concessions and constantly saying "I am prepared to concede" and using the word "peace" will lead to anything? No, that will just invite pressure, and more and more wars. "Si vis pacem, para bellum"—if you want peace, prepare for war; be strong.

We definitely want peace, but the other side also bears responsibility. We have proven our desire for peace more than any other country in the world. No country has made concessions the way Israel has. Since 1977, we have given up areas of land three times the size of the State of Israel. So we have proven the point.

The Oslo process began in 1993. Sixteen years have passed since then, and I do not see that we are any closer to a permanent settlement. There is one document that binds us and it is not the Annapolis conference. That has no validity. When we drafted the basic government policy guidelines, we certainly stated that we would honor all the agreements and all the undertakings of previous governments. The continuity of government is respected in Israel. I voted against the road map, but that was the only document approved by the cabinet and by the Security Council—I believe it was Resolution 1505. It is a binding resolution and it binds this government as well.

The Israeli government never approved Annapolis, neither the cabinet nor the Knesset, so anyone who wants to amuse himself can continue to do so. I have seen all the proposals made so generously by Ehud Olmert, but I have not seen any results.

So we will therefore act exactly according to the road map, including the Tenet document (see Doc. D2 in *JPS* 121) and the Zinni document. I will never agree to our waiving all the clauses—I believe there are 48 of them—and going directly to the last clause, negotiations on a permanent settlement. No. These concessions do not achieve anything. We will adhere to it to the letter, exactly as written. Clauses one, two, three, four—dismantling terrorist organizations, establishing an effective government, making a profound constitutional change in the Palestinian Authority. We will proceed exactly according to the clauses. We are also obligated to implement what is required of us in each clause, but so is the other side. They must implement the document in full, including—as I said—the Zinni document and the Tenet document. I am not so sure that the Palestinian Authority or even we—in those circles that espouse peace so

much—are aware of the existence of the Tenet and Zinni documents.

When was Israel at its strongest in terms of public opinion around the world? After the victory of the Six-Day War, not after all the concessions in Oslo accords I, II, III, and IV. Anyone who wants to maintain his status in public opinion must understand that if he wants respect, he must first respect himself. I think that, at least from our standpoint, will be our policy.

UNITED STATES

D1. THE ISRAEL PROJECT, "25 RULES FOR EFFECTIVE COMMUNICATION," APRIL 2009 (EXCERPTS).

The Israel Project (TIP), a pro-Israel media consulting firm "devoted to educating the press and the public about Israel while promoting security, freedom, and peace," commissioned Republican pollster and political language expert Frank Luntz to craft a language strategy for "visionary leaders who are on the front lines of fighting the media war for Israel" to talk to Americans with the aim of "winning the hearts and minds of the public." Luntz's first Global Language Dictionary for TIP was published in 2003; the 2009 Global Language Dictionary is the result of revisions based on research conducted in 2008.

The 117-page document is available in full at www.docstoc.com/docs/8303274/ The-Israel-Projects-2009-Global-Language-Dictionary; the following excerpts are taken from chapter 1.

The 25 Rules for Effective Communication

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

1) Persuadables won't care how much you know until they know how much you care. Show empathy for BOTH sides! The goal of pro-Israel communications is not simply to make people who already love Israel feel good about that decision. The goal is to win new hearts and minds for Israel without losing the support Israel already has. To do this you have to understand that the frame from which most Americans view Israel is one of "cycle of violence"

that has been going on for thousands of years." Thus, you have to disarm them from their suspicions before they will be open to learning new facts about Israel.

The first step to winning trust and friends for Israel is showing that you care about peace for BOTH Israelis and Palestinians and, in particular, a better future for every child

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

Use empathy: even the toughest questions can be turned around if you are willing to accept the notion that the other side has at least some validity. If you begin your response with "I understand and I sympathize with those who . . ." you are already building the credibility you will need for your audience to empathize and agree with you. . . .

2) Explain your principles. All too often both Arab and Israeli spokespeople go right into an attack against the other, and virtually no one on either side explains the principles behind their actions. Americans respond much better to facts, actions, and results when they know why—not just how. For example, why is there a security fence? Because more than 250 times terrorists have come through that area killing innocent people. Israel is forced to defend its citizens from terrorism, and the fence is a part of this defense.

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

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

and that sympathy will increase if you fail to differentiate the people from their leaders.

Words that Work

We know that the Palestinians deserve leaders who will care about the wellbeing of their people, and who do not simply take hundreds of millions of dollars in assistance from the United States and Europe, put them in Swiss bank accounts, and use them to support terror instead of peace. The Palestinians need books, not bombs. They want roads, not rockets. . . .

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

. . .

5) Don't pretend that Israel is without mistakes or fault. It's not true and no one believes it. Pretending Israel is free from errors does not pass the smell test. It will only make your listeners question the veracity of everything else you say. Admitting that Israel has and continues to make mistakes does not undermine the overall justice of Israel's goals: peace and security and a better quality of life for BOTH sides. Use humility:

I know that in trying to defend its children and citizens from terrorists that Israel has accidentally hurt innocent people. I know it, and I'm sorry for it. But what can Israel do to defend itself? If the United States had given up land for peace—and that land had been used for launching rockets at the United States, what would the United States do? Israel was attacked with thousands of rockets from Iran-backed Palestinian terrorists in Gaza. What should Israel have done to protect her children? . . .

- 6) Be careful of your tone. A patronizing, parental tone will turn Americans and Europeans off. We're at a time in history when Jews in general (and Israelis in particular) are no longer perceived as the persecuted people. In fact, among U.S. and European audiences—sophisticated, educated, opinionated, non-Jewish audiences—Israelis are often seen as the occupiers and the aggressors. With that kind of baggage, it is critical that messages from the pro-Israel spokespeople not come across as supercilious or condescending. . . .
- 7) Stop. Stop. Stop. Most of this document is written in a positive, hopeful, instructive tone. But there is one aspect of

Palestinian behavior that you have every right to demand an end to—and will win points by doing so. The more you talk about the militaristic tone and jihadist goals of Iran-backed terrorists—by using their own words—the more empathy you will create for Israel.

8) Remind people—again and again—that Israel wants peace. Reason one: if Americans see no hope for peace . . . [they] will not want their government to spend tax dollars or their president's clout on helping Israel. Reason two: the speaker that is perceived as being most for PEACE will win the debate. . . .

Words that Work

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

. .

10) Draw direct parallels between Israel and the United States—including the need to defend against terrorism. From history to culture to values, the more you focus on the similarities between Israel and the United States, the more likely you are to win the support of those who are neutral. Indeed, Israel is an important U.S. ally in the war against terrorism and faces many of the same challenges as the United States in protecting their citizens. . . .

The language of Israel is the language of the United States: "democracy," "freedom," "security," and "peace." These four words are at the core of the U.S. political, economic, social, and cultural systems, and they should be repeated as often as possible because they resonate with virtually every American. . . .

- Israel, the United States' ally, is a democracy in the Middle East. In Israel, Christians, Muslims, and Jews all have freedom of speech, religion, and a right to vote. . . .
- In contrast to those in the Middle East who indoctrinate their children to become hate mongers and suicide bombers, Israel educates their children to strive for progress and peace. . . .
- 11) Don't talk about religion. Americans who see the bible as their sourcebook on foreign affairs are already supporters of Israel. Religious fundamentalists are Israel's "amen choir" and they make up approxi-

mately one-fourth of the American public and Israel's strongest friends in the world. However, some of those who are most likely to believe that Israel is a religious state are most hostile toward Israel ("they're just as extreme as those religious Arab countries they criticize"). Unfortunately . . . the defense of Israel as a "Jewish state" or "Zionist state" will be received quite poorly. This may be hard for the Jewish community to accept but this is how most Americans and Europeans feel. . . .

12) No matter what you are asked, bridge to a productive pro-Israel message. When asked a direct question, you don't have to answer it directly. You are in control of what you say and how you say it. Remember, your goal in doing interviews is not only to answer questions, it is to bring persuadable members of the audience to Israel's side in the conflict. Start by acknowledging their question and agreeing that both sides-Israelis and Palestinians—deserve a better future. Remind your audience that Israel wants peace. Then focus on shared values. Once you have done this, you will have built enough support for you to say what Israel really wants: For the Palestinians to end the violence and the culture of hate so that fences and checkpoints are no longer needed and both sides can live in peace. And for Iran-backed terrorists in Gaza to stop shooting rockets into Israel so that both sides can have a better future.

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

13) Talk about the future, not the past. Spending time giving the public a history lesson on the maps of Israel will put your audience to sleep—at best. At worst, if you spend your communications capital (time and money) on history lessons of who got what land when and who promised what to whom, it will be viewed by Americans and Europeans as a game of gotcha and not a vision for a better future. Remember—communications is not a test for who can remember the most facts. Listeners want simple messages that will answer their

simple, silent question: "What is in it for my country and for me to support Israel?"

14) Hope. The expectations for peace are about as low as they can go. But the side that presents a more hopeful future—and the willingness to work hard to make it happen—will win hearts and minds going forward. This is the language people want to hear: "The day will come when Israeli children and Palestinian children will grow up together, play together, and eventually work together side-by-side not just because they have to but because they want to." . . .

15) Use rhetorical questions. Avoid headon attacks of your opponents. Use a soft tone. Show regret that the Palestinians have been led so poorly. Ask: "How can the current Palestinian leadership honestly say it will pursue peace when previous leaders rejected an offer to create a Palestinian state just a few short years ago and now refuse to live up to their responsibilities as outlined in the road map?" . . . And here is a simpler batch of questions to keep in mind:

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

17) K.I.S.S. and tell, and tell again and again. A key rule of successful communications is "Keep It Simple, Stupid." Successful communications is not about being able to recite every fact from the long history of the Arab-Israeli conflict. It is about pointing out a few core principles of shared values—such as democracy and freedom—and repeating them over and over again.

Have I written often enough yet that you need to start with empathy for both sides, remind your audience that Israel wants peace, and then repeat the messages of democracy, freedom, and peace over and over again? For those not already pro-Israel, but who belong to the category of persuadables, we need to repeat the message, on average, ten times to be effective.

21) Concede a point. Look for opportunities in every TV debate or interview to concede a point to the interviewer or debate partner. It doesn't have to be a major point. The point isn't to undermine some essential plank of Israel's foreign policy platform. But

the simple words "you make a good point" do wonders among an audience.

. . .

23) Acknowledge the complexities of the situation and attempt to simplify and clarify. The public believes that the issues that cause conflict between Israelis and Palestinians are complex and date back hundreds or thousands of years. They agree that there are many different sticking points that need to be negotiated. Yet while the problems are complex, they want the solutions to be simple: Peace. Mutual respect. Two nations living side by side. Children growing up without fear for their safety. These are all simple concepts that Americans want all sides to agree on as central goals.

Words that Work

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

. . .

25) Also, don't try to stack your credibility up against the global community's. Yes, much of the world and many influential members of the United Nations are hostile to Israel's existence. But the public doesn't want to hear Israeli politicians complain about this fact. The Israel-against-the-world, woe-are-we approach comes across as divisive. . . .

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

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