The Israeli-Palestinian conflict: the legitimization of Israeli government policies towards Palestinian resistance organizations
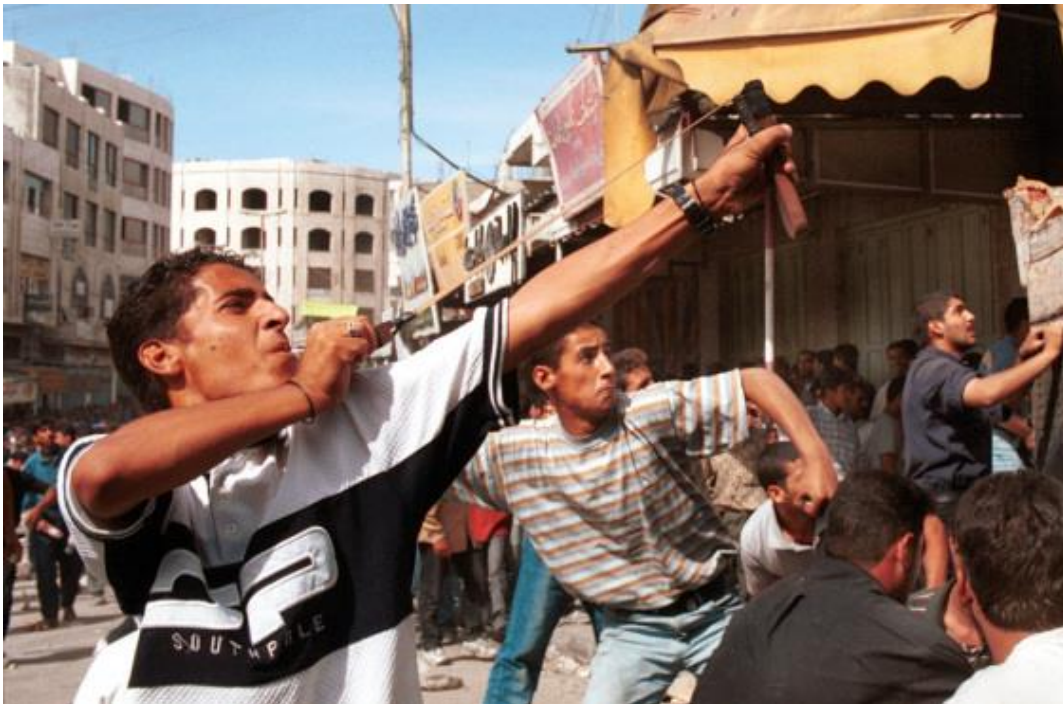
Map of Israel and Palestinian territories

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'Yitzhak Rabin shakes the hand of Yasser Arafat during the Oslo Accords (September 13, 1993) at the White House as US President Bill Clinton proudly looks on': http://free.messianicbible.com/feature/yitzhak-rabin-twenty-years-later/ (09-06-2017).

Palestinian riots during the Second Intifada, 2000

'Palestine: Remembering the Second Intifada (2000)':
https://revolutionaryfrontlines.wordpress.com/2010/10/04/palestine-remembering-the-second-intifada-2000/
(09-06-2017).

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Chapter I: introduction and methodology

1.1. Introduction

The Israeli-Palestine conflict has been ongoing for almost seventy years now. Since 1948 Israel has fought several wars with its Arab neighbour countries and the Palestinian resistance organisations. Although Israel has won the majority of these conflicts and has asserted its dominance over Palestine, the Israeli government is still confronted with resistance from the Palestinian resistance organisations. The most notable of these Palestinian resistance organizations are Hamas, which currently controls the Gaza strip and the PLO, which currently controls the West Bank. In the early 1990s important steps were taken to resolve the conflict between Israel and these Palestinian resistance organizations. The signing of the Oslo I Accord in 1993 seemed to bring a permanent solution to the conflict. The failure of the Camp David Summit negotiations in 2000 (not to be confused with the Egyptian-Israeli negotiations leading up to the Camp David Accords in 1978) and the subsequent Second Intifada however caused a renewal of the conflict.[1] In the last fifteen years Israel has regularly been confronted with attacks from Hamas which were met with harsh retaliation from Israel. In these retaliatory attacks many Palestinians have been killed.[2]

Since the Second Intifada, Israeli public opinion towards Palestinians has become more negative. Although there is a some support in Israel that the Palestinians should be allowed to have their own sovereign state, only a limited amount of Israelis believe that negotiations with the Palestinians will lead to an end of the conflict. The many Palestinian attacks on Israel in the last decade have made Israelis increasingly suspicious of the leading Palestinian resistance organizations, Hamas and the PLO. Because of this, many Israelis have come to the conclusion that the Israeli-Palestinian peace process will probably not lead to an end of the conflict in the near future. Palestinian attacks have also increased the support amongst the Israeli population of military action against Palestinians. Many Israelis for example are of the opinion that the Israeli military action in the 2014 Israel-Gaza conflict was justified. Furthermore almost half of the Israeli population would support a new Israeli offensive in the Gaza strip in retaliation of Palestinian attacks in Israel. The current Israeli public opinion towards Hamas, the PLO and the other Palestinian resistance organizations is thus very hostile.[3]

The Israeli government has strong national support for its policies towards Hamas and the PLO. These policies have engendered a lot of international protests however as especially during the last decade international public opinion has become more critical of Israeli policies towards Hamas and the PLO. Much international criticism is directed towards the repeated Israeli military operations in the Gaza Strip and the high number of Palestinian

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[1] See chapter two for more information on the Second Intifada.
[2] Rouhanna, Nadim M., Daniel Bar-Tal, 'Physiological dynamics of Intractable Ethnonational Conflicts: The Israeli-Palestinian Case', *American Physiologist* (1998) 762-763.
[3] 'Israeli Public Opinion Polls: Opinions On Fighting With Hamas': http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/Society_&_Culture/hamaswarpolls.html (13-11-2016).

civilian casualties caused by these Israeli military operations. In the Gaza war in 2009 for example, Israeli military operations in the Gaza strip resulted in the death of hundreds of Palestinian civilians. Israel's settlement policy is also heavily criticised internationally as the building of Jewish settlements is in the Palestinian-controlled West Bank and Gaza Strip is considered as Israeli encroachment on Palestinian territory. The widespread international dissatisfaction of Israel's settlement policy, led to the passing of an anti-Israeli resolution in the United Nations Security Council in December 2016. In this resolution Israel was prompted to cease the building of Jewish settlements in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.[4]

For the Israeli government it is crucial to improve its international reputation and to combat international criticism on its policies in the Gaza Strip and West Bank. In order to achieve these aims, Israel uses public diplomacy. Framing, the spreading of one's own perception on certain events or situations, is very important in this public diplomacy.[5] Although the Israeli government uses public diplomacy and framing to improve its standing in many corners of the world, the main target audience of the Israeli public diplomacy campaigns is the US as Israel is very dependent on US support as the US provides huge amounts of financial aid to Israel. The US has also given political support to Israel by vetoing anti-Israeli resolutions in the UN Security Council during the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Furthermore, the US is an important arms supplier of Israel. For the Israeli government it is thus crucial to use framing in order to influence US foreign policy and the public opinion in the US.[6] Framing thus plays an important role in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. This study focuses on the framing strategies which are employed by the Israeli government in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

Framing is utilized by the Israeli government in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in a variety of ways. To a large extent, these framing efforts are shaped by the characteristics of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The most important of these characteristics is the strong asymmetry of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict as one actor in the conflict, Israel has way more military power and resources at its disposal than its opponents, Hamas and the PLO. Because of Israel's great military strength, Hamas and the PLO cannot defeat Israel by using conventional warfare and therefore resort to asymmetrical warfare, including terrorism to attack Israel. For the purpose of this research, terrorism can be defined as the use of extraordinary force and brutality to install fear in political opponents and thereby obtain a particular political objective.[7]

Terrorism is a very important framing tool for the Israeli government as in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, Hamas and the PLO launch attacks on Israeli citizens to spread fear in Israel in the hope that this fear will make the Israeli government comply with Palestinian

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[4] Eytan Gilboa, 'Public Diplomacy: the Missing Component in Israeli Foreign Policy', *Israel Affairs* 12.4 (2006) 715-717; Naday Morag, 'Measuring Succes with Terrorism: The Israeli Case', *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 28.4 (2005) 310-312.

[5] Gilboa, 'Public Diplomacy', 715-720.

[6] George W. Ball, 'The Coming Crisis in Israeli-American Relations', *Foreign Affairs* 58.2 (1979) 233-245; Steven T. Rosenthal, *Irreconcilable Differences: The Waning of the America-Jewish Love Affair with Israel* (London 2001) 14-26; Jonathan Rynhold, 'Israeli-American Relations and the Peace Process', *Middle East Review of International Affairs* 4.2 (2000) 39-45.

[7] Walter Enders, Todd Sandler. "Terrorism: Theory and applications." *Handbook of defense economics* 1 (1995): 213-215.

political demands. The alleged use of terrorism by the Palestinian resistance organizations provides the Israeli government with many framing opportunities as the Israeli government can for example emphasize the deliberate targeting of Israeli civilians in the attacks by the Palestinian resistance organizations. In this way, the Israeli government can obtain international support for the Israeli view on the Palestinian resistance organizations in which these Palestinian resistance organizations are nothing more than violent terrorist groups which seek the destruction of Israel. This is especially useful in improving Israel's reputation in the US as the Israeli government can frame its struggle with the Palestinian resistance organizations as being a part of the global 'war on terror' being waged by the US. The Palestinian resistance organizations can however also use this strategy by accusing Israel of committing acts of terrorism. Hamas and the PLO for example accuse Israel of practicing terrorism by emphasizing the large number of Palestinian civilians that have been killed in Israeli military operations in recent years such as during the Gaza War in which more than a thousand Palestinian civilians died. The PLO and Hamas can exploit this by claiming that Israel is deliberately causing Palestinian civilian casualties in order to pressure the Palestinian resistance organizations in ceasing their efforts towards Palestinian independence.[8]

Using the aforementioned definition of terrorism both the attacks by the Palestinian resistance organizations on Israeli citizens and the targeting of Palestinian civilians by the Israeli military could be considered as acts of terrorism. It is however often very hard to objectively distinguish between valid military actions and terrorist attacks as attacks on valid military targets can also instil fear in political opponents and pressure these opponents in giving in to political demands. In this light, both Israeli attacks on Palestinians and Palestinian attacks on Israelis, will not be referred to as 'terrorist attacks' in this study. Likewise, particular groups or individuals will also not referred to as 'terrorist(s)' in this study. In some instances particularly in chapter three and four of this thesis however, some acts or actors will be referred to as 'acts of terrorism' or 'terrorist(s)' respectively as in these instances the view of the Israeli government on events is presented, not the view of the researcher.[9]

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[8] Jerome Slater, 'Terrorism and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict', *Middle East Policy* 22.3 (2015) 82-95; Steven R. David, 'Fatal Choices: Israel's Policy of Targeted Killing', *Mideast Security and Policies Studies* 51 (2002) 4-6.
[9] Slater, Terrorism and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict', 79-82, 96-97.

1.2. Research Question and sub questions

In this study the following research question is used:

How has the Israeli government utilized framing against Hamas and the PLO in order to further its political agenda in the Israeli-Palestine conflict?

The focus of this study will be a comparison between the framing strategies of the Israeli government during two important time periods in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The first time period consists of the years in which the Oslo accords negotiations took place (1993-2000). The second time period begins with the outbreak of the Second Intifada in 2000 and ends in 2012, during Operation Pillar of Defense, a major Israeli offensive against Hamas.[10] The purpose of this study will be to make a comparison between the framing strategies employed by the Israeli government in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in these two time periods. The main aim of the comparison between these two time periods is to study whether the inception of the Second Intifada in 2000 can be seen as a major turning point in the framing strategies utilized by the Israeli government. This is an intriguing question as the Second Intifada does mark a turning point in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict as the Second Intifada caused a major fallout between the Israeli government and the PLO, the main Palestinian resistance organization. The aim of this study is therefore to analyse whether the framing strategies of the Israeli government employed by the Israeli government in the first time period, during the Oslo Accords negotiations, differed from the framing strategies utilized by the Israeli government in the second time period, after the Second Intifada.

In order to make a proper comparison between the framing strategies used by the Israeli government during both time periods and the sheer amount of Israeli government public statements during these two time periods, only the public statements by the Israeli government during several key events in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict will be analysed. These key events are:

Time period 1: Oslo accords negotiations (1993-2000)

1. September 1993: Signing of the Oslo I Accord.
2. February-May 1994: Hebron Massacre.
3. September 1995: Signing of the Oslo II Accord, assassination of Israeli prime-minister Yithzak Rabin.
4. January 1996: Assassination of Hamas chief bomb maker, Yahya Ayyash.
5. October-November 1998: Signing of Wye River Memorandum.
6. July 2000: Camp David Summit negotiations.

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[10] See chapter two for more information on the Oslo Accords negotiations and the Second Intifada.

Time period 2: Period after the inception of the Second Intifada (2000-2012)

1. September 2000: Inception of the second Intifada.
2. March-June 2002: Operation Defensive Shield, major Israeli military operation in the West Bank.
3. August 2005: Israeli withdrawal from the Gaza Strip.
4. January-March 2006: Hamas victory in Palestinian elections.
5. June 2007: Palestinian Civil War.
6. December 2008-January 2009: Gaza War, major armed conflict between Israel and Hamas.
7. September-October 2011: Palestinian request for admission as a UN member.
8. November 2012: Operation Pillar of Defense, major Israeli offensive against Hamas.

In order to properly answer the research question, several sub questions have been formulated to supplement the research question. These sub questions are:

1. Which framing strategies were utilized by the Israeli government during the Oslo Accords negotiations time period, 1993-2000?
2. Which framing strategies were utilized by the Israeli government in the time period between the Second Intifada and Operation Pillar of Defense, 2000-2012?
3. Which similarities exist between the framing strategies of the Israeli government during the time period of the Oslo Accords negotiations, 1993-2000 and the framing strategies of the Israeli government in the time period between the Second Intifada and Operation Pillar of Defense, 2000-2012?
4. Which differences exist between the framing strategies of the Israeli government during the time period of the Oslo Accords negotiations, 1993-2000 and the framing strategies of the Israeli government in the time period between the Second Intifada and Operation Pillar of Defense, 2000-2012?

In order to properly analyse the Israeli government statements, an analytical framework regarding types of framing will be used in this study. I will refer to this analytical framework in the description of the important concepts in this study.[11]

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[11] See section 1.3.

1.3. Theoretical Concepts

Several concepts are of great importance for this study. These concepts are:

1. Public diplomacy and framing
2. Nation, nationalism and Zionism

Public diplomacy and framing

Public diplomacy is an important concept in this study. Public diplomacy entails the efforts of states to influence the public opinion in other states. Measures of the Israeli government to influence American public opinion towards Israel, are an example of public diplomacy. In public diplomacy, framing is often used. Framing is the spreading of one's own view on certain events or situations, in order to get more support for this view and gain a better national or international reputation.[12]

Framing and public diplomacy are a very important part of conflicts around the world. In conflicts, states or other participants in the conflict, try to spread their own views or frames on the causes, nature and solutions of the conflict, in order to get more support for their cause. During the Second World War Nazi Germany for example tried to spread its own view on the war against the Soviet-Union, in which this conflict was presented as a clash between the civilized European nations and the barbaric Asiatic Soviet Empire in order to mobilize more support for the Nazi cause in occupied Europe. Other profound examples of the use of framing and public diplomacy in conflicts are to be found in the numerous wars of independence in European colonies during the decolonisation period. During the Indonesian war of independence, the Dutch government for example called its military operations 'police actions', as in the Dutch view on the conflicts the Indonesian nationals were rebels and not freedom fighters.[13]

Framing and public diplomacy thus have been an important part of conflicts. The Israeli-Palestinian conflict is no exception. The Israeli government for example, tries to spread its view of Hamas as a terrorist organization, in order to mobilize more support for the Israeli cause. The Israeli government also tries to blame the Palestinians for the continuation of the conflict by putting emphasis on the attacks on Israelis by Hamas. The Palestinian resistance organizations however in their public diplomacy, try to spread their own view on the causes of the continuation of the conflict. In this Palestinian view, Israeli oppression of Palestinians, such as the blockade of the Gaza strip, is the major cause for the continuation of the conflict. These examples show the important role of framing in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.[14]

There are several types of framing strategies. In the article 'Framing Effects in International Relations' several different types of framing strategies are discerned. These framing strategies are:

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[12] Gilboa, '*Public Diplomacy*', 717-720.

[13] Mintz, Alex, Steven B.Redd, *Framing Effects in International Relation* (Milwaukee 2003) 193-200.

[14] Caplan, Neil, *The Israel-Palestine Conflict: Contested Histories* (Oxford 2010) 18-30.

- **Identity framing:** Identity framing entails an actor framing a particular identity of itself during a conflict. In conflicts, 'othering', putting emphasis on the differences between one's own group and other groups, is very prominent in identity framing. Actors for example often try to stress the differences between themselves and other actors in the conflict by emphasizing the lack of civility and the backwardness of these other actors. Actors also often emphasize the similarities between themselves and their allies in the conflict in identity frames.[15]
- **Characterization framing:** Characterization framing involves emphasizing particular characteristics of actors in conflicts. In characterization frames stereotypes of other actors are used to depict these actors in either a negative or a positive light. Characterization frames are typically used for similar purposes as identity frames as they are often used to juxtapose the framing actor against the framed actors.[16]
- **Power framing:** Power frames mainly revolve around the conception of which kinds of power are important in the conflict. Power frames for example deal with the question which kinds of power (military power, political power, economic power) are legitimate to use in the conflict and which kinds of power can best be used to advance the position of the framing actor in the conflict.[17]
- **Process framing:** Process framing mainly entails propagating particular solutions to a conflict situation. An actor can use process framing to gain support for its desired solution to the conflict from other actors. An actor which strives to a negotiated solution to the conflict may for example use process framing to encourage other actors to participate in negotiations.[18]
- **Risk and information framing:** Risk and information framing is used to depict the risks of a particular action or policy in a particular light favourable to the framing actor. An actor may for example use risk and information framing to gain support for a particular action by mitigating the risk of this particular action. Risk and information framing is also used to inform the audience in question on which sources of information are reliable and which are not. In a conflict, an actor may for example use risk and information framing to discredit information originating from its opponents in the conflict.[19]
- **Losses versus gains framing:** Losses versus gains framing mainly deals with framing particular developments in the conflict as losses or gains. Generally speaking most actor will try to frame their own policies in a favourable light. Therefore losses versus gains framing is used to emphasize gains of policies while ignoring or downplaying losses of these policies. Actors will also often use losses versus gains framing to emphasize the role of particular policies in preventing losses.[20]

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[15] Kaufman, Sanda, Michael Elliot, Deborah Shmueli, 'Frames, framing and reframing', *Beyond Intractability* (2003) 3; Sune Qvotrup Jensen, 'Othering, identity formation and agency', *Qualitative studies* 2.2 (2011) 63-68.
[16] Kaufman e.a., 'Frames, framing and reframing', 3-4.
[17] Ibidem, 4.
[18] Idem.
[19] Idem.
[20] Idem.

The types of framing described above will be utilized as an analytical framework in this study. This analytical framework will be used to analyse the framing strategies of the Israeli government during the two time periods.[21]

Nation, Nationalism and Zionism

Nation is a very important concept in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. According to Eric Hobshawn a nation can be defined as a group of people who share a variety of common characteristics, for example common cultural habits, traditions and language. Although Hobshawn's definition of a nation is widely applied, 'nation' as a concept is still very ambiguous and several different definition of a 'nation' exist. In this study, the definition of Hobshawn on nationalism is used as Hobshawn's definition on nationalism is very broad and is widely used by historians and social scientists.[22]

Interlinked with the concept of a 'nation' is Nationalism. Nationalism can be defined as a political ideology in which the concept of a 'nation' is utilized for political purposes. One very prominent ideal of many nationalists is for example to unify a nation in a state, a nation-state. In a nation-state the people who belong to the nation hold political supremacy. In such a state people who do not belong to the nation are often either excluded of marginalized.[23]

Nation and nationalism are very important concepts in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict because in this conflict two nations, an Israeli/Jewish nation and a Palestinian/Arab nation both state a claim to the same geographical area, Palestine. Since in a nation-state two nations cannot exercise the same amount of political influence, it has yet been impossible to unify both the Israeli and Palestinian nation into a single nation-state. The creation of two separate nation-states in Palestine is also problematic as the territorial claims of the Israelis and the Palestinians overlap. The desire of both the Israelis and the Palestinians to create their own nation state in Palestine has thus resulted in conflict between these two groups. Because of this, nationalism can be seen as one of the major causes for the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.[24]

In the present day nation and nationalism still play a very important role in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict as Israel and its opponents, Hamas and the PLO, are using these concepts to legitimize their very existence. Framing plays an important role in this legitimization as the Israeli government for example, has to demonstrate that a Jewish/Israeli nation exists and that this nation is supposed to be unified in a single nation state, in order to get international recognition. Zionism, an ideology which aims to create a unified Jewish nation-state in Palestine, is central to this legitimization as according to Zionists, Palestine is the ancestral homeland of the Jewish people and therefore belongs to the Jewish nation. The Israeli

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[21] See section 1.2.
[22] Katherine Verdery, 'Whither "Nation" and "Nationalism"?', *Daedalus* 122.3 (1993) 36-39.
[23] Idem.
[24] Herbert C. Kelman, 'The Interdependence of the Israeli and Palestinian National Identies: The Role of the Other in Existential Conflicts', *Journal of Social Issues* 55.3 (1999) 582-586.

government can use this line of argumentation to legitimize its own existence and at the same delegitimize the creation of a Palestinian state in Palestine.[25]

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[25] Mark A. Tessler, *A History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict* (Indianapolis 1994) 8-10, 16-18, 36-40.

1.4. Literature report

There is a large amount of scholarly publications on the role of framing in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. In this section, an overview will be presented on the scholarly debate on the role of framing in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. It is important to note that not all authors discussed in this literature report specifically refer to framing in their publications on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Instead, the authors in question refer to other terms similar to framing such as the construction and spreading of narratives. Because of this, the publications of these authors are still included in this literature report due to the fact that these authors do refer to processes which can be considered as framing.

The Israeli historian Ifat Moaz has written several articles on the role of framing in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. In her article 'Going to Ground: Argument in Israeli-Jewish and Palestinian Encounter Groups', she states that both Israelis and Palestinians make extensive use of framing to legitimize their actions in the conflict and to absolve themselves from blame. The Israeli government for example, often tries to portray Israel as a peaceful state that wants to end the conflict by negotiating with the Palestinians.[26]

Moaz's view on the prominent role of framing in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is shared by many historians and political scientists. The American political scientist Robert I. Rotberg has made an elaborate description of the role of framing in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in his book 'Israeli and Palestinians Narratives of Conflict: History's Double Helix'. Rotberg expresses the view that both Israelis and Palestinians have constructed their own narratives on the origins of the conflict in order to blame the other side for starting the conflict. According to the Israeli narrative for example, the Palestinians and the Arab countries are responsible as Palestinian irregulars attacked Israelis when the state of Israel was being formed. Furthermore, several Arab countries invaded Israel after the proclamation of the Israeli declaration of independence in 1948. In contrast, the Palestinian narrative states that their response to the large-scale Jewish settlement after the Second World War was legitimate and that Jewish repression started the conflict.[27] Rotberg's view on the importance of framing and contending narratives in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is shared by authors such as Jacob Schamir and Khalil Shikaki.[28]

The American political scientist Norman Finkelstein has also made an important contribution to the scientific debate about the role of framing in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. In his book 'Image and Reality of the Israel-Palestine conflict', Finkelstein argues that many common notions about the Israeli-Palestinian conflict such as the notion that premeditated aggression and oppression of Palestinians by the Jewish colonists caused the Palestinian refugee problem, are very tenuous claims. According to Finkelstein many notions about the

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[26] Moaz, Ifat, Donald G. Ellis, 'Going to Ground: Argument in Israeli-Jewish and Palestinian Encounter Groups', *Research on Language and Social Interaction* 34.1 (2001) 399-407.

[27] Robert I., Rotberg, *Israeli and Palestinians Narratives of Conflict: History's Double Helix* (Indianapolis 2006) 2-12.

[28] Shamir, Jacob, Khalil Shikaki, 'Public Opinion in the Israeli-Palestinian two-level game', *Journal of Peace Research* 42.3 (2005)315-326; Shamir, Jacob, Khalil Shikaki, 'Self-Serving Perceptions of Terrorism among Israelis and Palestinians', *Political Psychology* 23.3 (2002) 537-542, 548-555.

Israeli-Palestinian conflict are either based on the Israeli or the Palestinian narrative of the conflict. Most of these notions are therefore very biased and do not provide a factual and accurate description on the causes and nature of the conflict.[29]

According to several authors framing plays a role in the conflict in a variety of ways. The American anthropologist Julie Peteet for example, explores in her article 'Words as interventions: naming in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict' the role of terminology, the naming of places, events and objects, in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. According to Peteet the development of specific names for places, events or objects, has been an important framing strategy for the Israeli government in the conflict. Zionist Jews have for example put a lot of effort in developing names for places in Israel that signify the ancient roots of the Jewish people in Palestine. Zionist Jews for example developed a names committee in the 1930s which was charged with developing nationalistic names in Hebrew for Jewish settlements in Palestine. This committee subsequently nullified the Arab place names in Palestine. This effort that Zionist Jews took in developing Hebrew place names for cities and towns in Israel is but one example of the use of terminology by the Israelis to put emphasis on the ancient roots of the Jewish people in Palestine and to deny the Palestinians territorial rights in Palestine. According to Peteet, terminology has thus played an important role in the framing strategies of the Israeli government in the conflict.[30]

Another publication on the importance of terminology in the framing processes in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is 'the Israel-Palestine conflict: contested histories' by Neil Caplan. In this book Caplan provides an overview on the use of terminology by both the Israelis and the Palestinian to vilify the opposing side in the conflict. According to Caplan the use of the term 'Zionist invaders' to describe Israelis by Palestinians is for example a framing attempt of the Palestinians to spread their view on Israel. Another important example of the use of terminology for framing purposes in the conflict is found in the different names used by the Israelis and Palestinians for the same events. The 1956 Israeli-Egyptian war is for example named the 'Sinai War' by the Israelis while the Palestinians call this event 'The Tripartite Aggression', which refers to the invasion of Egypt by Israel and its Western European allies, France and Britain. Caplan's view is thus that loaded terminology has played an important role in the framing strategies of both the Israelis and the Palestinians in the conflict.[31]

Several authors have published on the use of framing which is used by both the Israeli government and the Palestinian resistance organizations in educational material such as textbooks. Fouad Moughrabi has for example written the article 'The Politics of Palestinian Textbooks' on the use of framing in Palestinian textbooks. In his article Moughrabi states that Palestinian textbooks which were used in the West Bank and Gaza Strip were heavily censored by the Israeli authorities. Any texts that might stir Palestinian national awareness were carefully removed by the Israeli authorities. The word 'Palestine' was also erased from all Palestinian textbooks. In these censored Palestinian textbooks only the Israeli narrative

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[29] Norman G. Finkelstein, *Image and Reality in the Israeli-Palestine conflict* (London 1995) 51-72.

[30] Julie Peteet, 'Words as Interventions: Naming in the Palestine-Israel Conflict', *Third World Quarterly* 26.1 (2005) 156-165.

[31] Neil Caplan, *The Israel-Palestine conflict: Contested Histories* (Chichester 2010) 8-17.

on the conflict was covered. This situation lasted until 1994, when the newly-founded PA was allowed more autonomy in educational matters and established a Palestinian curriculum. According to Moughrabi this development did not completely depoliticise Palestinian textbooks as the new Palestinian textbooks focused mainly on the Palestinian narrative. In these new textbooks the Israeli narrative on the conflict was largely omitted. Moughrabi does state however that there was no strong anti-Israeli or anti-Semitic framing in the new Palestinian textbooks.[32]

Framing has also played an important role in the Oslo Accords negotiations. The Israeli political scientist Arie M. Kacowicz for example states that the Israeli government has made extensive use of framing during the Oslo Accords negotiations. According to the Israeli narrative the PLO is to blame for the failure of the Oslo Accords negotiations. The Israelis narrative mainly draws attention to the decision of the political leader of the PLO, Yasser Arafat, to break of the Camp David Summit negotiations in 2000. According to the Israeli narrative the PLO started the second Palestinian uprising, the Second Intifada two months after ending the negotiations and is therefore responsible for reopening the hostilities between Israelis and Palestinians. According to this Israeli narrative on the failure of the Oslo Accords negotiations, the PLO is a hostile political faction which is not willing to compromise to end the conflict and seeks the destruction of Israel. Kacowicz states that the Israeli government is actively trying to spread this frame on the conflict in order to obtain more international support.[33] In the article 'Message Framing Surrounding the Oslo I Accords' by William A. Donohue and Daniel Druckman this view is also expressed. Druckman and Donohue argue that during the Oslo Accords negotiations the Israeli government used framing regularly in its public statements to gain national and international support for its position in the negotiations.[34]

Another important article on the role of framing in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is 'Mediated Public Diplomacy: A Strategic Contest over International Agenda Building and Frame Building' by Tamir Sheafer. In this article Sheafer argues that both the Israeli government and the Palestinian resistance organizations Hamas and the PLO, make extensive use of framing in their public statements in order to gain international support for their respective causes in the conflict. In his article Sheafer explores the use of framing by the Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs during Israel's withdrawal from the Gaza strip in 2005. According to Sheafer, the Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs in its public statements frequently emphasized the Israeli withdrawal from the Gaza Strip as an example of the benevolence of the Israeli government towards Palestinians. The Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs also drew attention to Palestinian attacks on Israelis during this period. Sheafer states that Israel utilized these framing measures in this time period in order to obtain

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[32] Fouad, Moughrabi, 'The Politics of Palestinian Textbooks', *Journal of Palestine Studies* 31.1 (2001) 5-10, 16-18.
[33] Arie M. Kacowicz, 'Rashomon in the Middle East: Clashing Narratives, Images and Frames in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict', *Cooperation and Conflict* 40.3 (2005) 346-356.
[34] William A. Donohue, Daniel Druckman, 'Mesage Framing Surrounding the Oslo I Accords', *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 53.1 (2009) 138-144.

international support for Israel's position in the conflict.[35] Sheafer also stresses the prominence of framing for the Israeli government in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in another article, 'Incoherent Narrator: Israeli Public Diplomacy during the Disengagement and the Elections in the Palestinian Authority'. In this article Sheafer stresses the importance of framing in Israeli public diplomacy. According to Sheafer framing has been important for legitimizing Israeli military action during the conflict. Sheafer also stresses however that the use of framing by the Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs during the conflict has not always been effective in improving Israel's international reputation.[36]

The Israeli author Eytan Gilboa agrees with Sheafer on the rather limited effect of Israeli framing on international public opinion. According to Gilboa, Israel's international reputation has worsened over the last decade. Opinion polls in Europe and the U.S for example demonstrate that European and American public opinion is strongly anti-Israeli. Another example of Israel's poor international reputation is that there have been a large amount of anti-Israeli resolutions in the UN general embassy.[37] According to Gilboa Israel's poor international reputation has been due to the lack of public diplomacy, the use of framing to improve the international reputation of the state, by the Israeli government.[38] Gilboa's view clashes with the views of some other authors such as Kacowicz and Sheafer as according to Kacowicz and Sheafer, the Israeli government has made extensive use of framing to improve its international reputation.

The Israeli government not only uses framing to obtain more international support. Framing strategies are also used by the Israeli government to gain more national support for its position in the conflict. Framing regarding the conflict between Israel and the Palestinians, is for example of critical importance during Israeli elections. The role of framing during Israeli elections is discussed in the article 'The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict in Israeli Elections'. The authors of this article, Michael and Jacob Schamir argue that the position of Israel in the conflict has played an important role in the Israeli elections of the last two decades, especially in elections that occurred during or shortly after major events in the conflict. During the 2001 Israeli elections that were held shortly after the failed Camp David Summit negotiations in 2000 for example, the position of Israel in the conflict stood very prominently on the political agenda.[39]

The Israeli government also used framing to gain national support for the opening of the Oslo Accords negotiations with the Palestinians. According to the American political scientist Michael Barnett, the Israeli Prime Minister Yithzak Rabin made extensive efforts to spread the frame of Israel as a liberal nation which would be able to peacefully coexist with a Palestinian state. Rabin tried to combat the ultranationalist frame which was held by many

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[35] Sheafer, Tamir, Itay Gabay, 'Mediated Public Diplomacy: A Strategic Contest over International Agenda Building and Frame Building', *Political Communication* 26.4 (2009) 448-454.

[36] Shenhav, Shaul R., Tamir Sheafer, Itay Gabay, 'Incoherent Narrator: Israeli Public Diplomacy during the Disengagement and the Elections in the Palestinian Authority'*, Israel Studies* 15.3 (2010) 143-147, 157-159.

[37] Gilboa, 'Public Diplomacy', 726-735.

[38] Ibidem, 735-741.

[39] Shamir , Michael, Jacob Shamir, 'The Israeli–Palestinian Conflict in Israeli Elections', International Political Science Review 28.4 (2004) 480-486.

right-wing, conservative politicians in Israel staging that no peaceful coexistence between an Israeli and a Palestinian state was possible. According to Barnett, Rabin utilized this framing strategy to fuel Israeli support for the Oslo Accords negotiations. The political scientist Karin Aggestam also argues that Rabin heavily utilized framing in order to convince the Israeli population that a political solution to the conflict was needed and that Israel should negotiate with the Palestinians. Both Barnett and Aggestam, however argue that Rabin was only partially successful in spreading this frame as following Rabin's death in 1995, Likud, a right wing political party won the Israeli elections in 1996. Israel's new prime minister, Benjamin Netanyahu was much more critical of the Oslo Accords negotiations and was less prepared to make concessions towards the Palestinians.[40]

There is also a considerable amount of scholarly literature on the use of framing by the Israeli and Palestinian media in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The Israeli communications scientist Tamar Liebes has for example produced several important publications on the framing processes utilized by media agencies in their coverage in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. In her article 'Black and White and Shades of Gray' Liebes argues that the framing strategies employed by the Israeli media have changed dramatically in the last few decades. Israeli media coverage on the First Intifada (1987-1991) was for example characterised by the demonization of Palestinians. The Israeli media presented a very one-sided, black and white frame of the First Intifada. In this frame, Palestinian violence towards Israelis was emphasized and there was almost no coverage on the Palestinians victims of the fighting. During the First Intifada, the Israeli media basically spread only the Israeli frame on the conflict. Kampf and Liebes argue in their article that the news coverage of the Israeli media on the Second Intifada was very different. During the Second Intifada Palestinian victims of the violence were regularly featured in Israeli media coverage. The Israeli media also paid attention to the Palestinian frame on the conflict during the Second Intifada, as opposed to only the Israeli frame during the First Intifada. Kampf and Liebes thus conclude that the Israeli media has changed its framing practices in the last two decades by also including the Palestinian narrative.[41]

Liebes view on the heavy use of framing by media agencies in their coverage of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is also expressed by the Israeli political scientist Gadi Wolfsfeld. According to Wolfsfeld both Israeli and Palestinian news coverage on incidents and events in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is very ethnocentric. This entails that Israeli and Palestinian media agencies only provide the Israeli or respectively Palestinian narrative on events. Wolfsfeld states that both the Israeli and Palestinian media mainly use victimization as a framing strategy. In this framing strategy, victims of violent acts committed by the opponent's side in the conflict are put the foreground, while the victims caused by violence perpetrated by one's own side are largely ignored. According to Wolfsfeld both the Israelis

[40] Michael Barnett, 'Culture, Strategy and Foreign Policy: Israel's road to Oslo', *Journal of European International Relations* 5.1 (2003) 18-28; Karin Aggestam *Reframing and Resolving Conflict. Israeli-Palestinian Negotiations 1988-1998* (Lund 1999) 98-120, 136-148.
[41] Liebes, Tamar, Zohar Kampf, 'Black and White and Shades of Grey: Palestinians in the Israeli Media during the 2nd Intifada', *International Journal of Press/Politics* 20.1 (2009).

and Palestinian regularly reflect on their own victimhood in the conflict, in order to gain more national and international support.[42]

Just like the European and Israeli media, the Arab and Palestinian media have employed extensive framing efforts during the conflict. Most studies on the coverage of the conflict Palestinian and Arab media, conclude that the Palestinian and Arab media is heavily biased against Israel. According to the Australian political scientist Peter Manning, the Arab media agencies Al-Jazeera and Al-Arabiya, for example spread strong anti-Israeli frames during the Gaza War in 2009.[43] The Israeli political scientist Eitan Y. Alimi has also written several articles about framing strategies employed by the Palestinian media. In his article 'Knowing Your Adversary: Israeli Structure of Political Opportunity and the Inception of the Palestinian Intifada', Alimi examines the framing processes by several Palestinian newspapers in the period leading up to the First Intifada. Alimi argues that several Palestinian newspapers used framing in order to stir Palestinian discontent towards Israel. According to Alimi, the anti-Israeli framing in the Palestinian media, was an important factor in the outbreak of the First Intifada.[44]

A vast amount of scholarly literature has been written on the role of framing in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Political scientists and historians have analysed the role of many different 'framers' in the conflict such as the Israeli Government, the leading Palestinian resistance organizations, Hamas and the PLO and the Israeli and Palestinian media. The effects of these framing efforts have also been thoroughly researched. There have been a large amount of studies on the effects of the framing efforts by the framers in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict on target audiences in countries around the globe. The role of framing in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict has thus been thoroughly analysed. As is illustrated by this literature report however there are not many disputes between authors on the role of framing in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict as virtually all authors agree on the significant role that framing has in the conflict. There is however some dispute between authors on the framing efforts of the Israeli government in the conflict. Arie Kacowicz and Tamir Sheafer for example argue that the Israeli government has put a great effort in utilizing framing to improve her international reputation while in the view of Eytan Gilboa Israel has made hardly any efforts at public diplomacy.

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[42] Wolfsfeld, Gadi, Paul Frosh, Maurice T. Awabdy, Covering Death in Conflicts: Coverage of the Second Intifada on Israeli and Palestinian Television, *Journal of Peace Research* 45.3 (2008) 401-404, 412-416.

[43] Elmasry, Mohamad Hamas, Alaa El Shamy, Peter Manning, Andrew Mills, Philip J. Auter, 'Al-Jazeera and Al-Arabiya framing of the Israel–Palestine conflict during war and calm periods'*, The International Communication Gazette* (2013) 751-754, 763-765.

[44] Alimi, Eitan Y., William A. Gamson, Charlotte Ryan, 'Knowing Your Adversary: Israeli Structure of Political Opportunity and the Inception of the Palestinian Intifada', *Sociological Forum* 21.4 (2006) 538-540, 549-555.

1.5. Innovative aspects

There has been extensive academic research on the framing efforts by the Israeli government in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Tamir Sheafer, Arie Kazowicz and Eytan Gilboa have for example written several academic articles on this subject.[45] Most of these studies however only focus on a very limited period of time. Sheafer's article for example only focuses on the framing efforts of the Israeli government during the Israeli withdrawal from the Gaza strip in 2005 and the Palestinian elections in 2006. In my research, I want to focus on a series of important events in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict during the last two decades like the Camp David Summit negotiations in 2000 and the inception of the Second Intifada. My research however focuses on a much broader period of time than the existing literature on this subject. In this way, my research can be a useful addition to the scientific debate on the role of framing in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

My research also offers a broader perspective of the framing strategies employed by the Israeli government during the last two decades as in my research more than a dozen important events in the conflict are examined. Most studies on the role of framing in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, are far more limited in scope and only focus on one or two important events.[46] Another innovative aspect of my research is the comparison between the time period of the Oslo Accords negotiations (1993-2000) and the time period after the inception of the Second Intifada until Operation Pillar of Defense (2000-2012). Although there have been studies on the difference in framing methods by the Israeli, Palestinian and Western media in these two time periods, there has not been a large amount of research on the comparison of the framing methods utilized by the Israeli government during these two time periods.[47] Because of this, my research can add new content to the current scientific debate about the framing strategies employed by the Israeli government in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

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[45] See section 1.4, literature report.
[46] Sheafer e.a., 'Mediated Public Diplomacy', 450.
[47] Liebes e.a., 'Black and White and Shades of Grey', 64-68.

1.6. Primary sources

The primary sources used in this study are official Israeli government statements, mainly statements from the Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs as this Israeli ministry is most directly involved in Israeli/Palestinian relations. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs is heavily involved in the framing of Palestinians, as this framing can be used to boost pro-Israeli movements internationally. The Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs has an online archive of press releases and statements going back to 1993. The public statements of the Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs can therefore be used very well to analyse the framing strategies of the Israeli government in the time period examined in this study.

The Israeli ministry of Foreign Affairs thus has an extensive archive of public statements. Due to the sheer amount of public statements in these archives and the fact that not in all public statements is referred to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, not all public statements originating from the time periods under research in this study will be used. Only Israeli public statements in which is referred to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, will be used in this study. Public statements about Israeli policies towards Palestinians will for example be of great importance to this study.

The online archive of the Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs provides an extensive amount of primary sources for this study. The use of official Israeli government public statements does present problems however. One main problem is that not all Israeli government statements are translated into English. Since I cannot read Hebrew, I will not be able to use all relevant Israeli government statements for my research. Luckily, the public statements of the Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Prime Minister's office are almost completely translated into English. These statements are also accessible in the online archives of these government institutes, which makes it easy to use these sources for my research. Furthermore, the public statements of the Israeli government which are in Hebrew, are mainly directed towards the Israeli population and not an international audience. The Israeli public statements in English, are focused on an international audience and are therefore of greater importance in this study.

Chapter 2: History of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict

2.1. 19th century: rise of Jewish nationalism and Zionism

The origins of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict can be traced backed to the nineteenth century. In the nineteenth century, the concept of a nation and the associated political ideology, nationalism, rose to prominence.[48] During the nineteenth century nationalism became prominent in European countries like Italy and Germany and these countries developed into nation-states.[49] Jewish nationalism also became important during this period. According to the proponents of Jewish nationalism, the Jewish people could be considered as a nation and therefore was entitled to have its own sovereign state.[50]

There was however one main problem which impeded the creation of a Jewish state, the fact that the Jewish people was scattered across many countries and possessed no contiguous territory. According to many Jewish nationalists, the territory needed to create a Jewish state could be found in Palestine, the ancestral homeland of the Jewish people. Zionism, an ideology which propagated the creation of a Jewish state in Palestine thus arose.[51]

2.2. Jewish migration under Ottoman and British rule in Palestine

In the nineteenth century, Palestine was ruled by the Ottoman Empire. In the late nineteenth century, Jewish organisations like the World Zionist congress and the Jewish National Fund, purchased land in Palestine and made agreements with the Ottoman authorities to allow Jewish migration. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth century a substantial number of Jews migrated to Palestine.[52] This migration continued after the First World War when Palestine became under British mandate. A significant event during the First World War which boosted the Zionist cause was the Balfour Declaration by the British which called for the creation of a Jewish state in Palestine. This declaration was adopted by the League of Nations in 1922.[53]

2.3. Jewish-Palestinian conflicts and Palestinian nationalism

The efforts of Jewish Zionist organizations and the Balfour Declaration encouraged Jews to migrate to Palestine. The large-scale migration of Jewish colonists to Palestine was however bound to lead to conflict with the native population, the Palestinian Arabs or Palestinians. When in the late nineteenth century the first Jewish colonists arrived, Jewish-Palestinian

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[48] See chapter 1 for definitions of 'nation' and 'nationalism'.

[49] Benny Morris, *Righteous Victims: A History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict, 1881-2001* (New York 2001) 14-26.

[50] Idem; Ari Shavit, *My Promised Land: The Triumph and Tragedy of Israel* (London 2015) 4-6; Charles D. Smith, *Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict* (New York 1988) 25-29.

[51] Morris, *Righteous Victims*, 18-26; Smith, *Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict*, 29-37; Martin Wright, *Israel and the Palestinians* (Chicago 1989) 12-13; Shlomo Ben Ami, *Scars of war, wounds of peace: the Israeli-Arab tragedy* (Oxford 2006) 2-5.

[52] Shavit, *My Promised Land*, 50-53; Smith, *Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict*, 29-37.

[53] Smith, *Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict*, 50-56.

conflicts were mainly disputes over land. The purchase of land by Jewish colonists from Arab landowners for example led to the eviction of Palestinian farmers from their land. Unsurprisingly, Palestinian farmers protested to this and sometimes resorted to violence against Jewish settlers.[54]

The conflicts between Jews and Palestinians intensified after the First World War. Many Palestinian Arabs which supported Arab nationalism, were infuriated by the Balfour Declaration as it called for the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine. The Palestinian Arabs considered Palestine to be part of the native Arab homeland combined with other Middle Eastern regions such as Lebanon, Jordan, Egypt and Syria. Therefore, many Palestinian Arabs opposed Jewish migration to Palestine as they considered the Jews as foreign intruders.[55] Since the British authorities allowed Jewish migration, the Palestinian Arabs initiated several major revolts against the British such as the 1936-1939 Arab revolt in Palestine.[56] During the Second World War, struggles between the Palestinian Arabs and the British continued, as some Palestinian leaders decided to cooperate with Nazi Germany against Britain. The British on their turn, decided to cooperate more strongly with the Jewish colonists in Palestine, as the Jewish colonists could be used to defend British Palestine from a German invasion by Rommel's Afrika corps.[57]

Palestinian Arab demonstrators during 1936-1938 Arab revolt in Palestine

'Palestine Arabs at Abou Ghosh take the oath of allegiance to the Arab cause to fight Jewish immigration': http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/photographs-from-1936-arab-riots (09-06-2016).

2.4. Post World War II: creation of Israel and Israeli-Arab wars

The end of the Second World War ushered in a new phase in the Israeli Palestinian conflict, as in the aftermath of World War two and the Holocaust, many European Jews immigrated to Palestine. The British authorities sought to prevent tensions between the Jewish

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[54] Morris, *Righteous Victims*, 37-39, 48-56.

[55] Ibidem, 73-76; Shavit, *My Promised Land*, 58-61; Nasser H. Aruri, 'Palestinian Nationalism Since 1967: An Overview', in Yehuda Lukacs, Abdalla M. Battah (eds.), *The Arab-Israeli Conflict: Two Decades of Change* (London 1988) 71-72; Ben-Ami, *Scars of war, wounds of peace*, 6-8.

[56] Morris, *Righteous Victims*, 88-106, 121-160; Shavit, *My Promised Land*, 70-75; Smith, *Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict*, 29-37, 94-102; Wright, *Israel and the Palestinians*, 18-19.

[57] Shavit, *My Promised Land*, 81-83; Smith, *Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict*, 29-37, 113-117.

immigrants and the local Palestinian population. Therefore a UN committee was assembled which presented a partition plan, in which Palestine was divided in a Jewish and a Palestinian state. In this partition plan, Jerusalem and Bethlehem were to be put under control of the UN.[58]

Although many Jews felt disgruntled about the partition plan, mainly because Jerusalem would not be included in the Jewish state, the Jewish Agency, the main political leadership of the Jewish colonists in Palestine, accepted the plan. The Palestinian leaders however rejected the plan, primarily because at that time the majority of the population in Palestine was comprised of Palestinian Arabs. Many Arab countries were also in opposition of the plan. Despite this, the UN General Assembly approved of the plan and it was therefore decided that partition plan would be implemented in October 1948, after the British authorities had left Palestine.[59]

Even before the implementation date of the plan had been reached, Palestinian-Jewish violence erupted in Palestine as Palestinians attacked Jews following the approval of the partition plan by the UN. In order to oppose the Palestinians, the Jewish Agency decided to expand the Haganah, the Jewish paramilitary organization into a regular army, the Israeli Defense Force (IDF). Clashes between the IDF and Palestinian militants became more and more frequent as the British started their evacuation from Palestine.[60]

The Palestinian-Jewish violence did not deter the Jewish Agency from acting on the UN partition plan. Just before the British had evacuated Palestine on 14 May 1947, the leader of the Jewish Agency, David Ben-Gurion decided to proclaim a Jewish state in Palestine, Israel. The declaration of the state of Israel, infuriated the Palestinians and the Arab countries which were opposed to the partition plan to begin with. In response to the declaration of a Jewish state, Jordan, Syria, Egypt, Lebanon and Iraq invaded Israel. This started the Arab-Israeli war.[61]

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[58] Morris, *Righteous Victims*, 180-189; Wright, *Israel and the Palestinians*, 20-21.
[59] Shavit, *My Promised Land*, 106-107; Smith, *Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict*, 136-140.
[60] Morris, *Righteous Victims*, 191-214; Smith, *Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict*, 29-37, 140-146.
[61] Morris, *Righteous Victims*, 215-222; Smith, *Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict*, 146-148; Wright, *Israel and the Palestinians*, 21-22; Ben-Ami, *Scars of war, wounds of peace*, 30.

Declaration of the state of Israel, 14 May 1948

'Declaration of the State of Israel':
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:PikiWiki_Israel_46062_Declaration_of_the_State_of_Israel.jpg (09-06-2016).

During the first stages of the war, the Arab countries had some success against the Israeli military. In the end however, the IDF managed to push back the Arab forces.[62] In the 1949 armistice which ended the war, Israel acquired most of the territory in Palestine, except the Gaza Strip which became Egyptian territory, and the Jordan West Bank which became part of Jordan.[63]

Although the 1949 armistice had ended open war between Israel and the Arab countries, it did not bring peace to Palestine. Raids were launched by both sides and skirmishes continued across the Israeli-Egyptian and Israeli-Jordanian borders into the 1950s and 1960s. Palestinian militants which were called Fedayeen also committed violent attacks on Israeli citizens. These Palestinian militants were supported by the Arab countries.[64] Israel on its part resorted several times to violence against the Arab countries during the 1950s and the 1960s such as in the Suez War in 1956 and the Six-Day war in 1967. The Six-Day War was a very pivotal moment in the Israeli-Palestinian as this war resulted in the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip which had previously been held by Jordan and Egypt respectively.[65]

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[62] Morris, *Righteous Victims*, 222-252; Wright, *Israel and the Palestinians*, 21-22.
[63] Morris, *Righteous Victims*, 252-257.
[64] Ibidem, 261-299; Wright, *Israel and the Palestinians*, 24-26.
[65] Morris, *Righteous Victims*, 302-346; Smith, *Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict*, 197-203.

2.5. 1970s-1980s: rise of the Palestinian resistance organizations and Israeli-Palestinian conflict

Before the Six-Day war, many of Palestinian resistance organizations had heavily relied on support of the Arab countries.[66] After the defeat of the Arab countries in the Six-Day War, many Palestinians lost faith in the cause of a unified Arab state in the Middle East. Consequently, the Palestinian resistance organizations began to propagate Palestinian nationalism, which sought to establish an independent Palestinian state in Palestine. In order to achieve this, the Palestinian resistance became more organized. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, many Palestinian resistance organizations such as Fatah joined the leading Palestinian resistance organization, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), with the leader of Fatah, Yasser Arafat becoming the chairman of the PLO.[67]

During the 1970s and 1980s, the PLO initiated many attacks on Israeli citizens. These attacks were mainly launched from neighbouring Arab countries such as Lebanon, Egypt and Jordan. These attacks included among others, guerrilla warfare such as in the 1967-1970 War of Attrition, the hijacking of airplanes such as an Air France flight in 1976, and the launching of missiles into Israel from PLO bases in Lebanon. In some cases the Israeli government decided to attack Arab countries in retaliation for their support the PLO. In 1982 Israel for example invaded Lebanon in response to Palestinian missile attacks from Southern Lebanon.[68]

PLO militants blow up hijacked planes in Jordan, 12 September 1970

'The explosion of hijacked planes in Jordan': https://chronicle.fanack.com/israel/history-past-to-present/black-september/ (09-06-2017).

During the 1970s and 1980s, while the PLO was operating against Israel from foreign countries, many Palestinians lived in the Gaza Strip and West Bank, which were under Israeli occupation since the 1967 Six-Day War. During the Israeli occupation, conflicts frequently

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[66] Smith, *Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict*, 188-191; Wright, *Israel and the Palestinians*, 26-29.
[67] Smith, *Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict*, 215-217; L. Carl Brown, 'The June 1967 War: A Turning Point', in Yehuda Lukacs, Abdalla M. Battah (eds.), *The Arab-Israeli Conflict: Two Decades of Change* (London 1988) 141-142; Jonathan Schanzer, *Hamas vs Fatah: The Struggle for Palestine* (New York 2008) 18-21.
[68] Smith, *Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict*, 223-225, 234-238, 263-277; Wright, *Israel and the Palestinians*, 29-32; Schanzer, *Hamas vs Fatah*, 18-21.

arose between Israeli's and Palestinians in the occupied territories. These conflicts often were caused by the demolition of Palestinian homes to make place for Israeli settlements in the occupied territories. Conflicts also often arose on the arrest of suspected PLO sympathizers and Palestinian radicals by the IDF. Another important point of contention between Israel and the Palestinians in the occupied territories was formed by Israel's settlement policy in which Jewish settlements were built in the Gaza Strip and West Bank. Many Palestinians saw the creation of Jewish settlements in the occupied territories as Israeli encroachment on Palestinian lands.

The violent manner in which the IDF responded to attacks by the PLO, Israel's repressive measures against Palestinian civilians in the occupied territories and Israel's settlement policy, provoked many anti-Israeli criticism and protests in many states throughout the world. Some states also sought to take political action against Israel by boycotting Israeli goods or submitting anti-Israeli resolutions to the UN. The most prominent of these anti-Israeli UN resolutions was adopted in November 1975. In this resolution, it was determined that Zionism was a form of racism. These measures ensured that Israel's international reputation was very poor during the 1970s and 1980s.[69]

Despite Israel's poor international reputation, the successive Israeli governments utilized very little public diplomacy and framing to improve its international reputation.[70] During the Cold War, Israel mainly relied on support of the US and the European countries as these countries considered Israel to be their main ally in the Middle East, which was considered as a largely hostile region. The Israeli government therefore was ensured of the support of several powerful allies during the Cold War and therefore did not really need to improve its international reputation.[71]

2.6. First Intifada

The conflicts between Israel and the Palestinian resistance organizations during the 1970s and 1980s culminated in the First Palestinian Uprising or Intifada in 1987. During the First Intifada, massive riots broke out in the occupied territories against Israeli occupation. Many Palestinians were killed in Israeli attempts to supress the riots, which led to more riots and attacks on Israelis by Palestinian militants.[72]

The Israeli-Palestinian violence that occurred during the First Intifada, gained widespread publicity around the world and made the Israeli-Palestinian conflict an urgent issue in international politics.[73] Foreign countries, especially the US put pressure on Israel to open negotiations between with the PLO to bring an end to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

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[69] Gilboa, 'Public Diplomacy', 720-723.
[70] See section 1.3, theoretical concepts for definitions of public diplomacy and framing.
[71] Zachary K. Goldman, 'Ties that bind: John F. Kennedy and the foundations of the American–Israeli alliance', *Cold War History* 9.1 (2009) 31-35; George W. Ball, 'The Coming Crisis in Israeli-American Relations', *Foreign Affairs* 58.2 (1979) 237-250.
[72] Morris, *Righteous Victims*, 569-602; Wright, *Israel and the Palestinians*, 59-66.
[73] Morris, *Righteous Victims*, 602-610.

Following the US arranged Madrid Peace Conference in 1991, several meetings occurred between Israeli and Palestinian delegates.[74]

Palestinian rioters during the First Intifada

'The Rebellious Beginning': http://ancientworldstudies.pbworks.com/w/page/12845510/First%20Intifada (09-06-2017).

2.7. Recent history of Israeli-Palestinian conflict (1993-2012)

In this section the major events that occurred in the Israeli-Palestinian during the time period under analysis, 1993-2012, will be discussed. This section also includes a brief overview of the political history of Israel during this period as the political circumstances in Israel during the time period under analysis are an important factor in this study.

2.7.1. Oslo I accord and Oslo II accord

The meetings initiated between PLO and Israeli officials during and following the First Intifada culminated eventually in the Oslo I accord, which was signed by Israel and the PLO on 13 September 1993. The main articles stipulated in the Oslo I Accord, entailed that the Palestinians would eventually attain self-government in the Gaza Strip and West Bank. Israeli forces would eventually withdraw from the Gaza Strip and the West Bank. The Oslo I Accord also stipulated that a Palestinian interim government would be created, the Palestinian Authority (PA). In return, the PLO officially recognized Israel's right to exist. In 1995 a second accord, the Oslo II Accord also known as the Israeli-Palestinian interim agreement, was agreed upon by Israel and the PLO. In this accord several more agreements were made about the future of the occupied territories.[75]

In the first years of the Oslo Accords negotiations, the Israeli government was led by Yithzak Rabin the leader of Labor Party. The Labor Party was a left-wing political party which was in

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[74] Ibidem, 610-615.

[75] Ibidem, 619-625, 627-628; Michael Barnett, 'Culture, Strategy and Foreign Policy: Israel's road to Oslo', *European Journal of International Relations* 5.1 (1999) 20-23; Avi Shlaim, 'The Oslo Accord', *Journal of Palestine Studies* 23.3 (1994) 24-35.

favour of the Oslo Accords negotiations and negotiations with the PLO. Generally speaking the Labor government of Yithzak Rabin was prepared to make concessions to the PLO in order to further the peace process. This was for example demonstrated with the signing of the Oslo I and Oslo II accords, in which the PLO was offered several concessions by Israel such as eventual Palestinian self-government in the Gaza Strip and West Bank.[76]

Although in the Oslo I and Oslo II Accords major plans such as the withdrawal of Israeli forces from the occupied territories and the creation of a Palestinian government were agreed upon, the actual implementation of these plans was still to be negotiated upon. In the years following the signing of the Oslo I accord in 1993, further negotiations took place between Palestinian and Israeli delegates. Some important agreements following these negotiations were the Gaza-Jericho agreement of 4 May 1994, in which limited Palestinian self-government by the PA in the Gaza Strip and West-Bank was agreed upon, and the Wye River Memorandum, which was signed in October 1998.[77] In the Wye River Memorandum several agreements were made upon the actual implementation of the Oslo I and Oslo II Accords.[78]

2.7.2. Israeli and Palestinian radicals

The Israeli-Palestinian peace negotiations during the Oslo Accords negotiations caused tensions both on the Israeli and on the Palestinian side. In Israel, radical groups argued that Israel should not negotiate with the PLO or allow Palestinian self-government in the occupied territories. According to these Israeli radical groups, the Jewish people was entitled to entire Palestine as it was the 'promised land' of the Jewish people. On the Palestinian side, radical Palestinian resistance organizations like Hamas argued against the peace process as Hamas and like-minded Palestinian resistance organisations saw Israel as the ancestral enemy of the Palestinians and propagated the destruction of Israel trough armed conflict.[79]

In several instances, Israeli and Palestinian radicals endangered the peace process. Hamas for example continued to launch attacks on Israel during the Oslo Accords negotiations period which obviously did not improve Israeli-Palestinian relations. Actions by Israeli radicals also impeded the peace process. In November 1995 an Israeli radical for example assassinated Yithzak Rabin, the Prime Minister of Israel, who had advocated Israeli-Palestinian negotiations.[80]

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[76] Barnett, 'Culture, Strategy and Foreign Policy', 5-6; Shlaim, 'The Oslo Accord', 24-35.

[77] Raja Shehadeh, 'Questions of Jurisdiction: A Legal Analysis of the Gaza-Jericho Agreement', *Journal of Palestine Studies* 23.4 (1994), 18-20; Justus R. Weiner, 'Wye River Memorandum: A Transition to Final Peace', *Hastings Int'l & Comp. L. Rev.* 24 (2000) 2-8.

[78] Morris, *Righteous Victims*, 646-650.

[79] Ibidem, 621-622, 627; Barnett, 'Strategy and Foreign Policy', 6-7.

[80] Morris, *Righteous Victims*, 625-627, 634-636.

2.7.3. Netanyahu, Rabin and the Camp David Summit

In November 1995, parliamentary elections were held in Israel. These elections were won by the right-wing Likud party of Benjamin Netanyahu which formed a coalition government with several other Israeli right-wing parties. Netanyahu was much more critical of the peace process than Rabin had been. Netanyahu mainly argued that the Palestinians should first prove their commitment to the peace process before Israel could make concessions towards the Palestinians.[81]

Despite the scepticism of the Likud party towards the peace process, negotiations continued between Israel and the PLO during the governmental period of Prime Minister Netanyahu. Netanyahu for example signed the aforementioned Wye River Memorandum in 1998.[82] After parliamentary elections in 1999, the Labor Party came to power again. The Labor party led a coalition government composed of several left-wing and centre parties and Ehud Barak of the Israeli Labor party became the new Israeli Prime Minister. Under Barak, Israeli-Palestinian negotiations continued and eventually culminated in the Camp David Summit in July 2000. During the Camp David Summit however no agreement was reached, which caused a major fallout between the Israeli government and the PLO.[83]

2.7.4. Second Intifada

In the following months tensions remained high between the PLO and the Israeli government. In September 2000, riots broke out in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank as many Palestinians protested against the Israeli occupation. Israel responded to these demonstrations by using rubber bullets, tear gas and eventually live ammunition on the demonstrators. Consequently, several Israeli policemen and Palestinians were killed and hundreds were injured. In the following week, the conflict spiralled out of control as anti-Israeli riots continued in the occupied territories while in Israel, Israeli mobs attacked Arabs. In response to anti-Israeli riots and violence committed to Israelis in the occupied territories, Israel launched air attacks on targets in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, which caused the deaths of dozens of Palestinian civilians.[84]

As the year 2000 came to an end, the Israeli-Palestinian violence continued. Palestinian resistance organizations launched attacks on Israelis which were usually met with Israeli retaliation. Despite the violence and the negative perception of the Israeli government on the PLO, there were some instances in which Israeli-Palestinian negotiations were reopened such as in the Taba Summit in January 2001. These efforts however failed to make much headway in the Israeli-Palestinian peace process.[85] In February 2001, new parliamentary

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[81] Morris, *Righteous Victims*, 636-639; Ron Pundak, 'From Oslo to Taba: What Went Wrong', *Survival* 43.3 (2001) 33-34.

[82] Morris, *Righteous Victims*, 646-650; Weiner, 'Wye River Memorandum', 2-8.

[83] Ibidem, 652-660; Pundak, 'From Oslo to Taba', 36-44.

[84] Morris, *Righteous Victims*, 660-673; Jeremy Pressman, 'The Second Intifada: Background and Causes of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict', *Journal of Conflict Studies* 33.2 (2003); Jeremy Pressman, 'Visions in Collision: What Happened at Camp David and Taba', *International Security* 28.2 (2003) 5-6; Pundak, 'From Oslo to Taba', 31-32, 44-45.

[85] Pressman, 'Visions in Collision', 5-9.

elections were held and the Likud party formed a new government under prime minister Ariel Sharon. Due to the fact that Likud was not the biggest party in the Israeli parliament after the elections, Likud had to form a large coalition of political parties including right-wing, centrist and even left-wing political parties.

2.7.5. Taba summit and Israeli disengagement plan: reopening of Israeli-PA negotiations

After elections in February 2003, Likud gained a more decisive electoral victory and was able to form a government composed of right-wing political parties. Despite the predominance of right-wing political parties in this Israeli government, the new government decided on May 2003, to reopen negotiations with the PLO as Israeli Prime Minister Sharon and the Prime Minister of the PA and political leader of the PLO, Mahmoud Abbas, signed the 'Road map for peace'. This plan outlined a cessation of Israeli-Palestinian violence and a two-state solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Some efforts were made by the Israeli government to support this peace plan as Israeli Prime Minister Sharon decided in 2003 to withdraw Israeli forces and Israeli settlers from the Gaza Strip. This Israeli withdrawal from the Gaza Strip was completed in 2005. The implementation of this plan however caused instability in the Israeli government as some radical, right-wing Israeli parties such as the National Union and the National Religious Party decided to leave the government, due to the implementation of the disengagement plan.[86]

2.7.6. Palestinian civil war

The signing of the 'Road map for peace' and the Israeli withdrawal from the Gaza Strip, were important steps in the negotiations between Israel and the PA. A major impediment to the negotiations arose as to much Israeli disapproval, Hamas was allowed to participate in the PA elections in 2006. After the victory of Hamas in these elections, the negotiation process ceased as Israel refused to negotiate with Hamas which it saw as a terrorist organization. Furthermore, the Palestinian Fatah party of Mahmoud Abbas, the largest faction within the PLO, refused to cooperate with the Hamas government. In 2007, tensions between the PLO and Hamas erupted into the Palestinian Civil War. In this civil war, the PLO gained control of the West Bank while the Hamas government managed to expulse the PLO from the Gaza Strip. Henceforth, the PA was split between the Hamas-led Palestinian government in the Gaza Strip and the PLO-led Palestinian government in the West Bank.[87]

The Palestinian Civil War caused some headway in the Israeli-Palestinian peace process as the Israeli government was willing to negotiate with the PLO-led Palestinian government in the West Bank. There still existed much tension however between Israel and the government in the West Bank. A request by the Palestinian government in the West Bank to

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[86] Rynhold, Jonathan, Dov Waxman, 'Ideological Change and Israel's Disengagement from Gaza', *Political Science Quarterly* 123.1 (2008) 23-29.
[87] Jonathan Schanzer, 'Hamas vs Fatah: The Struggle for Palestine' (New York 2008) 1-3; Cordesman, Anthony H., Burke A. Arleigh, 'The Gaza War: A Strategic Analysis', *Centre for Strategic and International Studies* (2009) 5-6.

the UN in 2011, in which the Palestinian government in the West Bank would be recognised as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people and would become an UN member, was strongly rejected by Israel. According to the Israeli government, the Palestinian government in the West Bank undermined the peace process with these efforts and should open direct negotiations with Israel. Despite these tensions, Israel did not engage in major armed conflicts with the Palestinian government in the West Bank.[88]

2.7.7. Post-Palestinian civil war: Israeli-Hamas conflicts

While Israeli relations with the Palestinian government in the West Bank improved after the Palestinian Civil War, the conflict between Israel and Hamas intensified. In March 2006, Israeli elections were held which were won by the Israeli Labor Party. The Labor Party was forced however to form a coalition government with several centrist and right-wing parties such as the ultra-orthodox Shas party. Because of this, this Israeli government took a highly negative stance towards Hamas. In 2009 after parliamentary elections, Likud formed a new Israeli government under Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu. This government was also a coalition government consisting of right-wing, centrist and left-wing parties. This government also took a fierce stance against the Palestinian resistance organizations.

After the Palestinian Civil War Israel engaged in several major armed conflicts with the Hamas-led Palestinian government in the Gaza Strip. Since the Second Intifada, Hamas had launched multiple missile strikes and suicide attacks on Israeli citizens. In response to these attacks, Israel installed a blockade of the Gaza Strip to prevent the smuggling of arms to the Hamas government in the Gaza Strip. Israeli measures against the attacks of Hamas did not end there however as Israel launched a major military operation in the Gaza Strip in December 2008, which culminated in the Gaza War. In this war, ten Israeli soldiers and over thirteen hundred Palestinians were killed.[89] After the Gaza War some negotiations were held between Israel and Hamas. In October 2011 for example, a prisoner exchange was agreed upon by the Israeli government and Hamas. With these negotiations, hostilities between Israel and Hamas did not end for long however as in November 2012 Israel launched Operation Pillar of Defense, a major military operation in the Gaza Strip. In this operation a further two hundred people were killed.[90] The conflict between Israel and the Hamas-led Palestinian government has thus been very intense in recent years.

In the last few years the Israeli government has also had plenty of conflicts with the PLO-led government in the West Bank. The nature of these conflicts mainly deal with alleged human rights violations by Israeli soldiers and officials to Palestinians in the West Bank. Palestinian attacks from both the West Bank and the Gaza Strip are also still a major issue in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Aside from the violent confrontations between Israel and Hamas, other

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[88] Japal, Rusi, Adrian Coyle, 'Threat, Victimhood, and Peace: Debating the 2011 Palestinian UN Membership Bid', *Digest of Middle East Studies*, 23.1 (2012) 194-195.
[89] Cordesman e.a., 'The Gaza War', 6-10.
[90] Yiftah S. Shapir, 'Lessons from the Iron Dome', *Military and Strategic Affairs* 5.1 (2013) 83; Gabi Siboni, 'Operations Cast Lead, Pillar of Defense, and Protective Edge: A Comparative Review' *The lessons of Operation Protective Edge, Tel Aviv: INSS* (2014) 28-30.

important points of contention exist between Israel and the Palestinian resistance organizations such as the continued existence of Jewish settlements in the Gaza Strip and West Bank and the Israeli blockade of the Gaza Strip. Considering the hostile attitude between the Israeli government, the PlO-led Palestinian government in the West-Bank and the Hamas-led Palestinian government, it is unlikely that these parties will be able to solve the points of contention and come to an agreement to end their hostilities in the near future. The Israeli-Palestinian conflict is thus still very much ongoing.

Chapter 3: The first time period: the Oslo Accords negotiations (1993-2000)

In this chapter the framing strategies of the Israeli government during the first time period spanning between the signing of the Oslo I Accord in 1993 and the Camp David Summit in 2000 will be analysed. In this analysis the analytical framework regarding types of framing as outlined in chapter one will be used. Below a brief overview of this analytical framework.

- **Identity framing:** Identity framing entails an actor framing a particular identity of itself during a conflict.[91]
- **Characterization framing:** Characterization framing involves emphasizing particular characteristics of other actors.[92]
- **Power framing:** Power framing revolves around the conception of which kinds of power are important in the conflict and the (perceptions) of power of the actors in the conflict.[93]
- **Process framing:** Process framing encompasses framing efforts with regards to perceived solutions to the conflict.[94]
- **Risk and information framing:** Risk and information framing is framing in regard to which information sources are reliable during conflict situations.[95]
- **Losses versus gains framing:** Losses versus gains framing mainly deals with the evaluation of particular developments in the conflict.[96]

3.1. September 1993: Signing of the Oslo 1 Accord.

In January 1993, Israeli and PLO delegates began negotiations in Norway. These negotiations culminated in the signing of the Oslo I Accord on 13 September 1993. The signing of this accord can be seen as the major starting point of the further Oslo Accords negotiations as in the Oslo I Accord several basic principles of a definitive solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict were agreed upon. The most important of these principles were Palestinian self-government in the Gaza Strip and West Bank and the recognition of Israel's right to exist by the PLO.

In the time period surrounding the signing of the Oslo I Accord, characterization frames on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict were prominent in the public statements of the Israeli government. According to these characterization frames on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the majority of the Palestinians were not enemies of Israel. Only the radical Palestinian

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[91] Kaufman, Sanda, Michael Elliot, Deborah Shmueli, 'Frames, framing and reframing', *Beyond Intractability* (2003) 3.
[92] Ibidem, 3-4.
[93] Ibidem, 4.
[94] Idem.
[95] Idem.
[96] Idem.

resistance organizations such as Hamas were considered as enemies of Israel by the Israeli government. Furthermore, according to this Israeli narrative, these Palestinian resistance groups were also an enemy of the Palestinian people as these Palestinian resistance organizations were responsible for the continuation of the conflict.

Although the Israeli government framed the Palestinian resistance organizations in a very negative light, the Israeli government clearly differentiated between the main Palestinian resistance organization, the PLO and the other Palestinian resistance organizations. According to the Israeli government, the PLO had gone through a dramatic development by participating in the Oslo Accords negations with Israel. Israel's Prime Minister Yithzak Rabin asserted that the PLO had transformed itself from a terrorist organization to a peaceful political organisation. The Israeli government probably tried to spread this characterization frame of the PLO to legitimize its cooperation with the PLO during the Oslo Accords negotiations.[97]

A very important process frame propagated by the Israeli government during the beginning of the Oslo Accords negotiations, entailed putting emphasis on the importance of the Oslo Accords and the anticipated conclusion of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, for achieving peace in the Middle East. In this way the Israeli government framed the continuation of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict as a large obstacle to a peaceful Middle East. This framing strategy was probably utilized by the Israeli government to convince political leaders in foreign countries to support the Oslo Accords negations as in this frame the Oslo Accords negotiations would not only benefit Israel and the Palestinians but also foreign countries which had important interests in the Middle East, such as the US.[98]

Another important process framing effort by the Israeli government entailed putting emphasis on the importance of contributions of other states, the US in particular to the Oslo Accords negotiations. In this way, the Israeli government tried to gain support from other states, such as the US, for its solution to the conflict, negotiating with the PLO. In an interview for the American television news program PBS Newshour, Israel's foreign minister Shimon Peres for example acknowledged the important facilitating role of the United States in the Oslo Accords negotiations. The deputy foreign minister of Israel, Yossi Beilin also put emphasis on the important role of the US in the Oslo Accords negotiations in an article in the New York Times in August 1993.[99]

The Israeli government further tried to implement process framing by putting emphasis on the importance of economic cooperation between Israel and the Palestinians. Israeli foreign minister Peres for example stated during a press conference in September 1993 that the

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[97] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'PM Rabin-Israel-PLO signing ceremony' (10-09-1993); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Excerpts of PM Rabin Knesset Speech (21-09-1993); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Macneil-Lehrer: Newshour with FM Peres' (31-08-1993).

[98] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'DEP FM Beiline: there is a price for peace' (31-08-1993).

[99] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Macneil-Lehrer: Newshour with FM Peres' (31-08-1993); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'DEP FM Beiline: there is a price for peace' (31-08-1993); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Press conference by Israeli foreign minister Shimon Peres and Egyptian Foreign Minister Amre Moussa' (1-09-1993); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'ABC-Good Morning America-Interview with FM Peres' (27-09-1993); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Address by FM Peres to the United Nations General Assembly' (28-09-1993).

Oslo Accords negotiations should not only pave the way for political cooperation but also for economic cooperation between Israel and the upcoming Palestinian state. In this press conference, Peres also asked the US and Western European countries to invest in aid programs in the West Bank and Gaza Strip to aid the development of the future Palestinian territories.[100]

In the Israeli public statements during the beginning of the Oslo Accords negotiations process, losses versus gains frames were also distributed. This type of framing was used to counter criticism towards the ongoing Oslo Accords negotiations. Some Palestinians for example argued during the early phases of the Oslo Accords negotiations that even if Israel would allow Palestinian self-government in the occupied territories, the Gaza Strip and the Jordan West Bank, Israel would still retain the grand majority of the territory in Palestine. In its public statements the Israeli government tried to combat these criticisms by pointing out that before the Oslo Accords negotiations, the Palestinians had no independent territories at all. Therefore, the implementation of Palestinian self-government in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip would already be a huge step forward in the cause for Palestinian independence. By spreading this view, the Israeli government tried to change the norms by which people in other countries would evaluate the recent developments in the Oslo Accords negotiations, by putting emphasis on the improvements that had been made in comparison to the situation before the Oslo Accords negotiations. This is thus an effort of losses versus gains framing by the Israeli government.[101]

3.2. February-May 1994: Hebron Massacre.

Cave of the Patriarchs in Hebron, site of the 1994 Hebron Massacre

'Cave of the Patriarchs in Hebron': http://www.tabletmag.com/scroll/163725/lunch-with-baruch-goldstein-one-year-before-the-hebron-massacre (09-06-2016).

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[100] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Press conference by Israeli foreign minister Shimon Peres and Egyptian Foreign Minister Amre Moussa' (1-09-1993).
[101] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Macneil-Lehrer: Newshour with FM Peres' (31-08-1993).

During 1993 and 1994, the Oslo Accords negotiations continued. Negotiations between the Israeli government and the PLO mainly focused on the actual implementation of the principles outlaid in the Oslo I Accord. In these negotiations some developments were made such as the Gaza-Jericho agreement in 1994 in which some agreements were made about the implementation of Palestinian self-government in the occupied territories. Despite these developments 1994 also brought some major obstacles in the Oslo Accords negotiations, the most notable being the Hebron Massacre, in which an Israeli radical killed 29 Palestinians. In retaliation, Hamas launched a series of suicide attacks on Israeli citizens.

In the time period surrounding the Hebron Massacre, there were several framing attempts by the Israeli government. Just like during the early phases of the Oslo Accords negotiations, the Israel government used characterization framing in its statements concerning the Palestinian resistance organizations. The Israeli government continued spreading a characterization frame in which the cooperative behaviour of the PLO during the Oslo Accords negotiations was emphasized. According to this characterization frame, the PLO was a legitimate representative of the Palestinian people which had broken with its violent, terrorist past.[102]

This characterization frame was heavily used by the Israeli government to legitimize its cooperation with the PLO in the Oslo Accords negotiations. In the Israeli public statements the PLO was often compared to other Palestinian resistance organizations like Hamas. In contrast to the PLO, the other Palestinian resistance organizations, which did not participate in the Oslo Accords negotiations, were put in a much less favourable light. The attacks on Israeli citizens by these Palestinian resistance organizations were framed as attempts meant to endanger the peace process. Furthermore, in several public statements the differences between the PLO and the other Palestinian resistance organizations were strongly emphasized to further strengthen the characterization frames propagated by the Israeli government on the PLO and the other Palestinian resistance organizations.[103] This comparison between the PLO and other Palestinian resistance organizations was often used to frame some decisions by the PLO, such as not condemning attacks committed by other Palestinian resistance groups on Israeli citizens, in a more favourable light.[104] At the same time the Israeli government made clear that the PLO should not resort to violent acts itself as Israel would immediately cease negotiations with the PLO in such an event.[105]

In some public statements, a harsher position was taken towards the role of the PLO and especially the Arab countries in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. According to the characterization frames spread in these public statements the Arab countries were mainly responsible for the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. In these characterization frames the authoritarian ways of government in the Arab countries were also emphasized. According to these Israeli frames it was mainly Israeli military power that had convinced the leaders of the

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[102] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'CNN-S –Evans-Novak- with PM Rabin' (05-02-1994).

[103] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'CNN interview with PM Yithzak Rabin' (02-05-1994).

[104] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'FM Peres reaction to Afula attack' (06-04-1994); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'FM Peres-reaction to terrorist attack in Hadera' (13-04-1994).

[105] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Reactions to Arafat's reference to Jihad and Jerusalem-Rabin-Peres' (17-05-1994).

Arab countries to support a negotiated solution to the conflict by Israel and PLO. The Israeli government thus asserted that the Arab countries were still not truly committed to the peace process. In this way, the Israeli government also tried to spread a power frame. In this power frame Israel's militarily strength was emphasized.[106]

In the legitimization of the negotiations with the PLO by the Israeli government losses versus gains frames were also put forward by the Israeli government. In these losses versus gains frames, the results of the negotiations with the PLO, such as the Gaza-Jericho agreement in which limited self-rule would be given to the Palestinian occupied territories in the Gaza Strip and Jordan West Bank, were for example compared with the prospect of an independent Palestinian state. The prospect of an independent Palestinian state was in this way used by the Israeli government to depict the current agreements between Israel and the PLO as better, less radical options. The Israeli government also put emphasis on the many concessions the PLO had made towards Israel in the negotiations. Israel would for example still be responsible for the security of Israeli citizens in the Gaza Strip and West Bank.[107] In several public statements Israeli political leaders such as Prime Minister Rabin and foreign minister Peres stated that the ongoing negotiations with the PLO were very successful and that with the agreements resulting from these negotiations, important steps had been made in ending the Israeli-Palestine conflict. The Israeli government spread this frame in order to gather more domestic and foreign support for the Oslo Accords negotiations.[108] Process frames were also utilized by the Israeli government to legitimize its cooperation with the PLO. These framing attempts mainly entailed emphasizing the importance of the agreements of the negotiations between Israel and the PLO, in achieving peace in Palestine and the Middle East as a whole. In this way the Israeli government propagated negotiating with the PLO as the best possible solution to the conflict.

A very important framing attempts by the Israeli government in the aftermath of the Hebron Massacre, entailed sharp criticism towards Israeli radicals who opposed the peace process. The Hebron massacre was for example severely condemned by the Israeli government. In this way the Israeli government tried to create a characterization frame in which Israeli radicals were an obstruction to the peace process and that the violent acts of the Israeli radicals, like the Hebron Massacre, damaged Israel's international reputation.[109] In some public statements Israeli radical groups were even described as 'terrorist organizations'. The Israeli government thus propagated a very negative characterization frame of Israeli radical groups and organisations in the aftermath of the Hebron Massacre.[110]

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[106] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'CNN interview with PM Yithzak Rabin' (02-05-1994). .
[107] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'PM Rabin- press conference following signing of Gaza-Jericho accord' (04-05-1994).
[108] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'FM Peres- signing ceremony of the Gaza-Jericho accord' (04-05-1994); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'PM Rabin- signing ceremony of the Gaza-Jericho accord' (04-05-1994).
[109] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Statement by Israeli president Ezer Weizman regarding the Hebron murders' (25-02-1994); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'PM Rabin statement on murders in Hebron' (25-02-1994); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'FM Peres on murder of Arab worshippers in Hebron' (25-02-1994); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Cabinet communique' (25-02-1994); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'News Conference with US Pres Clinton and Israel PM Rabin' (16-03-1994).
[110] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Cabinet communique' (13-03-1994).

3.3. September-December 1995: Signing of the Oslo II Accord, assassination of Israeli prime-minister Yithzak Rabin

Monument at the site of the assassination of Israeli Prime Minister Yithzak Rabin

'The monument at the site of the Yitzhak Rabin's assassination: Ibn Gevirol Street between the Tel Aviv City Hall and Gan Ha'ir': https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Kikar_rabin.jpg (09-06-2017).

The Israeli-Palestinian violence during 1994 such as committed during the Hebron Massacre, while damaging Israeli-Palestinian relations, did not put an end to the Oslo Accords negotiations. Negotiations between Israel and the PLO led the signing of a new accord in September 1995, the Oslo II Accord otherwise known as the Israeli-Palestinian Interim Agreement. A major component of this accord was the creation of a Palestinian interim government which would govern the occupied territories. Despite the major success of the Oslo II Accord, the Oslo peace process suffered a major setback in the following months when Israel's Prime Minister Yithzak Rabin was assassinated by an Israeli radical which opposed the peace process.

In the months surrounding the signing of the Oslo II Accord, the Israeli government continued to emphasize the importance of the negotiations with the PLO in its public statements. The Israeli government put a strong emphasis on the successes that had been achieved in the negotiations such as the Israeli-Palestinian Interim Agreement. The Israeli government for example described the Israeli-Palestinian Interim Agreement as a major breakthrough in the cause to end the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. In this way, the Israeli government used losses versus gains frames and process frames to support its negotiations

with the PLO.[111] Furthermore the Israeli government also stressed the strong political and economic position of Israel. These framing efforts can be viewed as power framing as the purpose of these framing efforts was to influence the evaluation of Israel's position in the Oslo Accords negotiations.[112]

The Israeli government put the role of other countries such as the United States in the Oslo Accords negotiations on the foreground in the months surrounding the signing of the Israeli-Palestinian Interim Agreement. In its public statements foreign countries were often praised for their contributions to the peace process. The Israeli government also repeatedly stressed the importance of cooperation with other countries in the Middle East such as Egypt and Syria, in resolving the Israeli-Palestine conflict. This can be viewed as an attempt at process framing because in these framing efforts the role of these countries in the Oslo Accords negotiations was emphasized.[113]

Following the death of Israeli Prime Minister Yithzak Rabin in November 1995, the Israeli government intensified its framing efforts towards Israeli radicals. Israeli radicals were framed as a major impediment to the peace process and a major threat to Israeli security. The interim Prime Minister, Shimon Peres even described Israeli radical groups as 'messengers of the devil'. [114] The Israeli government itself strongly stressed its own commitment to the peace process in order to distance itself from these Israeli radicals. These framing attempts can be seen as an attempt at characterization framing as the Israeli government tried to spread a frame in which Israeli radicals were portrayed as a danger to the peace process while the Israeli government at the same time portrayed itself as a major proponent of the peace process. Due to the fact that the Israeli government clearly juxtaposed itself to Israeli radical groups, this can be viewed as identity framing.[115]

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[111] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'FM Peres- address at Israeli-Palestinian interim agreement signing ceremony' (28-09-1995).
[112] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'PM Rabin's address at Israeli-Palestinian interim agreement signing ceremony' (28-09-1995); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Rapporteur's summary of Dir-Gen Savir's address to Washington institute for Near East Policy' (12-12-1995); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'FM Barak reply to no-confidence motion on negotiations with Syria' (25-12-1995).
[113] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'PM Rabin's address at Israeli-Palestinian interim agreement signing ceremony' (28-09-1995); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Joint press conference Clinton-Peres' (11-12-1995); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Rapporteur's summary of Dir-Gen Savir's address to Washington institute for Near East Policy' (12-12-1995); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Remarks by FM Barak to the diplomatic corps' (13-12-1995),
[114] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'CNN interview with acting PM Shimon Peres' (14-10-1995).
[115] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Cabinet communique' (31-12-1995).

3.4. January-May 1996: Assassination of Hamas chief bomb maker, Yahya Ayyash.

Yahya Ayyash, Hamas bomb maker who was assassinated by Israeli operatives in January 1996

'Yahya Abd-al-Latif Ayyash': https://alchetron.com/Yahya-Ayyash-829406-W (09-06-2016).

Following the assassination of Yithzak Rabin in November 1995, the peace process suffered a further blow when in June 1996, following Israeli elections, the Likud party of Benjamin Netanyahu came to power. As the Likud party was quite sceptical towards the Oslo peace process, this formed an obstruction to the negotiations between Israel and the PLO. Israeli-Palestinian relations worsened further after the assassination Hamas chief bomb maker Yahya Ayyash in January 1996. Hamas launched several suicide attacks in Israel in retaliation. As a response to these suicide attacks and after urging from Israel, the PLO took action and tried to curb the violent activities of Hamas and the other radical Palestinian resistance organizations.

In early 1996, the Israeli government continued to emphasize the importance of the Oslo Accords negotiations and the important steps which had been taken towards peace. Furthermore the commitments made by other countries to the peace process were also emphasized by the Israeli government. The importance of cooperation with the other Middle-Eastern countries in order to end the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and achieve peace in the Middle East was also again repeatedly stressed.[116] The condemnation of Israeli radicals by the Israeli government also continued in the first months of 1996.[117]

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[116] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Media stakeout with Secy of state Christopher- FM Barak- Tunesian FM Ben Yahia' (22-01-1996); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'The Newshour with Jim Lehrer- interview with FM Ehud Barak' (23-01-1996); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'News conference with Secy. of state Christopher and PM Peres-Lebanon understandings' (26-04-1996); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Press conference with Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres' (07-05-1996).
[117] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'The Newshour with Jim Lehrer- interview with FM Ehud Barak' (23-01-1996); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Interview with Israeli prime minister Shimon Peres' (27-03-1996).

The many attacks in Israel perpetrated by Palestinian resistance organizations were an important subject in the public statements of the Israeli government. The attacks of the Palestinian resistance organizations were once again framed as a major obstruction to the peace process and were denoted as acts of terrorism.[118] The Israeli government also frequently spread characterization frames on the Palestinian resistance organizations. The Israeli government used these characterization frames to denounce the radical Palestinian resistance organizations such as Hamas, labelling them as terrorist organizations. The Israeli government did however keep its sharp distinction between the PLO and the other Palestinian Resistance organizations as the PLO was described as an important partner in the Oslo Accords negotiations.[119] However, the Israeli government did state again that the PLO should combat the radical Palestinian resistance organizations and that if the PLO would refuse to act against the other Palestinian resistance organizations, Israel would cease the negotiations with the PLO. The characterization frame of the Israeli government on the PLO was thus not entirely positive.[120]

In early 1996, attacks by Palestinian resistance organizations and Hezbollah were used to legitimize Israeli military action in the Palestinian occupied territories and Lebanon. The military actions by the Israeli Defence Force (IDF) caused several hundred civilian casualties during this time period. These military actions were however framed by the Israeli government as necessary to combat the attacks by the Palestinian resistance organizations and Hezbollah. These framing efforts entail an attempt at process framing by the Israeli government as the Israeli government asserted that combatting these Palestinian resistance organizations was necessary to further the peace process. This process frame was probably used by the Israeli government to increase support in foreign countries for Israeli military action against the Palestinian resistance organizations and Hezbollah.[121]

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[118] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'News conference with Secy. of defence Perry and PM Peres- US-Israel defence cooperation' (28-04-1996); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Press conference with Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres' (07-05-1996).
[119] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'ABC nightline interview with PM Shimon Peres' (29-04-1996).
[120] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Cabinet communique' (25-02-1996); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Cabinet communique' (03-03-1996); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Interview Israeli foreign Minister Ehud Barak' (04-03-1996); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Cabinet communique' (04-03-1996); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Interview with- Ehud Barak- Israeli foreign minister' (05-03-1996); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Cabinet communique' (21-04-1996).
[121] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'ABC Nightline interview with PM Shimon Peres' (29-04-1996); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Press conference with Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres' (07-05-1996).

3.5. September-November 1998: Signing of Wye River Memorandum.

Yasser Arafat, leader of the PLO (far left), Jordan's king Hussein (centre-left), US president Bill Clinton (centre-right) and Israeli prime minister Benjamin Netanyahu at the signing of the Wye River Memorandum

'Yasser Arafat (far left), leader of the Palestinian Liberation Organization':
https://www.britannica.com/biography/Yasser-Arafat (09-06-2012).

Due to the continuing suicide attacks by Hamas throughout 1996 and 1997, Israeli-Palestinian relations were far from good in the beginning of 1998. Although some agreements were made between the PLO and the Israeli government such as the Hebron Protocol in 1997, there was little progress in the Oslo Accords negotiations. In October 1998, the US organized a summit between Israeli-Palestinian delegates to develop new agreements between the PLO and Israel to further the peace process. The negotiations in this summit culminated in the signing of the Wye River Memorandum in October 1998 in which the implementation of Palestinian self-government was agreed upon in the Oslo I and Oslo II Accords was further stipulated.

In the months surrounding the signing of the Wye River Memorandum, the Israeli government continued its trend of emphasizing the important role that other countries, mainly the United States, fulfilled during the Oslo Accords negotiations.[122] The main framing effort of the Israeli government in these months however focused on the denouncement of the Palestinian resistance organization and Lebanese militant organizations like Hezbollah

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[122] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'CBN News interview with PM Netanhayu' (28-10-1998); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'ForMin DG Bentur speech to conference to support Middle East peace and development' (30-11-1998); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Foreign Minister Sharon meets with US governors' (30-11-1998).

and attacks of these groups in Israel were fiercely condemned by the Israeli government.[123] The Israeli government was also a bit more critical towards the PLO as according to the Israeli government, the PLO was obstructing the peace process. The Israeli government asserted for example that the PLO did not put enough effort in combatting the terrorist activities of the other Palestinian resistance organizations.[124] Furthermore, the Israeli government was also much more critical on the ability of the PLO to deliver on the agreements that had been made during the Oslo Accords negotiations. Although the Israeli government kept stressing its support for the Oslo Accords negotiations and its conviction that the negotiations would ultimately lead to an end of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the Israeli government repeatedly expressed doubt on whether the PLO would fulfil its promises. Furthermore, the Israeli government frequently made clear that Israel would end its negotiations with the PLO if the PLO would not keep its promises. The characterization frame of the Israeli government on the PLO was thus more negative than during the previous years.[125]

Although the Israeli government sharply criticized the PLO and the other Palestinian resistance organizations, the Israeli government was much less critical on Israeli radicals which opposed the Oslo Accords negotiations. The Israeli government spread a more positive characterization frame of radical Israeli groups.[126] This was most likely due to the fact that in the time period surrounding the signing of the Wye River Memorandum, the Likud party was in power.[127]

In the months surrounding the signing of the Wye River Memorandum. The Israeli government was relatively sceptical of the Oslo peace process and the progress made during the Oslo Accords negotiations. The Israeli government was furthermore much more critical of the concessions that Israel had to make towards the PLO during the Oslo Accords negotiations. The Israeli government basically blamed the former Israeli governments of being to gentle and free-giving towards the PLO. The Israeli government also strongly emphasized that the PLO should first make concessions towards Israel, such as combatting Hamas, before Israel would make concessions towards the PLO.[128] In some public statements however the Israeli government was more positive on the progress of the Oslo Accords negotiations. Israeli foreign minister director general Eytan Bentsur for example described

[123] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'DM Morchedai says Israel will strike terrorists' (25-08-1998); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Cabinet Communique' (26-08-1998); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Terror Attack at Nezarim junction' (29-10-1998); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Personal statement by foreign minister Ariel Sharon terror attack' (29-10-1998).
[124] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Foreign ministry of statement by Nelson Mandela' (04-09-1998); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Cabinet communique' (13-09-1998); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'CNN late edition with PM Netayahu' (27-09-1998); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Cabinet communique' (01-10-1998); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'CBN News interview with PM Netanhayu' (28-10-1998).
[125] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Government resolution' (06-11-1998); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Speech by PM Netanyahu to the UJA-CJF General Assembly' (16-11-1998); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'FM Sharon on 50 years of Israeli diplomacy' (29-11-1998).
[126] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Interview with PM Netanyahu-Turkish Daily News' (03-09-1998); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'CBN News interview with PM Netanhayu' (28-10-1998).
[127] See chapter 2 for more information on the Likud party.
[128] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'CBN News interview with PM Netanhayu' (28-10-1998); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Cabinet communique' (01-11-1998).

the Wye River Memorandum as 'a significant step forward in the peace process'.[129] In this case, the Israeli government thus presented a relatively positive process frame on the progress made during the Oslo Accords negotiations.

Although the Israeli government eventually signed the Wye River Memorandum which offered some self-government to the Palestinians in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank, the Israeli government repeatedly stated its strong opposition towards a sovereign Palestinian state. A sovereign Palestinian state was mainly framed as a bad solution by the Israeli government by using the argument that a sovereign Palestinian state could make alliances with enemies of Israel and the Western countries such as Iran. In this way, the Israeli government asserted that a sovereign Palestinian state would not bring an end to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and could severely damage the position of Western countries in the Middle East. The Israeli government did however support Palestinian self-government within the state of Israel. The Israeli government thus used process framing to advocate its preferred solution to the conflict which entailed Palestinian self-government within Israel in the occupied territories.[130]

Aside from agreements on the conditions of Palestinian self-government in the occupied territories, the exchange of prisoners between Israel and the PLO, was also an important part of the Wye River Memorandum. The PLO and several other Palestinian resistance organizations tried to frame this prisoner exchange as an unfair agreement. The Palestinians claimed that Israel was not prepared to release all Palestinian prisoners. In its public statements, the Israeli government strongly defended its position. The Israeli government claimed that many of these prisoners were terrorists which had murdered Israeli civilians and could therefore not be released. The Israeli government thus tried to frame its decision to not release all Palestinian prisoners as a legitimate act.[131] The Israeli government thus used a characterization frame in which the prisoners were depicted as terrorists to legitimize its decision not to release these prisoners.

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[129] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'ForMin DG Bentur speech to conference to support Middle East peace and development' (30-11-1998).
[130] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'CBN News interview with PM Netanhayu' (28-10-1998); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Government decision' (11-11-1998).
[131] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Cabinet communique' (22-11-1998).

3.6. July-September 2000: Camp David summit negotiations.

Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak (left), US president Bill Clinton (centre) and Yasser Arafat, leader of the PLO (right) at the Camp David Summit

'Camp David Summit, July 2000: Ehud Barak, Bill Clinton, Yasser Arafat': http://www.tabletmag.com/jewish-news-and-politics/16531/photo-ops (09-06-2017).

During 1999, there were some major developments in the Israeli-Palestinian peace process. In July 1999, after Israeli elections, Ehud Barak of the Israeli Labor party became the prime minister of Israel. As Barak was a strong proponent of the peace process and was more willing to make concessions to the PLO in negotiations, this development sparked hope that a final agreement between Israel and the PLO could be reached. To this end, the US organised a summit at Camp David in July 2000 in which Ehud Barak and the leader of the PLO, Yasser Arafat would negotiate about this final agreement to end the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. During the Camp David Summit negotiations however no agreement was reached between Israel and the PLO.

In the prelude to the Camp David Summit negotiations, the Israeli government emphasized the importance of these negotiations. The Israeli government also frequently called on the Palestinians to fully participate in the negotiations, so an agreement could be reached during the Camp David Summit negotiations.[132] In this way, the Israeli government used process framing to stress the importance of the negotiations at the Camp David Summit.

Although the Israeli government frequently stressed the importance of the negotiations, it was however not always optimistic on these negotiations with the PLO. In some public statements in the weeks leading up to the Camp David Summit, the Israeli government emphasized that it would be very difficult to come to an agreement with the PLO during the Camp David Summit negotiations. In some public statements the Israeli government did however emphasize the contributions that the PLO had made to the peace process.[133] The

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[132] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Adress to the Knesset by PM Barak on the Camp David Summit' (10-07-2000); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'The last chance-article by deputy DM Sneh' (13-07-2000).
[133] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'The last chance-article by deputy DM Sneh' (13-07-2000).

characterization frame of the Israeli government on the PLO was thus somewhat more positive when compared to the previous event, the time period surrounding the signing of the Wye River Memorandum.[134]

In the prelude to the Camp David Summit, the Israeli government was also not very optimistic on the progress that made been during the Oslo Accords negotiations. This can be seen as a continuation of the losses versus gains frames that were spread by the Israeli government during the previous event. This is remarkable, as during the Camp David Summit a new coalition government was in power led by the Labor party. The Israeli Labor party was generally more optimistic about the negotiations with the PLO during the Oslo Accords negotiations.[135] A possible explanation for the lack of optimism of the Israeli government could have been that the Oslo Accords negotiations had been ongoing for several years in the prelude of the Camp David Summit and that during this time the PLO was unable or not willing to prevent the attacks of the radical Palestinian resistance organizations in Israel. The Israeli government was therefore far more doubtful about the PLO's intentions in the prelude to the Camp David Summit and was less optimistic that the PLO and Israel could forge an agreement during the summit.

In the direct aftermath of the Camp David Summit, the Israeli government erstwhile remained somewhat positive on the peace process. Although the Israeli government acknowledged that the failure of the Camp David Summit negotiations had dealt a serious blow to the peace process, the Israeli government emphasized that not everything was lost and that the Israeli government could perhaps come to an agreement with the PLO in further negotiations.[136] This losses versus gains frame on the Oslo Accords negotiations which was propagated by the Israeli government in the immediate aftermath of the Camp David Summit was thus not entirely negative.

Despite this, The Israeli government however quickly blamed the PLO for the failure of the Camp David summit negotiations. In its public statements the Israeli government propagated a characterization frame of the PLO in which the unwillingness of the PLO to make concessions towards Israel and the failure of the PLO to deal with the other more radical Palestinian resistance organizations were emphasized. At the same time the Israeli government frequently stressed its own commitment to the peace process and its willingness to make concessions to the Palestinians. The Israeli government basically tried to create a frame in which the negotiations had failed because the PLO demanded concessions from Israel, while not being prepared to make any concessions of its own.[137] The Israeli

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[134] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'PM Barak briefs cabinet prior to Camp David Summit negotiations' (09-07-2000); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Adress to the Knesset by PM Barak on the Camp David Summit' (10-07-2000).

[135] See chapter two for more information on the Labor party.

[136] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Statement by PM Barak on conclusion of the Camp David Summit negotiations' (25-07-2000); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'CBS interview with deputy defense minister Sneh' (26-07-2000); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Interview with deputy defense minister Sneh' (27-07-2000); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'TIPH mandate extended for six months' (31-07-2000); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Gilad Sher briefs diplomatic corps on Camp David' (14-08-2000).

[137] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Statement by PM Barak on conclusion of the Camp David Summit negotiations' (25-07-2000); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'CBS interview with Deputy Defense minister

government however did emphasize that if the PLO would be more willing to make concessions towards Israel and would combat the other Palestinian resistance organizations, Israel would continue negotiating with the PLO. The Israeli government did thus not have an overwhelming negative perception of the PLO in the direct aftermath of the Camp David Summit.[138]

As the weeks progressed after the Camp David Summit, the characterization frames spread by the Israeli government on the PLO thus became more negative as the Israeli government became more sceptical on the PLO's ability to change and become more committed to the peace process.[139] In some public statements, the Israeli government kept showing some optimism towards the peace process and the negotiations with the PLO however.[140] The Israeli government also frequently kept stressing the importance of negotiations of the PLO. Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak for example described the possibility of a new negotiation phase with the PLO after the failed Camp David Summit as 'the moment of truth in the peace process'. This can be seen as an attempt at process framing as the Israeli government propagated that negotiations between Israel and the PLO would be the only way to resolve the conflict.[141]

3.7. Summary time period 1 (Oslo Accords negotiations, 1993-2000)

Throughout the Oslo accords negotiations, the Israeli government spread a series of frames. One the most prominent of these frames was a positive characterization frame of the PLO. During the Oslo accords negotiations period, the Israeli government presented a relatively positive frame on the PLO in which the PLO's willingness to negotiate with Israel was emphasized. After Netanyahu's Likud party came to power in 1995, the characterization frame on the PLO became more mixed. The Likud-led government of Netanyahu for example focused attention on the PLO's unwillingness to act decisively against the Palestinian resistance organizations and stressed that the PLO should first make concessions towards Israel before Israel would make concessions towards the PLO. The Israeli government also spread characterization frames on Hamas and other radical Palestinian resistance organizations. Unlike the characterization frames on the PLO, these characterization frames on Hamas were overwhelmingly negative. In these characterization frames it was for

Sneh' (26-07-2000); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Statement by PM Barak on his return from Camp David summit' (26-07-2000); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'FM Moussa on the Charlie Rose Show' (12-09-2000); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Speech by acting FM Shlomo Ben-Ami at the council for foreign relations' (18-09-2000).

[138] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Remarks by Foreign Ministry Dir-Gen Bentsur at Tiph extension signing ceremony' (31-07-2000)); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'PM Barak comments to cabinet on peace talks' (20-08-2000).

[139] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'PM Barak- Palestinians showing no sign of flexibility and openness' (3-09-2000); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Adress by PM Barak at the UN millennium summit' (06-09-2000); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Interview with PM Barak on ABC news- this week' (10-09-2000); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'PM Barak- no transfer of sovereignty over Temple Mount' (18-09-2000).

[140] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Press conference with foreign journalists by acting FM Ben-Ami' (11-09-2000); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Statement by acting FM Ben-Ami at the 55th gerneral assembly of the United Nations' (18-09-2000).

[141] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'PM Barak- moment of truth in peace process with the Palestinians' (24-09-2000).

example frequently emphasized that the radical Palestinian resistance organizations posed a significant threat to the peace process.

A very prominent framing strategy of the Israeli government during this time period entailed the spreading of identity frames. In these identity frames Israel was presented as a peaceful nation which sought a negotiated solution to the conflict. In most cases this identity frame was used to contrast the Israeli government from both radical Israeli and radical Palestinians group which sought to end the conflict by violent means. Often this identity framing strategy was accompanied by negative characterization frames on Israeli radical groups and the radical Palestinian resistance organizations as these groups opposed the peace process.

Another framing strategy that was frequently employed by the Israeli government was process framing. In its process frames the Israeli government propagated a negotiated solution to the conflict. In these process frames often the role of other countries such as the US in the peace process was emphasized. These process frames were thus often accompanied by positive characterization frames on foreign countries involved in the peace process.

A final important framing strategy of the Israeli government was losses versus gains framing. These losses and versus gains frames mainly focused on the progress that had been made during the Oslo Accords negotiations. In most instances, the Israeli government was quite positive on the progress that had been made during the negotiations such as during the closing of the Israeli-Palestinian Interim Agreement in 1995 and the Wye River Memorandum in 1998. In some events, such as shortly after the failed Camp David Summit negotiations, the Israeli government was much more sceptical on the progress that had been made in the negotiations with the PLO however. The content of the losses versus gains frames of the Israeli government thus varied strongly during this time period.

As demonstrated above, the Israeli government used wide variety of framing strategies during this time period. The Israeli government however did not make use of all the framing strategies during this time period however as the Israeli government made almost no use of power framing and information framing.

Chapter 4: The second time period: Second Intifada until Operation Pillar of Defense (2000-2012)

In this chapter the framing strategies of the Israeli government during the first time period spanning between the inception of the Second Intifada in 2000 and Operation Pillar of Defense will be analysed. In this analysis the analytical framework regarding types of framing will be used.[142]

4.1. October 2000: inception of the Second Intifada

Clash between Palestinian protesters and Israeli police, 28 September 2000

'Palestinian protestors clash with Israeli police outside the Al-Aqsa mosque, September 28, 2000':
https://teachwar.wordpress.com/resources/war-justifications-archive/second-intifada-2000/ (09-06-2000).

In the months following the Camp David Summit, relations between Israel and the PLO were very tense. Tensions erupted even further when in late September 2000, the Second Intifada erupted with large-scale anti-Israeli demonstrations by Palestinians in the Gaza Strip and West Bank. In the beginning of the Second Intifada, the Israeli government emphasized its willingness to reach an agreement with the PLO through negotiations. The Israeli government held the assumption that the majority of the Palestinian people was not anti-Israeli and that the Palestinian population was incited against Israel by radical Palestinian resistance organizations such as Hamas. Although the Israeli government did not accuse the PLO directly of starting the riots, the Israeli government did blame the PLO for the casualties caused by the riots. According to the Israeli government, the PLO did not put enough effort in maintaining the peace and supressing the riots.[143] The Israeli government did also stress that during the riots the PLO and the Palestinians in general had repeatedly violated the agreements that had been made during the Oslo Accords negotiations. The Israeli

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[142] See chapter one and three for the analytical framework regarding types of framing.
[143] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Cabinet communique' (02-10-2000); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Acting FM Ben-Ami briefs the diplomatic corps' (03-10-2000); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'PM Barak to US secy. of state Albright- cessation of violence precondition to further negotiations' (04-10-2000).

government therefore definitely blamed the PLO for the ensuing violence during the riots.[144] This very negative characterization frame on the PLO was most likely conveyed internationally by the Israeli government in order to convince other states such as the US, to put pressure on the PLO to end the riots.[145] In some public statements however the Israeli government propagated a more positive characterization frame of the PLO. Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak for example stated on 5 October 2000 that he expected that the PLO would ultimately use its influence to end the riots. Furthermore, the Israeli government still emphasized its faith in the peace process.[146]

As the riots continued in early October, the Israeli government took an increasingly negative stance against the PLO and its leader Yasser Arafat. Unlike during the first stages of the riots, the Israeli government started to blame the PLO for initiating the riots. In an interview with NBC news Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak for example claimed that the leader of the PLO, Yasser Arafat, was behind the riots. The Israeli government also emphasized that Arafat had the power to end the riots and the associated violence but refused to do so.[147] The Israeli government thus created a very negative characterization frame of the PLO in which the PLO was prepared to resort to violence to solve its disputes with Israel.

During the first weeks of the Second Intifada, the Israeli government presented process frames in which the Israeli government kept stressing that negotiations between Israel and the PLO were the only way to solve the conflict.[148] As the riots continued however, the Israeli government became increasingly sceptical of the PLO's willingness to engage in negotiations with Israel and the Israeli government emphasized that the Palestinian leadership needed to be changed in order to make negotiations between Israel and the Palestinians possible again.[149] The hostile attitude of the PLO was further emphasized by the Israeli government during the negotiations that took place during the riots. After the failed Sharm el-Sheikh Summit on 17 October for example, the Israeli government stressed that Israel had lived up to all its commitments which were agreed upon during the summit while the PLO had failed

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[144] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'PM Barak- Arafat has unequivocally committed himself to halting disturbances' (05-10-2000); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Temporary evacuation of Joseph's tomb by the IDF and its transfer to the Palestinian Authority' (07-10-2000).

[145] Israeli Minisry of Foreign Affairs, 'IDF soldiers abducted on northern border' (07-10-2000).

[146] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Interview with minister Shimon Peres on ABC News this week with Sam Donaldson and Cokie Roberts' (08-10-2000).

[147] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Interview with Israel PM Barak on NBC News meet the press' (08-10-2000); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Interview with Israel PM Barak on CBS News face the nation' (08-10-2000); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Israel expresses regret at Security Council decision' (08-10-2000); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Briefing by acting FM Ben-Ami to the foreign press' (10-10-2000); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'PM Barak- Palestinians not honoring Sharm understandings- time out to reasses diplomatic process in light of recent events' (22-10-2000); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'PM Barak- not yet possible to say that scale of violence has significantly declined' (29-10-2000).

[148] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Briefing by acting FM Ben-Ami to the foreign press' (10-10-2000); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Acting FM Ben-Ami adresses participants of Cairo summit' (20-10-2000).

[149] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Press briefing by Nachman Shai and MajGen Eiland' (13-10-2000); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Interview PM Ehud Barak on CNN late edition' (15-10-2000); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'PM Barak- Sharm summit designed to stop violence – no knowledge of Israeli officer being held by Hizbollah' (15-10-2000); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'PM Barak at conclusion of the Sharm el-Sheikh summit' (17-10-2000); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Israel utterly rejects Cairo summit closing statement' (22-10-2000).

to live up to its own commitments.[150] The Israeli government thus created a frame in which Israel was willing to negotiate with the Palestinians but was met with a hostile attitude by the PLO, which refused to negotiate with Israel and tried to solve the conflict by violent means.[151]

The responsibility of the PLO for the riots was used by Israel to legitimize Palestinian casualties caused by actions of the Israeli police and army. According to the Israeli narrative, the PLO had deliberately incited the Palestinian population against Israel and was therefore to blame for Palestinian attacks on Israeli civilians and soldiers. Furthermore, the Israeli government also blamed the PLO for releasing Hamas prisoners. Therefore, according to the Israeli government, the PLO was to blame for the casualties on both sides.[152]

Although the Israeli government created a very negative characterization frame of the PLO, it continued to stress its own benevolence towards the Palestinian people as a whole. The Israeli government for example frequently emphasized the humanitarian aid which was delivered by the Israeli government in the occupied territories.[153] Furthermore, the Israeli government also repeatedly emphasized its own commitment to limit the violence and minimize casualties on both sides. The Israeli government stressed for example several times that it had ordered the Israeli police and military to not use excessive violence against the Palestinian rioters. The Israeli government claimed that the cautious behaviour of the Israeli police and military had saved many lives during the riots.[154] The Israeli government also frequently emphasized its willingness to make concessions to the Palestinians to end the violence, such as the transfer of the Temple Mount to the PA. [155] These examples show that during the early stages of the Second Intifada, the Israeli government tried to present an identity frame in which Israel was a peaceful nation which sought to end its conflict with the Palestinians.

During the Second Intifada, the Israeli government repeatedly accused the PLO and the other Palestinian resistance organizations of committing human rights violations. These violations committed by the Palestinians were used by the Israeli government to delegitimize anti-Israeli resolutions by UN agencies. The Israeli government for example

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[150] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Acting FM Ben-Ami sends letters to foreign ministers' (20-10-2000).
[151] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Briefing by acting FM Ben-Ami to the diplomatic corps' (12-10-2000); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Press conference by acting FM Ben-Ami following lynching in Ramallah' (12-10-2000); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Interview PM Ehud Barak on CNN late edition' (15-10-2000); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Arab summit decisions distorts reality- disregard Israel's willigness to reach agreement and damage the efforts to achieve peace' (22-10-2000).
[152] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'PM Barak- Israel will use all means to defend its citizens and soldiers- warning signal to the PA' (12-10-2000); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Interview with prime minister Ehud Barak on ABC News- this week' (15-10-2000); The Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Cabinet communique' (15-10-2000).
[153] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'FM Ben-Ami- Israel continues to transfer humanitarian aid to PA' (14-10-2000).
[154] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'PM Barak meets with Arab MK's and local council heads' (03-10-2000); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Press Briefing by brigadier Benn Ganz- head of IDF division- Judea and Samaria' (07-10-2000); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Statement by PM and DM Ehud Barak following the Sharm el-Sheikh declaration' (17-10-2000); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'IAF attack helicopters attack terrorist targets in the West Bank and Gaza Strip' (30-10-2000).
[155] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Hostility on Lebanese border' (07-10-2000).

emphasized the use of children by the Palestinian resistance organizations to attack Israeli's and the hateful incitement of Palestinian religious leaders against Israel in order to claim that the UN agencies only condemned Israel human rights violations while ignoring human rights violations committed by the Palestinians.[156] The Israeli government in this way tried to create a frame in which the UN resolutions on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict were biased and anti-Israeli. This framing strategy can be seen as a strategy of characterization framing in which the UN was depicted as a biased, anti-Israeli organization. The Israeli government also used identity framing to delegitimize claims of Israeli human rights violations. In this identity frame of the Israeli government the benevolent and peaceful nature of Israel was emphasized.

A recurring frame of the Israeli government during the inception of the Second Intifada focused on the important role of the United States in the peace process. In its public statements the Israeli government frequently emphasized the profound impact of the efforts of the United States during the peace process.[157] Furthermore, the Israeli government also continued to praise the US for its contributions to the peace process.[158] The Israeli government also used the support of the US and other foreign states to delegitimize claims that Israel oppressed Palestinians and violated human rights as the Israeli government emphasized the rejection of an anti-Israeli resolution of the UN Commission on Human Rights by the majority of countries that participated in the voting on the resolution.[159] This framing strategy can be seen as power framing as the Israeli government tried to use the backing of other countries like the US to emphasize Israel's position in the conflict. It can however also be seen as process framing as the Israeli government propagated that the support of other countries was essential for the peace process and that Israel and the Palestinians should therefore allow other countries to fill a facilitating role in the peace process.

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[156] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Israel's response to resolution of the UNESCO executive board' (20-10-2000).
[157] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Interview with Israel PM Barak on CBS News face the nation' (08-10-2000).
[158] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'PM Barak at conclusion of the Sharm el-Sheikh summit' (17-10-2000).
[159] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Israel's response to resolution of the UN Commision on Human Rights' (20-10-2000).

4.2. March-June 2002. Operation Defensive Shield, major Israeli military operation in the West Bank.

Israeli tanks during Operation Defensive Shield

'Siege on the Mukataa, Ramallah': http://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0,7340,L-3685678,00.html (09-06-2017).

In the year following the beginning of the Second Intifada, there were several attempts by the Israeli government and the PLO to reopen negotiations. There were also several attempts by foreign countries to establish peace proposals in which basic principles for a negotiated solution the Israeli-Palestinian agreement were outlaid. One such peace proposal was submitted by the Arab League, a multinational organization comprised of several Arab countries such as Egypt, Jordan and Syria in March 2002.

In the months surrounding the publishing of the Arab League peace proposal, the framing strategies of the Israeli government were very similar to the framing strategies employed during the beginning of the Second Intifada. The Israeli government for example continued to propagate its negative characterization frames on the PLO. According to the Israeli government for example, the PLO did not put enough effort in combatting the terrorist activities of the other Palestinian resistance organizations. Furthermore, the Israeli government emphasized that the PLO itself had become increasingly more involved in terrorist activities. The Israeli government for example stressed that the Chairman of the PLO, Yasser Arafat, was personally involved in directing Palestinian terrorism.[160] Therefore, the PLO was according to this Israeli characterization frame responsible for all the casualties

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[160] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Information on the terrorist who carried out today's suicide bombing on King George Street in Jerusalem' (21-03-2002); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'List of weapons found at the Mukata compound in Ramallah' (30-03-2002); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Yasser Arafat's Mukata compound in Rammalah- a center for controlling and supporting terrorism' (02-04-2002); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Arafat approves the employment of terrorists in his security forces' (10-04-2002); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Involvement of Ziyad Younis- member of Arafat's presidential guard-in terrorist activities' (18-04-2002).

in the conflict as the Israeli police and military were merely defending Israel against the terrorist attacks of the PLO and the other Palestinian resistance organizations.[161]

Another important case of continuity compared with the previous event, the first months of the Second Intifada, is that the Israeli government kept stressing its own commitment to the peace effort and its willingness to negotiate with the Palestinians to find a solution to the conflict.[162] The Israeli government also continued to emphasize its benevolence towards the Palestinian people and its willingness to uphold the agreements that had been made with the PLO during the Oslo Accords negotiations. The Israeli government for example repeatedly stressed the humanitarian efforts it made to help the Palestinians.[163] The Israeli government thus maintained its identity frame that Israel was benevolent towards the Palestinian people and was only in conflict with the Palestinian resistance organizations. The Israeli government also maintained its very negative characterization on the Palestinian resistance organizations. The Israeli government for example kept emphasizing that the refusal of the Palestinian leaders to negotiate with Israel caused the continuation of the hostilities between Israel and the Palestinian resistance organizations.[164]

A further case of continuity with the beginning of the Second Intifada, is that the Israeli government emphasized the cautious approach that the IDF and the Israeli police had used during counterterrorism operations. The Israeli government stressed that the IDF and Israeli police did everything in their power to avoid Palestinian civilian casualties.[165] Furthermore, the Israeli government emphasized its own efforts in coordinating the operations of the IDF and Israeli police in their operations against Palestinian resistance organizations to prevent Palestinian civilian casualties.[166] At the same time, the Israeli government emphasized Israeli civilian casualties caused by Palestinian attacks.[167] In the months surrounding the Arab League peace proposal, the Israeli government however tried to counter framing efforts by the Palestinian resistance organizations more strongly. According to the frames of these Palestinian resistance organizations for example, a large number of innocent Palestinian civilians were murdered in IDF operations in this time period such as during Operation Defensive Shield, a major counterterrorism operation by the IDF in the West Bank. The

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[161] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'PM Sharon meets US Rep wexler- peace center Chmn Danny Abraham and US ambassador Kurtzler' (07-03-2002).

[162] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Cabinet Communique' (10-03-2002).

[163] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'The president of Magen David Ambon condemns the adverse use of the Red Cresent emblem (31-03-2002); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Provisions supplied to PA chairman Arafat' (02-04-2002); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'IDF humanitarian assistance to the Palestinians' (05-04-2002); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'IDF communiques' (06-04-2002); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'DM Ben-Eliezer meets with ambassadors from countries providing personell for TIPH' (06-05-2002).

[164] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'IDF Spokesman announcement on IDF activity in Bethlehem' (04-04-2002); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'IDF communiques' (06-04-2002).

[165] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Cabinet communique' (07-04-2000); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Lies in the Palestinian media' (11-04-2002); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'DM Ben Eliezer on the UN fact-finding team' (23-04-2002).

[166] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'IDF military police investigate looting in the West Bank' (26-04-2002); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'DM Ben-Eliezer meeting with US State Departement team' (19-04-2002); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Statement from DM Ben-Eliezer's office' (23-04-2002).

[167] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'DM Ben-Eliezer comments on resolution of events at the Church of Nativity in Bethlehem' (10-05-2002).

Israeli government tried to counter these frames by insisting that the Palestinian resistance organizations were merely trying to incite hatred against Israel in Palestine itself and abroad by grossly exaggerating the Palestinian civilian casualties caused by the operations of the IDF. Palestinian assertions that the IDF deliberately targeted Palestinian civilians during its operations, were also referred to as 'lies' in the public statements of the Israeli government. This can be seen as an information framing strategy by the Israeli government as the Israeli government tried to discredit Palestinian information sources and tried to convince foreign audiences not to trust these sources.[168]

4.3. August 2005: Israeli withdrawal from the Gaza Strip

Israeli prime minister Ariel Sharon discussing the Israeli disengagement from the Gaza Strip, July 5 2005

'Former Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon leans over housing plans as he meets with contractors who were building temporary housing for settlers due to be evacuated from the Gaza Strip under his disengagement plan in southern Israel, July 5, 2005': https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/ariel-sharon-was-no-hero-for-israeli-settlers-evicted-from-gaza/2014/01/12/aa56ee22-7bc9-11e3-9556-4a4bf7bcbd84_story.html?utm_term=.dd4b8b1ad297 (09-06-2017).

In 2005 a major development occurred in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict when Israel disengaged from the Gaza Strip. During the Israeli disengagement of Gaza, the Israeli government mainly emphasized the importance of the Israeli disengagement from the Gaza Strip for the peace process. The Israeli government repeatedly stressed for example that the

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[168] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'IDF spokesman communique' (01-04-2002); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Statement by the coordinator of activities in the terrorities' (21-04-2002).

disengagement from Gaza was a necessary step in the peace process.[169] Although the Israeli government kept stressing its own commitment to the peace process with the disengagement of Gaza, the Israeli government made clear that the Palestinian response to the disengagement plan was of even greater importance to the peace process. This was because the Israeli government asserted that Palestinian terrorism was the main obstacle in the peace process.[170] The Israeli government therefore emphasized in its public statements that it was up to the Palestinians to quell terrorist groups in their own ranks and therefore end the hostilities between the Palestinian and Israelis. The Israeli government was during the Israeli disengagement from the Gaza Strip slightly less sceptical on the ability of the PLO to end the attacks on Israel of the other Palestinian resistance organizations, when compared to previous events in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict such as the beginning of the Second Intifada.[171] The Israeli government did however still stress in several public statements that the PLO was not doing enough to prevent the terrorist attacks of the other Palestinian resistance organizations.[172] The Israeli government also stressed that if the Palestinians would continue their attacks after the disengagement plan was implemented, Israel would retaliate. The Israeli government emphasized that this would be a legitimate course of action as a continuation of Palestinian terrorism would demonstrate that the Palestinian resistance organizations, including the PLO were not committed to achieving peace with Israel.[173] The Israeli characterization frame of the Palestinian resistance organizations was thus still quite negative during the Israeli disengagement from Gaza.

During the Israeli disengagement from the Gaza Strip, several attacks were committed on Palestinians by radical Israelis who opposed the disengagement plan. The Israeli government harshly condemned these attacks. In this way the Israeli government tried to reinforce its identity frame in which Israel was presented as a peace-loving nation.[174]

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[169] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Vice premier Peres meets with special quartet envoy for the disengagement Wolfensohn' (03-08-2005); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'President Katav adresses the nation' (10-08-2005); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Excerpt from speech by PM Sharon at the laying of the cornerstone of Nurit' (29-08-2005).

[170] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'PM Sharon speaks with UN Secy-Gen. Annan' (29-08-2005).

[171] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'PM Sharon adresses the nation' (15-08-2005); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Key points from press briefing by Col. Yoav Mordechai, head of the District Coordination Office' (16-08-2005); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Evacuation of Israeli civilians from the Gaza Strip completed' (22-08-2005).

[172] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'FM Shalom meets with EU high represnentative Solana' (28-08-2005).

[173] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Excerpts from Israel Radio interview with FM Shalom' (29-08-2005).

[174] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'PM Sharon's statement following the terrorist attack in Shfaram' (04-08-2005); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'FM Shalom condemns Shfaram shooting' (05-08-2005); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Cabinet communique' (07-05-2005); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Response of PM Sharon to Shilo terrorist attack' (17-08-2005).

4.4. January-March 2006: Hamas victory in Palestinian elections.

Hamas supporters celebrating the victory of Hamas during the Palestinian elections in 2006

'Hamas supporters celebrate their victory in 2006. Palestinians are still waiting for another election':
https://depetris.wordpress.com/category/israeli-palestinian-conflict/ (09-06-2017).

Before 2006, parliamentary elections had only taken place in the PA once since its creation in 1994. The parliamentary elections in the PA which took place in 1996, had decisively been won by the PLO mainly because Hamas had refused to participate in the elections. Hamas had however decided that it would participate in the 2006 Palestinian elections. The PLO allowed Hamas to participate in these elections much to the dismay of the Israeli government. In the weeks leading up to the Palestinian elections in 2006, the Israeli government therefore continued its campaign of calling on the PLO to combat the terrorist activities of the other Palestinian resistance organizations. The Israeli government asserted that the PLO was not doing enough to oppose the radical Palestinian resistance organizations as Hamas was allowed to participate in the Palestinian elections. The Israeli government also tried to spread a characterization frame of the PLO as a hostile, violent organization, as it allowed the participation of terrorists groups such as Hamas in the Palestinian elections.[175]

The Israeli government further stepped up its characterization framing efforts towards Hamas in the weeks prior to the Palestinian elections. Hamas was portrayed by the Israeli government in its public statements as a terrorist organization which would reignite the

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[175] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Cabinet communique' (15-01-2006); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Excerpts from statement by Tzipi Livni upon assuming office as Foreign Minister' (18-01-2006).

Israeli-Palestinian conflict and destroy the development of the PA towards a peaceful, democratic Palestinian government.[176]

After Hamas had won the Palestinian elections on 25 January 2006, the Israeli government erstwhile tried to downplay the consequences of this development. The Israeli government presented a losses versus gains frame on the Hamas victory. In this frame it was asserted that the PLO would still have a major influence in the PA and that Hamas would thus not be able to fully implement its radical policies.[177] At the same time however the Israeli government was sceptical that the PLO would take actions against Hamas as according to the Israeli government, the PLO had failed for years to take action to end the terrorist activities of Hamas. According to the Israeli government, the PLO did not uphold the agreements that had been made during the Oslo Accords negotiations while Israel had lived up to all the agreements. The Israeli government thus tried to present a characterization frame in which the PLO was characterized as untrustworthy.[178]

After the victory of Hamas in the Palestinian elections, the Israeli government also asserted that it could no longer continue to negotiate with the PA as the PLO was no longer in power and Hamas, a terrorist organization was now fully embedded in the PA government. The Israeli government stated that Israel would only reopen negotiations with the PA if Hamas would be dismantled as a terrorist organization and the PA acknowledged Israel's right to exist. The Israeli government tried to discredit the PA internationally and called upon other countries to cut off diplomatic ties with the PA. The Israeli government thus tried to spread a characterization frame on the PA internationally, in which the PA was portrayed as an anti-Israeli organization which wanted to continue the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.[179]

As the weeks progressed after the Palestinian elections, the Israeli government increased its characterization framing efforts to discredit the PA. In its public statements, the Israeli government uttered extremely suspicion on the intentions of Hamas after it gained control of the PA government. The Israeli government asserted that Hamas would never cease to be a terrorist organisation and that consequently negotiations between the Israel and the PA could never take place as long as Hamas was in power.[180] In some public statements

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[176] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs. 'Adress by Dir-Gen Prosor to the 6th Herzliya conference' (22-01-2006); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Cabinet communique' (22-01-2006).

[177] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Cabinet communique' (29-01-2006).

[178] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Statement from the Prime Minister's bureau on the results of the Palestinian elections' (26-01-2006); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'IDF operation in Jericho to arrest murderers of Israeli minister Ze'evi' (14-03-2006).

[179] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Acting PM Olmert speaks with French president Chirac' (28-01-2006); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Acting PM Olmert speaks with UN Secy.-Gen. Annan' (28-01-2006); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'FM Livni meets with German Chancellor Merkel' (30-01-2006); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Acting PM Olmert meets with German Chancellor Merkel' (30-01-2006); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'FM Livni briefs Israeli ambassadors' (01-02-2006); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Joint press conference by FM Livni and Secy Rice' (08-02-2006); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'FM Livni reacts to Russian President Putin's invitation of Hamas' (12-02-2006); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Cabinet communique' (19-02-2006); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Russian President Putin briefs acting PM Olmert on Hamas talks' (05-03-2006).

[180] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Cabinet communique' (12-02-2006); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'FM Livni meets with German FM Steinmeier' (13-02-2006); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'FM Livni meets with Italian leaders' (22-03-2006).

however, the Israeli government presented a slightly more positive losses versus gains frame. In these public statements, it was asserted that the upcoming position of the Hamas as a leading part in the PA government might persuade the Hamas leadership to cease or decrease its terrorist activities and become less hostile towards Israel.[181]

Although the Israeli government mainly focused on the Palestinian elections during this event, the Israeli government also discussed other cases in its public statements. The Israeli government for example continued to denounce the attacks committed by Israeli radicals, who were against negotiations between Israel and the Palestinians and the demolition of Jewish settlements in the Gaza Strip and West Bank. The Israeli government itself strongly argued against Jewish settlements in the Palestinian occupied territories, referring to the construction of these settlements as 'illegal acts'.[182] The Israeli government also kept stressing its benevolence towards the Palestinian people and the Israeli government once again asserted that it only had a conflict with the Palestinian resistance organizations involved in terrorist activities, not with the Palestinian people as a whole.[183] The restraint approach of IDF soldiers during counterterrorism operations was for example emphasized by the Israeli government. The Israeli government also stressed that it had ordered IDF soldiers to do everything in their power to prevent Palestinian civilian casualties.[184] All these examples fit in an identity framing strategy in which Israel was depicted as a peaceful nation.

An important part of this identity framing strategy of the Israeli government, entailed the sharp denouncement of attacks committed by the Palestinian resistance organizations. The Israeli government tried to emphasize the struggle of Israel to combat these attacks and tried to create a characterization frame of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in which Israel was presented as a victim of ceaseless Palestinian terrorist attacks. In this way Israel probably tried to persuade other countries like the US to cooperate with Israel against terrorism.[185] Furthermore, the Israeli government also tried to use the support of other countries such as the US, to justify its counterterrorism operations against the radical Palestinian resistance organizations.[186]

Another important characterization framing effort of the Israeli government in the time period surrounding the Israeli engagement of the Gaza Strip, was related to the West Bank barrier that had been constructed by the Israeli government to separate the Palestinian-controlled West Bank from Israel. Israel tried to frame the construction of the West Bank

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[181] Israeli Ministry of Foreing Affairs, 'FM Livni: excerpts from Interviews' (26-02-2006).
[182] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Cabinet communique' (15-01-2006); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Evacuation and demolition of permanent structures in the illegal outpost of Amona completed' (01-02-2006); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Cabinet communique' (05-02-2006).
[183] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Transfer of Erez security crossing to the MInistry of Defense' (19-01-2006); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'FM Livni: Hamas has begun taking over Palestinin Authority' (19-02-2006); Israeli Ministry of Foreing Affairs, 'Cabinet communique' (05-03-2006); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'FM Livni meets with Quartet's Wolfensohn' (09-03-2006); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Excerpt from statement by acting PM Olmert on operation in Jericho' (15-03-2006); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'FM Livni meets with Italian leaders' (22-03-2006).
[184] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Following intensified rocket attacks, IDF increases activity in the Gaza Strip' (31-03-2006).
[185] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Foreign Ministry to hold homeland security conference' (19-03-2006).
[186] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'FM Livni briefs the cabinet on diplomatic affairs' (19-03-2006).

barrier as an attempt to protect Israel from Palestinian terrorist attacks, referring to the barrier as a 'security fence'.[187] This characterization framing effort was undertaken by the Israeli government to refute Palestinian and international criticism that the fence limited the freedom of Palestinians, harmed the Palestinian economy and limited the access of indispensable goods such as medicine and health services to Palestinians. In the frame created by the Israeli government, the West Bank Barrier and the strict border control at the Gaza Strip was only necessary due to the attacks committed by the Palestinian Resistance organizations. Thus, according to the Israeli narrative, the Palestinian resistance organizations were thus to blame for the humanitarian and economic problems in the Palestinian territories.[188]

4.5. June 2007: Palestinian Civil War.

Hamas combatant in the Palestinian Civil War

'Hamas Fighter in the Civil War': http://kabdounpolitics.blogspot.nl/2014/10/the-palestinian-civil-war-details-of.html (09-06-2017).

Throughout 2006 and early 2007, there were many struggles between Hamas and the PLO. These struggles eventually culminated in the summer of 2007 into the Palestinian Civil War. The main framing efforts of the Israeli government during the Palestinian Civil War focused on discrediting Hamas. Hamas was for example labelled as a terrorist organization in the public statements of the Israeli government. Furthermore, the terrorist activities of Hamas were described by the Israeli government as a major threat to the peace process. The Israeli government also emphasized that the terrorist activities of Hamas were harmful not only to Israel but also to the Palestinian people as the terrorist activities of Hamas forced Israel to take security measures which harmed Palestinian civilians. Israel thus tried to create a frame

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[187] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Acting PM Olmert tours security fence' (07-02-2006),
[188] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Cabinet communique' (05-03-2006).

in which Hamas was to blame for the continuation of the conflict and that Israel was merely defending itself against the attacks by Hamas.[189]

While the Israeli government stressed that Hamas was a danger to its own people, the Israeli government kept emphasizing the benevolence of Israel towards the Palestinian people. The Israeli government tried in this way to refute claims made in rapports of NGO's such as Amnesty international, in which Israel was accused of not respecting the rights of Palestinian civilians. The Israeli government referred to such reports as 'hypocritical and biased'. The Israeli government also used the threat of terrorist attacks by Hamas to legitimize the construction of barriers and border controls at the border between Israel and the Palestinian territories. In this way, the Israeli government tried to combat allegations that the Israeli barriers at the border caused humanitarian problems in the Palestinian territories.[190]

The Israeli government asserted during the Palestinian Civil War that Israel upheld human rights in its contact with the Palestinians. Israel used this assertion to pose itself as an opposite to Hamas, which according to the Israeli government did not respect human rights and norms.[191] The Israeli government thus tried to create an identity frame in which Israel respected human rights while at the same time creating a negative characterization frame on the Hamas-led Palestinian government in which was emphasized that the Hamas-led Palestinian government did not conform to human rights.

The Israeli government described Hamas very negatively in its public statements during the Palestinian Civil War. After the first hostilities between the PLO and Hamas had broken out, the Israeli government continued its framing efforts against Hamas while expressing support to the PLO. The Israeli government also stressed its own intentions to cooperate with the PLO instead of the Palestinian government led by Hamas. Furthermore, the Israeli government stated that it was willing to provide aid to the PLO to establish strong democratic institutions in the Palestinian territories as the Israeli government asserted that the creation of well-functioning government institutions in the Palestinian territories was a main prerequisite for negotiations between Israel and the Palestinians.[192]

The Israeli government thus supported the PLO during the Palestinian Civil War. In order to support the PLO, the Israeli government presented relatively positive characterization

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[189] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'FM Livni attends Women leaders conference' (03-06-2007); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Situation in Gaza: Radio interview with FM Livni' (18-06-2007); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Statement by PM Ehud Olmert at the Sharm el-Sheikh summit' (25-06-2007).

[190] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Israel's response to Amnesty International report' (04-06-2007); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'New Israeli task force will confront British boycott' (10-06-2007); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Humanitarian supplies transferred to the Gaza Strip' (19-06-2007); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Israel protest U.N. Human Rights Council decision' (21-07-2007).

[191] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Cabinet communique' (10-06-2007).

[192] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'PM Olmert speaks with Jordanian king Abdullah' (18-06-2007); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Situation in Gaza: Radio interview with FM Livni' (18-06-2007); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'The Peace alternative, by Tzipi Livni' (18-06-2007); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Press conference: PM Olmert meets with US president Bush' (19-06-2007); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Cabinet communique' (24-06-2007); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Statement by PM Ehud Olmert at the Sharm el-Sheikh summit' (25-06-2007); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'PM Olmert meets with Texas governor Rick Perry' (26-06-2007); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Israel welcomes Tony Blair's appointment as Quartet Midlle Eastern envoy' (28-06-2007).

frames on the PLO, especially when compared with the Israeli characterization frames on the PLO during the previous years, before the Palestinian Civil War. Instrumental in these characterization frames on the PLO by the Israeli government, were the perceived differences between the PLO and Hamas. According to the Israeli government, the PLO was mainly interested in creating an independent Palestinian state and was therefore not deliberatively striving towards conflicts with Israel. Hamas on the other hand, was an organization based on Jihadist principles which sought the destruction of Israel. According to the Israeli government, Hamas was thus deliberately striving towards conflicts with Israel, unlike the PLO.[193]

During the Palestinian Civil War, the Israeli government kept emphasizing its cooperation with the US and the important role of the US in the peace process. This can be seen as a form of power framing as the Israeli government emphasized its alliance with a very powerful country, the US.[194]

4.6. December 2008-January 2009: Gaza War, major armed conflict between Israel and Hamas.

Destruction in Gaza during the Gaza War

'Gaza bombed 2009': http://jfjfp.com/?p=62223 (09-06-2017).

After the Palestinian Civil War, the PA had been split between the PLO-led Palestinian government in the West Bank and the Hamas-led Palestinian government in the Gaza Strip. In the years following the Palestinian Civil War, the Israeli government had several conflicts

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[193] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'PM Olmert meets with Dutch FM Maxime Verhagen' (12-06-2007); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Press conference by FM Tzipi Livni during visit to Portugal' (16-06-2007); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'FM Livni visits Potugal' (17-06-2007); Israeli Ministry of FOreign Affairs, 'Press conference with FM Livni and FM Downer of Australia' (26-06-2007).
[194] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'U.S. and Israel hold strategic dialoque' (08-06-2007).

with both Palestinian governments. The relations between the Israeli government and the PLO-led Palestinian government in the West Bank were however not nearly as hostile as the relations between the Israeli government and the Hamas-led government in the West Bank. Tensions remained high between the Israeli government and Hamas as Hamas launched attacks in Israel while the Israeli government undertook several measures against the Hamas government in the Gaza Strip such as the Gaza Strip Blockade. The tensions between Hamas and the Israeli government culminated eventually in a large-scale Israeli invasion of the Gaza Strip in December 2008. This conflict became known as the Gaza War.

During the Gaza War, Israeli framing efforts were mainly focused on stressing Israel's unwillingness to begin an armed conflict with the Hamas-led Palestinian government in the Gaza Strip. The Israeli government basically asserted that the conduct of Hamas, by launching terrorist attacks against Israel, had forced the Israeli government to intervene. The Israeli government thus laid the blame of the Gaza War on Hamas, stressing that if Hamas would have ceased terrorist attacks on Israeli civilians, Israel would not have been forced to attack the Gaza Strip. Israel thus asserted that its operations in the Gaza War were purely motivated out of self-defence, to protect Israeli civilians from the terrorist attacks by Hamas.[195] The Israeli government also stressed that Israel had suffered the terrorist attacks by Hamas for years without retaliating against Hamas. In this way, the Israeli government created a frame in which Israel had acted in a very restraint manner towards Hamas, but had ultimately been forced to attack the Gaza Strip as Hamas had not stopped its terrorist activities.[196] The Israeli government used this characterization frame to discredit UN resolutions in which the Israeli military operations in the Gaza Strip were condemned.[197]

The Israeli government also used the support of Western nation such as the US to counter UN resolutions in which Israel was accused of starting a war of aggression. Israel framed these UN resolutions as illegitimate because the main supporters of these resolutions were the Arab countries which had a strong bias against Israel. In this way, the Israeli government presented a negative characterization frame on the UN.[198]

The Israeli government spread very negative characterization frames of Hamas during the Gaza War. At the same time however, the Israeli government asserted that it was willing to negotiate with Hamas. The Israeli government did stress though that Israel would only be

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[195] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'President Peres meets with Austrian president Heinz Fisher' (15-12-2008); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Adress by PM Olmert to the TAU INSS annual conference' (18-12-2008); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'FM Livni special briefing to the foreign press' (27-12-2008); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'PM Olmert press briefing on IDF operation in the Gaza Strip' (27-12-2008); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Statement by Amb Shalev to UN Security Council' (31-12-2008); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affiars, 'CNN interview with FM Livni' (04-01-2009); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'President Peres meets with French President Sarkozy' (05-01-2009); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Statement by Ministerial Comitte on National Security Affairs' (09-01-2009).

[196] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Cabinet communique' (11-01-2009); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Operation in Gaza: Statement by DM Ehud Barak' (17-01-2009); Israeli Ministry in Foreign Affairs, 'Israel holds its fire: Statement by PM Ehud Olmert' (17-01-2009).

[197] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Israel rejects one-sided resolution of UN Human Rights Council in Geneva' (12-01-2009).

[198] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Israel rejects one-sided resolution of UN Human Rights Council in Geneva' (12-01-2009).

willing to negotiate with Hamas if Hamas would end its terrorist activities and would recognize Israel. This argument was used by the Israeli government to legitimize its military operations in the Gaza Strip. The Israeli government for example stressed that Israel would only agree to a ceasefire if Hamas would stop launching terrorist attacks against Israel.[199] Israel's refusal to agree to a ceasefire with Hamas was further legitimized by the Israeli government, with the argument that Hamas was not a state like Israel, but a terrorist organization. Therefore, Israel's invasion of the Gaza Strip could not be viewed as a war of aggression but as a legitimate counterterrorism operation.[200] The Israeli government kept stressing its refusal to a ceasefire even after UNSC resolution 1860, in which both Hamas and Israel were called upon to adhere to an immediate ceasefire. The Israeli government thus used its negative characterization frames on both Hamas and the UN to legitimize its military operations in the Gaza Strip and its refusal to agree to a ceasefire with Hamas.[201]

The Israeli government stressed during the Gaza War that Israel had no conflict with the Palestinian people, only with Hamas if it continued its terrorist activities.[202] The Israeli government also kept stressing that Hamas was in fact an enemy of the Palestinian people as the terrorist activities of Hamas sabotaged peace efforts between Israel and the Palestinians and had forced Israel to attack the Gaza Strip to defend itself against the attacks of Hamas. The Israeli government also asserted that the Hamas-led Palestinian government in the Gaza Strip, was an illegitimate government and had seized the control of the Gaza Strip from more peaceful, moderate Palestinian resistance groups such as the PLO. In this way, the Israeli government further reinforced its very negative characterization frame on Hamas.[203]

During the Gaza War, the Israeli government stressed that IDF forces had been instructed to avoid excessive Palestinian civilian casualties wherever possible. The Israeli government used this frame to refute claims made by Hamas that many Palestinian civilians were being killed in IDF operations in the Gaza Strip. These claims by Hamas were framed by the Israeli

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[199] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Statement following adoption of UN Security Council resolution 1850' (16-12-2008); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Cabinet communique' (21-12-2008); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'FM Livni meets with Eyptian Pres. Mubarak' (22-12-2008); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Decision of Minister's committee on National security' (24-12-2008); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'President Peres visits Ashkelon' (31-12-2008); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'FM Livni meets with Quartet envoy Blair' (05-01-2009).

[200] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'FM Livni adresses Cabinet meeting' (04-01-2009).

[201] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'PM Olmert's reaction to diplomatic developments & UNSC Resolution 1860' (09-01-2009).

[202] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Adress by FM Livni to INSS conference: security challenges of the 21st century' (18-12-2008); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'President Peres visits Sderot' (24-12-2008).

[203] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'FM Livni meets with Egyptian President Mubarak' (25-12-2008); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'PM Olmert interview on Al-Arabiya news channel' (25-12-2008); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'FM Livni briefs foreign diplomats in Sderot' (28-12-2008); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Statement by president Shimon Peres on IDF operation in Gaza' (28-12-2008); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'FM Livni briefing in Sderot-Opening remarks' (28-12-2008); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'IDF operation in Gaza: Briefing after Cabinet meeting' (28-12-2008); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'FM Livni press conference on IDF operation in Gaza' (31-12-2008); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'FM Livni on UN security council decision' (06-01-2009); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Briefing by FM Livni to the Diplomatic Corps' (08-01-2009); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'FM Livni at joint press conference with German FM Steinmeier' (11-01-2009); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Press conference with FM Livni and UN Sec-Gen Ban Ki-Moon' (15-01-2009).

government as anti-Israeli propaganda attempts by Hamas. In this way the Israeli government created an information frame in which Palestinian accounts on Israeli military operations in the Gaza Strip were considered unreliable and biased.[204]

The Israeli government on its part, accused Hamas of using Palestinian civilians in the Gaza Strip as human shields. This Israeli government used these claims to legitimize attacks by the IDF on schools and hospitals in the Gaza Strip, as according to the Israeli government, Hamas was deliberately using schools and hospitals as 'terror bases'. The Israeli government asserted that Hamas was thus responsible for the Palestinian civilian casualties caused by the IDF attacks on these schools and hospitals. This reinforced the Israeli narrative of Hamas as an enemy of the Palestinian people.[205] Concurrently, the Israeli government kept emphasizing its own sympathy towards the Palestinian people, by widely reporting on the humanitarian aid that Israel delivered to the Palestinians in the Gaza Strip.[206] Furthermore, the Israeli government also framed its cessation of IDF operation in the Gaza Strip on 7 January 2009, as a benevolent act by Israel to allow humanitarian help to be delivered to Palestinian civilians in the Gaza Strip.[207] The Israeli government also emphasized Israel's cooperation with humanitarian organizations in delivering humanitarian aid to Palestinian civilians. After the Gaza War, The Israeli government further lamented on the Palestinian civilians who had been killed during the war.[208] Even after the Gaza War had been concluded the Israeli government kept stressing the humanitarian aid Israel supplied to the Palestinians civilians in the Gaza Strip.[209] The Israeli government also asserted that Hamas was responsible for the Gaza War and the humanitarian situation in Gaza. The Israeli government further accused Hamas of seizing international aid which was meant for Palestinian civilians.

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[204] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'FM Livni special briefing to the foreign press' (27-12-2008); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'FM Livni briefs foreign diplomats in Sderot' (28-12-2008); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'IDF issues warnings to the civilians of Gaza' (07-01-2009); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'IDF spokesman on Israeli fire incidents in Gaza' (17-01-2009).

[205] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Excerpts from FM Livni's statements to the foreign press' (29-12-2008); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Operation Cast Lead expanded' (03-01-2009); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'FM Livni meets heads of humanitarian organizations' (04-01-2009); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'President Peres meets with European Union Troika' (06-01-2009); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Initial inquiry into school incident in Jebayilla (06-01-2009); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Def Min Barak meets with UN Secretary-General' (15-01-2009).

[206] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Humanitarian assistance to Gaza during periods of calm' (26-12-2008); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Israeli humanitarian aid to Gaza' (01-01-2009); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Ongoing humanitarian effort continues despite rocket fire' (02-01-2009); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Statement by DM Ehud Barak' (03-01-2009); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Humanitarian aid update' (05-01-2009): Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Humanitarian aid arrangement to the residents of the Gaza Strip' (07-01-2009).

[207] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Cessation of IDF activities in Gaza to facilitate humanitarian activities' (07-01-2009); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Cessation of IDF offense in Gaza for second consecutive day' (08-01-2009).

[208] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Israel holds its fire : Statement by PM Ehud Olmert' (17-01-2009); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Cabinet communique' (18-01-2009); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'FM Livni meets with US ambassador Cunningham' (26-09-2009).

[209] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Humanitarian supply chain to Gaza expands' (18-01-2009); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Emergency treatment center opens at Erez crossing' (18-01-2009); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Humanitarian aid to Gaza during IDF operation' (18-01-2009); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'PM Olmert speaks with US President Obama' (21-01-2009).

The Israeli government thus once again tried to present an identity frame of Israel as a peaceful nation, while at the same time strongly denouncing Hamas.[210]

This denouncement of Hamas was also used to further legitimize the Israeli invasion of the Gaza Strip. According to the Israeli government this invasions served the peace process as the removal of the Hamas government in the Gaza Strip, would enable more moderate Palestinian resistance groups to take power. These group would be more willing to negotiate with Israel and this would lead to a continuation of the peace process. During the Gaza War, the Israeli kept stressing it willingness to negotiate with moderate Palestinian resistance groups. The Israeli government thus created a process frame in which the Gaza War would ultimately serve the peace process.[211]

Israel made extensive characterization framing efforts during the Gaza War to convince other states, mainly the US and European countries on its view of Hamas as a terrorist organization. The Israeli government for example expressed support to American operations in the Middle East to combat terrorism so the American government would have more sympathy for Israeli in its struggle with Hamas. The Israeli government also framed Israel as a victim of Hamas terrorist attacks to gain more international support for its attacks on Hamas during the Gaza War.[212] After the Gaza War, the Israeli government for example stressed that Israel had no intentions to occupy the Gaza Strip and that Israeli troops were ordered to withdraw from the Gaza Strip after the implementation of the ceasefire. This framing effort was undertaken by the Israeli government to reinforce the frame that Israel had only started the Gaza War to defend its citizens from attacks by Hamas.[213] The Israeli government also repeatedly stressed its commitment to preserve the peace between Israel and the Palestinians. The Israeli government for example expressed its support for 'peace plans' such as the Japanese-Israeli-Jordanian-Palestinian 'peace corridor' plan, which were negotiated upon by Israel, the Palestinians and other states.[214]

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[210] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Head of Israeli Humanitarian Center meets with international organizations' (11-01-2009); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Minister Herzog to coordinate humanitarian aid to the Gaza Strip' (13-01-2009); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'FM Livni meets with ICRC President Kellenberger' (15-01-2009).

[211] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'FM Livni meets with French President Sarkozy' (01-01-2009); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'FM Livni meets with Spanish FM Moratinos' (13-01-2009); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'FM Livni briefs Israeli ambassadors abroad' (14-01-2009); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Remarks by Sec Rice and FM Livni after signing of MOU' (16-01-2009).

[212] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Security Cabinet decision on global Jihad' (24-12-2008); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Channel 2 TV interview with FM Livni' (03-01-2009); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'FM Livni meets with Russian Deputy FM Saltanov' (04-01-2009); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Joint press conference with FM Livni and EU reprensatives' (05-01-2009); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'PM Olmert's greeting to US President Obama' (20-01-2009); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'FM Livni meets with US envoy Senator Mitchell' (28-01-2009).

[213] Israeli Mininstry of Foreign Affairs, 'Statements by PM Olmert and European leaders' (18-01-2009); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Remarks by FM Livni after meeting with EU foreign minister' (21-09-2009).

[214] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'PM Olmert speaks with Japanese PM Aso' (18-12-2008).

4.7. September-October 2011: Palestinian request for admission as a UN member.

'Mahmoud Abbas president of PLO-led PA government in the West Bank

'Mahmoud Abbas 2011': https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Mahmoud_Abbas_2011.jpg (09-06-2017)

As illustrated during the Gaza War, tensions between the Israeli government and the Hamas-led Palestinian government in the Gaza Strip were very high in the years following the Palestinian Civil War. Although relations between the Israeli government and the PLO-led Palestinian government were generally better, there were also several struggles between the Israeli government and the PLO government in the West Bank. One of the main conflicts between Israel and the PLO-led Palestinian government in the West Bank occurred in 2011 when the PLO-led Palestinian government submitted a request to be admitted as a UN member. The Israeli government strongly opposed this request and tried to use process framing to sway UN member states against this Palestinian request by emphasizing that a unilateral declaration of a Palestinian state would not advance the peace process and might even lead to a stalemate in the peace process. Furthermore the Israeli government argued that the unilateral declaration of a Palestinian state was a violation of earlier agreements that had been signed between Israeli and the PLO-led Palestinian government in the West Bank.[215] According to the Israeli government, the creation of a Palestinian state could better be achieved during negotiations with Israel, as the Israeli government could then lay out its terms for its support of an independent Palestinian state. The Israeli government stressed that only direct negotiations between Israel and the Palestinians could lead to an end of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.[216]

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[215] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Dep FM Ayalon attends Palestinian donors conference' (18-09-2011); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'FM Liberman meets with leaders in Sarajevo' (27-10-2011).
[216] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'President Peres meets with Belgian PM Leterme' (04-09-2011); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'PM Netanyahu meets with Belgian PM Leterme' (05-09-2011); Israeli Ministry of

The Israeli government repeatedly emphasized its own willingness to negotiate with the PLO-led Palestinian government during the months surrounding the PA request to be admitted as a UN member. At the same time, the Israeli government continuously accused the PLO-led Palestinian government of obstructing the negations. In this way, the Israeli government blamed the PLO-led Palestinian government for the lack of progress in the peace process. The Israeli government for example stressed that the PA's request to the UN to be recognized as a UN member had severely obstructed the negotiations between Israel and the PA.[217]

During this time period, the Israeli government continuously tried to counter frame attempts by the PLO to gain support for its recognition as an independent Palestinian state by the UN. PLO claimed that the Israeli occupation of the Gaza Strip and refusal of the Israeli government to recognize an independent Palestinian state, had forced the Palestinians to resist Israel. The PLO thus tried to blame Israel for the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The PLO further asserted that an independent Palestinian state in the West Bank and Israeli withdrawal from the Gaza Strip could bring an end to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The Israeli government tried to combat these framing efforts by the PLO, by propagating a characterization frame in which was emphasized that not Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip but the Palestinian's desire to destroy the State of Israel, had led to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The Israeli government further stressed that the refusal of Palestinian resistance organizations to negotiate with Israel, the attacks of Palestinian resistance organizations on Israeli civilians and the refusal of Palestinian resistance organizations to recognize the state of Israel, were major factors for the continuation of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.[218] The Israeli government also pointed out that some PLO officials had officially stated that the PLO was still envisioning the destruction of Israel and the removal of Jews from the Middle East. This proved, according to the Israeli government that the PLO was still not interested in a peaceful coexistence between an Israeli and a Palestinian state.[219]

During the months surrounding the request of the PLO-led Palestinian government in the West Bank for admission as a UN member, the Israeli government also used framing to justify its measures against the Hamas government in the Gaza Strip. The Israeli government

Foreign Affairs, 'Statement by PM Netanyahu following events in Cairo' (10-09-2011); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Prime Minister's Office responds to spreech by PA President Abbas' (17-09-2011); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'PM Netanyahu calls on PA Chairman to open direct negotiations' (19-09-2011); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Statements by President Obama and PM Netanyahu before meeting at UN General Assembly' (21-09-2011); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'PM Netanyahu meets with US Secretary of Defense Panetta' (03-10-2011); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Israel's reaction to UNESCO vote' (05-10-2011).
[217] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Israel welcomes Quartet call for direct negotiations' (02-10-2011); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'PM Netanyahu willing to meet PA Chairman Abbas' (11-01-2011); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'PM Netanyahu on resumption of negotiations with the Palestinians' (18-10-2011); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'UNESCO vote harms chances for peace negotiation' (31-10-2011).
[218] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Dep FM Ayalon releases new video ' ''The truth about the peace process'' ' (13-09-2011); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Cabinet communique' (18-09-2011).
[219] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Statement by PM Netanyahu at joint press conference with Czech PM Necas' (15-09-2011); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'FM Liberman: Protes statement by Palestinian official' (15-09-2011).

for example used framing to justify the Israeli blockade of the Gaza Strip. The Israeli government presented a characterization frame of the blockade in which was asserted that the blockade mainly served to prevent the smuggling of arms to the Hamas government in Gaza. The Israeli government emphasized that the blockade did not cause severe humanitarian problems in Gaza and that international organizations could still deliver humanitarian aid to the Gaza Strip.[220] The Israeli government also used the UN Palmer report, which stated that Israel had acted accordingly to international law in regards to its blockade of the Gaza Strip to further legitimize the blockade internationally.[221]

The Israeli government further tried to legitimize its approach against Hamas, by signalling out the similarities between Israel's policies against Hamas and the US 'war on terror'. The Israeli government asserted that Israel was, just like the US, a victim of terrorist groups and that a tough approach was needed to defend its civilians from attacks by these terrorist groups. In this manner, the Israel government tried to legitimize its harsh policies towards Hamas, by asserting that these policies were part of the international struggle against terrorism.[222] Israel also used its position as a 'victim of terrorism' and the great number of Israeli civilians that had been killed as a result of Palestinian attacks, to debunk international criticism against Israel's harsh policies towards the Palestinian resistance organizations.[223] Furthermore, The Israeli government continued to emphasize that it had no conflict with the Palestinian people, only with the radical Palestinian resistance organizations like Hamas. The Israeli government further tried to demonstrate this by denouncing violence committed by Israeli radicals on Arabs and Palestinians.[224]

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[220] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Prime Minister's office announcement following publication of Palmer report by UN Secretary General' (03-09-2011).

[221] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Cabinet communique' (04-09-2011).

[222] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Cabinet communique' (11-09-2011); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Adress by PM Netanyahu at the 9.11 Ceremony, Jerusalem house of Quality' (11-09-2011); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Speech by DepFM Ayalon in memory of those killed on 9/11/2001' (11-09-2011); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Deputy FM Ayalon adresses UN Counter-terrorism Forum' (19-09-2011); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Remarks by PM Benjamin Netanyahu to the U.N. Gerenal Assembly' (23-09-2011).

[223] Israeli ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'PM Netanyahyu responds to Turkish PM Erdogan remarks' (26-09-2011).

[224] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'PM Netanyahu condemms burning of mosque near Nablus' (06-09-2011); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Israeli leaders strongly condemm mosque attack in Tuba-Zangariyye' (03-10-2011).

4.8. November 2012: Israel launches operation Pillar of Defence, major Israeli offensive against Hamas.

Fighting in Gaza during Operation Pillar of Defense

'2015 election guide-assault on Gaza 2012, 2014':
http://www.cjpme.org/tags/gaza_conflict_operation_pillar_of_defense_2012 (09-06-2012).

In November 2012, open conflict between Hamas and the Israeli government erupted again. In the years following the Gaza War, tensions between the Hamas led-Palestinian government and Israel had remained very high, as Hamas continued its attacks from the Gaza Strip while Israel maintained its blockade of the Gaza Strip. In November 2012, the Israeli government launched a major military operation, Operation Pillar of Defense against Hamas. The objective of this Israeli military operation was very similar to the Israeli invasion of the Gaza Strip during the Gaza War, bring an end to the attacks of Hamas in Israel. The framing strategies of the Israeli government during Operation Pillar of Defense, were therefore very similar to the framing strategies used by the Israeli government during the Gaza War in 2009. At the start of Operation Pillar of Defense for example, the Israeli government framing efforts were mainly focused on portraying Israel as being a victim of terrorist attacks. In this characterization frame, the Israeli government stressed that Israel, just like in the Gaza War, had only resorted to military action out of self-defence as Israeli civilians were attacked in Hamas terrorist attacks.[225] The Israeli government stressed repeatedly that no government would have tolerated such terrorist attacks on its own civilians and the Israeli response towards Hamas was thus legitimate.[226]

Another similarity between the framing efforts of the Israeli government during Operation Pillar of Defense and the Gaza War entailed that the Israeli government continuously

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[225] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'PM Netanyahu's remarks to foreign ambassador in Ashkelon' (12-11-2012); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'FM Liberman speaks with Secretary Clinton, FM Lavrov and FM Corlǎtean' (16-11-2012).

[226] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'PM Netanyahu speaks with world leaders' (17-12-2012); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'President Peres meets with French FM Laurent Fabius' (18-11-2012); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Operation Pillar of Defense-Selected Statements' (20-11-2012); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'President Peres meets with German FM Dr. Westerwelle' (20-11-2012).

emphasized that IDF soldiers had been instructed to minimize Palestinian civilian casualties. During Operation Pillar of Defense, just like in the Gaza War, the Israeli government also emphasized the humanitarian aid that Israel provided to the Palestinians in Gaza. During Operation Pillar of Defense the Israeli government thus once again tried to spread the identity frame that Israel was benevolent towards the Palestinian civilians and that Israel was not in conflict with the Palestinian people as a whole.[227] One of the main intentions of the Israeli government for the spreading of this characterization frame was to mark the difference between Israel and Hamas. According to the Israeli frame, Israel tried to avoid civilian casualties in the conflict, while Hamas in contrast, deliberately targeted civilians.[228] The Israeli government further tried incriminate Hamas by stressing that Hamas had detained several foreign journalists and humanitarian aid workers.[229]

In the Israeli characterization frame on Hamas, Hamas was mainly responsible for the casualties suffered on both sides during operation Pillar of Defense. The Israeli government argued that the failure of Hamas to cease missile attacks from the Gaza Strip on Israeli civilians had forced Israel to attack. According to the Israeli government, Operation Pillar of Defense was thus necessary to stop the missile attacks from the Gaza Strip.[230] The Israeli government also blamed Hamas for the Palestinian civilian casualties in Israeli air attacks as according to the Israeli government, Hamas was deliberately using public building such as schools as terror bases and was thus using Palestinian civilians as human shields.[231]

Although the Israeli government mainly focused its framing efforts on its conflict with Hamas in the time period surrounding Operation Pillar of Defense, the relations between Israel and the PLO-led Palestinian government the West Bank, were also prominent. In the prelude to Operation Pillar of Defense, the Israeli government for example kept stressing its commitment to continue negotiations with the PLO-led Palestinian government in the West Bank.[232] The Israeli government once again however laid the blame for the lack of progress in the peace process on the Palestinians by asserting that the PlO-led Palestinian government had repeatedly refused Israeli proposals to enter negotiations. The Israeli government thus created a characterization frame in which Israel was willing to negotiate with the PLO to

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[227] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Security Cabinet Communique' (14-11-2012); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'FM Liberman speaks to his counterparts around the world' (15-11-2012); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Cabinet communique' (18-11-2012); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Statements by PM Netanyahu and UNSG Ban Ki-Moon' (20-11-2012).
[228] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Operation Pillar of Defense-Statement by PM Netanyahu' (14-11-2012); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'President Peres on the current situation' (15-11-2012); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'PM Netanyahu's statement to the foreign press' (15-11-2012); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Statements by PM Netanyahu and US Secretary of State Clinton' (20-11-2012); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'President Peres meets with UNSG Ban Ki-Moon' (20-11-2012); Israeli Ministr of Foreign Affairs, 'PM Netanyahu meets with German FM Westerwelle' (20-11-2012).
[229] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Hamas detains foreign journalists in the Gaza Strip' (17-12-2012).
[230] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'FM Liberman meets with UN Secretary General Ban Ki-Moon' (20-11-2012).
[231] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Pillar of Defense: strikes on Gaza media centres and injuries to civilians' (18-11-2012).
[232] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'PM Netanyahu on remarks by PA president Abbas' (04-10-2012); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Cabinet communique' (04-11-2012); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'PM Netanyahu meets with Quartet Envoy Tony Blair' (07-11-2012).

further the peace process but the PLO in the West Bank was never willing to negotiate with Israel. Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu also asserted that the attempts of the PLO-led Palestinian government to achieve international recognition by means of UN resolutions, had also hampered the peace process. [233]

Although the Israeli government did not present a particularly positive characterization frame of the PLO-led Palestinian government, the Israeli government did frame this Palestinian government as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. The Israeli government for example referred to the PLO-led Palestinian government in the West Bank as the 'PA government', indicating that Israel considered this government to be the representative of the Palestinian people. The Hamas-led Palestinian government in the Gaza Strip was on the contrary framed in a far more negative way. The Israeli government referred to this government as a 'terrorist organization' which had taken control of the Gaza Strip and did not represent the Palestinian people. The Palestinian government in the Gaza Strip was thus framed in vastly different way by Israel than the Palestinian government in the West Bank.[234]

In the aftermath of Operation Pillar of Defense, the Israeli Government used process framing in which it continued to stress its willingness to negotiate with the PLO-led Palestinian government in the West Bank. Israeli Prime minister Netanyahu emphasized however that the PLO had to recognize Israel before negotiations could take place. Despite this, Netanyahu kept emphasizing that only negotiations between Israel and the PA could resolve the conflict.[235]

4.9. Summary time period 2, Second Intifada until Operation Pillar of Defense (2000-2012)

In the time period after the Second Intifada the Israeli government made use of several key framing strategies. One of the most prominent of these framing strategies was the spreading of characterization frames on the PLO. During the first years of the Second Intifada, the Israeli government mainly framed the PLO in a negative light because of the role of the PLO in the Second Intifada and the failure of the PLO to quell the riots. After the Hamas victory in the Palestinian elections in 2006 and especially after the Palestinian Civil War in 2007 between Hamas and the PLO, the Israeli government depicted the PLO in a more favourable light. In its public statements the Israeli government clearly framed the PLO-led Palestinian government in the West Bank in a much more positive manner than the Hamas-led Palestinian government in the Gaza Strip. In some cases however the Israeli government depicted the PLO in a less favourable light. The request of the PLO-led Palestinian government to be admissioned as a UN member was for example framed very negatively by

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[233] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'FM Liberman meets with Israeli ambassadors to the EU' (11-11-2012).
[234] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Cabinet communique' (11-11-2012).
[235] Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Amb. Prosor adresses UN General Assembly before the vote on Palestinian non-member observer status' (29-11-2012); Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Statement by PM Netanyahu' (29-12-2012).

the Israeli government. The characterization frames of the Israeli government on the PLO were thus rather varied in the time period following the inception of the Second Intifada.

An even more prominent framing effort by the Israeli government during this time period entailed the characterization framing of Hamas. Unlike the characterization frames on the PLO, the characterization frames on Hamas were consistently very negative during this time period. In these negative characterization frames on Hamas. The attacks committed by Hamas in Israel were prominent. The violent activities of Hamas were often depicted as a major obstacle to resolving the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Furthermore, Hamas was also framed as not only as an enemy of the Israeli people but also as an enemy of the Palestinian people. After the Palestinian Civil War, this frame became even more prominent has according to the Israeli government, Hamas had seized control of the Gaza Strip from more moderate Palestinian resistance organizations such as the PLO.

Another prominent framing strategy employed by the Israeli government during this time period entailed the spread of identity frames. In these identity frames Israel was often depicted as a peaceful nation which sought a negotiated solution the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. These identity frames was mainly used to emphasize the differences between Israel and the radical Palestinian resistance organizations, such as Hamas as according to the Israeli government, these radical Palestinian resistance organizations sought to continue the conflict by violent means. In these identity frames the Israeli government also tried at length to depict Israel as a victim of Palestinian terrorism. Identity framing was in this way used to legitimize military action by the IDF against Hamas for example during the Gaza War and Operation Pillar of Defense.

During the time period after the Second Intifada, risk and information frames were also prominent. The Israeli government regularly tried to debunk claims by Palestinian news sources concerning Palestinian casualties of IDF operations. The Israeli government frequently stated that these claims were greatly exaggerated and that the Palestinian news sources were unreliable. The Israeli government thus put a lot of effort in casting Palestinian news sources in a negative light so audiences in foreign countries would no longer trust these Palestinian news sources.

Process frames were are also heavily used by the Israeli government during this time period. In these process frames the Israeli government mainly stressed the importance of negotiations between Israel and the PLO. The Israeli government however stressed frequently that the PLO should first make concessions towards Israel before such negotiations could take place, such as combatting the violent activities of the other Palestinian resistance organizations. Nonetheless, the Israeli government stressed that negotiations between Israel and the PLO were the only way of resolving the conflict.

Another main process frame spread by the Israeli government during this time period, entailed putting emphasis on the importance of the inclusion of other countries such as the other Middle Eastern countries in the peace process. The Israeli government often stressed that other countries should also contribute to the peace process by for example putting pressure on the PLO to start negotiations with Israel. The Israeli government also frequently

praised the US for its contribution to the peace process and its support of Israel. The emphasis on US support of Israel can also be seen as power framing as the Israeli government used the support of the US to emphasize the strong position of Israel in the conflict with one of the most powerful countries in the world as its ally.

The Israeli also made limited use of losses versus gains framing during the time period after the Second Intifada. The Israeli government mainly use this type of framing to downplay the effects of negative developments such as the victory of Hamas in the 2006 elections. Losses versus gains framing was also used by the Israeli government to legitimize its decision to end the Israeli occupation of the Gaza Strip.

As shown in this summary, the Israeli government made use several important framing strategies during the second time period, between the start of the Second Intifada and Operation Pillar of Defense. The Israeli government used many different framing strategies as characterization, identity, information, process, power and losses versus gains frames were all present in the public statements of the Israeli government during this time period.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

In this conclusion the findings of the analysis of the framing strategies of the Israeli government during the first time period (chapter 3) and the second time period (chapter 4) will be presented. These finding will mainly be based on the comparison of the framing strategies used by the Israeli government during both time periods. The analytical framework regarding types of framing as outlined in chapter one is used in this conclusion. Below a brief overview of this analytical framework.

- **Identity framing:** Identity framing entails an actor framing a particular identity of itself during a conflict.[236]
- **Characterization framing:** Characterization framing involves emphasizing particular characteristics of other actors.[237]
- **Power framing:** Power framing revolves around the conception of which kinds of power are important in the conflict and the (perceptions) of power of the actors in the conflict.[238]
- **Process framing:** Process framing encompasses framing efforts with regards to perceived solutions to the conflict.[239]
- **Risk and information framing:** Risk and information framing is framing in regard to which information sources are reliable during conflict situations.[240]
- **Losses versus gains framing:** Losses versus gains framing mainly deals with the evaluation of particular developments in the conflict.[241]

The framing strategies employed by the Israeli government in the two time periods of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict examined in this study were marked by both continuities and differences. There was much continuity in the framing strategies utilized by the Israeli government in the two time periods as several key frames were prominent throughout both time periods. However, key differences also existed between both time periods as there were some remarkable changes both in the framing strategies used by the Israeli government and the content of the frames spread by the Israeli government in the two time periods.

During both time periods, the Israeli government made heavy use of characterization framing. The Israeli government mainly presented characterization frames on the Palestinian resistance organizations, the PLO in particular. The content of these characterization frames on the PLO however differed considerably, not only between but also during the two time periods. During the Oslo Accords negotiations period, the Israeli government spread

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[236] Kaufman, Sanda, Michael Elliot, Deborah Shmueli, 'Frames, framing and reframing', *Beyond Intractability* (2003) 3.
[237] Ibidem, 3-4.
[238] Ibidem, 4.
[239] Idem.
[240] Idem.
[241] Idem.

relatively positive characterization frames on the PLO. The Israeli government for example asserted that the PLO had broken with its violent past and was no longer a terrorist organization. During the second half of the first time period, between the beginning of the governmental period of the Likud Party in November 1995 and the Camp David Summit, the perception of the Israeli government on the PLO became more negative however. This is reflected in the characterization frames on the PLO during these years. Although in some cases the Israeli government still tried to spread positive characterization frames on the PLO in order to legitimize its cooperation with the PLO, the Israeli government was relatively critical on the PLO in its public statements. The Israeli government for example criticized the PLO for its lacklustre approach in combatting the other Palestinian Resistance organizations.

At the beginning of the Second Intifada, shortly after the failed Camp David Summit, the relations between Israel and the PLO reached an ultimate low-point. This is strongly reflected in the public statements of the Israeli government during the Second Intifada as the Israeli government spread very negative characterization frames on the PLO during this period. The Israeli government mainly utilized this characterization framing strategy to legitimize the operations of the Israeli police and the IDF during the riots. The Israeli government for example emphasized the role of the PLO in staging and coordinating the riots and therefore asserted the PLO was responsible for the Second Intifada and the associated violence. In the following years, the Israeli government continued to demonize the PLO in order to legitimize its repressive measures in the occupied territories. Only after the Palestinian Civil War in 2007, the Israeli government began framing the PLO in a more positive light as the Israeli government probably sought to frame the PLO-led Palestinian government in the West Bank as a better alternative when compared to the Hamas government in the Gaza Strip.

As shown above, the characterization frames of the Israeli government on the PLO differed strongly between the two time periods. The same cannot be said about the characterization frames of the Israeli government on the radical Palestinian resistance organizations as throughout both time periods, the Israeli government spread very negative characterization frames on Hamas and the other radical Palestinian resistance organizations. It can however be said that the characterization frames on Hamas were more prominent in the time period after the inception of the Second Intifada. This is most likely due to the fact that the Israeli government engaged in more open conflicts with Hamas after the Second Intifada such as the Gaza War in 2009 and Operation Pillar of Defense in 2012.

Another important framing effort of the Israeli government that occurred in both time periods, was the propagation of an identity frame in which Israel was depicted as a peace-loving nation. In this identity frame the benevolence of the Israeli government towards the Palestinian people was emphasized. The Israeli government often depicted itself as a victim of the terrorist activities of the Palestinian resistance organizations. This victimization was mainly used to legitimize IDF operations in the occupied territories. The Israeli government asserted in this frame that the military operations of the IDF were only implemented to defend Israel against the Palestinian resistance organizations. In this way, the Israeli government asserted that it only was in conflict with the Palestinian resistance organizations

and not with the Palestinian people. Mainly during the second time period, after the inception of the Second Intifada, the Israeli government tried to juxtapose its own identity frame with its negative characterization frame on the Palestinian resistance organizations as the Israeli government stressed that Israel wanted a negotiated solution to the conflict while the Palestinian resistance organizations sought to resolve the conflict by violent means. In this way, the Israeli government also propagated that Israel was willing to accept a Palestinian state or Palestinian self-government while the Palestinian resistance organizations did not agree with a peaceful coexistence of an Israeli state and a Palestinian state in Palestine.

The propagation of the peaceful intentions of the Israeli government was also prominent in the process frames of the Israeli government during both time periods. In both time periods, the Israeli government stressed that the conflict could only be resolved by negotiations between Israel and the Palestinian resistance organizations. Although this process frame was prominent in both time periods, the exact content of these process frames differed between the two time periods. Although the Israeli government emphasized during both time periods that negotiations between Israel and moderate Palestinian political organizations would be the only way to solve the Israeli-Palestinian conflict indefinitely, the Israeli government presented different frames on the conditions of these Israeli-Palestinian negotiations. In the first time period, especially during the first few years of the Oslo Accords negotiations, the Israeli government stressed that Israel should negotiate with the PLO in order to reach a negotiated solution to the conflict. In these first few years of the Oslo Accords negotiations, the Israeli government was also very positive on the negotiations on the PLO and stressed its confidence that Israel and the PLO could develop an agreement that would end the conflict. As the years progressed and the Likud party came to power 1995, the Israeli government became much more sceptical on the negotiations with the PLO. The Israeli government stressed for example that the PLO should first make concessions towards Israel such as combatting the other Palestinian resistance organizations and renounce its violent demeanour, before negotiations could take place.

The scepticism of the Israeli government on negotiations with the PLO continued well into the second time period. The Second Intifada and the PLO's involvement in the Second Intifada caused the attitude of the Israeli government towards the PLO to worsen. The Israeli government made in its public statements abundantly clear that it would not negotiate with the PLO unless the PLO would drastically alter its demeanour and would end its violent activities. The Israeli government however kept proclaiming that negotiations between Israel and the Palestinians would be the only way to solve the conflict, while at the same time ruling out the PLO as a negotiating partner. Only after the Palestinian Civil War the Israeli government began propagating negotiations between Israel and the PLO again. The Israeli government however never reached the level of optimism it had proclaimed during the first few years of the Oslo Accords negotiations and remained quite sceptical on the probability that negotiations between Israel and the PLO could bring an end to the conflict.

Another major component of the process framing of the Israeli government during both time periods consisted of putting emphasis on the role that other countries played in the

peace process. In these process frames the Israeli government tried to emphasize that the Israeli-Palestinian conflict could only be ended indefinitely if the other countries in the Middle-East would participate in the negotiating process. The Israeli government for example regularly emphasized its willingness to negotiate with the Arab countries. The Israeli government also often expressed its support for peace plans submitted by other countries. This process frame in which cooperation between Israel and other Middle Eastern countries was emphasized, can be linked to the identity framing strategy employed by the Israeli government. By stressing Israel's willingness to allow other countries to contribute to the peace process, the Israeli government emphasized the identity frame of Israel as a peaceful nation.

The Israeli government also focused much attention on the role of the US during the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The Israeli government mainly tried to emphasize its cooperation with the US and the vital support that the US had given to Israel during the conflict. Although this frame was spread in both time periods, the exact content of this frames differed in the two time periods. During the Oslo Accords negotiations, the Israeli government mainly stressed the important role that the US had fulfilled in initiating the negotiations between Israel and the PLO. During the second time period, after the Second Intifada, the Israeli government mainly focused on emphasizing US support for Israeli policies against the Palestinians resistance organizations such as the blockade of the Gaza Strip. The Israeli government also repeatedly tried to stress the similarities between the US and Israel as according to the Israeli government both countries were victims of terrorism. In this way, the Israeli government presented Israel's struggle against the Palestinian resistance organizations as part of the US 'War on terror' campaign. The role of the US was also strongly emphasized in the power frames of the Israeli government during both time periods. The Israeli government mainly emphasized the support of the US and Western European countries to convey that Israel had the backing of several major countries in the conflict.

As described above, the Israeli government made heavy use of characterization framing, process framing and identity framing during both time periods. Thus, generally speaking, the Israeli government used the same types of framing strategies in both time periods. Despite the similarities in the use of framing strategies by the Israeli government in both time periods, one major difference exists. This difference entails the virtual absence of the two other framing strategies, risk and information framing and a power framing during the Oslo Accords negotiations period while these two framing strategies were a major component of the public diplomacy of the Israeli government after the inception of the Second Intifada.

In the risk and information frames propagated by the Israeli government after the Second Intifada, the Israeli government mainly tried to discredit Palestinian media sources by claiming that these Palestinian media spread anti-Israeli propaganda. During the Gaza War, the Israeli government for example stated that Palestinian accounts on the number of Palestinian civilians that were killed during IDF operations were grossly inflated. A possible explanation for the absence of this risk and information framing during the Oslo Accords negotiations could be that the Israeli government was on much friendlier terms with the Palestinian leadership during the Oslo Accords negotiations and was mainly focused on

legitimizing its negotiations with the PLO. Discrediting the Palestinian media would not have been a good strategy in achieving this aim. In the time period following the Second Intifada, the Israeli government was on very hostile terms with the Palestinian leadership and mainly tried to legitimize its offensive measures against the Palestinian resistance organizations. In this case, discrediting Palestinian media sources made sense as the Palestinian media in this time period tried to delegitimize Israeli military and police actions such as the Israeli suppression of the riots in the beginning of the Second Intifada and the operations of the IDF in the Gaza War and Operation Pillar of Defense. The difference in the relations between Israel and the Palestinian resistance organizations between the two time periods might also explain the lack of power framing during the Oslo Accords negotiations period. Emphasizing Israeli military power was important following the Second Intifada as Israel was in open conflict with the Palestinian resistance organizations, including the PLO. During the Oslo Accords negotiations, when Israel was negotiating with the PLO, this framing strategy was of less use.

In conclusion, there were except for the absence of risk and information framing and power framing during the Oslo Accords negotiations time period, no real differences in the types of framing strategies that were used by the Israeli government between the time periods examined in this study. The content of the frames propagated by the Israeli government however differed strongly between the two time periods. This is especially true regarding the characterization frames of the Israeli government on the PLO as although the Israeli government spread consistent negative characterization frames on the radical Palestinian resistance organizations such as Hamas, the characterization frames of the Israeli government on the PLO differed strongly between both time periods. During the first time period, the Oslo Accords negotiations period for example, the Israeli government was relatively positive on the PLO while during the second time period, after the Second Intifada the characterization frames on the PLO were much more negative. Another important example of the difference in content of frames between the two time periods, concerns the identity frames propagated by the Israeli government. Although the Israeli government focused mainly on the peaceful nature of Israel in its identity frames during both time periods, the Israeli government much stronger juxtaposed this peaceful nature of Israel with the supposed violent ways of the Palestinian resistance organizations during the second time period, after the Second Intifada.

The difference in content of these frames between the two time periods can most likely be explained by the different objectives that the Israeli government tried to achieve with its framing efforts. The positive characterization framing of the PLO throughout the Oslo Accords negotiations period for example corresponds well with the aims of the Israeli government during this time period which mainly entailed legitimizing its negotiations with the PLO. Similarly, the negative characterization framing of the PLO following the Second Intifada corresponds with the aim of the Israeli government during the second time period, which focused mainly on discrediting the PLO and the other Palestinian resistance organizations to legitimize the repressive and offensive measures of the Israeli government against these Palestinian resistance organizations.

The content of the characterization and identity frames thus differed between the two time periods. It is however important to note that the characterization and identity frames of the Israeli government also differed within both time periods. The most profound example of this, is that the Israeli government in the second time period began spreading relatively positive characterization frames on the PLO after the Palestinian Civil War in 2007. The most likely explanation for this is that the Israeli government no longer sought to strongly discredit the PLO as it wanted to present the PLO-led Palestinian government in the West Bank as a better alternative compared to the Hamas-led Palestinian government in the Gaza Strip. Occasionally, the Israeli government returned to its strategy of demonizing the PLO such as when the PLO-led government in the West Bank requested admission as a UN member. In this event, the Israeli government spread negative characterization frames on the PLO in order to sway other countries to vote against UN membership for the PLO-led Palestinian government. This example thus shows that there were also strong differences in the frames of the Israeli government during both time periods which corresponds with the changing aims of the Israeli government during both time periods. It is therefore hard to determine if the inception of the Second Intifada in 2000 can be seen as major breaking-point in the framing strategies of the Israeli government. It can however be said that the framing strategies of the Israeli have undergone major changes in the time period 1993-2012.

Appendix 1: List of abbreviations

IDF: Israeli Defense Force

NGO: Non-governmental organization

PA: Palestinian Authority

PLO: Palestine Liberation organization

UN: United Nations

Appendix 2: Timeline of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict 1993-2012

1993:

January 1993: start of negotiations between Israeli and PLO delegates in Oslo.

9 September 1993: PLO officially recognizes Israel's right to exist and officially renounces terrorism.

13 September 1993: Signing of the Oslo I Accord.

1994:

25 February 1994: Hebron Massacre in which an Israeli radicals kills 29 Palestinians.

April 1994: Hamas launches several suicide attacks in Israel in retaliation for the Hebron Massacre.

4 May 1994: Signing of the Gaza-Jericho agreement.

1995:

28 September 1995: Signing of the Oslo II Accord, Israeli-Palestinian interim agreement.

4 November 1995: Israeli Prime Minister Yithzak Rabin is assassinated by an Israeli radical, Shimon Peres becomes Israel's interim prime minister.

1996:

5 January 1996: Assassination of Hamas chief bomb maker, Yahya Ayyash by Israeli operatives.

February-March 1996: Several suicide attacks by Hamas operatives in Israel in retaliation of the assassination of Yahya Ayyash.

18 June 1996: Likud party leader, Benjamin Netanyahu forms new Israeli government after winning Israeli elections in May 1996.

1997:

17 January 1997: Signing of the Hebron protocol.

1998:

17 October 1998: Signing of the Wye River Memorandum, implementation plan of the Oslo II Accord.

1999:

6 July 1999: Ehud Barak, leader of the Labor party becomes prime minister of Israel following Israeli elections in May 1999.

2000:

11-25 July: Camp David Summit. In this summit no agreement was reached.

28 September: Beginning of the Second Intifada, with Palestinian riots at the Temple Mount in Jerusalem.

October-November: Large-scale Palestinian riots in the Israeli occupied territories which lead to numerous violent clashes between Israeli soldiers and policemen and the Palestinian rioters.

2001:

21-27 January: Taba Summit between Israeli and Palestinian delegates. In this summit no agreement was reached.

6 February: Ariel Sharon, party leader of the Likud party becomes prime minister of Israel following Israeli elections.

2002:

28 March: Summit of the Arab league in Beirut. After this summit, the leaders of the Arab countries submitted a peace plan to end the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

March 29-May 10: Operation Defensive Shield, major Israeli military operation in the West Bank to end the Palestinian attacks in Israel.

June: Start building Israeli West Bank barrier.

2003:

28 February: Ariel Sharon, leader of the Likud Party, forms a new Israeli government following Israeli elections in January.

30 April: The Roadmap for peace, a plan to solve the Israeli-Palestinian conflict developed by the UN, the EU, the US and Russia is published.

18 December: Fourth Heryzliya conference. At this conference Ariel Sharon proposes an Israeli disengagement from the Gaza Strip.

2004:

June: the Israeli disengagement of the Gaza Strip is adopted by the Israeli government of Ariel Sharon.

11 November: Death of PLO leader Yasser Arafat, Mahmoud Abbas subsequently became leader of the PLO and president of the PA.

2005:

16 February: The Knesset, the Israeli parliament approves the Israeli disengagement from the Gaza Strip.

Augustus 2005: Beginning of the implementation of the Israeli disengagement of the Gaza Strip.

2006:

4 January: Death of Ariel Sharon, Israeli prime minister. Following Sharon's death, Ehud Olmert becomes Israel's interim prime minister.

29 March 2006: Hamas forms a new Palestinian government, following the victory of Hamas in the Palestinian elections in January 2006.

4 May 2006: Ehud Olmert, forms a new Israeli government after Israeli elections in March 2006.

2007:

January-June: Palestinian Civil War. Following the Palestinian Civil War, the PA is split between the PLO-led Palestinian government in the West Bank and the Hamas-led Palestinian government in the Gaza Strip.

2008-2009:

27 December 2008-18 January 2009: Gaza War, major armed conflict between the Israeli government and the Hamas-led Palestinian government in the Gaza Strip.

2011:

23 September: Mahmoud Abbas, president of the PLO-led Palestinian government in the West Bank, submits a request to the UN to admit the PLO-led Palestinian government in the West Bank as a UN member. This request is fiercely opposed by Israel.

October 2011: Major prisoner exchange between Israel and the Hamas-led Palestinian government in the Gaza Strip. In this exchange, captured Israeli soldier Gilad Shalif is released in exchange for the release of 1027 Hamas prisoners in Israeli hands.

2012:

14-21 November: Operation Pillar of Defense, major Israeli military operation against Hamas in the Gaza Strip.

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