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The "Soft War" against Israel: Motivations and Solutions

Herzliya Report

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Executive Summary

Background

In recent years the State of Israel has been facing a "soft war", the aim of which is to turn Israel into a pariah state by the following means: by de-legitimizing the Jewish people's national identity; by denying Israel's right to exist as a Jewish state; by presenting it as an obsolete anachronistic colonialist entity; by justifying terror attacks against Israel as understandable "acts of desperation" committed by those who have not been able to achieve their rights in any other way; by denying Israel's right to defend itself against such threats; and by presenting it as the primary responsible factor for all the problems in the Middle East. The methods to waging this "soft war" are multiple and diverse: the spreading of false information in the media; equating Israel to negative historical phenomena (e.g. Fascism) thus justifying those who de-legitimize Israel; the exploitation of legal systems worldwide in order to limit Israeli citizens' freedom of movement; and the calling for an academic, cultural and economic boycott against Israel and its citizens.

This "soft war" is a new strategic challenge for the State of Israel and should not be regarded as an extension of the public diplomacy (*"Hasbarah"*) challenges to which Israel has been accustomed. Israeli failure in this "war" undermines the efforts to promote peace between Israel and the Arab world in general, particularly with the Palestinians, and endangers two of Israel's most vital "soft" components of national security: the acceptance by the international community of Israel's right to exist and the confidence of the citizens of Israel in the state's future. The perception by Israel's enemies that Israel is losing these foundations of its soft power will increase their motivation to initiate acts of "real" war.

The motivation of those who wage this "soft war" and of those who cooperate with them is not uniform, although they do share a mutual focus on an anti-Israeli agenda which virtually sidelines any other public or political issue. Most of them resist calls for a factual debate or for a more balanced approach, forcing Israel to fight them indirectly and to compete for the sympathy of common target audiences.

The success of the "soft war" against Israel can be attested by a number of factors. Israel can influence some, while others must be taken as basic factors of the modern international community and can thus only be taken into consideration:

- The West's inclination to support the perceived weaker side of a conflict and the Palestinians' image as such. Israel's military campaigns almost unfailingly strengthen the international community's sympathy with Israel's opponent. Even when there is sympathy for Israeli suffering or recognition of Israel's right to react, this sympathy tends to dissipate quickly as soon as hostilities commence.

- The Western liberal left-wing camp's sympathy for the Arab-Muslim narrative, stemming from a worldview of post-colonial guilt; hostility toward the US and identification of the latter with Israel; feelings of guilt regarding the wave of hostility against Muslims among the Western right in the aftermath of the September 11 attacks; and the unpopularity of the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan.

- The fading of the memory of the Holocaust, which in the past made it difficult for the media and political elements to accept incitement against and demonization of the Jews due to its horrific and tragic outcomes, and perhaps due to feelings of guilt.

Due to its deeds and omissions Israel likewise bears great responsibility for its rivals' motivation to use "soft warfare" against it:

- In its "sins of commission": Israel provides its critics with new "ammunition" through military operations, for which Israel pays in terms of its international standing and which turn out to be counter-productive due to their broader political effects. Israeli governments seem often not to be aware of the second and third tier consequences of these campaigns and do not dedicate sufficient attention to dealing with them. Israeli military operations carried out in the midst of overcrowded civilian populations will always be used by the anti-Israeli propaganda system, which could not care less about the fact that Israel harms a smaller number of civilians than any other country fighting terror under similar circumstances.

- In its "sins of omission": In response to a well-orchestrated anti-Israel campaign, Israel very often provides defensive, ad hoc responses with no guiding hand or clear strategic planning. With no governmental body guiding the process, each ministry or well-intending Israeli or Jewish NGO does what it deems best for Israel's interest, and in the process consequently contradicts each other, while other military, economic, legal and intelligence governmental bodies are not exploited to their fullest . The very concept of *Hasbarah* is passive, as it is a response to criticism, as opposed to a proactive approach. Naturally such responses take time to formulate, and therefore by the time they are issued, their relevance has diminished. "Soft warfare" has never been integrated into the Israeli military planning doctrine. Israel hesitates to confront Arab states with which it has peaceful relations or to pressure them through influential third parties, enabling them to prefer domestic considerations in allowing their radical opposition to foment extremist anti-Israeli activities. This phenomenon is especially obvious in the Palestinian arena, which produces and provides a large segment of the propaganda material that is being used against Israel.

Recommendations

"Soft warfare" should be treated as a distinctive manifestation and not merely an exacerbation of the image and public diplomacy problems that Israel has known since its establishment and increasingly since 1967. Hence, Israel must build a new and dynamic "toolbox" and must not depend solely on an improvement in the functioning of the existing systems. Coping with "soft warfare" demands a complete reorganization of the system and an integrative comprehensive treatment of several dimensions through various organizational-systemic preparations. This policy paper offers a

fundamental change in the responses the State of Israel has been providing to this challenge to date. The think-tanks have offered recommendations in the following various groupings:

- **Government-level organizational preparations:** It is recommended to carry out a fundamental reorganization of the governmental system that handles issues related to the "soft warfare". In this framework one must determine the modes of collaboration and cooperation by and among Israel's governmental bodies, the IDF and the Israeli security forces, Israeli academia, non-governmental and Jewish organizations. It is further recommended to establish a central body – preferably subordinate to the Prime Minister's Office or the National Defense Council – that will take responsibility for the subject and guide the struggle in full cooperation with the relevant state authorities, and with organizations and figures abroad.

- **Outlining an integrated "combat" doctrine:** This doctrine should be formulated at the strategic level, and should not be left to the dynamics of power politics between the various ministries. The elements of the doctrine should include identifying the enemy; forming of strategy regarding said enemy; choosing means to cope with the enemy; methods to integrate the battle against the "soft warfare" in all political and/or military planning; as well as the linkage between political, military, public diplomacy and economic actions. Israel should also adopt the doctrine of carrying the battles into enemy territory, an outlook which was characteristic of the IDF combat doctrine for decades.

- **Recruiting the intelligence community:** It is recommended to establish a special unit within the intelligence community, which will be responsible for gathering and distributing intelligence and for operational activities in fields relevant to Israel's public diplomacy battle. Such a unit must cooperate with academic bodies responsible for gathering intelligence, in addition to identifying and distributing intelligence and operational material that may contribute to Israel's public diplomacy effort. This unit will issue Essential Elements of Intelligence (EEI) to the intelligence community and will direct the intelligence preparation for thwarting anti-Israel propaganda moves.

- **Formulating patterns and effective messages for public diplomacy:** A three-fold fundamental change in Israel's public diplomacy must be implemented as follows: a transition from a defensive approach in the face of consistent efforts to undermine Israel's legitimacy to an offensive approach to de-legitimizing Israel's de-legitimizers; the definition of a primary consistent message (or brand) that Israel wishes to convey to the world; and the formulating of "counter-messages", the aim of which are to refute the accusations leveled against Israel. There are several principles that may be adopted in order to relay these messages; it is important to locate and emphasize these elements in the campaign against Israel that are allegedly directed only at Israel but are actually an expression of hostility toward the West and Western values. It is likewise important to highlight the contradiction between Western values and those of the Arab and Muslim world in terms of democracy, gender equality, racism, the rule of law, children's rights, punitive measures, and the like.

- **Mobilizing friends and allies:** The State of Israel must formulate a detailed plan to yield the maximum from its friends and allies and to provide them with the necessary information in order that they may play a role in Israel's informal public diplomacy. Such engagement must be

implemented as part of a comprehensive plan based on being familiar with the personalities and the states at work, thus best utilizing their impact. In this framework not only staunch supporters of Israel who back every move of its government, but also those bodies that are critical of Israel on certain issues but that are prepared to join the broader campaign against Israel's de-legitimization are important.

- **Formulating legal responses and initiatives:** The State of Israel should not only defend itself against legal proceedings filed against it, but should also initiate proceedings against these hostile elements. In this framework it is permitted to (i) initiate legal proceedings (warrants, prohibition of entry to certain states, etc.) against both those who incite against Israel as well as against those who support the inciters by further publicizing slander, and (ii) to promote legislation initiatives to enable to incriminate said inciters and agitators. For this purpose Israel must establish a system to monitor the legal status in the relevant states in order to identify opportunities for legal action. Additionally, it is of great importance to set up systems for monitoring publications for references to inciters' visitations in third-world countries and alerts for such expected visitations, etc. It is especially important to follow the illegal utilization of public funds in Western countries in order to impact the legislation throughout Europe in order to align European legislation regarding the illegal use of funds with that of the level of US legislation.

- **Educational activities:** There is no doubt that education is one of the key elements in the peace process. However, the State of Israel has not placed this issue high enough in rank on its agenda and has never stipulated policy actions on actions within the educational field. Israel can be supported by the West in such an endeavor, especially by Europe, where the importance of peace education receives high priority now more than ever before. Appealing to Western audiences regarding this matter must be done using concepts familiar to such audiences. In this context it is essential to make a link between the need to fight Jew-hatred in education to the need to fight xenophobia in education in general. Israel should encourage Western elements who wish to promote such programs to impose educational curricula changes on the Palestinians.

- **Economic activity:** Coping with the exacerbating attempts to impose a siege upon Israel necessitates expertise, networking and the inclusion of Israel's business community. Israel must set up systems for tracking and monitoring the economic warfare being used against it and initiate counter-measures. The State of Israel should make efforts to reduce the massive amounts of international aid given to the Palestinians as a means to put pressure on them as well as on the non-governmental organizations and UN agencies taking advantage of the fact that this aid is by no means proportional and exceeds the aid given to all other needy peoples worldwide. Similarly, Israel must take advantage of states' natural inclination to demand control and supervision of their financial aid in order to make it more difficult for the Palestinians to misuse these funds for anti-Israel purposes. Israel should publicize the fact that the majority of financial aid provided by other countries to the Palestinians is not in fact used for its intended purpose of promoting the Palestinian nation-building process, but is rather used to pay wages and bribe certain segments in the population in a manner counter-productive to economic growth; hence, the Palestinian government that presents itself as planning the establishment of Palestine with the help of these funds is in fact directly misleading the international community.

A. General

In recent years elements hostile to Israel have been waging a "soft war" against the State of Israel. There are certain purposes to this strategic campaign taking place in the international arena: the de-legitimization of the Jewish people's national identity; the denial of the Jewish people's national right for self determination; denying the State of Israel's right to exist; and portraying Israel as a negative entity that threatens the entire international community. So far, the "soft war" has made substantial headway in de-legitimization of Israel's military and diplomatic policies and its right to defend itself against threats, as well as in introducing to the Western mainstream a worldview that perceives Israel as an anachronistic entity representing a long forgotten colonial culture, destined to disappear from the political map. In this context, the Goldstone Report is not only an insubstantial and unconvincing legal report ordered by Israel's traditional enemies, but is also a landmark of this "soft warfare".

The means to waging this war are numerous and varied/diverse: a disproportionate focus on Israel, so much so as to ignore all other factors when analyzing the international arena; the institution of legal proceedings aimed at curbing Israel's political-diplomatic and military actions; the spreading of distorted information in the media, the goal of which is to damage international public and governmental support for Israel; the promotion/initiation of actions to impose an academic, cultural and economic boycott on the State of Israel, and so forth.

This "soft warfare" constitutes a strategic challenge to the State of Israel; It undermines the efforts to promote peace between Israel and the Arab world in general, particularly between Israel and the Palestinians, and also damages Israel's most vital "soft" components of national strength: acceptance by the international community of Israel's right to exist and the confidence of Israel's citizens in its future. No future agreement between Israel and the Palestinians will succeed in the face of the radicalization of the young Palestinian generation by its leaders for political reasons, which in turn constrains the leadership's flexibility in the negotiations with Israel. If Israel is perceived as losing the foundations of its soft power, the motivation among its adversaries to initiate comprehensive warfare against it shall continue to increase.

B. The Characteristics of the "Soft War" against Israel

The "soft warfare" against Israel is based on both underlying characteristics and current processes within the societies in which it takes place. There are various explanations for the Western mainstream media's growing willingness to adopt an outright anti-Israeli approach that is sometimes supplemented by anti-Semitic tones[1] the likes of which would have been utterly rejected by the same media in the past, such as:

- International and regional political processes, including the West's inclination to support those who are perceived as oppressed and weak, and the Palestinians' image as such; the portrayal of the Palestinians as a people oppressed and occupied by Israel for over 40 years; an apologetic worldview that is linked to a "post-colonial guilt syndrome" that has spread in and among

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[1] For example, the August 2009 article in the Swedish newspaper *Aftonbladet* claiming that Israeli soldiers harvested organs from Palestinians that had died in their custody in the early 1990s.

European (mainly leftist) academic, political and cultural circles; and the notion that Israel is the last colonialist stronghold on earth.

- The September 11 attacks and the reaction of the Western leftist and liberal camps to the anti-Muslim eruption in their aftermath and the unpopularity of the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. This reaction tends to explain the attacks as deriving from a specific political situation, a change of which will cause this phenomenon to disappear.

- The identification between Israel and the US: hostility towards Israel is often the corollary of an anti-American and anti-colonial ideology quite common among the European liberal left, which acknowledges the Muslim narrative regarding the West's responsibility for the current state of Third World countries.

- The fading of the Holocaust trauma, its memory and the guilt previously common in the West: the memory of the Holocaust created a direct connection between pre-World War II incitement against and demonization of the Jews, European society's acceptance of this phenomenon of Jew-hatred, and the Holocaust that took place on European soil. Until recently the elite of the political and media milieu was composed of individuals who had themselves experienced the Second World War and felt an aversion to Arab and Muslim attempts to exploit anti-Jewish or anti-Israel sentiment through the Western media. Today, few world or media leaders remain who shared the formative trauma of the Second World War and the Holocaust.

- Israel's military campaigns almost always make the world sympathize with the opposing side. It is nearly impossible to sympathize with Israel's restraint vis-à-vis the terror attacks against it when photos of civilian population's suffering are spread around the world. While Israel's opponents are always prepared to wage their campaign against Israel using these photos, Israel refrains from broadcasting hard-to-watch images of attacks against its citizens that might increase empathy for Israel.

- Western – particularly European – citizens' desire to live well and in prosperity, and the identification of this interest with close relations with the Arab world, especially the oil states. The individual's (most often from the business sector) economic interest is linked to the economic interest (in terms of energy) of the states in order to facilitate the acceptance of the Arab-Muslim "narrative" in the conflict.

The "soft war" against Israel makes extensive use of "war by analogy", i.e. equating the attacked party (Israel in this case) with another entity or historic event that is perceived as the manifestation of the negative feature one wishes to attribute to that party. This method was used by the American administration against Saddam Hussein, who was equated with Hitler, and is now frequently being used by Israel's adversaries. The primary steps in this method are the following:

1. Equating Israel with a Crusader state, thus labeling Israel as illegitimate and foreign to this region: radical Islamic elements often use this analogy while presenting Israel as "the first" representative of "modern Crusaders" (embodied by the US and its allies) that have imposed war on the Muslim world. The obvious conclusion therefore is that Israel – just like the Crusaders Kingdom – is weak at its core (Hasan Nasrallah's "spider's web" theory) and thus only temporary and conquerable in a military campaign.

2. Describing Israel as a Western colony, the only one remaining following the end of the Colonial period, established by the West in order to atone for its treatment of the Jews during the Second World War at the expense of the Palestinians. The conclusion drawn is that a popular armed struggle utilizing guerilla warfare (e.g. the Algerian FLN struggle against French rule) can bring about the break down of the "colony" and the withdrawal of the "colonizers" (or settlers) back to their homelands.

3. Equating Israel with the former Apartheid regime in South Africa, and claiming that the Israeli Jews, like the white people in South Africa, are responsible for the creation of a racially segregated regime intent on ruling the Palestinians. The conclusion reached is that it is possible to recruit broad international support for Israel's isolation, to eventually bring about its collapse.

4. Describing Israel as a dark "theocratic" state in order to undermine the notion that it belongs to the enlightened secular West.

The first analogy (i.e. equating Israel with a Crusader state) is not very popular in the Western world and garners limited support in the Muslim world as well. However, the proposed connection to Colonialism and Apartheid is much more problematic for Israel, since both phenomena originated in the West, and have since been denunciated by Western culture, joined by Western society's great remorse for its responsibility for the phenomena. The more that Western societies are convinced that Israel is indeed a remnant of these phenomena, the less will be their support for Israel.

C. The "Soft War's" Motives

The motivation among the wagers of the "soft war" and their collaborators is not uniform. Some of them maintain that they are not driven by the will to undermine Israel's existence, but rather by their opposition to Israel's policies; if Israel's policy will change they claim that they will no longer be part of Israel's opponents' camp. Others publicly announce their support for the ideology that portrays Israel as an alien, harmful entity in the Middle East, a Colonial era anachronistic organism that must be wiped off the face of the earth. What is common to both contentions is the bias that makes them focus solely on an anti-Israeli agenda at the expense of any other public or political issue. Actions attributed to Israel hardly ever receive attention – not to mention a call for counter-measures – when they are committed in other arenas or by other actors. In such cases those who commit such "sins" are immune to any practical debate or call for a more balanced approach. Therefore, while battling in the framework of the "soft war", Israel competes with its opponents for the sympathy of a mutual target audience, but only Israel's standards of conduct are judged, not its competitors'.

Regarding the Arab and Muslim elements that initiated that "soft" campaign against Israel it is possible to detect several motives:

▪ An entrenched, deeply rooted anti-Semitism in the Muslim world that is manifested by the depiction of Jews as the worst of Islam's enemies and as the descendants of apes and pigs, and by the historical narrative regarding the liquidation of the Jewish tribes of the Arabian Peninsula. This Islamic tradition was tolerant towards the Jews (and Christians) as long as they were second class citizens under Muslim rule (*dhimmi* or *ahl al-dhimma*, which literally means the people of the

contract). The reality that was created with the establishment of the State of Israel, which made such "dhimmis" equal (and militarily and economically superior) to the Muslims, was unbearable for the latter. No wonder therefore that it is the Muslim Brotherhood movement that has adopted attitudes towards the Jews that are basically similar to the ones characterizing modern European anti-Semitism, and has encouraged the revitalization of Western anti-Semitic literature.[2]

- Identifying the West's commitment to Israel as a derivative of the Holocaust narrative ranks the undermining of this narrative as the highest priority of the "soft warfare". Therefore, Holocaust denial in the Muslim world is quite acceptable in broad intellectual circles, both Islamic and secular.

- The failure of conventional military warfare and sub-conventional warfare (terror and guerilla) against Israel has been credited in large part to the international support Israel received while under attack. Therefore, undermining this international support has become a primary target for Israel's enemies.

- Previous successful "soft warfare" campaigns, primarily the international boycott imposed on the apartheid regime of South Africa, was a major factor in the collapse of the regime. This precedent raises hopes among Israel's enemies, who believe that imitating the process of the de-legitimization of South Africa will bring about a similar collapse in Israel's national strength.

- The desire to exploit the relative advantage of the Arab-Muslim camp in international organizations – particularly in the UN – and to take advantage of both the Third World countries' automatic majority in these forums and the Western countries' willingness to acquiesce to the hijacking of these international institutions for the exclusive purpose of attacking Israel. This Western willingness stems from *Realpolitik* considerations of the relations with the Arab and Muslim states and from the West's desire to pacify the large Muslim constituency, especially in Europe.

- The willingness of elements of Western civil society to cooperate in "soft warfare" against Israel as opposed to their reservations regarding direct support of terror and war. One may note the boycott imposed by the British government on products originating from the settlements as a means to differentiate between "legitimate" and "illegitimate" Israeli products, as an element of the "soft warfare" used against Israel.

- A long lasting tradition of opposition to Zionism and any other manifestation of Jewish nationalism entrenched in the European left's political thinking. Some of the Western leftist movements have even found supporting arguments in the writings of Marx and Lenin for traditional anti-Semitic myths (e.g. a Jewish conspiracy to rule the world, which has been transformed to exaggerated Israeli influence over the US). In Europe, both the revelation of the magnitude of the Holocaust and Soviet support for the establishment of the State of Israel helped narrow the scope of anti-Semitism among the European left, but did not manage to quell it entirely. In fact, the anti-Zionist movement and its supporters are attentive to the argumentations made by opponents of Israel. It is also important to note that the willingness in the Western world to adopt the above Arab-Muslin narratives is no longer restricted to radical leftist elements; rather, these messages have

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[2] Especially popular in the Arab and Muslim world are *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* and *Mein Kampf.*

permeated the Western-educated middle class mainstream that strives for a cause célèbre in the image of the Palestinian narrative.

- The opportunity that was created in light of what seems to be the erosion of the historical alliance between Israel and the US following Barack Obama's election to the presidency.

- The tolerance of the West towards the propaganda campaigns run against it by religious establishments in the Muslim world, including exhortation to Muslims to wage jihad and slaughter the "infidels" who have conquered Iraq and Afghanistan and justifications for suicide attacks. The West does not place such phenomena on its diplomatic agenda, nor does it seriously propose measures to put a stop to these phenomena. This passive approach is partially due to Western principles of freedom of expression and religion which create a certain difficulty in making an exception for Islamic incitement. The tolerance of this incitement is also linked to the willingness of the Western governments to accept the argument that the Muslim regimes cannot combat the incitement for fear of the influence on domestic stability and due to the need to let public opinion "let off steam".

It is possible, for instance, to distinguish between incitement stemming from religious and ideological motives and politically motivated incitement: there is no doubt that the radical Islamic camp – from the Muslim Brotherhood and Hamas to Sunni al-Qa'ida, Shiite Iran and Hizballah – is motivated by a strong and deeply-rooted belief that the Jews are a despicable people that must be liquidated, and that it is their duty to fulfill this purpose whether it is realistic or not, maintaining that although they may be unable to fulfill the mission they are not exempted from making their utmost effort to do so. On the other hand, there are those who allow incitement or deal in it themselves for the purpose of political gain; among these are Abu Mazen and many Palestinian top-ranked officials. An additional distinction can be made between hatred and de-legitimization: there are numerous phenomena of Israel and Jews hatred, but these do not always necessarily lead to the denial of Israel's right to exist.

D. Israel's Failures in the "Soft War"

Israel's opponents' motivation to wage "soft warfare" derives, to a large extent, from Israel's own policy negligence. The State of Israel limits itself to responding to its detractors but refrains from using the same methods against them. The term *Hasbarah* itself alludes to efforts to achieve vindication and to a response to an "indictment" rather than a pro-active attack on Israel's opponents. It is also clear that Israeli combat operations within civilian populations – whether these are routine anti-terror security measures or a continuous military campaign – are easily exploited as raw material for the propaganda campaign against Israel, and it makes no difference whether or not Israel hits civilian populations more or less frequently than other country that fights terror under the same circumstances (Iraq and Afghanistan). The less raw material that reaches the hands of Israel's slanderers, the easier it will be for Israel to wage its own media campaign. This reality must be considered and acknowledged by those planning military operations and by those at the operation level and likewise must be part of any operation order: Israel has to cope with a situation in which the other side forces IDF soldiers to fight in the midst of densely populated areas, which lends itself to the inevitable images of innocent civilians being killed or wounded.

Israel also contributes to the "soft warfare" against it, by adopting a forgiving and inconsistent attitude towards those who wage "soft warfare" against it. The problem of how to deal with "soft warfare" has never received the appropriate attention in the Israeli military planning procedures. Faced with public diplomacy dilemmas, Israel tends to respond with an ad hoc, defensive response to its critics. Naturally such responses cannot be provided on the spot, and thus even when an appropriate response to a criticism has been formulated, the media effect of such a response becomes irrelevant.

Another way by which Israel's policy indirectly encourages the "soft warfare" against it lies in its relations with those Arab states with which Israel has peaceful relations. Ever since the signing of the peace treaty with Egypt, and more obviously since the Oslo Accords, Israeli governments have tended to disregard clear violations of the "spirit of peace" expressed in incitement against and demonization of Israel and the Jews. Consequently, Arab regimes remain free to allow radical elements within their countries to "let off steam" against Israel, thus diverting and minimizing the radical elements' anger and criticism against the regimes themselves. Even with regard to the Palestinians there is a tendency in Israel to attribute manifestations of de-legitimization of Israel expressed in ideology, perceptions, narrative and education as a "domestic" problem. This absence of proper Israeli response exacerbates the conflict, since Israel refrains from drawing "red lines" for incitement and does not try to deter the Arab countries with which it has diplomatic relations from such incitement. The Goldstone Report is an example of an extreme case in which Israel had not made it clear to the Palestinian Authority (PA) that it would punish the latter for its attempts to slander Israel's reputation in the international arena. The Goldstone Commission and its report are the result of intensive PA lobbying at the UN and in Europe throughout Operation Cast Lead (January 2009), during which Abu Mazen blamed Israel for committing war crimes against the Palestinians in Gaza. Israel did not use its sway to put pressure on the PA (and the international elements that supported its accusations) and did not act with the appropriate sensitivity (e.g. by publicizing the fact that it had put pressure on the PA) in order to put an end to the problem at an early stage.

At the governmental level, there is no single body with the mandate to cope with manifestations of "soft warfare" or, indeed, an appropriate multidisciplinary public body capable of running such a campaign. Every ministry that operates a public affairs unit takes part in Israel's *Hasbarah* in accordance with its own respective capacities and scope of responsibility: the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' responsibility is to explain Israel's policy; the IDF Spokesperson "explains" the army's operations and actions; the Ministry of Tourism works diligently on "branding" Israel for foreign tourists; and the economic ministries strive to "brand" Israel as a worthy venue for investments and commerce. However, there is no integrative operational public diplomacy plan that can coordinate the activities of all these ministries and bodies together and that can set targets and priorities. The situation is further complicated due to the fact that in addition to the official state bodies that take part in Israel's *Hasbarah* there are also numerous Israeli and Jewish non-governmental organizations (NGOs) operating for the sake of the State of Israel, each doing what it deems best based on its own initiative and interests. Unfortunately the messages of these bodies do not necessarily correspond with those of the state. The State of Israel does not operate any forum or body that communicates on a daily basis with these volunteer organizations and bodies.

Legal procedures play an increasingly greater role in the struggle of Israel's enemies. Operating against these procedures necessitates expertise and attentiveness to what is happening both in the

international law arena and in individual states' legal systems. Quite often, the State of Israel activates its legal mechanisms only after the legal threat has already materialized rather than utilizing these mechanisms in order to provide an early warning, strategic consultancy and a proactive operation.

There is a distinctive gap in the handling of the "soft war's" Essential Elements of Intelligence (EEI) among the Israeli intelligence community as well. In fact, there is no single body or functionary in the intelligence community in charge of monitoring the manifestations of the "soft war" against Israel. This very low intensity "war" tends to fall between the cracks when high-intensity security threats (primarily the fight against terror and the Iranian nuclear program) demand most of the intelligence community's attention and resources. This gap was discernable in Israel's belated and lame response to the process leading up to the Goldstone Report.

Israel's conduct vis-à-vis the "soft warfare" threat is inconsistent as well when one compares dire concerns Israeli officials express to their Western colleagues regarding campaigns of de-legitimization, and the absence of such expressions in direct discourse between Israeli leaders and their Palestinian, Arab and Muslim counterparts.

E. The Palestinian Arena in the "Soft War"

A primary source for the materials used to carry out "soft warfare" against Israel is the Palestinian arena. The Palestinian messages' impact is felt beyond the West Bank and Gaza, for the messages are carried into the Arab and Muslim world and are transmitted from there directly to Europe, straight into the hands of the Western mainstream media and decision makers. These messages are spread not only by Hamas but also by officials in Fatah and the PA. The latter are driven not only by their rivalry with Hamas, but even almost two decades following the Oslo Accords, a large segment of the Fatah movement is still confined to a self-image of a "national liberation movement" that is committed to the liberation of all the lands of Palestine, and has not yet adjusted itself to the worldview of a government paving the way for the future state. The "totality" of this goal requires the total demonization of Israel.

However, due to the PA's dependence on Western aid, its spokesmen have, in the past, made efforts to conceal hate messages from international public opinion. For example, during the sixth conference of the Fatah movement (November 2009) official reports declared the movement's decision to renounce the armed struggle against Israel; however, leaks from the closed sessions proved that the old terminology of armed struggle and jihad against Israel is still very much alive. During these sessions PA senior officials discussed the need to revert to the carrying out of suicide attacks ('*amaliyyat istishhadiyya*) and to the "popular Intifada" (*intifada sha'biyya*). The latter term is interpreted in the West as part of a legitimate struggle for liberation from occupation despite the fact that its meaning in the Palestinian sense is much broader and includes full-fledged terror attacks. Just before the PA elections (if and when they are held) one should expect to see a more radical tone in addition to harsher anti-Israeli statements as part of the battle to win public opinion.

Incitement of hatred against Israel also plays a central role in all levels of the PA's school textbooks. According to research studies conducted over the past several years on textbooks distributed by the PA's Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Religious Endowments, (i.e. the Fatah controlled government in the West Bank), although there were found to have been some minor changes in the

scope of incitement against Israel in the curricula at certain periods, generally the level of incitement in textbooks has reached the same high levels that characterized the textbooks during Arafat's rule. These books contain language which promotes the outright de-legitimization of Israel; non-recognition of the sacredness of Jewish holy sites (in Jerusalem and in the West Bank); demonization of the Jewish people; a biased description of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict; and a clear abstention from preaching for peace with Israel. Additionally, these books call for continuing the jihad and the struggle for liberation from the Israeli occupation, and further indicate that the struggle will not be over even after Israel withdraws to the 1967 borders.

F. Other Actors: The Arab Media and International Organizations

One of the main venues of incitement against Israel are the news channels broadcasting to the Arab world, such as *al-Jazeera* (Qatar), *al-Manar* (Hizballah), *and al-Arabiya*, among others. Hate indoctrination in this media sends a three-part message to its viewers: the de-legitimization of Israel, the de-humanization of the Jewish people and the demonization of the Zionist idea.[3] These networks, particularly *al-Jazeera*, frequently call for jihad against Israel by exploiting the freedom of the press in the Western world, including Israel. Arab states, such as Egypt and Tunisia, did not hesitate to close the network's offices following the network's harsh criticism of these countries' rulers. Additionally, there is a great deal of anti-Israel incitement in the Arab media that is broadcast to the Muslim world in other languages, including Persian and Urdu. BBC broadcasting in Arabic is particularly noted for the manner in which it publishes unsupervised information passed via reporters who are ideologically linked to elements hostile to Israel.

Other major players utilizing the "soft warfare" against Israel are the NGOs, both foreign and Israeli pro-Palestinian ones. These and other organizations manage to receive European governmental funding for their activities, which include anti-Semitic and anti-Western propaganda. According to estimates, an annual amount of approximately US$50 million dollars reach these bodies, which spread hate messages using European governmental sources.[4]

G. Recommendations for Action

First and foremost, coping with the "soft war" calls for an understanding that these are not simply difficulties of *Hasbarah* or a marketing problem of this or another Israeli "brand"; rather, this is a war waged with special tools to which Israel must adapt and employ itself in retaliation. Thus a thorough reorganization of the system is imperative, in addition to an integrative treatment of numerous

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[3] One characteristic example of hatred toward Israel was the coverage of the Haiti earthquake disaster (January 2010). The *al-Manar TV* screened a video of the Israeli hospital that was set up for treating the wounded Haitians with a subtitle maintaining that the Israelis had set up this hospital because "the Jews were trading the bodies and human organs of the victims, just like they had done with bodies of Palestinians in the West Bank".

[4] Such examples are European Christian groups operating on behalf of churches as aid agencies directly supported by European governments: Diakonia (Sweden), Trocaire (Ireland) and Christian Aid (UK). For more details on these organizations:
http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article/diakonia
http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article/trocaire
http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article/christian_aid_uk

inseparable aspects; this also necessitates various organizational-systemic arrangements. Task forces have raised several recommendations as a number of related groupings:

- **Outlining a "combat" doctrine**, including: the identification of the enemy, a method to form Israel's strategy to face this challenge – by either initiative or response; a system to choose the means with which to cope with the enemy; ways to integrate the battle against the "soft war" in all political and/or military planning; and the linkage between political, military, propaganda and economic actions.

- **Organizational arrangements on the governmental level**, which will include reciprocal relations and methods of cooperation by and among the various bodies of the government, the IDF and the defense establishment, Israeli academia, NGOs and Jewish organizations.

- **Recruiting the intelligence community:** all matters related to gathering intelligence and conducting research on the threat are aimed at (i) alerting the political leadership and the operative levels in Israel of developing threats, (ii) suggesting methods to handle said threats, and (iii) pointing out opportunities to be exploited.

- **Formulating rational patterns and efficient messages for public diplomacy:** this is, allegedly, the purpose of *Hasbarah*; however, the intention here is to transform the current state-run *Hasbarah* in a manner that obligates strategic-level decisions regarding Israel's primary message and the sub-messages Israel wishes to convey, as well as with regard to "branding" the state.

- **Mobilizing friends and allies**, identifying new allies and creating new alliances. Israel must identify those elements in the international community that may be affected negatively in the long run by the actions made against Israel and enlist these elements' support.

- **Initiating legal proceedings as part of Lawfare**, in addition to a consistent follow-up on legal developments, i.e. anti-Israel organizations' intentions to press charges against Israeli government officials, military officers, etc.

- **The educational dimension:** this aspect relates to Israel's efforts to neutralize its enemies' attempts to insert anti-Israel content into the educational systems both in the Arab and Muslim world (especially in the PA) and in Western educational institutions (those of the Muslim communities as well as those of the general educational systems, as far as this is possible).

- **The economic dimension:** similar to the legal dimension, the efforts to mobilize economic systems to impose a siege (sanctions, initiated boycott) on Israel are strengthening. Managing this dimension requires skill, networking and tight knit cooperation between the Israeli government and Israel's business community.

1. A "Combat" Doctrine

In order to effectively cope with the challenges of the "soft war" being waged against it, Israel must develop a "combat" doctrine in order to manage this kind of warfare, by setting the goals, the means and the messages in an organized manner and with full integration of all aspects down to the operative level. It is imperative to analyze all aspects, to mark targets and ways to achieve them, expected results, significances, problems, etc. Political, military and domestic maneuvers, including those related

to the settlements, must all be considered based on their possible implications thus necessitating preliminary political and diplomatic consideration and preparation.

For many years the IDF combat doctrine was based upon the principle that the war must be carried over into the enemy's territory: This doctrine can be adapted to the "soft war" arena. Israel's strategy should be proactive: like in any confrontation, in the "soft war" theatre Israel must decide at what stage the enemy's actions become intolerable to the degree that it warrants escalation of the conflict. With regard to the Palestinians and the Arab states, Israel must set its "red lines" for what it considers permitted and what it considers forbidden during the course of a confrontation, hence forming a credible deterrence in order to prevent its rivals from crossing said red lines. At the same time, Israel must craft its doctrine so that it will maintain "escalation dominance" and not allow soft wars to deteriorate into actual conflict.

2. Organizational Arrangements

Coping with the "soft war" should be part of Israel's national security strategy. It is recommended to establish a state body that will focus on the "soft war" issue and seek the necessary financial resources and infrastructure. This body will be responsible for handling the aspects of religion, international law, politics, incitement, curricula, etc, as well as the coordination among and cooperation with all the relevant state organs, organizations and personalities abroad that will be marked as relevant. This body must be subordinate to the Prime Minister's Office and can also be part of the National Security Council or affiliated with it.

Additionally, it is recommended to appoint a functionary or establish a unit in each relevant ministry (mainly in the economic ministries and in the Ministry of Justice) to be in charge of operating in coordination with the designated state body. Such functionary or unit will deal solely with the assigned task. As the Chief Scientist operates in each economic ministry, so must the government appoint a representative affiliated with the statutory body to be responsible for "soft warfare" at each relevant ministry. Furthermore, the future statutory body must be an integrative body, and thus organize and arrange the activities of all subordinate government elements. In this regard, a decision must be made regarding all bodies currently operating on their own accord, with no planned coordination, i.e. the Ministry of Information, the National Information Directorate, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, IDF Spokesperson, etc. This integrative body must hold discussions on a regular basis and operate as a "war room" from which Israel will run its entire public diplomacy campaign. Additionally, the IDF must train skilled spokespersons for *Hasbarah* missions and concurrently prevent its field commanders and senior officers from making unsanctioned comments to the media and public.

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In the same way that NGOs are an effective tool in the "soft war" against Israel, this same type of organization can likewise serve Israel's purposes. The state should consider establishing non-Israel-affiliated organizations to set as their purpose the indiscriminate defense of human rights. These organizations will be able to put pressure on various states – including Western states –to convince said states to minimize the activity of the same sector of NGOs that work primarily against Israel. **

3. The Intelligence Dimension

A main conclusion of this report is that the need to enlist the intelligence community for the sake of collecting, analyzing and integrating operational intelligence in order to fight the "soft war" is paramount. Since the threat is acknowledged as a genuine one, and is no less significant than a terror threat and holds far-reaching strategic consequences, the intelligence community must take part in this battle. It is recommended to establish a unit in the intelligence community the tasks of which shall include intelligence gathering, distribution and operational activity in all aspects relevant to Israel's public diplomacy battle. Such a body will be able to carry out tasks that are currently partially carried out by The Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center, in order to cooperate with academic intelligence gathering bodies, to identify intelligence and operative materials that may contribute to the *Hasbarah* effort and to recommend distributing these materials to the relevant bodies. This body will issue EEIs to the rest of the intelligence community and direct the intelligence preparation for thwarting anti-Israel propaganda actions.

The formation of such a unit requires special arrangements in terms of manpower: Arabic and other relevant language speakers, researchers who are experts in the arenas where the "soft war" is being waged (mainly in the West), economists and lawyers. This unit must operate referents in the intelligence community's other branches.

** One of the main tasks of the coordinating intelligence body should be to pursue the exposure of intelligence information that can thwart actions against Israel and those bodies intending to harm the state. This task requires the development of a Human Influence Operations method versus the various arenas. A historical example of such a step was Prime Minister Levi Eshkol's decision in the midst of the Six-Day War to broadcast a telephone conversation between President Gamal 'Abd al-Nasser of Egypt and King Hussein of Jordan that had been intercepted by army intelligence. The coordinating body will have to be authorized to utilize similar tactics.

The intelligence community must add the following tasks to its existing list:

1. Infrastructure research to identify all the central actors who initiate and produce hatred (as opposed to those who spread it) based on various sections, e.g. political, religious, sectarian and ethnic affiliation, in order to analyze these actors' motivations and goals and to assess their risk level. The purpose of this research is to explore possible methods of pressuring these elements.

2. Continuous, daily, systematic research assisted by academic researchers from Israel and abroad, together with international pro-Israel organizations, of all anti-Israel publications, including commentaries, media reports, boycott measures, and campuses activities, in addition to the providing of automatic responses and counter-attacks to said anti-Israel material.

3. Systematic research on international conferences, international treaties, rulings and legal documents dealing with terror, genocide, human rights, etc..

4. Locating, exposing and pressuring those elements who support and fund the activities of the inciters.

5. Mapping the pro-Israel Western NGOs, the services of which can be utilized to convey factual messages and reports to the relevant target audiences.

6.   Documenting, cataloguing and preserving steps and actions against incitement in a designated archive, as well as establishing an efficient and quick "material release" system in order to be able to utilize said materials in real time. **

4. Public Diplomacy

Israel must fundamentally transform its public diplomacy. This transformation should take place on two levels: (i) Israel should define the message it wishes to convey regarding its actions and image, and (ii) should transition its policy from defending itself against attempts to de-legitimize it to taking offensive actions to de-legitimize its opponents.

One of the gravest failures of Israel's public diplomacy is its lack of consistency and coordination with regard to the image it wishes to portray: as a weak victim fighting the forces of terror; as a regional power showing more restraint than any other state in the same type of security position; as a high-tech, industrial and agricultural power, in an attempt to minimize the weight of the Arab-Israeli conflict in the media; or as a "Western" state that deserves the sympathy of the West against a common enemy. Israel's public diplomacy tends to veer from one message to another and sometimes even attempts to convey various messages that appear to contradict each other. Another characteristic of Israel's political reality that plays directly into the hands of its adversaries, is the tendency of Israeli leaders to speak to the Israeli public without taking into account the fact that what they are saying will be broadcast around the world.

Israel's public diplomacy must be firm, enterprising, consistent, pro-active and aimed not only at traditional audiences in the US and the Western world, but also at its opponents and the Muslim world. However, the messages and the channels conveyed to both publics must differ.

Israel's public diplomacy focus against incitement should be on presenting the incitement as directed not only against Israel but against the entire Western world. Thus, the current reactive approach that focuses on attempts to refute the slanderers' false accusations is insufficient. The public reaction in the Western world, and as a result the political reaction of the organized international community, will not be derived from whether or not the incitement's content is true or false, but rather from whether the incitement will have an effect on each state's individual interests. Therefore, public exposure of cases of hatred towards Jews and Israel is not sufficient to arouse a satisfactory response in the Western world: in order to draw such a response those same elements that are allegedly aimed at Israel and the Jews, but are actually expressing hostility towards the West and Christianity, must be emphasized. The target audience of such exposure should include not only political elements (governments and parliaments) but also wide audiences, including religious and social pressure groups. Such exposure may be perceived as "counter-incitement" but if done wisely it can provoke public reaction in the West that will undermine the credibility of those who incite against Israel. The messages that will be conveyed from this exposure should be focused on illustrating the moral contradiction between the inciters and Western culture and the fact that said inciters are actually breaking the laws of the Western countries.

A central element in the counter "soft war" is the attempt to undermine the status of the hate inciters and those assisting them. ** The State of Israel must regard these elements (i.e. Arab media

organizations and journalists and Western media representatives hostile to Israel) as targets for intelligence gathering and must be willing to expose such information wisely in order to deter them and make them renounce their activity. Information that links organizations in the West with elements hostile to the West (either those who receive funding or those who receive instructions), and exposing the frauds of these organizations and perhaps even their own internal corruption – can all serve the purposes of de-legitimizing the inciters. ** Hence, the fight against the "war by analogy" must focus not on refuting the adversary's analogies but on providing a "counter analogy" that presents Israel's slanderers negatively by stressing the characteristics of their religious and governmental culture that are inherently opposed to Western culture.

A state-organized campaign for waging a "soft war" must formulate its various messages and adapt them to the relevant target audiences. For example, with regard to a national state with high levels of national consciousness such as France, it may be worthwhile to stress Israel's right to be both a Jewish state, in the national sense of the term, and an Israeli state (and hence not bi-national) while keeping the state's democratic essence, as much as France is a French state.

In public diplomacy the scope of activity plays an important role. As brilliant and as persuasive as individual letters to the editor may be, they will not be able to change the status quo. Israel must flood Western public opinion with its own articulate and strictly orchestrated "narrative", and adjust it to each specific arena.

Selected Messages

Further to the above, here are several messages that Israel should convey (whether in full or in part) to various audiences:

1. The damage to the peace process as a result of the incitement to hatred and to anti-Semitism. This message should highlight two sources of this incitement:

   o The Palestinian arena: since the Palestinian arena, including the PA, is a major source for anti-Israel incitement materials, it is vital to make incitement a central focus of Israel's public diplomacy. Israel cannot justifiably demand that the world act against Palestinian incitement if Israel does not integrate this issue into its own dialogue with the Palestinians; without a discussion of incitement no real progress can be expected with regard to other issues related to the peace process. This message should be conveyed to both the US and the International Quartet.

   o Arab and Muslim states – including those states with which Israel has signed peace agreements and those states that are friends of the Western world.

2. The danger that certain actions currently made and directed against Israel will be made against other countries in the future; the exposure of the hostility of anti-Israel elements against the West, etc.

3. Israel's belonging to the broad Western civilization, ** as opposed to the Arab and Muslim world, which represents a fundamentally anti-Western culture. There is no basis for the argument that Israel will not benefit from encouraging Samuel Huntington's "Clash of Civilizations" worldview, because at the end of the day Israel will have to decide whether it wishes to be regarded as part of

the Western side of the conflict or as the source of this conflict, in turn suggesting that the harming of Israel or its dissolution will in fact bring an end to this "clash". **

4. Characteristics of the political culture of those elements hostile to Israel that are opposed to Western culture and values, e.g. authoritarian (often autocratic) regimes lacking representational and ruling systems common to Western liberal democracies, lack of gender equality, racism, abusive legal systems that permit exploiting children (for example, child marriage), cruel punishment, etc. ** In this framework, it is recommended to consider encouraging elements that are not associated with Israel to work towards imposing an academic, sports and trade boycott over these countries, similar to the latter's efforts to do the same against Israel. **

5. Juxtaposing the oil states' policy, aimed at retaining their grip over the world economy, and the West's basic interests, in turn revealing the conflict between the two. ** In this context, it is imperative to expose information on oil states' attempts to block efforts to develop renewable energy. **

6. ** The backwardness of the states hostile to Israel and their unwillingness to advance, in stark contrast to Israel's outstanding achievements and contribution to the world in terms of science, technology, medicine and agriculture. This specific comparison is important in the fight against the "war by analogy" method used by Israel's slanderers. In this context, it is possible to use UN reports that were written by Arab and Muslim researchers that discuss the Arab world's and the Middle East countries' backwardness compared with other regional blocs and with Israel. It is also important to refute Arab contentions that Arab and Muslim backwardness is a result of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. **

   o Highlighting the *Realpolitik* aspect of the West's support for Israel. In this framework, it is important to focus on refuting claims regarding the connection between hostility towards the West and Islamic radicalism and the West's support for Israel.

7. The lack of openness in the Arab and Muslim world, as opposed to the freedom of the press in Israel, which enables and allows the harsh criticism of the government's policies.

8. Israel must consider whether or not to publicize violent and disturbing images in the aftermath of terror attacks and violent events, much in the same way Israel's opponents utilize the method. The current policy, which shuns the broadcasting of the horrific images following terror attacks due to domestic reasons, should be reconsidered.

A very powerful tool for Israel's public diplomacy that is currently utilized effectively by its adversaries is social networking. This tool has already proven its importance during the political turmoil in the aftermath of the Iran elections and is likely to become even more important in the future. However, the importance of such tools lies in the scope of their use and in their cross border capability. A doctrine for the utilization of the means should be developed and made official.

S p h e r e s   o f   P u b l i c   D i p l o m a c y

The academic sphere is simultaneously a scene of confrontation as it contains those who wish to impose a siege over Israel via academic boycott and is the source of a hostile narrative that permeates other spheres and the general media. The current dominant worldview in most political science and Middle East departments and faculties in the Western world (mainly in Europe but increasingly in the

US as well) contains anti-Israel and *"Realpolitik"*, meaning that support for Israel is not a Western interest but rather an obstacle for fulfilling the West's vital interests in the Middle East.

The oil states' financial investments in the academic field of Middle Eastern studies has resulted in economic inputs biased against Israel that are transmitted from the academics to governments, intelligence services and the mass media. Therefore, investment in the academic sphere demands special economic inputs and special attention. Israel and the pro-Israel organizations must once again win over the campuses in Europe's and the US' most important universities, either by means of contributions for research funding and establishing institutes for Israel research or by joining Jewish students associations such as Beit Hillel. Such steps will increase their presence on the campuses and will enable them to defend themselves against and likewise taunt pro-Palestinian rallies. Additionally, pamphlets and brochures exposing the truth behind the conduct of those organizations that allegedly support Palestinian independence but are actually funded by jihad organizations or by the Saudi regime should be distributed widely.

Furthermore, it is important to fundamentally change Israel's relations with the international media. The following are several recommendations for action:

- Vis-à-vis the Western media:

  1. Utilizing the accessibility of Israelis and Jews to media channels abroad – radio and television (appearances in popular talk-shows), newspapers and written literature, the movie industry, the internet, etc. – in order to make Israel's voice, narrative and positions heard. Israel can ask *Hasbarah* experts and Jewish academics abroad to help it deliver the messages in their own countries using local vernacular.

  2. Establishing an Israeli satellite television channel in the format of *Al-Jazeera* that will broadcast in English, Arabic, French, Spanish and Russian, thus presenting the Israeli narrative and refuting the hate messages. It is possible to raise funds from Jewish donors in Israel and abroad.

  3. Manning Israel's major embassies with skilled spokesmen capable of handling the media rather than by graduates of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' cadet course. London, for example, is much more than a British media center, due to the fact major international media networks including *Financial Times*, *The Economist*, *Reuters*, in addition to many Arab journalists, write and broadcast from London to the rest of the world. These networks and journalists (particularly the Arab ones) hardly ever receive briefings from Israeli officials. Therefore, it is vital to send Arabic speaking Israelis to these media centers.

- Vis-à-vis the Arab world:

  1. The Voice of Israel's radio broadcasting in Arabic must be renewed; additionally, broadcasting in Persian must be reinforced. It is important to confirm that said Arabic and Persian broadcasts are received in the Arab world and Iran, and to invigorate the *Hasbarah* network on the radio and in the Israeli television broadcasting in Arabic (that was halted in the aftermath of the Oslo Accords).

2. Utilizing all the inherent advantages of the Arab citizens of Israel who can present their status in the State of Israel – even if they harshly criticize the government's policies. In this context, it is important to encourage the integration of Israeli Arabs into the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' and the Ministry of Industry, Trade and Employment's cadet courses. More than any other tactic, Israeli Arab representation abroad will always best serve Israeli interests. It is advisable to truly incorporate these Arab citizens of Israel into the *Hasbarah* fold, however, and not merely use their presence for show.

3. Utilizing leading and popular internet news sites in Arabic (*Ilaf*, *al-Sharq al-Awsat*, *al-Hayat*), especially those with a liberal slant, in order to promote Israel's messages and refute lies and messages of hate against Israel; setting up blogs, sending articles and op-eds and utilizing social networks such as *Facebook* and *Twitter*.

The UN and other international organizations that operate under UN auspices are to a large extent "branches" of Israel's enemies due in large part to the automatic majority Arab and Muslim states enjoy in these institutions. These organizations also function as an arena for mutual cooperation between the Arab and Muslim countries and other Third World countries. This phenomenon is quite familiar to many in the West, especially to the US, which happens to be the primary sponsor of the UN and the host of UN institutions. The US is aware of the fact that the UN operates many times against American interests. ** Israel must consider whether or not damaging the image of the UN is in Israel's interest and operate accordingly. **

5. Engaging Friends and Allies

The State of Israel must formulate a detailed plan in order to most greatly benefit from its relations with its friends and allies, and sanction the ways in which said friends may aid Israel. Israel should provide said friends and allies with all the information necessary for them to play a role in informal Israeli public diplomacy. The engagement of Israel's friends in this process must be carried out as part of a more comprehensive plan based upon familiarity with the people and their countries of origin in order to best make use of their influence. ** Such actions should not be limited to heads of states or to foreign ministers alone. Sometimes, an appeal to a certain government minister or to a member of parliament whose influence does not stem from their defined position can bring about a change. Such specific success was achieved in the April 2009 Durban Review Conference that took place in Geneva and which was yet another arena for incitement against Israel, when EU representatives left the conference hall when Iran's President Ahmadinejad commenced his speech. **

The ties between Israel and pro-Israel lobby organizations abroad such as AIPAC must be reviewed thoroughly in order to refute various contentions claiming that the pro-Israel activity of these groups contradicts the interests of the groups' respective home countries. Such arguments are based upon traditional anti-Semitic perceptions that present the Jews as a fifth column that operate for the sake of foreign interests. In this framework, it may be worthwhile to assist lobbyists such as J-Street, that although parts of their policy may not always concur with the policies of the Government of Israel, they do contribute to the overall fight against Israel's de-legitimization.

Another important sector on which to focus is the activity of NGOs, the bulk of which are far from being considered Israel's greatest supporters. However, it is possible to find mutual interests and a common ground among some of these organizations that may be utilized against certain actions directed against Israel. How can Israel discover a common ground with organizations that are opponents of the state? ** Access to several of these organizations can be obtained directly by the Israeli government or indirectly by pressing an Israeli or a Jewish NGO (even one that is not necessarily identified as Jewish but which supports a cause that corresponds to an Israeli interest), to which the government supplies the "ammunition" for its activity. The precedent for this method was a campaign that was carried out by Jewish organizations worldwide for the sake of the Soviet Jewry. The Government of Israel supplied the information, while the work was carried out by NGOs. **

An additional important target audience that Israel has thus far been reluctant to approach openly is the (Christian) religious right in the US. However, this public is pro-Israeli and rejects any option of rapprochement with the Muslim world.

For many years the State of Israel has given low priority to nurturing its ties with Third World countries. The latter are enlisted by the Arab and Muslim world, led by Palestinian representatives, to formulate anti-Israeli decisions and resolutions at international forums. Israel must give a higher priority to countries in Africa and in Latin America in order to weaken the automatic majority in the UN and in other international organizations that hurt Israel when resolutions are adopted against it. Israel should once again recruit itself to provide humanitarian aid in the fields of health and welfare and should likewise integrate itself into the fields of agriculture and high-tech, especially in Africa – making sure to not transforming into a hostile element that exploits the hospitality of its host countries. Checks and balances, in addition to appropriate training, are needed in order to cope with unfamiliar cultural arenas.

6. Waging "Lawfare"

One of the main instruments Israel's enemies have in the "soft war" is their ability to exploit both the international legal system and the national legal systems of various states to their advantage. Israel maintains several methods to cope vis-à-vis this threat:

1. An initiated action to take advantage of incitement laws in various states and to encourage friends and supporters of Israel, particularly members of parliaments in these countries, to amend the laws to enable the incrimination of those elements operating against Israel.

2. Initiating legal steps (warrants, prohibition of entry to certain states, etc.) against elements that incite hatred against Israel as well as against those who support the inciters by further publishing the slander. For this purpose, Israel must establish a system that will both explore the legal situation in the relevant states in order to identify opportunities for legal action and will monitor events and publications in order to warn against expected visitations in Israel of personalities and organizations that are *persona non grata*.

3. Monitoring and alerting against the illegal use of Western states' public funds. The legislation in the US for the prevention and control of the use of public financial aid grants for purposes of incitement and terror is relatively developed compared to similar legislation in European

countries. There are several NGOs that investigate cases in which Palestinians use financial aid illegally and contrary to the purposes of the aid.[5]

4. Initiatives for amending international treaties dealing with terror in order to enable Western states (including Israel) more latitude in their fight against incitement and terror. First and foremost, it is important to focus on the right of "hot pursuit" against leaders of terror organizations.

5. Exerting pressure in order to solve the frequent problem of legal claims being filed against Israeli leaders and military senior officers by pro-Palestinian legal groups in Europe. For this purpose, Israel must cooperate with the US and with other NATO states fighting in Afghanistan that may have their senior army commanders in court by virtue of the universal jurisdiction principle.

6. Filing suits against media companies, NGOs and persons who publish slander. One method is to setup organizations in the relevant European states to systematically, and on a massive scale, file complaints against Palestinian leaders of terror organizations for their part in encouraging and operating terror attacks against civilians.

7. Strengthening the presence of the Israeli legal narrative in legal literature. It is important to notice that academic legal magazines deal with the Israeli-Palestinian conflict mainly from a pro-Palestinian perspective. There is no book currently on the shelves that discusses Israel and international law; hence, the entire academic sphere of international law has become the sole premise of the Palestinian narrative. NGOs must be convinced to fund research projects that will focus on the conflict from a clear Israeli perspective.

8. Developing a direct communication line with worldwide leading attorneys and jurists and clarifying Israel's position to these attorneys, in order to prevent indirect indoctrination by the international media, that is more often than not predisposed against Israel.

Another legal path that is recommended to follow is the filing of lawsuits against hostile elements for violations of human rights generally, regardless of Israel. A wide scope of such suits by elements that are not publicly connected to Israel will de-legitimize the anti-Israeli elements and make conducting their battle against Israel that much more difficult.

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[5] These organizations had several propaganda achievements vis-à-vis parliaments and media networks in several countries, including Sweden and Norway, where there was public outrage due to the fact that local taxpayers' money had been used to fund textbooks denying Israel's right to exist, while members of parliament insisted that the demonization of Israel must stop. A similar occurrence took place with regard to the US Senate and was also widely publicized; following this incident, recommendations for amendments to the Constitution were mostly approved. The manager of USAID Office of Middle East Programs has restricted the use of financial aid, maintaining that the test regarding the use of this money will not be the source of the funds but rather the receiver of the funds. According to this amendment, those who receive American financial aid will not be able to use it against the US or for the sake of glorifying terror. These and other successful precedents in conjuction with Western legal authorities are possible templates for changing perceptions and policies in these countries. The relevant material must be provided to these countries as well as suggestions and/or recommendations regarding constitutional or legal amendments; this may help to simplify the changes of policies.

7. The Economic Aspect

Israel should exploit the massive amounts of financial aid given to the Palestinians as a means of pressure against them, NGOs and UN agencies. The scope of the financial aid to the Palestinians is unprecedented in the history of rehabilitation efforts of peoples or states: for example, over the past 17 years, since the 1993 Oslo Accords, the Palestinians have received an annual aid package that is estimated at US$161 per person – a much larger sum of money than the financial aid package that was provided to Europe in the framework of the Marshall Plan in the aftermath of the Second World War, which is estimated in terms of current purchasing power at US$61 per person annually for only 4 years. The budget of UNRWA (United Nations Relief and Works Agency), the UN agency that was established specifically for the benefit of the post-1948 Palestinian refugees, was US$1.23 billion in 2009; compare that to the total of US$2 billion allocated that same year to UNHCR (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees), the UN agency that cares for all other refugees worldwide. It is imperative that Israel take advantage of these data in order to put pressure on the Palestinians and force the PA into a defensive mode.

Simultaneously, Israel must take advantage of states' natural tendency to demand control and supervision over any financial aid they give (the US has given the PA approximately US$ 2 billion in financial aid since 2007) in order to make it more difficult for the Palestinians to funnel this money for anti-Israel activity. The US has enacted legislation against using financial aid for incitement; however, it is difficult to enforce such laws, especially when cases are not clear cut. Israel should expose violations carried out by the Palestinians and others who use American financial aid and convince American elected officials to create legal constraints that will make it harder to transfer the funds. There is no such legislation related to financial aid in Europe. Therefore, it is important to expose violations, create a political lobby to handle the matter, and convince members of parliaments all over Europe and EU officials to build a coalition for the adoption of legislation similar to the legislation in the US.

8. The Educational Aspect

There is no doubt that education is one of the key elements in the peace process. However, the State of Israel has not placed this issue high enough in rank on its agenda and has never stipulated policy actions related to the peace process on actions within the educational field. For their part, the Palestinians deny the accusations regarding the scope of incitement in their curricula, and renounce responsibility for these textbooks maintaining the latter are part of the Jordanian curricula.

Israel can be supported by the West in such an endeavor, especially by Europe, where the importance of education for peace is widely acknowledged. Appealing to Western audiences regarding this matter must be done using concepts and terminology familiar to such audiences. One example is US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton's equating educating for hate in the Palestinian textbooks with child abuse.[6] It is likewise important to create a link between Jew-hatred in education and xenophobia in education generally, particularly focusing on hatred of the Christian West.

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[6] Clinton, who was then US Senator for New York, made this comparison in 2007, http://www.palwatch.org/main.aspx?fi=91&doc_id=801.

Israel must help and encourage elements in the West that wish to promote programs to force the Palestinians to make changes to the content of their educational curricula. The British Conservative Party's shadow government demanded a reform in the Palestinian educational system, especially the one controlled by Hamas in Gaza, and called upon the British (Labor) government (then headed by PM Gordon Brown) to invest money in this matter. This step goes hand in hand with the American Congress' decision to prohibit any financial aid to schools where the curriculum glorifies terror, including textbooks which demonize Israel and the Jews or ignore the existence of Israel. Recently, Canada has also cut direct support for the Palestinians and instead provides funding for specific projects. Other EU states have also shown interest in developing transnational and anti-Semitism and racism free methods and curricula. The Government of Israel must raise the issue in the framework of future cooperation with the EU.