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May 30, 1978

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler
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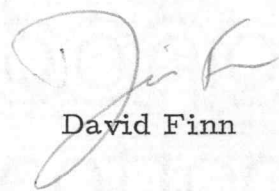
Dear Rabbi Schindler:

Kal Druck asked me to send you a copy of the enclosed "Recommendations for a Comprehensive Communications Plan" for Israel. This has just been completed and copies have been delivered to the Israel Embassy in Washington.

I'm enclosing two documents. The first is the report itself. The second is an Appendix providing a background statement on five key issues.

As you can see in the frontispiece of the report, each of the copies is numbered in order to maintain confidentiality.

Regards,


David Finn

DF/ln
Enclosure
c.c. Kal Druck

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR A COMPREHENSIVE COMMUNICATIONS PLAN

From the Communications Advisory Committee
of the Israel Task Force

RECOMMENDATIONS
FOR A COMPREHENSIVE
COMMUNICATIONS PLAN

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This is a numbered copy 52

Not For Publication

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Summary of Recommendations

This report urges a continuing, comprehensive program designed to increase American understanding of Israel.

The program includes:

- . A system to bring a measure of order and rationality to information about Israel.
- . Some major projects that, in themselves, convey positive impressions about what Israel stands for.
- . A mechanism by which communications materials, such as printed literature, films, TV and audio tapes, can be reviewed by the most experienced professionals in the communications business.
- . A resource to provide Israeli leaders with information about public opinion in the United States.

This program does not suggest political or international decisions to the Government of Israel, but rather the means of presenting information -- whatever its nature -- as effectively as possible.

Recommended is the creation of three professional staffs that would work together. First, the Government should establish a communica-

tions unit in Israel, manned by American-trained communications executives, which would be subcontracted by the Foreign Office and would be responsible to the Deputy Director General for Information. Second, communications professionals should be added to the embassy staff in Washington. Third, professional resources should be made available to the Israel Task Force.

The report includes a detailed description of projects which should be considered by these three units and explains how they could coordinate their activities.

The proposal recommends the annual allocation of \$3 million by the American Jewish community to cover staff time, project expenses and advertising through the facilities of The Israel Task Force working with and through Jewish organizations. For its part, the Government should allocate \$1 million to strengthen its operations in Israel and Washington.

I. INTRODUCTION

Israel's public relations abroad has long been a subject of controversy. Jewish leaders and other friends of Israel in this country, as well as in Great Britain and other nations around the world, have complained regularly that Government officials in Israel are insensitive to the impact of their published statements and policies on U.S. public opinion. The pattern of criticism is well known.

Whenever the government is censured abroad, Israel's friends are upset. Whenever the government is responsible for some heroic action which wins the plaudits of the world, Israel's friends tend to take the achievement for granted and wonder why the same level of enthusiastic support cannot be maintained at all times.

Government leaders, on the other hand, grow weary at the constant complaint that they should do something about their public relations.

They accuse the so-called experts abroad of wanting Israel to be "driven into the sea" in order to improve public opinion polls.

Security considerations come before public relations, they insist, and they are convinced that most of those who offer unsolicited advice in this respect simply do not recognize the realities of Israel's security needs.

Whether or not one agrees with Woodrow Wilson's observation that "opinion ultimately governs the world," certainly few would deny that opinion in the United States affects the security and well-being of Israel. American presidents and legislators watch the polls sharply.

The factors that shape public attitudes must be a continuing concern. A group of communications specialists have, as volunteers, devised a comprehensive communications plan. The members of the Communications Advisory Committee consist of the heads of five of the largest companies in the world in the fields of advertising, public relations and public opinion research. The Committee does not intend to suggest that the plan is exhaustive. The listing of proposed projects is neither encyclopedic nor rigidly prescribed. What we believe to be important are the processes involved in effective communication.

This committee was created by the Israel Task Force, which, in turn, is an arm of the National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council.

NJCRCAC comprises nine national organizations:

- American Jewish Committee
- American Jewish Congress
- B'nai Brith Anti-Defamation League
- Jewish Labor Committee
- Jewish War Veterans of the U.S.A.
- National Council of Jewish Women
- Union of American Hebrew Congregations
- Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America
- United Synagogue of America.

It includes also about 100 local Community Relations Councils.

Task Force Functions

NJCRAC set up the Task Force in the wake of the 1973 Arab-Israel War. The latter's purpose is to maximize American understanding of what Israel stands for. Made up of leaders of its member agencies and selected councils, the Task Force seeks to foster a climate of public opinion which will not press Israel to accept conditions that jeopardize her independence and security.

The Task Force's immediate goal was to counter negative propaganda which at the time was exploiting the energy crisis to link the oil embargo to U.S. policy vis-a-vis Israel. A number of projects were suggested by Jewish community leadership; and because some of these were beyond the budgetary resources of the agencies, special funding was allocated for a stipulated time.

Task Force programs did sensitize American opinion to the dangers of making energy problems appear to be an aspect of the Arab-Israel conflict. The strategy of this group is also credited with encouraging the enactment of a landmark federal law forbidding Americans to participate in an Arab boycott.

The Israel Task Force supported and strengthened some existing programs and initiated many others, identified emerging problems, devised strategies and the most effective ways to implement them,

sponsored a number of opinion surveys and analyses, developed films suitable for groups and television, as well as radio and TV material on the Middle East.

A trade union project conducted in Louisiana and Arkansas interpreted Israel to segments of the public that normally have little or no contact with Jewish organizations.

The Task Force developed interpretive advertisements and placed them in leading newspapers.

Local programs have been expanded through community visits, memoranda, telephone consultation and other services. The list could go on.

CAC Assignments

The Task Force asked the Communications Advisory Committee to:

- . identify, through public opinion data and other research, relevant subgroups or special audiences within the general American public to determine whether all of these are being reached through the media.
- . recommend media through which to address particular audiences.

- . suggest more effective ways of working with and through the media.
- . participate with the Task Force and its member agencies in development of long-range strategies for Israel's public relations in the U.S. and of recommendations for implementation by the Israel Task Force and its member agencies.
- . consult with the Israel Task Force, conduct additional programs through firms of Communications Advisory Committee members, supplement programs of NJCRAC member agencies.

One of the CAC's first projects was to commission the Moshe Decter report, "The American Jewish Community and Israel -- A Survey of Communal Action." For this, intensive interviews were conducted with scores of top-level professionals in all national organizations and in several local communities. Masses of documentary materials were perused. The result in February 1976 was a 75-page report on this subject.

A Wider Task Assumed

Our group has studied the Israel-to-U.S. information flow in its entirety, from origin of events and statements abroad to reaction to

their communication -- or non-communication -- in the United States.

As each day seemed to bring new strains on the attitudes of the American public towards Israel, it appeared likely that, at the very least, guidelines of some kind were needed so that friends of Israel would not so often be in the position of under-reacting, over-reacting or mis-reacting to each new situation as it occurred.

One of our first needs was for some reliable, up-to-date information on the attitudes of Americans towards Israel and the Middle East. Accordingly, a survey on this subject was done in March 1977, by Yankelovich, Skelly & White, Inc. This poll found that public support for Israel then and over the previous two years -- while strong -- had certain weaknesses.

In the nine months that followed, a whole series of polls conducted by others, but monitored and analyzed by Yankelovich, showed support for Israel to be declining in American public opinion.

To a certain extent, the segments of opinion less committed on Middle East issues can be expected to be volatile, swaying with events.

President Sadat visited Israel on November 18 and 19, 1977. A Louis Harris and Associates survey had asked the question in October of that year: "Do you feel Israel really wants a just peace in the Middle East, reluctantly wants a just peace or does not want peace?"

At that time 55% responded "yes" to "really wants a just peace." By the year's end the figure dropped to 51%. In the same period, the number of people who thought Israel "reluctantly" wanted peace rose from 20% to 27%, while those who thought Israel did not want a just settlement edged from 6% to 8%.

Conversely, the same question about Egypt turned up 37% who believed that nation really wanted peace in October. By late December and early January, the figure had climbed to 52%.

A national sample polled by Gallup found that the 36% of Americans who lent more support to Israel than to the Arab nations before President Sadat's peace initiative had shrunk to 33% afterwards.

During this period and afterwards, of course, the media were responding negatively on the issue of new settlements and Israel's interpretation of U.N. Resolution 242.

Five Key Concepts

On the basis of the original Yankelovich survey and of a continuing analysis of ongoing polls, it is clear that there are five key concepts that a communications program for Israel should convey:

1. Israel as a peace-loving country.
2. The affinity of culture between Israel and the U.S.

3. The practical benefits to the United States from having a strong Israel.
4. The dangers to all from an independent Palestine state.
5. The territorial aspects of Israel's security needs.

The first priority should be given to countering beliefs that Israel is not committed to peace. This suspicion is corrosive because the nature of public support in the United States is moral, not practical.

Opinion surveys show that an excellent base exists in America on which to build more support. While day-to-day events do affect public attitudes and do require attention, the longer term task is to work steadily at strengthening the underlying foundation of good will for and identification with Israel.

Conveying the valid impression that, after all, "these are the same kinds of people that live next door," will solidify this base. It will provide insurance against a critical loss of support when events take an untoward public relations turn.

Our studies of public opinion provided the starting point of a comprehensive examination of communications by and for Israel. We brought

to bear on this our own expertise in Jewish affairs, and the insights and observations of many others.

Scope of Research

Twenty-six people from the staffs of Ruder & Finn and Harshe-Rotman & Druck participated in the project which required more than four months to complete.

We interviewed leaders and public relations officials of Jewish organizations, and studied the programs currently being undertaken by these groups -- excellent work that represents an enormous public relations asset.

We reviewed the whole range of relations with the press, publications, radio and TV, community relations and other communications efforts carried on by the Embassy and consulate staffs in the U.S. Their performance can be described as tremendously effective, out of all proportion to the very limited staff and budgets available.

We interviewed selected individuals from the following groups:
Washington, state and local political figures, business and finance, religion, media, foreign relations and defense, academia, veterans, labor, entertainers, authors, speakers, artists and minority group leaders.

In this process, we, of course, consulted prominent non-Jews sympathetic to Israel.

We studied communications programs of other governments, including those of Japan and the United Kingdom.

Of special interest was InterNationes, a quasi-governmental communications organization established by the Federal Republic of Germany.

With funds supplied by both the government and private donations InterNationes employs a staff of 200 specialists. Their most impressive program involves arranging visits by foreign journalists and dignitaries. Their other activities include publishing books, distributing films, producing teaching programs, supplying information to scientists, artists and community leaders, and providing press service and pictorial reports.

Recommendations

As a result of this research, our findings are broadly based and they reflect the thinking of a wide range of observers.

We propose a systematized, continuing and comprehensive information program -- one that will build on the excellent work already being done. It will not duplicate efforts. It will not require creation of a new organization.

This program will initiate high visibility projects that will give recognition to Israel's achievements as a cultural center and a peace-loving nation. It will set up a system that will be of invaluable help to Americans who want to have a clear picture of what Israel is doing and why. Its premise is that although not all of Israel's actions can be expected to be popular, there is no reason why all should not be explained in the most understandable way. In doing so, it will also provide a more effective capability for crisis response -- an immediate and effective countering of potentially damaging events.

Our overriding concern is with the quality of communications rather than just quantity.

The report that follows describes: needs, structure and programs.

II. NEEDS

To assert that an expanded communications program to enhance support for Israel in American public opinion is urgently needed would raise eyebrows in some quarters. Many other nations, for example, look with envy on Israel's unique opportunities for setting forth its point of view in the United States.

Nevertheless, no other country's fate hangs as closely on U.S. backing as does Israel's. Favorable public opinion here is critical to continuing economic, military and moral support for Israel.

This need will continue, whatever political development may occur.

1. In the event of a comprehensive settlement, social and economic difficulties will persist. A nation that for 30 years has lived in a state of siege is bound to face serious problems when confronting peace.
2. Should only a partial accord be reached, in the shortlived euphoric aftermath, concern for Israel in the United States would diminish.
3. If negotiations break down completely and a long period of tensions ensues, events may -- as they have in the past --

place Israel in the position of appearing intransigent. This exacts a heavy toll in public good will. Arab leaders are not hampered by the constraints of western-style democracy, they, to some extent, have the advantage of free-wheeling.

4. Certainly, should full-scale warfare erupt, Israel's need to have a concerted information program already in place is obvious.

Also, it would be a mistake to assume sympathy for Israel automatically translates itself into support for U.S. military aid. Ten polls taken by the Gallup, Harris and Yankelovich organizations between 1967 and 1977 show opponents of military aid outnumbering supporters in six polls and supporters outnumbering opponents in four. In most cases the two sides were almost evenly balanced.

An NBC poll November 29 and 30, 1977, asked what this country should do if Israel were attacked by a neighbor. Of the options suggested, only 4% of the respondents would give all-out military assistance. 24% would furnish supplies and equipment but no troops; but the largest number, 39%, would give no help to either side.

The Arab Threat

One factor that needs to be weighed in considering communications requirements for Israel is the Arab petro-presence in the United States. Without losing perspective on this, we nevertheless must be alert to the fact that through their wealth and increasing commercial involvements and investments here, Arab interests are gaining ever broader access to U.S. power centers.

Their billions of dollars are already influencing bank policies. It was reported recently that four wealthy Arab investors from Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates had bought a total of 20% of Financial General Bank Shares, Inc. subject to SEC approval. This Washington-based bank holding group has assets of \$2.2 billion.

Banks wield great clout. A Senate study showed the power to vote stock in the nation's largest corporations is concentrated in fewer than two dozen institutional investors, most of them banks. Morgan Guarantee, for example, is the major stock voter in 27 large corporations.

There is no evidence yet of a concerted Arab propaganda program in this country. But the Arabs have been quick to learn that their money will buy American technology and financial expertise. They are learning, too, that it can buy communicating skills.

The governments of Jordan, Kuwait and Saudi Arabia reportedly have been negotiating with American public relations firms. What, if anything, comes of this remains to be seen. But the Arabs have the resources at any time to turn on a massive public information campaign.

As our research progressed and in the light of the five key goals we had identified, certain communications needs became increasingly evident.

For example, nobody has yet examined the American "pyramid of influence in public opinion" to see how we can work within that structure in a planned way. This pyramid is a model of what has been called "Organized America" with a myriad of organizations at the base and the nation's leaders at the peak.

Also, with all the dedicated, highly talented persons working for the Israeli Government and for the Jewish organizations in America, there is need for more and better trained communicators. The advice of professionals should be available in any step which has an impact on the American public.

As a corollary to this: there should be set up the type of structure that will provide top officials in Israel with the counsel of senior communications professionals, both American and Israeli. Other specific needs include:

- . More major events that project the concept of Israel dramatically as a peace-loving country.
- . More major projects that demonstrate the affinity of cultures and democracy between our two nations.
- . More person-to-person programs that cultivate mutual understanding.
- . Better U.S. media access to information about Israel and better information at the source.
- . A communications structure enabling information specialists in Israel and the United States to effectively coordinate their efforts here.

Present Efforts Invaluable

To cite the need for a central sustained program is in no way a derogation of the vast amount of outstanding work already being done. All involved in Israel's communications are constantly surprised at the number and range of activities that are going on at any given time.

The organized Jewish community's conscientious, unremitting efforts to help the American public have a clear picture of events and activities in Israel are of incalculable value.

Israel's Foreign Ministry does a superb job in the United States of deploying and using its very limited manpower and resources. Relations between the Israel Embassy in Washington and the American media are excellent. Arrangements are routinely made for any minister or other Israeli dignitary who arrives here to confer with top publishers or newspaper columnists and to appear on television programs.

The results of all these labors have been obvious. Since 1967, questions concerning sympathy in the Middle East conflict have been asked regularly by pollsters. In 27 national polls sympathy for Israel has ranged between 35% and 56%, and sympathy for the Arabs between 1% and 9%, with the remainder saying, "neither side," "both sides," or "don't know." It was not until late in 1977 and early 1978 that an erosion of support took place -- due to circumstances beyond the control of Israel's backers.

While the efforts of the traditional Jewish organizations in America have been invaluable, it must be kept in mind that all of them have different constituencies and diverse functions. Of their many operations, helping to explain what Israel stands for is only one. This has made the communications process intrinsically haphazard.

Crisis Response -- The Highest Priority

One of the most crucial of all needs is for what might be called crisis

response capability. Events with a potential for adversely affecting public opinion -- such as the American-Soviet communique, the visit of Egypt's President Sadat, the Vance statement on settlements, the southern Lebanon military action -- often take place without much warning. Yet if the impact is not countered at once, important ground is lost. Some of this ground may be recovered eventually but a cumulative negative effect can linger and create increasing problems for Israel.

What is needed is the means to marshal the best expertise immediately for the best possible response. The resources must be in place. Not to have them there is a handicap.

Activity for the sake of activity alone is, of course, futile. Whenever there is a crisis, well-meaning, influential Jews around the world descend on Israel's Prime Minister with advice. But the element that is missing, and necessary for effective crisis response, is communications expertise.

The response, itself, may take any number of forms. It may be by public statements by leading non-Jews or government officials, or through speeches to major national audiences arranged on short notice, or through Op-Ed Page articles by prominent citizens, or through advertisements, when these are practical. Or by way of some combination of these and/or other activities.

The skills for this exist now. What needs to be set up and supported is the mechanism to bring those skills to bear on short notice and in a systematic way. The structure we are recommending will do this.

Continuity and Comprehensiveness

Communications efforts cannot be fully effective if they are erratic. For that reason, a comprehensive program must see to it that Israel's points of view on the major issues are given a high level of continuing exposure. The sustained program must be so conceived that responses to specific crises can be quickly superimposed on it.

To maintain this high profile, it is imperative that an ongoing and major advertising program by Jewish organizations be conducted in the U.S. on appropriate themes identified by surveys and other means. Advertising specialists should be guided by organized professionals and then permitted to execute the ads creatively.

We believe that had such a continuing program been under way during the 1977 visit of President Sadat, for example ads on the settlements issue could have been run that would have provided at least a measure of counterbalancing effect.

The press must also be served on a more consistent and intensified basis in order to be sure that Israel's story is continuously and

positively reported. The media in this country are especially receptive to newsworthy reports from Israel. That country is probably one of the most fascinating nations in the world from a news and feature point of view because what has happened there in the past 30 years is unprecedented anywhere in modern times. Everyone who has ever looked at Israel from a communicator's vantage knows there are numberless human interest stories that have never been told.

Foreign correspondents tend to concentrate almost exclusively on the fast-breaking and dramatic political and military events. The Defense, Foreign Ministry and Prime Minister's offices are well-worn beats. But active steps have to be taken to encourage coverage of cultural, business-industry, agricultural and other less exploited sources of news and features. Correspondents need a variety of services including help in identifying good material and assistance in cutting through red tape.

Also, a great potential exists for the dissemination of Israeli audio-visual information to radio and television stations in the United States. In this area, as in so many others, much has been already done. It is estimated that in 1977 alone, TV films about Israel reached an aggregate audience of about 160 million, but on a sporadic basis.

What is badly needed is a consistent and comprehensive program to

supply audio reports and film and video tape stories for the U.S. on a regular basis. An audio information center has been set up at the Israel Consulate in New York. It distributes news audio clips to the networks and audio wire services. But more material is needed. For television, as well, not enough Israel newsfilm is arriving. The communications structure which we recommend will fill this need.

III. STRUCTURE

The task of bringing order and coordination to the myriad communications that affect Israel's cause is complicated by the fact that an enterprise responsible for achieving improved understanding of Israel must depend on, and work with, autonomous groups that have multiple other jobs to do.

For the purposes of this report, we recommend what would seem essential -- three professional staffs that would work together; one in Israel, one in Washington and one in New York.

In Israel

A professional organization should be established and be subcontracted by the Foreign Office in Jerusalem. Responsible to the Deputy Director General for Information, this group would be headed by an American-trained communications executive. He would know how to recruit the best possible staff for his office in Israel and how to best work in conjunction with the resources of members of the Communications Advisory Committee in the United States.

Thus the Israel communications unit would be knowledgeable about American media and public opinion. It would also be equipped to meet U.S. media needs.

To the extent that deliberations of Israeli leaders take into account the impact of decisions on American public opinion, the expertise of the unit will be invaluable and should be listened to. The staff will anticipate U.S. public reactions and policies under consideration, and will relay from the United States feedback on trends in public opinion and the opinions of important leadership groups as well as editorial comments. (Details on the subject of monitoring and feedback are to be found between pages 82 and 88 in this report.)

The staff will also provide the resources for practical day-to-day public relations needs. Coaching political leaders for public appearances -- particularly with "dry runs" for television -- should become an established practice. (Not long ago an Israeli leader interviewed on the MacNeil-Lehrer Report on American TV referred to and pointed to a map which was never shown on camera. This was the kind of technical slip that the assistance of professional communicators would have avoided.)

The Communications Unit would offer guidance on trips to the United States to help assure that, for example, the right audiences are addressed at the right times and places, with the right speeches.

Other specific functions for the Israel office should include:

- . analyzing long-range communications needs and developing plans to deal with them;
- . providing feature services on all aspects of Israel for the press;
- . establishing a top quality photographic file and resource for journalists;
- . insuring that national government, religious, historic, cultural and industrial events are planned in such a way that maximum favorable publicity in the United States will result;
- . seeing that all publications of value in Israel are read, translated and made available; and
- . making sure that government publicity releases, brochures and other materials are of uniformly high quality, in both writing and graphics.

It is essential that information unit personnel, as well as other selected government public relations people, be oriented to what is achievable with American media, the materials and devices they need and the most effective ways to work with American journalists.

To this end, seminars should be conducted for these people, preferably in New York. The program could be conducted in cooperation with the Boston University School of Communication or some other appropriate institution.

The courses should include the following:

- . Discussion of Israel-to-U.S. information goals.
- . Lectures and discussions on the various media.
- . Mechanics of publicity operation (developing the story, dealing with journalists, supplying newsworthy material).
- . Tours of key media facilities with talks by newscasters, PR people, etc.
- . Pre-arranged three- or four-day internships with counterpart PR functionaries here.

Apart from this specific program, public information ought to be an instructional discipline included in the basic training of all foreign affairs officers.

The quarters of the Communications Unit in Israel should be an address to which all good information ideas flow. There should be liaison with all Israel institutions that offer news and feature potentials.

Photographs, films, articles and TV reports for American media will be channeled through this unit, which will also serve foreign correspondents by providing leads and other help in obtaining unusual features.

It is inevitable that various departments and bureaus in Israel have seemingly conflicting missions. Fund-raising objectives require a stress on deprivation and social needs, while tourism emphasizes posh hotels and peaceful beaches. The Investment Authority talks about long-range stability and security at the same time the Defense Department may need to warn of imminent armed threat.

These diverse programs have to co-exist with one another, each with different objectives. The United States Information Unit program will cut across some of these categories but will have a goal of its own -- that of telling the continuing Israeli story to the United States.

Often programs will supplement or continue those handled by cultural, religious, investment, trade or tourist bureaus.

If it appears necessary, for instance, to increase the number of Christian pilgrimages to Israel from the Bible Belt, the ministry of tourism might commission the effort. If, however, it were determined that strictly from a tourism advantage, other projects had to take precedence, that ministry might elect not to do this. The same option would be open to other ministries in regard to travel to Israel by business leaders,

scientists, artists and writers.

From the point of view of the Communications Unit's broader goals, bringing such influential persons to Israel might be eminently worthwhile. If so, the unit would continue the program on its own. In any case the unit would have the responsibility of making sure that all such visits were followed up to achieve maximum public relations benefits when the visitors return to the U.S.

To sum up, the importance of Israel as the point of origin for much of the communications program makes it essential that this branch of the three-part structure be a strong one. It must have top-notch American-oriented direction, ample personnel and adequate facilities and equipment.

In Washington

A strengthening of the staff and facilities at the Embassy is required. Assistance is needed for the consulates as well.

One primary need: a drafting unit of two or three skilled people who can write pamphlets and reaction papers and help with speeches. Another requirement is for additional staff to handle press briefings. Still another function, which is already being performed but should be enlarged, is interpreting the current situation in Israel to a wider range of Jewish organizations and friends of Israel.

Part of the Embassy communications staff's responsibility should be to make sure that, even though the United Nations staff is reduced, the press corps there is adequately covered during the Middle East deliberations of the General Assembly and the Security Council.

The Embassy by its nature often has to function in a crisis environment. The communications staff there must be expanded to include trained specialists, and the best professional resources must be readily available to them so that when policies are announced, they can be presented simultaneously, on very short notice, most effectively to the American public at key points across the U.S.

In New York

Here the Israel Task Force with the assistance of the Communications Advisory Committee will be responsible for devising major communications projects, advertising campaigns and handling the liaison with Jewish organizations. The Task Force will coordinate its activities with the existing roof organizations in a way to be elaborated later. And Jewish organizations not belonging to the Task Force will be invited to join this effort.

The Task Force will not, of course, compete with groups already active but rather bolster the good work they are doing. It will find out from them what activities they would be willing to initiate, or expand.

It will be necessary to make sure no new project infringes on current ones.

The office here will provide a center to which ideas can be brought and evaluated. At present, there is no single such clearinghouse and many worthwhile proposals never come to function.

Coordination

To achieve maximum coordination, the head of the Israel communications unit, the Israel Embassy's Minister of Information and the Task Force communications head in New York will meet frequently and confer regularly by telephone. They will review decisions, appraise needs, monitor ongoing programs and allocate tasks.

There is every reason to believe that the spirit of cooperation and good will that has infused relations between American Jews and the State of Israel in other joint enterprises will make this one successful, too. However, without a unifying structure of this kind, no comprehensive, systematized program can operate at the high level of effectiveness that is so urgently required.

IV. PROGRAMS

"If there is one earnest, even urgent, recommendation that could be heard from virtually every sophisticated professional leader, it is this: that the public informational effort on behalf of Israel should cease being on the defensive, should cease focusing on being merely responsive to events and to crises and adverse accusations. That it should go over to a more assertive and positive posture, not only in political terms but in broader cultural and humanistic terms. That is to say that greater emphasis should be placed upon Israel as a free society, a normal people, a creative nation with democratic institutions making major contributions to the quality of human life at home and for humanity in general."

- Moshe Decter

February 27, 1976

The American Jewish Community
and Israel -- A Survey of Communal
Action

Our committee has identified a wide variety of projects, programs and activities that we believe should be either initiated or enlarged. Following is a limited and selected list of such programs.

The three-member executive group should, as the need is indicated from time to time, call together ad hoc gatherings of experts in specific fields who are friends of Israel to obtain their advice. This will be particularly necessary in fields where our people are laymen and must have the benefit of inside knowledge and help -- how to get a TV series started, for example, or how best to stimulate increased support by more evangelicals.

For the purposes of organization, the programs we have identified are divided into the following categories: high visibility, people-to-people, special audiences, service, surveillance and other projects in brief.

A. High Visibility Projects

Calendar of Events

A comprehensive Calendar of Events of key happenings in Israel will be maintained and continuously updated, so that fully adequate public relations planning and execution can be carried out. The calendar will especially flag occurrences that deserve public visibility in the United States.

At present, there are a variety of different calendars. The Tourism Ministry has one. So do other government departments as well as universities, museums, associations and organizations.

This master listing will include major seminars, symposiums, conventions and other events that would be of interest to the foreign press. A sample of what the Calendar of Events might look like follows:

March - May, 1978

March 1 - 4

First International Colloquium on Advances in Intensive Psychotherapy (March 2nd to May 28th)

Symposium of International Association of Social Psychiatry (March 3rd to 8th)

March 5 - 11

American Farmers' Seminar on Agriculture in Israel (March 5th to 14th)

March 5 - 11 (cont'd)

George Otis/Pat Boone 4th Annual Holy Land Conference
(March 5th to 12th)

March 12 - 18

Conference on Comparison of Medical Practices Israel/USA
(March 12th to 20th)

7th International Congress of World Confederation of
Occupational Therapists (March 12th to 19th)

EMBO-Workshop on Mathematical Models in Biology
(March 18th to 31st)

March 19 - 25

International Seminar on Biomechanics of Sport Games
(March 19th to 23rd)

IFORS-Specialized Conference on Operation Research in
Agriculture (March 21st to 23rd)

March 26 - April 1

American Friends of Tel Aviv University - First Inter-
national Dental Seminar (March 27th to April 10th)

Spring Conference of Advocates Society of Ontario
(March 21st to April 10th)

April 2 - 8

April 9 - 15

2nd Tel Aviv International Art Fair (April 13th to 20th)

April 16 - 22

April 30 - May 6

Holocaust Day - In memory of the martyrs and heroes who died under Nazi oppression (May 4th)

"Modern Living" - International Trade Fair (May 4th to June 3rd)

May 7 - 13

Independence Day (May 11th)

May 14 - 20

21st Biennial Congress of International College of Surgeons (May 14th to 19th)

International Seminar on Allergy and Clinical Immunology (May 16th to 27th)

May 21 - 27

4th International Beilinson Symposium on Nutrition and The Diabetic Child (May 21st to 24th)

19th World Congress of World Federation of Diamond Bourses and International Diamond Manufacturers Association (May 21st to 28th)

International Symposium on Problems of Human Growth (May 22nd to 25th)

May 28 - June 3

8th International Congress of World Confederation for Physical Therapy (May 28th to June 2nd)

Seminars and conventions, of course, add to national stature and offer a wide range of news and feature opportunities.

This schedule will be used to identify projects that merit publicity and promotion. The sponsors of events may not always have the

facilities for doing this. But the calendars will also be analyzed to make sure there is enough going on in areas of main concern, important events that dramatize the key themes. Where high visibility events do not occur spontaneously, they will be created -- for their intrinsic impact and as the basis for U.S. publicity.

"Crossroads" -- A Major Exhibit

This proposal and the one that follows are big, ambitious projects certain to have a dramatic impact on public opinion. Yet both, we believe, are well within the realm of feasibility.

"Crossroads," a major traveling museum exhibit on the order of Tutankhamen, would depict Israel as a hub of many civilizations.

Dr. Thomas P. F. Hoving, former Metropolitan Museum of Art Director, believes such a project would be possible for 1980-81.

"The whole country is archeological. Various levels would depict Arab civilizations, other cultures, the Crusaders and so on,"

Dr. Hoving says. "Israel is the hub of the wheel, the center of the world."

If the Knesset -- given sufficient advance time and the proper conditions -- will permit showing the Dead Sea Scrolls, this, of course, would be a tremendous attraction.

The exhibit should open in the National Gallery in Washington, go to six museums around the country, spending three months in each city, and possibly also touring the world. The project could be largely self-liquidating through the sale of replicas printed materials, royalty arrangements, etc. (as was the case with Tutankhamen).

In the past, governments and, indeed, corporations viewed an investment in sponsorship of an art exhibition as a simple contribution to culture and scholarship. The only return that was expected by a country was an increase in good will, a better familiarity with the nation's history, and a boost in tourism spurred by the public's desire to see similar relics and art in situ.

Today, we are happily in an era in which museums are being more receptive to the idea of allowing investors to recoup their money and, indeed, to share the profits made on an exhibition. While the ongoing work of museums is conservation, archival jobs and research, the sale of books, gifts and educational materials has become a multi-million dollar business.

Profits on such items as catalogues, posters, reproduction of artifacts can produce significant income. Also a "Crossroads"

major television series would be a natural spinoff.

It is possible, too, to obtain U.S. Government support for an exhibition of this size. A bill has been passed which allows the Federal Government to indemnify traveling international art exhibitions. This allows the risk involved in transporting objects to the United States to be borne almost in its entirety by the government. The only requirement is that the show must be sponsored by a museum in this country. If this can be arranged, the largest expense item involved -- insurance cost -- would be virtually eliminated.

A project of this nature can have a tremendous impact. It is expected that by the time the Tutankhamen exhibit leaves this country in April, 1979, four million people will have visited the museums in the six cities displaying the "King Tut" treasures. Already, Egyptian culture has become virtually a fad in the United States. Mrs. Sadat, the Prime Minister's wife, when she was here mentioned that seeing the show was a way to get to know her country. Egyptian officials say Tutankhamen is promoting tourism and helping their nation in other ways, as well. They are, in fact, so impressed with the results that they are already planning another traveling exhibition -- a general survey of Egyptian art -- for 1980.

"World Fund for Humanity"

A project that would have even greater and continuing global impact would be a "World Fund for Humanity" -- a Jerusalem award program with the dimensions of the Nobel Prize.

Funded by Jews of many lands, it would be perceived as a gift to the world from Israel to honor those who have contributed to the betterment of mankind. It would focus global attention on the commitment of Israel and the Jewish people to peace and the dignity of man. It would appeal to the pride of the Jewish community.

To set up the World Fund program, a one-year planning effort would be required. The government should appoint a commission with leading scholars of international eminence convened in Israel for this purpose.

A step in this direction was taken in 1975 when the Knesset with \$10 million dollars capital from the Wolf Foundation established an impressive awards program for outstanding scientists for their contributions in agriculture, mathematics, chemistry, physics and medicine. The Wolf Prize carries a \$100,000 cash grant for each of the five fields. This is an impressive project in terms of gaining public recognition of Israel. It is unfortunate that

the way the project has been set up has not enabled it to achieve the worldwide attention accorded to the Nobel Prizes which get front page coverage all over the globe. It deserves more attention than it receives. Hopefully, it would get this through the communications program we envision. Even so, it would still not have a stature commensurate with Nobel, which the World Fund would have.

Nobel Prizes are given from the Nobel Foundation, a fund established by Alfred Bernhard Nobel in his will in 1890. The original value of the fund was \$8 million. The prizes are given from the income of the fund. In 1977 each prize totaled about \$145,000.

Suggestions for awards are accepted only from designated individuals: former Nobel Prize winners, members of award-giving bodies, persons on faculties of specified universities and institutions, and individuals in certain governments.

Gaining possession of a Nobel Prize brings acclaim and recognition far beyond the monetary value of the award itself. A World Fund presentation would bestow comparable prestige. This would be the goal of the commission established to develop such a plan.

Conferences of Global Importance

We believe forums should be established on such pressing issues as food shortages, water desalination, the energy crisis. Israel's contributions to research in these areas and such others as drip irrigation, electronics and health care could be discussed and possibly shared with other nations at appropriate gatherings.

Organizations such as the U.S. Conference Board, highly regarded by business, should be encouraged, if possible to hold international seminars on the Middle East. If these could highlight Israel-American cultural affinity, they would strengthen business support for Israel.

A conference of top theologians of all faiths could introduce new directions of dialogue and insight. The need in America to seek allies for political positions from among Protestants and Catholics makes it important wherever possible to resolve differences that generate hostility.

A conference of leading scientists on a subject that could warrant world attention, another of the great artists of our time, still another of outstanding social thinkers -- all taking place in Israel, would give high visibility to Israel's role as a major intellectual

center, providing leadership for a variety of efforts to improve the condition of man.

Solar Energy Project

A joint conspicuous solar energy project should be undertaken that would include a major conference in the United States with leading Israeli and American scientists participating. They would:

- . Launch a study to determine where the Israelis might best help America with her solar energy problem.
- . Designate a visible promotable project in the United States to be worked on -- and funded -- jointly by the Israelis and the Americans.
- . Initiate a mutual exchange program for students and scientists to study solar energy in Israel and the United States.

There is already a precedent for such cooperation. Gershon Grossman of Haifa's Technion, Israel Institute of Technology, in conjunction with an American professor at the University of Colorado, is making rapid advances in solar energy use.

The memory of the OPEC oil squeeze is still fresh in the minds of Americans. Israel, by making available its knowledge of

solar energy, helps America solve what President Carter has called its "number one priority," the energy shortage. This will demonstrate to Americans how aid is not a one-way street.

International Features

A major film festival, focusing on such themes as peace and brotherhood, would be a logical extension of similar events already staged or planned. An event of that sort was held in 1976 and another is scheduled for November 5 to 11, 1978.

The first World Jewish Film and Television Festival was attended by about 600 delegates, including 300 Israelis and an equal number of others from 20 different countries.

Melville Mark, former UPI bureau chief in Geneva and a specialist in mass communications, originated and directed the project. The '76 event was designed to bring together film directors, producers and distributors from around the world to screen films on Jewish subjects and to encourage Israeli and Jewish institutions to produce high quality films about themselves.

The second festival is not Jewish but has a universal theme, "Who speaks for Man?," with human rights overtones. The festival includes a contest of film and television programs with special awards; a symposium; and an exhibition.

Walter Eytan, Chairman of the Israel Broadcasting Authority, says, "The humanistic concept of this second event is one which we wholeheartedly endorse, and for which we feel that Jerusalem is an ideal setting."

The festival Committee of Honor is headed by Professor Ephreim Katzir, President of the State of Israel.

Events of this kind should be encouraged so that they will fill needs and become continuing institutions. An international music festival and an international tennis tournament are other examples.

The Israel Tennis Center costing more than \$1 million was built recently at Ramat Gan, a suburb of Tel Aviv. Other such centers are being planned for major cities in Israel and fund-raising is under way. The Ramat Gan facility would lend itself well to an international tourney that could be covered by "Wide World of Sports" or "CBS Sports" or one of the other network shows on American television.

Television Spectaculars

The three communications administrators should work to assure that at least one television spectacular a year on the order of Holocaust is shown that helps to advance, even tangentially, under-

standing of Israel and of the Jewish people.

An example is the television special celebrating the 30th anniversary of the State of Israel. The all-star show is scheduled to be performed April 30, 1978 in the Opera House of Kennedy Center for later telecast by ABC. Vice President Mondale is chairman of the committee in charge.

In some years such a program will happen along more or less spontaneously. At other times the communications unit itself must take the initiative to generate one.

TV programs come into being in a variety of unpredictable ways. Here the help of friendly television industry people is essential. They can offer basic ideas with suggestions on how to develop them. A number of books and/or topics can be discussed with network executives. Writers who are sensitive to Israel can be selected to write the scripts.

The programs need not, and probably should not, focus on topical Middle East tensions and politics. They might, instead, for example, offer fresh insights into other interesting and important aspects of life in Israel.

Well done, such programs can generate greater understanding for

Israel among all segments of the population and further communicate the five key issues.

Pioneer Caravan

An effective way to communicate Israel's story to the neglected medium-sized cities -- such as in parts of the South and West where the Jewish populations are small -- would be by a Pioneer Caravan. Three or four 60-foot trailer trucks would feature an exhibit, a spokesperson for Israel, artifacts, folk dancing, all representing Israel's culture and contributions to America. The project would link the pioneer traditions of the two countries, celebrating Israel's 30th anniversary and extending that nation's appreciation for American help.

Each car could be decorated with a commissioned mural, perhaps based on the familiar "four freedoms" themes. The exhibits might also show how Israel has dealt with these freedoms successfully.

We suggest a one-month ten-city trip in May -- perhaps longer -- ending in New York or Washington. Leading dignitaries should be present from Israel and the United States for the send-off.

As the caravan arrives in each city, the local mayor might pro-

claim that date American/Israeli Friendship Day. Activities might include:

- . A cultural event (visit from an Israeli dance company, traveling theater show, boys' choir).
- . Speakers programs (Jewish and non-Jewish influentials addressing local women's, ethnic, civil, fraternal groups.)
- . Appropriate school activities.
- . Local stores with Israel themes and flags.
- . Film shorts on Israel distributed to motion picture theaters in each city.

The caravan might have on display some holy artifact or replica to attract the Christian population. The spokesperson, who must be an Israeli notable, would be available for special print and broadcast interviews. He or she might be teamed with a designated non-Jewish person well known in each city, with the two appearing together on local TV and radio shows.

A news film and audio tape on a general American/Israeli theme might be prepared for distribution to broadcasters. Also there

might be a modest gift from the Israeli people to the American people in each city. This could take the form of a physical present of some kind or an offer of assistance or cooperation on a local project (to be worked out in advance) such as a sister city project.

This, like other suggested projects, is one around which major national and local broadcast and print media could be mobilized.

Advertising Program

Any comprehensive communications program for Israel's cause would have to include advertising as a key component. Ads have some inherent advantages. For example, they assure control of the editorial content of messages, thus allowing no distortion. Also, they can be placed in major publications in a way to guarantee high visibility across the nation.

Our continuing campaign should include: substantive, factual pieces dealing head-on with controversial issues; ads supporting and publicizing other specific segments of the communications program, such as the Crossroads exhibit or Pioneer Caravan; still others of a more general nature that strengthen personal identification with Israel.

The following, we believe, are important considerations:

- . Media selected should provide a high level of continuing exposure to key target groups.
- . Issue advertisements explaining Israel's points of view should start as soon as possible.
- . Media selected should, wherever possible, provide crisis response capability -- permitting last-minute placement or change of ads.
- . Fast-close, high-frequency media should be suitable for reaching multiple targets.
- . Full U.S. coverage of influentials, with some concentration in power centers, is needed.

It was pointed out earlier in this report that getting crisis response capability for ads is difficult, if not impossible, when it is attempted on an ad hoc basis. It can be done, however, when the proper mechanism is in place and continuously operating.

Among the general circulation magazines with the power to influence opinion nationally, the fastest closers are the weekly newsmagazines -- Time, Newsweek and U.S. News and World Report. In any particular week, if their advertising people know

in advance that material will be coming, it is possible to submit copy on Thursday or even Friday for appearance on Monday. Even daily newspapers are only a shade better in this respect.

The latter are excellent for zeroing in on the major urban power centers like New York and Washington, but for trying to blanket the country, the news magazines are far cheaper. Also getting advertising copy promptly to many distant newspapers can be a problem.

Generally speaking, it is necessary to use print media for dealing with controversial issues -- rather than radio and TV. Otherwise the "fairness doctrine" and equal time demands come into play.

It is important that once policies and themes have been determined by the communications unit, the advertising professionals be left free to implement these creatively.

The possibilities are almost limitless. For example, a series of educational advertisements to help Americans understand how Israel's geography has changed since the Balfour Declaration. These ads could include an order form for booklets expanding on the topics. The mailing could perhaps be handled by a Jewish organization.

Aside from the news magazines, other multi-target publications with a fast close base that would be suitable vehicles include:

Business Week (W), New York Times (D), Washington Post (Sun), Wall Street Journal (D), Los Angeles Times (D), Chicago Tribune (D), Atlanta Constitution-Journal (D), Christian Science Monitor (D).

Other opinion leader publications: New Yorker (W), Saturday Review (Bi-W), Atlas (M) (digest of foreign news), Foreign Affairs (Q), National Review (BiW), New Republic (W), New York Review of Books (BiW), Science (W), Ms. (M), New Times (BiW), Psychology Today (M), Politics Today (BiM), Harpers (M), Atlantic (M), Human Events (W), Conservative Digest (M), Scientific American (M) and Crisis (NAACP) (M).

We have identified 25 other publications suitable for specific target audiences. These range from More (M) for journalists and Christian Life (M) for fundamental Protestants to Rotarian (M), Lion Magazine (M), Kiwanis (M), and Future (BiM) (Jaycees) for civic leaders. The last four magazines would also be logical outlets for advertising the availability of Israel films and speakers.

B. People-to-People

These activities are the most important of all in building mutual understanding. They provide personal and highly credible testimonials of the values found in Israel today.

Non-Jewish Influentials' Visits to Israel

Much of this is, of course, already being done. The Embassy has brought over 500 American leaders over the past three years. The Ministry of Tourism and El Al have intensive programs. The Committee on Israel regularly subsidizes tours to that country for selected media persons. And under the aegis of the American Zionist Federation, each year between 30 and 40 press, radio and television representatives spend up to two weeks in Israel. The AZF also brings 40 or so clergymen to seminars there every year.

But the effort needs to be greatly broadened and better organized so as to reach more editors, business leaders, government officials, legislators and other key figures in target audiences, and to provide meaningful follow-up.

What has not been done is an overall analysis of who has gone over in the past year. Were there enough from the student groups? Or enough blacks, for example? Important targets should be

identified so that El Al or the Ministry or the Jewish organizations can make the most effective use of their programs. Also additional funds might be provided as needed.

Those who visit on their own need to be identified either through the Tourism Bureau, El Al or hotels.

Enlist the Help of Friendly Visitors

This, too, is being done but not nearly extensively enough. Whole programs should be developed around key persons and followed up in their own communities so they explain their impressions as widely as possible.

A person, or group of people, within the Communications Unit should be charged with contacting and gaining the support of influential Americans in different fields of activity. Individuals to be contacted might include labor leaders, university president, businessmen, scientists, artists, farmers, students, spokesmen for blacks. For greater credibility, mostly non-Jews should be included.

Many of the outstanding Americans who have visited Israel and become good friends are well known. To name a few -- Father Theodore Hesburgh, President of the University of Notre Dame;

Clark Kerr, chairman of the Carnegie Council on Policy Studies at Berkeley, California, Archbishop Fulton J. Sheen; Rev. James Morton, dean of the Cathedral of St. John the Divine in New York, from evangelicals, Johnny Cash; ethnic influentials, Geno Baroni, Assistant Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, Joseph Alioto, former mayor of San Francisco, Vernon E. Jordan, Jr. executive director of the National Urban League, Vilma Martinnez, president of the Mexican-American Legal Defense Fund; business, Thomas M. Macioce, Allied Stores, Inc.; literature, James Michener; foreign policy, Admiral Elmo Zumwalt; labor, George Meany.

Too often prominent visitors to Israel return to America and speak only to Jewish organizations, "converting the converted."

Instead, volunteers would be asked to speak before important non-Jewish or mixed audiences, also to be interviewed on TV or radio. Statements might also be used in print advertising programs.

Non-Jewish American influentials should be encouraged to work with our communications specialists in developing and submitting pro-Israel bylined op-ed page articles. Story ideas could cover a wide scope of topics ranging from solar energy developments at Hebrew University's Scientific Research Facilities to woman's

rights progress in Israel.

Credible articles will be stimulated as needed and presented to editors in the following ways:

1. To major national newspapers on an exclusive-in-the-nation basis. Articles will be offered to editors first by telephone, then sent with a cover letter.
2. In the case of regional newspapers, they will be offered on an exclusive-to-region basis.
3. Articles will go to smaller papers exclusive to that city, town or area.

This project would continue throughout the year on an intensive basis.

Success of the project will be monitored by clipping services and follow-up phone calls. The number and importance of the newspapers using the articles will be continually reviewed to determine which topics or kinds of articles are most successful.

Recruit Prominent Israelis to Speak Here

Israel's story should be told to non-Jewish audiences not just by American friends but by Israeli specialists in various fields --

from fashions to finance.

We realize that work pressures and hectic schedules create problems but, to the extent that it is possible, important Israeli citizens who would have an interested audience in this country should devote time in America to communications for Israel. A mechanism needs to be created that will alert the communications unit staff to the fact that the president of a university or the director of a museum for example is coming to the United States. Then it will be possible for the communications people to set up valuable additional speeches, interviews, etc.

Important forums for the presentation of Israel's story will be identified by means of a calendar of appropriate events in the U.S. This will include: national and major state trade and professional conventions -- medical, manufacturers, realtors, bankers, bar, insurance, for example; commencements at major universities; National Press Club functions; international forums.

Israeli influentials can be brought together with their counterparts at annual meetings and seminars of such groups as the Academy of National Sciences, American Machine Tools Distributors' Association, Soil Conservation Society of America, the Diamond Dealers Club, Sigma Delta Chi (for journalists).

The new Communications Unit will:

- . Obtain appropriate Israeli speakers.
- . Make bookings for them.
- . Write position papers and brochures backgrounding Israel's capabilities in a particular subject area. These would be useful in mailings to association memberships and as press kit materials.
- . Develop with the Israeli Government and El Al special work-play affinity group travel packages to Israel open to Americans in particular trades or professions through their associations.
- . Investigate the feasibility of U.S. association representatives reciprocating with visits to Israel.

News releases will be prepared that will include profiles of visiting Israelis and releases on speeches and seminars. Appropriate vertical publications will receive in-depth articles on Israel's capabilities, prospects and new developments -- these pieces to lead with quotes from the visiting Israeli spokesmen.

Institutionalize Friendship Forum Dinners

Here the person-to-person theme will be even more explicit.

At these, Americans and guests from Israel who have common interests can exchange ideas and develop better mutual understanding.

Speakers should be selected from lists of the UJA, Israel Bonds and other organizations that maintain an Israeli speakers service.

To maximize the effectiveness of these forums, those invited should be largely non-Jewish. A new forum could be set up each month for a different target audience. But additional forums for each audience should be scheduled as needed, semi-annually or annually.

Topics will have to be carefully selected so that these events attract non-Jews who have not been previously interested in Israel.

Activities of this nature are already being conducted on a limited basis by the Israel-American Friendship League. The program should be expanded. Possibly sponsorship of these forums by foundations or corporations might defray their cost. Associations within each of the target audiences should be contacted to stimulate

interest in the area.

The Friendship Force, an Atlanta-based organization, conducts exchange visits abroad. Their first trip was to Scotland and their second to Israel. Americans including Chip Carter, spent five days with Israeli families on a reciprocal basis. This activity should be more widely encouraged and an infrastructure created to make sure the program is working successfully.

Expand the Sister City Program

A program exists that links some communities in Israel with those of similar size and interests in the United States. But it is modest in scope and needs enlargement.

Lists should be prepared of doctors, lawyers, engineers and those of other occupations and interest categories so that people in both cities with common concerns can contact one another. There is an organization of American communities which has initiated sister city programs. This group would be helpful in developing the Israel project.

C. Special Audiences

Youth

Surveys identify youth as one of the most important audiences Israel communications programs must reach. Observers of the college scene say that as a result of the U.N. Zionism vote many students equate Israel with such nations as South Africa, Rhodesia and Chile. Arab propaganda has heightened this misconception -- also the fact that Israel and South Africa have trade relations and alleged military supply commerce. Areas that require the most intensive work are the South, the Southwest and the Bible Belt.

It is significant that Israel fares poorly in many college newspapers compared with media elsewhere. A Manhattanville College news commentary, for example, recently contended that the "exaggerated nationalism" of Israel was one of "the most pressing international issues ... The most intransigent party to peaceful negotiation, aside from the radical P.L.O., is Israel. Judaism shares with Islam and Christianity the belief that Jerusalem is a holy city; and yet a majority of its residents live as a conquered people."

The Boudoin College Orient reported not long ago on the attendance of a professor and five students at a conference in Washington on "The Palestinians: Their Place in the Middle East."

One of the students, while concluding that the whole conference was pro-Palestinian, said he thought "the PLO was actually representative because it is composed not only of guerillas, but it is also made up of poets, scholars, artists and people of all stations of life."

Among the groups and organizations on American campuses that share many of Israel's views is the American Professors for Peace in the Middle East (APPME). It puts out publications, arranges conferences and engages speakers for the college circuit. It merits and should receive more public relations help and other resources. Its office should be expanded.

Hillel, a student organization with faculty advisors, directs itself primarily towards Jewish students, although reaching only a fraction of them. It does sponsor some Israel-oriented activities,

Also on many campuses Jewish faculty luncheon groups gather periodically for non-political social occasions. They sometimes have speakers who address Middle East issues.

Although all of these groups can be called upon during a crisis to speak up for Israel, most of their members are busy with other matters and either cannot, or are reluctant to, organize programs to educate the local community about Israel.

When these groups do do something of this sort, it is usually on a one-time basis.

What is needed here is a cadre of field people who will work full-time arranging educational programs on campuses and otherwise developing support in the academic community.

We recommend a program that will:

- . Set up a central office headed by a communications professional experienced in dealing with the university world.
- . Arrange campus speaking tours for prominent Israelis.
- . Prepare a monthly calendar of college conferences and seminars where Israelis might speak.
- . Develop a presentation on study and travel opportunities for non-Jewish Americans in Israel,

featuring films or slides and a lecture. Emphasis should be placed on reaching religious-affiliated schools where interest in the holy places of Israel is great.

- . Prepare material -- articles, editorials, letters, etc. -- to go to campus newspapers and radios.

After one academic year of such activities, the effectiveness will be reviewed to consider whether or not these particular efforts should be continued and in what direction they should go.

Hillel members need to be trained to make better use of local media and to properly communicate program themes. The communications unit should arrange for two-day seminars to be conducted either at the Hillel National Convention or regionally.

The main purpose of these will be to map publicity campaigns for each college town or city.

The courses would cover:

1. The goals of our program.
2. Why it needs Hillel's help.
3. Working with the local media.
4. The mechanics of publicity.

5. Capitalizing on guest speakers.
6. Speaking out itself.
7. Making use of press conferences.
8. Tour of local media, with commentary.
9. Dealing with spot news and crisis situations.

Kits with sample public relations materials -- suggested speech topics and speakers, press releases, press conference checklist -- should be made available.

The follow-up to this should include periodic checks by telephone and letters to Hillel presidents and rabbis.

Journalists

Journalists, of course, have long been an audience of special concern. A great many have gone to Israel but more should do so.

One kind of activity to be fostered is represented by the "Jerusalem Program" of the Journalism Department of Boston University's School of Public Communication. This is being considered as a project in cooperation with Hebrew University.

The program's ultimate goal is to establish a permanent course of foreign correspondence studies for about 40 summer students

based in Jerusalem.

Students will be required to cover spot news and file their stories in the manner of a wire service or radio network or newspaper reporter. They will gather material for and write in-depth reports, feature stories and follow a realistic routine. Students will be given opportunities to travel, with the proviso that their journeys produce copy.

The program anticipates placing student articles and broadcast reports in campus media. Students will be expected also to contact and offer stories to their hometown papers and radio stations.

Each year the American Zionist Federation subsidizes a tour of Israel for up to two weeks for 35 or so people in the press and mass media, chiefly from outside the New York area. These guests are exposed to people and places that will have the greatest potential impact on their subsequent attitudes towards Israel.

The program seems to work well.

There is, however, increasing resistance among the larger and more respected newspapers, magazines, TV and radio stations to allowing their employees to take "junkets" -- for obvious reasons.

We believe, however, that legitimate, cooperative type enterprises for working editors and reporters, similar to the Neiman fellowships in the United States, have an attractive potential.

The Lucius W. Nieman Fellowships are offered at Harvard University to provide mid-career opportunities for journalists to study and broaden their intellectual horizons. About 12 fellowships are awarded annually. Their value includes a weekly stipend plus tuition charges at Harvard for one academic year. Journalists who work full-time for newspapers, magazines, press services, television or radio are eligible. They may select their own studies with all departments open to them.

That it is impossible to expose too many journalists to Israel is a truism. Fellowships are one of the more effective ways of doing this.

Sabbaticals for Professionals

The Neiman concept should be broadened to include selected American professionals whose careers are involved with land management, community planning and development, agricultural and soil research. Examples: economists, architects, agronomists, engineers, geneticists and eminent journalists who specialize in these subjects; also government planners and administrators.

The program would provide:

- . Three-month sabbaticals to working professionals in the form of fellowships from Israeli institutions of higher learning.
- . Study and participation in seminars concerning land use, planning, securing water, improving soil and other topics relating to building homes, communities and agricultural enterprises -- what Israel has learned that can be applied to improvement or renovation of existing communities.
- . The opportunity to meet and learn from Israeli counterparts and experts from around the world.
- . Field trips to locations of in-progress settlements, new building projects, construction and research facilities.
- . Publication by sponsoring university of seminar discussions, papers, lectures in books that will be disseminated to American universities, professional associations, government organizations.
- . Farewell dinner and certificates ceremony.

- . Announcement of the establishment of the fellowships as an annual event -- and tradition -- of modern Israel.

The objective of this program would be to demonstrate to the United States through the reports of expert American witnesses, the rapid modernization of Israel, the country's sophistication in planning and developing new communities and her rapid progress in cultivating what were wastelands. This will help position Israel as an innovative nation very much in the 20th Century.

The program would provide a windfall of favorable communications opportunities: announcement of awards to the recipients, in-progress reports, farewell dinners, feature story follow-ups.

Ethnic and Nationality Groups

Largely neglected as special audiences in the United States are the many ethnic and nationality groups with considerable political influence: Hispanics, Italians, Poles, Greeks, Chinese, Japanese. Studies of ethnicity in this country indicate that certain themes have special appeals to such groups. These should be put to effective use to increase understanding of Israel. For example, an appeal needs to be made to the Japanese-Americans, stressing common bonds between Israel and Japan.

Opinions among the 25 million blacks in the United States are, by and large, split on the subject of Israel. But they are more negative than those of the composite U.S. population.

With support from the Israel Task Force, the American Jewish Congress has been administering the Black Media Project. Its objectives are (1) to follow the black press in America closely and to respond promptly and effectively to hostilities and inaccuracies, and (2) to supply the black press with relevant material on the Middle East and Israel.

The success of this project in distributing numerous favorable articles that received wide coverage underscores the opportunities for the same kind of effort with other groups.

Other ethnic groups include about 20 million Hispanics; 20 million Italians; 14 million Poles; 800,000 Greeks.

Among themes that appeal to various ethnic segments of the population are these:

- . Israel is a small country surrounded by potential allies of world communism, acting according to a master plan of encirclement.

- . Israel is peaceful but strong and ready to protect itself from terrorists and invaders.
- . Israel is the guardian of Christian shrines, traditions, beliefs.

In many ethnic communities it is not necessary to strive for mass support but rather for leadership backing.

The Communications Unit can turn for counsel in planning its campaign to such expert resources as the American Jewish Committee's Institute for Pluralism and Ethnic Identity. Other groups studying ethnicity in the United States that may help are: Center on Urban Ethnic Affairs (Catholic); Center for American Pluralism of the National Opinion Research Center; Center for Migration Studies, Staten Island, N.Y.; and Center for Immigration Studies, University of Minnesota.

Grass Roots

Jewish organizations in the United States have traditionally placed strong emphasis on community activities because it is at this "grass roots" level that public opinion is formed. Here Jewish laymen and professionals meet most often and most comfortably with their non-Jewish peers. It is in the local communities, too,

that relationships with clergy, industry and labor leaders, editors and other molders of opinion are most readily established.

With all of this in mind, NJCRAC has an extensive community consultation service. The Task Force recently strengthened this program further with the employment of three visiting consultants to intensify local counseling for programming aimed at strengthening understanding of developments in Israel.

Much has been accomplished in metropolitan areas but more still needs to be done to reach the populations of cities outside the 50 major metropolitan areas. We recommend developing publicity on a wide range of topics related to the key issues with the thousands of small daily and weekly newspapers serving the nation's secondary cities.

The communications unit will generate timely and interesting ideas for feature stories and broadcast material on Israel.

Cultural and seasonal subjects will be heavily stressed. Examples of stories: "Jerusalem at Easter," "American Students at Archeological Dig in Israel," "Excavations Uncover St. Peter's House at Capernaum."

The communications staff will contact appropriate authorities who would write 500-750 word stories on proposed topics. The

articles will be distributed, often with illustrations, to a broad range of secondary city editors -- travel, art, etc. These pieces will be distributed regularly from four to six times a year.

Clipping services and follow-up phone calls to a cross-section of papers receiving the stories will help determine which topics are most popular.

Similarly, radio and television material will be developed and distributed.

D. Service

News, Features

Print, radio and television media in the United States welcome interesting and newsworthy reports from Israel. The reception given the projects undertaken so far shows the demand to be great.

The government via its audio-visual center in New York has supplied hundreds of films and tapes. For the past two years there has been more emphasis on distribution so that the materials after they are produced do not just lie on the shelf. Jewish organizations have funded a wide variety of media features. Some of those are described in the Israel Task Force report of June, 1977, "Fostering Understanding of the Situation in the Middle East."

Despite the success of the programs, these activities ought to be synchronized with others and enlarged. At present, facilities do not exist for a more comprehensive effort. These are needed in order to take advantage of an unparalleled opportunity to get the message we want to the American public.

The staff we propose will have professionals in Israel with a good sense of what will make news here. They will tape-record

interviews and phone them at once to the United States. Taking the initiative to produce features, as well as news coverage, they will be responsible for renting a film crew and shooting the necessary footage. These representatives in Israel should generate one radio feed a day and at least one film clip a week.

Costs there would include staff salaries plus operating expenses -- such as equipment rental, travel, trans-Atlantic calls. In the United States the present audio feed system of the Israel Consulate in New York is effective. Once the material is supplied, these broadcasts could become a daily feature for millions of listeners.

Film distribution to television would be more complicated. To edit one film a week, possibly cut it into several shorter pieces and distribute it nationally, requires two full-time staff members and two part-timers. A modest film editing lab is also necessary.

The Israeli and American operatives will remain in daily contact with each other to discuss stories the media would find appealing. This relationship will ensure maximum exposure for whatever material is sent.

Israel Minutes

In addition, the communications staff should arrange to have drafted a series of one-minute TV spots, "Israel Minutes,"

focusing on progress in Israel. These concern themselves with historic events, important Israeli contributions to the world and the affinity of culture between the two nations.

The Communications Unit would be responsible for:

- . Preparing lists of non-Jewish influentials in a wide range of fields, such as labor, the arts, religion, to serve as credible narrators for these spots.
- . Gathering and cataloguing existing films and still photos appropriate for use.
- . Having the scenes prepared and shot.
- . Contacting major foundations or corporations in the United States to solicit sponsorship for the series.
- . Devising a complementary series of radio and print ads to reinforce the impact of the "Minutes."

Fact-Finding Center

The lack of one centralized source of information about all aspects of Israel should be remedied.

Needed is a data bank (computerized center) that would help journalists, corporate executives, educators, scholars, authors and the general public obtain information. It would also help them identify the appropriate organizations and individuals to contact for more detailed facts about any aspect of Israeli life.

Access to this center could be made convenient by terminals in New York, Washington and other regional cities.

The program could be implemented as follows:

After the location and affiliation of the center is determined, it would be possible either to buy a computer or to share an existing one. A research team would establish a basic pool of information about Israel that should be fed into the computer. This would have to be done on a continuing basis.

At present, there is no such comprehensive repository of knowledge.

In addition to the establishment of a data bank, we recommend that the Communications Unit buy access to The New York Times Information Bank.

Helping newscasters and talk show hosts acquire a better understanding of Israel can be done in a number of ways.

One of these would be by developing Middle East specialists who can serve as commentators and consultants for news programs, appear on talk shows and host special reports. This would require finding prominent individuals with well-established credentials, giving them an organizational base from which to work, providing them with up-to-the-minute information and promoting their availability to important audiences. They would be in great demand.

Talk shows should be encouraged to broadcast one, or a series, of their programs from Israel. The government has already brought over Merv Griffin, Dinah Shore and others.

Important TV program hosts should be invited to tour Israel on a planned itinerary. And both TV and radio commentators of stature should be given the chance to discuss issues with top Israeli officials.

Hometown Press Service

This, we believe, would pay tremendous dividends for the cost involved.

Questionnaires would be given to incoming visitors immediately on arrival.

The tourist would be asked whether or not he or she would be

willing to be interviewed by a journalist for material to be sent back to his home community. The questionnaire would record the home address, the occupation and where the person could be reached by phone in Israel.

Questionnaires would be screened. Tourists coming from areas where Israel's cause needs the greatest promotion would be looked at with special interest. Also, occupations would be scrutinized for roles of community leadership or acceptance.

Depending on this information and an on-the-spot assessment of the visitor's speaking voice and poise, a determination would be made as to whether the subject might be a good candidate for tape or film -- or even a possible speaking assignment -- or whether he would just be briefly interviewed for a photograph and caption (at some scenic or historic site) the picture to be sent to his hometown newspaper.

One week after the return to the U.S. of the more prominent tourists, each of the media that might have received a tape, film or photograph would get a letter from the New York communications office reporting that the visitor had come home and might be a good subject for interview.

Meanwhile, if the more prominent visitor had indicated a willingness to speak to his local fraternal, civic or professional club, that organization would be alerted as to his possible availability.

The tourist follow-up letters from the U.S. office would have reply cards attached so that it could be learned whether follow-up contacts had been made and whether or not they were successful.

Among other advantages this system would provide a means of getting to the heart of Middle America -- Kansas, Iowa, Missouri, Nebraska -- where people have few opinion leaders from whom they develop basic attitudes. But the project would by no means be limited to one area.

A basic objective would be to strengthen cultural identification with Israel.

Trade Press Service

A subsidized trade press service has been established in Israel. It operates as a commercial journalistic enterprise, selling copy at modest rates to specialized publications in the U.S.

As successful as this has been considering its modest scope, the venture does not come close to fully achieving the potential.

Trade, industrial, technical, professional and other specialized publications number in the thousands in this country and their need for appropriate material is great.

The central communications office in the United States should be staffed by professionals who receive and review regular input on Israel's business and industry. This staff should maintain continuing contact with America's leading trade press editors to develop interest in writing feature stories on Israel's businesses. Leading American executives should be contacted to produce by-lined articles on their companies' operations in Israel, on opportunities there, etc.

The communications staff should also write and distribute press releases, placing particular emphasis on U.S. businesses in Israel. They should also seek to interest top business writers and editors in Israel-sponsored tours of important industrial firms there.

E. Monitoring

Communications involves not just creativity but management as well. Public relations requires the same test of performance as do other functions.

AT&T in 1976 began a comprehensive program to develop measurements of public relations programs for its Bell System Companies. Other large corporations, too, are becoming increasingly concerned with measuring information needs and results.

Key functions of the tripartite executive group of our communications structure will be monitoring media performance; surveying media needs; analysis of opinion; identifying long-term trends; and feedback.

Evaluating Media Performance

Some aspects of this are to a limited degree already being done. Periodically, the Anti-Defamation League surveys editorial opinion published in the 50 largest cities, on matters related to Israel and the Jewish people. The results are distributed to Jewish national and local organizations, as an aid to them in their efforts to influence public opinion. The surveys also form the basis for news releases disseminated to the media.

One of the functions of the Black Media Project, assigned to the American Jewish Congress by the Israel Task Force, has been to monitor these daily and weekly newspapers, weekly and monthly magazines, radio stations and programs, for material on Israel and on Jews, in general. Replies are made to hostile or erroneous published and broadcast material. Also, the program supplies to these media articles and columns primarily relating to Israel, which will have a special interest to blacks.

I. L. Kenen, former executive vice president of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee, has long kept an eye on the Washington press, including columnists and commentators based there. Since his retirement from AIPAC and the editorship of Near East Report, he writes a weekly 600-word column which is printed on the back page of that publication.

The column deals with the media, primarily in Washington but throughout the United States. Mr. Kenen writes commentaries on favorable and unfavorable statements about Israel which appear in the press.

This "monitor" column reaches about 35,000 people who are regular readers of Near East Report. In addition, the column is available to any Anglo-Jewish weekly that wishes to reprint

it or any part of it. Three major Jewish weeklies reprint it religiously -- reaching about 100,000 people every week.

When it comes to monitoring Congress and looking after Israel's interests in Washington, the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC) has no peer.

Started in 1954 as an offshoot of the American Zionist Council, AIPAC has on its board representatives of every other major Jewish organization and draws on their considerable resources. A recent article in Atlantic described AIPAC's research library as "one of the best in town on the subject of the Middle East; many journalists and even the State Department regularly call upon it for assistance."

Registered to lobby, this organization watches every piece of legislation that could even remotely affect Israel's interest. It has the facilities, as the Atlantic article points out, to "put a carefully researched, well-documented statement of its views on the desk of every senator and congressman and appropriate committee staff within four hours of a decision to do so."

The Israel Embassy in Washington carefully scrutinizes leading media and regularly sends key editorials, excerpts and digests to its government leaders to keep them informed.

All of this work is excellent. Its scope should be enlarged and its many facets more fully coordinated.

Surveying Media Needs

What is required is a systematic, periodical nationwide scrutiny.

Community Councils in 100 cities can assist by questionnaires and phone calls, they can query editors and electronic media people as to whether or not their information needs are being met. This is particularly important for publications and broadcast units that do not have correspondents in Israel. We must know the kinds of information that would be useful.

Analysis of Opinion

We propose that the Communications Unit be responsible for instituting a formal and continuing analysis and evaluation of American public opinion and interpretation of the effects of specific events.

This research program should meet the following criteria:

- . Reliability and Validity: It must be designed to provide reliable data on relevant attitudes. The results must be projectable to the total United States population --

and based on a sample large enough to provide information on critical groups such as blacks and young people.

- . Regularity: It must provide for regular planned readings which will enable users of the information to keep on top of changes in the public climate -- and equally important, a means for tracking over time, thus providing safeguards against over or under reacting to single events as they occur.
- . Flexibility: The program must be flexible enough to react to any major event, such as the U.N. resolution on Zionism, even when it does not fit the schedule.
- . Clarity: In order to avoid ambiguity, the research should focus solely on the issues relevant to Israel and United States policy in the Middle East.

Trend Identification

Built into the communications operation should be a system of looking at future trends that may affect policy-making. Major corporations have long been making use of this kind of early warning device. They employ "think tanks" to predict social and psychological trends, that could, for example, affect buying habits.

There is, of course, a whole industry working in this field for corporations and governments. It identifies patterns and develops scenarios to try to help decision-making. These include the Institute for the Future, the Futures Group, Hudson Institute and Stamford Research, among others.

The Communications Advisory Committee should, as the need arises, assemble a group of sociologists, political analysts, psychologists and representatives of other disciplines to give us their insights into the complex and critical communications issues ahead.

Feedback

At present the Embassy in Washington compiles daily reports on the national media. It summarizes poll results and reactions of Senators and Congressmen. Somewhat less frequently, it monitors regional newspapers. All of this information goes to the government in Israel.

We propose a more extensive operation, a monthly report on the "state of the union" as regards communications. The results of the various monitoring projects we are recommending would go in summary form to key lay and professional Jewish leaders in this country and Israel.

This comprehensive feedback would have these purposes:

- . to establish criteria for success or failure of various programs;
- . to establish correct themes in relation to what is needed;
- . to insure efficiency;
- . to provide a common framework for Israeli and American Jewish organization efforts;
- . to supply information to the Israeli government; and
- . to afford a basis for evaluating the impact of events.

The results of the monitoring process will provide intelligence for appraising and directing the entire communications operation. By indicating areas of weakness, such as, for example, the Bible Belt or the business community or the campuses, the feedback will enable efforts to be redirected more effectively.

F. Other Projects in Brief

"Contemporary Israel" -- A New Magazine

A beautifully designed magazine dealing with aspects of life in Israel should be created and sent free to a controlled list of influentials in the United States. This would include Congressmen, academics, corporate heads, religious leaders and others. The magazine would talk about what is happening now in Israel -- and also in the United States as it reflects on Israel-American relationships. Typical subjects: the Israeli Philharmonic tours the U.S.; the "rags to riches" saga of an Israeli entrepreneur; the disco scene in Tel Aviv; an Israel Calendar of Events.

There has been a long history of attempts to establish a viable magazine of this sort. Most have not succeeded because they were developed as commercial enterprises. Therefore, this project may require a subsidy to get it started, at least. It would probably also need top American magazine talent. The Smithsonian in the United States is a prime example of how the right kind of support and know-how can make what might otherwise seem a marginal venture succeed.

Costs for this could be a stumbling block. We would not give this program a priority unless private funding could be obtained.

Celebration of Israel's Values

Commission a series of statements by the finest writers of our time articulating the values for which Israel stands -- such as peace, justice, freedom and human dignity. These statements can be used as part of an advertising program in print and on television. The employment of top writers who carry weight with the American public would make positive impressions that would be well worth the effort.

Shopping Center Exhibitions

Shopping mall exhibits have become a new and highly effective communications medium in the United States -- an excellent public relations outlet. A tour of these centers would go to smaller communities and supplement the effort of the Pioneer Caravan. A prominent graphic artist might be commissioned to do a history wall to be set up for a few days at a time at shopping malls around the country. Photos, documents, newspaper headlines would be assembled as a mural. Handcrafts, festive flags, bunting and live performances by Israeli artists could be added to enhance the viewing. The Mall Association would help set up the tour.

Poster Program

Leading Israeli artists could be commissioned to create a poster series based on a theme such as: "The High Quality of Life In Israel," "The Beauty of the Land," or "The Diversity of the People."

Posters would be distributed as a series through established commercial poster outlets, Jewish community organizations to libraries, cultural centers and schools in the United States.

Posters might also lend themselves to miniaturized reproduction as greeting cards.

V. CONCLUSION

The recommendations of this report should be considered less as a definitive set of projects than as a generative process. It is the process itself that would be maintained on a permanent basis. It will develop the best procedures and respond flexibly to events and needs.

It will build upon the extremely effective base already created by Jewish organizations and the Embassy.

The measures we propose are of themselves no guarantee of popularity, but they will assure that the best case possible is made, of whatever situations present themselves. And they will assure that all available resources will be utilized to disseminate that case most effectively.

We have every confidence that the programs we have outlined in this report can significantly contribute to increased understanding of Israel in the United States. We recognize, of course, that events will change the nature of this support from time to time and that there will always be swings in public opinion. However, our underlying assumption is that well-organized communications can continually strengthen and sustain the basic American goodwill toward Israel.

The program we have recommended is ambitious. To achieve its goals, \$3 million will be required for staff and programs to be carried out by

Jewish organizations. The Israel Government should allocate \$1 million for staffs and programs it will carry out.

It is desperately needed, and it is our profound hope that the Jewish leadership in the U.S. and the Israeli Government itself will decide to move forward.

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APPENDIX

A STATEMENT ON KEY ISSUES

A COMPREHENSIVE COMMUNICATIONS PLAN

From the Communications Advisory Committee
of the Israel Task Force

1. Preface

This document was prepared by the Communications Advisory Committee as a guide to all the staff working on the comprehensive communications project. It seeks to articulate as clearly as possible Israel's point of view regarding the five key issues identified as a result of opinion studies, namely:

- . Israel as a peace-loving country.
- . The affinity of culture between Israel and the U.S.
- . American interests in a strong Israel.
- . The dangers to all from a Palestine state.
- . The territorial aspects of Israel's security needs.

The memorandum is based on extracts from official statements made by the Israel Government and publications of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations, The American Jewish Committee, the Anti-Defamation League and other organizations.

2. Israel as a Peace-Loving Country

From its earliest beginning -- and even before the UN formally voted the new state into existence -- Israel and its leaders declared their hope of establishing peace and a relationship of cooperation with their Arab neighbors. In 1947, Ben-Gurion stated Israel's position:

'We must now strive more than ever before, and with even greater energy for peace between us as equals ... to develop our country to the full we need reciprocal relations with the neighbouring countries -- I mean economic, political and cultural relations ... Let us therefore not despair at the declarations by the present Arab leaders -- they do not express the fundamental historic interests of the Arab peoples.'

This position that real peace means more than the signing of a non-belligerency pact and the establishment of secure and recognized boundaries, that it requires the opening up of borders to free trade, tourist travel and the cultural exchange between Israel and her neighbors, has been asserted repeatedly by the Israeli leaders. As part of this position, the Israelis have always maintained that peace is only possible when there is a real incentive and when all parties involved truly want peace. Accordingly, the Israelis believe that coercion can play no part in the peace-making process.

Until recently, none of the Arab leaders were willing to accept this definition of peace. In response to Prime Minister Begin's and

President Carter's call for a full peace, President Sadat has in the past stated:

"I cannot accept a peace treaty, a peace agreement simply means we are going to end the state of war."

Recently, President Sadat has shown signs of moving towards the conception of peace which has been constantly reiterated by the Israeli Government since 1947.

3. The Cultural Affinity Between Israel and the United States

- . The United States and Israel have in common a democratic way of life which encourages free enterprise and invites inquiry and self-expression. As in the U.S., all citizens have the right to vote and to run for political office. In addition, the two countries share a pioneering experience and the accomplishment of building a nation out of immigrant groups. Like the U.S., Israel is a meeting ground for different cultures. This cross-fertilization encourages a free flow of ideas and an enrichment of the social and intellectual atmosphere.
- . The environment in Israel is one in which the arts and the sciences flourish. It is a country with a dynamic cultural life very much like our own. There are numerous world-award winners -- such as S. Y. Agnon who won the Nobel Prize for literature -- who have been recognized for their outstanding contributions to the arts and sciences. Great Israeli performers such as Itzhak Pearlman and Pinchas Zuckerman are known to American audiences. Yaacov Agam is one of the founders of Kinetic art. Artist colonies thrive in Jaffa, Safad and Ein-Hod. Some of the world's great museums are located in Israel. Americans have played an important role in helping this environment to thrive. Leonard Bernstein conducted the Israel

Philharmonic Orchestra for many years. Other great western figures have made contributions to Israel's flourishing art community. Marc Chagall, for instance, made a series of stained glass windows for the Hadassah Hospital and tapestries for the Israeli Knesset (Parliament) building.

- . Israeli scientists are working closely with Americans to help solve some major world problems. Gershon Grossman of Haifa's Technion, The Israel Institute of Technology, in conjunction with an American professor at the University of Colorado, is making great strides in the use of solar energy. Israelis are also working on the world food shortage and have developed a number of important breakthroughs -- drip irrigation being only one of them. Israel's highly advanced electronics industry made a contribution to America's space pioneering by providing parts for the Viking Mars spacecrafts. Israel's health care is among the best in the world and there are more doctors per capita there than in any other country. Consequently, the life expectancy in Israel is 73, the highest in the world.
- . In the field of education Israel is among the most advanced in the world. Primary and secondary education is compulsory. Israel's seven universities are on a par with American

universities and there are regular exchange programs for both American and Israeli students.

- . Israel's democratic social structure, and its great advances in the arts, sciences and education, are among the elements which tie Israel and the U.S. together. In this respect, as in so many others, Israel is more like the U.S. than any other country in the Middle East.

4. Why A Strong Israel is in America's Best Interest

a) American Strategic Interests:

At the present time, Israel is one of the handful of countries around the world which is totally committed to America as an ally. Furthermore, it is an ally which does not depend upon America to protect it. Since its inception, Israel has protected itself against its neighbors and it will continue to do so without the aid of foreign forces. Israel does not want to be totally dependent on the U.S. Rather, it prefers to be a strong and independent friend.

Most importantly, Israel is the only ally of the United States in the strategically crucial Eastern Mediterranean whose affinity with the West is not dependent on the survival or caprice of an autocratic ruler. While there are some pro-American Arab states in the area, they are all susceptible to the sudden radical coup d'etats which characterize the volatile history of the Arab countries. (Since 1948, there have been thirty successful revolutions in the Arab countries, and at least forty-four unsuccessful ones.) As the only dependable U.S. ally in the area, Israel is the single key to balancing Soviet imperialism in the Mediterranean. It is vital to the American global interests that our ally -- Israel --

be powerful; a strong Israel is a strategic asset for the United States; a weak Israel is a liability.

b) Maintaining American Credibility:

Israel is a strong and vital democracy. Backing Israel now would mean the strengthening of world belief in our desire to protect such governments. Any American action supporting its well-known commitment to Israel in response to Arab pressure would have immediate and far-reaching favorable effects in the world. All United States defense treaties, including the vital NATO alliance, are based on the American commitment to defend its allies against external aggression. Keeping its pledge would inevitably strengthen the credibility of the other commitments and hence the underpinnings of the entire Western alliance system.

5. The Palestinian Problem

a) Why Israel will not and cannot negotiate with the PLO:

- . No state can be expected to negotiate with a group whose single and unbending purpose is to wipe that state off the face of the earth. The covenant of the Palestinian National Council which was drawn up in 1964, and revised in 1968, leaves no doubt as to the PLO's claim to exclusivity in the area and its uncompromising intention to dismember Israel and expel it from every inch of the territory it now holds -- including those lands designated for the Jewish State by the partition plan of 1947. The covenant states:

Article 19: The partitioning of Palestine in 1947 and the establishment of Israel is fundamentally null and void, whatever time has elapsed.

Article 21: The Palestinian Arab people, in expressing itself through the armed Palestinian revolution, rejects every solution that is a substitute for a complete liberation of Palestine and rejects all plans that aim at the settlement of the Palestine issue or its internationalization.

The PLO continually refuses to amend its covenant on these important points.

- . The PLO has proved to be a destructive force wherever it has operated. The brutal involvement of the PLO in the

Lebanese tragedy is a prime example of the destructive nature of the organization. This side of the PLO is further revealed by its worsening of the international terrorist situation through its own terrorist activities and its support for and training of several terrorist groups such as the Baeder-Meinhoff gang and the Japanese Red Army.

b) Why Israel objects to a separate Palestinian State in Judea and Samaria:

- . A Palestinian State in Judea and Samaria would not answer the need of the Arab refugees in Lebanon, the Gaza District and elsewhere, for it would be physically and economically impossible to settle them within the limits of Judea and Samaria. But, within a combined Jordanian-Palestinian periphery, there is enough infrastructure of geography and economy to take in all the refugees wishing to be relocated in the Jordanian-Palestinian unit. All parties involved agree that the Palestinian problem must be dealt with and solved within the framework of a peace agreement.
- . A Palestinian Arab State consisting of Judea and Samaria and possibly the Gaza District, would be likely to come under extremist PLO-type domination. Because of the PLO's claim to exclusivity in the area, a Palestinian state would

continue to harbor irredentist claims to the rest of "Palestine," and be a base for terrorist attacks across the border. The members of the PLO who have accepted the idea of a separate Palestinian State on the West Bank see it as only the first part of a "two-stage" program aimed at the liquidation of Israel. This was made clear in the Transitional Program of the PLO accepted in the 1974 Palestine National Council meeting in Cairo. That document states:

"The Palestine National entity, after it comes into existence, will struggle to achieve a federation of the confrontation states in order to complete the liberation of the entire Palestinian soil and as a step on the road to complete Arab unity."

Any hope of compromise on this point is smashed by a statement made by George Habash, head of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, a member organization of the PLO:

"In the last analysis, the 'Rejection Front' would be prepared to take up arms against its fellow Palestinians if the authorities in any Palestinian West Bank State set up under a peace settlement tried to prevent the continuation of guerilla action against Israel."

It is clear that a separate Palestinian state would be a focus of instability and tension in the area. That danger would be compounded if it eventually became tied to the Soviet Union, which is the main political and ideological supporter as well as arms supplier of the PLO.

- . Israel's objections to a separate Palestinian state in Judea and Samaria are also based on the position which has been expressed by King Hussein that the Palestinians and Jordanians have become one people, inextricably linked economically and socially. Jordan now includes four-fifths of the territory of the historic Palestine and almost half of the Jordanian population as well as half of the principal officers of government in Jordan, including cabinet members, are Palestinians. In a very real sense Jordan is a Palestinian state.

Israel's readiness to withdraw from territories in Judea and Samaria will be contingent not only on security borders, but also on demilitarization of the West Bank or far-reaching limitations of any deployment of Arab military forces west of the River. It is not easy to conceive of a new Palestinian State -- if one is established at all -- agreeing to demilitarize its entire area. It is more reasonable to assume that a

Jordanian-Palestinian State would be likely to display a greater readiness to demilitarize its western segment.

6. The Indefensibility of Israel's 1967 Borders

Because Israel is such a small country, one lost battle in its heartland could mean the end of its existence. Such a battle would also take a high toll in human life -- a penalty which the Jewish people cannot afford to pay. And since 1948 many Arab leaders have stated that Israel's demise is their primary foreign policy objective.

If the 1973 War had taken place within the 1967 cease-fire lines, much of Israel's heavily populated area would have been overrun and demolished within a matter of hours. Israel cannot put itself in a geographical position where the threat of a surprise first strike by the Arabs could jeopardize its very existence by cutting the country in two.

. The Golan Heights

Prior to 1967, the Syrians controlled the Heights. Soldiers routinely opened fire on Israel farmers in the valley below. The Syrians also launched a plan to divert the head-waters of the Jordan River and thereby cut off the water flowing to Lake Kinneret which supplies Israel with one-third of its water.

In the Six-Day War, the Israelis pushed the Syrians back 15 miles to positions which no longer allowed them to bombard

Israeli villages. As a result, the Syrians were prevented from cutting off the narrow neck of eastern Galilee when they launched their surprise attack in October 1973 -- even though they were able to thrust some 10 miles into Israel-held territory (nearly the width of the Golan Heights). Presently the Syrians have no clear view into Israel or Israel-controlled territory.

• Judea and Samaria

Prior to 1967, central Israel was subject to the constant threat of attack and invasion. At its narrowest, the distance from Jordan to the sea was only nine miles. The distance from the armistice line to Tel Aviv, the largest city in Israel, was a mere 13 miles. All the government buildings in West Jerusalem (Israel's capital), were within gunfire range of Jordanian forces in adjacent East Jerusalem. The time needed for an enemy armored column to reach the sea and cut the country in two was a mere 20 minutes! Before 1967, terrorist bands often struck Israel under the protection of Jordanian gunfire. Since 1967, the West Bank has been administered by the Israel Government and terrorist activities directed against Israelis have steadily declined.

. The Gaza District

The Gaza District is a narrow piece of coastal land 40 miles long and 5 miles wide which runs along the Mediterranean and cuts into the heartland of Israel like a finger. Historically, it has been the principal route for invasions into Israel from the South. Armies and planes based in the District can attack the heartland of Israel within minutes and without warning.

Between 1949 and 1967, the Gaza District was ruled by an Egyptian military government and became the launching pad for terrorist and artillery attacks on nearby Israeli villages. Egyptian battle plans captured in the Six-Day War of 1967 reveal that Egypt intended, once again, to invade Israel through the District.

Since 1967, Israel has administered the Gaza District. Control of the Gaza District is essential for the safety of central Israel.

. The Sinai Corner

Eilat is Israel's major southern port. Nearly all of Israel's oil supply and many other essential goods come in through the port of Eilat, while Israeli ships carry exports to Africa, Asia and the Far East. Eilat is within walking distance of the Sinai

peninsula on the west and Jordan on the east. Prior to 1967, Egypt and Jordan were a mere 7 miles apart at this point. Due to its proximity to both Jordan and Sinai, Eilat has always been an extremely vulnerable target for a hostile power wishing to close down the port. Battle plans captured from the Egyptians in 1967 show that Egypt intended to invade the Southern Negev and cut off Eilat.

Since 1967, Israel has occupied the Sinai peninsula. In the War of 1973, Egypt -- for the first time in a major offensive against Israel -- was not able to block the Straits of Tiran or cut off Eilat. Any peace will, in effect, have to keep Egyptian military forces out of the entire peninsula east of the passes.

. Sharm el-Sheikh

Sharm el-Shiekh is a point at the southernmost tip of the Sinai peninsula overlooking the Straits of Tiran, a narrow channel of water which ships must pass through in order to enter the Gulf of Eilat from the Red Sea. Prior to 1967, the Egyptians controlled the coastal land around Sharm el-Sheikh and set up intermittent blockades in this area. In two instances -- in 1956 and again in 1967 -- the blockades led to major conflicts between Egypt and Israel. Since 1967 Israel has controlled Sharm el-Sheikh

and the Straits have remained open to ships passing to and from both Israel and Jordan. Closing the Straits of Tiran in the future would lead to another war.