

Hearts and Minds

Israel and the Battle for Public Opinion

NACHMAN SHAI

Translated by Ira Moskowitz

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*This book is dedicated to my parents,
Hava and Eliezer Shaikevitch
of blessed memory, who showed me the way.
To my wife, Rivka, who encouraged and supported me,
and to our children—Noa and her husband Eran,
Ido and his wife Suzanna, and Dana and her husband Dan—
and to our grandchildren, Mika, Alma, Laila, Yehi, and Alex.
In hope that this book will strengthen our hope and faith
in a future of peace.*

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Abbreviations

ADL	Anti-Defamation League
AICE	American-Israeli Cooperative Enterprise
AIPAC	American Israel Public Affairs Committee
AJC	American Jewish Committee
BDS	Boycott, Divestment, Sanctions
BICOM	Britain Israel Communications and Research Centre
BNC	BDS National Committee
CAMERA	Committee for Accuracy in Middle East Reporting in America
GCI	Global Coalition for Israel
GOC	General Officer Commanding
GPO	Government Press Office
GSS	General Security Service (the Shin Bet)
ECCOP	European Coordination of Committees and Associations for Palestine
IAF	Israeli Air Force
IBA	Israel Broadcasting Authority
ICC	International Criminal Court
IDC	Interdisciplinary Center
IDF	Israel Defense Forces
INFO	Israel Newsmakers Forum

JFNA	Jewish Federations of North America
JCPA	Jewish Council for Public Affairs
JCRC	Jewish Community Relations Council
JDC	Joint Distribution Committee
JNF	Jewish National Fund
JLTV	Jewish Life Television Network
MALMAB	Defense Ministry Security Authority
MALAT	Center for Consciousness Operations
MASHAV	Agency for International Development Cooperation
MEMRI	Middle East Media Research Institute
MK	Member of Knesset
NSC	National Security Council
PMO	Prime Minister's Office
PMW	Palestinian Media Watch
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
UNRWA	United Nations Relief and Works Agency
WSI	World Standing Index
WZO	World Zionist Organization

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Akerman, Lior—Head of the Shin Bet Director's Bureau

Almog, Doron—GOC Southern Command, Major General

Alon, Gal—Consultant on Developing Strategic Processes in the Prime Minister's Office

Aloni, Yair—Deputy Director-General for Planning and Development at Broadcast Authority, Director of Israel Television

Amir, Menashe—Commentator and Broadcaster in Persian, Israel Radio

Arad, Eyal—Strategic Consultant

Arens, Moshe—Minister of Defense, Ambassador in Washington, Chairman of the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee

Arussi, Eitan—Head of the Arab Media Department at the IDF Spokesperson's Office, Major

Atzmon, Irit—Deputy IDF Spokesperson, NGO Director, Colonel

Avital, Colette—Deputy Director-General of the Foreign Ministry, Ambassador, MK

Avnon, Arthur—Deputy Director-General of the Foreign Ministry (Cultural and Scientific Affairs), Ambassador

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Baker, David—Assistant to the Foreign Media Advisor in the Prime Minister's Office

Baltiansky, Gadi—Media Advisor to the Prime Minister, Media Advisor at the Israeli Embassy in Washington

Barak, Ehud—Prime Minister, Defense Minister, IDF Chief of Staff, Lieutenant General
 Bar-Lev, Uri—Commander of Israel Police Southern District, Major General
 Be'er, Yitzhar—CEO of Keshet, Executive Director of B'Tselem
 Beilin, Yossi—Minister of Justice, Deputy Foreign Minister, MK
 Ben-Ami, Oded—Journalist, Channel 2; IDF Spokesperson, Brigadier General
 Ben-Ami, Shlomo—Foreign Minister, Ambassador, Professor
 Ben-David, Alon—Military Reporter, Channel 1; Military Commentator, Channel 10
 Ben-David, Calev—Journalist, Managing Editor at the *Jerusalem Post*
 Ben-David, Lenny—Deputy Chief of Mission at the Israeli Embassy in Washington, Director of AIPAC's Israel Office
 Ben-Eliezer, Binyamin—Minister of Defense, Minister of National Infrastructure, Coordinator of Government Activity in the Territories, Brigadier General
 Bentsur, Eytan—Director-General of the Foreign Ministry, Ambassador, Consul General in Los Angeles
 Ben-Yishai, Ron—Journalist, Commander of Army Radio, Military Commentator for Israel Television, *Yedioth Ahronoth*, *Ynet*, Lieutenant Colonel
 Biran, Yoav—Director-General of the Foreign Ministry, Ambassador, Deputy Director of the National Security Council
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 Cohen, Ran—Minister of Trade and Industry, MK, Colonel
 Cotler, Irwin—Professor, Canadian Minister of Justice
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 Dayan, Uzi—Head of the National Security Council, GOC Central Command, Major General
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 Dichter, Avi—Shin Bet Director, Minister of Public Security
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 Eldar, Shlomi—Journalist, Channel 1
 Enderlin, Charles—Reporter for France 2
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 Even-Chen, Moshe—Head of IDF Behavioral Science Department, Colonel
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 Gal, Orly—Deputy IDF Spokesperson, Colonel
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 Gavrieli, Tzahi—Assistant to the Cabinet Secretary, Attorney
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