Building a Political Firewall Against Israel's Delegitimization
Conceptual Framework

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[1] In addition, we met with 22 individuals who preferred not to be acknowledged.

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THE REUT INSTITUTE

Glossary / Concepts

Use-of-Military-Force Doctrine[2]	Operating principles for the optimization of military resources in the service of military defense or offense.
Diplomacy and Foreign Policy Doctrine	Cluster of operating principles for the optimization of political and diplomatic resources to ensure Israel's basic legitimacy and advance its international status in the political, economic, trade, and academic arenas.
Security and Foreign Policy Doctrine	Cluster of military, security, political, and diplomatic principles to ensure the state's existence, the personal safety of its citizens and residents, and its identity.
National Security Doctrine	Cluster of principles relating to the preservation and development of the state's overall security and well being. This doctrine comprises security and foreign policy principles, as well as strategic issues such as demography and human capital, environment, technology, and infrastructure.
Conceptual Superiority / Inferiority	A situation in which one side's conceptual system and operating principles prove more relevant and effective than that of the other. This enables the former to achieve greater operational success and often overcome quantitative inferiority.
Resistance Network	A network of countries, organizations, movements, and individuals – which includes, *inter alia*, Iran, Hezbollah, Hamas, and additional Palestinian factions – that reject the Jewish people's right to self-determination and Israel's existence, on the basis of Islamic or Arab / Palestinian nationalist ideology. These groups operate with the political or military logic of 'resistance' in order to precipitate Israel's destruction and replace it with an Arab / Palestinian / Islamic state.
Convergence Phenomenon	The coalescence of unaffiliated movements and organizations around an outstanding issue relating to Israel in order to delegitimize Israel.

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[2] By 'doctrine' we mean a body of principles or strategies established explicitly by a statement of fundamental government policy or through past decisions. For further reference, see: http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/doctrine.

Version A

Fundamental Legitimacy	Legitimacy of a sovereign entity's right of being. Israel's fundamental legitimacy was recognized by United Nations General Assembly Resolution 181 (11/29/1947) and by the ensuing recognition by leading nations.
Israel's Fundamental Delegitimization / Anti-Zionism[3]	Negation of Israel's right to exist or of the right of the Jewish people to self-determination based on philosophical or political arguments (for a list of the arguments, see chapter 4).
	When certain conditions are met – such as when demonization or blatant double-standards (see below) are employed – fundamental delegitimization represents form of anti-Semitism.
Demonization	Presenting Israel as being systematically, purposefully, and extensively cruel and inhumane, thus denying the moral legitimacy of its existence. Examples include association with Nazism or apartheid or accusations of blatant acts of evil.
Double Standards / Singling Out	Applying a unique and unjustified standard to Israel which is harsher than the common international practice; expressing frequent and disproportional criticism of Israel, which deviates in scope and character from criticism of other countries in similar contexts; applying a general principle of international law or human rights to Israel, while ignoring similar or worse violations by other countries.
Two-State Solution	A framework for the resolution of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict by partition of the former area of Mandatory Palestine into two separate nation states based on the principle of two-states-for-two-peoples. This framework was endorsed by the United Nations General Assembly Resolution 181 on November 29, 1947.
One-State Solution	A framework for the resolution of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict that calls for establishing one bi-national state in the former area of Mandatory Palestine, where all residents Jews and Palestinians would share political power on the basis of the principle of 'one person, one vote.' This framework requires the dissolution of Israel as the expression of the Jewish people's right for self-determination.

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[3] For more on these definitions, see Denis McShane et. al. **The All Party Parliamentary Inquiry into Antisemitism**, (the Stationary Office 2006); Natan Sharansky**,** 3D Test of Anti-Semitism: Demonization, Double Standards, Delegitimization, **Jerusalem Political Studies Review**, Fall 2004**,** and Irwin Cotler**,** Identifying the New Anti-Semitism **Jewish People Policy Planning Institute.**

Israel's Foreign Affairs Establishment	Cluster of Israeli government offices and agencies entrusted with formal international relationships, including: the Bureau of the Prime Minister; Ministry of Foreign Affairs; units within the Ministry of Defense; Foreign Trade Administration of the Ministry of Trade, Industry, and Labor; International Department of the Ministry of Finance; Ministry of Tourism; and intelligence agencies.
Technical Problem	A situation in which the challenge is clearly defined, as is the response, within the framework of existing expertise and knowledge.[4]
Adaptive Challenge	A challenge requiring a change in mindset, values, or models of behavior. Existing experience and routine procedures are insufficient and a process of learning and adaptation is essential.[5]

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[4]   Ronald Heifetz, **Leadership without Easy Answers** (Harvard University Press 2003), p. 74

[5]   Ibid. p. 35

Executive Summary

Background and Introduction

1. **In the past few years, Israel has been subjected to increasingly harsh criticism around the world, resulting in an erosion of its international image, and exacting a tangible strategic price.** The Israeli-Palestinian conflict serves as the 'engine' driving this criticism, which peaked with and around the Goldstone report on Operation Cast Lead. In some places, criticism has stretched beyond legitimate discourse regarding Israeli policy to a fundamental challenge to the country's right to exist.

2. **Two forces and dynamics link these phenomena and the frustrating outcomes of the Second Lebanon War (07/06) and Operation Cast Lead (01/09):**

   - **The Resistance Network**, based in the Middle East – and comprising nations, organizations, and individuals – rejects Israel's right to exist on the basis of Islamist or Arab-nationalist ideology under the leadership of Iran, Hezbollah, and Hamas;

   - **The Delegitimization Network,** primarily comprising organizations and individuals in the West – mostly elements of the radical European left, Arab and Islamic groups, and so-called post or anti-Zionist Jews and Israelis – negate Israel's right to exist based on a variety of political and philosophical arguments.

   Both groups derive their inspiration from the collapse of the Soviet Union, East Germany, or apartheid South Africa.

Diagnosis: Systemic and Systematic Assault on Israel's Political Model

3. Israel's recent diplomatic and military frustrations are driven by the maturation of two parallel processes:

   - **The Resistance Network advances the 'implosion strategy'** that aims to precipitate Israel's collapse based on three principles: 'Overstretching' Israel by undermining attempts to end its control over the Palestinian population; delegitimizing Israel; and conducting asymmetric warfare in the battlefield and against Israel's civilian population to counter IDF military superiority;

   - **The Delegitimization Network** that aims to supersede the Zionist model with a state that is based on the 'one person, one vote' principle by turning Israel into a pariah state and by challenging the moral legitimacy of its authorities and existence.

4. **The dynamics of each of these processes derive from a set of ideas that are increasingly sophisticated, ripe, lucid, and coherent**, even if inconsistencies persist and debates continue, and notwithstanding that the above-mentioned logic has not matured into a 'strategy' that has operational objectives, timelines, or milestones.

5. **Asymmetrical approaches of Israel and its delegitimizers to Israel's fundamental legitimacy:**

    -   Israel tends to work 'from the center to the periphery' or 'top-down,' emphasizing formal relations with political and business elites; focusing on mainstream media; and often being guided by the mindset that "if you are not with me you are against me"; meanwhile

    -   Israel's delegitimizers work 'from the periphery to the center' and 'bottom-up,' focusing on non-governmental organizations, academia, grassroots movements, and the general public; using social networks over the internet; and being guided by the mindset that "if you are not against me, you are with me."

    Hence, **while Israel's formal diplomatic position remains relatively strong and solid, its standing among the general publics and elites is eroded**.

6. **The effectiveness of Israel's delegitimizers, who represent a relatively marginal political and societal force in Europe and North America, stems from their ability to engage and mobilize others by blurring the lines with Israel's critics.** They do so by branding Israel as a pariah and 'apartheid' state; rallying coalitions around 'outstanding issues' such as the 'Gaza blockade'; making pro-Palestinian activity trendy; and promoting grassroots activities such as boycotts, divestments, and sanctions (BDS) as a way to 'correct Israel's ways.'

7. **The maturation and convergence of these two processes is exacerbating Israel's predicament in the Palestinian arena:**

    -   **While the Resistance Network undermines the separation between Israel and the Palestinians, as well as the Two-State Solution;**

    -   **The Delegitimization Network tarnishes Israel's reputation, constrains its military capabilities, and advances the One-State Solution.**

8. **The Resistance Network and Israel's delegitimizers leverage the Palestinian condition to advance their cause,** yet they do *not* seek its resolution or accept ideas such as 'co-existence' or 'peace' that embody an acceptance of Israel's existence. Their objectives dictate that any compromise with Israel should be temporary, and even borders that are based on the June 4, 1967 lines would only be provisional.

9. **A tipping point in this context would be a paradigm shift from the Two-State Solution to the One-State Solution** as the consensual framework for resolving the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

10. **Clearly, an Israeli and Palestinian comprehensive Permanent Status Agreement** that establishes a Palestinian state and brings about an 'end of conflict' or 'finality of claims' **would weaken the grounds of Israel's delegitimization. However, even given such an agreement, the logic of the delegitimization campaign would persist.**

11. **The issue of Israel's Arab citizens may become the next 'outstanding issue' driving delegitimization in the event that an Israeli-Palestinian Permanent Status Agreement is secured.** In fact, the Resistance Network has already attempted to mobilize this community albeit with very limited success.

    Here too, **credible and persistent commitment for full integration and equality of Israel's Arab citizens would weaken the grounds of Israel's delegitimizers, but will not end their campaign**, whose logic is rooted in challenging Israel's existence and not its policies.

12. **Similarly, while public relations (*Hasbara)* are critically important, they cannot and will not neutralize the delegitimizers.**

13. Therefore, Israel is likely to experience setbacks in its attempts to ensure its security and identity, which merges its Jewish and democratic character, unless it is able to meet the challenge of Israel's fundamental delegitimization effectively.

Prognosis: Strategic Challenge, Potentially Existential

14. **Israel faces a systemic, systematic, and increasingly effective assault on its political and economic model**. **Its inadequate response reflects a crisis in its foreign policy and security doctrine, as well as its conceptual inferiority**.

15. **Strategic implications are already apparent:** Increased international interference in Israel's domestic affairs; greater limitations on Israel's ability to use its military force; economic boycotts and sanctions; and travel restrictions on officers, officials, and politicians due to application of universal legal jurisdiction (known as lawfare). In addition, in many places Israel has been successfully branded by its adversaries as a pariah state that deserves the fate of South Africa's apartheid regime**.**

16. **The working assumptions underlying Israel's security and foreign policy doctrine – viewing military capabilities as the only potential existential threat facing Israel – have stagnated for decades.** These assumptions yield the conclusion that the security establishment constitutes Israel's primary response mechanism, and resources are allocated accordingly.

17. **Meanwhile, Israel's foreign affairs establishment is ill-structured and ill-equipped**: Resources are meager: budgets are scarce and diplomats are few in number; there is no clear responsibility for key foreign policy issues, and thus no clear policy; and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is organized according to geographic regions and designed to operate vis-à-vis countries, and therefore lacks the ability to wage a global campaign on the non-governmental level.

18. **Hence, there is a mismatch between Israel's foreign policy and security doctrine, on the one hand, and the challenge Israel faces in the diplomatic and political arena, on the other hand.**

19. **Such political, diplomatic, and economic dynamics may pose an existential threat.** They have brought down militarily powerful nations, some of them even nuclear superpowers. With the effective mobilization against apartheid South

Africa as inspiration, and given the significant strides they have made against Israel, the Resistance Network and Israel's delegitimizers are increasingly emboldened.

20. Hence, **Israel's diplomacy and foreign policy doctrine requires urgent overhaul**.

Treatment: Policy Directions

21. **This document focuses on Israel's structural response to its delegitimization.** Its scope does *not* cover a discussion of closely related issues such as Israel's policy vis-à-vis the Palestinians or its Arab citizens; the battle of narratives, i.e. the substantive response to delegitimizers' arguments; or the relation between Israel's delegitimization and anti-Semitism.

22. **Neither changing policy nor improving public relations will suffice in the battle against delegitimization.** Clearly, a credible and persistent commitment by Israel to reaching peace and ending control over the Palestinian population, as well as to full integration and equality of Israel's Arab citizens, are essential for effectively battling Israel's delegitimization. In addition, *hasbara* has great significance in articulating Israel's positions. Nonetheless, the logic of delegitimization stems from a rejection of Israel's existence, and therefore can not be made to disappear by PR or policy.

23. **Israel's foreign policy and security doctrine must seek 'synchronized victories'** in a number of arenas simultaneously, i.e. not just on the military front, but also on the home front, in politics and diplomacy, and in the media. As these arenas are intertwined within a complex system, they should be addressed as systemic whole.

24. **Faced with a potentially existential threat, Israel must treat it as such** by focusing its intelligence agencies on this challenge; allocating appropriate resources; developing new knowledge, designing a strategy, executing it; and debriefing itself.

25. **It takes a network to fight a network**[6] – The power of human networks is determined by their 'hubs' and 'catalysts':

    - Hubs are units of the network that have extraordinary influence on the values, priorities, and patterns of conduct of the network due to a very high number of links to other units;

    - Catalysts are units of the network that dedicate themselves to its cause by mobilizing financial and human resources, collecting information and turning it into knowledge, and developing the ideology.

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[6] This is a known principle in the world of networks. See: Dr. Boaz Ganor, **It Takes a Network to Beat a Network**; John Arquilla, **It Takes a Network**; or Dr. Pete Rustan, in **Building an Integral Intelligence Network**.

Hence, in order to effectively face the Delegitimization Network, **Israel must embrace a network-based logic and response by**:

- **Focusing on the hubs of delegitimization** – such as London, as well as potentially Paris, Toronto, Madrid, and the Bay Area – and on **undermining its catalysts;**

- **Cultivating its own network by strengthening its hubs and developing its own catalysts.**

26. **Clash of brands: Israel's re-branding is strategically important**. As mentioned, Israel has been successfully branded by its adversaries as a violent country that violates international law and human rights. With such a brand, even the most outrageous accusations may stick. A different brand would not only make Israel's communication more effective, but would also make it more immune to attacks by its offenders. **Finally, it is equally important to brand the other side by** associating them with values that reflect their actions and reality.

27. **Relationship-based diplomacy with elites** – The hearts and minds of the elites – individuals with influence, leadership, or authority – are the battleground between Israel and its foes. The most effective barrier against the spread of delegitimization in these communities is a network of strong personal relationships. Israel and its allies should maintain thousands of personal relationships with political, financial, cultural, media, and security-related elites, particularly in the hubs.

28. **Engage the critics; isolate the delegitimizers** – Obviously, criticism of Israeli policy, even if harsh or unfair, is legitimate as long as it does not amount to demonization and delegitimization, and does not blatantly deploy double-standards. Often, Israeli government policy fails to differentiate between critics and delegitimizers, and thus, pushes the former into the arms of the latter. Reut recommends the opposite: Israel should engage its critics, while isolating the delegitimizers.

29. **NGOs to engage with NGOs** – Israel's governmental agencies will have a hard time dealing effectively with non-governmental organizations that criticize Israel's policies. NGOs are more likely to do a better job in this respect. Many of them can be mobilized toward this task. In this context, it is particularly important that **the International Department of the *Histadrut*, Israel's labor union, be reinvigorated to engage labor unions around the world**.

30. **Mobilizing Jewish and Israeli Diaspora communities; let the local pro-Israel community lead** – Israeli Diaspora, as well as Israelis who travel overseas, can be mobilized by Israel. Additionally, because Israel's delegitimization is often a modern form of anti-Semitism, Jewish communities can and should be mobilized toward this cause as well. Finally, the local pro-Israel community is more likely to have a nuanced understanding of the local dynamics and the appropriate response than the Israeli delegation.

31. **Re-organization of the foreign affairs establishment** – As mentioned, Israel's foreign policy establishment is ill-structured and ill-equipped to meet the challenge of delegitimization. Its meager resources fall short of the bare minimum, and its structure, mode of operation, incentive system, and human capital are not designed to meet this challenge. Hence, meeting the delegitimization challenge requires instituting a zero-based budget that is based on a comprehensive assessment of needs, as well as conducting a comprehensive reform within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Building a Political Firewall
against Israel's Delegitimization[7]
A Conceptual Framework

Guidelines for Quick Reading / Note on English Translation

This document can be skimmed by reading the bolded phrases. Each paragraph contains only one idea, captured in the bolded sentences. Footnotes do *not* contain new ideas, but examples, sources, and references.

This document is a non-verbatim translation to English of the Hebrew original. It was adapted to a non-Israeli readership, and includes clarifications based on initial feedback that we received after the publication of the Hebrew version.

Background and Introduction

The Reut Institute: Fundamental Impact in the National Security Field

32. **The Reut Institute (Reut) is a non-profit organization founded to support Israel's adaptive process in meeting 21st century challenges.** Our mission is to sustain significant and substantive impact on the State of Israel. Our strategy is based on three pillars: Generating fundamental impact in subjects critical to Israel's prosperity and security; grooming a cadre of strategic leaders for positions of leadership, authority, and influence in the Israeli and Jewish public spheres; and serving as a model for the government's strategic planning branches.

33. **Reut's unique added value stems from its focus on Israel's strategic realms:** From our capacity to identify potential strategic opportunities or surprises presented to Israel, develop related knowledge, and mobilize communities of individuals in positions of authority, leadership, and influence to implement the required changes. For a more detailed explanation, see Appendix B of this paper.[8]

34. **This document represents the culmination of a team effort lasting several years.** Serving Israel's national security has been central to Reut's mission since its inception in January 2004. In this context, the Second Lebanon War in 2006 represented a turning point in our efforts, and this document constitutes a culmination of our work that aims to understand its dynamics and provide a response for the gaps exposed. Throughout this time, **the team leader has been**

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[7] Israel's National Security Council frames this challenge as The Global Campaign (*HaMa'aracha HaGlobalit* or MAGAL).

[8] Also see: www.reut-institute.org.

Eran Shayshon, and other team members have included Calev Ben-Dor, Daphna Kaufman, Gil Murciano, Liran Bainvol, and Talia Gorodess.[9]

35. **Frustration with the conduct and outcome of the Second Lebanon War led the Government of Israel (GOI) to initiate a thorough internal examination.** The GOI established in the order of 63 different commissions of inquiry, mostly within the IDF, and including the famous Winograd Commission. Many of their recommendations have been implemented, and in some areas, such as in the home front arena, real transformations have occurred. Academic institutions, independent researchers, and journalists also contributed to this process.[10]

36. **In this vein, Reut also mobilized its resources** and its unique methodological tools in order to understand the events of summer 2006.

37. **Our conclusion was that the GOI did not fully explore the conceptual crisis that was exposed in 2006, and instead framed Israel's frustrations as an outcome of a confluence of technical problems.** These included the interface between the political and military echelons, as well as various aspects of the IDF's operations, such as in intelligence, logistics, preparedness, and command-and-control. Technical solutions were thus furnished for technical problems.

38. **As a result, Reut called for updating Israel's security and foreign policy doctrine in order to restore Israel's conceptual superiority over its adversaries.** The primary campaigns in this journey included:

   ■ **First campaign (11/06-04/07): Impacting the Winograd Commission –** During this period, Reut focused its efforts on impacting the conclusions and recommendations of the Winograd Commission by submitting three memorandums (04/07). These memorandums called for updating Israel's security and foreign policy doctrine and re-organizing the foreign affairs establishment.[11] While these issues were beyond the Commission's mandate, Reut hoped it would decide to focus on them nonetheless.

   Ultimately (01/08), the Winograd Commission chose not to contend with conceptual issues of this nature**,** and included a non-binding

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9   For greater detail, see the 'Team' section of the Reut Web site.

10   Four books provide illustrative examples: **Friendly Fire** by Amir Rappoport, **POW's in Lebanon – The Truth about the Second Lebanon War** by Ofer Shelach and Yoav Limor, **Spider Webs - The Story of the Second Lebanon War** by Amos Harel and Avi Issacharoff, and **War Story, Love Story** by Gal Hirsh.

       A prominent multi-faceted project dealing with this topic was carried out by the Institute for National Security Studies (INSS) led by researchers such as General (Res.) Giora Eiland, Dr. Gabriel Siboni, Brigadier General (Res.) Shlomo Brom, Michael Milstein, Dr. Meir Elran, and Ron Tira. See for example: Ron Tira, **The Struggle over the Nature of War**, Memorandum No. 96, Tel Aviv: INSS; or Meir Elran and Shlomo Brom, **The Second Lebanon War: Strategic Dimensions**, Yediot Aharonot. See also a document by Council for Peace and Security, **Analysis of Second Lebanon War: Events, Mishaps, and Failures**, 06/06/09 (Hebrew).

11   See Reut Memos to Winograd: Updating Israel's National Security Strategy, Strategic Support Unit for the Prime Minister, and Re-organization of Foreign Policy in Israel's National Security Strategy.

recommendation to reassess Israel's national security concept. The Commission did, however, institutionalize an obligation for the Prime Minister and Ministry of Foreign Affairs to consult on the issue of national security in order to improve the synergy between military, political, and diplomatic considerations.

■ **Second campaign (10/07-9/08): To precipitate a 'Seminar'** – During this period, Reut aimed to encourage a reassessment of the fundamental assumptions underlying Israel's security and foreign policy doctrine through a new 'Seminar' in the spirit of Ben-Gurion's 'Self Seminar' in 1947 (see below). Reut presented its work to bodies within the security establishment and the Prime Minister's Office (PMO), but this effort did not bear fruit either.

■ **Third campaign (11/08 to present): Proposing a conceptual framework** – Once new elections were announced in Israel, Reut decided to design its own conceptual framework in key arenas:

- **The political-diplomatic arena,** in which the delegitimization threat is strategic, and that serves as the focus of this document;

- **The home-front arena,** in which Israel is vulnerable to local collapses in the event of a national crisis.[12]

Second Lebanon War and Operation Cast Lead Exposed Strength of Delegitimization

39. **In recent years, a significant gap has been exposed between Israel's status among the world's political leaders, on the one hand, and within civil society, on the other.**

■ **On the surface, Israel's political standing in the international community appears to be strong** – Despite criticism of Israeli policy on the Palestinian issue and regarding its Arab citizens, Israel is one of the U.S.'s closest allies; holds a unique relationship with Germany; maintains close ties with all leading countries including the UK, France, Italy, Russia, Australia, and Canada; has signed peace agreements with Egypt and Jordan; enjoys relative quiet on its borders with Lebanon and Gaza; and is expected to join the OECD as early as summer 2010;

■ **In parallel, Israel is under continuous attack within the same countries with which it maintains close relations** – In recent years, Israel has been subjected to an assault on the very legitimacy of its existence. For example, this year saw several attempts to advance academic boycotts against Israel in the UK,[13] there was an attempt to boycott the Toronto Film Festival

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[12] See Reut Institute document written in collaboration with the Israel Trauma Coalition (initiated by the UJA-Federation of New York) – Civil Resilience Network: Conceptual Framework for Israel's Local and National Resilience.

[13] See: Canaan Liphshiz, **Haaretz**, 10/20//09.

because it thematically spotlighted Tel Aviv, [14] and Belgian municipalities boycotted a bank due to its business dealings in Israel.

40. **This erosion of Israel's standing already has strategic implications,** such as in compromising its freedom to use military force even when provoked or attacked, increasing international involvement in the status of the country's Arab citizens, questioning the legitimacy of Israel's legal system, and exercising universal jurisdiction proceedings against Israelis (see Appendix A: Eroding Israel's Legitimacy in the International Arena).

Something New Under the Sun: A New Strategic-Existential Challenge

41. **Dynamics of resistance and delegitimization have always accompanied Israel – For example, in 1968-1970 Israel found it difficult to obtain military victory during the War of Attrition with Egypt. Also, the fundamental legitimacy of Israel and Zionism was previously attacked when Israel was boycotted by countries of the Arab League,[15] and when in 1975 the UN General Assembly passed a resolution – later revoked – that equated Zionism with racism (11/75).[16]

42. **Despite this, recent events represent a coalescence of two processes:**

   - **The crystallization of the Resistance Network's 'Implosion Strategy,' which aims to precipitate Israel's internal collapse** through its 'overstretch' and delegitimization, as well as by developing an asymmetric use-of-force doctrine against its military and home front;

   - **The emboldened Delegitimization Network operating in the international arena**, with the ultimate aim of dissolving Israel as a Zionist

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[14] The decision of the Toronto Film Festival to feature Tel Aviv as a central theme provoked intense controversy. As a result, several high-profile artists signed a petition supporting a director who decided not to participate in the festival in protest.

Another example of a cultural boycott occurred in the context of the 2009 Edinburgh International Film Festival, which decided to return a £300 gift from the Israeli embassy following protests. See: Ben Walters, **The Guardian,** 07/09/09.

[15] The boycott, which began in 1948, represents an international anti-Zionist effort targeting Israel's existence by isolating it and undermining its ability to survive economically. In the framework of the boycott, a special office was set up in Damascus, a full boycott of all Israeli goods was initiated, foreign corporations conducting trade with Israel were sanctioned, and steps were taken against companies transporting goods to Israel. See: Donald Losman**,** The Arab Boycott of Israel, **International Journal of Middle East Studies 3 (2)**, April 1972, 99-122.

[16] UN General Assembly Resolution 3379 from November 1975 equating Zionism with racism represents a significant milestone for international anti-Zionist efforts. The resolution created a parallel between Israel's political essence and the South African apartheid regime: "that the racist regime in occupied Palestine and the racist regime in Zimbabwe and South Africa have a common imperialist origin, forming a whole and having the same racist structure and being organically linked in their policy aimed at repression of the dignity and integrity of the human being." Then-Prime Minister Yitzchak Rabin characterized the resolution as an "assault on the State of Israel's right to exist." See: Lital Levin, **Haaretz** 10/11/09 ,(Hebrew).

state that embodies the right of the Jewish people to self-determination. The pillar of their strategy is to turn Israel into a pariah state.

43. **The convergence of these two forces and processes creates an explosive political-diplomatic mix that may existentially threaten Israel's and Zionism's political and economic model in the coming years.**

44. **This assault on Israel's right to exist – which has been called 'Fundamental Delegitimization,' or simply, 'delegitimization' – has evolved into one of the main challenges facing Israel in the seventh decade of its existence.**

Aim of the Document: Definition, Characterization, and Suggested Response

45. **This document aims to offer a conceptual framework regarding Israel's delegitimization** based on the following inputs:

   ■ **Historical review** of Israel's security and foreign policy doctrine, and specifically the role of diplomacy and foreign policy in it;

   ■ **Interviews and meetings** with more than 100 professionals and experts from a variety of related fields in Israel and abroad;

   ■ **Three roundtable discussions** at Reut attended by dozens of relevant experts and professionals;

   ■ **Two study visits to London**, which enabled meetings with journalists, intellectuals, human rights activists, diplomats, international law experts, and representatives of the Jewish and Arab / Muslim communities;

   ■ **Review of professional literature from Israel and abroad** (see bibliography).

46. **The document addresses the following issues:**

   ■ **The essence of the fundamental delegitimization campaign:** Its goals, logic, structure, and modus operandi;

   ■ **The significance of the fundamental delegitimization campaign for Israel.** How and why it can become a strategic threat with potentially existential implications;

   ■ **The Israeli response:** Its organizing logic, principles, structure, etc.

47. **The structure of the document is as follows:**

   ■ **Chapter 1 traces the development of Israel's security and foreign policy doctrine**, its traditional view of the threat to the state's physical existence as the only existential threat, and the perception of the IDF as primarily responsible for protecting the nation;

   ■ **Chapter 2 describes the development of the Resistance Network's Strategy of Implosion,** born of the failure of its Logic of Destruction, which dominated from 1948-1967;

- **Chapter 3 introduces the development of the primarily Europe-based network of fundamental delegitimization,** which aims to affect the disappearance of Israel as a Zionist state, by turning it into a pariah state. In this context, the document draws upon London as a case study of the delegitimization dynamics at play;

- **Chapter 4 focuses on the Palestinian issue in order to highlight the potentially existential implications resulting from the dynamics between the Resistance Network and the Delegitimization Network.** This chapter also includes the **Delegitimization Network's 'Mid-Term Report';**

- **Chapter 5 demonstrates the relevancy gap** between the dynamics described and Israel's mindset and current response;

- **Chapter 6 proposes policy directions for effective response to the challenge of delegitimization.**

48. **The document will not address the following topics –** In its commitment to offering unique policy value to decision makers, Reut decided *not* to deal with the following issues in this paper, as they have been widely covered by others:

- **The Israeli-Palestinian conflict –** The Israeli-Palestinian conflict provides the main leverage for Israel's fundamental delegitimization. **Clearly, Israel's earnest and consistent commitment to ending 'occupation' is critical to combating delegitimization and failure to exhibit such a commitment adds fuel to its fires.** However, this document does *not* address the shape such a resolution should take, or advise regarding the structure of the political process;[17]

- **Equality and integration of Arab-Israelis –** Both the Resistance Network and the Delegitimization Network view the status of Israel's Arab citizens in a Zionist state as future leverage for fundamental delegitimization. Therefore, the hearts and minds of this community will be a future battleground between Israel and its adversaries. Clearly, here too **Israel's credible commitment to the equality and integration of its Arab citizens is vital to combating delegitimization, while failure to exhibit such a commitment will create fertile grounds for its cultivation**. Nonetheless, this document does not offer a strategy for such equality and integration;[18]

- **Answering the critics –** The document does not contain answers and arguments with which to counter main criticisms leveled at Israel as part of the delegitimization process, e.g. regarding violations of international law, the 'Gaza blockade,' or excessive use of force;

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17 Reut has extensively addressed this issue. See: Reassessment of the Israeli-Palestinian Political Process: Build a Palestinian State in the West Bank.

18 Reut has previously written about this issue: See Integrating Israel's Arab citizens into the ISRAEL 15 Vision.

- **Old and new anti-Semitism –** The document does *not* deal with the roots of the phenomenon of anti-Semitism; its evolution in recent years; or the distinction, connection, and overlap between criticism of Israel, fundamental delegitimization, and anti-Semitism.

49. **This document is 'Version A,'** in that it presents Reut's conclusions from its work over the past year. Reut will present the document to relevant organizations, agencies, and individuals in order to expand and improve it, and to explore additional critical issues, before formulating 'Version B,' expected later this year.

Caveat: Fundamental Delegitimization vs. Criticism

50. **Criticism of Israeli Policy or Delegitimization?**

- **Criticism of Israeli policy** challenges the ensemble of considerations and values underlying its formulation and implementation. **Such criticism should be viewed as legitimate, even when harsh and unfair**;

- **Fundamental delegitimization challenges Israel's right to exist** as an embodiment of the Jewish people's right to self-determination. In many cases, as previously explicated, this phenomenon represents anti-Semitism manifested as anti-Zionism.[19]

The line between criticism of Israeli policies and delegitimization of its existence is not always clear, and sometimes even purposefully blurred by the delegitimizers. However, criticism against Israel clearly becomes delegitimization when it exhibits blatant double standards, singles out Israel, denies its right to exist as the embodiment of the self-determination right of the Jewish people, or demonizes the state.[20]

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[19] Cotler, Identifying the New Anti-Semitism, **Jewish People Policy Planning Institute.** November 2002; Rivka Shapak Lisk, The New Anti-Semitism in European Intellectual Circles, **e-mago**, 06/24/09 (Hebrew).

[20] For guidelines that may help drawing the line between criticism of policy and delegitimization, see: Denis McShane et. al. **The All Party Parliamentary Inquiry into Antisemitism**, (the Stationary Office 2006); Sharansky, **3D Test of Anti-Semitism: Demonization, Double Standards, Delegitimization;** Cotler, Identifying the New Anti-Semitism, **Jewish People Policy Planning Institute**; and Shapak Lisk, The New Anti-Semitism in European Intellectual Circles.

Chapter 1:
Israel's Security and Foreign Policy Doctrine: Let the Army 'Win'

Ben-Gurion's Seminar and Israel's National Security Doctrine

51. **The security doctrine of the *Yishuv* in the days of a 'state in the making'** was, to a large extent, based on the formative experience of the Great Arab Revolt (1936-39), and on the development of the Jewish defensive force from the times of the *Bar-Giora* and *HaShomer* organizations before the First World War. During the Arab revolt, the *Yishuv* was forced to contend with mostly disorganized and uncoordinated Arab militias that threatened individuals and isolated communities, but not the entire Jewish population. In practice, apart from a short period in which Nazi General Rommel threatened to invade the area, the Jewish *Yishuv* did not face an existential physical threat during the British mandate.

52. **During the first half of the 20th century, Zionism's main challenge was achieving fundamental legitimacy** – From the beginning of the 20th century until the establishment of Israel, the political and diplomatic arena was key for the success of Zionism and for the security and development of the Yishuv. The main challenge was to convince the then-superpowers – primarily the Ottomans and later the British – to recognize the right of the Jewish people to a national home in its land. Indeed, the Balfour Declaration (11/17) was a historical event in this context. Accordingly, **during this period the political-diplomatic arena took center stage, and the Zionist movement was led by master diplomats,** such as Ben-Gurion and Weizman**.**

53. **The 1947 UN Partition Plan bestowed fundamental legitimacy upon Zionism, which was then considered irreversible** – The passing of UN General Assembly Resolution 181 (the Partition Plan 29/11/47), in which the world accepted the idea of a Jewish state alongside an Arab State in Mandatory Palestine, followed by the immediate recognition of Israel by the U.S. and USSR, granted Israel its fundamental legitimacy. This event was seen as historical and irreversible.

The Inversion: From Foreign Affairs to Security

54. **The revolution in Israel's security doctrine following Ben-Gurion's Seminar (3-5/47): From a militia to an army, and from political to military leadership.** In 1947, after it became clear that the British Mandate was coming to a close and that the *Yishuv* would become the State of Israel, David Ben-Gurion took charge of its security file.

    Despite being head of the Jewish Agency and leader of the Yishuv for many years, Ben-Gurion had no significant prior security experience. In order to prepare himself for the new role, he set aside three months for a personal seminar, later known as the 'Seminar.' Within the framework of this seminar, Ben-Gurion

visited units of the *Hagana*, interviewed senior and junior officers, and delved into the relevant literature, documenting the entire process in his diary.

During the Seminar, Ben-Gurion concluded that the *Yishuv* was not organized or prepared to defend itself against an Arab invasion of one army, or a coalition of armies, that would follow the British departure. Therefore, the *Yishuv's* entire defense doctrine had to be transformed within a very short period. His conclusions led to the formulation of the basic principles of Israel's security doctrine that later shaped the IDF, rendering Ben-Gurion's Seminar a formative event in the history of Israel's defense.[21]

Importantly, Ben-Gurion concluded that Zionism's priority had shifted from diplomacy to defense and security. This shift was reflected in every level of his activities, in the allocation of resources, and in his own time and attention.

55. **The process of designing Israel's security doctrine continued after the 1948 War until the early 1950s** under the political leadership of Ben-Gurion.[22] **The perception was that the existential threat to Zionism and to the newly established State of Israel stemmed from a coalition of Arab states and armies that would seek Israel's physical destruction**.

56. **Therefore, the logic at the heart of Israel's security doctrine became that of an 'Iron Wall'** *(Kir HaBarzel)*,[23] based on the assumption that the Arab side would only accept Israel's existence if the Jewish state was so strong that it could not be destroyed. Many view Israel's peace agreements with Egypt and Jordan as testament to this doctrine's success.

57. **The IDF and the security establishment were thus trusted with ensuring the existence of the state**. This was reflected in the IDF's dominance in the national security community, allocation of budgets, focus of the political leadership, and even in the level of financial compensation to personnel. **Often, Israel's security doctrine and its national security doctrine were erroneously considered to be synonymous.**

58. **Over time, the essence of Israel's security doctrine was distilled into three main pillars,** notwithstanding the fact that it was never formulated into a formal document:

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[21] See: **David Ben-Gurion: Memories from the Estate: March-November 1947**; Mordechai Naor; The Old Man's Black Book, **Haaretz**, 04/22/07; Michael Bar-Zohar, **Ben-Gurion: A Biography** (Adama Books 1986).

[22] A prominent participant was Yigal Allon, former leader of *PALMACH* and former head of IDF Southern Front in the 1948 War. See: Yigal Allon, **A Curtain of Sand** (Hebrew), United Kibbutz Movement (1959).

[23] The origins of the concept of Iron Wall are from an article by Ze'ev Jabotinsky in 1923, in which he contends that there is no chance that Arabs living in the Land of Israel will come to terms with Zionism and therefore the *Yishuv* should create an iron wall until the Arab side realizes that it will not be able to defeat Zionism. See: The Iron Wall (published 04/11/23 in a Russian newspaper).

- ■ **Deterring** the enemy from initiating war by maintaining a large army in relative and absolute terms, and ensuring its superior training and endowment with a technological edge;

- ■ **Early warning** to ascertain the enemy's intentions and capabilities by an intelligence establishment unique in its relative and absolute size;

- ■ **Quick and decisive victory** in the event of war, by developing strong offensive capacities.

These concepts influenced Israel's use-of-force doctrine, the structure of the IDF and the security establishment, and the division of resources within the national security realm.[24]

59. **This doctrine successfully provided Israel security** – Since the 1973 Yom Kippur War, Israel's adversaries have initiated no serious attempt to build conventional military capabilities with the capacity to decisively defeat Israel. The 1979 peace agreement with Egypt crippled the existential conventional threat to Israel's existence.

60. **While the use-of-force doctrine evolved in light of new military challenges, the fundamental working assumptions of the security doctrine remained solid. The security doctrine has been stable for several decades: The existential threat remains military and the security establishment constitutes the primary response** – Over the years, a series of attempts were made to check and update Israel's security doctrine, the most recent and famous of which was the Meridor Commission (4/06). Yet, the basic assumptions of Israel's security doctrine were consistently reaffirmed,[25] with one notable exception: The Meridor Commission suggested adding a fourth pillar – defense – to counter the systematic targeting of Israeli civilian population.[26] In addition, updates to the use-of-force doctrine, particularly regarding asymmetric warfare, were frequently made.

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[24] See: Israel Tal, **National Security** (Hebrew) (Zemura Bitan 2006); Avi Bitzur, **The Home Front in the Israeli National security strategy between 1948-1956**, Thesis submitted to the Bar-Ilan University for the PhD degree in philosophy, Bar-Ilan University, 2003 (Hebrew); Dan Horowitz, "The fixed and changing in Israel's Security Doctrine," in **Milhemet Breira** (Hakibutz Hameuchad 1985); Micha Bar, **Red Lines in Israel's Deterrence Strategy**, (Ma'arachot 1990); Avner Yaniv, **Politics and Strategy in Israel**, (Poalim 1994); Avi Kober, **"What Happened to Israel's Military Concept? IDF Preparedness for Future Challenges,"** Begin Sadat Center for Strategic Studies, (Bar-Ilan University 2008); Efraim Inbar, **Israel's National Security: Issues and Challenges since the Yom Kippur War**, (Routledge 2008); Efraim Inbar, **Israel's Strategic Agenda**, (Routledge 2007); Richard Shultz and Andrea Dew, **Insurgents, Terrorists and Militias**, (Columbia UP 2006); Daniel Byman, **Deadly Connections**, (Cambridge UP 2005); Robert Rotberg. **When States Fail**, (Princeton UP 2004).

[25] See: Amos Harel, Where has the Meridor Report gone? **Haaretz**, 10/02/08.

[26] It should be noted that the Meridor Commission recommendations were never formally adopted by the GOI.

61. **Meanwhile, Israel's diplomatic capabilities remained secondary in importance due to the following reasons:**

   ◼ **Military Activism was adopted as a strategic principle** – A formative debate took place in the 1950s between Israel's first two prime ministers: While Moshe Sharett, who served as Israel's second prime minister and first foreign minister, advocated Political Activism, which called for military restraint and diplomatic initiatives, Ben-Gurion believed in Military Activism based on the logic of the Iron Wall. Ultimately, it was Ben-Gurion's approach that shaped Israeli security and foreign policy.[27]

   ◼ **Israel's relations with the U.S. were dominant –** During the bi-polar Cold War, Israel's most important set of relations was with the U.S. Moreover, Israel conducted no official diplomatic relations with many states, and the importance of the UN and other international organizations was relatively small.

   ◼ **The PMO dominated key foreign policy issues** such as the strategic relations with the U.S., the activities of the Mossad and Israel's intelligence network, and the management of the political process vis-à-vis the Arab states.

62. **Israel's special relations with the U.S. turned into a pillar of its national security**, especially following the French embargo of 1967. Some claim that that this issue is the only *political* aspect that constitutes a pillar of Israel's *security doctrine*. The foundations of this relationship are considered to be shared interests, shared values, and the political and economic power of the American Jewish community. Indeed, Israel has three embassies in North America and eleven consulates.[28]

63. **The collapse of the USSR and the ensuing disintegration of the Soviet Bloc, as well as the peace process in the 1990s, increased the size of Israel's foreign affairs establishment but did not fundamentally change its status or conceptual approach** – In this period, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs recruited more diplomats and opened new embassies in the former Soviet Union, the Middle East, and the developing world. Despite this, Israel's approach to diplomacy and foreign policy did not fundamentally change.

64. **The gaps between the perceived insignificance of the foreign affairs establishment relative to the military and defense establishment have far-reaching budgetary implications.** While the security establishment is allocated a

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[27] In the 1950s, Israel promoted the 'alliance of the periphery' with countries including Turkey, Ethiopia, and Iran. The alliance was important both politically and in terms of security. The 1950s and 1960s were also known as the golden age of Israel's relations with France, which were formulated in the Ministry of Defense. However, these episodes were insufficient in changing the general frame in which the political arena played a relatively minor role.

[28] The embassies are situated in Washington, New York (the representative to the UN), and Ottawa. There are local consulates in Miami, Atlanta, Chicago, Philadelphia, Boston, Houston, San Francisco, Los Angeles, New York, Montreal, and Toronto.

wealth of resources, the foreign affairs establishment is heavily under-resourced. As an example: Defense budgets grew over the years, while foreign policy budgets were cut; financial compensation levels at the defense establishment are more generous than in the foreign service; the culture and tradition of professionalism is more deeply embedded in the defense establishment; and the Winograd Commission devoted hundreds of pages to the IDF, but only a few to the foreign affairs establishment.

65. **In summary, the assumptions underlying Israel's security and foreign policy doctrine have remained largely unchanged since 1947: The principal existential threat is military and the security establishment is responsible for providing the response. The political-diplomatic arena is secondary in importance.**

Chapter 2:
The Assault on Israel's Political-Economic Model:
The Resistance Network Aims for Israel's Implosion

From the Logic of Destruction to Logic of Implosion

66. **The aim to eliminate the Jewish community in pre-state Israel, and then the State of Israel itself, and to establish an Arab / Palestinian / Islamic entity in its place, has existed since the start of the 20th century.** It has manifested in three primary logics:

   ■ **The Logic of Destruction** called for the use of force to physically destroy Israel and conquer it territorially. This logic cohered towards the end of the 1930s and was prevalent until the mid 1970s. The desire to destroy the *Yishuv* was among the considerations motivating the leadership of Mandatory Palestine's Arab leadership to support Nazi Germany. This was also the goal of their war in 1947-1949;

   ■ **The Phased Approach** called for causing Israel's retreat in stages, in which every territorial achievement would provide a stepping stone for continuation of the struggle.[29] Use of force – 'armed struggle' – was the exclusive vehicle for this approach until the 1980s. At that time, some factions accepted that agreements with Israel, such as the Oslo Accords, could also serve the phased approach, provided that they would not create a formal 'end of conflict' or 'finality of claims,'[30] or include recognition of Israel's right to exist.[31] This is the position held by some factions of Hamas that embrace the Phased Approach, and accept the notion of an agreement with Israel on borders based on the 1967 lines, so long as the boundaries remain provisional;[32]

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[29] Efraim Karsh, Oslo War: An Anatomy of self-Delusion (Hebrew), Mideast Security and Policy Studies No. 55, **BESA Center for Strategic Studies**, Bar-Ilan University 09/03.

[30] The term 'finality of claims' refers to the Israeli demand that in the framework of Permanent Status Agreement with the Palestinians, all outstanding issues relating to the historic conflict – such as refugees and borders – would be raised and debated. The signing of a Permanent Status Agreement would leave no possibility of raising additional claims related to the historic conflict, other than those regarding the agreement's implementation.

'End of conflict' refers to the official termination of the state of conflict between Israel and the Palestinians, and the ushering in of a new era of 'peace,' 'transition to peace,' 'permanent status,' or 'peaceful coexistence.'

[31] When Hamas discussed establishing a Palestinian state with provisional borders (PSPB), its spokespeople emphasized that the state would be used as base to perpetuate the struggle against Israel. This accords both with the PLO's Phased Plan and with the ethos of the Palestinian struggle. See Reut Institute document: Hamas and the Political Process.

[32] Ali Waked, **YNET**, 03/11/06 (Hebrew).

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- ■ **The Logic of Implosion** aims to facilitate the collapse of the Zionist entity by internal forces. These include a conflagration in the tensions between Arabs and Jews, or within the Jewish community in Israel – between *Ashkenazim* and *Sephardim*, 'hawks' and 'doves,' or religious and secular communities – which would lead to a civil war such as in Lebanon.

  This logic, which has percolated since the 1950s, was passive in nature. It called for ending the military struggle against Israel in order to allow for internal factional tensions within Israeli society to erupt.[33]

67. **Arab countries abandoned the Logic of Destruction in the 1970s –** Between 1947 and 1973, Israel succeeded in securing its existence to the extent that Arab countries effectively abandoned their efforts to build conventional military forces designed to defeat Israel on the battlefield. The collapse of the Soviet Union, the peace agreements with Egypt and Jordan, the peace process with the Palestinians, and the U.S. occupation of Iraq solidified this logic's defeat.

68. **However, the desire for Israel to disappear persisted and has been translated into a new set of ideas –** Many in the Arab and Muslim world remained dedicated to a vision in which Israel would disappear to be replaced by an Arab / Palestinian / Islamic entity. The Resistance Network – an array of states, organizations, and individuals, led by Iran, Hezbollah, and Hamas – has been and remains the prominent voice calling for this vision's materialization.

69. **The Phased Approach has persisted in the Palestinian and Arab public spheres**, and is embodied in the debate between those that believe in a historical compromise with Israel and those that promote the continuation of the struggle based on the same logic as during the 1970s and 1980s.

70. **At the same time, the Logic of Implosion has been resurrected in recent years in a mutated form, which is more active and effective** – As mentioned, for decades, the Logic of Implosion was passive and was not translated into a coherent conceptual framework guiding activities and the appropriation of resources. However, in recent years this logic has reemerged as a set of ideas and principles for action that have proven effective.

The New Logic of Implosion: Assault on Israel's Political-Economic Model

71. **The Resistance Network's underlying assumption has been that direct military confrontation will not result in Israel's elimination.** The Logic of Destruction failed and the futility of developing military forces to destroy Israel was exposed. Furthermore, it became clear that a direct attack on Israel aimed at

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[33] Habib Bourguiba, former President of Tunisia, was the clear spokesperson for this logic. He once said that the only way to destroy Israel was to establish full peace, which would then result in sectarian conflict between Jewish communities within Israel and ultimately cause the country's elimination without a battle.

its destruction would, in fact, afford Israel international support and unite the country internally.

72. **The Phased Approach also proved ineffective as its logic led to a direct confrontation with Israel's military might at a very high cost to the civilian population.** Furthermore, as Israel decreased its responsibility for the Palestinian population and its control over 'Palestinian territories,' the legitimacy of a struggle premised in a desire for Israel's elimination became eroded.

73. **It is no longer common for states to be destroyed militarily –** While in the past states would disappear as a result of military conquest by other nations, following the Second World War, the use of force to conquer countries and alter international borders has become unacceptable.

74. **However, in recent decades a number of countries have collapsed[34] as a result of failed political and economic structures**. Prominent examples include East Germany (1990), the Soviet Union (1991), and apartheid South Africa (1994). In fact, the number of countries that collapsed during this period is greater than the number of countries that were conquered and eliminated through military means.

75. **'Overstretch' represents the primary reason for countries' collapse**. This phenomenon occurs when a prolonged and unbridgeable imbalance is sustained between resources, on the one hand, and obligations and needs, on the other hand,[35] or between the reigning ideology and the prevailing reality.

76. **Since the 1967 Six-Day War, Zionism has been in a state of overstretch:**

- **The Zionist premise: Balance between foundational values –** Zionism claims to embody a balance between the desire for: (1) Sovereignty, ownership, or control of the Land of Israel, which represents the cradle of Hebrew civilization; (2) life in a society in which Jewish residents represent the clear majority; (3) security of the land and its population; (4) the state's Jewish character as reflected in, among other features, its symbols, language, culture, and laws; (5) democratic values; and (6) building a model society that is a light unto the nations and helps improve the world (*Or La'Goyim* and *Tikkun Olam*). **This delicate balance existed from the state's founding until the 1967 Six-Day War;**

- **The Zionist reality post-1967: Imbalance among its foundational values of demography, territory, security, and democracy** – The 1967 Six-Day War upset the above-mentioned balance between Zionism's foundational principles, and created disequilibrium among the composition of the

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[34] There is no uniform definition of the term 'collapse' in relation to states. One example comes from Robert Rotberg who claims that states collapse when governments lose the ability to assert their authority as a result of a lack of legitimacy or a loss of ability to govern. Robert Rotberg. **When States Fail**, (Princeton UP 2004). See also an online chapter at the Brookings Institute.

[35] See: Paul Kennedy, **The Rise and Fall of Great Powers** (Vintage; 1989).

population controlled by Israel ('demography'), the country's democratic values ('democracy'), the territory under its control ('territory'), and its security needs ('security').

77. **This imbalance presents Israeli society with difficult dilemmas,** such as between the country's Jewish character and its democratic values; between the principle of two-states-for-two-peoples (Two-State Solution), which requires separation between Israelis and Palestinians and mandates territorial compromise, and the threat of one-state-for-two-peoples (One-State Solution), in which Jews may not be a majority; and between bilaterally agreed internationally recognized 'permanent borders' and unilaterally established internationally disputed 'defensible borders.'[36]

78. **Nonetheless, Zionism and the State of Israel seem to have converged around the understanding that restoring the balance between Zionism's foundational values entails ending control over the Palestinian population and territorial compromise** – Every Israeli government since the first Rabin government was involved in political processes based on the logic of territorial compromise and ending control over the Palestinian population.[37]

79. **Concurrently, the Resistance Network's logic has undergone an inversion: 'Occupation' transformed from being a 'burden' to an 'asset':**

■ **Until the 1990s, the Logic of Destruction and later the Phased Approach reigned: The essence of resistance to Israel was forcing Israeli withdrawal** – After recovering from the 1967 defeat, the Resistance Network regrouped and formulated actionable principles manifested, first and foremost, in the Palestinian Covenant and the Phased Plan. The fundamental logic aimed for Israel's retreat by means of armed struggle, which would be forced upon Israel in phases. As mentioned, some claim that the Oslo Accords expressed a political evolution of this logic, and contend that the future Palestinian state represents a future step of this phased approach.

■ **In recent years, the Logic of Implosion: The resistance aspires to draw Israel into Gaza and the West Bank –** This logic stems from a recognition that Zionism is faced with an overstretch resulting from its control over the Palestinian population. Its premise is that deepening Israeli control over, and responsibility for, the Palestinian population worsens Israel's position. Therefore, this logic calls for drawing Israel in by increasing the

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[36] See: Dore Gold, Defensible Borders for Israel, Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs.

[37] Prime Minister Rabin signed the Disengagement Agreements with Egypt (1974); Prime Minister Begin signed the Camp David Accords (1979); Prime Minister Shamir led the Israeli delegation to Madrid (1991); Prime Ministers Rabin and Peres (1993-1996) and Barak (1999-2001) led the Oslo process; Prime Minister Netanyahu (1996-1999) signed the Hebron Accord and the Wye River Memorandum where he ratified the Oslo Accords; Prime Minister Sharon led the Disengagement from Gaza (2005); Prime Minister Olmert led the Annapolis Process to a comprehensive offer on final-status (2007-09); and Prime Minister Netanyahu, accepted the principle of two states for two peoples (6/09).

demographic, administrative, economic, and military burden of its 'occupation.'

Consequently, some groups sabotage Israeli attempts to separate from the Palestinians, and even promote the dissolution of the Palestinian Authority (PA). The Logic of Implosion is based on demographic trends intensified by Israel's failure to separate from the Palestinian population and that in the long term undermine the character of Israel as a Jewish and democratic state.[38]

80. **The 'return' to an 'upgraded' Logic of Implosion signifies the closing of a historical circle in the Resistance Network's struggle against Zionism** – Until Israel's establishment, the Arab struggle focused on resistance to Zionism, assuming that this would block the establishment of a Jewish state. After Israel's founding, the Arab side fought to physically destroy Israel, assuming that its elimination would eliminate Zionism. Currently, efforts are once again directed at combating the Zionist model, with the aspiration that victory in this realm will lead to Israel's implosion.

Implosion: From Logic to Strategy

81. **It is difficult to accurately ascertain the current state of the Logic of Implosion –** On the one hand, it is clear that a set of ideas and concepts has significantly evolved, achieving ripeness, clarity, and internal consistency. On the other hand, there is no proof of a clear strategy guiding the range of actors comprising the Resistance Network that establishes operational objectives, timelines, or milestones. Nonetheless, it is possible to identify a number of simple and consistent action-oriented principles aimed at:[39]

   ■ **Emphasizing political principles that represent rejection of Israel's right to exist:**

   - **Recognition of Israel's de-facto existence? Perhaps. Recognition of Israel's right to exist? No! –** The Logic of Implosion does not negate recognition of the fact of Israel's existence, but does negate recognition of its right to exist and of any component of its Jewishness;[40]

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38 See several related Reut Institute ReViews: The Tipping Point of International Inversion towards the Two-State Solution, The Trend of Palestinian and Arab Inversion toward the Two-State Solution, Hamas Reveals Its True Colors.

39 See Reut Institute reports: Memo to Winograd Commission on the need to update Israel's national security doctrine, Logic of Implosion: The Resistance Network's Political Rationale, Battle for Control by the Resistance Network and Hamas Reveals Its True Colors;

See also Ehud Ya'ari, **Jerusalem Report,** 11/13/06, Michael Milstein, The Growing Challenge of Resistance and its Influence in Israel's Security Doctrine, Memorandum 102, INSS.

40 In this context, see related Reut Institute analyses: Hamas and the Political Process and The Hamas Movement Following the Elections.

- - **Interim agreement? Maybe; Permanent Status Agreement? No! –** The Logic of Implosion fundamentally rejects ideas such as a Permanent Status Agreement, 'permanent borders,' 'end of conflict,' or 'finality of claims.' In contrast, there is no ideological barrier to an interim agreement with Israel that would enable the continuation of the struggle in the future.[41] **This logic thus negates the Two-State Solution,** which would consolidate recognition of Israel's Jewish character and constitute a framework for permanent status.[42]

- ■ **Preventing separation between Israel and the Palestinians / Placing the weight of the 'occupation' on Israel:**

  - - **Frustrating a political process** that advances the Two-State Solution;

  - - **Preparing the ground for dissolving the PA** and placing full responsibility for the Palestinian population onto Israel (see trends for dissolving the PA below);[43]

  - - **Undermining any Israeli unilateral actions aimed at ending its control over the Palestinians**.

- ■ **Reducing Israel's ability to utilize its military superiority ("tying Israel's hands"):**

  - - **Lawfare: Mobilizing a legal struggle against Israel and Israelis in international forums** – Following Operation Cast Lead, Hamas launched a propaganda campaign in order to portray Israel and its leaders as 'war criminals';[44]

  - - **Preventing decisive Israeli victory** – The fact that the Resistance Network perceives victory as mere survival, and does not aspire to defeat the IDF militarily, makes it harder for the IDF to achieve clear victory;

  - - **Using civilians as human shields** through fighting from within civilian areas and locating military installations there;

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[41] When Hamas discussed establishing a PSPB, its spokespeople emphasized that the state would provide a base for the struggle against Israel. See Reut document: Hamas and the Political Process.

[42] In this context, see Reut reviews Hamas and the Political Process.

[43] See also: Reut document Failure of the Political Process: Danger of the Dissolution of the PA.

[44] A document published by the Intelligence and Information Center in the Israel Intelligence Heritage & Commemoration Center exposed the fact that a commission under the authority of Hamas' law ministry called al-Tawthiq ('Documentation') was behind the arrest warrant against former Foreign Minister Tzipi Livni in Britain. They claim this initiative was carried out in the framework of a campaign aimed at prosecuting Israeli 'war criminals' in Europe on behalf of Operation Cast Lead's victims. The report concludes that the "broad scope of the committee's activities clearly indicates the magnitude of the resources the de-facto Hamas administration has invested in its efforts to slander Israel after Operation Cast Lead and exploit the findings of the Goldstone report. See also: **London Times**, 12/21/09.

- **Hamastan / Hezbollahstan: Powers and authorities without responsibility; terrorist armies within a state** – Hamas and Hezbollah enjoy state-like powers and capacities – such as de-facto controlling territory and population, conducting independent foreign policy, maintaining military force, and even managing taxation – without assuming full sovereign responsibilities.

■ **Systematically targeting Israel's civilian population in order to 'balance' Israel's military victory** – The Resistance Network has identified Israel's civilian population as its Achilles heel. Every military confrontation in recent years has included the systematic targeting of Israel's home front;[45]

■ **Converging around new 'outstanding' issues** – The Resistance Network stokes the flames of the struggle against Israel by focusing on a small number of issues that can be exploited as 'causes' to justify armed struggle and delegitimization. One example of this is Hezbollah's use of Shebaa Farms;[46]

■ **Turning Israel's Arab citizens into a 'bridgehead' for further struggle against Israel** by mobilizing them for armed struggle or for promoting delegitimization, and by challenging Israel's identity and its institutions. Thus far, these efforts have been largely unsuccessful;[47]

■ **Fundamental delegitimization of Israel** (see next chapter).[48]

In summary,

82. **Various factions within the Resistance Network are serving an 'active' Logic of Implosion through a focused attack on Israel's political-economic model. Their ultimate goal is Israel's collapse in the footsteps of apartheid South Africa or the former USSR.**

83. **In this spirit, the Resistance Network has developed a series of concepts – which may be viewed as a strategy – aimed at outflanking the IDF's military superiority by attacking other arenas in which Israel can be defeated.** This

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[45] The first Intifada (87-91); the first Gulf War (91); the wave of suicide bombings during the Oslo Process (96); the Second Intifada (00-05); the Second Lebanon War (06); and the rocket fire from Gaza, which preceded Operation Cast Lead.

[46] Following Israel's withdrawal from Lebanon (5/2000), Hezbollah committed itself to perpetuating its struggle against Israel using the pretext of the Shebaa Farms and Seven Villages issues. See: Syria and the Shebaa Farms Dispute**, The Jewish Policy Center**, Spring 2009.

[47] See Reut Institute analysis: Between Adalah's 'New Constitution' and Annapolis.

[48] The Iranian logic leading to the 2006 Tehran-based conference on Holocaust denial can be understood in this context. See related: Basic Delegitimization of Israel and Gidi Grinstein, **Haaretz,** 01/15/10.

approach aspires towards Israel's collapse through the simultaneous application of demographic, military, economic, political, and diplomatic pressures.

84. **There are three pillars to the Strategy of Implosion:** (1) **Overstretching** Israel by intensifying the burden of 'occupation'; (2) **fundamental delegitimization**; and (3) **asymmetric warfare in the military arena and against Israel's civilian population**.

Dozens of statements by the leaders of Iran, Hamas, and Hezbollah reflect this logic.[49]

Summary Table: Conceptual Strategic Inferiority

85. **According to the Logic of Implosion, Israeli control over the Palestinians is an asset to Israel's adversaries**. This is a strategic revolution whose importance can not be exaggerated. Until the 1990s, the essence of resistance to Israel was forcing Israeli withdrawal with the ultimate aim of destroying it based on the Phased Plan. In recent years, the aim has been to intensify the burden of the 'occupation' by drawing Israel as deeply as possible into the West Bank and Gaza.

86. **The Resistance Network has created strategic asymmetry vis-à-vis Israel,** which provides it with a conceptual advantage that balances Israel's technological, military, and economic superiority. Main differences are summarized below:

	Israel's Mindset	**The Resistance Network**
Security Doctrine: Principle Threat & Response	The principle threat to Israel's physical existence is by Arab conventional forces. The core response is thus by the IDF. The foreign affairs establishment is secondary in importance to Israel's security.	The principle attack is on Israel's political-economic model, primarily using 'soft' tools. There is no military means of achieving Israel's physical destruction.
Objective	Victory and peace. In military confrontation, decisive victory; in the political process, 'end of conflict,' 'finality of claims,' peace, or Permanent Status Agreement.	Resistance. In military confrontation, steadfastness and resistance; in the political process, no 'end of conflict' or 'finality of claims.' There will always be an outstanding issue.
The Enemy	Countries. As Hezbollah is not a country, responsibility is placed on Lebanon.	Hamastan and Hezbollahstan: Authority and political capacities without the responsibilities of states.
Logic of Use-	Aim toward high-intensity direct	Aim toward protracted low-

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49   See Reut Institute analyses: Logic of Implosion: The Resistance Network's Political Rationale and Iran's Terminology against Israel.

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of-Force-Doctrine	confrontations, which favor size and firepower.	intensity conflict, while avoiding direct confrontation.
Israel's Arab Citizens	An Israeli domestic issue.	A strategic platform to be leveraged for undermining Israel's legitimacy from within and in the international arena.
Decisive Arena	The struggle will be determined through military confrontation on the battlefield.	The struggle will be determined in the international arena (through delegitimization and overstretch), and in Israel's home front.
Attitude to Citizens	Sensitivity to Israeli civilian casualties, and attempt to avoid harming civilians on the other side.	Systematic use of citizens as human shields and employment of terror tactics against Israel's civilian population.
Israel's Control over Palestinians	Security necessity existing in tension with Zionism's aspiration to end control over the Palestinian population and the accompanying responsibility for it.	Strategic asset. Israel's control over the Palestinians increases its overstretch and accelerates its implosion.
Relative Advantage	Technological, economic, and military superiority.	Conceptual superiority, willingness to cause and absorb civilian casualties, and palatable narrative in the international arena.

87. **Conclusion: Israel's security doctrine is in a position of strategic inferiority compared with the Resistance Network.** Israel's strategic inferiority renders Israeli military and political successes harder to attain, and thus makes it more difficult to secure Israel's future as a Jewish and democratic state.

Chapter 3:
The Attack on Israel's Political-Economic Model:
Delegitimization Network Aims to Turn Israel into a Pariah State

Anti-Zionism is Gaining Momentum

88. **Anti-Zionism and fundamental delegitimization have existed in various forms since the advent of Zionism** – Zionism's legitimacy has been subject to debate since its inception. It has been attacked from several directions, rooted in a variety of political and moral orientations:

   - Jewish groups, such as ultra-Orthodox communities or the Bund, negate Zionism for religious and ideological reasons;

   - Some perceive Judaism as a religion, while rejecting the notion of a Jewish 'people.' Therefore, they do not recognize a Jewish right to self-determination;

   - Various intellectual schools negate Zionism on the basis of a principled objection to states, which are defined on the basis of race, ethnicity, or religion. Furthermore, they assume that in a country such as Israel, non-Jewish citizens will inevitably suffer discrimination;

   - Those individuals who do not recognize the uninterrupted, tangible connection between the Jewish people and the Land of Israel view Zionism as a colonial project that led to the dispossession of local indigenous Arabs from their land;[50]

   - Some perceive the establishment of Israel as European 'compensation' to the Jews for the Holocaust at the expense of the local Arab population. In their view, because the Holocaust occurred in Europe, the Jewish issue should be resolved in Europe;

   - Some argue that Israel has lost moral legitimacy due to its actions, such as the 'discrimination' against its Arab citizens, 'occupation' of Palestinians, and the building of settlements on Arab lands;

   - Advocates of the One-State Solution challenge Israel's legitimacy as compared with their preferred political model, which is based on the principle of 'one person, one vote' in the territory between the Jordan River and the Mediterranean Sea;

   - While the argument that Israel can no longer be separated from the Palestinians due to the reality that was created by the settlements in the

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[50] One claim, for example, is that European Jews are descended from the Khazar kingdom. See: Shlomo Sand, **The Invention of the Jewish People**, English Edition (Verso Books 2009); Arthur Koestler, **The Thirteenth Tribe: The Khazar Empire and Its Heritage** (Random House 1999); See also Amnon Rubenstein and Alexander Yakobson, **Israel and the Family of Nations: The Jewish nation-state and human rights** (Routledge 2008).

West Bank cannot be seen as delegitimization per se, some use this point to contend that Israel's moral legitimacy has been lost.

89. **Key milestones in anti-Zionist activities** include the Arab League boycott of Israel that began in 1948, and the UN General Assembly Resolution 3379 (11/75) equating Zionism and racism.

90. **In recent years, persistent trends bolster anti-Zionism, primarily in Europe**:

- **Diminished memory of the Holocaust, and with it Europe's moral commitment to Israel.** The Holocaust inflicted upon European Jewry contributed to European moral commitment to Israel upon its establishment and during its first decades. As time passes, the foundation of this commitment is eroded;

- **Post-nationalist trends conflict with Zionism** – The European Union embodies a general decline of the nation-state and nationalistic sentiments in favor of trans-nationalist frameworks. Zionism – which focuses on the self-determination of the Jewish people on the basis of its nationalism, religion, and peoplehood – stands in contradiction to the post-nationalist trend;[51]

- **Quantitative growth in Europe's Muslim population** resulting from immigration from North Africa and the Middle East;

- **Dormant anti-Semitism manifests as anti-Israel sentiment** – Many claim that inherent European anti-Semitism did not disappear following the Holocaust, but was suppressed for a few decades to be contemporarily resurrected as anti-Zionist and anti-Israeli sentiment;

- **Opposition to the U.S.** – Israel is often framed as the long arm of the U.S. and as an extension of American imperialism in the Middle East. Anti-Israel sentiment rises in correlation with anti-Americanism, and it is also often easier to attack Israel than the U.S.;

- **Search for a 'cause' in the vacuum following apartheid South Africa's implosion** – The success of the struggle against the South African apartheid regime in 1994 left a vacuum for activism in the European left. Radical elements converged upon Israel as the next political target to galvanize around.

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[51]   See: Robert Cooper, **The Breaking of Nations: Order and Chaos in the Twenty-first Century,** (McClelland & Stewart 2005); Robert Kagan, **Paradise and Power: America and Europe in the New World Order,** (Vintage,2003); Tony Judt, Israel the Alternative, **New York Review of Books**, 10/23/03.

Introduction to the Science of Networks: We live in a World of Networks

91. **We live in a world of networks**[52] – Research on the topic of networks shows that many systems in areas as diverse as biology, economics, terrorism, and the internet, work according to laws of networks that are characterized by the following principles:

- **Flat and non-hierarchical structure** – Networks do not have a single node or unit that is *the* manager, commander, or leader; nor do they have a command-and-control center that issues instructions or orders. Networks instead operate through inspiration, mobilization, and vision;

- **The common denominator of human networks is consciousness** – Nodes of human networks are diverse in many aspects, such as structure, character, size, values, location, and seniority. Yet, they mobilize due to common underlying faith, values, vision, experience, sense of mission, utilitarianism, or purpose. Thus, a vast range of human networks exist, and many individuals and organizations belong to multiple networks simultaneously;

- **Independence of action, sensitivity to context, flexibility, and innovation** – Most nodes of a network operate primarily according to their own logic, will, discretion, and capacities. These nodes are generally very sensitive to changes in their immediate environment and adapt to them as an organic part of the local social fabric;

- **Networks are an efficient mechanism** – Because nodes are able to rapidly adjust their attributes and objectives, the network can divert resources across topical focuses and arenas with great dexterity. Therefore, networks possess 'efficient redundancy' in the sense that duplications do not amount to inefficiencies;

- **Protocols of communication, codes of conduct, and rituals** – Every network has written or unwritten protocols for communications; a value system that establishes right and wrong; codes of conduct that determine what is acceptable or unacceptable behavior; as well as symbols or art;

- **Hubs are nodes with great influence on the network** – The status of nodes in a network is 'meritocratic' in the sense that it is based on the quality and quantity of their connections with other nodes. It is not determined by decisions, ranks, or titles. Hubs are units of the network that have an

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[52] On social networks, see: Albert-László Barabási, **Linked: The New Science of Networks,** (Basic Books, 2002); Thomas L. Friedman, **The World Is Flat 3.0: A Brief History of the Twenty-first Century,** (Picador, 2007); Joshua Cooper Ramo, **The Age of the Unthinkable**, (Little, Brown and Company, 2009); Yochai Benkler, **The Wealth of Networks,** (Yale University Press, 2006); F. H Norris, "Community Resilience as a Metaphor, Theory, Set of Capacities and Strategy for Disaster Readiness", **American Journal for Community Psychology**, (Vol. 41, 2008); J.R.McNeill, **The Human Web, A Bird's Eye View of World History,** (Norton & Company, 2003); J. Surowiecki, **The Wisdom of Crowds,** (Anchor Books, 2005); Malcolm Gladwell**, The Tipping Point: How Little Things Can Make a Big Difference,** (Back Bay Books, 2002).

extraordinary number of links to other units and therefore great influence on the network's overall values, culture, strength, resilience, and other attributes;

■ **Catalysts are nodes dedicated to developing the network, and possess the status and capacities to do so** – Catalysts are nodes that are mobilized to serve the 'cause' of the network. They operate by collecting information, turning it into relevant knowledge and disseminating it; by developing the ideology of the network; by preserving a sense of urgency; by mapping existing nodes, strengthening them, and connecting them to each other; by harnessing new nodes; by developing action plans; by educating, training and debriefing; by protecting the network; by connecting with other catalysts; and by branding and publicizing the network;

■ **Networks are resilient** due to their dispersal and diversity. It is impossible to paralyze a decentralized network by removing only a small number of nodes. Experiments show that a few hubs sustain a network that has lost 80 percent of its nodes. [53] Therefore, to cultivate or dismantle a network it is necessary to focus on hubs and catalysts.

The Delegitimization Network

92. **Israel's delegitimization is perpetrated by a network** possessing most of the aforementioned attributes, which manifest in the following:

■ **A range of bodies dispersed globally** – The nodes of the Delegitimization Network are countries, organizations, and individuals from a range of regions and of very diverse backgrounds. They are, *inter alia*, old and young; intellectuals and students; Muslims, Christians, and Jews; and mostly from Europe, but also from other continents;

■ **The Delegitimization Network has no top executive** – There is no leader, commander, or manager; no headquarters or command-and-control centers; and no leadership mechanism that issues directives, guidelines, or orders. Most nodes advancing the delegitimization agenda are unrelated to each other organizationally, and communication among them is rarely consistent or continuous. They are harnessed to the effort on the basis of shared belief and cooperate on a local level and in a targeted manner;

■ **The common denominator of this network is ideological: Opposition to Israel's existence as the state that realizes the right of the Jewish people to self-determination**. However, a range of factors motivate individual nodes to serve this logic (see above);

■ **A relatively small number of hubs lead Israel's delegitimization** – These hubs are usually global metropolises that concentrate global media, international institutions, leading academic centers, international NGOs, and human rights organizations. **While all Delegitimization Network hubs**

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[53] See: Barabási pp. 153-155, 287; Ramo, p.236.

possess similar characteristics, each hub is unique socially, economically, and politically. Examples of major delegitimization hubs may include, to varying degrees, London, Madrid, Paris, the San Francisco Bay Area, Toronto, and Brussels;

■ **An array of individual initiatives around the world –** Nodes of the Delegitimization Network operate in their natural environments – based on their internal logic, free will, discretion, and abilities – while adapting to changing realities. This is why, for example, many prominent Israeli speakers are confronted with locally organized student protests, and demonstrations follow Israeli tennis player Shahar Peer around the world;

■ **The Delegitimization Network has symbols, heroes, galvanizing events, etc. –** Heroes and symbols include Mohammed al-Durra, a 12-year old boy the IDF was accused of killing; Rachel Corrie, who was killed in Gaza by an Israeli bulldozer; and the *keffiyeh*, which has turned into a popular fashionable accessory. The Durban Conference represents a formative event for this network;[54]

■ **Delegitimization is orchestrated by catalysts** that collect information; develop new, actionable ideas (boycotts, lawsuits, etc.); initiate events and protests; mobilize additional nodes; increase awareness by building and managing Web sites, maintaining listservs, writing blogs, and publishing articles; conducting training; and branding and publicizing the network.

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93. **Conclusion: Israel's fundamental delegitimization is perpetrated by a global network** that is galvanized by few catalysts and operates from within a few hubs.

Following Apartheid South Africa's Footsteps: One Person, One Vote

94. **As mentioned, one core argument of anti-Zionism stands on the principle that the identity of a state cannot be based on ethnicity or religion.** Hence, the idea of a 'Jewish State' is unacceptable in any way, shape, or form.

95. **No to the Two-State Solution; Yes to the One-State Solution –** A Two-State Solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict cannot be seen as providing delegitimizers a satisfying response, since it embodies a recognition in a state for the Jewish people and thus fails to address their fundamental grievance against Israel. Therefore, only a One-State Solution will truly resolve the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, not just in Gaza and the West Bank, but also in 'Israel-proper.'

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[54] The first Durban Conference (09/01) was a UN-sponsored conference convened in Durban, South Africa, which was intended to cultivate an international front opposing racism, xenophobia, and intolerance. The conference was transformed into a show of fundamental delegitimization of Israel, with the encouragement of participating NGOs.

96. **This is the ideological foundation for comparing Israel with apartheid South Africa –** Israel's delegitimizers claim that both cases involve a foreign minority – in both cases white, rich, and powerful – that took control of land belonging to local indigenous populations, dispossessed them of their property, and exploited them as labor while employing brute force. **In recent years, the Delegitimization Network has significantly succeeded in branding Israel as an apartheid state by deploying related terminology and using similar means to wage a global campaign against it.**

97. **Same problem, same solution –** According to this logic, what worked in bringing down white South Africa in 1994 can also work in Israel's case: Building a global grassroots movement for boycotts, sanctions and divestments that will eventually impact official policies in the leading nations of the world so that the political and economic model of Israel collapses under pressure, and surrenders to the principle of 'one person, one vote.'

Mainstreaming Delegitimization: Branding, Cooperation, and Simplicity

98. **Most people in hubs of delegitimization 'don't care'** enough about the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in order to have an opinion about Israel, or to take action. Furthermore, **people that do care often have a more sympathetic view of Israel than of the Arab or Islamic world**, although to varying degrees in different constituencies and age groups.

99. Nonetheless, as described, **the Delegitimization Network has succeeded in accumulating significant achievements that peaked during Operation Cast Lead when hundreds of thousands of Europeans marched in various European capitals to show solidarity with Hamas.** How does the Delegitimization Network carry such considerable influence?

100. **The triangle of delegitimization operating on the margins: A Red-Green Alliance with a post-Zionist stamp of approval –** The forces and organizations within the Delegitimization Network are on the political fringes in their countries of origin. Their network often comprises groups of young people or anarchists, immigrants, radical activists, etc. However, the rise in the delegitimization of Israel in recent years results from the confluence of three forces:

   - **The Radical Left (Reds), which underwent an inversion 'from *kibbutz* to *kibbush*,'** i.e. from regarding Israel as a model for progressive egalitarian society in the 1960s (the *kibbutz* model) to viewing it as an artificial imperialist implant that engages in brutal occupation *(kibbush)*;[55]

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[55] On the causes of the radical left's inversion in its perception of Israel, see: Interview with Colin Schindler, **Jewish Chronicle**, 10/29/09; Robin Shepherd, **A State Beyond the Pale: Europe's Problem with the Israel**, (Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2009).

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- **Arabs and Islamists (Greens) in Europe and North America**, whose attitudes towards Israel have radicalized since the 1980s;[56]

- **Post-Zionist and anti-Zionist Jewish and Israeli intellectuals** that operate in a supportive intellectual and academic environment in Europe and in some universities in North America and lend delegitimization efforts a 'stamp of authenticity.'

101. **The key to the success of Israel's delegitimizers is their ability to blur the difference between criticism of Israel and fundamental delegitimization, which allows them to gain sympathy for their cause among the elite and general public**.

In most cases, criticism of Israeli policy and actions from a human rights perspective does *not* **amount to fundamental delegitimization or demonization**. Criticism of Israeli policy is legitimate, even when it is harsh or unfair, such as in failing to acknowledge Israeli concerns.

However, such criticism may cross the line into delegitimization when it suffers from one or more of the following categories;

■ **Fundamentally challenging Israel's right to exist** as an embodiment of the Jewish people's right to self-determination;[57]

■ Employing blatant **double standards**, or exclusively singling out Israel for criticism;

■ **Demonizing the state**, often by evoking Nazism and apartheid. [58]

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[56] For example, in Britain, this process of radicalization occurred for a number of reasons. In the 1990s, the majority of Britain's Muslim community was not of predominantly Middle Eastern origin: Most came from Bangladesh and Pakistan and practiced a moderate form of Islam. The radicalization of Britain's Muslim community stems from: education in radical Saudi-funded mosques. See: Ed Husain, **The Islamist,** (Penguin, 2007); significant immigration from the Middle East; global events such as the war in Bosnia, Iraq, and Afghanistan; and violent events in the 'Palestinian territories' exacerbated hostilities (see: Michael Gove, **Celsius 7/7,** (Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 2006); British reaction to terror attacks on its territory paradoxically strengthened Islamist elements such as Hizb ut-Tahrir and Ja'amat Islamiya. See: **Washington Post**, 10/07/05 Rachel Briggs and Jonathan Birdwell, "Radicalisation among Muslims in the UK", **Micron Policy Working Paper** 5/7/09; Salma Yaqoob, "British Islamic Political Radicalism," **Islamic Political Radicalism: A European Perspective**, Ed. Tahir Abbas, (Edinburgh University Press, 2007).

[57] Cotler, Identifying the New Anti-Semitism; and Shapak Lisk, The New Anti-Semitism in European Intellectual Circles.

[58] For guidelines that may help drawing the line between criticism of policy and delegitimization, see: McShane et al **The All Party Parliamentary Inquiry into Antisemitism**; Sharansky**, 3D Test of Anti-Semitism: Demonization, Double Standards, Delegitimization,** Cotler**,** Identifying the New Anti-Semitism, and Shapak Lisk, The New Anti-Semitism in European Intellectual Circles.

102. **Reut identifies a number of simple principles underlying this achievement:**

   ■ **Israel is framed as ill-willed, uninterested in peace, and as trying to perpetuate occupation –** This is a powerful construct that draws primarily upon the settlement enterprise to reframe many Israeli actions. For example, Israel's disengagement from Gaza is reframed as 'continuing the occupation by new means'; and the Israeli field hospital in Haiti was framed as a deliberate distraction from Israel's actions in the 'Palestinian territories';

   ■ **Israel is branded as the new apartheid South Africa, so it can do no right and its adversaries can do no wrong** – The Delegitimization Network ceaselessly equates Israel with apartheid South Africa as constituting two regimes based on discrimination and repression. Once Israel is successfully branded as violent, aggressive, discriminatory, and occupying, the most outrageous allegations, such as organ harvesting, can stick; aggressive actions against Israel and Israelis are justified and called for; and the entire political and economic model of Israel is framed as immoral;[59]

   ■ **Therefore, coercion is the only effective means of correcting Israel's ways –** Because Israel intends to perpetuate occupation, soft tools of persuasion and engagement – such as 'condemnation' or 'voicing concerns,' demonstrations, or petitions – are futile. Only concrete painful steps directed at Israel and Israelis will force Israel to change its ways;

   ■ **Jews control politics, so only civil society can correct Israel's ways –** As Jews 'control' the political and economic centers of power, only civil society can force Israel to correct its ways. This must be done by mobilizing and using all available tools such as boycotts, divestments, and sanctions to force Israel's hand;

   ■ **Pro-Palestinian activity and criticism of Israel is 'the right thing to do'** – Such activity and criticism is associated with other moral and liberal values such as protection of the environment and is symbolized by the wearing of the *keffiyeh*;

   ■ **Single out Israel for alleged human rights violations; ignore comparative analyses** – The Delegitimization Network exploits criticism of Israel's alleged human rights violations to brand it as a pariah state. While singling Israel out, delegitimizers ignore comparative analysis of other

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59 As Michael Ignatieff noted, "International law defines 'apartheid' as a crime against humanity. Labeling Israel an 'apartheid' state is thus a deliberate attempt to undermine the legitimacy of the Jewish state itself." In a similar vein, speaking at the 2009 Ministry of Foreign Affairs Global Forum for Combating Anti-Semitism, Irwin Cotler recently.argued that branding Israel as apartheid or Nazi is part of a campaign aimed at causing its dismantlement. As Cotler said, "these are the two great evils of 20th century…If Israel is guilty of crimes against humanity, then it does not have a right to exist…and a moral and legal obligation to dismantle follows." Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

majority-minority relationships, doctrines of use of force or human rights records, which would compliment Israel, not only in comparison to Arab and Muslim countries, but even to some Western countries in similar situations;

- **A call for applying general principles of international law, only when and where it serves the delegitimizers' cause –** The Delegitimization Network claims to call for application of 'universally accepted principles of international law' such as 'the right of return of refugees.' However, even when their assertions regarding international law are accurate, they single Israel out. For example, their call for the right or return of Palestinian refugees to Israel based on the so called 'accepted norm of international law' only applies to Palestinian refugees and not to Germans, Bulgarians, Turks, Greeks, or Jews that were displaced in the last century;

- **Pretend to be about 'correcting Israel's ways,' not about eliminating Israel –** The Delegitimization Network pretends to focus on 'correcting' Israeli policy, hiding the true essence of its struggle that singles out the Jewish people as the only nation that does not deserve a right to self-determination;

- **Unbundle Israel's elimination –** Delegitimizers make a set of separate demands from Israel, that together, amount to its elimination of Israel or to the rejection of the right of Jews for self-determination. For example, they call for 'the return of individual Palestinian refugees to their homes' or for 'full and equal right of the Arab minority in Israel'.

- **Focus on the right of the minority, while ignoring the rights of the majority –** Delegitimizers focus exclusively on the rights of the Arab minority in Israel, while ignoring the rights of the collective Jewish identity of Israel's 80 percent majority.;

- **Criticism of Israel *now* without agreement on the ultimate goal** – The Delegitimization Network cooperates with anyone who criticizes Israel, especially if criticism is bold and harsh. Delegitimizers will stand shoulder-to-shoulder even with Israelis who define themselves as Zionist, as long as they are willing to voice criticism of Israel. In this way, a broad diverse coalition is formed, which on the surface criticizes Israel's policies, but whose strategies serve the agenda of delegitimizing Israel.

Delegitimization Dynamics in a Hub: London as a Case Study[60]

103. **To better understand the dynamics of delegitimization, Reut selected London as a case study**, based on the prevalent perception that Israel's standing in the UK

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[60] Reut acknowledges with gratitude Israel's Ambassador to the UK, Ambassador Ron Prosor, for suggesting the idea of analyzing London as a hub of delegitimization. Reut will publish a document focusing on delegitimization dynamics in London in the near future.

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has been severely eroded in recent years.[61] In the course of two study-visits to London, the Reut team met with journalists and leading media figures, international law experts, human rights activists, Israeli diplomats, and members of the Jewish and Muslim communities.[62]

104. **The paradox:**

- **The polls say: Most Brits 'don't care'; of those that do, more tend to support Israel** – The Israeli-Palestinian conflict ranks low on the agenda of ordinary British citizens. Among those who do hold an opinion on the conflict, more tend to support Israel, and political support for Israel seems to be stable;[63]

- **Yet, London is a leading hub of delegitimization with significant global influence.** This influence stems from London's role as a center of leading global media, international NGOs, human rights organizations, top academic institutions, and a sizable Muslim population. London's cultural influence amplifies its ability to impact the English-speaking world;[64]

- **…and London is the capital of the One-State idea** – The concept of the One-State Solution is discussed and advanced in London more than anywhere else, and disseminated throughout the world. This concept may even enjoy greater popularity in London than it does in the West Bank or in Gaza.

105. **No organization or conspiracy, but clear processes of institutionalization –** The Red-Green Alliance in London is not a coherent organization or an established coalition with a management structure, formal leadership, or headquarters. However, since the First Durban Conference (2001), and especially following Operation Cast Lead (01/09), this alliance has undergone clear processes of institutionalization:

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[61] Structural and historical factors render the UK a convenient platform for anti-Zionism. For example: A sense of historical responsibility stemming from its colonial history, the Balfour Declaration, and the British Mandate; and London's tradition of being a center for radicalism.

[62] See acknowledgement for partial list. In addition, we met with approximately 20 individuals in London who preferred not to be acknowledged.

[63] This is according to polls presented to us by Ministry of Foreign Affairs Brand Israel Project Director Ido Aharoni.

[64] For example, London is home to the BBC, the Guardian, and Financial Times newspapers. In London, three of the most important newspapers in the Arab world are published: Asharq Alawsat, Al Hayat, and Al-Quds Al-Arabi. London is home to major human rights organizations, such as Christian Aid, Amnesty, and Crisis Action. It is also home to important and influential universities, such as Oxford, Cambridge, SOAS, and the LSE.

- **Cooperation among a range of NGOs**, such as Palestine Solidarity Campaign (PSC),[65] Respect,[66] Socialist Action,[67] War on Want,[68] and the Muslim Association of Britain;[69]

- **BDS movement: Boycotts, Divestments, and Sanctions –** The BDS campaign against Israeli entities and individuals is intensifying, seeking to consolidate tactics into a comprehensive civil struggle against Israel.[70] While the BDS movement claims to seek influence on Israeli policy and not to promote delegitimization,[71] its affiliations and membership are clearly

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[65] The PSC has become the largest and most active organization in the UK, and has expanded its activities to the U.S. and Australia. The organization is active on campuses and in trade and labor unions, and advances the boycott campaign against Israel by the BDS movement. Formally, the organization promotes justice for Palestinians, human rights, and international law. In practice, it seeks to eliminate Israel as represented by its organizational symbol, a map with no Israel.

[66] Respect, the radical leftist party headed by George Galloway, was established in 2004 to oppose British involvement in Iraq. The party advances an explicitly anti-Zionist agenda. The base of its support primarily comprises leftists and Islamic organizations such as: PSC; Friends of Al Aqsa; and the leftist anti-war movement, Stop the War Coalition.

[67] Socialist Action is active in the UK, and comprises, according to estimates, approximately 100 members working to advance the concept of a 'global revolution.' Their strategy is characterized by 'entryist' tactics aimed at infiltrating political and media entities in the UK. Organization members are noted for their association with former Mayor of London Ken Livingstone. The organization is known for its connections with the Muslim Council of Britain, which is associated with the Muslim Brotherhood. The movement promotes an explicitly anti-Zionist agenda. See: Atma Singh, "Examination of the 'Entryist' Tactics of the Hamas Front Organisations and the Extreme Left in the UK Gaza Protests in London," **Middle East Strategic Information**, 06/01/09.

[68] War on Want is a leftist-socialist oriented organization, with the stated mission of acting to eradicate poverty in underdeveloped countries and secure the economic welfare of citizens in conflict-ridden areas. On a practical level, the organization focuses substantial efforts on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, which it uses as a platform from which to actively lead the boycott campaign against Israel, frequently framing Israel as an apartheid state. Additional information on the organization's anti-Israel activity can be found on the NGO Monitor Web site.

[69] The Muslim Association of Britain was established in 1997 and describes itself as a "mainstream grassroots organization" that seeks to debunk misguided perceptions about Muslims and to foster mutual understanding by serving as a bridge between the UK and the Muslim world." The organization is closely connected to the Stop the War Coalition and with the UK movement to eliminate nuclear weapons. It is also associated with Hamas. See: Briggs and Birdwell, Radicalisation among Muslims in the UK.

[70] The first manifestations of the movement's activities are apparently a joint statement publicized by the Durban Conference NGO forum. The statement called for Israel's absolute isolation as an apartheid state, by means of levying an embargo and enacting far-ranging coercive sanctions, and for all countries of the world to cut ties with Israel. For more information on the declaration and the conference, see the Reut Institute's 'Durban Conference.'

The Palestinian BDS National Committee, an umbrella organization for dozens of Palestinian organizations, published a declaration in July 2005 calling for deploying BDS against Israel until it conforms to the following conditions: Withdrawing from the 'occupied territories', establishing full equality for Israel's Arab citizens, and enabling Palestinian refugees from 1948 to return to Israel in accordance with UN Resolution 194. In November 2007, the first BDS conference was convened in Ramallah, with international participation.

[71] A key leader in the movement has declared in the past that the movement has no formal policy on this topic. See: Omar Barghouti quoted in: Gal Beckerman, **The Forward**, 09/19/09.

aligned with platforms that oppose Israel's existence as a Jewish and democratic state.[72]

Although the BDS campaign enjoys marginal success in advancing boycotts against Israel, the principle damage it creates is in promoting an association between Israel and the discourse of boycott and isolation, which positions Israel as a pariah state;

■ **Strong presence in campuses among students and faculty –** An overwhelmingly anti-Israeli line is common on London campuses, which often receive heavy funding from Iran and Saudi Arabia.[73] These campuses frequently feature prominent anti-Israel lecturers, though the clearest anti-Israel manifestation is 'Israel Apartheid Week.' (IAW). IAW has taken place since 2005 primarily in North American and European universities, with the purpose of condemning Israel and encouraging boycotts against it.

Additionally, Britain's academic union has repeatedly debated calls to impose an academic boycott on Israel in protest of its policies in the 'occupied territories.' While a formal boycott has not been passed, indicators

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[72] In this context, the BDS movement's Web site published a joint declaration with the International Coordinating Network on Palestine on the occasion of Israel's 60th anniversary. The declaration was headlined '60 years is enough!' and Israel's independence war characterized as land theft. See: ICNP 2008 Global Call to Action, 11/4/07. A relevant declaration in the BDS movement's Web site attributes the Palestinian call for BDS against Israel to Palestinians living within Israel's borders. Similarly, the movement's publications repeatedly refer to the struggle against Israeli apartheid as a goal of action.

Additionally, the BDS movement has known connections to a number of organizations and individuals supportive of the One State Solution: See: interview with Dr. Haider Eid, lecturer at Al-Aqsa University in Gaza and a supporter of the movement, in which he makes a direct connection between the BDS movement and the vision of dismantling the State of Israel in favor of a single, binational state.

[73] The Centre for Social Cohesion, a British think tank, compiled a report with examples of Saudi and Iranian funding of British academic institutions. Such examples include massive funding by the Saudi King Fahd Fund providing Oxford University targeted funding towards new buildings; a Prince Al-Waleed bin Talal Saudi fund, which paid for a research center at the University of Edinburgh; and the Iranian government, in partnership with The Islamic Centre of England, which funded scholarship grants for Iranian fellows to the University of London's SOAS. . See: Robin Simcox, **A Degree of Influence: The Funding of Strategically Important Subjects in UK Universities**, (Centre for Social Cohesion, 2009).

Saudi and Iranian funding is not limited to the UK. Several years ago, the New York Post exposed the New York District Attorney's Office investigation based on suspicions that the Iranian government transferred substantial amounts of money through a special fund for various U.S.-based academic institutions in which pro-Iranian and anti-Israel researchers and lecturers are employed. Contributions to this fund included $100,000 for the Middle East and Iranian studies centers at Columbia University, which was allegedly transferred against the backdrop of an agreement to host Iran's president during his U.S. visit. Another substantial contribution was transferred to Rutgers University, known for the head of its Middle East program's stance legitimizing Hamas and Hezbollah. See: Isabel Vincent, **New York Post**, 11/22/09.

point to existing informal boycotts on Israeli academics in British academia;[74]

- **Attempts to seize the agenda of trade and labor unions** and promote boycotts and sanctions against Israel in unions that possess significant political influence domestically and internationally. One example is in the influence gained by the PSC – which is active in the UK, U.S., Australia, and additional locations – within Britain's Trades Union Congress (TUC). PSC successes include securing passage of a formal call to boycott Israel that was advanced by the British Fire Brigades Union.[75] The PSC also successfully obstructed a cooperative initiative between the *Histadrut* and its Palestinian counterpart, and managed to reverse the latter's stance regarding the issue of waging boycotts against Israel;[76]

- **Legal action against IDF officers and Israeli politicians –** In the UK, the Netherlands, Spain, Belgium, and Norway, a network of lawyers have compiled a list of 'wanted' IDF officers in order to issue arrest warrants against them, based on universal jurisdiction clauses, for committing war crimes.

  According to reports, the lawyers received information regarding their travel plans from pro-Palestinian activists that track invitations extended by Jewish and pro-Israel organization to IDF officials and Israeli politicians. According to one active lawyer in the network, a small number of names of IDF officers even appear on the tracking list of the British police, which are supposed to issue arrest warrants upon their arrival in the UK.[77]

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[74] See: Mansfeld,Gerstenfeld, "The Academic Boycott Against Israel," **Jewish Political Studies Review** 15: (Fall 2003).

[75] The ability of certain trade and labor unions to influence agendas and decisions on the national level directly relates to the institutional structure of British workers' organizations and the connections between specific professional workers' organizations and the national union, the TUC. Unlike the Israeli *Histadrut*, various professional organizations fund the national union, and can therefore exert significant influence on its agenda. See: **BBC News**, 09/16/09.

[76] A prominent example of this trend can be extracted from the Palestinian General Federation of Trade Unions' (PGFTU) handling of the boycott movement issue. In the past year – in light of vibrant cooperative efforts between the *Histadrut* and the PGFTU – the latter's General Secretary, Shaher Sa'ad, expressed support for continued contact with the Israeli union and opposition to boycotts against Israeli workers' organizations.

  Following a meeting between Sa'ad and Nablus Mayor, Adli Ya'ish, with a delegation from the pro-Israel British Trade Union Friends of Israel organization, elements associated with Britain's boycott movement applied severe pressure on both Palestinians. The result was their renunciation of their previous stance, and issuance of public calls to boycott the Histadrut.

[77] A document published by the Intelligence and Information Center in the Israel Intelligence Heritage and Commemoration Center exposed the fact that a commission under the authority of the Hamas' law ministry called *al-Tawthiq* ('Documentation') was behind the arrest warrant against former Foreign Minister Tzipi Livni in Britain. They claim this initiative was carried out in the framework of a campaign aimed at prosecuting Israeli 'war criminals' in Europe on behalf of Operation Cast Lead's victims. The report concludes that the "broad scope of the committee's activities clearly indicates the magnitude of the resources the de facto Hamas administration has

Chapter 4:
The Explosive Feedback Loop between
the 'Logic of Implosion' and Delegitimization in the Palestinian
Arena

Mid-Term Report: Israel is Paying a Tangible Strategic Price

106. **An interim assessment of the compounded effect of the Delegitimization Network and the Resistance Network points to the tangible strategic price Israel is paying in critical arenas:**

   ■ **Security: Crippling Israel's unilateral option by limiting military use-of-force** – Israel's unilateral withdrawals from Lebanon (5/00)[78] and Gaza (8/05)[79] reflected a logic that, in the absence of a partner for a political process, Israel could unilaterally withdraw to a recognized international boundary, and thus secure international legitimacy for harsh military responses in case of future provocations across the border. The combination of military force and international legitimacy were expected to create effective deterrence.

   In hindsight, this logic proved only partially correct: Israel initially earned plaudits around the world, primarily from the political leadership of many countries. However, with the perpetuation of military confrontation in both Lebanon and Gaza – a predictable consequence of the Resistance Network's logic – this support eroded and criticism of Israel gathered steam, especially on the grassroots level in Europe. Following Operation Cast Lead, it was expressed in the Goldstone report and in legal proceedings against IDF officers and Israeli politicians;

   ■ **Interior: Breach of Israeli sovereign discretion and internationalization of the issue of Israel's Arab citizens** – Recent years have seen relations between Israel's Arab citizens and the State of Israel undergo a process of internationalization: Israel's policies, law enforcement, and budget allocation in this area are reviewed by other countries and by international organizations;[80]

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invested in its efforts to slander Israel after Operation Cast Lead and exploit the findings of the Goldstone report."

[78] The blue line was drawn and approved by UN Resolution 425 following the IDF's withdrawal from south Lebanon (7/6/2000), on the basis of the 1923 international border between Israel and Lebanon. Israel and Lebanon agreed to recognize this border.

[79] Israel withdrew to the 1949 Armistice Line, which is not an internationally recognized border (Rhodes agreement / 1949 Armistice Line). However, Israel continues to control Gaza's air and water space.

[80] For an assessment of GOI policy, see: Orr Commission Report. For the full report (Hebrew) click here. See also Reut Institute analysis: Internationalization of the Issue of Israeli Arabs.

- **Judicial: Challenge to the legitimacy of Israel's legal system and utilization of universal jurisdiction laws against Israelis** – A prerequisite for applying universal jurisdiction against a particular country is the inability or will of that country's legal system to carry out justice against wrongdoers. Therefore, attacking Israel's legal system is a necessary condition for advancing the delegitimization agenda. The Goldstone report's allusion to the Israeli justice system's alleged bias and partial enforcement represents a significant milestone in this context;[81]

- **International image: Israel has been branded as a violent and aggressive state and is on the global diplomatic defensive** – In international public opinion, Israel is increasingly branded as a violent, aggressive, and occupying state that tramples on human and civil rights. This leads to a situation in which it can be easily equated with the apartheid regime and depicted as the moral equivalent of terror organizations. In addition, any Israeli use of force is automatically condemned and framed to reinforce Israel's image, while aggression against Israel is more likely to be regarded as legitimate and justified;

- **Economy: Boycotts, divestment, and sanctions** – Although the tangible economic implications of the BDS campaign have been limited, the thrust of its damage has been in branding Israel as a pariah state;

- **The Jewish world: An attack on the pro-Israel lobby and a social price for supporting Israel** – Over the past decade, the pro-Israel lobby and the Jewish community have been under attack, charged with controlling national agendas through financial contributions or dual loyalty, or even placing Israel's interests ahead of their own country's. Support for the war in Iraq and for sanctions and action against Iran have been used as examples to prove this point.[82]

  Furthermore, **many Jews report a rising personal and social price for expressing support of Israel**. This is particularly apparent in more liberal and progressive communities and in leading universities, and especially in the context of the way Israel has been branded.

107. **The Next Phase: Common goals, coordination, and cooperation between the Resistance Network and the Delegitimization Network** – The ripening of the Resistance Network's Strategy of Implosion and the coalescence of the Delegitimization Network in the West occurred separately and resulted from different circumstances and contexts. However, there are signs that these two networks are beginning to explore each other and intensify links, as manifest in, for example:

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[81] See Goldstone report, p 503-505, Article 1611-1616; Also Ministry of Foreign Affairs response to the report 09/24/09.

[82] One example of this appears in the book by John Mearsheimer and Stephen Walt, **The Israel Lobby and U.S Foreign Policy**, (Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2007).

- **A growing understanding regarding the impact of Resistance Network activities on European public opinion.** This is evidenced in the continuously improving utilization of Middle East-based media and social networks to feed and fuel delegitimization efforts;[83]

- **Mechanisms of cooperation, planning, and coordination**. A key example is in the 'International Campaign against U.S. and Zionist Occupation,' also known as the Cairo Conference, which is an annual event that has taken place in Cairo and Beirut since 2002. The event gathers elements of the European radical left especially from the UK,[84] as well as radical Islamist activists from movements including Hamas, Hezbollah, and Islamic Jihad.

  Hamas' cooperation with allies in Europe during Operation Cast Lead to prepare for the legal and political campaign launched following the operation presents another potent example;

- **Intellectual impact, primarily by the European left on Palestinians, towards adopting the One-State Solution and promoting the voluntary dissolution of the PA** – This Western pro-Palestinian narrative is slowly penetrating into the centrist secular-nationalist camp of Palestinian politics. The narrative encourages the discourse of the voluntary dissolution of the PA and the abandonment of the Two-State Solution in favor of a formal Palestinian inversion upholding a one-person-one-vote principle.[85]

Catch-22 in the Palestinian Arena: Should Israel Stay or Leave?

108. **Israel's conundrum: Balancing the foundational values of Zionism**

- **Israel's security logic: To stay** – This logic is rooted in the concern that any territory Israel withdraws from will be used as a platform for hostile military activities against it. This threat will increase if the Palestinian state controls its own airspace and borders. According to this logic, Israel must retain control in the West Bank, and potentially renew its control over Gaza.

  The problem: This logic serves the Resistance Network's Implosion Strategy, which seeks to increase Israel's overstretch by perpetuating its control of the West Bank and drawing it back into Gaza;

- **Israel's political logic**: **To leave** – This logic is rooted in the concern that if Israel fails to end its responsibility for the Palestinian population in the West Bank or reoccupies Gaza, demographic trends will erode Israel's fundamental legitimacy, and ultimately render it a pariah state. According to this logic, Israel must urgently end its control in the West Bank.

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[83]   See Ramo, Chapter 8.

[84]   Participating organizations include: Respect, Socialist Workers Party, Stop the War Coalition, and British trade unionists.

[85]   See the Reut Institute analyses: The Trend of Palestinian and Arab Inversion toward the Two-State Solution, Failure of The Political Process: The Danger of The Dissolution of the PA, Is the PA about To Be Dismantled?, and Dissolution of the PA: An Emerging Trend.

> **The problem: This logic creates a new platform for attacks against Israel utilizing tenets of asymmetrical warfare,** and enables bases of terror to be built along its borders.

109. **Israel has swung between these military and security logics –** Over the past 15 years, every attempt by Israel to contend with one of these threats has intensified the other, and vice versa.[86]

The Palestinian Issue is a Pretext. The Next Issue: Israel's Arab citizens

110. **The Resistance Network and the Delegitimization Network use the Palestinian issue as a pretext –** Their actions are not motivated by a desire to end Israeli control over the Palestinian population, but to advance Israel's elimination.[87]

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111. **Therefore, the establishment of a Palestinian state and even a formal end to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict will not end delegitimization.** Even if, despite the best efforts of the Resistance Network, such an historic event occurs, the same forces will coalesce around new issues that will serve as their galvanizing focus.

Reut expects the status of Israel's Arab citizens will serve as the next outstanding issue. Additional issues could be the status of holy sites in Israel or land rights and use in Israel.

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112. **In fact, the Resistance Network has already (unsuccessfully) attempted to harness Israel's Arab citizens –** The Resistance Network accords Israel's Arab citizens a central role in undermining the foundations of the 'Zionist entity' from within. As of now, these attempts have achieved marginal success.[88]

113. **However, there are elements among Israel's Arab citizens that serve the Resistance Network's ideology:** The Northern faction of the Islamist movement and its leader Ra'ad Salah reject Israel's rights to exist and boycott national elections to the *Knesset*; the Future Vision Document challenges the Jewish nature

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[86] For example: Following the Oslo process, which was designed to end Israeli control over the Palestinians, the Palestinian Intifada led Israel to recapture the West Bank in Operation Defensive Shield; the political nadir Israel found itself entrapped in thereafter was among the major factors leading to the Gaza Disengagement. Following the Disengagement, weapons smuggling and the firing of rockets and mortars towards Israel precipitated Operation Cast Lead, which in turn led to the strengthening of delegitimization efforts. This could lead to further action in the West Bank based on the logic of ending Israeli control over Palestinian populations.

[87] Shalom Lappin, Therapist to the Jews: Psychologizing the 'Jewish Question,' **Normblog** and Howard Jacobson, Let's see criticism of Israel for what it really is, **The Independent**.

[88] Hezbollah, Hamas, and the Islamic Jihad fanned the flames of last year's conflict in Acre, which occurred on Yom Kippur when they called for Acre's Arabs to continue fighting against the 'Zionists.' See: **Haaretz.** There are also reported attempts to mobilize agents with the Arab Israeli population. See: Aharon Newmark, **Omedia**, 05/27/08 (Hebrew).

of the State of Israel; and an increasing number of voices have been heard calling for a One-State Solution.[89]

Summary: Explosive Combination –
Implosion Strategy and Delegitimization Network

114. **The challenge facing Israel results from the parallel coalescence of two processes:**

    - **The consolidation of the Resistance Network's Strategy of Implosion, which was designed to lead to Israel's collapse based on:** (1) Israel's overstretch, advanced by undermining the Two-State Solution and increasing the burden of 'occupation'; (2) Israel's delegitimization; and (3) an asymmetrical warfare doctrine for the military arena and against the civilian population;

    - **The consolidation of the Delegitimization Network, with the purpose of politically eliminating Israel by turning it into a pariah state.** Currently, the main anchor of this process is framing Israel as an apartheid regime based on its control of Palestinian populations and the so-called 'Gaza blockade.'

115. **These two dynamics combine to create a predicament for Israel in the Palestinian arena: While the Resistance Network sabotages every move aimed at separating Israel from the Palestinians on the basis of a Two-State Solution; the Delegitimization Network demonizes Israel while calling for a One-State Solution.**

116. **A feedback loop working against Israel is thus created:**

    - **The Resistance Network's successes in undermining the Two-State Solution, and the consequent continuation of Israeli control over the Palestinian population, provides delegitimization processes sustenance, strengthens the effectiveness of asymmetrical campaigns against Israel, and advances the alternative paradigm of the One-State Solution;**

    - **The stronger the delegitimization against Israel and the legitimacy of the One-State Solution grow, the less the Palestinian and Arab side are willing to engage in the Two-State Solution; and so forth.**

117. **This feedback loop poses a threat to Israel's political and economic model. This attack has already gained strategic significance and may evolve into an existential threat in the coming years.**

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[89] See Reut Institute analysis: The Trend of Palestinian and Arab Inversion towards the Two-State Solution. Approximately two years ago, the Adalah organization published a proposal for a new constitution calling for a transnational regime to control historic Palestine, and to entitle Palestinian refugees to fulfill a right of return. See Reut analysis: Between Adalah's 'New Constitution' and Annapolis.

118. **A harbinger of such a dynamic would be the collapse of the Two-State Solution as a consensual framework for resolving the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, and the coalescence behind a One-State Solution as a new framework.**

Chapter 5:
Relevancy Gap of Israel's Security and Foreign Policy Doctrine

Summary: Assumptions Underlying Israel's Current Doctrine

119. **Several assumptions underlie Israel's security and foreign policy doctrine:**

- **The primary threat to Israel's existence is military. The IDF and the defense establishment are responsible for meeting this challenge. Victory will be achieved on the battlefield –** Israel's security doctrine reflects a mindset in which the primary existential threat posed to Israel is physical and military. Therefore, the IDF and the security establishment carry the burden of Israel's security, since national victory will be determined in the military arena, usually in a clash between armed forces;

- **Israel's military and technological superiority is the country's bullet-proof vest** – The doctrine emphasizes developing Israel's military superiority and technological edge to enable Israel's preemption of any coalition of Arab armies, or victory in the case of military confrontation. Therefore, this doctrine also mandates the massive allocation of resources to defense;

- **The diplomatic arena is secondary in importance –** The struggle for Israel's fundamental legitimacy succeeded in 1947-49 with UN General Assembly Resolution 181 and the world's leading nations' recognition of Israel upon its establishment in 1948. Furthermore, Israel's key strategic ally is the world's leading superpower, the U.S., so there is no need to heavily invest in an effective foreign affairs establishment. This mindset manifests in all dimensions of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' activities, including recruitment and training, financial compensation to diplomats, and the overall scope of resources;

- **Seen it; been there; done that (there is nothing new under the sun) –** Political, ideological, philosophical, and moral challenges to Zionism have persisted since its inception. The State of Israel has also faced attempts to undermine its legitimacy, exemplified by the UN General Assembly resolution equating Zionism with racism (1975), which then-Prime Minister Yitzchak Rabin characterized as an "assault on Israel's right to exist";[90]

- **The political leadership of the Western world supports Israel; we fall on the same side of many issues –** Israel's relations with the leading countries of the world – whether the G8 or the G20, as well as others – are strong and resilient, as manifested in the vast array of areas of cooperation. This despite differences of opinion regarding specific Israeli policies. Furthermore, Israel and the leading countries of the world share concerns regarding terrorism, radical Islam, and nuclear Iran;

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[90]   See: Ministry of Foreign Affairs site; Also **Haaretz**, 10/11/09, (Hebrew).

- **Delegitimizers are a small and marginal force in Western societies –** They often belong to the fringes and do not represent a significant force in any major country today;

- **Successes in delegitimizing Israel are due to poor Israeli *hasbara* compared to exceptional Palestinian efforts in this arena –** Challenges in the political arena are perceived as 'technical' in nature and circumscribed within the world of *hasbara*. According to this logic, a fleet of articulate spokespeople, clear messages, and disciplined communication would constitute a sufficient response.[91] Following the Goldstone report, for example, a number of Israeli ministers were sent on rapid-response missions to provide *hasbara* for Israel's stance and policy;

- **It is about policy, and not about *hasbara*; resolution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict would make the delegitimization issue disappear –** Israel's delegitimization feeds off the State of Israel's 'occupation' of the West Bank and, to a lesser degree, the 'Gaza blockade.' Therefore, achieving a Permanent Status Agreement between Israel and the Palestinians would neutralize the delegitimization campaign against Israel;

- **The status of Israel's Arab citizens is a domestic matter** – The state of their equality and integration is an internal matter subject to the jurisdiction or Israeli government, courts, and local authorities;

- **The Jewish world is mobilized to be Israel's partner in this struggle** – Israel can rely on Jewish communities abroad to enlist in supporting Israel against local forces advancing its delegitimization.

120. **In practice, emergent trends are challenging these fundamental assumptions**:

- **A primary assault on Israel's existence today is directed at its political and economic model; it may become existential –** The Resistance Network's organizing logic is political and diplomatic, and it aims to precipitate Israel's implosion from within. It is inspired by the models of the USSR and apartheid South Africa, which collapsed in an astonishing dynamic that combined internal political and societal developments, international diplomatic and economic pressures, and global delegitimization campaigns.[92] More countries have 'disappeared' due to the collapse of their political-economic model than due to conquest or military defeat;

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[91] See Three New Government Ministries Created, **Jerusalem Post**; Also Gil Hoffman, **Jerusalem Post** 02/17/10.

[92] See excerpt from speech delivered by Iranian President Ahmadinejad: "Israel is on a path of collapse. The Soviet Union disappeared, and this will also be the fate of the Zionist regime." (David Cohen, **YNET**, 12/12/06) (Hebrew); or see Nasrallah's 'spider web theory,' which focuses on Israel imploding as a result of internal political realities (5/26/2000) (Zvi Barel, **Haaretz,** 07/17/06) (Hebrew).

- **The Resistance Network's logic bypasses Israel's military superiority and targets Israel's legitimacy** – The Resistance Network recognizes Israel's military superiority and thus avoids direct military confrontation to the greatest extent possible.[93] Hence, while Israel primarily focuses on achieving military victories, it neglects other critical arenas of its national victory such as the home front (in which a dramatic change is in process), diplomacy and the media;

- **Israel may be militarily and technologically superior, but suffers from conceptual inferiority** – As previously defined, conceptual inferiority refers to the effectiveness and relevance of one side's logic relative to that of the other side. The Resistance Network's logic and operational patterns have proven effective and relevant in repeatedly frustrating Israel's political and military attempts to secure itself as a Jewish and democratic state;

- **We have not seen this before: a new dynamic creates a new type of threat** – The Resistance Network's Logic of Implosion, in concert with the Delegitimization Network's progress toward turning Israel into a pariah state, have precipitated the recent deterioration in Israel's international standing. For the time being, the Israeli establishment is not producing an effective response to the challenges associated with this threat. It is therefore highly likely that Israel will continue to suffer military and political setbacks;

- **In the eyes of civil society: From *Kibbutz* (symbol of model society) to *Kibbush* (occupation)** – Israel still maintains very good relations with political elites. However, in civil society – particularly within academia; among many NGOs; and in liberal circles; especially in Europe – it has come to represent violence, aggression, disregard for human rights, etc.;

- **Delegitimizers punch above their weight by effectively blurring the lines between their efforts and those of critics of Israeli policy** – Despite their small numbers and marginal political power in Western societies, the Delegitimization Network has successfully advanced its agenda by reaching out to, and working with, critics of Israeli policy that are *not* delegitimizers, even if their criticism is unfounded and biased. They are even willing to embrace Israelis and self-proclaimed Zionists;

- **Delegitimization is an ideology and not just a problem of *hasbara*** – The Resistance Network and the Delegitimization Network challenge Israel's very existence on ideological, national, religious, philosophical, or moral grounds. Therefore, while efficient and effective *hasbara* may be very important, it provides an insufficient response to delegitimization;

- **Similarly, ending the Israeli-Palestinian conflict will not end Israel's delegitimization** – A variety of radical left wing and Islamic fundamentalist organizations and individuals that reject Israel's existence drive its

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[93]   See: Melman, **Haaretz**, 08/29/06.

delegitimization in the West. Therefore, even if an Israeli-Palestinian agreement is reached, these elements will persist in their efforts to destroy the legitimacy of the State of Israel and will simply refocus their efforts on a new issue;

■ **The status of Israel's Arab citizens is repeatedly leveraged in order to advance the agenda of Israel's delegitimization, and may gain prominence.** It is likely to become the next item on the top of the agenda of Israel's delegitimizers, particularly if an Israeli-Palestinian peace agreement is reached;

■ **The Jewish world is growing more distant from Israel –** Not only is criticism of Israel more prevalent within the Jewish world than in the past, but a growing number of Jews do not have enough historical knowledge to articulate the justification for Israel's existence, not to mention the choices it faces or the logic of the decisions it makes.[94]

Table Summary: Gaps between Doctrine and Reality

	The Doctrine	**The Reality**	**Policy Directions**
What is the strategic threat?	Israel's sole existential threat is military. The security establishment will provide the response. Israel's victory will be determined on the battlefield.	There is a new strategic threat in the political-diplomatic arena, fundamental delegitimization, which may turn existential within a few years. An overhauled foreign affairs establishment must deal with this threat. Israel's successes will be determined in multiple interconnected arenas.	To place delegitimization as a national security priority. To develop a 'Synchronized Victories' doctrine providing a systemic Israeli response in all relevant arenas.
What provides for Israel strategic superiority?	Economic, military, and technological superiority, as well as Israel's close strategic alliance with the U.S., create Israel's strategic	The Resistance Network does not have the capacity to conquer Israel militarily. The Delegitimization Network has no desire to	To carry out a comprehensive reassessment of Israel's security and foreign affairs doctrine with the aim of achieving

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94   See for example a speech by John Ruskay, Executive Vice President and CEO of UJA Federation of NYC: Living Lives of Sacred Responsibility, JTA 12/8/09: "…too few of our people … are able to effectively respond to Palestinian claims or to campaigns which seek to de-legitimize the moral basis for Israel … an important component of effective Israel education provides settings to work through difficult historical and moral issues, which both deepens knowledge and solidifies personal commitment to and engagement with Israel… we will embark on a major effort to enable young and old to legitimate Israel…".

	The Doctrine	The Reality	Policy Directions
	superiority.	do so. Their assault focuses on Israel's political and economic model through asymmetrical warfare, overstretching Israel, and delegitimization. Israel has no coherent conceptual response to this combined challenge and suffers from conceptual inferiority.	'Synchronized Victories.'
What's new in the threat against Israel?	Not much: Low-intensity asymmetrical warfare has long-been waged against Israel; Arab states have traditionally rejected Israel's right to exist; and principled opposition to Zionism has persistently existed within Europe.	The connection and compounding effect between the Resistance Network, undermining the Two-State Solution, and the Delegitimization Network, promoting the One-State Solution and working to turn Israel into a pariah state, is creating a new reality.	Ditto.
Do we really have a problem?	Not really. Israel has excellent relations with the political leaderships of the leading countries of the world and falls on the same side of issues such as the fight against terrorism and the concern with the rise of radical Islam (even if there are disagreements on issues such as the settlements).	Israel faces a serious challenge in civil society and among some liberal European elites. The compounded effect of the Delegitimization Network and the Resistance Network already exacts a strategic price from Israel.	As above.
Who is on the other side?	Countries. Israel's foreign affairs establishment is organized to work with and vis-à-vis countries and regions (Europe, Latin America, etc.).	A network of organizations and individuals based in civil society.	It takes a network to fight a network.
How powerful	Not very strong. They are often fringe forces of	Delegitimizers punch above their weight by	Weaken delegitimizers by exposing their true

	The Doctrine	**The Reality**	**Policy Directions**
are delegitimizers?	anarchists, radicals, Muslim immigrant elements, etc., that do not have any real political power.	branding themselves as 'moral' and 'cool' and by harnessing critics of Israeli policies in broad coalitions with significant impact in civil society.	face; isolate delegitimizers by engaging with critics of Israeli policy.
The relation between the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and de-legitimization	Two common views: Resolving the Israeli-Palestinian conflict will neutralize the delegitimization issue (traditional 'left-wing' view); or, "They are all anti-Israel" and will continue to delegitimize Israel even if the conflict is resolved (common 'right-wing' view).	Both views are both relevant and irrelevant: Ending 'occupation' and resolving the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is very important to combating delegitimization; yet Israel's delegitimization is fundamentally ideological, and stems from a core rejection of Zionism's and Israel's political model. Therefore, it is likely to continue even following a resolution of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.	Israel must demonstrate a credible commitment to ending control of the Palestinian population.[95]
Israel's Arab Citizens	The status of Israel's Arab citizens is a domestic issue.	Israel's Arab citizens serve a central role in the matrix of the Resistance Network and the Delegitimization Network. Their issues with the Government of Israel feed the agenda of Israel's delegitimization, and their status in Israel is likely to become a future anchor of the delegitimization	Place the status of Israel's Arab citizens as a high priority, seeking equality and partnership.[96] Special attention must be given to resolving issues regarding the Bedouin community.

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[95] This topic falls beyond the scope of this document. For Reut's view on the design of the Israeli-Palestinian political process in order to defend the principle of separation between Israel and the Palestinians see: Reassessment of the Israeli-Palestinian Political Process: Build a Palestinian State in the West Bank.

[96] This topic falls beyond the scope of this document. For Reut's view, see: Integrating Israel's Arab citizens into the ISRAEL 15 Vision.

	The Doctrine	**The Reality**	**Policy Directions**
		campaign against Israel.	
Where is Israel falling short?	*Hasbara* or policy: Israel does not tell its 'true story' well enough or effectively present its side of the issue. Therefore, a greater number of more articulate speakers would do the job; or "It is about what Israel does, not about what it says," i.e. ending control over Palestinians would neutralize the delegitimization threat.	Whereas, both *hasbara* and Israel's policy are critically important to addressing delegitimization, Israel's delegitimization is fundamentally ideological, and stems from a core rejection of Zionism's and Israel's political model. Therefore this challenge is beyond either PR or policy and requires a systemic approach.	To address the organizational level of delegitimization by focusing on its hubs and catalysts. To overhaul the foreign affairs establishment in order to provide it the capacity to wage a global networked campaign.
The Jewish World and Israeli Diaspora	The support of the Jewish world and Israeli Diaspora is ensured.	The Jewish world is growing increasingly distant from Israel. Furthermore, not only are many Jews and Israelis not mobilized for the struggle against delegitimization, but many do not possess the basic knowledge required for this struggle.	To mobilize Jews and Israelis (in Israel and abroad) within a network that responds to delegitimization.

Foreign Affairs Establishment Not Designed to Address Delegitimization

121. **Israel's foreign affairs establishment is not equipped to meet the delegitimization challenge –** Israel's Ministry of Foreign Affairs was designed in the 1950s to address Israel's foreign affairs in a bipolar Cold War world and in accordance with its secondary importance in the national security apparatus. Decades of neglect in resources, organization, and attention have kept Israel's political and diplomatic arm weak and therefore ill-structured to address the global challenge of delegitimization for the following reasons: [97]

   ■ **No security and foreign affairs doctrine guides foreign policy** and relations and informs objectives, policy, and resource allocation;

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[97]   See Reut document: <u>Memo to Winograd: Overhaul Foreign Policy in National Security Strategy</u>.

- **No clear responsibility for central foreign policy issues, and therefore no policy on critical matters** such as relations with the Jewish world; bilateral relationships with the world's most important countries such as the U.S., Russia, India, China, or the European Union; or *hasbara* and media strategies. In practice, Israel's foreign 'policy' is the outcome of a patchwork of actions taken by multiple government agencies, operating in parallel and often without coordination or information-sharing;[98]

- **No coordinated action in any given country; the ambassador is not the de-facto boss of the embassy** – Relevant government offices do not consider the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as a leader of foreign policy. Representatives of various government ministries report to headquarters and *not* always to the ambassador, nor are they obligated to report their activities to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs;

- **Politicization and unionization** – Unlike institutions within the defense establishment, the professionalism and standing of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is compromised by political appointments at its highest levels, as well as by the existence and activities of a union;

- **The Ministry of Foreign Affairs is not organized to deal with a global civil society challenge** – The Ministry of Foreign Affairs is structured according to a geographic logic focusing on regions and countries. It does not have the organization, modes-of-operation, or resources to wage a global campaign. Furthermore, its ethos and personnel are not adapted to dealing effectively with the challenge of a global non-governmental campaign;[99]

- **Budgets and resources are meager and stagnant** – The Ministry of Foreign Affairs' budget stands at approximately one billion NIS (less than $270,000), with the vast majority designated for non-flexible expenditures such as salaries and real estate. Resources for activities and projects are meager.[100] For example, while the Ministry of Foreign Affairs employs in the order of 1,000 personnel, only approximately 220 are posted as professional diplomats among approximately 100 embassies and missions abroad at any given time.

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[98] For example, the security establishment's intelligence bodies analyze information with high political value that is not distributed to relevant agencies in foreign service.

[99] Past years have seen a significant body of work on New Public Diplomacy (NPD), which focuses on concepts such as 'branding', 'smart power' or 'soft power', and expands the scope of 'diplomacy' beyond relations with formal entities of government to non-governmental organizations, municipalities and local governments, influential individuals in business, academia, and even celebrities. See: **Public Diplomacy in Israel**, Joint Project of the S. Neaman Institute, Technion and the Ministr*y* of Foreign Affairs*,* Israel, 2009, pgs. 24-37 (written by Dov Shinar).

[100] For example, the budget allocation to advancing Israel's athletic activities globally, advanced by the cultural department, stands at approximately 10,000 NIS (less than $2,700), and the budget for *hasbara* stands at 40 million NIS (less than $11 million).

For example, three diplomats alone represent Israel in Australia, New Zealand, and the Pacific. There are less than ten international law experts employed by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and until recently, not one of them was a permanent member of Israel's UN mission;

- **Low salaries and compensation, especially for diplomats based in Israel** – Israeli diplomats earn low salaries relative to other defense establishments, and earn significantly less while in Israel than when posted abroad. For example, veteran diplomats with families may earn less than a junior IDF combat officer. This significantly impacts the access of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to talent and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' ability to play a dominant role in Israel's national security establishment;

- **The Ministry of Foreign Affairs has unique assets that are not leveraged against delegitimization. It is reactive and defensive** – The unique value of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs stems from the issues it covers; the unique abilities, experience, connections, and training of its cadre; and the spread of its embassies worldwide. Yet the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has no clear mode-of-operation that leverages its unique assets in contending with fundamental delegitimization.

Chapter 6: Policy Directions:
From Defense to Relationship-Based, Network-Based Offense

Policy and *Hasbara* are Important, but Insufficient

122. As mentioned, credible and persistent commitment to peace and ending the control over the Palestinian population, as well as to equality and integration of the Arabs citizens of Israel within Israeli society, are crucially important for the battle against delegitimization. However, as delegitimizers ideologically reject Israel's existence and the right of the Jewish people to self-determination, their struggle will continue even if, for example, a comprehensive Permanent Status Agreement is concluded that ushers in 'end of conflict' or 'finality of claims'.

The 'Synchronized Victories' Concept

123. **Israel's security doctrine must seek to achieve 'Synchronized Victories' in several arenas simultaneously in any future conflict.** Israel's security doctrine, which emphasizes military superiority to secure decisive battlefield victory, would have to become more sophisticated and synchronize successes in the political-diplomatic, home-front, and media arenas. Because these arenas are systemically interconnected, they should be regarded as an integrated whole. **This is the 'Synchronized Victories' concept. Developing the substance of this doctrine is beyond the scope of this paper**.

Principles of Response: From Defense to Offense

124. **Delegitimization cannot be eliminated, but it can be contained and marginalized,** if the following principles are employed:

- **The threat of fundamental delegitimization is potentially existential and must be regarded as such:** This requires information gathering, knowledge development, dedicated organizations, strategic planning, effective implementation, and adequate oversight by Cabinet, Government and Knesset bodies;

- **It takes a network to fight a network**[101] **–** Combating the Delegitimization Network requires a network-based logic that focuses on its hubs and catalysts, while developing the catalysts and hubs of the pro-Israel network**;**

- **Engaging in relationship-based diplomacy with elites and influentials in hubs** – The most effective barrier against the spread of delegitimization among the elites is personal relationships. Therefore, Israel must cultivate a network of thousands of such relationships with influentials and elites in

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[101] This is a well-known principle in the world of networks. See: Dr. Boaz Ganor, **It Takes a Network to Beat a Network;** John Arquilla, **It Takes a Network**; or Dr. Pete Rustan, **Building an Integral Intelligence Network.**

political, business, cultural, media, and security realms in every delegitimization hub;

■ **Branding: Re-branding Israel and branding the other side –** Israel's delegitimizers have been quite successful in branding it. Hence, Israel's re-branding should be a priority for Israel's response,[102] as is mounting a counter-offensive aimed at branding the other side for their true values;[103]

■ **Establishing a 'price-tag'** for attacking Israel by 'naming and shaming' delegitimizers;

■ **Let the local pro-Israel community guide** – While all delegitimization hubs share common characteristics, each is distinct. Therefore, in most cases, the local pro-Israel community would be better positioned to lead the struggle against the delegitimizers with greater sensitivity to local nuances and context than the Israeli delegation;

■ **Re-structuring the foreign affairs establishment** in terms of modes-of-operation, resource allocation, human resource management, etc. to meet the global delegitimization challenge.

The Threat: Strategic, and Potentially Existential

125. **As stated, Reut contends that Israel's delegitimization poses a strategic threat that may ultimately develop into an existential one. It is imperative to treat this threat accordingly by:**

■ **Collecting information, analyzing it, and turning it into knowledge –** Delegitimization should rank among the collection and analysis priorities of the intelligence community. There needs to be more and better information identifying delegitimizers, catalysts, and their modes-of-operation. **Much of this information can and should be made public**;

■ **Including delegitimization as a distinct topic in the annual National Security Assessment** presented to the government;

■ **Designating a specific existing or new unit to integrate the systemic response to delegitimization** among all relevant bodies, including the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the National Security Council, intelligence agencies, and other relevant ministries;

■ **Developing a 'mode-of-operation'** to preempt and respond to delegitimization, focusing on the catalysts and the hubs of the Delegitimization Network.

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[102] Reut thanks the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' Head of Israel's Brand Management Team Ido Aharoni for this insight regarding branding Israel.

[103] Reut thanks Senior Advisor to the Prime Minister for Policy Planning Ron Dermer, who expanded on this theme in his address to the 2010 Jerusalem Conference.

It Takes a Network to Fight a Network; Relationship-Based Diplomacy

126. **Network logic: Focus on hubs and catalysts** – Embracing network logic means focusing on delegitimization hubs, and working to undermine catalysts within them by leveraging pro-Israel hubs and mobilizing catalysts dedicated to Israel's legitimacy.

127. **The most effective barrier to Israel's delegitimization is personal relationships** that generate an ability to relate to Israel. Many case studies in which delegitimization attempts failed show that the key to success was the activation of already existing personal connections with key individuals in positions of authority, leadership, or influence. **Hence, cultivating relationships with elites is critically important for the battle against delegitimization.**

128. **Each hub contains a grossly estimated 4,000 individuals that comprise the elite**, including politicians, academics, artists, media figures, celebrities, etc. This group must be qualitatively engaged by Israel or the pro-Israel community.[104]

129. **Fighting the delegitimizers' network:**

   ■ **Focusing attention and resources on hubs –** As previously described, the power of a network is concentrated in its hubs. Therefore, Israel must identify delegitimization hubs, usually metropolitan areas hosting strong anti-Israel sentiments and containing a concentration of international NGOs, media, corporations, and academia. Within these hubs – such as London, the San Francisco Bay Area, Madrid, Paris, Toronto, and Brussels – Israel must significantly increase its diplomatic and public diplomacy activities.[105] **Contending with each hub requires a tailor-made approach based on unique constellations of hundreds of relationships with local elites in political, business, media, and security spheres;**

   ■ **Containing and undermining catalysts –** The catalysts of the Delegitimization Network must be identified, studied, and, to the extent possible, undermined by legal, media, political, and diplomatic means;

   ■ **Engaging critics to isolate them from delegitimizers –** As mentioned, a key to the Delegitimization Network's effectiveness is its willingness to cooperate with critics of Israeli policies, including self-proclaimed Zionists. In contrast, Israel frequently turns a cold shoulder to its critics who are *not* delegitimizers, in practice pushing them into the outstretched arms of the Delegitimization Network. In order to drive a wedge between Israel's critics and delegitimizers, Israel should engage with the former while confronting the latter.

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[104]   The number 4,000 is a rough estimate made by one of the diplomats with whom we spoke.

[105]   Barabasi & Eric, "Scale Free Networks", **Scientific American**, May 2003.

130. **Cultivating Israel's own global network** to respond to the delegitimization challenge by identifying its own hubs and empowering its catalysts with the resources necessary for their activities, such as:

- **Strengthening Israeli diplomats and embassies in hubs** – An embassy in a hub such as London should have at least ten diplomats exclusively contending with the delegitimization challenge, supported by a dedicated intelligence operation, and allotted budgets for related activities.[106] Additionally, each embassy and every diplomat should be evaluated on the basis of abilities to cultivate relationships with political, business, media, and security-related elites;

- **Mobilizing and training civil society partners** – The majority of Israel's interface with the world occurs within civil society, rather than through the formal channels of the foreign affairs establishment. A significant number of Israeli organizations are in regular contact with international counterparts, for example students and faculty in academia, NGOs, and the private sector. Israel should harness, train, and prepare them in advance of their international interface. In addition, existing organizations of Israelis and Jews can also contribute to the fight against delegitimization;[107]

- **Activating 'catalysts'** who gather, analyze, and distribute information; organize events; mobilize others; and respond to the other side's activities;

- **Empowering friendly NGOs to engage the NGO world** – As previously described, a global network of non-governmental organizations drives Israel's delegitimization:

    - **NGOs promoting delegitimization[108] should be considered catalysts of the Delegitimization Network.** In this context, Israeli NGOs can be empowered to work with local NGOs in isolating such catalysts.[109]

    - **NGOs critical of Israeli policy should be continuously, professionally, personally, and substantively engaged**, even if their criticism is harsh, biased, unfair, fails to voice Israel's concerns, and

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[106] This number is based on estimation that a hard-working diplomat conducts four out-of-office meetings per day, and that four meetings a year is the minimum required to sustaining a substantial relationship. Hence, each such diplomat can sustain roughly 350-400 relationships.

[107] On harnessing Diaspora populations for diplomatic proposes, see the concept of Diaspora Politics in Gilboa, 72-73; for examples of maintaining strong relations with Diasporas in Europe, Asia, and Latin America, see: **Haaretz** article (1/11/09) by Nir Cohen and Israel Popko, co-managers of 'Mishelanu' Organization for Israelis abroad.

[108] This refers to NGOs that tacitly or explicitly reject Israel's right to exist, blatantly employ double-standards, or engage in demonization of Israel.

[109] As an example, the Red-Green Alliance in London has been perceived as a problem within the UK as a result of the growing influence of radical forces on local politics. In recent years there has been considerable opposition within the British public against this alliance, and there are several British bodies that can be regarded as potential future partners in the campaign against extremists.

serves the delegitimization campaign. For the most part, the relationships currently maintained by critical NGOs based in Israel are with Israeli NGOs, mostly from the far left of the political spectrum. The State of Israel, through its Ministry of Foreign Affairs, can empower mainstream NGOs – with information, access, and budgets – to take on the role of engaging critical NGOs.

■ **Rebuilding the International Department of the *Histadrut* (Israel's national labor union)[110] -** The international relations of the *Histadrut* have gone from center stage to backstage. Until the 1980s, the *Histadrut*, through its International Department, maintained many working relationships with trade unions around the world. In the past 20 years, this department has dwindled to comprise only three employees[111] responsible for all international activity conducted by the *Histadrut* and its affiliated organizations.[112]

In recent years, **trade unions have become a primary arena for the Delegitimization Network's operations**, which Israel practically abandoned.

The *Histadrut* is ideally positioned to take central stage in representing Israel in the organized labor community with its 12 percent Arab membership and long-standing relationship with the Palestinian labor union (PGFTU). **Hence, strengthening and expanding the resources allocated to the International Department of the *Histadrut* is integral to the fight against delegitimization in labor and trade unions;**

■ **Deepening Jewish communities' commitment** – Israel must strengthen the connection and commitment of Diaspora Jewish communities to Israel by working with local Jewish leadership on information and education programs.[113] In many places, Jews are finding it more difficult to support Israel due to its policies and heightened allegations of 'dual loyalty.' Additionally, in many communities even those instinctively supportive lack the knowledge with which to effectively advocate for Israel;

■ **Organizing regular meetings of pro-Israel networks in hubs** in order to exchange information, coordinate, brand, create a sense of urgency, etc.

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[110] *Histadrut* is a short name for *HaHistadrut HaKlalit shel HaOvdim B'Eretz Yisrael*, General Federation of Laborers in the Land of Israel (click here, Hebrew only. No website in English!).

[111] This past year, the *Histadrut*'s International Department entered into a process of cooperation with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which began to develop direct relationships with a number of pro-Israel professional unions around the world. Still, in light of the importance of the trade and labor union arena, there remains much work to be done.

[112] Amir Peretz, former chair of the *Histadrut* (1995-2005), focused on domestic issues, and the international department was practically dissolved. This concept landed on fertile ground since Histadrut leaders did not have significant international experience, and some of them did not speak English.

[113] See also Reut Institute document: A New Covenant between Israel and the Jewish World: A Conceptual Framework

THE REUT INSTITUTE

The Clash of Brands

131. **Branding Israel as a violent, occupying country, which abuses human rights and violates international law, is a pillar of the delegitimization campaign.** This brand associates Israel with excessive and repetitive use of force, aggression, arrogance, and disruption of regional and world peace and security. Thus, Israel is rendered irrelevant regarding issues on the global agenda, such as the environment, the war on poverty, and climate change, to broad populations in leading countries who care about such issues.

   Such a brand eases Israel's delegitimization and labeling as a pariah and 'apartheid' state. **It impedes Israel's engagement with foreign audiences and makes it vulnerable to even the most wildly improbable allegations**.

132. **Hence, re-branding Israel is of critical importance to fighting delegitimization –** A strong Israel brand that is associated with 'positive' values, such as innovation, creativity, and contribution to humanity, will make delegitimization more difficult and create a more effective platform for traditional Israeli PR. In this context, the success of the Brand Israel project, which was launched in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has become a national project, is of paramount importance.[114]

133. **Branding the other side is also critically important** – Similarly, if the brand of the other side is weak and associated with 'bad values,' it diminishes the credibility of its efforts to delegitimize Israel and enhances the traction that Israel's narrative can gain.

134. **Branding is different from *Hasbara*:** While *hasbara* is a tool used to manage crises and communicate messages using campaign methodologies, branding is a strategic tool for long-term and 'personality'-based positioning. Furthermore, branding impacts, and sometimes even determines, the ability of *hasbara* to succeed: If Israel's brand remains unchanged, even the most talented spokespeople will have difficulty persuading.

135. ***Tikkun Olam*: Foreign assistance and humanitarian aid –** Significantly contributing to responses to challenges facing humanity is a common human duty and a Jewish value. In relation to the struggle against delegitimization and re-branding Israel, *Tikkun Olam* has great significance because it creates a dissonance with the demonized image of Israel that is advanced by the delegitimizers.

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[114] For example, a book that was edited on the request and encouragement of British philanthropist Trevor Pears presents Israeli contributions in the fields of science, medicine, technology, agriculture, and society. Hundreds of copies of the book were distributed by Israeli embassies and Jewish organizations worldwide. See: Helen Davis and Douglas Davis, **Israel in the World,** (Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 2005).

Establishing a 'Price Tag'

136. **Establishing a 'price tag' –** Today, attacking Israel is 'cheap' and convenient, but it can be turned into a more risky enterprise. Examples include journalist Ben-Dror Yemini's exposure of senior Human Rights Watch (HRW) official Joe Stork, who accused Israel of targeting civilians in Gaza, called for Israel's destruction, and expressed support for terror attacks. Meanwhile, NGO Monitor exposed activities of then-senior HRW expert Mark Garlasco, who compiled some of the organization's most damning reports against Israel, as a collector of Nazi memorabilia – a move that led to his dismissal.[115]

Let the Locals Guide

137. **Israel is blessed to have many organizations and individuals around the world that support it**. They are Jews and non-Jews, Israeli and non-Israelis, individuals and organization, and in many cases, even federations of organizations with abundant resources, people, and passion.

138. **Local units of the pro-Israel network are likely to have greater sensitivity to local contexts and nuances, enabling them to operate with greater effectiveness**. They are immersed in the local society and culture, and are likely to know the local elite in business, art and culture, politics, and academia better than the local Israeli delegation.

139. **Hence, the relationship between the Israeli diplomatic mission and the local leadership is potentially synergetic and critically important in successfully responding to the delegitimization challenge.** The specific nature of this collaboration should vary from place to place, but its main attributes are based on the unique value of each side, as follows:

   ■ The local Israeli diplomatic mission: Communicates the voice of Jerusalem to the local community and vice versa; serves as a formal front of Israel that draws 'fire'; and engages in the labor-intensive work of relationship-based diplomacy;

   ■ The local pro-Israel community: Provides people, funding, resources, and platforms for response; compounds Israeli relationship-building efforts; and reaches out to organizations and individuals that a formal Israeli mission cannot.

Re-organizing Israel's Foreign Affairs Establishment

140. As described above, **the challenge facing Israel's foreign affairs establishment by the delegitimization campaign is new in structure and scope. The Ministry**

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[115] See: Ben Dror Yemini NRG, 16/08/09 (Hebrew); Expert or Ideologues?: HRW's Defense of Marc Garlasco's Nazi Fetish, NGO-Monitor Website, 10/09/09.

of Foreign Affairs and other government agencies are not organized to effectively respond.

Reut recommends the following structural changes:

141. **Zero-based budgeting for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the foreign affairs establishment**[116] **–** The context of the foreign affairs establishment's work, and the challenge it faces, have changed dramatically over the past years, requiring a major overhaul. Every department and embassy must be comprehensively restructured to address the challenge of delegitimization. Allocated budgets should be revisited in their entirety, starting from a zero-base and without regard to whether the total budget is increasing or decreasing.

     Reut anticipates this process would result in a significant expansion of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the number of diplomats and the budgets at its disposal, as well as of other related units, such as the Foreign Trade Administration of the Ministry of Industry, Trade, and Labor.

142. **Resource allocation based on network logic, focusing on hubs –** Delegitimization predominantly emanates from a few global metropolitan areas **–** the hubs. Only intensive Israeli activity in them can successfully contend with this threat. This requires not only generously allocating resources and diplomats to these hubs, but also restructuring the embassies in each.

143. **Improving parliamentary oversight of foreign policy and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs –** Currently, the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee primarily deals with military and security issues. The scope of parliamentary oversight of foreign policy and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs does not reflect the growing importance of these issues.[117]

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[116]   On zero-based budgeting, See: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zero-based_budgeting.

[117]   Only one out of six subcommittees of the Foreign Affairs and Security Committee deals with foreign policy and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Appendix A:
Erosion of Israel's International Standing: A Sampling of Events

In recent years, Israel has faced a dramatic assault on its fundamental legitimacy, as representing the realization of the right of the Jewish people to self-determination. While the ideological framework for this delegitimization was solidified after the first Durban Conference in 2001, the trend has been boosted by the perceived lack of progress in the political process, coupled with the reactions to Operation Cast Lead in Gaza.[118]

As described in this document, delegitimizers represent a marginal phenomenon in Western politics, who are 'punching above their weight' primarily by blurring the lines with those that are critical of Israeli policies. Their aim is the dissolution of Israel and their strategy is to turn it into a pariah state. This annex provides examples for their activities:

The Strategy: Turning Israel into a Pariah

- Addressing an International Conference on Palestine in London, Betty Hunter of Palestine Solidarity Campaign, UK said that, "Our task is to isolate Israel and to make it a pariah state." (International Conference on Palestine—London 12/5/04).

- Speaking at Hampshire College, Ali Abuminah explained that, "The loss of legitimacy in the practices of the [South African] apartheid regime is what changed, and when a system loses its legitimacy, all the weapons in the world cannot protect it… we're beginning to see a similar loss of legitimacy for Zionism." (Conference in Hampshire College 11/21/09).

- During Operation Cast Lead, the International Jewish Anti-Zionist Network advised that "unless this ideology [of Zionism] is delegitimized and defeated, the violence in the Middle East will continue to escalate." (Call to Action on Gaza 01/09/09).

Demonization

Demonization of Israel takes place when Israel is presented as being systematically, purposefully, and extensively cruel and inhumane, thus denying the moral legitimacy of its existence. Associating Israel with Nazism or apartheid or accusing it of unjustifiable acts of evil constitutes demonization. This narrative plays out in several key arenas, such as public protests and demonstrations, media, and campus activities.

- Protestors in Brazil, Madrid, and Buenos Aires held signs equating Israeli leaders and actions with Nazism and genocide (YNET 11/12/09, ADL 01/09).

- A series of events, titled "Gaza: Our Guernica," organized by the Palestinian societies at five University of London campuses, is due to take place throughout January and February. The reference to Guernica evokes a fascist attack that targeted Basque civilians (Jerusalem Post 01/21/10).

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[118] See: Ari Shavit, Haaretz, 10/15/09; Ethan Bronner, New York Times, 10/19/09.

- First launched in 2005, Israel Apartheid Week is an annual event organized by anti-Zionist groups, which aims to create a link between Israel and the former apartheid regime in South Africa in order to lead a boycott against it. In 2010, Apartheid Week grew to include more than 40 cities, including England, the U.S., South Africa, the West Bank, Mexico, Scotland, and Norway[119] (Jerusalem Post 3/1/10).

- A series of articles aimed to establish Israel as an apartheid state engaging in racist and discriminatory behavior (Guardian feature on Israel and apartheid 2/6/07 part 1 and part 2).

- The University of Pittsburgh held a conference entitled 'Divest from Israeli Apartheid' (Pittsburgh Palestine Solidarity Committee 10/23/09).

- One of Sweden's largest dailies published a double-page focusing on claims that Israeli soldiers seized young men from the West Bank and Gaza and later returned the bodies with missing organs (Aftonbladet 08/26/09).

- Nobel peace laureate Mairead Maguire accused Israel of "ethnic cleansing" policies in east Jerusalem (Agence France-Presse 04/21/09).

Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS)

Attempts to demonize Israel provide the ideological and rhetorical platform for pursuing a policy of BDS in the fields of academia, economy, culture, sport, and security.

Despite the BDS movement including several academics, trade unions, and church groups, it has enjoyed limited practical success so far. However, efforts have been highly successful in generating publicity and in mobilizing anti-Israel activism, effectively uniting anti-Zionists with critics of specific Israeli policies.[120]

The risk posed is that such campaigns will create an equivalency between Israel and apartheid-era South Africa that penetrates the mainstream of public and political consciousness. Given Israel's dependence on vigorous trade – as well as scientific, academic, and technological engagement with other countries – this movement towards isolating the country may pose a strategic threat.

The BDS movement is largely spearheaded by non-governmental organizations. In a revealing example, the World Social Forum – an umbrella group for hundreds of social, anti-globalization, and rights groups worldwide – announced it would be launching a campaign calling on all of its affiliates to excommunicate Israel (YNET 3/30/09). Similar initiatives have also been taken up in academic, cultural and scientific, security, and economic arenas.

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[119] For more see Reut Concept Israel Apartheid Week.

[120] See: Gal Beckerman The Forward 9/16/09.

Academia:

- One of Norway's largest academic institutions, the University of Bergen, intends to impose an official academic boycott against Israel over what it claims is its apartheid-like conduct (YNET 01/24/10).

- The board of the University of Trondheim in Norway held a vote on adopting an academic boycott of Israel. Three days prior, the institution hosted a lecture on Israel's alleged use of anti-Semitism as a political tool (Haaretz 10/20/09).

- A group of American university professors recently launched the U.S. Campaign for the Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel (Weekly Standard 3/20/09).

- University workers in the Canadian Union of Public Employees passed a motion calling for an academic boycott of Israel, and union members from at least one Toronto university planned to pressure their school to cut any financial ties with the country (The Star 02/22/09).

- A letter by 400 UK academics urging boycott, divestment and sanctions against Israel was published in the *Guardian* (The Guardian 01/26/09).

- Since 2003, there have been many attempts to impose an academic boycott on Israel in the UK. A prominent example is the successful passage – later overturned – of a motion by Britain's largest lecturers' union (Natfhe) supporting a boycott of Israeli lecturers and academic institutions not publicly disassociating from Israel's "apartheid policies" (The Guardian 05/30/06; UCU Website 5/30/06).

Culture and Science:

- The Toronto International Film Festival was the object of controversy for selecting Tel Aviv as its thematic subject, with high-profile artists signing a statement in support of a filmmaker who withdrew his entry (The Guardian 09/07/09).

- An exhibition celebrating Tel Aviv's White City due to take place in Brussels was postponed after local organizers faced demands to boycott Israeli culture (YNET 2/9/09).

- The 2009 Edinburgh International Film Festival returned a £300 gift from the Israeli embassy following protests (The Guardian 09/07/09).

- More than 400 academics called on Britain's prestigious Science Museum to cancel workshops promoting Israeli scientific achievements to schoolchildren (The Independent 03/03/09).

Security:

- A Norwegian government pension fund sold its shares in Elbit Systems due to its role in building Israel's security fence (TradingMarkets.com 09/03/09).

- Belgium's government banned the export to Israel of weapons that "strengthen it militarily" (Haaretz 02/01/09).

■ British labor unions voted to support a ban on importing goods produced in 'illegal settlements' and ending arms trading with Israel (Associated Press 09/17/09).

Economic:

■ The Irish Municipal, Public, and Civil Trade Union passed two resolutions endorsing a boycott of Israeli goods and services and supporting divestment from corporations engaged in, or profiting from, the occupation of the West Bank and Gaza (Ireland Palestine Solidarity Campaign 05/29/08).

■ The Congress of South African Trade Unions joined the boycott of Israel, calling Israel "an apartheid nation" (YNET 08/06/06).

■ At its annual meeting, the British National Union of Journalists called for "a boycott of Israeli goods similar to those boycotts in the struggles against apartheid South Africa led by trade unions, and [for] the [Trade Union Congress] to demand sanctions be imposed on Israel by the British government " (The Guardian 04/13/07).

■ Canadian Union of Postal Workers called for a boycott, divestment and sanctions campaign against Israel (Canadian Union of Postal Workers 04/09/09).

International 'Lawfare'

In parallel to demonization and promotion of the BDS Strategy, groups and individuals have increasingly sought to combat Israel in the legal arena. These efforts comprise attempts to: Utilize laws of universal jurisdiction in European countries in order to charge Israeli generals and politicians with war crimes, levy proceedings against Israel in the International Criminal Court and the International Court of Justice, and file charges against corporations conducting business with Israel.

While certain initiators of these lawsuits claim to exclusively act according to a humanitarian agenda, Hamas involvement in some of these cases may indicate that the intention of prosecuting Israeli military and political leaders is not always pure.[121]

■ A British court issued an arrest warrant for Tzipi Livni for war crimes that Livni allegedly conducted as Israel's foreign minister during Operation Cast Lead (Guardian 12/14/09).

■ Two law firms representing a group of Palestinians applied for an international arrest warrant against Ehud Barak, claiming that he committed war crimes and breaches of the Geneva Convention during Operation Cast Lead (Jerusalem Post 09/29/09).

■ French pro-Palestinian organizations filed a law suit with the International Criminal Court against the Israeli president, foreign minister, and defense minister (JCPA March April 2009).

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[121] See Reut post: Legal Aid: Role in Livni Arrest Warrant and Beyond.

- A class action lawsuit was filed in the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia against former IDF Chief of Staff Moshe Yaalon (NGO Monitor 09/08). The following year, New Zealand's Auckland District Court issued an arrest warrant for Yaalon on charges of war crimes (Jerusalem Post 11/30/06).

- A class action lawsuit was filed in a New York U.S. District Court against former Director of Israel's General Security Service Avi Dichter for "war crimes and other gross human rights violations" concerning his alleged involvement in a 2002 military strike in Gaza (NGO Monitor 09/08).

- Major General Doron Almog avoided arrest in the UK by remaining on an El Al airplane and flying back to Israel, after a UK court issued a warrant for his arrest on charges of breaching international laws during Israel's control of Gaza (BBC 09/12/05).

- A lawsuit alleging war crimes was filed in a Spanish Court and with Switzerland's Military Attorney General against former Israeli Defense Minister Benjamin Ben-Eliezer, former IDF Chief of Staff Shaul Mofaz, former Israel Security Agency Director Avi Dichter, and Doron Almog (AJC 10/04; CNN 1/29/09).

- Belgium's highest court was set to try Ariel Sharon for his role as defense minister in the 1982 massacres at the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps in Beirut (New York Times 02/13/2003).

- International Criminal Court Chief Prosecutor Luis Moreno-Ocampo considered investigating Lt. Col. David Benjamin, a reserve officer in the IDF involved in authorizing military actions during Operation Cast Lead, on the grounds of Benjamin's status as a dual citizen of Israel and South Africa, which has signed the ICC's charter (Newsweek 09/21/09). The ICC also considered whether the Palestinian Authority was "enough like a state" for it to initiate a case alleging that Israeli troops committed war crimes in Gaza (The Guardian 3/2/09).

- The UN fact-finding mission on the Gaza conflict headed by Richard Goldstone "found strong evidence to establish" that Israel committed serious war crimes and breaches of humanitarian law that may amount to crimes against humanity (UN 09/15/09).

- In July 2008, lawsuits were filed suit in Quebec against three Canadian corporations accused of "aiding, abetting, assisting and conspiring with Israel, the Occupying Power in the West Bank, in carrying out an illegal act" through their involvement in construction projects in the town of Kiryat Sefer (Modi'in Ilit) (NGO Monitor 06/11/09).

- A 2005 lawsuit filed against Caterpillar, Inc. in a U.S. District Court charged the corporation with "providing specially designed bulldozers to the IDF that it knew would be used to demolish homes and endanger civilians" (NGO Monitor 09/08).

- A lawsuit was filed against the British Government charging that the sale of military equipment to Israel breached guidelines on arms exports and contributed to the oppression of Palestinians in the occupied territories (The London Times 05/30/07).

Appendix B:
The Reut Institute: Frequently Asked Questions

Legal Status and History

The Legal Status of the Reut Institute
American Friends of the Reut Institute

The Reut Institute, founded in January 2004, is as an Israeli non-profit organization, operating under the Israeli law of nonprofits *(Chok HaAmutot)*, which regulates the work, oversight and supervision of organizations in the nonprofit sector. Accordingly, Reut is run by a board of directors and a president whose duties and responsibilities are described in our bylaws (See clauses 17 and 26 – click here for the Hebrew Version).

American Friends of the Reut Institute (AFRI) is a non-profit organization registered in the United States and operating under the laws of the State of California. Its mission is to advance a vision of a prosperous and secure Israel. AFRI is the single largest supporter of the Reut Institute, and the Reut Institute is the chief recipient of AFRI's donations.

Who founded the Reut Institute?

Gidi Grinstein is the founder and first and current president of the Reut Institute. Noa Eliasaf-Shoham is Reut's co-founder.

The idea behind Reut was conceived by Gidi Grinstein following his service in the Bureau of the Prime Minister as the Secretary of the Israeli Delegation for the Negotiations with the PLO (1999-2001, the Barak Government). During this time, he came to the conclusion that Israel suffers from a weak capacity for professional and non-partisan long-term systemic thinking on issues that are complex and require transformations. Gidi also understood that the reason for this gap is structural and institutional, stemming from an electoral system that generates short and unstable tenures, and fragmented legislative *(Knesset)* and executive (government) branches.

Hence, Reut was founded to address the mismatch between the complexity of the challenges that Israel faces, on the one hand, and the weakness of its institutions, on the other hand. Our mission and strategy remain focused on this challenge (see below).

For more details about Reut, click here. For information on Reut's founders, click here. For more information on Gidi Grinstein, click here.

Vision, Mission, Strategy, and Unique Value Proposition

Reut's Vision

The Charter of the Reut Institute (click here) establishes that the Reut Institute is a Zionist organization. It frames the vision as: "A secure, prosperous State of Israel; a state whose existence is secured and citizens are safe; a prosperous state that is a leading nation in terms of its quality of living; a state that is predominantly Jewish, offering

Jewish added value at the heart of the Jewish world and providing a significant contribution to the existence and prosperity of global Jewish peoplehood; a democratic state, which embraces universal humanistic values and aspires to create a society, which sets an example for the family of nations."

This represents the Reut vision of '21st Century Zionism' (For more information on '21st Century Zionism', click here and click here). Within this framework, we identify the following topics as ones that require focus:

■ Ensuring Israel's national security (click ere);

■ Aspiring towards the ISRAEL 15 Vision, which calls for Israel to become one of the fifteen leading countries in terms of quality of life (click here);

■ Pursuing the vision of a 'model society' which offers an example to the family of nations;

■ Enriching the Jewish character of Jewish society's public sphere in Israel;

■ Creating effective governance (click here).

The ISRAEL 15 Vision

The ISRAEL 15 Vision calls Israel to become one of the 15 leading countries in terms of quality of life within 15 years. This vision requires a social and economic leapfrog that would close the gap in quality of life between Israel and developed countries. This vision is the organizing idea of Reut in the context of Israel's social and economic development. For more information, click here.

Reut's Mission

Reut's Charter (click here) defines our mission: "To sustain significant and substantive impact on the future of the State of Israel and the Jewish people and to leave an indelibly Israeli and Jewish imprint on the future of the world."

■ **Sustaining impact** – Reut is committed to ongoing efforts to impact Israel and the Jewish world. Most other policy groups focus primarily on research and limit their efforts to generate impact to 'events,' such as publishing a book or holding a conference. The Reut model is anchored around the concept of 'impact' and we work to effectuate our ideas year round;

■ **Significant impact** – Reut focuses on issues that hold great promise or pose grave threats to the State of Israel or the Jewish people. These issues are interchangeably referred to as 'fundamental gaps' or 'relevancy gaps' (as defined by Dr. Zvi Lanir, see Praxis) or as 'adaptive challenges' (as defined by Ron Heifetz, see below). They require 'leadership,' 'transformation,' 'adaptation' (see below), and 'fundamental impact';

■ **Substantive impact** – Reut focuses on impacting the design and substance of strategies and policies that are essential for the security and prosperity of our nation and people. We work with ideas, concepts, and strategies, and reach out to other organizations when we need to work 'on the ground';

■ **Indelible Jewish and Israeli imprint on the future of the world** – In accordance with the Jewish principles of *Tikkun Olam* (repairing the world) and *Or La'Goim* (a light unto the nations), Reut is obligated to aid humanity in facing its challenges in a way that will echo and express the unique values and abilities of the State of Israel and the Jewish people.

Reut's mission is the bridge between its vision, on the one hand, and its strategy and unique added value (see below), on the other hand.

On 'Impact' and 'Leadership'

The concepts of 'impact' and 'leadership' are central to the mission of the Reut Institute. In accordance with Ron Heiftez's book Leadership without Easy Answers, Reut defines 'impact' as 'adaptive work,'[122] i.e. a change of values, priorities, patterns of conduct, or habits in order to deal with the challenges facing Israel or the Jewish world. In Reut terms, 'impact' is synonymous with 'fundamental change,' 'transformation,' and 'closure of relevancy gap' (as defined by Dr Zvi Lanir, see Praxis). It is assessed by monitoring the change in the actions, writings or statements of people in positions of leadership, influence, and decision-making authority.

Thus, 'leadership' refers to *activities* aimed at advancing 'impact,' i.e. promoting 'adaptive work' or closing 'relevancy gaps' or 'fundamental gaps.'[123] Building on Heifetz's insights, Reut's primary challenge is to provide 'leadership without authority.' The pillars of our strategy are designed to provide this kind of leadership.

Reut's Strategy

The Reut Institute's strategy is designed to serve and realize its mission and to provide unique 'leadership' as defined above. It has been refined over the past years and rests on three pillars:

■ **Fundamental impact / Adaptive work** – Reut will work to offer leadership and generate fundamental impact on the issues that are critical to the security and prosperity of Israel and the Jewish world e.g. Israel's fundamental legitimacy, resilience, development or relations with the Jewish world;

■ **Model for emulation** – Reut sees itself as a unique organization specializing in identifying strategic issues, designing appropriate responses and working to effectuate them. The structure and operations of Reut are uniquely innovative and could serve the Government of Israel well. Hence, as we strive for the Government of Israel and other relevant agencies to adopt our model, and as such

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[122] "Adaptive work consists of the learning required to address conflicts in the values people hold or to diminish the gap between the values people stand for and the reality they face. Adaptive work requires a change in values, beliefs or behavior." (Heifetz, p.22).

[123] "If we define problems by the disparity between values and circumstances, then an adaptive challenge is a particular kind of problem where the gap cannot be closed by the application of current technical know-how or routine behavior. To make progress, not only must invention and action change circumstances to align reality with values but the values themselves may also have to change." (Heifetz, p. 35).

we methodically conceptualize and document our work in order to share them with all interested parties in the public sphere;

■ **Training a cadre of strategic leaders** – Reut recruits and trains individuals who are committed to lifelong service of the Jewish and Israel public spheres, providing Israel's most extensive and intensive training program for strategic leadership. Reut dedicates significant resources to grooming its staff to key positions of leadership, influence, and authority in the public sphere.

How Does Reut Generate Impact?

There are six stages to Reut's cycle, aimed at generating fundamental impact. They are:

■ **Identifying 'fundamental gaps' / 'Adaptive challenges'** – 'Fundamental gaps' – or, interchangeably, 'relevancy gaps' or 'adaptive challenges'[124] – exist when values, priorities, patterns of conduct, or habits are irrelevant to the challenges facing the community. Reut specializes in identifying such gaps using a package of theory, methodology, and software tools licensed from Praxis;

■ **Focused research** – Upon identifying a fundamental gap, Reut focuses on researching the gap and on developing an alternate conceptual framework to apply in coping with the challenges. In this phase, we research literature, interview experts, and develop new knowledge using the Praxis package;

■ **Alternative strategies –** Based on the research, Reut proceeds to suggest new strategic ideas that may help bridge the fundamental gap;

■ **Identifying individuals in positions of leadership, influence, or decision-making authority** – While progressing in the focused research, Reut identifies individuals and organizations in positions of leadership, influence, or decision-making authority that can promote and advance the new conceptual framework. This community may include elected officials and senior civil servants in municipal and national government, and leaders in the nonprofit, business, philanthropy, or academic sectors, as well as in the Jewish world;

■ **Designing an impact strategy** – At this stage, Reut designs a strategic framework for closing the fundamental gap and advancing the adaptive work based on a new vision, which serves as a source of inspiration. The strategy is implemented in multiple phases based on detailed diagnostics. Ron Heifetz's theory on leadership without authority, from his book Leadership without Easy Answers, serves as the theoretical basis for this stage;

■ **Reut's role: To be a catalyst** by: (1) Branding the suggested vision; (2) generating a sense of urgency among the relevant constituencies; (3) conducting focused research; (4) creating synergies among individuals and organizations committed to realizing the vision; (5) enlarging the pie of resources available to this community; (6) identifying, documenting, and distributing local success

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[124] "Adaptive work consists of the learning required to address conflicts in the values people hold or to diminish the gap between the values people stand for and the reality they face. Adaptive work requires a change in values, beliefs or behavior." (Heifetz, p. 22).

stories; (7) creating a shared and transparent source of information; and (8) advocating to update regulation and legislation;

■ **Exiting** – Reut will continue to address a fundamental gap so long as it has unique added value to make. If we succeed in changing the prevailing mindset or no longer have a meaningful contribution to make, we will abandon the issue for other fundamental gaps (click here).

How Does the Reut Institute Groom Future Strategic Leaders?

According to our Charter, Reut grooms future strategic leaders in the Jewish and Israeli public spheres. To advance this goal, we operate in five interconnected stages:

■ **Recruitment** – Reut recruits individuals committed to lifelong service of the Jewish and Israeli public spheres who wish to specialize in the strategic design of policy;

■ **Training** – Reut's training regimen provides a theoretical, methodological, and technical foundation for the art of designing policy and strategy, and for leadership (click here);

■ **Team assignments** – Reut believes that to be a leader in the public sphere, one must act within one's passion and talent. Consequently, Reut is dedicated to assigning analysts to projects that can express their unique skills;

■ **Personal development** – Reut offers a learning environment by providing professional training and feedback throughout the year, analyzing our own operations, regular study visits in Israel, and extensive international comparative exposure;

■ **Placement** – Reut is committed to placing its graduates in positions of leadership, influence, and decision-making authority in the Israeli and Jewish public spheres. To date, a number of Reut graduates have been placed and are contributing to the security and well being of Israel and the Jewish world.

For further details, click here.

What is the Reut Institute's Unique Added Value?

In addition to the three pillars of our strategy, each of which is unique to the Israeli and Jewish public spheres, the unique value of Reut stems from the following:

■ **Identifying strategic surprises and opportunities** – Reut focuses on the fundamental level of policy and specializes in highlighting working assumptions and checking their relevance in order to uncover potential strategic surprises;

■ **Asking questions in order to leverage already existing resources** – Reut provides decision-support services, which focus on *how* to think and not on *what* to think or do. We focus attention on issues that had been ignored and aim to turn them into the subject of detailed research by government, academia, and think tanks;

- **Integrating strategy and operation** – Reut specializes in integrating strategic level systemic and long-term policy design with front-line operators working in the field;

- **Providing quick turnaround** – Reut provides inputs to decision-making processes in very short time frames;

- **Interdisciplinary** – Reut specializes in addressing interdisciplinary fields that integrate varied fields of knowledge;

- **Developing new knowledge** – Reut specializes in developing new knowledge in fields that require the design and implementation of a new strategic perspective.

How is the Reut Institute Different from Think Tanks and Strategy Consultants?

Reut is unique in its organizational structure and differs from think tanks and strategy consultants in the following ways:

- Reut is structured to have **full flexibility in dealing with a wide range of issues** by identifying explicit and tacit working assumptions and checking their relevance. Most think tanks focus on a pre-determined set of issues and research them by collecting and analyzing information;

- Reut's unique added value is its **mastery of a methodology for researching strategic challenges and designing responses to them**. Most think tanks master specific fields of knowledge – such as economics or national security – and often reflect a political leaning;

- **Reut is a faceless brand** (like the Economist), with its reputation based on its methods and structure. The quality of our work is not influenced by the identity of our employees. Conversely, think tanks' status is often built upon the specific experts they employ, who represent the face of the organization;

- **Reut leads through questions** while most think tanks lead through answers. We offer decision-making services while most think-tanks provide the solutions they would implement were they to have the authority to do so.

How Does the Reut Institute Interact with Think Tanks?

Reut is committed to an effective and efficient public sphere. We are committed to enlarging the pie for everyone and eschew zero-sum games. This is one of our basic tenets and is manifested in all of our operations.

- **Reut views think tanks as potential partners that complement our abilities** – Reut specializes in identifying fundamental gaps based on a unique methodology, and doesn't employ well-known and renowned researchers. Most think tanks have experts, but lack methods to address strategic issues. Hence, the potential synergy;

- **Whereas most think-tanks use their Web sites to highlight their own publications, Reut's Web site – www.reut-institute.org – is designed as a portal for all** work, from all organizations, that is relevant to the strategic issues we address.

Operations

Who is the Reut Institute's Intended Audience?

Reut's target audience is **all individuals in positions of leadership, influence, and decision-making authority in the fields in which we work**, who can contribute to fundamental impact in Israel or the Jewish world. This community includes elected officials and senior civil servants in municipal and national government, and leaders in the non-profit, business, philanthropy, academic, and Jewish worlds.

What are 'Focus Areas'? How Does Reut Select its Focus Areas?

A 'focus area' is a field in which we identify fundamental gaps that require adaptive work. Each policy team at Reut addresses a single focus area until the gap is closed, a process that can last from as little as a few months to as long as years. We use the following guidelines when addressing policy issues:

- **Critical importance to the security or prosperity of Israel or the Jewish world** (click here);

- **Complexity,** i.e. many stakeholders but no one is really in charge;

- **Fundamental gap and adaptive challenge** that requires transformation of values, priorities, patterns of conduct, etc., and does not have a technical fix;

- **Unique added value** – The Reut Institute addresses only those issues in which it can make a unique contribution;

- **Built upon previous knowledge** – Reut prefers to select new focus areas that can draw upon our previous experience and knowledge;

- **The team leader's interest** – Reut attempts to focus on issues that our team leaders and analysts are passionate about and have demonstrated talent in.

Who Funds the Reut Institute?

Reut is an Israeli non-profit organization funded and supported by a network of donors and private funds – the vast majority of whom are Israelis and Jews – who believe in our vision. Reut's largest institutional donor is American Friends of the Reut Institute (see above). Any donation that could potentially create a conflict of interest requires a formal and public discussion and decision by our Board of Directors. For more details, click here.

Why Does Reut Provide its Services Pro Bono?

Reut is a non-profit organization that provides its services *pro bono* to people in positions of leadership, influence, and decision-making authority in the Israeli and Jewish public spheres. Reut does not charge for its services for the following reasons:

- **Turnaround time** – Public agencies in Israel can only sign contracts through a transparent tender – a cumbersome process that can take weeks and months. In most of our projects, the turnaround time required of Reut is much shorter;

- **Clients are unable to pay for a blind spot** – Reut's expertise is in addressing fundamental gaps that stem from a policy's irrelevance because of a decision maker's blind spot. Consequently, Reut's clients don't know that they need our services and are thus unable to pay for them;

- **Reut serves issues, not clients** – Reut promotes fundamental impact on the security and well being of the State of Israel and the Jewish world. This requires the freedom to work with multiple organizations and individuals in positions of leadership, influence, and decision-making authority, which may undermine a pure client relationship;

- **Freedom to think and recommend** – Reut's fundamental impact requires changes in values, priorities, patterns of conduct, or habits in the Israeli or Jewish public spheres in general and often times by our 'client' specifically. Consequently, it is of paramount importance that we retain our independence to think, recommend, and act.

There may be exceptions to this rule and Reut may receive funding for a project, but only in the case that the project supports our vision and mission and that Reut would have completed the project regardless.

Who Initiates Project at the Reut Institute?

- Reut identifies fundamental gaps in strategic issues and chooses to address the issue;

- Often, decision makers solicit Reut's decision support services on challenges they face. So long as the project fulfills Reut's vision and mission and exploits our unique added value, we feel obligated to provide the service.

What are the terms of use for Reut products?

All use of our Web site and Reut Institute products are based on acceptance of the terms and conditions of use.

Appendix C: Bibliography

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