israel narrative uses events and personalities:

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

Izzedin al Qassam - Izzedin al Qassam was elevated into a "Palestinian" martyr and hero. Actually he was born in Syria and came to Haifa under the British Mandate where he became a rabble-rousing anti-Jewish preacher. He was killed by the British while hiding out with a band of marauders, touching off the riots and pogroms of 1936-39.

The "Nakba" - Arabs made war on Israel in 1948, and lost the war. As a result, many Palestinian Arabs fled or were expelled from the country. This was elevated into a semi-mythical critical event that "demonstrated" the cruelty of the Zionists. At the same time, an equal or larger number of Jews who had done nothing against their host countries were expelled or forced to flee Arab lands. That event is virtually forgotten, along with the movements of various refugee populations during and immediately after World War II, including whole nations who were victims of Stalin's nationalities policy. The Nakba became an important historical event because of the propaganda effort invested in it.

Battle of Karameh - In 1968 an IDF operation against the PLO and Jordan Legion in Jordan miscarried. The IDF were surprised by the size of enemy forces. IDF lost 28-33 troops, while the Palestinians and Jordanians suffered in the neighborhood of 200 dead. The Palestinians claimed a great victory over the Israelis, and Yasser Arafat was catapulted to Palestinian leadership. The objective facts do not matter much. The Palestinians were adept at turning an objective debacle into a "victory" and getting much of the world to accept their version at face value.

Muhammad al Dura - 12-year-old Muhammad al Dura was filmed by French television as he was ostensibly murdered by Israeli soldiers in Gaza at the start of the Second Intifada. A subsequent investigation found that portions of the film that showed Al Dura getting up after he was "killed" had been suppressed. There was no proof that he had died from Israeli fire and no rational explanation of why Israelis would kill him. There was no real proof that he was killed, or of what causes he died. Nonetheless he became a "martyr" whose supposed death was used to justify numerous acts of violence. Charles Enderlin, the French TV news editor responsible for this imaginative work, has since been inducted into the French Legion of Honor.

The Zionist movement had heroes, martyrs and critical events as well, such as the death of Josef Trumpeldor at Tel Hai. There are numerous such stories in recent history as well, but nobody has bothered to dramatize them. These stories are all Hasbara opportunities waiting to happen. The entire Second Intifada, and the violence that followed the Gaza disengagement must be highlighted as examples of how Israeli peace bids were manipulated and turned into the bases for terrorist action and further vilification of Israel. Tragic personal stories of innocent victims of terror attacks should dramatize the point. For example, see http://zionism-israel.com/vic/sderot1.htm.

7.2 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. Had they succeeded, Israel would have lost security control of the Palestinian areas. Terrorists could have hidden behind a screen of an indifferent or favorable "peacekeeping" force. Yasser Arafat's "peacekeeping force" was the subject of a directed and enthusiastic campaign in the United States. Rabbi Michael Lerner of *Tikkun* got himself some publicity when he was arrested while demonstrating in favor of this "peace force."

7.3   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.

7.3.1 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.

7.3.2 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 [97]

7.4   How Anti-Israeli Groups Use Issues

Here are examples of how the anti-Israel propaganda machine successfully uses issues to do the sort of movement building described above and how the Zionist side has failed to utilize parallel issues. Inevitably, you will have to deal with these issues. It is not a good idea to take the initiative in proclaiming a policy on them however. They are distractions from the main issue, which is the legitimacy of Israel. They were purposely chosen by the other side because they are harder for Israel advocates to defend.

7.4.1 Refugees

When the state of Israel was created in 1948, the Arab states and the Arabs of Palestine engaged in a war to destroy it. They lost the war. About 700,000 Palestinian Arabs fled of their own accord or were expelled. They became refugees. As a consequence of the conflict, about 800,000 Jews also fled or were expelled from Muslim and Arab countries and from areas like the Old City of Jerusalem that were conquered by the Arabs.

The plight of the Palestinian refugees was perpetuated by the Arab states. It was deliberately turned into a political issue to be used against the state of Israel. The Arab lobby managed to force the creation of the UNRWA organization that keeps the refugees in a miserable existence in camps. A yearly "Nakba" ceremony marks the creation of the state of Israel, as though Israel was responsible for the folly of the Palestinian and Arab leaders. A "just solution," at the expense of Israel, to the problem of the Palestinian Arab refugees, became a condition of the Arabs for making "peace" with Israel. The "just solution" proposed was "return" of the refugees, their descendants and non-Palestinian spouses to Israel, flooding Israel with hostile Palestinians intent on destroying the Jewish national home.

Sudeten Germans similarly tried to overthrow the Czech state in 1938 with the aid of Nazi Germany. When the Nazis lost the war, the Sudeten Germans were expelled and nobody was sorry. They were absorbed into post-war Germany. They got what they deserved for aiding war criminals and aggressors. That was the real "just solution."

The plight of the Jews from Arab and Muslim lands was not recognized by anyone and not highlighted by the state of Israel. Their "Nakba" has no name and no day to commemorate it. Their claims have not been made into a major issue in the peace process or a condition for Israel making peace with the Arabs, and those claims are not mentioned by most of the organizations who plead for the Arab Palestinian refugees. Many of the refugees were absorbed into Israel at the expense of the state. Others made new lives for themselves in the United States and France, without any help from the United Nations.

The chief difference between these Jewish refugees and the Arab Palestinian refugees is that the Jews were minding their own business when expelled. The Arab population of Palestine was enthusiastically

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[97]See http://www.zionism-israel.com/ezine/PSM_Palestine_Subversion_Movement.htm.

engaged in blockading the roads, cutting the water supply to Jerusalem, and harboring genocidal gangs of "irregular armies" led by Nazi sympathizers and collaborators like Fawzi al Kaukji and the Grand Mufti, Sheikh Hajj Amin al Husseini. Palestinian Arabs who fled stated that they did so because they refused to live under Jewish rule. The Palestinian war was a popular war that could not be carried out without the "faza" levee of villagers who came out to ambush convoys, and who knowingly harbored terrorists. It is difficult to characterize the Arab population of Palestine as 'innocent victims' in that war.

The supposedly powerful pro-Israel "lobby" has, until recently barely mentioned the gross injustice and insult perpetrated upon the Jewish refugees. In fact, the anti-Zionist lobby and anti-Israel propaganda machine have created myths about "Arab Jews" and cynically used the disaster of Jews from Arab lands for their own propaganda.

7.4.2 Occupation And Settlements

Occupation and settlements are controversial issues, even in Israel and in the Diaspora Zionist community. When used as anti-Israeli propaganda, these issues are very often intended to delegitimize Israel, rather than to put an end to the occupation of lands conquered in 1967.

In general, remember that you have no obligation to defend settlements or occupation in order to defend the legitimacy of Zionism. Settlements in the West Bank and Gaza are not a core tenet of Zionism. Anti-Israel groups and speakers choose these issues because they allow them to fight the battle on grounds favorable to them, rather than discussing, for example, the genocidal ideology of Hamas. It is probably unwise to get involved in "legality" disputes either for settlements or the "occupation." Legality is whatever the courts decide at any time, regardless of what different pro-Israel jurists and legal authorities. contend. In 1894 the U.S. Supreme court ruled that school segregation was legal. In 1954 it ruled that it is not legal.

At present the Hague International Court of Justice and most European countries insist that Israeli presence in the West Bank is an "occupation," and that settlements are "illegal."

7.4.2.1 Where Is The Occupation?

"Occupied" Palestinian territory can refer in some anti-Israel rhetoric, to any part of Israel, since the Hamas, for example, insists that Tel-Aviv, Ashdod, Sderot and Beersheba are "occupied" territory and that "ending the occupation" means ending the existence of the State of Israel. This was also the logic behind the attempted boycott of the films about Tel Aviv shown in the 2009 International film festival in Toronto that highlighted films about Tel Aviv.

On numerous occasions, various officials, supposedly representing the moderate stream in Palestinian ideology, have stated that their ultimate goal is the elimination of Israel.

According to Palestinian Media Watch, Fateh activist Kifah Radaydeh stated,

> "What exactly do we want? It has been said that we are negotiating for peace, but our goal has never been peace. Peace is a means; and the goal is Palestine. I do not negotiate in order to achieve peace. I negotiate for Palestine, in order to achieve a state."

Others have said it much more explicitly in the past. In April of 2006, one "Abu Ahmed," member and leader of the Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigades in northern Gaza was quoted as saying:

> "The base of our movement keeps dreaming of Tel Aviv, Haifa, Jaffa and Akko..." "There is no change in our position. Abbas recognizes Israel because of pressure that the Zionists and the Americans are exercising on him. We understand this is part of his obligations and political calculations."

More recently, in 2009, Central Committee member and PLO representative Abbas Zaki said,

> Let me tell you, when the ideology of Israel collapses, and we take, at least, Jerusalem, the Israeli ideology will collapse in its entirety, and we will begin to progress with our own ideology, Allah willing, and drive them out of all of Palestine.

At its recent convention, the Fateh produced an external document calling for a "two-state solution," though carefully insisting that one of those states would be Palestinian while Israel would not be recognized as the national home of the Jewish people. At the same time it produced an internal document that made it clear that it still envisions the ultimate destruction of Israel.

Article 22 of the document calls for:

> "... objection by force to all political solutions that are offered as an alternative to the extermination of the occupying Zionist entity in Palestine and all the projects that aim for the elimination of the Palestinian problem, or seek to internationalize it or put an outside custodian on its people from any possible party."

7.4.2.2 Claim: "Settlements are an obstacle to peace"

Settlement construction has been touted as an obstacle to peace. This is a dubious claim, since Israel has repeatedly shown willingness to evacuate settlements and has done so both in Sinai, in order to make peace with Egypt, and in Gaza to allow for disengagement. The Israeli-Arab conflict did not begin in 1967 and was not caused by the Occupation. The Fateh was founded in 1957 and the PLO was founded in 1964. Their stated aim was the destruction of Israel. Settlements and occupation are not the reason for the conflict.

Arab refusal to recognize the right of Israel to exist as a state of the Jewish people was, and remains, the fundamental reason for the conflict.

"Longest Occupation" - Anti-Israel advocates have frequently stated that the Israeli occupation is the "longest occupation in the world." This is a very dubious claim since China, after forcing Tibetans to sign a "treaty" under duress in 1949, has occupied Tibet and violated that treaty with impunity ever since. While many admit that the Chinese occupation of Tibet is unjust, nobody has called for the abolition of China on the grounds that it occupies Tibet. The United States, Great Britain, France and the USSR occupied Germany for many years, but nobody suggested that those countries should be eliminated because of their "occupation." Britain continues to occupy the Malvinas (Falkland) Islands, over the objections of Argentina, as well as Gibraltar. However, "End the occupation" and "End the

settlements" have been convenient battle cries and issues used by anti-Israel propagandists as well as those who are sincerely interested in peace.

7.4.2.3 Legal Status

Is it an occupation? Several distinguished jurists have argued that the West Bank is not occupied territory because the Convention on Occupation applies to territory that belonged to a different, recognized sovereign. Article 2 of the Fourth Geneva Convention states that

> In addition to the provisions which shall be implemented in peace-time, the present Convention shall apply to all cases of declared war or of any other armed conflict which may arise between <u>two or more of the High Contracting Parties</u>, *[emphasis added]* even if the state of war is not recognized by one of them. [98]

In Gaza and the West Bank there is no High Contracting Party other than Israel. Britain relinquished its mandate and its sovereignty. Jordan never held legally recognized sovereignty in the West Bank and relinquished its claims in favor of the Palestinians who are not a state and not a high contracting party. Egypt never claimed sovereignty over the Gaza strip. As for Jerusalem, it was to have been internationalized, but that was never implemented..

Article 3 of the same convention applies to non-international conflicts and states:

> The Parties to the conflict should further endeavour to bring into force, by means of special agreements, all or part of the other provisions of the present Convention.[99]

But there were never any such agreements. The Oslo accords did not forbid settlement activity, but de facto, Israel agreed not to establish new settlements.

While the argument that Israeli presence in the West Bank is not occupation (http://www.zionism-israel.com/ezine/occupation_zionism.htm) has been advanced cogently by Eugene Rostow, Julius Stone and others, we must recognize that those arguments are not accepted by most of the world. Israel advocates should be aware that opponents will be quick to point this out, and will note that the International Court of Justice considers the area, including Jerusalem, to be occupied, and that most European states consider the settlements to be "illegal" and the area to be under occupation.

Remember that even if the Israeli presence is "occupation" in international law, occupation in itself is not "illegal." The slogan "Illegal Israeli occupation" is nonsensical, since there is an international convention that covers the rules for occupation.

7.4.2.4 Are Settlements Illegal Under International Law?

Article 49 of the Fourth Geneva Convention states:

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[98] http://www.icrc.org/ihl.nsf/385ec082b509e76c41256739003e636d/6756482d86146898c125641e004aa3c5

[99] http://www.icrc.org/ihl.nsf/385ec082b509e76c41256739003e636d/6756482d86146898c125641e004aa3c5

> The Occupying Power shall not deport or transfer parts of its own civilian population into the territory it occupies.[100]

It has been argued that at the time the convention was written, this provision was meant to apply to mass transfers of population such as those done by Nazi Germany in World War II and those contemplated by Germany to populate its eastern conquests. It would be inapplicable to Israeli settlements, since settlers came of their own accord and were neither transferred nor deported. Moreover, the framers of the Fourth Geneva Convention probably did not envision a situation in which a country conquers land from which its own citizens were expelled and where they or their legal heirs may also have valid property rights, such as is the case in Gush Etzion, Atarot, Hebron and parts of East Jerusalem.

However, this position is not accepted in most of the world. The position of the United States is more ambiguous.

US officials have referred to settlements as "illegitimate" under the Carter administration. More recently, President Obama used ambiguous phrasing in his 2009 address to the United Nations General Assembly:

> " We continue to call on Palestinians to end incitement against Israel and we continue to emphasize that America does not accept the legitimacy of continued Israeli settlements..."[101]

That could refer to continued construction or expansion of settlements or continued existence of settlements.

In practice, interpretation of international law is not an august and pristine reflection of judicial morality and logic. Rather, it is a reflection of international power relations. International legal documents mean what the International Court of Justice (ICJ) in the Hague and the International Criminal Court (ICC) say they mean, and the ICJ has ruled that the territories, including Jerusalem, are occupied and implied that settlements are "illegal." Debate is useful because it can expose the logical weaknesses of this position. Debate, however, cannot change the court rulings. The law is always whatever the courts say the law is. Therefore, it is important not to get caught up too deeply in such discussions, but rather to point out that Israel is willing to give up land in return for reasonable peace terms and genuine willingness for peace that does not include demands for "right" of return, denial of Jewish rights in East Jerusalem or "elimination of the Zionist entity."

7.4.2.5 Zionist Positions

From the legal point of view, the Israeli Supreme Court has generally applied at least parts of the Fourth Geneva Convention. It ruled for example, that it is illegal to confiscate private land for settlements. On the other hand, the Israeli Supreme Court ruled that the security barrier built in the West Bank is legal, countering the ruling of the International Court of Justice that was based on the assumption that the territories are occupied.

Use of the term "occupation" ("kibbush") in the non-legal sense has become mainstream in Israel to refer to the land occupied after the Six Day War, after Prime Minister Sharon referred to the occupation

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[100] http://www.icrc.org/ihl.nsf/385ec082b509e76c41256739003e636d/6756482d86146898c125641e004aa3c5

[101] http://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0,7340,L-3781005,00.html

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in a speech. Both anti-Zionists and Zionist extremists have tried to make the spurious case that occupation and settlements are part and parcel of Zionism which has an "expansionist" ideology. Zionist ideology called for Jewish self-determination - a state with a Jewish majority that is a national home for the Jewish people. That clearly cannot be accomplished if there is an Arab majority or substantial Arab minority that is part of that state, and therefore the policy of all Israeli governments in recent years has favored ending the occupation and allowing formation of a Palestinian state, either immediately or eventually.

According to UN Security Council Resolution 242, peace is to be secured by withdrawal of Israel from territories conquered in the Six Day War. Arabs interpret this resolution to mean that Israel must withdraw from all such territories, including areas conquered by the Arab states and occupied illegally in 1948 such as East Jerusalem and a small part of the Golan Heights. However, this was not apparently the intent of the original resolution, as attested to by letters from British and American diplomats at the time.

Anti-Israel propaganda calling to "end the occupation" also insists, very often, as the Palestinian leadership does, that Israel has no national rights in Jerusalem.

Few Zionists advocate giving up all or almost all the West Bank territories conquered in the Six Day War. Most are willing to allow establishment of a Palestinian state in much of the West Bank and all of the Gaza Strip, provided that state will be live in peace with Israel. That is the policy of the Israeli government. However, until Palestinians are willing to recognize the existence of Israel as a Jewish state, give up the "right" of return for Palestinian refugees and recognize at least some Jewish rights in East Jerusalem, and until there are reasonable grounds for assuming that Palestinians can establish a state that will live in peace, the Israeli government and the majority of Israelis are unwilling to withdraw Israeli troops and "end the occupation."

7.4.2.6 Settlements As A Source Of Contention And Division

Regardless of whether you agree with current Israeli policy, want a complete and unconditional withdrawal from the West Bank and Jerusalem, or want to hold on to every millimeter of land, every Zionist advocate must recognize that this issue is exploited to divide Jewish and Zionist opinion.

Zionist advocacy needs to avoid the trap of identifying with the settlement issue or a particular stand on that issue. Settlement of this or that bit of real estate within Israel is not central to mainstream Zionist ideology and never was. Zionist leaders accepted the U.N. Partition plan of 1947 and Israel existed for 19 years within the 1949 armistice borders. Israel advocacy must not force Zionists and others to chose sides on this issue in principle. It must be welcoming to Zionists and supporters and potential supporters of all different opinions on the settlement issue. The position that best represents Zionist and Israeli policy may be "This is an issue that should be settled in negotiations between the government of Israel and its neighbors, as part of a process in which they will agree to live in peace with a Jewish state." This brings the discussion back to the core issue: Arab recognition of the Jewish right to self-determination. It avoids identifying with, or advocating for, a position that might easily change with the next Israeli government. It makes it clear that. within the Zionist community, both in general and for purposes of advocacy, different points of view on this issue should not be an obstacle to Zionist unity for common

action in support of basic consensus issues such as the legitimacy of Israel, boycott activities, and Israel's right to self-defense.

In particular, it is unacceptable to delegitimize Zionists who oppose the occupation, as long as they are clearly Zionists and do not use hateful slogans such as "apartheid Israel" or refer to Israelis as Nazis. Israel advocates would certainly consider it incendiary demonization if an anti-Israel activist insisted on lumping together Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and Yigal Amir, the assassin of Prime Minister Rabin, as "Zionists." It is equally obnoxious to put Zionists like authors Amos Oz or A. B. Yehoshua in the same class as declared anti-Zionists such as Ilan Pappe.

7.4.3 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[102] 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 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. [103] 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

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[102] http://www.zionism-israel.com/log/archives/00000479.html

[103] For example, see http://zionism-israel.com/vic/sderot1.htm

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7.5 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.

8 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," "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.**

Sometimes the "signals" are accidents. A lot of communist material was translated from Russian or German, and words that are relatively uncommon in English, but common in those languages, became common in English-language communist literature. Often however, the "signals" are slogans or deliberately chosen words that are meant to shape opinion.

8.1   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

Of course, these techniques are neutral - they work for either side, and equally well for truth and for fabrications. Slogans sum up an idea. It is legitimate to use slogans if they are true. Epithets provide information. Epithets are legitimate as well if they are applicable. "Reactionary Hezbollah" and "Genocidal Hamas" can be effective epithets and slogans.

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.

8.2   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 then 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.

Palestinians assert their claims to Jerusalem based on the "narrative" that Muhammad flew to Jerusalem on his horse and tied it up at the West Wall, which is therefore a holy place for Muslims, even though Jews claim it is a remnant of the temple retaining wall. One really has to be eager to believe in order to accept the narrative of Muhammad and his flying horse as the basis of a claim that is supposed to be valid in international law. Nonetheless, this flimsy claim is often viewed as a valid argument unless it is highlighted and exposed.

8.3 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...[104]

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.

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.

8.4   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 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,[105] 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

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[104] http://meretzusa.blogspot.com/2008/04/q-on-new-dovish-israel-lobby.html

[105] http://online.wsj.com/article/SB124890587995691589.html

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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."

Terrorist organizations are generally considered immune from the provisions of war crimes statutes, since they are not the army of any state and often do not wear uniforms. Therefore, they can target civilians intentionally, use hospitals and mosques as military bases and use ambulances to transport arms and fighters, all without being subject to prosecution as war criminals. When Israel kills civilians accidentally it is labeled a "war crime" by anti-Israel propagandists. When Arab terrorists kill Israeli civilians on purpose, it is labeled "resistance."

Israel is the primary target of "war crimes" prosecutions and condemnations by Amnesty International and other rights organization in the Middle East, though Israel goes out of its way to protect civilians and no "war crimes" allegations have ever been proven against Israel.

8.4.1 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. [106] This protocol is not ratified by Israel or the United States, in particular because it can be construed as 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

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[106] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Protocol_I

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.

8.4.2 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.[107]

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[107] electronicintifada.net/v2/article5247.shtml

8.5   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 abut 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**.

8.6   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).

A problem arises in the use of some terms. If you use the term "militant" to describe Hamas rocketeers and suicide bombers, you are perpetuating the distortions introduced to bias the language of the conflict against Israel. If you use the word "terrorist," you are labeling yourself as "pro-Zionist."

8.7   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. [108] 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 narrative 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. Cynically, it notes that no Jews ever approached the Temple Mount before 1967. Of course they did not, since Muslim guards kept them out before 1948, and between 1948 and 1967 access to Israeli Jews was forbidden under the Jordanian regime. 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.[109] In his book, *Once Upon a Country*,[110] Sari Nusseibeh managed to write extensively about returning to Jerusalem "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.

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[108] 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

[109] http://www.adl.org/Anti_semitism/arab/temple_denial.asp, http://www.aish.com/jw/me/48942991.html

[110] Nusseibeh, Sari, *Once Upon a Country*, Farrar, Strauss and Giroux, 2007.

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 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[111] ("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"[112] is not published, and Professors Walt and Mearsheimer's book about the "Israel Lobby"[113] 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 a 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

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[111] http://mideastweb.org/194.htm

[112] Carter, Jimmy, Palestine: *Peace Not Apartheid*, Simon & Schuster, 2006.

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

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.

Nakba - The "disaster" suffered by Palestinian Arabs who fled Palestine in 1948, used as a cultic symbol of the victimization myth. See Palestine Nakba,[114] 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 a 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 removed the squatters, it provoked an intensive campaign

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[114] http://www.zionism-israel.com/his/Palestine_Nakba.htm

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 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.

8.8 "A Land Without a People" What's In An Indefinite Article?

One of the more egregious falsifications by anti-Israel propagandists is a gross and cynical distortion of both language and history. Edward Said, Rashid Khalidi, John Pilger[115] and others have falsely claimed that "A land without a people for a people without a land"[116] was a popular slogan of the Jewish Zionist movement and that it meant that Zionists taught their adherents that there were no people living in Palestine. Illogically, the same people insist that the slogan was used by Zionists as a justification for "transferring" or expelling the Arabs who presumably did not exist. None of the claims is true. If Zionists thought there were no Arabs in Palestine, why would they plan to expel them? The phrase was popular among nineteenth century Christian Zionists and may have had some popularity in the Jewish Zionist movement in the 19th century.

A variant of the phrase was first used by the Christian Zionist Reverend Alexander Keith in 1843, who wrote that the Jews are "a people without a country; even as their own land, as subsequently to be shown, is in a great measure a country without a people."[117] It was taken up by Lord Shaftsbury, a decade later. He wrote that, "There is a country without a nation; and God now in his wisdom and mercy, directs us to a nation without a country."[118] The slogan was popular among Christian Zionists and others in England and the United States, who were anticipating the breakup of the Ottoman Empire.

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[115] http://www.counterpunch.org/pilger3.html

[116] http://www.zionism-israel.com/dic/Land_without_a_people_people_without_land.htm has a detailed discussion with extensive references. See also the article by Dianne Muir: http://www.meforum.org/1877/a-land-without-a-people-for-a-people-without

[117] Alexander Keith, The Land of Israel According to the Covenant with Abraham, with Isaac, and with Jacob (Edinburgh: William Whyte and Co., 1843

[118] Shaftsbury, quoted in Albert Hyamson, "British Projects for the Restoration of Jews to Palestine," American Jewish Historical Society Publications, 1918, no. 26, p. 140.

The first recorded use of the phrase by a prominent Jewish supporter of Zionism was that of Israel Zangwill in 1901[119]. The phrase was also used in an American Zionist Journal, the Maccabean in the same year[120], though there might have been earlier uses. By 1914, Chaim Weizmann was referring to it retrospectively and ironically,[121] in view of the bitter conflict that had evolved.

However, the main travesty committed by anti-Israel users is not distortion of history, but a transparent attempt to twist the English language. The mythmaking plays on a distortion of the English language. "A people" refers to a nation or ethnic group. "People" without the indefinite article means "humans." In his book The Question of Palestine[122], Said distorted the phrase, using this wording, "A land without people for a people without a land," as though "people' and "a people" mean the same thing in English. This was taken up by John Pilger[123] and Rashid Khalidi.[124] This claim is clearly contradicted by the everyday use of the phrase "a people" as opposed to the use of "people." "People say love is blind" makes sense. "A people say love is blind" is ungrammatical and makes no sense. Pilger, Said or Khalidi would not consider it correct English if they were not trying to distort the language to "prove" a political point. S. Ilan Troen and Jacob Lassner call Said's omission of the indefinite article "a," a "distortion" of the meaning.[125] Stephen Poole termed the omission of the article and the play on words "a subtle falsification." [126]

8.9   Resolution 242: What's In A Definite Article?

It is universally accepted throughout the Arab world that UN Security Council Resolution 242[127] requires that Israel withdraw from all territory conquered in the Six Day War.[128] But the resolution does not state that. The resolution states that it:

> Affirms that the fulfillment of Charter principles requires the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East which should include the application of both the following principles:

> Withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from territories occupied in the recent conflict;

> Termination of all claims or states of belligerency and respect for and acknowledgement of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every State in the area and their right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries free from threats or acts of force;

The definite article, "the" was removed from the draft resolution phrase calling for withdrawal from territories after extensive negotiation by Israel and the United States, in order to ensure that the

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[119] Israel Zangwill, "The Return to Palestine," New Liberal Review, Dec. 1901, p. 615.

[120] Raphael Medoff, American Zionist Leaders and the Palestinian Arabs, 1898-1948 (Ph.D. diss., Yeshiva University, 1991), p. 17.

[121] Paul Goodman, *Chaim Weizmann: A Tribute on His Seventieth Birthday* (London: V. Gollancz, 1945), p. 153.

[122] Edward Said, The Question of Palestine (New York: Times Books, 1979), p. 9.

[123] http://counterpunch.org/pilger3.html

[124] Rashid Khalidi, Palestinian Identity: The Construction of Modern National Consciousness (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), p. 101.

[125] Jacob Lassner, Ilan Troen, Jews and Muslims in the Arab World: Haunted by Pasts Real and Imagined, 2007, p. 303.

[126] Poole, Steven, Unspeak: How Words Become Weapons, How Weapons Become a Message, and How that Message becomes reality, 2007, Page 84.

[127] http://www.mideastweb.org/242.htm.

[128] http://zionism-israel.com/dic/6daywar.htm

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resolution does not refer to total withdrawal to the armistice lines of 1949. Moreover, the resolution does not state that withdrawal is a matter of "international legitimacy" or that Israel must withdraw, but rather that the peace "should include the application..." You would never know that from reading anti-Israel propaganda about Israeli "violations" of U.N. resolutions.

8.10 "Right of Return" Of Palestinian Refugees And International Law

One of the cardinal claims of the Palestinians concerns the "Right of Return" of Refugees under International Law. Examination of the legal issues shows that there is probably no such right, that the "refugees" are not considered refugees in international law, and that the intent of the claim is to destroy Israel as the state of the Jewish people, by creating an Arab majority. Therefore, this claim cannot be a condition for a "peace" treaty. Palestinian and Arab use of the claim in their "peace" proposals shows that their intent is to destroy Israel, rather than to make peace with Israel.

The "Right of Return" claim is based on a gross abuse of language. U.N. General Assembly Resolution 194[129] is generally offered as the basis of the claim that the right of the refugees is anchored in "international legitimacy." General Assembly resolutions are not binding in international law. Moreover, the use of the word "right" in connection with return was intentionally excluded from the resolution, which says only that refugees should be allowed to return or receive compensation.

Refugee status is not heritable. The children of refugees are not considered refugees anywhere except in the case of the Palestinians.

The Convention relating to the Status of Refugees of 1951[130] states:

> This Convention shall not apply to persons who are at present receiving from organs or agencies of the United Nations other than the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees protection or assistance.

That excludes Palestinian refugees who are receiving aid separately from the UNRWA. The same convention states:

> E. This Convention shall not apply to a person who is recognized by the competent authorities of the country in which he has taken residence as having the rights and obligations which are attached to the possession of the nationality of that country.

Palestinian refugees in Jordan have obtained Jordanian nationality. About 1.5 million such "refugees" are included in official U.N. tallies of Palestinian refugees. Numerous Palestinians living in the United States, Australia and EU countries have obtained citizenship of their countries, but claim "right of return." None of them would be eligible for refugee status under ordinary international law.

The convention does not mention a "right of return." It only mentions that refugees may not be forcibly returned to a country where they are liable to persecution.

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[129] http://www.mideastweb.org/194.htm.

[130] http://www.unhchr.ch/html/menu3/b/o_c_ref.htm

Palestinian supporters claim that the right of return is recognized in international human rights instruments, such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights or the 1966 Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. However the applicability of these provisions to Palestinian Arab refugees is in doubt.

According to Article 12(4) of the 1966 Covenant on Civil and Political Rights:

"No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of the right to enter his own country."[131]

To whom does the article apply? Stig Jagerskiold, an early interpreter, wrote:

"This right is intended to apply to individuals asserting an individual right. There was no intention here to address the claim of masses of people who have been displaced as a byproduct of war or by political transfers of territory or population, such as the relocation of ethnic Germans from eastern Europe during and after the Second World War, the flight of Palestinians from what became Israel, or the movement of Jews from the Arab countries. Whatever the merits of various "irredentist" claims, or those of masses of refugees who wish to return to the place where they originally lived, the Covenant does not deal with those issues and cannot be invoked to support the right to "return." These claims will require international political solutions on a large scale." [132]

Likewise, another expert has noted:

"There is no evidence that mass movements of groups such as refugees or displaced persons were intended to be included within the scope of article 12 of the Covenant by its drafters."[133]

8.10.1   Intent Of The Claim

The claim to "right of return" as a "just" solution of the Palestinian refugee problem must be viewed in the light of the intent of the claimants. This intent has been announced repeatedly and openly: To destroy Jewish self-determination and the state of Israel.

The post-war Egyptian Foreign Minister, Muhammad Salah al-Din, stated:

... in demanding the return of the Palestinian refugees, the Arabs mean their return as masters, not slaves; or to put it quite clearly – the intention is the extermination of Israel.[134]

Similarly, Egypt's President Nasser stated:

If the refugees return to Israel, Israel will cease to exist.[135]

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[131] http://www.ohchr.org/english/law/ccpr.htm

[132] Freedom of Movement, in The International Bill of Rights 166, at 180 (Louis Henkin ed., 1981)

[133] Horst Hannum, The Right to Leave and Return in International Law and Practice (1987) p.59

[134] Al-Misri, 11 October 1949, as quoted by N. Feinberg, p. 109

[135] Neue Zuercher Zeitung, September 1, 1960

A Web site associated with Fateh (no longer online) stated:

> To us, the refugees issue is the winning card which means the end of the Israeli state.[136]

To this end, Arab governments and Palestinian groups have acted in bad faith to prevent a solution to the problem. Ralph Galloway, formerly director of U.N. aid to the Palestinians in Jordan, stated:

> The Arab states do not want to solve the refugee problem. They want to keep it as an open sore, as an affront to the United Nations and as a weapon against Israel. Arab leaders don't give a damn whether the refugees live or die.[137]

While decrying the plight of the piteous refugees supposedly victimized by Israeli aggressors, Arab governments have caused the U.N. to pass resolutions that condemned Israeli attempts to resettle refugees in the Gaza Strip or the West Bank. Any effort by Israel to improve the living conditions of Palestinian refugees in the Gaza strip or to give them new homes outside the refugee camps, was met with U.N. resolutions with wording such as this:

> 1. Calls once more upon Israel to desist from removal and resettlement of Palestinian refugees in the Gaza Strip and from destruction of their shelters;

> 2. Requests the Secretary-General, after consulting with the Commissioner-General of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East, to report to the General Assembly by the opening of the thirty-fifth session on Israel's compliance with paragraph 1 above. [138]

The intent of pressing right of return claims is certainly to destroy the Jewish state, in violation of several provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and of international law, notably, the right of self-determination..

The right of self-determination, guaranteed in the U.N. Charter, is reiterated in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. Article I, Part I, opens the convention with the following declaration:

> 1. All peoples have the right of self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development.[139]

This is generally recognized as *Jus Cogens,* "Strong Law" that overrides other considerations.

8.11 Blue Washing: Anti-Semitic, Anti-Israel or Legitimate Criticism?

Opponents of Israel and anti-Semites try to soft sell their propaganda. Anti-Semites claim they are only against Zionism. anti-Zionists claim they are engaged in "legitimate criticism" of Israeli policy. This sort

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[136] http://www.fateh.net/e_public/refugees.htm

[137] Ralph Galloway, UNRWA, as quoted by Terence Prittie in The Palestinians: People, History, Politics, p 71.

[138] (UN A/RES/34/52(A-F) 23 November 1979 Source:
http://domino.un.org/UNISPAL.NSF/a06f2943c226015c85256c40005d359c/0c3dd3aff78323e5852560da006da567!OpenDocument

[139] Source: http://www.ohchr.org/english/law/ccpr.htm

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of spin is "blue washing." Blue washing is analogous to "Pink washing." "Pink washing" was invented to describe the actions of corporations who pretend to support the fight against breast cancer, while selling carcinogenic products.

Examples of Blue Washing abound. Professors Walt and Mearsheimer invented the term "Israel Lobby" as a benign substitute for "Jews" for Jews or "Jewish Money." They wrote a book[140] claiming that the "Israel lobby" was manipulating U.S. policy against the interests of the United States. Despite massive evidence to the contrary, they claimed for example, that Israel and the "Israel Lobby" were responsible for the Iraq war. In fact, support for the Iraq war was not higher among Jews than among the rest of the American populace, and Ariel Sharon had warned the U.S. not to attack Iraq. Now Professor Walt protests[141] vigorously that he is not anti-Semitic, and he is not responsible for the racist comments he attracts in his Web log.

The BDS (Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions) coalition is led by groups such as the Palestine Solidarity Movement, Muslim Students Union and Muslim Students Association. Most of the leaders and initiators are opposed to the existence of Israel. Some support the Hamas and Hezbollah. Their demonstrators scream "One State" "One State" at BDS demonstrations. Yet many continue to insist that the BDS movement is only about ending the occupation. After initiating a boycott of Israel, the Olympia Coop issued a disingenuous statement, along with its boycott decision, claiming it was not anti-Israel.[142] Supposedly, it was only supporting "human rights." But of course, the Olympia Coop does not boycott Iran for stoning women or hanging homosexuals, or Syria for jailing dissidents or China for its occupation of Tibet or its crushing suppression of dissidents. It holds Israel to a different standard.

After reiterating its support for Israel and the "unbreakable bond,"[143] the Obama administration quietly upgraded the Palestinian diplomatic representation in the United States with no *quid pro quo*.[144]

Rabbi Michael Lerner of Tikkun took a more subtle approach to Blue Washing. He initiated a "Round Table" on " Is BDS the Way to End the Occupation?" Of course, the framing of the issue is loaded. But Lerner was making doubly sure. He invited three committed boycott supporters and Jeremy Ben-Ami of J Street. Ben-Ami's opposition to the boycott is only tactical. Nobody mentioned that the boycott groups want to end Israel and Zionism. Nobody mentioned that the occupation did not initiate the Israeli-Arab conflict and that ending the 1967 occupation will not bring peace with the Arabs. It might bring peace with some Jews, but others will remain adamantly opposed to the existence of Israel.[145]

8.12 Abuse Of Language In The Media

Language is regularly abused by supposedly neutral and professional media. You need to be aware of it, understand how it shapes opinion, and point out when words are used to stack the deck unfairly. A man

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

[141] Walt, Stephen M., The problem with judging a blog by its commenters (updated), July 21, 2010
http://walt.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2010/07/21/the_problem_with_judging_a_blog_by_its_commenters

[142] Boycott Announcement, July 16, 2010 http://www.olympiafood.coop/20100716-BoardBoycottIsrael.pdf

[143] Isseroff, Ami, The false summer of Israel-U.S. Relations, July 15, 2010, http://www.zionism-israel.com/log/archives/00000749.html

[144] U.S. Upgrades Palestinian Mission, July 25, 2010, http://middle-east-analysis.blogspot.com/2010/07/us-upgrades-palestinian-mission.html

[145] Is BDS the way to end the occupation? Tikkun Magazine, July-August, 2010, http://www.tikkun.org/article.php/july2010bds

who plots to blow up Israelis is a "militant." When the same man, literally, comes to Britain and is involved in a bomb plot there, the same media may refer to him as a "terrorist."

Israeli foreign Minister Avigdor Lieberman advocated a loyalty test to screen out Arab citizens who are opposed to the existence of Israel. He was branded a racist. Supposedly respectable news services such as AFP refer to him as the "ultranationalist" Avigdor Lieberman, foreign minister in the "right-leaning government" of Benjamin Netanyahu. No such epithets are used for presumed paragons of moderation and progressive thought like Bashir Assad of Syria, Hassan Nasrallah of the Hezbollah or Khaled Meshal, head of the Hamas.

Abdullah, the Hashemite monarch of Jordan, is widely praised as a "moderate" and a man of peace. No Jews are allowed to get Jordanian citizenship. Jordan prohibits importation of Jewish religious articles or Hebrew printed matter. However, this is not considered "racist," "ultranationalist" or "right- leaning." Likewise, no Jews can become citizens in Saudi Arabia or practice their religion openly there, and neither can Christians. But Saudi Arabia is considered "moderate" rather than "racist" or "ultranationalist" or even "right-leaning." The height of absurdity is reserved, however, for "progressives" who support the Islamist regime of the Islamic Republic of Iran and the Hezbollah as "progressive" causes. Mahmoud Abbas and the Palestinian government are touted as moderate. They insist that all of East Jerusalem is Arab, and that any peace agreement must flood Israel with Palestinian "refugees" and destroy the Jewish state. They refuse to recognize the right of the Jewish people to self-determination. Israelis who analogously demand all of East Jerusalem or refuse to recognize the Palestinian right to a national state are labeled "right-wing extremists."

Another abuse of language by media is in the use of attribution. When quoting sources that have unfavorable things to say about Israel, the quotes are often presented as facts: U.N. finds Israel committed war crimes in Gaza is a typical way in which media presented the Goldstone report. On the other hand, when reporting Israel's side of the story, pro-Israel assertions are often put in quotes and used in a way that expresses skepticism about the veracity of the claims. For example, this is how the BBC Web site reported Israeli proof that the ship Francop carried arms from Iran destined for Hezbollah: Photos 'show Iran arms-ship link.' The claim is in quotes, giving the reader the impression that it is fallacious or unsupported. The BBC article, supposedly a news item, began [red emphasis added]:

> **Israel has released documents and photographs which it says prove that a shipment of weapons it seized in the Mediterranean originated from Iran.**
>
> The photographs show containers bearing the logos of Islamic Republic of Iran's Shipping Lines (IRISL). Israel said the containers held 500 tonnes of arms.
>
> Israel also released what it said was a customs form stamped by Iran's army.[146]

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[146] http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/8355568.stm

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9 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.

9.1 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. Be prepared. They will dish out fake or mutilated quotes much faster than you can ever hope to debunk them, and generate obscure "facts" that are often irrelevant even if true, and move them to the center of the dispute. 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.

9.1.1 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),[147] 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. These include churches, women's groups, labor unions, universities and media. In each case, the Palestinian activist is instructed to blend in with the group. PSM tells their people to go to churches and "act like Ned Flanders" (the Simpsons' "pious" animated cartoon character, meant to be a

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[147] http://www.zionism-israel.com/ezine/PSM_Palestine_Subversion_Movement.htm

caricature). The Palestine Solidarity Movement is a branch or affiliate of the "International Solidarity Movement." These groups did not spring up spontaneously. ISM is the result of the careful work of a tiny group of organizers whose offices are in a nondescript building in Beit Sahour, near the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem, home to an innocuous seeming "rapprochement" center. The creation of these groups was the result of a lot of difficult and imaginative work and probably some ingenious channeling of funds from various European funding groups and other sources that were intended for other purposes.

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.

Logic and objective self-interest play little role in choosing ideological stands, the choice often being based on group pressure and manipulation. Homosexuals are convinced to support regimes that hang and beat homosexuals. Women's groups lend their enthusiastic support to societies and regimes that repress women, practice child marriages, stone adulteresses, advocate wife beating and practice honor killing and Female Genital Mutilation. Churches can be made advocates on behalf of a society and a religion that burns churches and murders Christians.

The allegiance of media can be bought by buying financial interest in corporations or through pressure of advertising revenue. Suddenly and inexplicably, respectable Western mainstream media publish articles favoring and justifying the wearing of the Hijab or "explaining" that the Quran does not really prescribe wife beating. What would move *Time Magazine* or the *Washington Post* to plead for sequestration of women or false interpretations of the Qur'an?

Generous consultancy fees to academics as well as more public and spectacular endowments of "Middle East Studies Centers" help to ensure control of Academia. They may explain how known and self-confessed terrorists can be offered academic positions in Western universities, and why a university would host an organizational meeting of a group like PSM.

Subversion of NGOs, or NGOs and "think tanks" set up for the purpose of propaganda are another means of obtaining influence. Recently, the respectable Human Rights Watch NGO began soliciting funds from notorious human rights violator Saudi Arabia. The value of such an investment, buying a human rights NGO, is not lost on shrewd businessmen.

The power of the method is illustrated by the recent career of Charles Freeman, who headed the "Middle East Policy Council" (MEPC) one of many groups that is the Arab equivalent of the Zionist AIPAC. MEPC had gotten a million dollar grant from the Saudi royal family. Freeman was almost appointed to a key intelligence post in the United States government. Though there was a clear conflict of interest, his supporters protested bitterly that his appointment was foiled by the "Israel lobby" and "neo-cons."

9.2   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.

9.3   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.

9.3.1 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).

9.3.2 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. Neither claim is accepted by neutral observers and both can be shown to be incorrect by various criteria. Nothing much is usually gained for the cause of Israel by stating that there are no Palestinians. It can be pointed out that Palestinian peoplehood arose in modern times, and that many "Palestinian" heroes like Izzedin al Qassam were immigrants from surrounding countries. This point is as useful or useless as the Palestinian claim that the Jews are all European immigrants who came from abroad and "stole" "their" land.

"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.

During most of history Jews were exiled from the land, and when they ruled the land, they ruled only parts of it. Claims to be the agent or interpreter of God are usually looked upon with skepticism by neutral observers, especially if they have a different interpretation. Zionism is not a religious movement and does not claim the land for religious reasons. It never proposed to set up a religious state. Anti-Semites point out that according to the Old Testament, God also warned that he would exile the Jews from the land if they misbehaved. According to anti-Semitic versions of Christian doctrine, God's covenant was taken from the Jews and given to the Church. You do not want to get into that argument! The Hamas claim that Allah promised all the land to the Muslims. You probably don't want to get into an argument on the level of "my religion is better than your religion, my god's better than yours."

"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. Presumably the date mentioned is the supposed date when the Jews received the Torah according to the Old Testament, but there are different estimates of the actual dates of biblical events. There is no way to know if the event took place in 1312 or 1315 or 1500, even for those who believe the literal truth of the Old Testament. The Old Testament indicates that the Jews remained a collection of tribes without national leadership for many years after receiving the Torah, and when the Jewish state was formed as a kingdom, it quickly split into two nation-states.

"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.

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

In the 1980s, based on the book, "From Time Immemorial" by Joan Peters,[148] 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. Anti-Israel partisans like Justin McCarthy added Arabs and subtracted Jews arbitrarily to downgrade Jewish claims in Palestine. Over-enthusiastic Israel partisans like Joan Peters subtracted Arabs from the population figures in order to try to make the case that there were "no Arabs" in those areas prior to the arrival of the Zionists, and that most of the Arab population are recent immigrants. The manipulations were possible because of poor Ottoman census data and because the boundaries of "Palestine" as it was later to be did not correspond well to Ottoman administrative areas. When someone gives a figure for the "population of Palestine" before the British mandate, it is almost never clear what area precisely is included. In any case, neither conclusion is valid. The issues are discussed in detail in Population of Ottoman Palestine.[149]

Perhaps 10-20% of the Arab population of Palestine in 1948 were relatively recent immigrants or descendants of immigrants, but the assertion that there were no Arabs in Palestine or few Arabs prior to the arrival of the Zionists en masse is absurd. Israeli Jews whose families lived here in the nineteenth century and before would never accept this assertion, because it is common knowledge that the land was populated, if relatively sparsely, by Arabs.

Around the beginning of the 19th century the Ottoman empire fell into decline. An Egyptian ruler had taken over stewardship in Palestine, and the land suffered from poor administration, disorders and high taxes, along with the chaos and destruction of the Napoleonic invasions. The population of the area later called Palestine may have bottomed out at about 200,000 according to some estimates. A slow recovery began in the latter part of the 19th century. Travelers to Palestine like Mark Twain saw the land in one of its more desolate periods and reported what they saw. There is no doubt that most of Palestine was desolate, but this was true of large areas of the Ottoman empire in the Middle East. Cairo, Egypt had a population of 250,000 in 1800. Today it has over 16 million inhabitants.[150] The entire population of the Middle East underwent a huge increase in the twentieth century owing to the advent of modern medicine and relative economic prosperity. Population growth of Palestinian Arabs should be compared with the explosive growth in neighboring Egypt and Syria. However, the Ottoman government did assist in the immigration of groups of Muslims to Palestine from areas of the Ottoman empire that were being liberated or taken over by others. These included Circassians, Bosnians and North Africans.[151] The Ottoman government, at the behest of local Arabs, also took steps to limit Jewish immigration at the same time. By the end of the 19th century, there were approximately 414,000 Arabs in Ottoman

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

[149] http://mideastweb.org/palpop.htm

[150] http://www.macalester.edu/courses/GEOG61/rbrown/population.htm

[151] Handbook of Palestine, 1922, p 35 http://www.archive.org/stream/handbookofpalest00lukeuoft/handbookofpalest00lukeuoft_djvu.txt

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Palestine according to the Ottoman census, and about 198,00 in the future area of modern Israel.[152] During the British mandate, significant numbers of Arabs migrated into Palestine from Jordan and Egypt. Some of the migration was not "illegal" since there was no restriction on immigration from Jordan in the early period. Others came from the Houran in Syria, and were imported by the British in the 1930s to work on the port of Haifa. In all, Aryeh Avneri[153] estimates that about 110,000 Arab immigrants entered Palestine in this way. It is difficult to substantiate these claims. Arab rates of population increase between 1922 and 1948 are consistent with a natural increase of under 3%, which is very high, but typical of the Palestinian Arab population in conditions of modern medical care. It is certain however, that there was migration of Arabs within Palestine from areas that were not urbanized and not settled by Jews to areas that were, so that the Arab population of districts and cities like Haifa and Jerusalem and Jaffa grew substantially. Mandatory population figures have a big uncertainty built into them, because the Mandate census had estimated that there were 100,000 Bedouin in the Negev in 1922. By 1946, most of these Bedouin could not be found. It is not clear if that large number of Bedouin ever existed, if they had all settled in Palestine or whether they had all migrated away from Palestine.

Ottoman Palestine was certainly desolate and was not the thriving paradise depicted in some Palestinian Arab narratives. As noted, Nablus, one of the largest "cities" had a population of about 20,000, a primitive soap "industry" and an economy that resembled that of a European Medieval town. (Doumani, Beshara, Rediscovering Palestine, Merchants and peasants in Jabal Nablus 1700-1900, Univ Calif Press, 1995). About 1 in every 3 children died before age 1. The dearth of Jews in Palestine was in part explained by Muslim conversion efforts, periodic pogroms, poor conditions, and in later years, the active opposition of the Ottoman (and later British) authorities to Jewish immigration. A part of the Arab population increase under the British mandate was due to immigration from within Palestine to Jewish areas as well as immigration from neighboring countries, but there was a substantial Arab population in the area later called Palestine in the 19th century. The claim of the Jewish people to the land of Israel does not, in any case, rest on population statistics. It is best to avoid making exaggerated and unsubstantiated claims about "empty Palestine."

The phrase, "A land without a people for a people without a land," was not coined by Jewish Zionists, contrary to assertions of anti-Israel propagandists, and it did not mean that anyone thought there were no Arabs in Palestine. It meant that the Arabs living in the area called Palestine were not a separate people from the remainder of the Arab population in the Middle East, had no national consciousness, did not call themselves "Palestinians" (a designation that came into use after 1948) and did not begin to call the area "Palestine" until the end of the 19th century.

9.3.4 Don't Fall Into Obvious Traps

The worst aspect of pernicious talking points is that they are easily turned to the advantage of the other side. They aren't just "incorrect" - they score an "own goal." Palestinians and their supporters LOVE to hear you say, "There were no Arabs in the land in 1900," because it is not true and their side has gone to a lot of trouble to disprove it. Likewise, they have taken special pains to discredit and ridicule Golda Meir's unfortunate statement, "There are no Palestinians." Don't even think about using this sort of argument. For the same reason, don't imply or state that the Zionist claim to Israel is based on the Jewish religion, or on God's promise to Abraham. Zionism is a national movement. Israel is a nation state, not a

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[152] http://mideastweb.org/palpop.htm

[153] Avnery, Aryeh, The Claim of Dispossession, 1984

religious institution. Use historical and cultural arguments that are really Zionist ideology and are an acceptable basis for establishing the claims of a national movement. Otherwise, your anti-Israel opponent will be quick to point out that religions do not get their own states (with the possible exception of the Vatican).

Israel is a nation state, not a religious institution. Use historical and cultural arguments that are an acceptable basis for claims of a national movement. Otherwise, your anti-Israel opponent will be quick to point out that religions do not get their own states.

9.4   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.

9.5   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.

9.6   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.

9.6.1 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?

9.6.2 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.

9.6.3 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.

9.7   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.

9.8   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. 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.[154] 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."

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[154] See http://www.christianpost.com/article/20090901/egypt-muslim-council-building-of-churches-is-sin-against-god/index.html.

Israel advocates have failed to exploit many great opportunities. We almost never miss an opportunity to miss an opportunity. The annual appearances by Mahmoud Ahmadinejad at the U.N. should be the occasion for mass demonstrations that educate the public about Iranian human right violations and the links between Iran and the Hamas, as well as the threat posed by Iran to U.S. interests.

The boycott campaigns and "Israel Apartheid" week are opportunities to point out rights violations in Arab and Muslim countries, a well a the racist viewpoint and genocidal intent behind the o-called "one-state solution."

9.9   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 obscure boycott Israel initiative of the Amalgamated Brotherhood of Belly Lint Pickers suddenly put obscure boycott leaders in the limelight.

The offending initiatives might be the work of peripheral organizations with little or no previous following. The publicity calls attention to efforts that may be worse than mediocre. They can turn jerks and kooks into media heroes. They are interviewed and get a world audience. Once they were limited to a tiny audience of the faithful. Now they have a platform to tell the entire world about the Zionist conspiracy and the international finance Jews through syndicated journalism.

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. 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.[155]

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.

9.10 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.

9.11 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.

9.12 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. If 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?

9.13 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

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[155] Wegner, D. M. (1994), "Ironic Processes of Mental Control", *Psychological Review* **101** (1): 34–52

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.

9.14 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.

10 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.

10.1 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.

10.2 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.

10.2.1   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,

10.3 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.

10.3.1   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.

10.3.2   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.

10.3.3   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 terminology or term or are you trying to sell an issue?

Examples:

> **Communist Party of the USA** - It says what it is right on the label and attracts the convinced and sympathizers.
>
> **World front for peace and justice, Youth against War and Fascism, International anti-Fascist Solidarity Front, Workers Freedom Alliance** - These are typical names for Stalinist front groups, some real and some invented. They are intended to appeal to a wider audience that would be repelled by a "communist" label.
>
> **Electronic Intifada** - Attracts sympathizers and legitimizes a term that really stands for violence and terrorism.
>
> **Washington Report on Middle East Affairs** - There is nothing in the title of this publication to indicate that it deals exclusively with anti-Israel and anti-Zionist propaganda, as though the Israeli - Palestinian conflict is the only issue in the Middle East. Nor is its bias evident from the title. In its own way, it is every bit as vicious and biased as Electronic Intifada.
>
> **DrivetheZioNazisIntoTheSea** - The goal is in the name of this Yahoo group.
>
> **International Solidarity Movement** - An innocent sounding name for a group that has about the same goal as **DrivetheZioNazisIntoTheSea.**
>
> **Al-Awda** - "The Return" - basically, still the same goal as DrivetheZioNazisIntoTheSea. The Arabic name tells us that the group is focused on a particular audience.
>
> **http://www.jihadonline.bravepages.com/** - is there any doubt what they are about?
>
> **Alternative Information Center** - A group with an ideology that is not much different from **DrivetheZioNazisIntoTheSea,** but with no hint of that in their name.

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.

10.3.4   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.

10.4 Communicating

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

10.4.1   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.

Examples of books and movies that have undoubtedly affected perceptions of the Middle East, for better or worse:

O Jerusalem - This book by La Pierre and Collins, a factual dramatization, which told the story of Israel's war of Independence in Jerusalem, was so well done that it became a favorite of both Arabs and Zionists.

The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem - Benny Morris's 1987 book that provided the "facts" used by most anti-Zionists to discredit Israel. Morris eventually corrected most of the imbalance in later books and articles, though he never corrected many of the inaccuracies, mauled quotes and disputed assertions.

The Israel Lobby - A book by Walt and Mearsheimer, purportedly an "academic" study that is a systematic and groundless smear of Israel and its supporters.

Palestine Peace not Apartheid - Jimmy Carter's ill-informed screed that mainstreamed anti-Israel slogans and Palestinian "narratives" about the conflict.

"Rachel," "Seven Jewish Children" and **"Jenin, Jenin"** - These plays and films have spread a lot of fictions as if they were fact. Fortunately, they are not mass appeal films.

"Exodus," "Cast a Giant Shadow," "Schindler's List" and similar movies have brought Zionist and Jewish issues to a large popular audience. Dramatizations are effective in conveying and exciting emotional messages and changing points of view. Madonna's recent (2009) concert in Israel may have done more for Israel advocacy than dozens of speeches or reams of well-written advocacy materials.

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).

10.4.2   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 must consist of 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** - For billboards, advertisements and one page broad sheets you 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. But it's not all blood and gore. Pictures of Israeli female soldiers and of supermodels like Bar Raphaeli and Ethiopian Jews like Mehreta Baruch and Bedouin Israelis like Ismail Khaldi (former Deputy Consul of Israel in San Francisco) tell the world that Israelis are normal people forced to fight wars we don't like, and that Zionism is not racism.

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 Nijemegen in the Netherelands.

10.4.3   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,"[156] 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 county 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

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[156] 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

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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.

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 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, them please join the XXX. Our contact information: ....

10.4.4   Bad Content - A Case Study

Here is an example of bad content. It is deliberately chosen because it seems to be very popular with Israel advocates - but only with Israel advocates. It is adversarial, makes unsupportable assertions and will repel most neutral observers. Comments in red point out specific errors and assertions that outsiders may find to be obnoxious. They undermine the credibility of valid claims. The document is so very popular that it has been posted at various Web sites with different authors, and in perhaps slightly different versions. [157]

This exercise may be painful for you if you are a great enthusiast of the Zionist cause. Remember that the aim of advocacy is not to convince or satisfy you and your friends, but to bring our case to ever widening circles of people.

The document sets up straw men for the opposition to shoot down, and is a fairly good way to ruin the Zionist case by making extravagant and abrasive claims.

As an exercise, how could you get across most of the same or similar points with accurate information and an approach that would be accepted by a neutral audience?

Below is the document, exactly as it is shown on the Web, with comments in red.

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[157] It is posted at http://www.middleeastfacts.com/middle-east-facts.php anonymously and at http://www.netanyahu.org/crascourinre.html with the alleged author's name and elsewhere with various provenances.

A Crash Course in the Real Facts.

Mayer Gniwisch (2 Apr 2001)

http://www.netanyahu.org/crascourinre.html

1. Nationhood and Jerusalem Israel became a nation in 1312 B.C.E., two thousand years before the rise of Islam.
Comment - Islam is not a nation. It is a religion and community. Therefore the relevance of the assertion is not clear. It is comparing apples and oranges. There is no record that can determine when Israel became a nation and according to what definition. Certainly not with the accuracy claimed above. After forming a kingdom under David, the Jewish commonwealth soon split into two separate kingdoms. Despite the title ("Nationhood and Jerusalem"), no facts are given about Jerusalem, which was not completely conquered until the time of King David.

2. Arab refugees in Israel began identifying themselves as part of a Palestinian people in 1967, two decades after the establishment of the Modern State of Israel.
Comment -The Fatah movement was formed in 1957, before the Six-Day war. It spoke of the "Palestinian People." Moreover, as early as 1913 there was an Arabic journal with the name *Filasteen*.

3. Since the Jewish conquest in 1272 B.C.E. the Jews have had dominion over the land for one thousand years with a continuous presence in the land for the past 3,300 years.
Comment -Untrue. The date of the Jewish conquest is uncertain. It is certain that Jews did not have "dominion" over the land during the time of the Babylonian exile, and they lost dominion again in the conquest of Alexander. Limited Jewish sovereignty was restored as a protectorate under the Maccabees, but the entire period of Jewish dominion could not add up to a 1,000 years.

4. The only Arab dominion since the conquest in 635 C.E. lasted no more than 22 years.
Comment - Untrue Palestine was conquered by Umar in about 637. Thereafter it was ruled by various Arab dynasties continuously for several hundred years (not 22 years) until its conquest by the Seljuk Turks about 1080. After that, it was under Crusader or Ottoman Turkish dominion, with the exception of the Mongol invasions. [158]

5. For over 3,300 years, Jerusalem has been the Jewish capital. Jerusalem has never been the capital of any Arab or Muslim entity. Even when the Jordanians occupied Jerusalem, they never sought to make it their capital, and Arab leaders did not come to visit.
Comment - Inexact. Some of this could make a good point, but according to tradition, King David conquered Jerusalem and turned it into the capital about 1,000 BCE, and 3,300 years have not elapsed since then. Prior to that time the capital was in various places, when there was one. From 70 AD, Jerusalem was not the capital of any Jewish state, because there was no such state until 1948.

6. Jerusalem is mentioned over 700 times in Tanach, the Jewish Holy Scriptures. Jerusalem is not mentioned once in the Koran.
Comment - The statement is evidently intended to show the importance of Jerusalem to the Jewish people, but as it stands it is not clear what this proves - Jerusalem is not mentioned in the Quran, but the Quran does mention "the furthest mosque" - taken to be the mosque in Jerusalem. If someone writes a book that mentions Paris a thousand times, do they get to own Paris?

7. King David founded the city of Jerusalem. Mohammed never came to Jerusalem.
Comment - Muslims assert that Muhammad flew to Jerusalem on a magic horse. Parts of Jerusalem had been under Jewish rule since the days of Joshua, though it was not the capital of any Jewish state then. According to the Old Testament, the city was founded as Jebus by the Jebusites, not by King David.

8. Jews pray facing Jerusalem. Muslims pray with their backs toward Jerusalem.
Comment - This argument about religious ritual has no place in a document discussing national rights in

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[158] http://www.eretzyisroel.org/~jkatz/palestine.html

a city. The argument, out of context, looks like Jonathan Swift's satirical comment on wars between those who open eggs from the large end versus those who open eggs from the small end.

9. Arab and Jewish Refugees: In 1948 the Arab refugees were encouraged to leave Israel by Arab leaders promising to purge the land of Jews. Sixty-eight percent left without ever seeing an Israeli soldier.
Comment - Inexact. The first assertion seems to be false, since nobody can find much proof to back it up. The second assertion comes from a poll of refugees in Lebanon and is true for them.

10. The Jewish refugees were forced to flee from Arab lands due to Arab brutality, persecution and pogroms.
Comment - Partly True. Some Jews left some Arab and Muslim countries without notable coercion.

11. The number of Arab refugees who left Israel in 1948 is estimated to be around 630,000. The number of Jewish refugees from Arab lands is estimated to be the same.
Comment - Basically True. The accepted estimates of the number of Palestinian refugees and the number of Jewish refugees are larger.

12. Arab refugees were INTENTIONALLY not absorbed or integrated into the Arab lands to which they fled, despite the vast Arab territory. Out of the 100,000,000 refugees since World War II, theirs is the only refugee group in the world that has never been absorbed or integrated into their own peoples' lands. Jewish refugees were completely absorbed into Israel, a country no larger than the state of New Jersey.

Comment - Mostly true, but many Jewish refugees fled to the United States, France and other countries. Not all of them settled in Israel.

13. The Arab - Israeli Conflict; The Arabs are represented by eight separate nations, not including the Palestinians. There is only one Jewish nation. The Arab nations initiated all five wars and lost. Israel defended itself each time and won.
Comment - Inexact. The Arabs did not initiate the Sinai campaign. It is not clear that there were five wars (outdated information) and Arabs insist that they won the "October War." The importance of the fact that there are eight or more (or less?) Arab states is not made clear, as not all of them attacked Israel in every case.

14. The P.L.O.'s Charter still calls for the destruction of the State of Israel. Israel has given the Palestinians most of the West Bank land, autonomy under the Palestinian Authority, and has supplied them with weapons.
Comment - Inexact. The P.L.O charter was supposedly revised, though the status of the revisions is unclear. The rest is true.

15. Under Jordanian rule, Jewish holy sites were desecrated and the Jews were denied access to places of worship. Under Israeli rule, all Muslim and Christian sites have been preserved and made accessible to people of all faiths.
Comment -True

16. The U.N. Record on Israel and the Arabs of the 175 Security Council resolutions passed before 1990, 97 were directed against Israel.
Comment - What is the significance of the date cut-off? The basic facts are true. Remember though, that the other side uses U.N. bias as "proof" that Israel is an international pariah that doesn't obey U.N. This point may not be helpful.

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17. Of the 690 General Assembly resolutions voted on before 1990, 429 were directed against Israel.
Comment - Again, why the date cutoff? What happened after 1990? Did the U.N. reform?

18. The U.N was silent while 58 Jerusalem Synagogues were destroyed by the Jordanians.
Comment - True (number of synagogues given varies). The U.N. was also silent when the Jews of the old

city of Jerusalem were ethnically cleansed from there. The great story of injustice to Jews in Jerusalem is not told well, systematically or believably.

19. The U.N. was silent while the Jordanians systematically desecrated the ancient Jewish cemetery on the Mount of Olives.
Comment -True.

20. The U.N. was silent while the Jordanians enforced an apartheid-like policy of preventing Jews from visiting the Temple Mount and the Western Wall.
Comment -True.

These are incredible times. We have to ask what our role should be. What will we tell our grandchildren we did when there was a turning point in Jewish destiny, an opportunity to make a difference?
Comment - Most times are incredible. It's always better if you can tell people what we ought to do, rather than just wringing your hands in despair and mouthing clichés!.

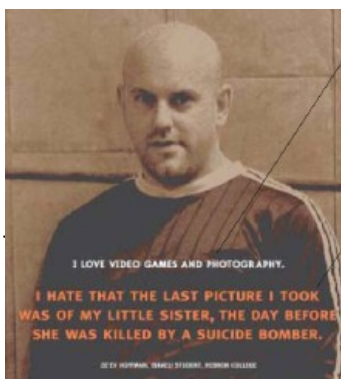## 10.5 Making The Audience Identify With Your Cause

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. If you are holding a rally, or a counter-rally, your audience does not consist primarily of the people already on your side (though you would certainly like to identify them in order to enlist them in your group), nor does it consist of the people who are committed to an anti-Israel position. It is the group in the middle. If you divide the public into "saints, sinners and salvageables" then it is the salvageable group that you want to reach.

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.[159]

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.

10.6 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.

ond Holocaust," http://dailyradar.com/beltwayblips/story/video-msa-student-says-she-wants-second-holocaust/; "Is A beats UC Irvine's MSU at Jew Hatred?" Jewliscious, May 11, 2010. http://www.jewlicious.com/2010/05/is-this-uc-irvines-msu-at-jew-hatred/

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.

10.6.1   Using Images

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

10.6.2   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. Get one message and one slogan across in a single page.

Or buy a Volkswagen.

I miss my lung, Bob.

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 getter the layout right.

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

10.6.3   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

10.6.4   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. It may not be so. A 1999 study by three Israeli academics[160] concluded that individuals who were allowed to "think out of the box" are less creative and develop fewer ideas. The scientists based the study on results of the One Show advertising awards,[161]. Winning work could be categorized into six templates; the 'Pictorial Analogy' template; the 'Extreme Situation' template; the 'Consequences' template; the 'Competition' template; the 'Interactive Experiment' template and the 'Dimensionality Alteration' template. They found that over 90% of adverts they looked at could be categorized into these templates. Of course, that may just mean that the contest judges all think about the same way, or that the study authors stretched a point to fit ads into categories.

10.6.5   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 readers' attention. If you don't grab them, 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.

10.6.6   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 not perfect though, and there is more than one way to get across the same message.

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[160] Goldenberg, J., Mazursky, D., & Solomon, S. 1999.
Creativity Templates: Towards Identifying the Fundamental Schemes of Quality Advertisements *Marketing Science*, 18, 3, 333-351.

[161] Awards for excellence given by One Club - http://www.oneclub.org/os/


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 - 2010[162]
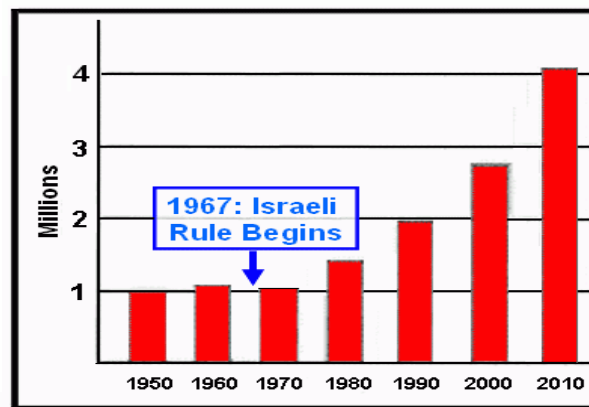
Does this look like genocide?

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]

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[162] *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

10.7 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: Media Advisories and Press Releases. 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 press release tells them about an event that did happen. Examples: "CUFI defeats Boycott Measure," "Muslims for Israel protest Ahmadinejad visit."

News releases should be written as good news stories, so that at least part of the release can be used as a ready-made story. The top of the release should have the name and content information of your organization, including the contact information for the media liaison and press availability.

Title - The title of the release should be all capital letters, and should summarize the information. For Web use, it is best if the title contains important keywords that explicitly define the subject of the article. That's a good idea for any article title anywhere.

Lede - The first paragraph is called the "lede." It should "frame" your event or information. The lede paragraph of the Media Advisory or Press Release should explain what event will be taking place or took place (demonstration, news conference etc.). It should tell when and where the event will or did occur, why the event is taking place and who is sponsoring it. If your upcoming event will provide good photo opportunities, be sure to mention it in the media advisory. The story should include a few good quotes that the press can use. Sometimes the quote is really the story. For example "ADL head says Israel boycotts are manifestations of anti-Semitism."

The end of the story should be indicated by ### or -30-. If there is more than a single page, the first page should have "more" written at the bottom. After the story, you can put any additional information that the press might need such as transportation to the event and availability for interviews. Don't announce the event unless you are sure it is going to take place. Reporters who appear at an event that didn't happen probably will not return for your next event.[163]

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

11 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. The sources of funds found by these various groups are sometimes very surprising and dismaying. For example, the New Israel Fund, a Jewish charity, gives grants to organizations that support boycotts of Israel.

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 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.

Below is a modest overview of grass roots activities. A more detailed guide is given in Appendix D.

11.1 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.

11.2 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.

11.3 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.

11.3.1   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.

11.4 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.

11.5 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.

11.6 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.

11.7 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.

11.8 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.

For an expanded guide to Grass Roots activism see "Appendix D: Grass Roots Activism - A Comprehensive Guide."

11.9 What If We Fail?

It's true that any effort can fail for any number of reasons. Grass roots efforts and political movements can continue for years with no visible result. The anti-Israel groups have built their case and their network slowly and methodically, beginning at least as far back as the 1975 U.N. "Zionism is Racism" resolution. Their grass roots agitation was largely ignored and misunderstood by Israel advocacy "experts," who relied on traditional channels of information and influence. But they persisted and were opportunistic in using events and funding sources to advance their cause.

If you aren't getting to a large audience, you need to review what you are doing and see how to improve. Sometimes the circumstances are not right and nothing you do will work. But if you are persistent, learn from mistakes and seize opportunities, you have a much better chance of success. The Zionist movement, after all, was founded on will and imagination and little else, and it has always succeeded at crucial movements, and in the most improbable circumstances, out of the conviction that there was no other choice.

12 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, but that doesn't mean attempts at cooperation should be abandoned. We must always extend the hand of friendship. Remember however, you aren't out to subvert someone else's cause or group, but they should not be allowed to exploit your group unfairly. Make sure you aren't going to find yourself and your members demonstrating for causes and disseminating messages that should not be part of your program.

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.

12.1 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.

12.2 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.

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

12.2.1   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. As an example, a group that is involved in public demonstrations can't expect much help from a local ADL group, since they don't involve themselves in that type of action. Of course, there are various degrees to which other groups can help you. 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.

12.3 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. Israel advocacy and Zionist groups often spend the lion's share of their energy and resources on fighting or intentionally ignoring each other. Web sites of organizations and individuals often refuse to link to or publicize those of other Zionist groups, even if the political difference between them is practically nil. We have to work to change this situation.

13 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.

13.1 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."[164]

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[164] 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)
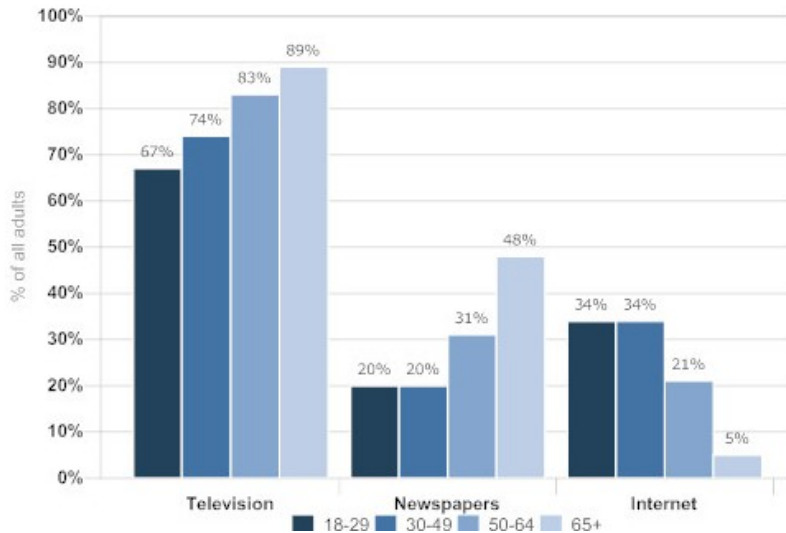
Therefore, we can assume that the Internet will become increasingly important in the future.

The Pew[165] 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.

Pew Internet
Pew Internet & American Life Project

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[165] 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 survey[166] 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 2008[167] :

> "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?

13.2 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.

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[166] http://www.pewinternet.org/Media-Mentions/2009/TV-viewers-falling-for-the-evil-plot.aspx

[167] http://463.blogs.com/the_463/2008/01/voters-to-prez.html

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An identifiably "Zionist" Web site does not exclusively attract Jews. Here are some recent statistics for visitor shares of different countries at Zionism-Israel.com:

30.3%	United States
14.5%	Pakistan
4.6%	India
4.5%	Egypt
4.0%	Algeria
3.5%	Israel

Since there is a much higher percentage of Internet users in the United States than in Pakistan, these are very interesting figures. We have a bigger share of the Pakistani and Egyptian Internet audience than of the American one. There are not many Jews in Pakistan, India, Egypt or Algeria. We are not "preaching to the convinced."

13.3 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 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." [168]

13.4 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.

If your Web site is like that and is not getting any visitors, see Appendix C for technical hints and contact us at zio-web-owner@yahoogroups.com for additional help.

13.5 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 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.

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[168] http://www.nytimes.com/2009/08/09/education/09textbook.html

13.6 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.

13.7 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.

13.8 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. Assume that any announcements you make to your list will be immediately available to the opposition. Just as with a Web page, do not put anything into a group email that you don't want someone in China or Africa, or your anti-Israel neighbor, to read. If you are doing a lot of event planning by email, you will want to create a separate discussion group for this purpose that is limited to those trusted individuals that you know personally or that have been vetted by a trusted person. It should be made very explicit that no emails in that group are to be forwarded to anyone outside the group without advance permission. Anyone who knowingly violates that rule is clearly not a trusted person.

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. The ones that state, "Forward this to everyone you know as soon as possible" are always hoaxes. The anonymous email hoax is often eventually published by someone and can get a "pedigree" in that way. If the message is not a hoax, it originally had an author. The author's name was stripped off by some unscrupulous person, probably to deny credit to a competing organization.

Try to give complete information - Do not send posts that contain only a link. It is unlikely that many people will click on that link. Articles should always be forwarded in full with the URL address of the original. For videos or other materials that cannot be sent by mail, provide a summary that tells people what they are going to see and why it is important for them to look at it.

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.

13.9 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.

13.10 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.[169] [170] Twitter was said to have played a key role in the Iranian protest against rigged elections.[171] 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:

> 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.[172]

"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.

13.11 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 Digg or Twitter, by commenting in blogs or talkbacks or even by voting in Web polls.

Talkbacks and polls - Social media and propagation of materials that others created is important. However, the value of activities like voting in polls or commenting on articles is often marginal or even nil. These activities give participants a feeling of involvement, and a sense that they are "doing something." However, nobody takes Internet polls seriously. They are just a gimmick for popularizing Web sites. It is useful to comment at large Web sites if the comment section is serious and people are likely to read what you write. Remember that comments are moderated. Try to be polite, constructive and to the point. If you spent a lot of time on your comment, save a copy for use elsewhere, as it may never get published.

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[169] Vascallero, Jessia, Why Email No Longer Rules…Wall Street Journal, December 12, 2009.

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

[171] Grossman, Lev, Iran Protests: Twitter, the Medium of the Movement, TIME Magazine, June 17, 2009

[172] Watta Guide, Fenton. . http://www.fenton.com/WATTA_GUIDE_FENTON.pdf

Generally, however, few people read talkbacks, many of which are generated by the same participants with predictable and "eccentric" views. Not long ago, the Israel Foreign Ministry demonstrated its ignorance of the Internet when it encouraged bloggers - creators of original content - to spend their time participating in polls and in talkbacks instead of continuing to create original articles.

Discussion groups - Arab-Jewish or other electronic dialogues and open fora can be valuable places to present and defend your opinions on the web. Closed private groups of like-minded people who spend their time complaining about the bad situation and the "leftists" in the Israeli government are wasting their efforts and talking to themselves.

14 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. Remember that the only way to "immunize" people against the infinite variety of lies and half-truths manufactured by the other side is to give them the same set of facts and the same orientation as you have. They need to have schema and an understanding of the history that will make them question the atrocity stories about Israel and the fairy tales about IDF killings of innocent Palestinians to rob their organs. This sort of understanding can only be built up only through proactive advocacy.

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.

14.1 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.

14.2 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.

The claim of Israel to Jerusalem has somehow been eroded by myths of flying horses tied to the Wailing Wall. Religious issues and a proliferation of empty and often non-constructive slogans have confused the claim and obscured our rights. Learn the facts and 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.

A quick summary of the facts to get you started is in the linked article about Jerusalem[173]. The United States, supposedly Israel's best ally, does not recognize any part of Jerusalem as part of Israel, in order to appease Arab sentiment.

14.3 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 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.

14.4 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

14.5 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 -

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[173] http://www.zionism-israel.com/his/Jerusalem_history.htm

www.zionism-israel.com/Israel_**Human_Rights**.htm

www.zionism-israel.com/Middle_East_**Human_Rights**.htm

14.6 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.

14.7 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

14.8 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.

14.9 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[174] 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

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[174] http://mideastweb.org/hamas.htm

impossible unless it changes both its ideology and tactics. Unless these do change, removing Hamas is the only hope for peace.

14.10 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.

14.11 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 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.

14.12 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.

14.13 Israel Buycotts

An Israel buycott[175] 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.[176]

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.

14.14 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. Israel is the oldest working democracy in the Middle East. Turkey and Iraq have joined us. Welcome! Israeli Arabs have more rights and more freedom than their neighbors in Jordan, Lebanon, Syria or Egypt. In fact, they have more rights than Arabs living anywhere else in the Middle East. They can vote in free elections and have recourse to fair courts and due process. Women and gay people are not subject to discrimination and repression. Like all Israeli citizens, Israeli Arabs enjoy free speech and freedom of the press. They have complete freedom of religious worship. Most Israeli Arabs are unwilling to live in any other country, including a Palestinian state, should one be formed. Palestinian Arabs rate Israeli democracy as the system they most admire. This point is recognized and emphasized even by those who have little sympathy for the Israeli occupation, like reformist Muslim Irshad Manji. [177]

14.15 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.

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[175] Zionism-Israel, Say no to BDS, Join the Israel Buycott, http://zionism-israel.com/ezine/Buycott-Israel.html

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

[177] Manji, Irshad, *The Trouble with Islam Today*, St. Martin's Griffin, N.Y. 2005 p. 87

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. There are more Arabs living in Jerusalem today under Israeli rule than have ever lived there in all of recorded history.

Appendix A: Anti-Israel Narratives

Following are samples of the anti-Israel narratives and rhetoric. Though the content is a bit different in each case, the goals are the same:

- Delegitimize Israel and the Jewish people.

- Establish Palestinian demands as "rights."

- Establish the pro-Arab worldview - Israel came into being by "ethnic cleansing" of Palestinians and is an illegitimate state.

- The Jewish people do not have a claim on the land, either because there is no such thing as the Jewish people or because the Jews of today are not the legitimate heirs of ancient Judaism.

- Zionism is variously depicted as a religious movement, or as based on a myth of strict descent of the Jews from Abraham.

- Zionism is colonialist and inherently evil, rather than being a legitimate national liberation movement.

- The 1948 war occurred through no fault whatever of the Arab states or the Palestinian Arabs, and was caused by the conspiracy of the Zionists to eliminate the Arabs of Palestine. The "Nakba," the 1948 defeat, explained as the fault of the Zionists, is a key event in the anti-Israel narrative.

A Respectable Journalist: Rami Khoury

Rami Khoury is a respectable journalist who writes for the Daily Star in Lebanon. He is considered a moderate. This article is typical of the most moderate and sophisticated version of the anti-Israel narrative. He will not admit outright that his goal is the destruction of the Jewish state, but falsifies history in order to discredit Zionism and make others reach this conclusion.

For an alternative Arab view of the events of 1948, see this article on the Palestinian Nakba.[178] Note that Khoury uses the formulation "Arab East Jerusalem," a Palestinian propaganda slogan meant to imply that there is a part of Jerusalem that is exclusively Arab.

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[178] http://www.zionism-israel.com/israel_news/2008/04/iraq-author-jews-have-historic-right-to.html

Take the colonialism out of Zionism[179]
By Rami G. Khouri
Daily Star staff
Wednesday, August 05, 2009

A juxtaposition of several simultaneous events this week indicates just how difficult it is going to be to achieve any meaningful progress in Arab-Israeli peace talks, when the heart of the conflict is land that Israelis and Palestinians both claim as their ancestral patrimony. The four events are the American drive to secure confidence-building measures from the Arabs in return for Israel's freezing of its settlements in occupied Arab lands; Israel's demand that Arabs recognize it as a "Jewish state"; the Israeli government's forcible eviction of Arab families from their homes in the Sheikh Jarrah district of Arab East Jerusalem; and the speaker of the Israeli Knesset, Reuven Rivlin, unconvincingly showing that he understands how the creation of Israel in 1948 was such a "trauma" for Palestinians, who were made homeless and forced into exile.

These events simultaneously highlight that ever since 1947-1948, the conflict has been and continues to be defined by Zionist-Jewish ethnic cleansing of Palestinian Arabs that generates sustained Arab resistance. It remains totally in the realm of fantasy to expect the Palestinians and the rest of the Arab world to formally recognize and live with Israel as a "Jewish state" when it evicts dozens of Palestinians from homes they own in East Jerusalem and replaces them with Jewish settlers. Such actions capture the single most sinister aspect of Zionism that Arabs have fought, mostly unsuccessfully, for the past 60 years or more.

Israelis now defy the United States along with the rest of the world in continuing their settlement and colonization of Arab lands occupied in 1967. The Obama administration will soon have to make the choice that has confronted all other recent American leaderships: Does it try to force Israel to comply with international law and United Nations resolutions and live according to rules that all countries are asked to honor? Or, does it succumb to Israeli obstinacy and the threats of the pro-Israel lobby in the US, and instead seek the easier route of demanding more concessions from the Arabs in order to placate Israel?

The problem with demanding more Arab concessions and "confidence-building" measures in order to make Israel feel secure enough to comply with the dictates of law and morality is that this approach has failed consistently. Israel continues to kill, imprison and expel Palestinians, and colonize their land. The Arabs, not surprisingly, no longer will accept to play the fool by making gestures to accept Israel while Israel keeps cleansing Jerusalem of its Arab inhabitants.

The most depressing aspect of all this, going back to the 1940s, is that Israelis refuse to acknowledge that what they see as the miracle of the birth of their state came at the expense of the indigenous population. About half the native Arab population of Palestine was exiled in 1947-1948, and they and their descendants now comprise the 4.5 million refugees who mostly reside in lands adjacent to their ancestral Palestine. Israel refuses to admit any role in the creation of the refugee issue, despite extensive documentation by Israeli, Arab and international historians of Israel's extensive ethnic cleansing campaigns that deliberately drove out or caused over 700,000 Palestinians to flee during the fighting.

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[179] dailystar.com.lb/article.asp?edition_id=1&categ_id=5&article_id=10496

Reuven Rivlin this week once again accentuated the Israeli collective blind spot when it comes to acknowledging major responsibility for the dismemberment and exile of the Palestinians. In remarks delivered Monday, according to a Haaretz newspaper account, he called for a fundamental change in relations between Jews and Arabs in Israel, urging the founding of a "true partnership" between the two sectors, based on mutual respect, absolute equality and the addressing of "the special needs and unique character of each of the sides."

In his speech, Rivlin was to say that "the establishment of Israel was accompanied by much pain and suffering and a real trauma for the Palestinians (in large part due to the shortsightedness of the Palestinian leadership). Many of Israel's Arabs, which see themselves as part of the Palestinian population, feel the pain of their brothers across the green line – a pain they feel the state of Israel is responsible for."

That's it? Rivlin admitted that the wholesale dismemberment, occupation and exile of Arab Palestine was something that "accompanied" the creation of Israel, but he would not admit that the two were causally linked. Native Americans also experienced some trauma when the American colonies were created and expanded into an independent country, but were these two independent and unrelated experiences?

If Israelis really want to coexist with the Arabs, they will have to summon the courage and honesty to admit how Zionism dismembered Arab Palestine in 1947-1948, and Jews everywhere must finally break the ugly bond between Zionism and colonialism.

In other words, if Israel wants to exist in the Middle East, it must acquiesce in the lie that Zionists started the war in 1948 and that the Arab crusade to destroy Israel was legitimate. Of course, once that is admitted, the basis is provided for destroying Israel.

A Radical Columbia Professor: Joseph Massad

Joseph Massad was given tenure at Columbia University, presumably because his views about the Jewish question coincide with those of the Columbia Middle East Studies establishment. In this article, he "explains" that peace can only be achieved by dismemberment of Israel and therefore all Israeli peace initiatives are counterfeit.

The basic themes of this article are that any manifestation of Jewish national rights is inherently racist, Israel is a racist state, and the only way to achieve "peace" is to dismember Israel as a Jewish state.

Israel's Right to Be Racist By: Joseph Massad[180]*

Posted on May 5, 2007

Israel's struggle for peace is a sincere one. In fact, Israel desires to live at peace not only with its neighbors, but also and especially with its own Palestinian population, and with Palestinians whose lands it military occupies by force. Israel's desire for peace is not only rhetorical but also substantive and deeply psychological. With few exceptions, prominent Zionist leaders since the inception of colonial Zionism have desired to establish peace with the Palestinians and other Arabs whose lands they slated for colonization and settlement. The only thing Israel has asked for, and continues to ask for in order to end the state of war with the Palestinians and its Arab neighbors, is that all recognize its right to be a racist state that discriminates by law against Palestinians and other Arabs and grants differential legal rights and privileges to its own Jewish citizens and to all other Jews anywhere. The resistance that the Palestinian people and other Arabs have launched against Israel's right to be a racist state is what continues to stand between Israel and the peace for which it has struggled and to which it has been committed for decades. Indeed, this resistance is nothing less than the "New anti-Semitism".

"After all, Israeli racism only manifests in its flag, its national anthem, and a bunch of laws that are necessary to safeguard Jewish privilege"

Israel is willing to do anything to convince Palestinians and other Arabs of why it needs and deserves to have the right to be racist. Even at the level of theory, and before it began to realise itself on the ground, the Zionist colonial project sought different means by which it could convince the people whose lands it wanted to steal and against whom it wanted to discriminate to accept as understandable its need to be racist. All it required was that the Palestinians "recognize its right to exist" as a racist state. Military methods were by no means the only persuasive tools available; there were others, including economic and cultural incentives. Zionism from the start offered some Palestinians financial benefits if they would accede to its demand that it should have the right to be racist. Indeed, the State of Israel still does. Many Palestinian officials in the Palestinian Authority and the Palestine Liberation Organization have been offered and have accepted numerous financial incentives to recognize this crucial Israeli need. Those among the Palestinians who regrettably continue to resist are being penalized for their intransigence by economic choking and starvation, supplemented by regular bombardment and raids, as well as international isolation. These persuasive methods, Israel hopes, will finally convince a recalcitrant population to recognize the dire need of Israel to be a racist state. After all, Israeli racism only manifests in its flag, its national anthem, and a bunch of laws that are necessary to safeguard Jewish privilege, including the Law of Return (1950), the Law of Absentee Property (1950), the Law of the State's Property (1951), the Law of Citizenship (1952), the Status Law (1952), the Israel Lands Administration Law (1960), the Construction and Building Law (1965), and the 2002 temporary law banning marriage between

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[180] http://www.palestineremembered.com/Articles/General/Story2289.html

Israelis and Palestinians of the occupied territories.

Let us start with why Israel and Zionism need to ensure that Israel remains a racist state by law and why it deserves to have that right. The rationale is primarily threefold and is based on the following claims.

1. Jews are always in danger out in the wide world; only in a state that privileges them racially and religiously can they be safe from gentile oppression and can prosper. If Israel removed its racist laws and symbols and became a non-racist democratic state, Jews would cease to be a majority and would be like Diaspora Jews, a minority in a non-Jewish state. These concerns are stated clearly by Israeli leaders individually and collectively. Shimon Peres, for example, the dove of official Israel, has been worried for some time about the Palestinian demographic "danger", as the Green Line, which separates Israel from the West Bank, is beginning to "disappear ... which may lead to the linking of the futures of West Bank Palestinians with Israeli Arabs". He hoped that the arrival of 100,000 Jews in Israel would postpone this demographic "danger" for 10 more years, as ultimately, he stressed, "demography will defeat geography".

2. In December 2000, the Institute of Policy and Strategy at the Herzliya Interdisciplinary Centre in Israel held its first of a projected series of annual conferences dealing with the strength and security of Israel, especially with regards to maintaining Jewish demographic majority. Israel's president and current and former prime ministers and cabinet ministers were all in attendance. One of the "Main Points" identified in the 52-page conference report is concern over the numbers needed to maintain Jewish demographic and political supremacy of Israel

3. Jews are carriers of Western civilization and constitute an Asian station defending both Western civilization and economic and political interests against Oriental terrorism and barbarism. If Israel transformed itself into a non-racist state, then its Arab population would undermine the commitment to Western civilization and its defense of the West's economic and political interests, and might perhaps transform Jews themselves into a Levantine barbaric population. Here is how Ben Gurion once put it: "We do not want Israelis to become Arabs. We are in duty bound to fight against the spirit of the Levant, which corrupts individuals and societies, and preserve the authentic Jewish values as they crystallized in the [European] Diaspora." Indeed Ben Gurion was clear on the Zionist role of defending these principles: "We are not Arabs, and others measure us by a different standard ... our instruments of war are different from those of the Arabs, and only our instruments can guarantee our victory." More recently, Israel's ambassador to Australia, Naftali Tamir, stressed that: "We are in Asia without the characteristics of Asians. We don't have yellow skin and slanted eyes. Asia is basically the yellow race. Australia and Israel are not -- we are basically the white race."

4. God has given this land to the Jews and told them to safeguard themselves against gentiles who hate them. To make Israel a non-Jewish state then would run the risk of challenging God Himself. This position is not only upheld by Jewish and Christian fundamentalists, but even by erstwhile secular Zionists (Jews and Christians alike). Ben Gurion himself understood, as does Bill Clinton and George W. Bush, that: "God promised it to us."

It is important to stress that this Zionist rationale is correct on all counts if one accepts the proposition of Jewish exceptionalism. Remember that Zionism and Israel are very careful not to generalize the principles that justify Israel's need to be racist but are rather vehement in upholding it as an exceptional principle. It is not that no other people has been oppressed historically, it is that Jews have been

oppressed more. It is not that no other people's cultural and physical existence has been threatened; it is that the Jews' cultural and physical existence is threatened more. This quantitative equation is key to why the world, and especially Palestinians, should recognize that Israel needs and deserves to have the right to be a racist state. If the Palestinians, or anyone else, reject this, then they must be committed to the annihilation of the Jewish people physically and culturally, not to mention that they would be standing against the Judeo-Christian God...

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Comment - The article is truncated to ensure we are not violating copyright, and because by now you should have read enough to have understood the underlying principles. The thesis of Massad, a supposedly respectable Columbia University professor, is racist. He misquotes Ben Gurion and attributes to Ben Gurion preposterous sentiments about "God" - considering that Ben Gurion was an agnostic socialist. He certainly never believed that "God" promised the land to the Jews or that that was the reason for Zionism. Ben Gurion warned against the "Levantine mentality" not against Jews becoming Arabs. Massad repeats anti-Semitic shibboleths about Jewish exceptionalism (also known as "exclusivism" "chosen people" etc.). The whole point of Zionism of course, was not that Jews are exceptional, but rather that Jews ought NOT to be exceptional. Jews should be a nation like any other nation, rather than dispersed in the Diaspora to atone for sins real or imagined. Whether or not Naftali Tamir or anyone else ever made a silly and racist statement like the one quoted above, the fact remains that nearly half of Israel's Jews are descendants of refugees from Arab countries, and Israeli Jews including black African Ehtiopians as well. Europe, for that matter, is becoming increasingly Arabized. The demographic problem exists in Israel only if and because Arabs define themselves as enemies of Jewish self-determination. The fear is that an Arab majority would turn Israel into just another Diaspora state in which Jews have no national rights.

It is amusing and appalling to see how Massad stands both Zionism and truth on their heads, and serves up a farrago of misquotes, racism and fiction as if they were established facts.

The Vulgar And Frank Version: A Palestinian Facebook Cause

This "cause" spells out the basics of the anti-Israel narrative: Arabs are Semites and therefore cannot be anti-Semitic (a deliberately ignorant misunderstanding of the word http://www.zionism-israel.com/dic/Anti-Semitism.htm">Anti-Semitism , which was coined by German anti-Semites to refer to Jew hate). The Jews of today are impostors who are not descendants of the ancient Jews and they have no claim on the land.

israel is not a country[181]

This cause does not attack any causes or individuals. Our goal is to reach a peaceful solution. It simply states that "Israel" is presently an Apartheid regime

Donations Go To: THE PALESTINE RIGHT TO RETURN COALITION A 501(c)(3) nonprofit

Positions:	1. strongly condemns racism and does not tolerate it.
	2. Criticism of illegitimate Apartheid Israel which has no right to exist, cannot be regarded as anti-Semitc
	3. advocate the peaceful transformation of Palestine into one single, united, peaceful, democratic state from the river to the sea.

Category: Public Advocacy

Description: strongly condemns racism and does not tolerate it. Criticism of illegitimate Apartheid-"Israel", which has no right to exist, cannot be regarded as anti-Semitic, even according to the international working definition of anti-Semitism that was accepted and adopted in 2005.
Furthermore, we would like to educate about the differences between "Zionism" "Judaism" and "Semitic People", which are three very distinct things that are not interchangeable. This is important because "Israelis" accuse people of anti-Semitism every time someone criticizes "Israel," not much unlike the way many call people that criticize Bush's policies anti-American.

The first one is easy; anyone can be a Zionist without being the other two. You can be a Muslim Arab and be Zionist. Many American Evangelical or born again Christians are Zionists.

Jewish but not Zionist: Many Jews, including Rabbis, and religious Jews oppose Zionism and believe that Judaism prohibits it (and it does. Zionism is a secular concept, and there are things in the Old Testament that forbid Zionism See http://jewsnotzionists.org . Many

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[181] http://apps.facebook.com/causes/101078

Jews protest against Zionism and "Israel" all the time, often in NY. Israel is very secular, with only about 5% of its population identifying themselves as religious. Orthodox Jews refuse to serve in the military of the Zionists because of their religious beliefs. Also see: http://www.jewsagainstzionism.com/ It also works the other way too; "Israel" barely tolerates Judaism and its actions go against the beliefs and teaching Judaism.

Jewish but not Semitic: Thirdly, a Semite is "a member of any of various ancient and modern peoples originating in southwestern Asia, including the Akkadians, Canaanites, Phoenicians, Hebrews, and Arabs" (dictionary.com). Arabs are Semites and are descendants of Abraham, unlike most Jews, who are mainly Europeans and Americans. So really, European Zionists who are racist towards Arabs are the ones who are "anti-Semitic". Lets not forget that Judaism began with Moses, not Abraham, and that Muslims and Christians also consider Abraham and Moses as their prophets. In fact, anyone can convert to Judaism and immediately become an "Israeli" citizen, under the law of "return". The utilization of the Star of David on the flag they use is also a tool so that Zionists could accuse opposition of being anti-Semitic. (Note: Zionists have a claimed a monopoly on "anti-semitism", alleging that the person who "coined" it intended it only for them. This is yet another Zionist myth. Anyone with an elementary education knows that adding the prefix "anti-" means "opposing" or "against", which is all this person did to the word "semitic")

80-90% of Jews today are "Ashkenazi " (which is the term for European Jews that are descendants of converts, unrelated to the original tribes of Israel, and speak Yiddish, not Hebrew). 80-90% of all Jews in the world today are not even Semites! In fact, in "Israel" Sefardic and Mizrachi Jews (Arab, Iranian, north African, or middle eastern Jews, for examples), the real Jews of the Torah, are discriminated against heavily in many aspects! Semitic Jews are aware of this fact, and that's why they don't go to "Israel" (or flee from "Israel") and choose to live in the United States OR EVEN STAY IN OTHER PARTS OF THE MIDDLE EAST over living in the Secular, non-Semitic, European-occupied territory!! Many of the Semitic Jews have been in Palestine for thousands of years, never even left Palestine and resisted & opposed the occupation of the European Zionists. Criticism of "Israel" cannot be regarded as anti-Semitic.
Criticizing "Israel" does not make a person an anti-Semite. This is political propaganda, some of which we have seen the Bush Administration use against Americans that criticize it. If you criticize the war or the administration they call you unpatriotic, un-American, a traitor, a terrorist/terrorist-sympathizer, etc...

# Appendix B: The Basic Zionist Narrative - What really happened

Know the fundamentals of the "Zionist Narrative," that is, the actual empirical facts about the history of Zionism, of the land, and of the conflict with the Arabs of Palestine, and know the evidence that proves it is so. This little summary is not intended to make you an expert, but only to highlight salient points. Consult and compare multiple sources in books and journal articles and on the Web. ALWAYS check information you find in pro-Zionist or anti-Zionist sources against neutral accounts. You will, inevitably, use Wikipedia, but be aware that it is biased against Israel and Zionism owing to tendentious editing. Be aware that some tempting pro-Zionist sources like Joan Peters are very unreliable and should not be used to back your claims without corroboration.

You can find a carefully balanced introductory account of the Israeli Palestinian conflict here: History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict.[182] Here is a reasonably complete history of Zionism,[183] and a Zionism and Israel FAQ [184] about different issues such as "Zionism is Racism," "Apartheid Israel" accusations and "Right of Return" of Palestinian Arab refugees. Read Benny Morris, "Righteous Victims," and "1948" to get a fairly reasonable detailed account of the history of the Israeli-Arab conflict.

Our 'Narrative' - The Truth As We Know It

Basic Statistics - The anti-Zionist and anti-Semitic narratives of the Jewish threat and Zionist expansionism are believable only by those who think that Jews constitute a substantial minority in the world and that Israel is a largish country, perhaps the size of France. Remember to tell your audiences that Jews in the United States constitute less than 2% of the population. Jews don't control the United States or the world. Around the world, there are about 15 million Jews, 1.5 billion Muslims and a total of 6 billion people. A map of Israel in the Middle East is illuminating.

The map shows Israel in the Middle East and North Africa. The Arab and Muslim states that have formally peaceful relations with Israel are shown in a darker green color. Israel is that little blue smudge that you can just make out. It has an arrow pointing to it.

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[182] http://mideastweb.org/briefhistory.htm
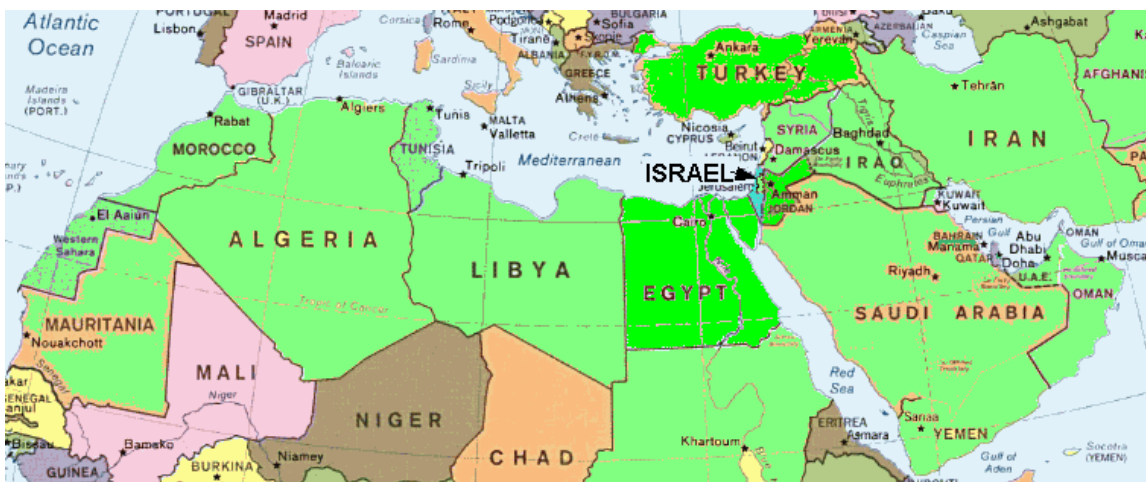
[183] http://zionism-israel.com/zionism_history.htm

[184] http://zionism-israel.com/issues

That's the "Zionist threat" in maps and figures. Pretty scary, those Zionists.

Antiquity of Jewish connection with the land - Jewish tradition and culture have always emphasized the centrality of the land in our communal life. Archeological evidence leaves little doubt about the antiquity of Jewish sovereignty in Palestine. While the record is very far from complete, the inscription of Hezekiah's tunnel is fairly strong proof of Jewish sovereignty in Jerusalem as early as 700 B.C.E and evidence of the historical basis of Old Testament accounts of the Jewish kingdom in this period. Seals from the First Temple period and mentions of "Ben David" in other archeological finds also tend to support Jewish traditions. The Menorah and other spoils depicted on the arch of Titus in Rome, as well as the inscription, "Judea Capta," on the arch and on Roman coins have provided proof and sad reminders of the usurpation of Jewish sovereignty over Jerusalem and the land.

Continuous connection with the land - Following the fall of Jerusalem and during the subsequent exile, Jewish national feeling was packaged into the Jewish religion, which became the means of sustaining a dormant Jewish national life and culture in the Diaspora, including transmission of language and customs, and constant evocation of Jerusalem and the land of Zion. Jews remained in the land until they were forced out by the Crusaders, and they began returning to the land of Israel in small numbers when it was possible to do so. Poets and popular leaders throughout the 2,000 years of Jewish exile continued to express the Jewish connection with Jerusalem and the land of Israel.

With the creation of modern European states in the 18th and 19th century, the Jews were "emancipated." However, in most cases, the emancipation was conditional on abandonment of Jewish national aspirations. At this time some groups of Jews evolved the strange doctrine that the Jews were not a nation, but simply a religious group. They thought that would allow them to participate as equals in modern European society. This idea was to become the foundation of Jewish anti-Zionism.

The political Zionist movement that sprang up at the end of the 19th century evolved naturally from the long Jewish traditional connection with the land of Israel and against the background of rising Jewish nationalism. It was equally an Ashkenazi (Northern European Jewish) and Sephardi (Spanish Jewish) doctrine and was accepted as a matter of course by most Jews of Arab countries as well.

Universal Recognition of Jewish connection to the land - Until Palestinian propaganda began a campaign to confuse the issue, both the Muslim and Christian world accepted the connection between the Jewish people and the land of Israel in antiquity as a fact, and most people, including Muslims, took it for granted that the land belonged by right to the Jewish people.

The mayor of Jerusalem, Zia al Khalidi, wrote to Tsadok Khan, chief rabbi of France:

> Who can contest the rights of the Jews to Palestine? God knows, historically it is indeed your country.

Khalidi nonetheless wanted the Jews to "leave Palestine in peace," but the Emir Feisal recognized the Jewish right to a national home in Palestine. Feisal wrote to Chief Justice Frankfurter:

> We are working together for a reformed and revived Near East, and our two movements complete one another. The Jewish movement is national and not imperialist. Our movement is national and not imperialist, and there is room in Syria for us both. Indeed I think that neither can be a real success without the other.

The Arab-Jewish Conflict

The Zionist movement was aware of Arab nationalism, but given the attitude of Feisal and some others, it was hoped that the antagonism of the Arabs could be assuaged. The Zionists planned to buy the land of Palestine, not to expel the Arab inhabitants by force. In the 1920s-1940s virulent strains of Arab and Muslim nationalism arose and were financed and encouraged by the Nazis and Italian Fascists. The Muslim Brotherhood of Hasan el Banna was openly allied with the Nazis, as was Grand Mufti, Hajj Amin al Hussayni of Palestine.

The land that later came to be known as Palestine under the British mandate had been a vast wasteland. Travelers' accounts all tell the same stories of desolation, ruin, disease and poverty. Zionist investment was to turn the land into a habitable and desirable place once again, for the first time since the fall of Jerusalem.

In 1922, the League of Nations British mandate for Palestine appeared to have fulfilled the Zionist quest for a national home for the Jewish people in Palestine, secured according to the law of nations. League of Nations decisions were international law. Notwithstanding the fact that Britain tore away about 78% of the land of the mandate to create an Arab state in Transjordan, the Zionist movement was happy to develop the remainder of the land as a Jewish national home, or so it was thought. Based on this mandate, the Zionist movement poured millions of dollars into the development of Palestine each year, transforming it from the most backward corner of the former Ottoman Empire to the country with the highest standard of living in the Levant.

In mandatory Palestine, Zionist investment developed the land, making possible unprecedented prosperity for both Jews and Arabs. Rather than "expelling" or "dispossessing" Arabs, Zionist labor and Zionist money made it possible to support more Arabs in the land than had ever lived there before. The British mandate, except for defense expenditures, had to be economically self-sufficient. Owing to Arab pressure, the British reneged on their mandate and closed Palestine to Jewish immigration. The League of Nations protested in vain against the illegal British decision.

Though the U.N. Partition decision of 1947 tore away half of the remaining area of Palestine and awarded it to an Arab state, the Zionist movement greeted the partition plan with jubilation. The Arab states and the Palestinian Arabs, led by the escaped Nazi war criminal, the Grand Mufti Hajj Amin El Husayni, launched a war of extermination against Israel. Wherever the Arab armies triumphed, Jews were massacred or expelled. Not one Jew remained in any territory conquered by the Arabs: in Jerusalem, in Kfar Etzion, in Hebron, in the Gaza Strip. However, the Arabs lost the war.

The refugee issue - Palestinian Arabs fled in large numbers and became refugees. Many were indeed expelled by the Israeli forces, for they were willing participants in blockading the roads that connected remote Jewish towns to the center and attacks on Jewish villages. At the same time, Arab states such as Iraq forced all their Jews to leave. The Jews were all absorbed in Israel and elsewhere. The Arab Palestinian refugees were isolated in camps, and a special U.N. agency, the UNRWA, was created in order to perpetuate the misery of the refugees as a tool to be used against Israel.

For 19 years, Transjordan illegally occupied the West Bank and the city of Jerusalem. It transferred some of its own citizens there and it refused admission to Jews wishing to visit holy places, in violation of the armistice agreements of 1949. No Arab state recognized Israel and all Arab states declared their

intention to destroy the "Zionist entity" repeatedly. If the Arab states or the Palestinians had wanted to set up a Palestinian state in the West Bank, the way was open, but they did not do so.

The history of the period prior to 1967 should be studied carefully by those who insist that the Israeli "occupation" that began in 1967 is the core of the conflict.

In the spring of 1967, Gamal Abdel Nasser, dictator of Egypt, closed the straits of Tiran to Israeli shipping and thereby deliberately created a casus belli for Israel. He was apparently confident that Israel would respond to the threat, and planned on defeating the Jewish state. He said so. According to a different version, he hoped to avert a war but gain humiliating concessions from Israel. However, in the Six Day War, which was joined by Jordan and Syria, the Arab allies were defeated. Israel conquered the West Bank of the Jordan, Gaza, Sinai and the Golan. The Sinai peninsula was returned to Egypt when Israel and Egypt made peace in 1981.

A diplomatic process was initiated with the Palestine Liberation Organization in the 1990s. That organization had been recognized by Arab countries and the U.N. as the "only legitimate representative of the Palestinian people." It had been sworn to eliminate Israel. However, large numbers of Palestinians and anti-Israel advocates began insisting that the PLO does not represent the Palestinian people when it seemed that the PLO would make a deal with Israel and settle for less than destruction of the Jewish state.

The Oslo process was sabotaged by several campaigns of terror attacks and suicide bombings, that erupted whenever it seemed the Palestinians might be close to an agreement with Israel. The so-called "Second Intifadah" began in September of 2000 and continued despite, or because of an offer of a Palestinian state which was described as fair by United States President Clinton. Saudi Prince Bandar ibn Sultan stated that rejection of the offer would be criminal, but then Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat rejected it.

Palestinian leadership continues to make impossible conditions for Israeli-Palestinian peace, including Israeli acceptance of millions of Palestinian refugees, and denial of any Jewish national rights in Jerusalem. After Israel unilaterally withdrew from the Gaza strip, Palestinians held elections and the genocidal maximalist Hamas group won a majority of seats in the Palestinian Legislative Council. A coup in Gaza ousted the Fatah from a power sharing arrangement, and left Gaza in the control of a bandit regime that rained down rockets on Israeli kibbutzim and towns within the green line. This has made many Israelis reluctant to support further withdrawals in the West Bank.

Appendix C: In Depth Guide to Web Activism

This guide explains the details of using the Web in advocacy including creating Web sites and Web logs and popularizing them. Web sites and Web logs are important grass roots tools that cannot be ignored by advocates and advocacy groups. In the past, Web sites were ancillary "addresses" of organizations that did other things, but there is an increasing need for organizations and volunteers that create Web sites whose mission is propagation of information through the Web site. The Web site has become one of the major tools of advocacy.

On the anti-Israel side, we can count Electronic Intifada and Palestine Remembered as such Web sites. On the pro-Israel side there are large Web sites like Jewish Virtual Library and Front Page Magazine and smaller sites like Zionism-Israel.com and palestinefacts.org that may provide basic information as well as topical articles. There are also Israel government Web sites like the Web site of the Israel foreign office and that of the IDF, which provide "official" versions of the information. Organization Web sites increasingly may have basic information and articles as well, like the Web site of the "Stand With Us" organization.

Web logs are appropriate for topical and opinion articles. The largest and best Web logs may do original research such as debunking of media canards. All Web logs serve a positive function if they link to favorable articles and materials, and thus increase the visibility of those materials on the Web. Large Web sites, including organizational sites, may have associated Web logs as well.

For background and statistics on the increasing importance of the Web in activism, see the discussion in Using The Web, Chapter 13.

Organizational Web Sites

A Web site is not a "one time affair" that is set up by a technician or Web design firm and forgotten. It is a living and growing center that should be updated regularly. It must be simple for non-technical members to update your Web site, add new content and 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, and if need be, it can be the means to provide easy access for non-technical people.

Be sure to exchange links with just about any group or person who offers to do so - that is the best way to popularize your Web site. Links are important not for the traffic they bring from other Web sites, but because they improve the visibility of the Web site in search engines. Search engines are the primary source of visitors to Web sites.

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 views 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 - get active and be effective on the Web in once 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. That 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 help by exchanging links with others and popularizing pro-Zionist Web sites.

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.

Content Of A Web site

The Web audience is free to do as it pleases. Give the people what they want, and they will beat a path to your door. The number of visitors to your site gets depends on the content of your site. If it is all articles duplicated from other journals, you won't get many visitors, because they will tend to go to the source. Search engines will list the original source first. If you include maps, documents, history and definitions that people can use, they will come to your site, and after they find what they want they may stay to see what you want them to see.

Basic information versus topical articles - Authoritative, reliable and balanced articles about basics of Middle East history and geography, the fundamentals of Zionism and related issues including maps and statistics should be the staples of good Web sites. These articles and materials, properly updated, may get thousands of readers each week for many years, as opposed to a topical article that may be read by 10,000 people before it is more or less obsolete. This difference between topical and basic articles is especially important for smaller Web sites. A CNN news article or an entry by an alpha blogger may get hundreds of thousands of viewers in a day, but an article in your little Web log will not unless you are really lucky. Save your effort for well-constructed and researched information articles and issues pages. A page that presents an issue such as human rights in the Arab and Muslim world or Holocaust denial has just as much "punch" as a topical article, but it will not go out of style very soon. It will continue to get hundreds or even thousands of visitors every week for many years. A site like Jewish Virtual Library that focuses on "Boring" history gets about as many visitors as "hot" news sites, but has far fewer pages. The factual articles do not go out of style.

Authority and reliability - A Web site that provides balanced and correct information is usually going to attract more visitors and convince more people than one that is obviously biased. Your site should have a "fairness and accuracy" policy explaining how you gather information and research your assertions, and announcing that your are prepared to correct inaccuracies. You should be prepared to back up your claims with actions. Even opinion articles should not include erroneous assertions of fact. Check dubious assertions to the best of your ability, though such care is NOT always practiced in

professional journalism and accuracy of opinion articles is not always required by standards committees and review boards. Try to provide reasonable documentation for sources of information and always document the sources of quotes.

Don't plagiarize - Don't take material from other Web sites without permission and without credit. You are not helping the Zionist cause that way. You are sabotaging the cause and serving your ego. Duplicated content is discounted in search engines. Web sites that consistently have their content stolen by others may lose audience. They may be forced to close down. Never post any material without giving the source, which you can usually verify on the Web, and if possible get permission.

Format and Presentation - Rules for presentation of Web pages are the same as rules for presentation of all materials. Make the page attractive and attention getting. Use illustrations when possible and try to organize issue pages around a single theme and slogan.

Technical Aspects

If nobody sees your Web materials, it doesn't matter how good they are. Web page visitors come primarily from Web search engines, though social media referrals may become more important in the future. The Google search engine is the largest source of online traffic for most successful Web sites, except perhaps the largest and those that invest heavily in advertising. A major effort has to be made to optimize your pages for search engines.

A small amount of thought and effort directed at optimization of your Web site can double or triple your audience. The main factors are content and links:

1- **Keywords** - People search for material using keywords. Some keywords, like "sex" or "maps" are much more popular in searches than are others. Search engines find the material in your pages and classify it according to the text and file names. If your page has a map, but doesn't include the keyword "map" anywhere, the search engine has no way of knowing that the page is about maps. Search engines also look at file names and domain names. If URL address is http://israel.com/israel.htm the search engine will assume that the document is about Israel and will list that document for searches for keyword "Israel." If your Web site domain name was chosen with no thought to keywords, and the site was created by poorly designed automated software (Content Management System - CMS) then the page may have a URL like http://joeblow.com/content/images/documents/a712084-37.php. The search engine will have no idea what it is about from reading the URL. Search engines use title information as well. If you name your article "To be or not to be?" the search engines will not understand that the document is about mortar fire in Gaza.

2- **Links** - Links to your Web page and Web site determine the positioning of the page in search engine results for a given keyword. The number 1 factor in Web page positioning in Google is the links to that page or Web site. Regrettably, Zionist groups and Hasbara volunteers are often stingy with their links. Even worse, they may link to anti-Semitic Web sites to show how bad they are, but won't link to Zionist sites. If your page has 20 pages linking to it from your site and some other sites with the word "Zionism," the search engines will understand that this page is fairly popular and that it is about Zionism. But if another page has 50 links to it from other sites, it will be listed above yours.

If your page is not among the top ten listings returned by Google for its "keyword" or keywords (for example "Zionism" "Jew" "Palestine Nakba" "Israel Apartheid") it will not get many visitors.

Look at the positioning of http://zionism-israel.com in Google results for each of those keywords. That is not an accident. It took a lot of work. Where is your organization's listing? What other results do you see on those pages? We can all do even better than that. Search Engine Optimization is what makes the difference. It is a mixture of common sense, trial and error and a bit of white magic - and above all, continuous improvement.

You need to choose keywords to optimize carefully. Some keywords are very popular, and some get hardly any traffic. There is no point being number 1 for a search phrase if nobody is searching for it. On the other hand, it is probably hopeless for a small Web site to try to get near the top of the Google list for a popular keyword like **Israel.**

Interactivity - Any Web site should have a contact function where people can report errors and ask questions, Every such query should get a prompt and courteous response if possible. This is especially true of organizational Web sites. The interactivity function must be maintained even if it brings with it a lot of abuse, spam and irrelevant queries. Failure to provide this function or to reply to inquiries is one of the common errors of Web site management. Web logs should provide a space for comments, even though policing comments and controlling spam can be tedious. You should allow for reasonable discussion. You have no responsibility to allow people to use your site for abusive or racist comments, or for identical comments that they post repeatedly at numerous Web sites and Web logs.

Allowing people to comment at a Web site gives them a feeling that they are participating - because they are. At least one of our commenters also became a blog contributor. Comments, as well as your writing, can also draw others to your Web site or Web log. Email queries can help cement a relationship with supporters who are thousands of miles away, provide you with feedback about errors or important information and give people the feeling that a "real person" is behind the virtual site. Of course, organizations and institutions need to reply to queries promptly. You should not, of course, spend too much time replying to people who are obviously destructive.

Don't Do This

Never Link to "bad guy" Web sites - Organizations that debunk media articles or critique NGOs frequently link to the original pages or Web sites of the "bad guys." For example, someone writes an article about the anti-Semitic Web site Stormfront. They link to the site and the articles there to show how bad they are. This gives those articles a tremendous boost in search engines. Search engines count the number of links to a page and use that number to determine the position of the page in the results they return for a query. Optimization firms pay hundreds of dollars for such links, but our own organizations give them away for free to the wrong people! If you must link to an anti-Israel or anti-Semitic Web site, use the "rel = nofollow" tag in the link, so search engines will not follow it and will not count it. Like this:

Stormfront

<div align="center" style="color:red">

Never link to bad guy Web sites!

</div>

Never Move or remove a Web page or Web site - Each page on your site may get links from many other Web sites. That is why your site has visitors. It took a long time to accumulate those links. If you remove the site or page or change the name, all those links are lost. Your "brand new" Web site, if you have one, will need to start over from scratch. If your domain name is changed or lost, it may be taken by a gambling Web site or a teen porn Web site and anyone who gets to those pages will see "interesting" information. It is not expensive to maintain old domains and sites and it is a good investment. If you own the Web host or have appropriate permissions, you can also use 301 server redirection commands, which permanently redirect from an old URL to a new one when you have changed the file name of page.

Don't rely on a free Web site - Free hosting deals may be withdrawn (as happened to all Geocities users) or may become "for pay" services at exorbitant prices. You may lose all of your work just because you would not spend $30 or so on a Web site. This is a consideration for free Web logs as well.

See Search Engine Optimization http://seo.yu-hu.com for a more detailed introduction to search engine optimization.

Email As A Means Of Popularizing A Web Site Or Web log

Every Web site or Web log should have an email list associated with it, or should be propagated through someone else's email list. Every post with material from your Web log or Web site should contain the entire article and must have the literal URL address of the article. Send the article content only, not the entire Web page with sidebars etc. Be sure to include copyright warnings as appropriate.

Common errors of organizational and government Web sites are

> **Sending a post without the address of the material on the Web** - The post will be sent to forums and used by bloggers who are too lazy to look up the URL. That means you lose valuable Web links that could otherwise boost the popularity of your site in search engines, and others may take credit for your work

> **Sending a post with only an embedded link** - the link states "click here to see the original" in html format. When the post is forwarded in text only format, the embedded link will be lost.

> **Sending part of a post** - At most about 10%-20% of readers will click a link to see the entire post at your Web site. If you want them to see the information, send it to them.

Getting Active: Creating A Web log

Anyone, and we do mean anyone, can create a Web log. That can make you an active participant in Israel advocacy. Web logs have several advantages over Email lists that many of you now use:

1- They are public - everyone can see them. If you are sending around articles that have been published and you want to call them to the attention of others, a Web log can be a better or additional way to do it, reaching the unconvinced, rather than just those who are in your email list and already share your views.

2- Your links to published materials that you think are important boost the popularity of those materials in search engines and ensure that they get more visitors.

3- A Web log gives others a chance to comment as well.

Of course, Web log entries can also be sent by email to a subscription list to increase their readership. You can make a sign up for emails using Feedblitz, or you can make a Yahoogroup or Google group and send the mails to those groups.

For bloggers, our group offers access to the ZNN list - http://groups.yahoo.com/group/znn/ which at present has over 2,000 subscribers. Posts must conform to content guidelines similar to the philosophy of this handbook and to format guidelines that help ensure that our readers get mail they will want to read and will read.

A Web log with less than a few hundred pages will not attract more than a few visitors each week, so be prepared to invest time in your Web log over the long haul. However, it is really easy to do. Probably, it has far more impact than comments you may leave as "talkbacks." One thing that a Web log can do is to provide links to articles and Web sites that you like, which helps boost the visibility of those sites in search engines and on the Web.

Part of your work as a blogger must be exchange of links with other blogs and Web sites. This is done to popularize your own Web log as well as theirs, and to make sure your Web log and its articles are visible in search engines. Members of the Zio-Web group (http://groups.yahoo.com/group/zio-web/) will be glad to exchange links with any serious Web log (more than a few entries) that follows the guidelines of this handbook. You will also want to establish a Twitter account to send news of your entries and a Facebook account which you can set up to show your blog posts.

A Web log entry can be a long essay, or it can be a link to an interesting paragraph or two in an important bit of news or commentary, with your own comments added. Remember that what you write in a Web log is visible all over the world, and that your opinions may be misconstrued as representing those of "Zionism."

A big advantage of Web logs is they come with automatic syndication feeds (RSS and Atom) - a way of transmitting the titles and, if desired, the content, of your Web log articles to other Web sites. Register your Web log at http://technorati.com to help ensure that others see it.

Technical aspects - The easiest way to get started with a Web log is through the free Weblogs offered by Wordpress or Google. Get a Google ID by registering at http://Google.com Go to http://blogger.com and follow their instructions. Use their help facility if you have a problem. If you don't understand any point, write to us at zio-web-owner@yahoogroups.com and I will show you how. Remember though, that free services might be withdrawn at any time.

What should not go in a public Web site?

A Web site is public. Don't put information in a Web page that you would not want someone in China or Africa to read. That may include "thinking out loud" or "wishful thinking" that can be misinterpreted, discussions of internal strategy and tactics and personal information like your telephone number or address. If you need to give a postal address, get a post box.

A Web site is not very localized. You can announce local events there, but don't count on getting big crowds for your demonstration in Cheboygan from a Web site page. You can show photos and tell the story of a successful local event. You will need to advertise your event in local media, with posters and through local contact lists by email and telephone in order to bring people to the event.

Types of Web files

Information hiding is a principle of software design. It is not appropriate for advocacy. You want people to see the information you put on the Web. A good way to bury your information totally is to put it in a PDF™ file or a large PowerPoint™ or Flash™ presentation. Elaborate media presentations of this kind often require a lot of production work, all of which is wasted because the files are not indexed well by search engines. Don't use PDF™ files rather than HTML unless you must, and always make an html page that introduces the material in the PDF™, Flash™ or PowerPoint™ presentation and links to it. Videos should be put at YouTube (not your own site) and also embedded in one of your Web pages with appropriate text. YouTube can get you many more visitors than your site can.

Appendix D: Grass Roots Activism - A comprehensive guide

Grass roots activism is essential to any advocacy movement. Regrettably, it is a very weak area for Zionist advocacy groups.

The heart of any political movement is grass roots activism: the petition, the letter-writing campaign and the demonstration. To that, we can add use of the Internet as a tool for mobilizing support and taking your case to the public.

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 and in campuses, 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. Someone paid for publicity and transportation, someone compiled lists of the faithful. To anyone who thinks about it, it is obvious that these are all the results of coordinated campaigns. The anti-Israel camp has mastered grass roots activism. 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. Large anti-Israel rallies often do not elicit counter-demonstrations. Whatever pro-Israel demonstrations there are, are run by tiny groups, often extremists, with little following, or 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 it must be done.

The main barrier to overcome in grass roots activism is your own reticence. If you are Jewish, you probably need to overcome 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 is not "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.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.

Overview

The methods and paraphernalia of grass roots activism are various and only limited by your imagination. Try to do memorable or interesting things at events that will attract media attention without alienating people. One group 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." The aggregate will help spread the word about your cause, and you and your group will learn from your mistakes. One or two ideas may succeed beyond your expectations, and give your group and cause a national stage.

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
- Use of the Web, email and Internet;
- Writing Op-Eds for newspapers and at your own Web site or Web log.

Advocacy groups can and must learn to do all of the above to be effective and reach a large audience. The different activities should not be viewed in isolation. They are all part of a process meant to build your group and get support for your cause by putting it in the public eye.

A Concise Guide To Grass Roots Activism

This page adapted from http://www.november.org/BottomsUp/basics.html gives an overview of common Grass Roots organizing activities (some additions are in italics):

A process begins with one step

Leave a flyer, leaflet or tabloid in public where possible and appropriate. Look for public and private places with reading racks and make a regular route to replenish the rack with literature: Laundromats, church reception areas, *shop windows, university notice boards,* libraries, auto repair waiting rooms, beauty and barber shops, bookstores, and cafés. Get permission when and where necessary.

Use regular paper and don't waste money on expensive and elaborate colored brochures. People read an 8" x 11" sheet of paper more often than they'll read a brochure. *Elaborate productions reek of "public relations" rather than sincerity.*

Create and wear a slogan T-shirt, hat or other item of clothing and create and use bumper stickers, hats and pins. Use flags. Recognizable, visible images grow public awareness. Sometimes they provoke great conversations, too. Carry a few flyers with you, especially when you're wearing a slogan!

Write a letter to the editor of your local newspaper about the issues.

Use one of dozens of online social networking sites. Family members or friends create online forums on MySpace, Facebook, Blogger, to name just a few. People can create video shorts on their personal computers. YouTube's a great place to get your message out in creative ways -- and it's free! *Make sure your video is technically sound and interesting, and gets across the right message.*

Meet with other like-minded people first. Begin to bring people in your family, neighborhood, and community together for informal discussions. Arrange to use an available meeting space and watch a video documentary together.

Speak up! Let your opinions be known...call radio and television news stations. *Small communities and organizations are the best place to start. Remember - a small group of activists can have an impact in those communities. Your op-ed or letter to the editor of the Podunk Inquirer is much more likely to be published and noticed than a letter written to the New York Times, and the people in Podunk know you. You will be able to form a group of like-minded people with them.*

Take an informational display to a college, or offer to give a presentation at a public forum. Civic groups gather weekly and monthly and are always looking for speakers for routine meetings. Sometimes it's the personalized display that achieves more local impact.

Find out who is working on issues of social justice in your community. To introduce yourself, you might consider calling them, and make a lunch appointment (if you can afford to pick up the tab). If you can't afford lunch, call and let them know that you'd like to have a meeting. *Note that Social Justice groups are often anti-Israel. Be prepared for the usual accusations. Use the Israeli human rights, religious tolerance and democracy record versus the horrors of gay bashing, religious intolerance and repression of women in Arab societies. Challenge your interlocutors to explain how they can support murder of*

homosexuals, repression of women, murder of Bahai people and persecution of Christians in Iran and in Arab countries, while calling themselves supporters of "Social Justice" and progressive causes.

Research the newspaper reporters. Who covers the *Middle East*? How do they write about the Israeli-Palestinian conflict? Try to make personal contact with reporters and make your views known.

Make a directory of local television network affiliates and national network addresses. Keep pre-stamped postcards handy. *When a show covers the Middle East, repeats untruthful propaganda, or airs a fair and comprehensive segment or series, jot down the station, program name, scene, and date. Write a short, polite message to the appropriate network at the next station break. Thank them for a good story—or expose the disinformation.* Remember to ask them to visit your Web site for more information.

Set aside at least part of one day each week to write your local, state and federal elected officials and newspaper and magazine editors. It may feel futile, but personal letters are important. The other side is writing them too, of course. Ask friends and family members to join you.

When a legislator responds, answer the letter. If s/he does not address your concerns adequately, pose the concerns again. If you get a positive response, thank the lawmaker in reply. To find your elected representatives, enter your zip code at www.vote-smart.org. You can also send a self-addressed stamped envelope to city hall and ask them to provide the information you seek.

Invite friends and family members over for a dessert potluck and letter-writing party! Together, compose a letter that gets approved and signed; present it with your contact information. Legislators will respond and share their views. Figuring out where your elected leaders stand is done easily by writing them. Studying convoluted voting records is harder than writing them *monthly about Israel related issues*.

Watch for church, union and university meetings that propose boycotts and divestment initiatives. Attend meetings or hearings to voice opposition. *More important - start your own initiatives for boycotts and divestment of Iran and for protesting at universities that hire blatantly biased academics.*

Attend anti-Israel "Apartheid Week" university events and make your opinions known politely. Picket showings of films like Rachel and plays like Seven Jewish Children. *Initiate your own events and invite speakers. Events should be in public places that are "generic" and open to all - not Jewish centers or Hillel clubs or other places that are going to attract a mainly pro-Israel audience.*

Watch for university discussion panels. If they are biased, protest and offer to bring additional speakers to provide balance.

If there will be an anti-Israel presentation in your area, plan to attend together with several other Zionists. You will most likely be able to challenge some of the speaker's statements during the question and answer period. Remember, your goal is not to convince the speaker or those who arranged the presentation, but rather to reach the "salvageables" in the audience. Some of the latter group may come over to you afterwards to get your responses to other statements. You also will often find other Zionists in the audience who were there to do what you did. In that way, you can gain new members for

your group. At worst, you have spent an hour or so listening to the arguments of the other side so you can be more prepared to counter them. If you have a blog, you can then write a post to expose the false statements; that post itself, if you have paid attention to keywords and have enough links to your site, can become visible on search engines to someone who is looking for information about that speaker.

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.

The Issue - General petitions do not ordinarily attract much support - choose a specific issue where there is a possibility of attracting broad support to correct an obvious injustice. The issue should preferably be one that is in the news and has already attracted public attention and interest. It may be the plight of a captive soldier, or unfair actions by the U.N. or government policies.

Local or broad interest - If the petition is only of local interest, you will have to find ways to raise support in your community rather than rely on broad Web appeals. Put an advertisement in a local journal, picket the target institution and get people to sign the petition there.

Online Petitions - A number of free Web services including www.petitiononline.com/ www.petitionspot.com/ www.gopetition.com/ www.ipetitions.com/ and www.thepetitionsite.com allow you to prepare online petitions. Plan the wording and other aspects carefully and get friends to review the petition for errors and effectiveness.

The title of the petition should tell what it is about: "Free Captured Israeli Soldier Gilad Shalit" "Outlaw Hamas Rocket Terror on Israel" "Divest from Iran." That is also important for online petitions so that search engines can find them.

Address Officials - A petition must be addressed to officials who can take action to redress the grievance or adopt the proposal.

Statement of problem and solution A petition must clearly state what the problem or proposal is, and what you are asking the authorities to do about it. It must identify the author (person or organization) of the petition and provide a working contact address. This is your chance to make people aware of the problem and to understand it, and to publicize your organization.

Signature information - Signatories should be required to provide reasonable authentication information if you are really going to present the petition to anyone. Check for legal requirements for petitions to legislative bodies.

No Money! - A petition must never, ever (really never) solicit monetary contributions to your group.

Different Formats - Petitions should ideally be available both in paper and pen version that you can use at events AND online. Eventually all the signatures should be merged. OR - you can ask people to sign up on the Web. You may be able to set up a laptop or net computer that allows people to sign up, even if the event is held outdoors.

Contact Information - Contact information (address, email) is important for verifying that an actual person signed the petition. It is also important for you to use in building your group. You want to stay in touch with these people. Signatories should be aware that they may be contacted and should be able to opt-out of being contacted. If you are signing up people in the street, make sure that addresses, telephone numbers and email information are legible - is it an "i" or an "l"?

Build a Coalition - If you are seriously hoping to get a large enough number of signatures to change a policy or law in a national or international institution, you will probably need the support of a coalition of groups. Be prepared to give up credit for the initiative in order to get the work done and get everyone on board, but don't sacrifice principles to demands of coalition partners.

How To "Sell" A Petition

Here are some (adapted) guidelines for how to "sell" people on a petition: (from http://ran.org/fileadmin/materials/global_finance/Flyers_and_Signs_Posters/Toolkit_-_No_New_Coal_Campaign.pdf)

From crowded street corners and the front of the bank you're targeting to the farmers market or campus commons, all you need is a clipboard, a pen and some information!

When you get petitions signed, not only will the officials hear about it, but new folks will be added to the email list and will receive updates about the campaign, so they can get more involved and help us win! In addition, if you are planning a local event, we can send an email to the people that you've signed up to let them know it's happening!

Petitioning is easy, requires little set-up, and you can do it almost anywhere (but try to stay on public property and avoid blocking the doors to businesses).

1. Start with a friendly greeting and eye contact – that's the only way someone walking by will stop.

2. Go straight to your pitch – "Hi! Would you sign a petition telling the university to divest from Iran? Tell them more if they ask, as well as a local angle). Feel free to get creative and make up your own lines to get peoples' attention.

3. Hand over the clipboard – giving the clipboard to someone empowers them to act.

4. Get their contact info, especially their email, on that petition. And give them a flyer!

5. Bring extra pens and clipboards (you can use the side of a cardboard box) so that when you're talking to groups of people, you can have many people sign at once.

6. Don't spend time trying to convince people who disagree. There are plenty of people out there that are happy to get involved!

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."

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.

Web pages, paper flyers posted about town, advertisements and letters informing your mailing list should explain:

What the event is about.

Where it is being held - time and place, including the day, the date and the country and city or town. Don't send people on the World Wide Web to a demonstration at "Elm Street, Corner of Main" without giving the name of the city or country. *That really does happen all too often!*

Who is sponsoring the demonstration, and where to get additional information.

Recommended poster materials, places where materials (posters, bumper stickers, hats, pins etc.) can be purchased or are distributed.

Who should be called about transportation arrangements.

Size counts - If you are consistently getting tiny turnouts for your cause and not attracting adherents, don't boast about it. Pictures of 5 people picketing the White House are not going to draw crowds to your cause. If you invited media to this demonstration, and only 5 people showed up, chances are the media won't come to the next demonstration. Try to understand what you are doing wrong. Build a local mailing list and constituency in one area and focus on that area. If you hold a vigil every week at a fixed time it may begin to attract attention. Don't hold demonstrations in remote locations unless you can arrange for transportation. See to publicity and check your message and coalition partners. Demonstrate for popular issues and build coalitions to ensure the demonstration is well attended.

Whom do we invite to the rally? - You want to show the onlookers and media audience that the people who support Israel or oppose Iran or Hamas are people just like themselves. You want to show them that there are thousands of such people. A demonstration that consists only of a few Jewish people in orthodox religious garb may send the opposite message. Invite groups and persons of all ethnicities and religious persuasions to your demonstration. Celebrities and important political and entertainment personalities will help attract crowds and label the demonstration as an important event.

A Complete Overview Of Demonstrations

The following is all good advice (adapted from http://www.november.org/BottomsUp/public/rallies.html):

Planning a Public Demonstration

For vigils, protests, rallies, and teach-ins, first ask, "What are the objectives of the public demonstration?" Is it to make a demand and, if so, what is that demand?

You should ask your group, **"What do you want people who see the demonstration to learn? What do you want them to do?"**

Logistical questions include: Will you need a permit from the police or city hall? What type of visual aids (posters, banners, or costumes) do you plan to use? How will placards be transported to the site? What flyers will you hand out, if any at all? Who will make them? How will you publicize your event?

Messengers and Message

To call for a public demonstration, organizers have two basic responsibilities: crafting a message for the public and assembling as many messengers for the message as you can.

A demonstration can reach a much wider audience of people than a public meeting, including supporters, opponents and, very likely, a large number of individuals who have limited, if any, knowledge of the message you are intending to spread.

In a public meeting, you are inviting the public to attend. A demonstration is different, as there are people who'll hear the message because they're using the sidewalk or public place in their regular routine. This may be the first time a lot of people hear your message.

Printed material, flyers and demonstration posters must express concise demands and/or educational objectives. Always remember to let interested people know what they can do to help and get their contact information if possible. Remember to have your local contact information on printed material given to the public.

Slogans should express the message simply and dramatically. Neat hand-lettered posters are personal and effective, too. We all love to read handmade posters.

Never use offensive language. You're looking for supporters, not the reverse.

If the group reaches consensus on messages, your overall message stays unified and focused. Make posters together! Volunteers enjoy and need activities like this. Have everyone bring supplies and a snack to a meeting before the demonstration. Supply poster board, paint and brushes. Most people have some of these items around the house -- and will donate them to this purpose.

While you make posters, prepare short and easy-to-understand chants ahead of time, and when appropriate (not during silent vigils), keep the chants going throughout the demo. Chants (or lively songs) attract attention. People will take notice and want to know what is going on, in addition to making good background sounds for television or radio media. You may want to prepare for this and appoint a chant leader beforehand.

Public means visible

Lines of people holding signs bring automatic attention for sure, but there are many creative ways to get more attention to your gathering of demonstrators.

A demonstration must be visual, and can be much more than just a picket line of people holding signs. Consider eye-catching costumes, cages, street theater, or other creative means of your own design to get people interested in who you are and why you're there.

It is likely that you, or your group, will make or devise your own visual aids. Write and edit your messages and begin to work on posters, flyer design, etc. Themes can be used in flyers that publicize the event -- the same themes used in flyers you'll use the day of the demonstration.

Posters - When making posters, remember that large lettering, white or light color on dark background is most visible. If at all possible, your organization should plan all the posters and banners and make them up beforehand. That requires a vehicle large enough to transport them. Individual initiatives may be fine, but make sure they don't carry embarrassing and unrepresentative messages ("nuke Mecca" "there are no Palestinians") and don't have misspellings and illiteracies.

Flags - Flags are decorative, visible and important. Bring the Israeli flag and show it. If the other side is demonstrating too, there will be lots of Palestinian flags. Flags are extremely visible, and also allow those arriving at the event to locate your group easily. They also make a GREAT visual for television.

Use Current Events and Local Hooks

Know local regulations and get permission

Visit the demonstration site beforehand so you'll spark ideas for setting things up.

Permits can take weeks to get, and organizers need to know details far enough in advance to plan a detailed schedule. Permits are not usually required if you are going to use, but not block, a public sidewalk. You are almost never allowed to block a public sidewalk or overflow into the street. Street marches need permits that require city planning. Please give the city clerk weeks of notice, and file this type of permit early.

If you choose a park or public area to assemble your group, someone at city hall or county courthouse can advise about local regulations and permits required. They are ordinarily given after an easy application process, but it can take a few weeks. Plan early.

Your group may choose to demonstrate on a regular basis. If so, try to get a renewable permit that will cover a span of time, rather than go through the permitting process each time you vigil, rally or demonstrate. Pick up several copies of the application to have on file. A city clerk should be able to answer questions that don't get answered by the information you get with the permit application. Just ask.

Selecting a date

If you are beginning to plan a large public demonstration, check the local community calendar carefully. Do not select a day and time that conflicts with other large events, unless your area is urban, and heavily populated with potential supporters. The event schedule can overshadow these priorities, however. If Ahmadinejad is in New York on a certain day, then it can't be helped if the World Series is being played on the same day.

Media coverage is easier to get when you stage the event during customary work hours on weekdays. Sometimes this is a trade-off; you're likely to be more challenged to find demonstration-participants during the workweek. However, if the issue is popular, a demonstration at lunch time will attract the curious as well as potential supporters.

Notify the media

Let TV news reporters, radio and newspapers know about your demonstration by a telephone call and news release at least one day in advance. Holidays are usually a time of 'no or slow' news when reporters may be hungry for stories, and workers have the day off. In a few groups, many people are dedicated enough to make a 'holiday family day' that is spent publicly opposing horrific rates of incarceration. Give all media contacts at least one cell phone number of one of the leaders. Make sure the cell is charged up, and keep it on "vibrate," since in a demonstration you won't hear it ringing!"

Be sure to bring petitions, fact-sheets, and cards with your Web address. Also bring handouts, informational pamphlets, and announcements of future events, gadgets such as buttons and pins, hats, T-shirts and posters for sale or free distribution.

Media Spokesperson

It is critical to have at least one designated media spokesperson at each event. This person must be comfortable speaking into a microphone and a camera, be willing to have his/her face and name on TV, and be able to deliver a 20 second sound bite in answer to the question "Why are you here today?" This sound bite should be practiced so that it can be delivered smoothly.

Other leaders at the demonstration should work to direct TV and other media to the designated spokespeople. A TV news clip of someone attending your demonstration who gives their own opinion ("Obama is a Communist" "Israel should never give up an inch of the West Bank") can do grave harm to your efforts.

Enjoy the demonstration!

Leader organizers should be on the site at least one-half hour before starting time, 15 minutes if it's a regular and short demonstration.

Keep your group together, and remind everyone (quietly) to hold their signs so they can be clearly seen and photographed. Write down the names and telephone numbers of people demonstrating because you'll contact them for future actions. A clipboard is handy for the organizer to carry, and it can designate the leader if any official wants to talk to someone in your group.

If TV news covers your vigil or demonstration, assign one person to tape each television station present at the event. Begin an archive of media coverage.

Be sure to read local (and national!) newspapers to see how the event was described, and save this paper in your own archives. Post articles at your Web site and tell your mailing list about them.

The Counter-Demonstration

For groups that do not have a lot of people 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 across from an anti-Israel demonstration with a pro-Israel message. 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.

If there are TV cameras filming the anti-Israel demo, send somebody over and ask the reporters if they would like to get a statement from the pro-Israel side as well. Another feature of a counter-demo is that the other side absolutely hates it when pro-Israel groups show up. If their action is small (for example, tabling in a busy downtown plaza) they often pick up and leave rather than allow people to hear what **you** have to say.

Remember that at a counter-demonstration you have two target audiences: those passing by, to whom you can hand out flyers (the heading "Why Are We Here?" is often successful in getting the readers' attention) and the general public via the media. Remember that those in the anti-Israel demonstration are really not your audience at all.

Timing is important: do not call your counter-demo before or after the anti-Israel demo—it needs to be at the same time to get the media coverage. But if the other side is running a 3 hour rally, you can call the counter-demo for just one hour. There is no need to be there the entire time.

One aspect more specific to counter-demonstrations is safety. You are going to be outnumbered, and quite significantly, often even 100-1. And if only 2% of the anti-Israel group is made up of youths with Keffiyehs masking their faces, you're still outnumbered by them.

If you are going to be counter-demonstrating a large permitted demonstration, there will be police on the scene. It is essential to make contact with them when you arrive. Explain that you have a pro-Israel

group that will be counter-demonstrating, ask where they would like you to stand, and ask for a few officers to be posted with you as a deterrent to mischief. Anti-Israel protestors have engaged in such activities as: stealing flags and signs, sending the Keffiyeh-clad youth to the counter-demonstration side to try to intimidate, and sending individuals with anti-Israel signs to try to stand in the midst of the counter-demonstrators. If you have enough people, designate a few trusted individuals to stand on the sides of your gathering to watch for trouble. Bullhorns (or even loud whistles) can go a long way to alert about possible trouble. Several designated people with video cameras can also provide an effective deterrent. When leaving the counter-demonstration, if the anti-Israel group is still present, people should leave in groups and avoid crossing directly over to the side of the anti-Israel groups. If the anti-Israel group is leaving the rally scene to go on a march, do NOT attempt to follow them as you cannot assure the safety of your participants in that scenario. If the entire event is a march, then be present either at the start or at the finish locations.

Decorum is also a factor at counter-demonstrations, since there is not a defined "program" and because there are limitations on use of amplified sound without a permit. Standing around with flags and signs can get boring. And when anti-Israel people come over to hassle and intimidate your side, often you get two sides just shouting at each other. It is much better to prepare your side to do one of two things: either "strong and silent" or chanting and/or singing. Either one of those tends to infuriate those who are trying to create conflict. In particular, "Hatikvah" is very effective, though of course one can't sing it for an hour straight! Songs of peace and brotherhood also work well: "I'm gonna lay down my sword and shield," "We shall overcome," "Heveinu Shalom Aleichem," "Shir Hashalom" "Od Yavo Shalom Aleinu" and "Oseh Shalom Bimromav." Use of progressive songs - in English too - can probably be very effective especially when the demonstrators on the other side are supporting Hamas or Hezbollah. Also, Israeli music on a CD played through a boom box, or, if you are really fortunate, someone with a guitar who can lead songs, can provide a nice atmosphere for your side.

Counter-demonstrations and counter-events are also important for university activism efforts to counter "Israel Apartheid Week" or "Palestine Solidarity Day."

However, organizations should not live by counter-demonstrations alone. They are reactive rather than proactive. The other side has chosen the battleground (the issue and the venue) and they will almost always have the advantage of numbers, as they prepared for the event and bused people in from other cities.

One final note: anti-Israel demonstrations are often scheduled for Saturdays, to minimize any possible response by the pro-Israel community. In most cases, this will rule out participation of observant Jews in the counter-demonstration. Some may even question why you are holding an action on Shabbat. It often requires multiple, patient explanations about the fact that since the OTHER side is holding a rally at a certain day and time, then the counter-rally, to be effective, must also be held at that time.

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.

"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. Always check that information and assertions in a letter that you send are correct. If you signed it, you should be prepared to defend it. Don't rely on someone else's claims without checking.

Never write 'boilerplate' letters to newspapers or media, as it will make you look like a lobby organization. Different letters convey 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.

Basics Of Letter Writing

Letters should be brief and express a point of information about one issue. Do not be abusive or call people "anti-Semites." The anti-Semites already know who they are and many are proud of it. Those who are not will claim they are engaged in "legitimate criticism of Israel" and that you are trying to shut them up with false claims of anti-Semitism.

A letter to a newspaper intended for publication should usually be no more than 150 words if intended for publication, and must include your address and telephone number to allow verification. Check the newspaper for specific rules about length and other requirements.

A snail mail letter to an official is far more likely to get attention than emails. Email facilities are often overloaded and abused, and may be ignored.

A Guide Prepared By The Sierra Club

> http://www.sierraclub.org/takeaction/toolkit/letters.asp
>
> ... Emails, postcards, and phone calls are good communication tools, but letters and faxes are the most effective and persuasive way of communicating our views to elected officials.
>
> These tips will help you write a persuasive letter:
>
> - Keep it short.
> Limit your letter to one page and one issue.
>
> - Identify yourself and the issue.
> In the first paragraph of your letter state who you are and what issue you are writing about. If you are referring to a specific bill, identify it by number (e.g. H.R. 2372 or S. 1287).
>
> - Focus on your main points.
> Choose the three strongest points to support your argument and develop them clearly. Too much information can distract from your position.
>
> - Make it personal.
> Tell your legislator why the issue matters to you and how it affects you, your family, and your community. Make a connection to the legislator. Did you vote for her? Did you contribute to the campaign?

- Ask for a reply.

Include your name and address on both your letter and envelope.

- Trust your voice.

Be polite and take a firm position in your letter. Be confident in your understanding of the issue and remember that the legislator may know less than you. Thank elected officials when they vote the way you want.

A Better Letter To The Editor

Letters to the Editor are one of the most widely read sections of the newspaper and reach a large audience. They allow community members to comment on the way issues are being addressed in the media and to influence what topics the local paper covers. Elected officals often monitor this section of the newspaper and take notice of constituents' opinions.

Due to strict space limitations in newspapers, not all letters will be published, but the more letters the newspaper receives on a certain topic, the more likely they are to run at least one letter on the topic. Check the letter guidelines in your local paper and use these tips to write an effective letter to the editor:

- Keep it short and focused.

Many newspapers have strict length limits and edit letters for space. A concise, single-issue letter has a better chance of retaining its salient points and keeping the reader's interest.

- Make specific references.

While some newspapers will print general commentary letters, most prefer letters that respond to a specific article. Here are some ways to refer to an article:

"I was impressed by the comprehensive logging solution outlined in the May 5th article, 'Sustainable Logging on a Roll.'"

"I strongly disagree with Senator Baker's position against increased fuel economy standards 'To be or SUV' June 22)."

- Be factual and highlight aspects of the issue that haven't been previously addressed.

- Include your contact information.

Many newspapers will only publish a letter to the editor after verifying the author's contact information. When printed, the letter will usually only include your name and city.

- Type your letter and sign it.

- Send letters to smaller newspapers.

Small newspapers are more likely to print your letter and the letter can then spark local community action.

Using The Web

The Web and the Internet have become basic and indispensable tools of communication. Every organization, especially grass roots activist groups, no matter how small, should have a Web site or Web

log that is used for providing information about the group and its activities, but also basic information about the conflict and about Israel. Web sites are especially important for organizations composed of volunteers, with very limited financial resources, because Web sites are so inexpensive.

A Web site is not a "one time affair" that is made by a technician or Web designer and forgotten. It is a living and growing center that should be updated regularly. It must be simple for non-technical members to update your Web site, add new content and 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.

Be sure to exchange links with any group or person who offers to do so - that is the best way to popularize your Web site. Links are important not for the traffic they bring from another Web site, but because they improve the visibility of the Web site in search engines. Search engines are the primary source of visitors to Web sites.

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 views 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.

Contact with your members and recruitment of new members can generally be done through the Internet via email. You should probably have a separate list or discussion. Emails should be used to distribute new content from your Web sites. Such messages should always include BOTH the actual content (unless it is a video) and the URL address on the Web. The content must be included because only a small percentage of recipients will click on a link. The address is included so that when your original materials are forwarded, there is a chance at least that your group will get credit for the content, and will get a link when the material is posted by others to the Web. Every email sent by your group should have a link to your Web site and other non-personal contact information. It is not a wise idea to put personal telephone numbers or addresses on the Web or to send them by email. Remember that emails can potentially reach anyone.

Additional information about Web sites and Internet use is given in Appendix C.

Writing Op-Eds

If you can get your views published in a national or local paper, this can provide an excellent way to advance your cause.

The follow is adapted from a De-Paul university guide

http://newsroom.depaul.edu/facultyresources/OPEDTips/index.html

What to Write

> The best way to determine what would be most appropriate for a particular publication is first to become familiar with it. Each day, read the editorial pages of the publications you would like to target. Learn to recognize the style, length and tone of successful submissions and fashion your

effort similarly. Major news events or political developments, pending or recently enacted legislation, and groundbreaking research findings all provide opportunities for op-eds or letters to the editor. Be sure you address an issue that involves real debate. Hotly debated issues generally produce many submissions, and editors will select only the best to print. Editors try to cover a variety of issues and viewpoints. If you already have seen your topic addressed in a particular media outlet, send your piece to a different news organization, write about a different angle on the issue or choose another topic. Significant anniversaries of major historical events —such as the 60th anniversary of the state of Israel can serve as an opportunity to bring new perspectives to much debated topics.

Be aware that you may not be the only one to write about an issue and that editors attempt to balance the subject matter on their pages. Opinion page editors may receive dozens of pieces about a particular event in the Middle East, but may have room for only one. When you have an idea for an op-ed or a letter to the editor, the following advice will help you get published.

Best Practices for The Editorial Page Op-ed Or Letter To The Editor

Op-eds are typically longer (600 to 750 words) and feature self-contained arguments that stand alone. Letters to the editor are short (usually 150 to 250 words) and usually provide a direct response to an article that has appeared in the publication. Because publications run so many more letters to the editor than op-eds, your chances of getting published are much greater with letters to the editor. If you have a brief point to make about an issue in the news, a letter to the editor is your best bet. Include your organizational title in your signature to establish your credentials if appropriate. The head of the ADL has a better chance of getting his or her opinion published than an anonymous citizen.

Timeliness: Op-eds and letters to the editor need to be timely and address issues that are currently in the news. In the case of a letter to the editor, you must send it within one or two days after the original story appears. Because of the limited space for op-eds, note that it is common for editors to hold potential columns for weeks while they consider whether to run it. Op-eds written with longer "shelf lives" will have a much greater chance of getting published.

Pointed view: Opinion editors look for articles that are provocative and succinctly argue particular points of view on issues that are dominating the headlines. They do not want pieces that argue all sides of an issue.

Clarity: Avoid acronyms and academic or legalistic language. Op-eds that appear in general-circulation publications should be comprehensible to all readers. Use "plain English" language in an active voice and with a moderate tone. Op-eds should conform to the stylistic rules of the Associated Press Stylebook (apstylebook.com/ask_editor.php). Op-eds that do not require editing are most likely to be accepted. If the editors can't follow your argument, they certainly won't ask their readers to figure it out.

Accuracy: Double-check all your facts, the spelling of names and places, and make certain you have no grammatical errors. Even simple mistakes can hurt your credibility and cause an otherwise well-written piece to be rejected.

Length: Follow the word-length limits set by the publication. Your piece is most likely to be selected if it fits the format. Typically, op-eds should be no more than 750 words, although each publication sets its own limit and the trend is toward shorter pieces. Submit only completed pieces. Editors will not respond to queries on topics.

Exclusivity: National newspapers usually demand exclusivity on op-eds they publish, and it is often preferred by local newspapers as well. It is much more difficult to get published in national publications due to the increased volume of submissions. If you are planning to submit to multiple publications, give each paper one week to consider the piece. Review each newspaper's guidelines, which may have more advice on this issue.

Identification: Include your name under the headline of your submission. A short biographical summary of one to two sentences should be included at the end of the article noting your name, title and expertise in the area. This explanation is normally 25 words or fewer. Be sure to include your address and telephone, both business and home phones so that newspapers can verify your authorship. Virtually all op-eds and letters to the editor are submitted via email. Most media outlets will include the submission address on their opinion pages at least several times a week.

Following Up: Op-ed editors will usually call only if they plan to use a piece. If you must follow up with a phone call, make sure to keep the call short. Never call after 3 p.m., when editors are on deadline.

Handling The Press

The press love a good story, especially if it is colorful. They love it more if you write the story for them and it fits in a news slot. Promise them interesting costumes and photogenic people. Give them good sound bites and a pre-written description of the event with the particulars of your group, the issues and your stands, including great quotes, and you have a good chance of making the news.

Pointing Out Bias

It is useful to point out media bias and to convince others that a specific newspaper or TV station is not fair and consistently leaves out certain facts. It makes people aware that they cannot just believe everything that the media say. It counterbalances allegations from the other side that the media are biased in favor of Israel. A poll shows that twice as many people think that the media in the Netherlands are biased in favor of Israel than biased in favor of the Palestinians, though the objective situation is quite different.

Participating in the discussion about media coverage and showing concrete and clear examples might influence some journalists and reporters and make the public more critical towards the media or a specific newspaper or TV station.

Don't try to Shut up the Press

Attempts to shut the press up are obnoxious and won't be tolerated by the majority of people. Remember the Muslim intimidation over the cartoons of Muhammad and the Fatwa against Salman Rushdie? Attempts to correct biased reports or to persuade obviously biased reporters and media to be more balanced are usually going to fail, though they are legitimate. Those who generate the false reports obviously have an interest in presenting that side of the story. Repeated attempts to make the BBC and other broadcasters comply with elementary rules of professionalism and balance have had little effect. Much of the work is properly the job of the Israeli government press office and Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Volunteers and NGOs and grass roots groups can't manufacture information in place of governments and responsible authorities. The IDF, not you, has to be the source for information about

IDF operations. However, we can conduct letter-writing and other campaigns to change media behavior, and we can make ourselves and our activities into news that focuses on our side of the story.

Media will change if they determine that there is no market for their "version" of the story. Meanwhile, we need to produce alternative channels that present our side of the story.

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 on which people can leave their names and contact information (make sure they write legibly) 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.

Cooperation

Cooperation with other groups - Zionist, Jewish or otherwise is often essential if your demonstration, event, petition or university activity is to succeed. They can 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, but that doesn't mean attempts at cooperation should be abandoned. We must always extend the hand of friendship. Remember however, you aren't out to subvert someone else's cause or group, but they should not be allowed to exploit your group unfairly. Make sure you aren't going to find yourself and your members demonstrating for causes and disseminating messages that should not be part of your program.

Share Experiences

If your demonstration was a success, be sure to tell your followers and the world. If it was a great success, the press will do the job for you.

If you have experience doing grass roots activism, organize seminars to train other activists.

When planning activities, keep as many people as possible in the loop. Benefit from their experience and judgment and make them feel a part of the action. This may take more time, but it is worth it. A bit of planning and discussion can save you from many errors, ranging from spelling errors in advertisements to using the wrong messages or planning an event that conflicts with another one. People who participate in planning will also be more willing to help with planning and resources.

Naysayers

Grass roots work is often discouraging and requires persistence. You may have few attendees at a demonstration or weekly mini-rally and get little attention from the press. Analyze your mistakes and learn from them, but don't give up!

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," "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.

Appendix E: Web Resources about Israel Advocacy

Following is a list of Web sites that provide useful information, reference and advocacy resources about Israel, Judaism and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The list is based primarily on information provided by the United Synagogues of Conservative Judaism. The authors of this handbook have no connection with most of these Web sites and make no recommendations regarding the accuracy or completeness of information in them.

ISRAEL GOVERNMENT

Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs	http://www.mfa.gov.il http://www.youtube.com/IsraelMFA	The Peace Process; Terrorism & Islamic Fundamentalism; Victims of Terror; FAQ - Palestinian Violence; Israel & the UN; FAQs about Israel; Maps of Israel (stills /Flash); Multimedia – Real time broadcasts; MFA films online & on YouTube
Israel Knesset	http://www.knesset.gov.il/main/eng/home.asp	Knesset Web site with biographies of major candidates, basic laws and other information.
Prime Minister's Office	http://www.pmo.gov.il/english http://147.237.72.31/topsrch/defaulte.htm	Updates; Prime Ministers of Israel; National Photographic Archive
President of the State of Israel	http://www.president.gov.il/defaults/default_en.asp	
Israel Defense Forces Spokesperson	http://dover.idf.il/IDF/English/ http://www.youtube.com/idfnadesk	Current News reports; History of the IDF; Information; Multimedia; life in the IDF; Video documentation on YouTube
Ministry of Defense	http://www.mod.gov.il	Database of Fallen - Hebrew; Separation Fence (English)
Central Bureau of Statistics	http://www.cbs.gov.il	Bilingual socio-economic and environmental survey data for Israel, English Index
Israeli Embassy, USA	http://www.israelemb.org/	News, info ; teacher & kids sections; Culture, speakers bureau, visa information etc.

Israel Advocacy Handbook http://zionism-israel.com/Israel_Advocacy.pdf

Israel Consulate NY	http://www.israelfm.org/	**News, Aliya, information.**
Israel Consulate San Francisco	http://www.israeliconsulate.org/	**Blogs, Israel in the Bay Cultural events**
Israel Permanent Mission to the UN	http://www.israel-un.org	Israel's positions on UN-related issues

NEWS, NEWSPAPERS AND MEDIA

Jerusalem Post & Jerusalem Report	http://www.jpost.com	Up to the minute news coverage from Israel; Special supplements & visuals
Haaretz – English edition	http://www.haaretz.com	Up to the minute news coverage from Israel
Ynet (Yediot) English edition	http://www.ynetnews.com	Current News, Issues, Politics
Israel Broadcasting Authority / Kol-Israel radio	http://www.kol-israel.com http://www.israelradio.org/english.html	Hourly radio news broadcast in Hebrew Twice daily news in English (plus archives)
Channel 1 TV, Israel Broadcasting Authority	http://mabat.iba.org.il	RealPlayer viewing of daily English TV news broadcasts or go to http://www.wherever.tv/tv-channels/IBA-English-News.jsf
Jerusalem Online, Keshet TV	http://www.jerusalemonline.com/	VOD news reports from Israel Channel 2 TV evening news in English
Jewish Telegraphic Agency	http://www.jta.org	Daily coverage & analysis of News – US, Israel, World
Jerusalem Post Radio Service	www.jpostradio.com	Ongoing magazine
Israel Insider Israel 21c	http://www.israelinsider.com http://www.israel21c.org/	Daily News magazine: articles, editorials. Security incidents, flash maps & timeline Innovation news service, videos, blog; Science, Health, Culture, Economy, People, Social Action
Virtual Jerusalem	www.virtualjerusalem.com	News ,op-eds, media watch, forum

RESEARCH /THINK TANKS

Ariel Center for Policy Research	http://www.acpr.org.il	Policy papers, document archive
Begin-Sadat Center for Peace, Bar Ilan University	http://www.biu.ac.il/SOC/besa/meria/index.html	Internet Journal: Middle East Review of International Affairs (Barry Rubin, ed); articles, maps.
Coordination Forum for Countering Antisemitism	http://www.antisemitism.org.il/eng/	Israel state coordinating forum with partners from Israeli government, JAFI, academic/research institutes , Jewish NGOs; collates monitoring info and publishes reports, addresses policies for response; cooperation to counter Anti-Semitism.
International Policy Institute for Counter-Terrorism	http://www.ict.org.il	Regular updates, articles & documents on Arab-Israel conflict, international terrorism, counter terrorism
Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies (TAU)	http://www.tau.ac.il/jcss	Research on issues of Israel's security. Most studies offline.
Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs (JCPA)	http://www.jcpa.org and subsites	Briefs & viewpoints on current issues
MEMRI: Middle East Media & Research Institute	http://www.memri.org	Monitors Arab newspapers, speeches, media. Transcripts & video clips. In-depth studies of related issues.
Stephen Roth Institute of Contemporary Anti-Semitism & Racism (TAU)	http://www.tau.ac.il/Anti-Semitism	"Updates"
Tami Steinmetz Center for Peace Research (TAU)	http://www.tau.ac.il/peace/index.html	Polls about peace and government policy with analysis.
Vidal Sasson International Center for the Study of Antisemitism (Hebrew University of Jerusalem)	http://sicsa.huji.ac.il/	Position Papers on Anti-Semitism, articles by Director, Prof. Robert Wistrich, conference recordings and archives; article archives from 1993-2007 on Anti-Semitism & Israel.

HANDS-ON ADVOCACY: MEDIA MONITORS & PRO-ISRAEL INFORMATION/LOBBIES

Media and Human Rights Monitors

Aish HaTorah	http://www.aish.com/jw/mo/	Collection of exposés on media bias from various sources
CAMERA	http://www.camera.org	Committee for Accuracy in M.E. Reporting. (Western) Media watchdog. Monitors media bias.
Honest Reporting	http://www.Honestreporting.com http://www.m-central.org/	Grassroots media watchdog to ensure fair media coverage for Israel. Documents and responds on biased reporting; archives; Tips for "letters to the Editor".
Independent Media Review & Analysis	http://www.imra.org.il	Chronological collection of media reports, polls, interviews & events
Just Journalism	http.justjournalism.com	UK media monitoring organization.
NGO Monitor	http://www.ngo-monitor.org/	Monitors accountability of U.N. accredited international and national Human Rights NGOs in the Arab-Israel conflict, their benchmarks, expertise or ideological motivation, money trail, campaigns and their impact on policy.
Palestinian Media Watch	http://www.pmw.org.il	Research institute: Monitors official Palestinian Authority media channels, educational materials, cultural events. Reports on fundamental impediments to peace: continuing denial of Israel's right to exist, glorification of terror, historical revision, Islamization of the conflict.
Take A Pen	http://www.takeapen.org/	Provides information about Israel advocacy issues and mobilizes grass roots activism
UN Watch	http://www.unwatch.org	A unique organization that monitors U.N. performance on Israel issues by the standards of the U.N. charter and chronicles U.N. bias against Israel.

Major Organizations & Lobbies with Israel Resources

American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC)	http://www.aipac.org	Reports, Security Incidents map & timeline (updated weekly), great collection of articles/editorials (print out?), texts of official documents (US & Israeli)
American Jewish Committee	http://www.ajc.org	Works to safeguard and strengthen Jews and Jewish life worldwide; combating anti-Semitism, prejudice; promoting Israel's quest for peace and security; energy independence; strengthening Jewish life & young leadership development. Multi-lingual website: online Media Center; briefings on: domestic policy, Middle East, Anti-Semitism, Interfaith, Human Rights.
Anti-Defamation League (ADL)	http://www.adl.org/Israel/advocacy http://www.adl.org/main_israel.asp	Advocating for Israel: An Activist's Guide; ME crisis, background articles & reports on Anti-semitism in the Arab world.
Christian Action for Israel	http://christianactionforisrael.org/	Christian activism for Israel including buycott campaigns and similar initiatives. Valuable news and views summary culled from major press sources.
Christians for Fair Witness on the Middle East	http://christianfairwitness.com/	Mainline Protestant and Catholic Christian group that advocates for fair treatment of Israel in the church and in media.
Christian Embassy Jerusalem, Christian Action for Israel	http://www.icej.org/	A powerful Christian voice for Israel and Zionism.
Christians United for Israel	http://www.cufi.org/	John Hagee's Christian Israel activism group.
Jewish Virtual Library (American-Israeli Cooperative Enterprise)	http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/	"Myths and Facts Online - A Guide to the Arab-Israeli Conflict", incl. current controversies. History of peace process; Israel & the UN, Israel and the USA.

Israel Advocacy Handbook http://zionism-israel.com/Israel_Advocacy.pdf

Stand With Us; Stand With Us Campus; Stand with Us International	http://www.standwithus.com	Israel education organization, provides news, Israel 101, articles; booklets, flyers and posters for rallies; background resources, hot topics; films, briefings for students; Speakers' Bureau; networking; leadership training; Israel promotion; Learn Israel: free curricular standard lesson plans and teacher resources.
World Jewish Congress	http://www.worldjewishcongress.org	Antisemitism updates; Policy & Analysis reports on Jewish and Israel issues
Zionist Organization of America	http://www.zoa.org/	Major right of center Zionist advocacy organization.

Other Advocacy/Educational Resources

Aish Hatorah	**http://www.aish.com/**	Large site with Israel advocacy, Judaism and other resources
Beyond Images	http://www.beyondimages.info/	Offers facts and user-friendly resources to empower people to argue Israel's case in an informed and coherent way and explain the context for Israel's actions.
BlueStarPR	http://www.bluestarpr.com	Israel advocacy group that creates posters and postcards to promote Israel and Zionism; materials can be downloaded and reprinted
Connections Israel	http://connectionsisrael.com/	Provides educational hands on projects to Jewish communities, schools, synagogues and camps around the world that enable participants to show support for various populations and places in Israel. One section of the Web site includes lessons & personal stories on: IDF, Yizkor, Sderot
David Project	http://www.davidproject.org/	Jewish leadership foundation offers development and in-service training for teachers, eg Israel in Jewish identity curricula for Jewish day schools, online teacher guides, activism resources, Speakers' Bureau. Also involved in activism.
Engage	http://www.engageonline.org.uk	Socialists, liberals, trade unionists and academics

		who support the right of Israel to exist as well as peace. Supports those who fight for peace and against racism within both nations; aims to offer arguments and facts to counter the propaganda of the boycott campaign.
Israel-Palestina.info	http://Israel-Palestina.info	Dutch and English Web site with valuable historical articles as well as Israel advocacy.
Israeli-Palestinian Procon	http://israelipalestinian.procon.org/	An intentionally balanced presentation of issues and points of view about the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, that is very valuable for understanding the perspective of the other side.
IRIS: Information Regarding Israel's Security	http://www.iris.org.il	Independent, self-proclaimed "right of center slant" on Israel's security; Section on "Is Israel giving too much?", with maps. PLO Charter.
MidEastWeb for Coexistence	http://mideastweb.org	Balanced history, documents, reference, maps and moderate advocacy for peace and coexistence.
Middle East Facts	http://middleeastfacts.com/	Pro-Israel presentation of Middle East history and issues.
My Jewish Learning	http://www.myjewishlearning.com/	History, references and resources about Judaism geared to young people.
Peace with Realism	http://www.peacewithrealism.org/	A gem of a Web site with advocacy articles providing a unique, clear moderate perspective.
Palestine Facts	http://www.palestinefacts.org/	Israeli and Palestinian history and issues from a Zionist perspective.
The MediaLine	http://www.themedialine.org/	Non-profit news organization established to enhance and balance media coverage in the Middle East, promote independent reporting in the region, and break down barriers to understanding in the Arab and Israeli journalism communities. Audio, video, text.
The Israel Project	http://www.theisraelproject.org	Major Non-Profit organization dedicated to educating the public and the press about Israel.
Tulip	http://www.tuliponline.org/	Trade Unions Linking Israel and Palestine - Fights the union Israel boycott movement in the UK.
Zionism on the Web	http://www.zionismontheweb.org/	Essays and Analysis on Zionism, Advocacy and Web 2.0 tools in anti-Israel media

Israel Advocacy Handbook http://zionism-israel.com/Israel_Advocacy.pdf

Zionism-Israel	http://www.zionism-israel.com	News, Views, timelines, advocacy materials (including this handbook!) reference encyclopedia, extensive source documents and maps about Zionism and Israel.
Department for Zionist Activities, World Zionist Organization	http://www.doingzionism.org	Zionist Federation and Dor Hemshech News, Articles, Media Analysis
Department for Jewish Zionist Education, Jewish Agency for Israel	http://www.jewishagency.org/education/	Major resource for Compelling Content: Focus Areas; information and programming on Zionism & Israel; Jewish life; Current Issues; resource FAQs.
Hagshama Department, World Zionist Organization	http://www.hagshama.org.il	Major collections on Zionism (with original texts); Media; Terrorism; Israel and Peace Process for student activism and Magshimim movements; tours of Israel (Birthright Israel) for student leadership and groups; Masa programs for students.
Keren Kayemeth LeIsrael – Jewish National Fund	http://www.jnf.org	Settlement and reforestation in Israel

Appendix F: Online Advocacy Training and Resources

Organization, Advocacy and Grass Roots

Advocacy Handbook	http://www.pactcambodia.org/Publications/Advocacy_Policy/Advocacy_%20Handbook%20_A%20Practical%20Guide_EH.pdf
Advocacy Guide	http://www.amicc.org/docs/Advocacy_Guide.pdf"
Anarchist's How-To Guide	http://www.crimethinc.com/tools/downloads/pdfs/diy1.pdf"
Anarchist's Primer	http://thecloud.crimethinc.com/pdfs/fighting_for_our_lives.pdf"
Changing Minds - A huge compilation of articles, explanations and definitions related to attitude change research, with an extensive bibliography.	http://changingminds.org
Civilian's Guide to Direct Action	http://www.crimethinc.com/tools/downloads/pdfs/direct_action_guide.pdf"
Creative Direct Action Visuals Manual	http://ruckus.org/downloads/RS_ActionVisuals.pdf"
Civil Disobedience Training	http://www.actupny.org/documents/CDdocuments/ACTUP_CivilDisobedience.pdf"
Grassroots Advocacy Handbook	http://www.pactcambodia.org/Publications/Advocacy_Policy/Grassroots_Advocacy_Handbook_ENGLISH.pdf"
Guidelines for a Campaign Strategy	http://www.campaignstrategy.org/articles/12basicguidelines.pdf"
How to Communicate Securely in Repressive Environments.	http://www.digiactive.org/wp-content/uploads/guide-for-communicating-securely-june-2009v5.doc"
Leadership and Organizing	http://www.seac.org/resources-

	backup/org101.pdf"
New Tactics for Human Rights.	http://www.newtactics.org/sites/newtactics.org/files/entire_workbook-_english.pdf"
Non-Violent Street Tactics	http://www.midnightspecial.net/files/nonviolentstreettactics.pdf"
Organizing a Demonstration	http://www.globalexchange.org/war_peace_democracy/oil/howtodemo.pdf"
Seven Ways to Make our Protests More Powerful	http://www.vcn.bc.ca/citizens-handbook/trainingforchange/reports_0010_massactionR.html"
The Spin Project - A Do it yourself guide to political advocacy.	http://www.spinproject.org/
Video for Change Training Guide.	http://www.witness.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=277&Itemid=207&limit=1&limitstart=1"

The Other Side - Pro Palestinian propaganda and organizational materials

Activism for Palestinian Human Rights	http://www.globalexchange.org/countries/mideast/palestine/activism.pdf
Boycott Israel (.swf presentation)	http://www.stopthewall.org/downloads/flash/Boycottppt.swf"
Boycott Organizer's Guide	http://www.coopamerica.org/PDF/GuideBoycottOrganizers.pdf"
Divesting from Israel: A Handbook	http://www.globalexchange.org/countries/mideast/palestine/divestment.pdf"
Fighting The New Apartheid: Guide to Campus Divestment from Israel	http://alawda.rso.wisc.edu/docs/divestguide.pdf"
From South Africa to Israel/Palestine: Using Boycott to End Apartheid (.ppt presentation)	http://greenresistance.files.wordpress.com/2007/06/bds-talk.ppt"
Handbook: Putting Technology to Work for Palestine Activism	http://www.palestinefreedom.org/files/tm10.pdf"
Lessons Learned in BDS Campaign	http://www.badil.org/en/documents/category/10-campaign-for-boycott-divestment-sanctions-bds?download=587%3Adivestment-and-sanctions-lesson-learned-in-effective-solidarity"
Morally Responsible Investment Presentation (.ppt presentation)	http://www.endtheoccupation.org/downloads/MorallyResponsibleInvestment.ppt"
Stop the Wall: A Resource for Student Activists	http://www.endtheoccupation.org/downloads/stopthewall_resource.pdf"

Press and Media

Activist Guide to Exploiting the Media	http://www.fraw.org.uk/gs/handbook/media.htm"
Broadcast Media and Spokesperson Skills	http://www.spinproject.org/downloads/BroadcastSpokesperson.pdf"
Create an Online Press Center That Reporters Return to Again and Again.	http://www.fenton.com/FENTON_IndustryGuide_ARoomWithAViewpoint.pdf"
Developing Relationships with Reporters	http://www.spinproject.org/downloads/Reporters.pdf"
Lobbying for Middle East Peace	http://www.globalexchange.org/countries/mideast/palestine/lobbying.pdf"
Making a Name for Yourself: Branding for Non-Profits.	http://www.fenton.com/FENTON_IndustryGuide_MakingANameForYourself.pdf"
Make News with Public Interest Advertising.	http://www.fenton.com/FENTON_IndustryGuide_NowAdvertiseThis.pdf"
Media Access Guide	http://seattletimes.nwsource.com/contactus/media/media_access_guide.pdf"
Media Training Manual	http://ruckus.org/downloads/RuckusMediaManual.pdf"
Planning a News Conference	http://www.ssc.org/files/PressConferencePlanningGuide.doc"
Press Releases	http://www.spinproject.org/downloads/PressReleases.pdf"
10 Tips to Get U.S. Media Coverage on Global Issues.	http://www.fenton.com/FENTON_IndustryGuide_OverHere.pdf"
Tell and Sell Your Story	http://www.cccfiles.org/shared/publications/downloads/CCCNews20.pdf"
Ten Steps to Set Your Cause Apart.	http://www.fenton.com/FENTON_IndustryGuide_TakeAPosition.pdf"

Israel Advocacy Handbook http://zionism-israel.com/Israel_Advocacy.pdf

Ten Tips for Turning Your Report into a Morning Headline.	http://www.fenton.com/FENTON_IndustryGuide_InAStudyReleasedToday.pdf"

Communication for persuasion

Smart Chart for Communications	http://www.spitfirestrategies.com/pdfs/smart_chart_2.pdf"
Strategic Communications Planning	http://www.spinproject.org/downloads/StrategicCommunications.pdf"
Successful Communication: A Toolkit	http://www.odi.org.uk/RAPID/Publications/Documents/Comms_tools_web.pdf"
Tools for Policy Impact.	http://www.odi.org.uk/resources/download/156.pdf"
Winning Communication Campaigns	http://www.spitfirestrategies.com/pdfs/spitfire_break_final.pdf"
Writing for Communications	http://www.spinproject.org/downloads/WritingForComms.pdf"
10 Ways to Measure the Impact of Your communications.	http://www.fenton.com/FENTON_IndustryGuide_ProvingYourWorth.pdf"
Ten Lessons From Public Interest Communications.	http://www.fenton.com/FENTON_IndustryGuide_ThisJustIn.pdf"
The 9 Laws of Successful Advocacy Communications.	http://www.fenton.com/FENTON_IndustryGuide_NowHearThis.pdf"

Internet Skills

6 Steps to Joining the Web 2.0 Conversation.	http://www.fenton.com/WATTA_GUIDE_FENTON.pdf"

Art and Science of Web Design	http://mirror.randomfoo.net/books/artsci/veen-artsci.pdf"
Cyber Operations	http://documents.scribd.com/docs/1sku6jrc5dvk8vgmz5nb.pdf"
Digital Activism Decoded	http://meta-activism.org/wp-content/uploads/2010/04/Digital-Activism-Decoded-OFFICIAL.pdf"
Digital Security and Privacy.	http://www.frontlinedefenders.org/manual/en/esecman/esecman.en.pdf"
Digital Security Booklet.	http://security.ngoinabox.org/book/export/html/136"
Guide to Bypassing Internet Censorship.	http://www.civisec.org/sites/all/themes/civisec/guides/everyone's-guide-english.pdf"
Handbook 2 for Cyber-Dissidents	http://www.rsf.org/IMG/pdf/Bloggers_Handbook2.pdf"
How to Bypass Internet Censorship.	http://en.flossmanuals.net/CircumventionTools/FM_26Nov09.pdf"
Online Communications	http://www.spinproject.org/downloads/onlinecomms.pdf"
Principles of Beautiful Web Design	http://www.sitepoint.com/print/principles-beautiful-web-design"
Tools and Tactics for Your Digital Security.	http://security.ngoinabox.org/sites/all/security/booklet-en.pdf"
Twitter for Activism.	http://www.digiactive.org/wp-content/uploads/digiactive_twitter_guide_v1-0.pdf"
Tutorial: Bypass Internet Censorship	http://bgeorge.net/Documents/Bypass%20Censor.pdf"
Using the "We Media"	http://documents.scribd.com/docs/1unt678zlbgw6ngq3mi9.pdf"
Virtual Volunteering Guidebook	http://www.serviceleader.org/new/documents/vvguide.pdf"

Appendix G: Persuasion and Attitude Change Bibliography

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