The Israel Apartheid Analogy

Contests over Meaning in a War over Words

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ABSTRACT

In the wake of the Six Day War in 1967, Israel became an occupying power with the conquest of the Golan Heights, Sinai Peninsula, Gaza Strip and West Bank, including East Jerusalem. Since the 1970s, comparisons have increasingly been drawn by authorities in the UN, human rights organisations, political commentators and protest movements, between the South African system of apartheid and Israeli policies in the occupied territories. This thesis explores the historical development of the Israel apartheid analogy and its use in public discourse. Not only by analysing secondary literature, but also by conducting a case study, in which articles are examined from high circulation Israeli and Palestinian centrist newspapers the *Jerusalem Post* and *Al-Quds*, in the period between January 1st 2017 and May 15th 2018. Analysis of the research data suggests that the apartheid analogy is part of the Palestinian injustice frame, which serves as a powerful delegitimisation and mobilisation tool in the dynamic and continuous contest over meaning. Scope and depth of the present study are limited and future research may therefore include a larger selection of data from a wider range of sources, over a longer period of time. Additionally it would be interesting to investigate the interplay between positive frames and public discourse in protracted conflict situations, as a potential means for conflict management and peace building.

Keywords: Israel, apartheid, occupied Palestinian territories, identity, victimhood, chosen trauma, injustice frame.

CONTENTS

1. Introduction

During the Six Day War in June 1967, Israel defeated the coalition army of Egypt, Syria and Jordan. The Jewish state had become an occupying power with the conquest of the Golan Heights, Sinai Peninsula, Gaza Strip and West Bank, including East Jerusalem. Almost one million Palestinian Arabs came under Israeli rule as these territories were placed under martial law.[1] In November of that year, the UN Security Council unanimously adopted Resolution 242, which emphasises the "inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war and the need to work for a just and lasting peace in which every State in the area can live in security". It affirms that peace in the Middle East should be based on "the withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from territories occupied in the recent conflict" and "termination of all claims or states of belligerency and respect for and acknowledgment of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every State in the area and their right to live in peace within secure and recognised boundaries free from threats or acts of force".[2]

The manner in which this resolution ought to be understood regarding the future of the occupied Palestinian territories (OPT) has been the focus of divisive national and international debate ever since.[3] Especially because, according to some interpretations, the resolution does not require Israeli withdrawal from all the territories, only *territories*, as the definite article *the* was omitted to permit the retention by Israel of territories necessary to assure secure borders.[4] Jewish settlement of these areas began immediately following the unexpected victory. The nature of the settlement movement is complex and heterogeneous, consisting of both secular as well as religiously motivated colonists.[5] The relationship between the Israeli state and the

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[1] Arthur Goldschmidt Jr. and Lawrence Davidson, *A Concise History of the Middle East* (Colorado: Westview Press, 2013), 299-304.

[2] United Nations Security Council, 1382nd Meeting, *Resolution 242,* S/RES/242, adopted November 22, 1967, accessed March 12, 2018, http://undocs.org/S/RES/242 (1967).

[3] William L. Cleveland and Martin Bunton, *A History of the Modern Middle East (*Colorado: Westview Press, 2016), 328.

[4] Alan Dershowitz, *Case for Israel* (Hoboken: Wiley, 2011), 128.

[5] Joyce Dalsheim and Assaf Harel, "Representing Settlers," *Review of Middle East Studies* 43, no. 2 (2009): 223.

settlement movement has been an ambivalent one, greatly influencing policies in the OPT.[6]

These policies have been labelled by scholars and peace activists alike as a *strategy of settler colonialism* and more recently as a *system of apartheid*. Although the latter analogy has been invoked to describe Israeli policies within its internationally recognised borders, its primary use has been, both in academic circles as well as in common parlance, to describe the situation in the occupied Palestinian territories. For the purpose of delimitation, the focus in this thesis will therefore be exclusively on the occupied territories.

Much has been written by scholars about the analogy between the South African system of apartheid and Israeli policies in the occupied territories. Although I will review academic perspectives on the issue, the answer to the question as to whether the analogy is correct or not lies beyond the scope of this paper. Instead I will focus on how the analogy is used in public debate, or more precisely: How can the historical development of the analogy between Israeli policy in the occupied Palestinian territories and the South African system of apartheid, and its use in public discourse be understood, specifically as exemplified by articles from the Israeli newspaper the *Jerusalem Post* and Palestinian newspaper *Al-Quds*, in the period between January 1st 2017 and May 15th 2018?

Academic relevance lies in the fact that I have been unable to discern any comparative research that explores the answer to this specific question. Social relevance pertains to the effects that such an analogy may have on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, as it entails further polarisation and hardening of the political landscape. One could wonder whether use of the analogy is beneficial, or even prudent, in the pursuit of justice for the parties involved, and whether it helps or hinders the peace process.

Before addressing the main question of this thesis, it is useful to define certain key terms. The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy defines an *analogy* as "a

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[6] Hans G. Kippenberg, *Violence as Worship: Religious Wars in the Age of Globalization* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011), 104-106.

comparison between two objects, or systems of objects, that highlights respects in which they are thought to be similar".[7] In this paper, following consensus in the international community, the *occupied Palestinian territories* will refer to territories occupied by Israel in June 1967, currently the Western Golan Heights, the Gaza Strip and the West Bank, including East Jerusalem.[8] The *South African system of apartheid* refers to the discriminatory racial policies of segregation, as employed by the South African government between 1948 and the early 1990s.[9] The Witherspoon Institute defines *public discourse* as "written or spoken communication or debate which seeks to engage not only those who disagree, but also those who do agree, in the common project of a public conversation about contemporary pressing issues".[10]

In order to locate the theoretical position of this paper, I will start in chapter two by reviewing existing literature on the applicability of the apartheid label to Israeli policies in the occupied territories. This is followed by an outline of my research methodology in chapter three. In the succeeding chapters I will address issues pertinent to answering the main research question of this paper. In chapter four I will first provide historical insight into the emergence of the Jewish State, before discussing Israeli policies in the occupied territories. I will then describe how the analogy came into existence and how it developed over time. Chapter five will explore the use of the analogy in recent Israeli and Palestinian public discourse, as influenced by and reflected in selected newspaper articles from the *Jerusalem Post* and *Al-Quds* between January 2017 and May 2018. In chapter six I will outline several academic theories that help explain the relationship between Israel and Palestine, providing the necessary

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[7] Paul Bartha, "Analogy and Analogical Reasoning," Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, last modified December 2, 2016, https://plato.stanford.edu/archives, /win2016/entries/reasoning-analogy.
[8] "Background: The question of Palestine," United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, accessed April 9, 2018, http://unctad.org/en/pages/gds/Assistance%20to%20the%20Palestinian%20 People/Background-The-question-of-Palestine.aspx.
[9] John Dugard, "International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid," United Nations Audiovisual Library of International Law, accessed March 17, 2018. http://legal.un.org/avl/ha/cspca/cspca.html.
[10] Christopher O. Tollefsen, "What Is Public Discourse?" Witherspoon Institute, last modified October 9, 2009, http://www.thepublicdiscourse.com/2009/10/945.

framework to analyse the research data. In chapter seven I will discuss my findings and answer the main question of this thesis.

2. Literature review

The concept of *apartheid* is critical to this thesis and as such needs to be explored and defined. Considerable debate exists as to the applicability of this particular label beyond the South African context. Apartheid is the Afrikaans word for *separateness*, which as an ideology entails segregation along racial lines and as a political system an institutionalisation of racial discrimination.[11] In international law, apartheid is defined as a crime against humanity by both the *UN Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid* (1973) and the *UN Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court* (2002). The Apartheid Convention refers in its description of the *crime of apartheid* to "similar policies and practices of racial segregation and discrimination as those practised in southern Africa."[12] The Rome Statute applies the term to "inhuman acts committed in the context of an institutionalised regime of systematic oppression and domination by one racial group over any other racial group or groups and committed with the intention of maintaining that regime."[13]

Dugard contends that the Apartheid Convention is intended to pertain to situations other than South Africa and sees this confirmed by its endorsement in legislation adopted before and after the fall of apartheid in South Africa.[14] Peteet is of similar mind as she describes apartheid in international law as a general category of state practices which are prohibited everywhere.[15] Whereas Dugard and Peteet bypass the racial clause for the applicability of the definition of apartheid to other

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[11] John Dugard and John Reynolds, "Apartheid, International Law, and the Occupied Palestinian Territory," *The European Journal of International Law* 24, no. 3 (2013): 872-873.

[12] United Nations General Assembly, *International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid*, General Assembly Resolution 3068 (XXVIII), adopted July 18, 1976, accessed March 12, 2018, https://treaties.un.org/doc/publication/unts/volume%201015/volume-1015-i-14861-english.pdf.

[13] United Nations General Assembly, *Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court*, Treaty Series 2187, no. 38544, opened for signature 17 July 1998, entered into force 1 July 2002, accessed March 12, 2018, https://www.icc-cpi.int/nr/rdonlyres/ea9aeff7-5752-4f84-be940a655eb30e16/0/rome_statute_english.pdf.

[14] John Dugard, "International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid," United Nations Audiovisual Library of International Law, accessed March 17, 2018, http://legal.un.org/avl/ha/cspca/cspca.html.

[15] Julie Peteet, "Beyond Compare," *Middle East Report*, no. 253 (2009): 16.

circumstances, Dajani argues that the Apartheid Convention as well as the Rome Statute can only apply outside the South African context in situations where racial domination is a defining characteristic of state policy.[16] However, Greenstein points out that race is a term that can extend beyond its conceptual origins, just like the term apartheid can extend beyond its geographical origins, referring to the *International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination* (1965).[17] The Convention defines *racial discrimination* as "any distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference based on race, colour, descent, or national or ethnic origin which has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing the recognition, enjoyment or exercise, on an equal footing, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural or any other field of public life."[18]

Taking this discussion into consideration, the question follows whether Israeli policy in the occupied Palestinian territories can be compared to the apartheid regime in South Africa. A significant amount of scholarly articles endorse, to varying degrees, the use of the analogy. Yiftachel for example refers to a process of *creeping apartheid* in the occupied territories.[19] Zreik contends that, although the situation on the ground in the OPT increasingly resembles an apartheid reality, the South Africa-Israel analogy should be pursued with caution, as the category of apartheid cannot describe the complexity of the Palestinian situation and may therefore do more harm than good.[20] Greenstein distinguishes between historical and generic apartheid, stating that in the generic sense, Israeli policies and practices meet many of the criteria identified in the international legal definition of apartheid. He then claims to pursue the comparison

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[16] Mohammed S. Dajani, "Occupation, Not Apartheid," Washington Institute, accessed February 19, 2018, http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/fikraforum/view/occupation-not-apartheid.

[17] Ran Greenstein, "Israel/Palestine and the Apartheid Analogy: Critics, Apologists and Strategic Lessons," in *Israel and South Africa: The Many Faces of Apartheid*, ed. Ilan Pappé (London: Zed Books, 2015), 328-329.

[18] United Nations General Assembly*, International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination*, General Assembly Resolution 2106 (XX), adopted December 21, 1965, accessed March 12, 2018, https://treaties.un.org/doc/source/docs/A_RES_2106-Eng.pdf.

[19] Oren Yiftachel, "'Creeping Apartheid' in Israel-Palestine," *Middle East Report* 37, no. 253 (2009): 7.

[20] Raef Zreik, "Palestine, Apartheid, and the Rights Discourse," *Journal of Palestine Studies* 34, no. 1 (2004): 68, 77.

with analytical rigour, not for the purpose of labelling, but in order to discern potential opportunities for change.[21]

Contrarily, Kadalie and Bertelsmann reject the analogy outright as an oversimplification of reality and a staple of anti-Israel propaganda. Pointing out that most black South Africans dismiss the analogy because racism and discrimination do not form the rationale behind Israeli policies and actions in the occupied territories.[22] At the same time there are authors, such as Sabel, who take their rejection a step further by regarding the charges as an attempt to delegitimise the Jewish state,[23] or in the case of Shimoni, as a blatant form of *new antisemitism*.[24] Then there are those, such as Peteet, who not only question the applicability of the analogy but also wonder about its usefulness in describing the situation in the occupied territories.[25]

Some writers, such as Urbina, Erakat and Nelson take the apartheid analogy more or less for granted, focussing instead on the discourse of prominent activist movements and their political strategies.[26] Scholarly debate at times reflects recent public debate, falling in line with current popular use of the analogy. Righteous indignation on both ends of the spectrum occasionally overshadows a more nuanced

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[21] Ran Greenstein, "Israel/Palestine and the Apartheid Analogy: Critics, Apologists and Strategic Lessons," in *Israel and South Africa: The Many Faces of Apartheid*, ed. Ilan Pappé (London: Zed Books, 2015), 341, 344.

[22] Rhoda Kadalie and Julia Bertelsmann, "Franchising 'Apartheid': Why South Africans Push the Analogy," Z-Word, last modified March, 2008, https://www.scribd.com/document/6428397/Franchising-Apartheid-Why-South-Africans-Push-the-Analogy.

[23] Robbie Sabel, "The Campaign to Delegitimize Israel with the False Charge of Apartheid," *Jewish Political Studies Review* 23, no. 3/4 (2011): 28.

[24] Gideon Shimoni, "Deconstructing Apartheid Accusations against Israel," *Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs*, last modified September 2, 2007, http://jcpa.org/article/deconstructing-apartheid-accusations-against-israel.

[25] Julie Peteet, "Beyond Compare," *Middle East Report*, no. 253 (2009): 19.

[26] Noura Erakat, "BDS in the USA, 2001-2010," *Middle East Report*, no. 255 (2010): 34-39; Cary Nelson and Gabriel Brahm, eds., *The Case Against Academic Boycotts of Israel* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2015), 12-29; Ian Urbina, "The Analogy to Apartheid," *Middle East Report* no. 223 (2002): 58-61+64.

exploration into the manner in which the analogy is employed, this is especially true for writers such as Kasrils, Ben-Dor, Cotler, and Cohen and Freilich.[27]

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[27] Oren Ben-Dor, "Apartheid and the Question of Origin," in *Israel and South Africa: The Many Faces of Apartheid*, ed. Ilan Pappé (London: Zed Books, 2015), 73-120; Matthew S. Cohen and Chuck D. Freilich, "War by Other Means: The Delegitimisation Campaign against Israel," *Israel Affairs* 24, no. 1 (2018): 1-25; Irwin Cotler, "Global Antisemitism: Assault on Human Rights," in *The Yale Papers - Antisemitism in Comparative Perspective*, ed. Charles Asher Small (New York: Institute for the Study of Global Antisemitism and Policy, 2015), 347-362; Ronnie Kasrils, "Birds of a Feather: Israel and Apartheid South Africa - Colonialism of a Special Type," in *Israel and South Africa: The Many Faces of Apartheid*, ed. Ilan Pappé (London: Zed Books, 2015), 23-41.

3. Research Methodology

The aim of this thesis is to achieve a nuanced understanding of the public debate surrounding the analogy between Israeli policy in the occupied Palestinian territories and the South African system of apartheid. This implies that in the following analysis I will take the international, as well as the specific Israeli and Palestinian dimension into consideration. It is not possible to do justice to all the opinions that have been expressed regarding this issue, nor is it my aim to give a holistic overview. However, I do hope to succeed in highlighting dominant voices defining the debate. Not only by analysing secondary literature, but also by conducting a case study of articles from an English language Israeli newspaper and an Arabic language Palestinian newspaper with high readership and circulation percentages.

The complexity of this discourse cannot be satisfactorily explained without taking the historical context into account. Based on works written by historians such as Bregman, Gelvin and Morris, I will describe the formation of the Jewish State as well as past and present Israeli policies in the occupied territories. In order to outline the emergence and development of the Israel apartheid analogy, I will review secondary literature, accessed through several databases such as *PiCarta*, *WorldCat* and *Google Scholar*. In addition I will take newspaper articles, NGO reports, UN conventions and statutes of international law into account.

Public discourse can be assessed in political and social debates, newspapers, magazines, television, film, radio, music and online forums where public discussion takes place. In my case study I will focus on written news sources, because they reflect a broad spectrum of issues and have the added practical advantage of recoverability and continuity.[28] The Israeli Institute for National Security Studies determined that an international media search combining the terms *Israel* and *apartheid* generated some 50 articles in the years between 1967 and 2000, and 1,741 articles in the years between

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[28] William A. Gamson and Hanna Herzog, "Living with Contradictions: The Taken-for-Granted in Israeli Political Discourse," *Political Psychology* 20, no. 2 (1999): 250.

2001 and 2015, indicating an upward trend.[29] Since January 2017 several incidents have occurred which could possibly affect the use of the analogy in public discourse. Not only did US President Donald Trump recognise Jerusalem as the capital of Israel, the year 2017 also marked the 100th anniversary of the Balfour Declaration. In addition, a controversial UN report was issued accusing Israel of imposing an apartheid regime of racial discrimination on the Palestinian people.[30] Considering the potential impact of these and other events, I have limited my research to articles written between January 1st 2017 and May 15th 2018, from the Palestinian newspaper *Al-Quds* (القدس) and the Israeli newspaper the *Jerusalem Post*, accessed through their respective online databases.

Frame analysis, which focuses on how content is presented, as a method of discourse analysis, which focuses on the implicit meanings of content, provides the methodological tools to interpret the results of my research. Benford and Snow give general insight into frame analysis with their essay *Framing Processes and Social Movements - An Overview and Assessment*, but I will pay special attention to the use of what William A. Gamson refers to as *injustice frames*, in relation to *chosen trauma* as conceptualised by Vamik Volkan, and *notions of victimhood* and *identity politics* as described by Diane Enns.

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[29] Zipi Israeli and Michal Hatuel-Radoshitzky, "Fighting the Boycott: BDS and the Media," INSS Insight, last modified August 11, 2015, http://www.inss.org.il/publication/fighting-the-boycott-bds-and-the-media.

[30] Richard Falkand and Virginia Tille, *Israeli Practices toward the Palestinian People and the Question of Apartheid* (Beirut: United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia, 2017), 1-74.

4. Historical Context

4.1 Emergence of the Jewish State

Despite the current controversy that exists regarding the formative phases of early Israelite history, archaeological evidence confirms that the Jewish people can trace their origins back to the Levant in the Middle East.[31] It is from this region that the Jews became exiled and were dispersed over the world, in what has come to be known as the Jewish Diaspora. The profound connection between the Jewish people and the land of their ancestors becomes obvious when reading the first paragraph of the *Declaration of the Establishment of the State of Israel*, as proclaimed in 1948 by David Ben-Gurion: "The Land of Israel (*Eretz Yisrael*) was the birthplace of the Jewish people. Here their spiritual, religious and political identity was shaped. Here they first attained to statehood, created cultural values of national and universal significance and gave to the world the eternal Book of Books."[32]

Over the centuries, Jewish communities in the Diaspora were often persecuted and oppressed, especially in Eastern Europe, keeping the dream of returning to the Promised Land alive. With the advent of the Enlightenment in the eighteenth century, the idea was articulated that the Jewish people constitute a nation and as such deserve the right to their own sovereign state. Political Zionism, more concerned with pragmatic secular nationalism than religious ideology, envisioned the creation of such a state in the Palestinian region. From the 1880s onward Jewish colonists immigrated to these lands in order to establish their own polity.[33]

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[31] William G. Dever, *Who Were the Early Israelites and Where Did They Come from?* (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing, 2003); Israel Finkelstein and Amihai Mazar. *The Quest for the Historical Israel: Debating Archaeology and the History of Early Israel*, ed. Brian B. Schmidt (Leiden: Brill, 2007); Thomas L. Thompson, *Early History of the Israelite People: From the Written and Archaeological Sources* (Leiden: Brill, 1992).

[32] Nicholas de Lange, *An Introduction to Judaism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 14.

[33] Arthur Goldschmidt Jr. and Lawrence Davidson, *A Concise History of the Middle East* (Colorado: Westview Press, 2013), 248-253.

In the following decennia the Zionist movement gained international political and financial support. The *Balfour Declaration* (1917), conveying British support of Zionist objectives and promising to work for the creation of a national Jewish home in Palestine, did much for the formation of a Jewish state.[34] However, due to the increased influx of Jewish immigrants from Europe in the period under British Mandate (1920-1948), the relationship between the local Arab population and the Jewish community deteriorated. In 1947 the United Nations proposed a partition plan (Resolution 181) for separate Arab and Jewish states, which was approved in the General Assembly by a 33 to 13 vote. The resolution was accepted by Jewish authorities, but rejected by Palestinian Arabs and the governments of surrounding Arab states.[35]

On the 14th of May 1948, as the British Mandate came to an end, the independent State of Israel was officially established and formally recognised by a large segment of the international community. The next day, armies from neighbouring Arab nations invaded the new country, but were soon defeated. Israel managed to annex 77 percent of Mandatory Palestine, resulting in the displacement of 750,000 Palestinian Arabs. Jordan occupied East Jerusalem and the territory now known as the West Bank. The Gaza Strip came under Egyptian control. In several armistice agreements, mediated by the United Nations in 1949, the new demarcation lines were laid down, now often referred to as the Green Line.[36]

The mass exodus of the Arab population was exacerbated by *Plan Dalet*, which gave the *Haganah* (precursor of the Israel Defence Forces) authority to undertake the systematic expulsion of Arabs living within the area allocated to Israel in Resolution 181.[37] These lands were nationalised by the Jewish state under the *Absentee Property*

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[34] Benny Morris, *Righteous Victims: A History of the Zionist-Arab Conflict, 1881-1999* (New York: Vintage Books, 2001), 75.

[35] Arthur Goldschmidt Jr. and Lawrence Davidson, *A Concise History of the Middle East* (Colorado: Westview Press, 2013), 254-265.

[36] William L. Cleveland and Martin Bunton, *A History of the Modern Middle East (*Colorado: Westview Press, 2016), 230-256.

[37] Scholars are divided over both the exact objectives of Plan Dalet, as well as the specific factors that contributed to the Palestinian exodus, see for further discussion: Norman Finkelstein, "Rejoinder to Benny Morris." *Journal of Palestine Studies* 21, no. 2 (1992): 61-71; Benny Morris, "Response to Finkelstein and Masalha." *Journal of Palestine Studies* 21, no. 1 (1991): 98-114.

Law (1950). Since the 1950s, in order to safeguard the Jewish character of the state and maintain a demographic majority, Israeli citizenship has been defined by the *Law of Return* (1950) and the *Citizenship Law* (1952). Whereas the first gives Jews worldwide the right to automatic citizenship, the latter extends citizenship only to Palestinians who remained inside Israel after 1948, denying Palestinian refugees and their descendants the right to return.[38]

In subsequent years hostilities between Israel and its Arab neighbours never seized, culminating in the Suez Crisis (1956), the Six Day War (1967) and the October War (1973). The war of 1967 had significant consequences for the region as Israel came in control of the Golan Heights, Sinai Peninsula, Gaza Strip and West Bank, including East Jerusalem. In the same year the UN Security Council passed Resolution 242 in an effort to secure a just and lasting peace in the region. The guiding principle was *land for peace*, which became the foundation for all future peace negotiations. The final status of these territories, with the exception of the Sinai Peninsula, which was returned to Egypt in 1982, remains disputed. Israeli attitudes toward the occupied territories and willingness to negotiate are shaped by several factors: defensible borders, ideology, settlements and economics.[39]

4.2 Israeli Policy in the Occupied Palestinian Territories

Although the value of the occupied territories for Israeli national security and defence remains contested by military experts, it has been a central argument for successive governments to retain control over much of the occupied territories.[40] Security concerns have also been cited to justify radical measures for the protection of Israel against Palestinian terrorist attacks, such as the construction of the separation barrier

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[38] Jonathan Cook, "'Visible Equality' as Confidence Trick," in *Israel and South Africa: The Many Faces of Apartheid*, ed. Ilan Pappé (London: Zed Books, 2015), 126.
[39] James L. Gelvin, *The Israel-Palestine Conflict: One Hundred Years of War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 183-197.
[40] Ibid., 185-186.

in the West Bank, which Israel started building in 2002 during the second Palestinian intifada (uprising).[41]

The West Bank, in Israel referred to as Judea and Samaria, and East Jerusalem, constitute part of the ancient lands promised to the Jewish people by God. Settlement of these areas started immediately after 1967 and was at first primarily motivated by ideological convictions. When the Likud Party came to power in 1977, settlement was both legalised and stimulated. Since then Israel has continued to establish *facts on the ground* in the occupied territories, with the intention of imposing control and preventing the realisation of Palestinian nationalist aspirations.[42]

The legal framework for armed conflict and occupation is set out in international humanitarian law, specifically in the 1907 Hague Conventions and the 1949 Fourth Geneva Convention, which prohibits the occupying power from measures to transfer parts of its own civilian population into the territory it occupies.[43] Most recently, in December 2016, the UN Security Council adopted Resolution 2334, reaffirming relevant previous resolutions and demanding Israel to "abide scrupulously by its legal obligations and responsibilities under the Fourth Geneva Convention".[44] Israel however, maintains that the territories are *disputed* or even *liberated*, as no state since the Ottoman Empire has had rightful sovereignty over them, and as such renounces the notion that settlement is illegal.[45]

Nowadays the inhabitants of these settlements include both secular as well as religious Jews of different denominations, who are motivated by a variety of reasons, predominantly economic and practical ones. These settlers generally do not share the

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[41] Ahron Bregman, *Cursed Victory - A History of Israel and the Occupied Territories* (London: Penguin Books, 2014), 284-285.
[42] William L. Cleveland and Martin Bunton, *A History of the Modern Middle East (*Colorado: Westview Press, 2016), 338-349.
[43] "Israel's Belligerent Occupation of the Palestinian Territory, including Jerusalem and International Humanitarian Law." United Nations Information System on the Question of Palestine. Last modified July 15, 1999. Accessed June 19, 2018. https://unispal.un.org/DPA/DPR/unispal.nsf/0/6B939C57EA9EF 32785256F33006B9F8D.
[44] United Nations Security Council, 7853rd Meeting, *Resolution 2334*, S/RES/2334, adopted December 23, 2016, accessed June 20, 2018, http://www.un.org/ webcast/pdfs/SRES2334-2016.pdf.
[45] Hans G. Kippenberg, *Violence as Worship: Religious Wars in the Age of Globalization* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011), 97.

messianic nationalist worldview of religious Zionism, an influential minority, which was represented in the early years by Gush Emunim and since the 1980s by the Yesha Council. Their holy claim to the land supersedes Israeli legislation, posing a serious obstacle to negotiations with the Palestinian National Authority (PNA), as any future peace deal would involve the dismantling of Jewish settlements in the territories. Settlers have notoriously resisted any proposed withdrawal, either by mobilising political support or through violent action.[46]

Since 1967 the Israeli government has integrated the economy of the territories with its own, creating a situation of dependency with a high percentage of the Palestinian workforce oriented toward employment in Israel. The outbreak of the second intifada (2000-2005) resulted in restricted entry of Palestinian labour into Israel, which crippled economic development in the territories and caused high unemployment and poverty rates.[47]

4.2.1 Golan Heights

Israel, de facto if not de jure, unilaterally annexed the Golan Heights in 1981 for its strategic importance. Although the move was not internationally recognised, there are now more than 30 Jewish settlements in the region with an estimated 20,000 settlers.[48] With the outbreak of the Syrian civil war, negotiations about the future of this territory came to a halt and in 2016 Netanyahu declared that the Golan Heights will remain permanently under Israeli control, as the area has been an integral part of *Eretz Yisrael* since ancient times.[49]

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[46] Daniel Byman and Natan Sachs, "The Rise of Settler Terrorism: The West Bank's Other Violent Extremists," *Council on Foreign Relations* 91, no. 5 (2012): 78-79.

[47] James L. Gelvin, *The Israel-Palestine Conflict: One Hundred Years of War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 185-186.

[48] "Golan Heights Profile." BBC News. Last modified June 9, 2018. https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-14724842.

[49] Isabel Kershner, "Israel Will Never Give Golan Heights to Syria, Netanyahu Vows," New York Times, last modified April 17, 2016, https://www.nytimes.com/2016/04/18/world/middleeast/israel-will-never-give-golan-heights-to-syria-netanyahu-vows.html.

4.2.2   Gaza

The Palestinian National Authority secured jurisdiction over most of Gaza and Jericho in 1994 after peace negotiations in Oslo, which led to formal mutual recognition and the signing of the *Declaration of Principles*, endorsing the idea of a two-state solution to the conflict and expansion of Palestinian self-rule in certain areas of the West Bank and Gaza.[50] Although Israel dismantled four settlements in the northern West Bank and unilaterally disengaged from the Gaza Strip in 2005, it currently controls the land and maritime borders of Gaza, as well as its airspace.[51]

During the 2006 Palestinian elections, the Islamist movement Hamas won a majority, but subsequent attempts to form a unity government between the PNA, dominated by the secular Fatah faction, and Hamas failed. In 2007 Hamas violently seized all military and governmental institutions in the Gaza Strip, while Fatah retained its position in the West Bank.[52] Recently attempts have been made at reconciliation, but national unity remains elusive.[53]

Since Hamas took sole control in Gaza, Israel has implemented a strict economic and military blockade. In the wake of the Israel-Gaza conflict in 2014, Israel started construction of a barrier along its border with Gaza to prevent militants from infiltrating Israeli territory and carrying out attacks.[54] The UN Conference on Trade and Development warned in a 2015 report, that living conditions in Gaza were deteriorating faster than was forecasted in a UN study conducted in 2012, which predicted that Gaza could become uninhabitable by 2020 if no efforts were made to

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[50] Ahron Bregman, *Cursed Victory - A History of Israel and the Occupied Territories* (London: Penguin Books, 2014), 179-184.

[51] Ibid., 299-304.

[52] William L. Cleveland and Martin Bunton, *A History of the Modern Middle East (*Colorado: Westview Press, 2016), 495-497.

[53] Adam Rasgon, "Major Blow to Hamas-Fatah Unity?" Jerusalem Post, last modified March 13, 2018. https://www.jpost.com/Arab-Israeli-Conflict/Major-blow-to-Hamas-Fatah-unity-545021.

[54] "Israel to speed up Gaza tunnel barrier," BBC News, last modified August 10, 2017, http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-40886728.

change the ongoing situation.[55] In 2017 the Arab population of Gaza was estimated at 1,943,398 people, living on 360 square kilometres.[56]

4.2.3   West Bank

Since the conclusion of the Oslo Accords in 1995, the West Bank has been divided in areas A, B and C. The Palestinian National Authority exercises political and military jurisdiction over area A, which has an exclusively Arab population and comprises 3 percent of the West Bank. Israel and the PNA share authority over area B, which comprises 25 percent of the territory. The Palestinian National Authority has political, administrative and legal jurisdiction over the Arab inhabitants, and Israel has jurisdiction over the Jewish inhabitants. Israel however, retains exclusive authority over general security for both the Arab and Jewish population. The remaining 72 percent of the land, designated as area C, is under full Israeli control.[57]

Palestinian citizens in area C are subject to military law, whereas Jewish citizens are subject to civil law.[58] Israeli authorities make an official distinction between legal and illegal settlements, but have nonetheless continued building infrastructure for unauthorised settlement outposts. In August 2017 Netanyahu vowed that Israel would never relinquish settlements in the region.[59] The separation barrier, in violation of international law, stretches across the West Bank, impeding Palestinian liberty and movement. Israel considers it a security barrier against terrorism, while Palestinians

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[55] "Report on UNCTAD Assistance to the Palestinian People: Developments in the Economy of the Occupied Palestinian Territory." United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. Last modified July 6, 2015. http://unctad.org/en/PublicationsLibrary/tdb62d3_en.pdf.

[56] "Census 2017," Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics, accessed April 13, 2018, http://www.pcbs.gov.ps/site/881/default.aspx#Population.

[57] Ahron Bregman, *Cursed Victory - A History of Israel and the Occupied Territories* (London: Penguin Books, 2014), 182-183.

[58] Ibid.

[59] Bethan McKernan, "Benjamin Netanyahu: Israeli Settlements in the West Bank Are 'Here to Stay Forever'," Independent, last modified August 29, 2017. https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/middle-east/benjamin-netanyahu-israel-settlements-west-bank-here-stay-forever-palestinian-territory-gaza-strip-a7917841.html.

call it a racial segregation or apartheid wall.[60] In 2017 the Arab population of the West Bank was estimated at 3,008,770 people, living on 5,655 square kilometres.[61]

4.2.4   East Jerusalem

In 1980, Israel formalised its annexation of the eastern half of the city by passing a law which proclaimed that "Jerusalem, complete and united, is the capital of Israel". Currently 86 percent of East Jerusalem is under direct control of the Israeli authorities, with 200,000 Jewish settlers living in constructions that have been built either entirely or partially on private Palestinian property. In a number of resolutions since 1949 the UN General Assembly and Security Council have confirmed the illegality of Israeli occupation and annexation of East Jerusalem. Calling for "withdrawal from East Jerusalem and an end to settlement activities", insisting that "all legislative, administrative, demographic and other measures which change the status of the city are null and void".[62]

Palestinians in East Jerusalem are considered permanent residents of the Israeli state and are subject to civil law, but suffer from a range of discriminatory measures such as revocation of residency rights, discriminatory family unification policies and disadvantageous allocation of the municipal budget and services. The separation barrier surrounding Jerusalem, restricts movement between the city and the West Bank, severely limiting Palestinian access to basic resources and services, including health care, education, general provisions and water. In 2010 the Arab population in East Jerusalem was estimated at 282,000 people, living on 64 square kilometres.[63]

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[60] Ahron Bregman, *Cursed Victory - A History of Israel and the Occupied Territories* (London: Penguin Books, 2014), 284-285.

[61] "Census 2017," Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics, accessed April 13, 2018, http://www.pcbs.gov.ps/site/881/default.aspx#Population.

[62] "The Palestinian Economy in East Jerusalem: Enduring Annexation, Isolation and Disintegration." United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. Last modified May 8, 2013. https://unispal.un.org/DPA/DPR/unispal.nsf/eed216406b50bf6485256ce10072f637/1eb92addd720843285257b6500537b20?OpenDocument.

[63] Ibid.

4.3 Israel and the Apartheid Analogy

In order to understand how the apartheid analogy currently functions in public discourse, it is necessary to understand how it came into existence in the first place and how it evolved over time. In the wake of the Six Day War in 1967, Israel became an occupying power as it seized lands from Egypt, Jordan and Syria. The settlement project that soon followed, combined with failing negotiations to withdraw from these territories, slowly transformed the international image of Israel from a nation of Holocaust survivors in need of protection into that of a colonial oppressor.[64]

In November 1974 chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO), Yasser Arafat, addressed the UN General Assembly denouncing the state of Israel and equating its policies to those in apartheid South Africa. The following year the General Assembly passed Resolution 3379 which, although highly controversial at the time and repealed in 1991, declared that "Zionism is a form of racism and racial discrimination".[65] During the 1990s the apartheid analogy resurfaced in relation to the similarities drawn between the South African *Bantustans*, territories set aside for black inhabitants as part of the policy of apartheid, and the administrative division of the West Bank following the Oslo Accords (1993 and 1995).[66]

The outbreak of the second intifada in September 2000 increased Israeli security measures, culminating in Operation Defensive Shield in 2002 and the construction of the separation barrier, also known as the apartheid wall.[67] In September 2001, during the UN sponsored World Conference against Racism in Durban, South Africa, Israel was accused of ethnic cleansing, racism, war crimes and crimes against humanity.[68] Since then comparisons have been drawn by authorities in the UN, human rights

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[64] Colin Shindler, ed., *Israel and the World Powers: Diplomatic Alliances and International Relations beyond the Middle East* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2014), 206.

[65] Julie Peteet, "Beyond Compare," *Middle East Report*, no. 253 (2009): 17.

[66] Julie Peteet, "The Work of Comparison: Israel/Palestine and Apartheid," *Anthropological Quarterly* 89, no. 1 (2016): 250.

[67] Peteet, "Beyond Compare," 17.

[68] Jonathan Judaken, "So What's New? Rethinking the 'New Antisemitism' in a Global Age," *Patterns of Prejudice* 42, no. 4-5 (2008): 548.

organisations, political commentators and protest movements, between apartheid South Africa and Israel, as practitioners of institutionalised and legalised discrimination.[69]

Prominent political and civil rights leaders have made use of the apartheid analogy. In 2006 former US President and Nobel Peace Prize laureate Jimmy Carter, published the controversial book *Palestine: Peace Not Apartheid*.[70] In 2014 human rights activist Desmund Tutu, who was honoured with a Nobel Peace Prize for his role in ending South African apartheid, found Israel "guilty of apartheid in its treatment of Palestinians".[71] Then US Secretary of State John Kerry, warned Israel in the same year that it "risked becoming an apartheid state if a two-state solution would not be agreed upon soon".[72] Former Prime Minister of Israel Ehud Barak, commented in 2017, that Israel was on a "slippery slope toward apartheid" if it remained on its current path.[73] Ehud Olmert, another former Prime Minister of Israel, has repeatedly warned Israel of "becoming an apartheid state should the Israeli-Palestinian peace process remain stalled".[74] During a recent visit to the West Bank, Hamdallah Mandela, grandson of former South African president Nelson Mandela, stated that "Palestinians are being subjected to the worst version of apartheid."[75]

In 2005, one year after the International Court of Justice declared the route of the separation barrier illegal, 170 Palestinian civil society organisations, inspired by the

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[69] Raef Zreik, "Palestine, Apartheid, and the Rights Discourse," *Journal of Palestine Studies* 34, no. 1 (2004): 68.

[70] James Earl Carter, *Palestine: Peace Not Apartheid* (New York: Simon & Schuster Paperbacks, 2007), front cover.

[71] "Desmond Tutu: Israel Guilty of Apartheid in Treatment of Palestinians," Jerusalem Post, last modified March 10, 2014, https://www.jpost.com/Diplomacy-and-Politics/Desmond-Tutu-Israel-guilty-of-apartheid-in-treatment-of-Palestinians-344874.

[72] Barak Ravid, "Kerry: Israel Risks Turning into an 'Apartheid State'," Haaretz, last modified April 28, 2014, https://www.haaretz.com/israel-risks-turning-into-apartheid-state-1.5246443.

[73] Allison Kaplan Sommer, "Ehud Barak Warns: Israel Faces 'Slippery Slope' Toward Apartheid," Haaretz, last modified June 21, 2017, https://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/ehud-barak-warns-israel-on-slippery-slope-to-apartheid-1.5486786.

[74] "Olmert Blasts Netanyahu's Foreign Policy, Warns of Risk of Apartheid in Israel," Haaretz, last modified October 02, 2015, https://www.haaretz.com/olmert-warns-of-risk-of-apartheid-in-israel-1.5404995.

[75] Ilanit Chernick, "Mandela's Grandson on Visit: 'Israel Is the Worst Apartheid Regime'," Jerusalem Post, last modified November 28, 2017, https://www.jpost.com/Israel-News/Mandelas-grandson-on-visit-Israel-is-the-worst-apartheid-regime-515397.

South African anti-apartheid movement and following similar initiatives at university campuses in the United States, issued a call for boycott, divestment and sanctions (BDS) against Israel. [76] Since then, the organisation has become a means of popular global resistance to protest Israeli practices in the occupied territories. It aims to end the regime of "settler colonialism, apartheid and occupation over the Palestinian people" by calling for "an international boycott until Israel complies with international law and principles of universal human rights".[77] Closely related is the annual Israeli Apartheid Week, first launched in Toronto in 2005, which organises international events to "educate people about the nature of Israel as an apartheid system and to build support for the campaigns of the global BDS movement".[78]

In 2009 the Human Sciences Research Council of South Africa published a study which concluded that "Israel is practicing both colonialism and apartheid in the occupied Palestinian territories".[79] In 2012 the Palestinian human rights organisation Al-Haq presented an oral statement to the UN Human Rights Council, highlighting Israeli policies of apartheid and racial segregation in the OPT.[80] Other human rights organisations, both foreign and domestic, such as B'tselem, Yesh Din, Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International have condemned Israeli "discriminatory policies" in the occupied territories, although without explicitly referring to the apartheid analogy.[81]

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[76] Noura Erakat, "BDS in the USA, 2001-2010," *Middle East Report*, no. 255 (2010): 35.
[77] "What is BDS?" Boycott, Divestment, Sanctions. Accessed May 2, 2018. https://bdsmovement.net/what-is-bds.
[78] "70 Years Resisting the On-Going Nakba - Israeli Apartheid Week 2018," Apartheid Week, accessed May 2, 2018. http://apartheidweek.org.
[79] Human Sciences Research Council of South Africa, *Occupation, Colonialism, Apartheid? A Re-Assessment of Israel's Practices in the Occupied Palestinian Territories under International Law* (Cape Town: Middle East Project of the Democracy and Governance Programme, 2009), 277.
[80] "PCHRO Presents Oral Statement on Apartheid to Human Rights Council," Al-Haq, last modified March 19, 2012, http://www.alhaq.org/advocacy/targets/united-nations/547-pchro-presents-oral-statement-on-apartheid-to-human-rights-council.
[81] Amnesty International. *Amnesty International Report 2017/18: The State of the World's Human Rights* (London: Amnesty International, 2017), 207-211; Bill van Esveld, *Separate and Unequal: Israel's Discriminatory Treatment of Palestinians in the Occupied Palestinian Territories* (New York: Human Rights Watch, 2010), 3; Eyal Hareuven, "By Hook and by Crook - Israeli Settlement Policy in the West Bank," B'tselem, last modified July 1, 2010, https://www.btselem.org/download/201007_by_hook_and_by_crook_eng.pdf; "Occupation Policies," Yesh Din, accessed May 2, 2018, https://www.yesh-din.org/en/category/occupation-policies.

5. Case Study: The Jerusalem Post and Al-Quds

5.1 Case Study Context

In the period between January 1st 2017 and May 15th 2018, several incidents occurred which heightened Israeli-Palestinian tensions. On March 15th 2017, the United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia (ESCWA) published a controversial report titled *Israeli Practices towards the Palestinian People and the Question of Apartheid*.[82] The report was prepared at the request of its 18 Arab member states and was fiercely rejected by both the United States and Israel. UN Secretary-General, António Guterres, subsequently distanced himself from the report and demanded withdrawal of the document as it was published without any prior consultation. Shortly thereafter, UN Under-Secretary-General and ESCWA Executive Secretary, Rima Khalaf, handed in her resignation in protest, stating that she stood by all the conclusions of the report.[83]

In a measure to combat the growing international support for the BDS movement, the Israeli parliament (Knesset) passed a law on March 6th 2017, to deny residency rights or entry visas to foreign nationals who publicly support economic, cultural or academic boycotts against Israel or its West Bank settlements.[84] On June 7th 2017, Israel commemorated the 50 year anniversary of the Six Day War, known among Palestinians as the *Naksa* (setback), with Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu stating

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[82] "Israel Imposes 'Apartheid Regime' on Palestinians: U.N. Report," Reuters, last modified March 17, 2017, https://www.reuters.com/article/us-israel-palestinians-report-idUSKBN16M2IN.

[83] "UN Official Resigns over Israel Apartheid Report," Al-Jazeera, last Modified March 17, 2017, https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2017/03/official-resigns-israel-apartheid-report-170317182241142.html.

[84] Jonathan Lis, "Israel's Travel Ban: Knesset Bars Entry to Foreigners Who Call for Boycott of Israel or Settlements," Haaretz, last modified March 7, 2017, https://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/.premium-israel-bars-entry-to-foreigners-who-call-for-boycott-of-settlements-1.5445566.

that "the war brought us back to our homeland, back to the inheritance of our patriarchs, in the heart of which is a united Jerusalem."[85]

The 2nd of November 2017, marked the centennial of the *Balfour Declaration*, which endorsed the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine.[86] While British Prime Minister Theresa May hosted Benjamin Netanyahu in London, to honour the declaration of British support for a Jewish national home, thousands of Palestinians held protest marches in the West Bank, Gaza and East Jerusalem, denouncing the historical injustice which left them dispossessed.[87] On December 6th 2017, President Donald Trump formally recognised Jerusalem as the capital of Israel and ordered the relocation of the US embassy from Tel Aviv.[88] The decision was applauded by Israel, but rejected by Arabs and Muslims across the Middle East, as well as by member states of the European Union and United Nations.[89]

Meanwhile the 13th and 14th annual Israeli Apartheid Week took place between the months of February and April of 2017 and 2018, during which time the movement organised a wide range of events in more than 200 cities across the world.[90] On February 2nd 2018, the Norwegian parliamentarian Bjørnar Moxnes officially nominated the BDS movement for a Nobel Peace Prize, stating that "it is our hope that our nomination can be a small contribution to move a difficult conflict away from the

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[85] Ruth Eglash, "50 Years Ago, an American in Jerusalem Found Himself in the Heart of the Six-Day War," Washington Post, last modified June 5, 2017, https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle_east/50-years-ago-an-american-in-jerusalem-found-himself-in-the-heart-of-the-six-day-war/2017/06/05/e1f8d24e-46fc-11e7-8de1-cec59a9bf4b1_story.html?noredirect=on&utm_term=.c174f6b76efe.

[86] Ben Lynfield, "Palestinians Bash Britain for Balfour Declaration Celebrations in Mass Protests," Jerusalem Post, last modified November 2, 2017, https://www.jpost.com/Arab-Israeli-Conflict/Palestinians-bash-Britain-for-Balfour-Declaration-celebrations-in-mass-protests-513200.

[87] "Balfour Declaration: Theresa May Hosts Israeli PM for Centenary," BBC News, last modified November 2, 2017, http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-41819451.

[88] Mark Landler, "Trump Recognizes Jerusalem as Israel's Capital and Orders U.S. Embassy to Move," New York Times, last modified December 6, 2017, https://www.nytimes.com/2017/12/06/world/middleeast/trump-jerusalem-israel-capital.html.

[89] Mark Heinrich, "Arabs, Europe, U.N. Reject Trump's Recognition of Jerusalem as Israeli Capital," Reuters, last modified December 6, 2017, https://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-trump-israel-jerusalem-reaction/arabs-europe-u-n-reject-trumps-recognition-of-jerusalem-as-israeli-capital-idUSKBN1E0312.

[90] "70 Years Resisting the On-Going Nakba - Israeli Apartheid Week 2018," Apartheid Week, accessed May 11, 2018, http://apartheidweek.org.

military sphere and into the sphere of politics, international justice, debate and dialogue".[91] Benjamin Netanyahu however, was not deterred by these developments as he approved the building of new settlements on the occupied West Bank in both 2017 and 2018.[92]

Most recently, between March 30th and May 15th 2018, *Great March of Return* protests, organised by several Palestinian civil society organisations and backed by all of the political factions, were held in Gaza to draw attention to the Palestinian plight and to call for the right of return for Palestinian refugees.[93] The demonstrations commemorated the 70th anniversary of the *Nakba* (catastrophe), a reference to the Arab-Israeli war which followed the establishment of Israel in May 1948, and the subsequent expulsion of 750,000 Palestinian Arabs.[94] The deadly clashes that took place on May 15th 2018, further coincided with the controversial relocation and opening ceremony of the US embassy in Jerusalem.[95] How these and other events have affected the use of the apartheid analogy in public discourse, will come to light in the following case study of several news reports from Israeli newspaper the *Jerusalem Post* and Palestinian newspaper *Al-Quds.*

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[91] Bjørnar Moxnes, "Why We Nominated the BDS Campaign for the Nobel Peace Prize," Jerusalem Post, last modified February 20, 2018, https://www.jpost.com/Opinion/Why-we-nominated-the-BDS-campaign-for-the-Nobel-Peace-Prize-543188.

[92] Ruth Eglash and Loveday Morris, "Israel Approves Plans for Thousands of New Settlement Units in the West Bank," Washington Post, last modified October 10, 2017. https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle_east/israel-approves-plans-for-thousands-of-new-settlement-units-in-the-west-bank/2017/10/10/a3fd5058-ad29-11e7-9b93-b97043e57a22_story.html?utm_term=.87edc6abd302; Tovah Lazaroff, "Netanyahu: Israel Says 'No' to Terror by Approving a New Settlement," Jerusalem Post, last modified February 4, 2018, https://www.jpost.com/Israel-News/Netanyahu-Israel-says-no-to-terror-by-approving-a-new-settlement-540635.

[93] Hosam Salem, "Gaza: Refugees Call for Right of Return in Mass Protests," Al-Jazeera, last modified March 30, 2018, https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/inpictures/gaza-refugees-call-return-mass-protests-180330154419077.html.

[94] Patrick Cockburn, "Protests in Gaza Are Leading to Many Deaths and Injuries Among Palestinians, Yet Israel Has Faced Little Criticism," Independent, last modified April 6, 2018. https://www.independent.co.uk/voices/israel-palestine-gaza-march-of-return-protest-deaths-a8292601.html.

[95] "Did Israel Use Excessive Force at Gaza Protests?" BBC News, last modified May 16, 2018, http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-44124556.

5.2 The Jerusalem Post

The *Jerusalem Post* is an English language daily newspaper published in Jerusalem. It was founded in 1932 as a left-wing paper, but editorially it has taken a centrist position since 2004. In 1995 it also launched a successful online edition.[96] Combining the search terms *Israel* and *apartheid* in the period between January 1st 2017 and May 15th 2018, generates 127 results. In terms of percentages, articles about BDS campaigns and Israeli Apartheid Week are the most common, 47 and 38 respectively, with results partially overlapping. The other topic about which multiple articles have been written is the ESCWA report and its withdrawal, a total of 7 items.

Based on a sample of 11 news reports on different topics, it appears that the *Jerusalem Post* does not take a normative position regarding the analogy, but it does provide a platform for opinion pieces in which commentators are more outspoken. In the following I will review the main arguments of these 11 articles as they relate to the apartheid analogy. The first item that appears in the search results is an opinion piece, published on January 3rd 2017, written by UK businessman Nicholas Szkiler, who is a long standing supporter of the European Coalition for Israel. In the article he criticises the key role the UK government played in the drafting of UN resolution 2334, which "formally condemns Israel for allegedly violating international law by its policy of settlement building on 'Palestinian land'". Szkiler goes on to say that "much of Western Europe has bought into the false narrative that modern Israel has become an apartheid state, much like the South Africa of the 1970s". His main point is the fact that Israeli policies are misunderstood and that the Jewish State is being vilified, he wonders "how so many governments and peoples in an information-rich 21st century could be so completely ignorant of the facts of history and prejudiced against such an ancient, gifted and benign people group".[97] A few months later the newspaper reports on a visit to

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[96] Yoel Cohen, "Jerusalem Post," Gale Virtual Reference Library, accessed May 12, 2018, http://go.galegroup.com/ps/i.do?id=GALE%7CCX2587510092&v=2.1&u=imcpl1111&it=r&p=GVRL&sw=w&asid=f9eeb37174108610386ec27e1c1c38f9#.

[97] Nicholas Szkiler, "Another British Betrayal," Jerusalem Post, last modified January 3, 2017, https://www.jpost.com/Blogs/Another-British-Betrayal/UN-Vote-Britains-Shameful-Role-477352.

Israel by UK Foreign Secretary Boris Johnson, self-proclaimed admirer and advocate of Israel, during which Johnson pledges British government support for Israel, but also addresses the situation in the occupied territories, remarking that "although the priority in any Israeli-Palestinian accord has to be the safety and security of Israel, the choice is either two states or apartheid".[98]

In March 2017, several articles are dedicated to the ESCWA report, its withdrawal and the resignation of Executive Secretary Rima Khalaf. One such article describes the reaction of the Palestinian Authority to the news, denouncing the retraction as it "encourages Israel to continue its policies of occupation, killing, persecution, settlements and racial division". President Mahmoud Abbas awarded Khalaf the Palestine Medal of the Highest Honour and is quoted expressing his appreciation for the way in which she is "bravely standing with our people and its just cause".[99] In the same month an item is written by American author Daniel Gordis, who the *Jerusalem Post* lists as one of the fifty most influential Jews in the world. In the article he comments on the "public relations disaster" which is the law passed by the Knesset, granting Israel the right to deny entry to foreign nationals who advocate boycotting the Jewish state. While he criticises the inopportunity of the bill, he recognises the fact that Israel is "in a battle for its survival" as "Israel and Zionists are under attack everywhere".[100]

In another article published in March, the Palestinian reaction to the Israeli approval of the establishment of new settlements on the West Bank is described. Saeb Erekat, Secretary-General of the PLO Executive Committee, is quoted as saying "Israel continues to destroy the prospects of peace in our region and to severely affect our lives by the theft of land and natural resources, and by the ongoing fragmentation of our

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[98] Herb Keinon, "UK's Johnson to JPost: Israel's Choice is Two States or Apartheid," Jerusalem Post, last modified March 8, 2017, https://www.jpost.com/Israel-News/Politics-And-Diplomacy/Johnson-to-JPost-Israels-choice-is-two-states-or-apartheid-483609.

[99] Adam Rasgon, "Palestinian Authority Blasts UN over Removal of Report from Affiliated Website," Jerusalem Post, last modified March 20, 2017, https://www.jpost.com/Arab-Israeli-Conflict/Palestinian-Authority-blasts-UN-over-removal-of-report-from-affiliated-website-484635.

[100] Daniel Gordis, "A Dose of Nuance: Enemies Come in Many Forms," Jerusalem Post, last modified March 23, 2017, https://www.jpost.com/Opinion/A-Dose-of-Nuance-Enemies-come-in-many-forms-484974.

country" further adding that "Israel enjoys a culture of impunity that allows it to strengthen its apartheid regime in occupied Palestine".[101] In June 2017, Professor Emerita and peace activist Galia Golan, reflects in an opinion piece on 50 years of conflict since the Six Day War. She specifically analyses policies and recent laws regarding the West Bank. Concluding that there is a process of "creeping annexation" in progress, which seems to move in a single direction and will most likely result in a situation of "one state, an apartheid state, from the sea to the river, minus some scattered autonomous enclaves".[102] In July 2017, Professor Seth J. Frantzman, commentator on Middle Eastern politics and founder of the Middle East Center for Reporting and Analysis, writes a feature on the cycle that feeds the apartheid analogy and the fact that it has become an ever-present cliché, which has been around since before South African apartheid ended. Frantzman succinctly sums up the main positions taken by both the Israeli Left and the Israeli Right, as well as Palestinians and activists abroad, regarding the use of the analogy. He concludes that "despite labels, the country seems to be doing fine and it increasingly has connections with nations that care less about accusations against it".[103]

In March 2018, an article is published discussing the fact that South African students at a university in Johannesburg started the annual Israeli Apartheid Week by circulating pictures of Anne Frank wearing a Palestinian keffiyeh (chequered black and white scarf), in an attempt to draw attention to the fact that "racism, hardship and oppression that was faced by Jews during the Nazi times is repeated in modern times", referring to the Israeli occupation of Palestinian territories. The action was widely condemned, by Jewish students and administrators alike, as a shockingly inappropriate

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[101] Tovah Lazaroff, "Palestinians Warn: New Settlement Strengthens Israeli 'Apartheid Regime'," Jerusalem Post, last modified March 31, 2017, https://www.jpost.com/Arab-Israeli-Conflict/Palestinians-warn-New-settlement-strengthens-Israeli-apartheid-regime-485762.
[102] Galia Golan, "50 Years of Conflict," Jerusalem Post, last modified June 10, 2017, https://www.jpost.com/Opinion/50-years-of-conflict-496461.
[103] Seth J. Frantzman, "Terra Incognita: Israel's Self-Fulfilling 'Apartheid' Analogy," Jerusalem Post, last modified July 17, 2017, https://www.jpost.com/Opinion/TERRA-INCOGNITA-Israels-self-fulfilling-apartheid-analogy-499984.

"propaganda campaign against Israel".[104] In the same month co-chair of Europeans for Israel, Brenda Katten, wrote a story on the question whether Israel can rely on the continued support of the United States in the future. She expresses her fear that Israel is losing the "battle of the word" and is "failing miserably in conveying the Israeli narrative to the outside world". Pointing out that it is imperative that the Israeli government prioritises *hasbara* (public diplomacy) as "antisemitism has diversified as anti-Zionism, taking expression as the BDS movement, as well as the annual Israeli Apartheid Week on campuses worldwide and more".[105]

On the 22nd of March 2018, an article is published highlighting an event, organised by the Israeli Strategic Affairs and Public Diplomacy Ministry, which drew some 60 social media experts from around the world, who gathered in Jerusalem to share tools and best practices for fighting online efforts to delegitimise Israel. The article quotes one of the South African participants as saying "Israel gets compared to an apartheid state, but we know for a fact that it is not, we can share some knowledge on that."[106] The last item that appears in the search results is another opinion piece, published on the 23rd of April 2018. In the article, Professor Emeritus and prolific author on policy and politics in Israel, Ira Sharkansky, comments on the messiness of the celebration of Memorial Day and the 70th anniversary of Independence Day. He observes that certain voices on the Israeli Left are assigning principal responsibility to Israel for the continued conflict and that even David Grossman, an internationally acclaimed Israeli author, has "stooped to the leftist platitudes of occupation, oppression and apartheid".[107]

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[104] Ilanit Chernick, "South African Students Mark Israel Apartheid Week with Palestinian Anne Frank," Jerusalem Post, last modified March 15, 2018, https://www.jpost.com/Diaspora/South-African-students-mark-Israel-Apartheid-week-with-Palestinian-Anne-Frank-545221.

[105] Brenda Katten, "America Supports Us Today - But What About Tomorrow?" Jerusalem Post, last modified March 22, 2018, https://www.jpost.com/Opinion/America-supports-us-today-but-what-about-tomorrow-546893.

[106] Tamara Zieve, "Creating a Coalition to Counter Misinformation," Jerusalem Post, last modified March 22, 2018, https://www.jpost.com/Magazine/Creating-a-coalition-to-counter-misinformation-546869.

[107] Ira Sharkansky, "Window on Israel," Jerusalem Post, last modified April 23, 2018, https://www.jpost.com/Blogs/Window-on-Israel/Palestinians-and-leftists-Bibi-and-barebcues-Israels-messy-70th-birthday-552474.

5.3 Al-Quds

Al-Quds is the largest Arabic language daily newspaper in the Palestinian territories, founded in 1951 and based in Jerusalem. It is an independent centrist newspaper, which also publishes its content online.[108] Combining the search terms *Israel* (إسرائيل) and *apartheid* (أبارتهايد or أبارتيد) in the period between January 1st 2017 and May 15th 2018, generates 9,233 results. However, the overwhelming majority of these articles does not report on the analogy specifically, but rather on news which involves Israel in general. Narrowing the search by only using the term *apartheid* (أبارتهايد or أبارتيد) produces 23 results, all of which are directly related to the use of the analogy in public discourse. It is interesting that this number is much lower than the 127 results which were generated with similar keywords from the *Jerusalem Post* database. In terms of percentages most of these articles relate to the peace process and the Israeli settlement policy, totalling 10 items, which partially overlap as these issues are often described in relation to each other. The other topic that is discussed in several articles is the publication of the ESCWA report and its consequences, 4 items in total.

Based on a sample of 11 news reports on different topics, it appears that *Al-Quds* takes a neutral position in its reporting on the analogy, but as is the case with the *Jerusalem Post*, it also provides a platform for opinion pieces in which a more activist note can be detected. In the following I will review the main arguments of these 11 articles. The first item that appears in the search results is a news report written on January 7th 2017, which discusses the reaction of Senior Palestinian official Saeb Erekat to the news that US Congress overwhelmingly voted to condemn UN resolution 2334, in conjunction with the introduction of a bill to transfer the US embassy to Jerusalem. He is quoted as saying "these attempts will fuel violence and create an atmosphere that will lead to more tensions, not only in Palestine, but also in the Arab, Islamic and

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[108] "The Palestinian Press," BBC News, last modified December 13, 2006, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/6176691.stm.

international world" adding that "what is required now is the implementation of the resolutions of international law and the end of the occupation, the root cause of violence and terrorism". The article further describes his extended invitation to members of Congress to visit the state of Palestine in order to "see the reality of the apartheid regime imposed by the occupying power and its continuous violations against Palestinian people".[109]

In the same month Alaa Eddin Abu Zeina, lecturer at the University of Jordan, writes in an opinion piece about the Paris peace conference which was held on January 15th 2017, in an attempt to rescue the two-state solution. He ascertains that the consensus among commentators is that the value of the conference is only symbolic as no plans have been put in place to dismantle the settlements and end the occupation. Zeina further observes that neither a two-state nor a one-state solution seems likely, especially in light of the support for Israel from the Trump administration and the internal Palestinian political divide. Considering these developments he concludes that "the current situation will inevitably lead to a single apartheid state".[110] In another opinion piece written in January 2017, Mustafa Barghouti, Palestinian activist and Secretary General of the Palestinian National Initiative, calls on Palestinians to wake up. He warningly points to the "true intentions of Israel and its government", drawing special attention to statements made by Netanyahu, in which the Israeli Prime Minister expresses his determination to implement Israeli control "over all areas from the Jordan River to the Mediterranean Sea". Barghouti cautions that this is not merely political rhetoric and contends that there is only one answer: "the unity of all Palestinians wherever they are, in opposition to the racist extremism and occupation which has made an enemy of peace and an adversary of all humanity".[111]

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[109] "Erekat: Muhāwalāt 'al-Kūngharas' 'Ilghā' 'aw Taghyīr al-Qarār 2334 Inqilāb 'alā al-Qanūn al-Duwalyyi" [Erekat: Attempts of 'Congress' to Abolish or Change Resolution 2334 is a Coup against International Law], Al-Quds, last modified January 7, 2017, http://www.alquds.com/articles/1483816222654416300.

[110] Alaa Eddin Abu Zeina, "Al-Filasṭīnīyun 'ilā 'al-'Abārthāyd'?!" [Palestinians towards 'Apartheid'?!], Al-Quds, last modified January 20, 2017, http://www.alquds.com/articles/1484895554758621000.

[111] Mustafa Barghouti, "'Istayqiẓū!!" [Wake Up!!], Al-Quds, last modified January 29, 2017, http://www.alquds.com/articles/1485674468644201600.

In February 2017, Wajih Abu Zarifa, reporter for the Lebanon Daily Star, writes an item on the *Law for the Regulation of Settlement in Judea and Samaria* which the Knesset approved on the 6th of that month. He calls it "a racist law which cannot be framed in any other way", as it gives Israel the right to continue the confiscation of Palestinian land and authorise all settlement outposts that have already been built on privately owned property. Zarifa compares Israeli policies to the South African system of apartheid and concludes that an obvious difference between the two lies in the fact that South Africa was internationally shunned, while Israel receives continued support from the international community. He concludes that the world is facing a choice, either to unitedly denounce Israeli racist policies or deal with the dire consequences, because "what is going on now is the establishment of a conflict that will quickly turn into an ethnic conflict, and perhaps a religious conflict, in both the region and the world, a conflict that will ignite us into a hell of war and violence".[112]

In March 2017, several news reports are published related to the publication of the ESCWA report and the subsequent fallout. One such article discusses both the international reactions to the document as well as Israeli indignation, with a spokesman for the Foreign Ministry likening the report to "a Nazi propaganda publication that is strongly anti-Semitic".[113] In a follow-up item, the resignation of Rima Khalaf is described and analysed, with the article alluding to the fact that the UN Secretary-General yielded to American-Israeli pressure in insisting on the retraction of the report. Director of the Independent Commission for Human Rights, Ammar Dweik, is quoted as saying "this issue reflects the problem of Palestine, the fact that the major powers in the world seek to protect Israel, even when it comes to a scientific report".[114] In an

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[112] Wajih Abu Zarifa, "'Isrā'īl Tashirru 'an al-'Anṣuria 'abr Qānun Shar'ina al-Istīṭān" [Israel Legitimises Racism through the Law of Settlement Legitimisation], Al-Quds, last modified February 12, 2017, http://www.alquds.com/articles/1486921004763762800.

[113] "Taqriḍ li-l-'Umam al-Muttahida: 'Isrā'īl Tafriḍ 'Niẓẓām 'Abārtīd' 'ala al-Filasṭīnīyin" [UN Report: Israel Imposes 'System of Apartheid' on the Palestinians], Al-Quds, last modified March 15, 2017, http://www.alquds.com/articles/1489608565238832700.

[114] "[Fīdyū] Istiqāla 'Rima Khalaf'.. Takshif Ḥajm al- Ḍughūt 'ala 'al-'Umam al-Muttahida' wa-'Amīniha al-' ām li-l-Tasattur 'ala al- Ḥaqā'iq" [(Video) Resignation of 'Rima Khalaf' .. Reveals the Pressure on the 'United Nations' and Secretary-General to Cover Up the Facts], Al-Quds, last modified March 18, 2017, http://www.alquds.com/articles/1489833992344769700.

additional news report on the matter, the possible legal ramifications of the document are explained, as it may enable ESCWA member states to prosecute Israel for its crimes in the International Criminal Court.[115]

Mustafa Barghouti recounts in another opinion piece, written in October 2017, the centennial of the Balfour Declaration and its "disastrous consequences". He argues that "Balfour has laid the foundation for the worst apartheid regime and racial discrimination in the history of humanity, which we live in Palestine today". Barghouti further states that "the word apartheid literally means that there are two legal systems for two populations living in the same geographical area, and this is exactly what the Balfour Declaration and the establishment of Israel in Palestine have achieved".[116] An article published in the same month describes how the Palestinian National Committee for the Boycott of Israel condemns any Palestinian who participates in a conference held by the Israeli Institute for National Security Studies. In a statement the Committee accuses the Israeli government and the organisers of the event of attempting to "normalise the dialogue about the colonial regime and its crimes against the Palestinian people" and of striving to "weaken the BDS movement".[117]

On the 21st of December 2017, a news report is published detailing the formal decision by the South African National Congress to reduce the level of diplomatic representation to Israel in support of the oppressed Palestinian people. The move was welcomed by Palestinian ambassador to South Africa, Hisham Dajani, who stated that "this decision is an advanced step in order to put pressure on the Israeli apartheid government to end the occupation, recognise the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and establish their independent state with Jerusalem as its capital, and

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[115] "al-'ab'ād al-qānūniyya li-taqrīr al-'askwā' wa-'asbāb saḥbihi" [The Legal Dimensions of the 'ESCWA' Report and the Reasons for Its Withdrawal], Al-Quds, last modified March 24, 2017, http://www.alquds.com/articles/1490334220050900600.

[116] Mustafa Barghouti, "Wa'd Balfūr wa-Maṣīr niẓām al-'Abārthāyd fi Filastīn" [Balfour Declaration and the Fate of Apartheid in Palestine], Al-Quds, last modified October 29, 2017, http://www.alquds.com/articles/1509257636434473500.

[117] "Maqāṭa'a 'isrā'īl' tudīn mushāraka filasṭīnīyin fi nashāṭ li-ma'had dirāsāt 'amniyya ṣahyūnyyin" ['BDS' Condemns the Participation of Palestinians in the Activity of the Institute for National Security Studies], Al-Quds, last modified October 16, 2017, http://www.alquds.com/articles/15081127706322 70100.

allow the return of Palestinian refugees".[118] The last item that appears in the search results is a news report written on the 9th of May 2018. It discusses the Israeli decision to expel the regional director of Human Rights Watch (HRW), Omar Shakir, on the grounds of his support for the global BDS campaign. In a reaction HRW accuses Israel of trying to suppress criticism of its human rights record, stating that it would "challenge the decision in court".[119]

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[118] "Janūb ifrīqiyā takhaffaḍ tamthīluhā al-diblūmāsiyya ladā ʾisrāʾīl daʿiman li-l-quds" [South Africa Reduces Its Diplomatic Representation to Israel in Support of Jerusalem], Al-Quds, last modified December 21, 2017, http://www.alquds.com/articles/1513841302114441900.

[119] "ʾIsrāʾīl taqarrar ṭard raʾīs maktab hiyūman rāyts wūtsh" [Israel Decides to Expel the President of Human Rights Watch], Al-Quds, last modified May 9, 2018, http://www.alquds.com/articles/15258161 88225963200.

6. Discussion

6.1 Conflict and Nationalism

Since the end of the Cold War, conflicts have increasingly shifted from classical interstate wars to protracted intrastate conflicts between ethnic, religious and national identity groups.[120] Protracted conflicts are processes of hostile interactions which extend over long periods of time with sporadic outbreaks of violence, both bilaterally and regionally, fluctuating in frequency and intensity.[121] The ongoing dispute between Israelis and Palestinians, which is primarily a conflict between two national movements claiming the same land, can be placed within this framework. The nationalistic aspirations of the Jews is rooted in shared history, religion, culture, tradition and the historical and biblical connection to the homeland of their ancestors. The Palestinians similarly base their nationalism on the specific character of their people as expressed in culture, language and historical background. Palestinian nationalistic aspirations emerged at the beginning of the twentieth century, and developed in response to and parallel with Zionism.[122]

It is a common misconception that current tensions between the two communities are primarily motivated by religion. Though there is a religious dimension to the conflict, as segments of each society advocate sacred texts and use religious doctrines to support and rationalise their claim to the land, the core of the dispute is ultimately about competing nationalisms. It is a conflict over secular issues such as territory, identity, security and injustice.[123] But even factual conditions and secular beliefs can become sacred as they incorporate essential core values that are believed to

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[120] Herbert C. Kelman, "The Interdependence of Israeli and Palestinian National Identities: The Role of the Other in Existential Conflicts," *Journal of Social Issues* 55, no. 3 (1999): 582.
[121] Edward E. Azar, Paul Jureidini and Ronald McLaurin, "Protracted Social Conflict - Theory and Practice in the Middle East," *Journal of Palestine Studies* 8, no. 1 (1978): 50, 55.
[122] Daniel Bar-Tal, "Israeli-Palestinian Conflict - A Cognitive Analysis," *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 14, no. 1 (1990): 17, 19.
[123] Nadim N. Rouhana and Daniel Bar-Tal, "Psychological Dynamics of Intractable Ethnonational Conflicts: The Israeli-Palestinian Case," *American Psychologist* 53, no. 7 (1998): 764.

be special, absolute and non-negotiable.[124] The sacred and exclusive relationship to the land is a central element of the national identity of both communities. Moreover, both parties perceive the conflict to be a zero-sum situation, in which a gain for one side entails a corresponding loss for the other side. Not only with respect to territory but also with respect to national identity, national existence and national survival. This negative interdependence creates the conditions for intractable conflict.[125] The structural and continual cycle of violence, humiliation and exclusion generates intense suspicion and animosity between the populations. This mutual animosity, largely propelled by fear, becomes integrated into the societal belief system, is transmitted from one generation to the next and forms the rationale behind mobilisation efforts.[126]

6.2 National Identities and Competing Narratives

Both communities have struggled over the past century to define and consolidate their own national identity and to give political expression to it by establishing a state of their own. In the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, as in other existential conflicts between identity groups, the dynamics of the conflict itself have become a central part of group identity, as each community is to a considerable degree defined and shaped by the protracted hostilities. Mutual denial of national identity and the inherent clash of narratives have characterised the conflict from the beginning. Israeli and Palestinian versions of historical and current events diverge sharply on almost every aspect.[127]

According to the Israeli narrative, the uninhabited ancestral land was resettled and cultivated through the establishment of a national Jewish home, which was attacked by hostile Arabs from its inception. In sharp contrast stands the Palestinian narrative, according to which the native population was dispossessed and displaced in

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[124] Scott Atran and Robert Axelrod, "Reframing Sacred Values," *Negotiation Journal* 24, no. 3 (2008): 222.

[125] Herbert C. Kelman, "The Interdependence of Israeli and Palestinian National Identities: The Role of the Other in Existential Conflicts," *Journal of Social Issues* 55, no. 3 (1999): 588.

[126] Nadim N. Rouhana and Daniel Bar-Tal, "Psychological Dynamics of Intractable Ethnonational Conflicts: The Israeli-Palestinian Case," *American Psychologist* 53, no. 7 (1998): 762.

[127] Kelman, "The Interdependence of Israeli and Palestinian National Identities," 589, 592.

a project of Zionist colonialism.[128] The two accounts are incompatible, differing in emphasis, selection and interpretation, which is all the more relevant because these intrinsic beliefs constitute their respective realities. Both the Palestinians and the Israelis consider their own beliefs to be true and objective, but consider the beliefs of the other party to be false and subjective.[129] However, notwithstanding the apparent dichotomy between the two societies, it is noteworthy that neither the Israeli nor the Palestinian community is homogeneous, and that both are deeply divided along ideological and political lines, further complicating the situation.[130]

6.3 Chosen Trauma

Protracted conflicts generate prolonged conditions of fear, anxiety and stress, which have an obvious impact on general worldview and the way in which the protagonists understand themselves and each other. These conditions also strongly influence the manner in which information is collected and interpreted.[131] Central to each narrative is the notion of victimhood. Both communities have suffered from persecution and destruction over the course of their histories. Throughout the centuries the Jews have been subjected to antisemitic hatred and aggression, culminating in the attempted annihilation of the Jewish people during the Holocaust. The Palestinians have been traumatised by the establishment of the Jewish state and the subsequent loss of what they perceive as their homeland.[132] These traumatic histories are deeply entrenched in the psyche of each community. The antisemitic threat and the experience of the Holocaust have taught the Jews to be attentive to and suspicious of information

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[128] Nadim N. Rouhana and Daniel Bar-Tal, "Psychological Dynamics of Intractable Ethnonational Conflicts: The Israeli-Palestinian Case," *American Psychologist* 53, no. 7 (1998): 763.

[129] Daniel Bar-Tal, "Israeli-Palestinian Conflict - A Cognitive Analysis," *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 14, no. 1 (1990): 25.

[130] Els van Diggele, *We haten elkaar meer dan de Joden - Tweedracht in de Palestijnse maatschappij* (Amsterdam: Athenaeum-Polak & Van Gennep, 2018); Hans G. Kippenberg, *Violence as Worship: Religious Wars in the Age of Globalization* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011), 94-116.

[131] Bar-Tal, "Israeli-Palestinian Conflict," 10, 13.

[132] Diane Enns, "Identity and Victimhood: Questions for Conflict Management Practice," *Berghof Occasional Paper*, no. 28 (2007): 21.

indicating hostility, as it is commonly believed that the ultimate goal of the Palestinians and the surrounding Arab nations is to destroy Israel and establish a Palestinian state. The Palestinians perceive Jewish expansionism as a constant threat, fearing that the ultimate Israeli goal is to permanently annex the occupied territories and establish a Greater Israel, comprising an area well beyond its current boundaries.[133] The parallel is obvious, both Palestinians and Israelis see their nations as extremely vulnerable.[134]

Grievances and trauma, real or perceived, can be transformed into a social identity. On the one hand a shared trauma contributes to the cohesion of the group, and on the other hand it can provide a historical frame to represent contemporary enemies and understand current conflict.[135] Collective tragedies of the distant or ancient past can link people from one generation to the next, and provide justification for identity struggles in the present.[136] The collective transgenerational transmissions of these tragedies can lead to the establishment of a chosen trauma. Chosen trauma is the shared mental representation of events in the history of a large group, in which the group suffered catastrophic loss, humiliation and destruction at the hands of an enemy. No group chooses to be victimised by another group, but it does choose to internalise the past traumatic event and pass it on to succeeding generations. The mental representation of the ancestral trauma emerges as a significant and complex identity marker, separate from the traumatic event, creating a powerful unseen network across time and space. Chosen traumas that become connected with entitlement ideologies are prone to reactivation in the present. Entitlement ideologies refer to a shared sense of entitlement to recover what was lost, in perception or in reality, during the collective trauma.[137] Reactivation of the historical pain leads to a collapse of time, as emotions,

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[133] Daniel Bar-Tal, "Israeli-Palestinian Conflict - A Cognitive Analysis," *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 14, no. 1 (1990): 14, 17.

[134] Herbert C. Kelman, "The Interdependence of Israeli and Palestinian National Identities: The Role of the Other in Existential Conflicts," *Journal of Social Issues* 55, no. 3 (1999): 588.

[135] Lucien van Liere, "Terror/ism and Violence in the Name of God," in *Controversies in Contemporary Religion*, ed. Paul Hedges (Santa Barbara: Praeger, 2014), 154-155.

[136] Tami Amanda Jacoby, "A Theory of Victimhood: Politics, Conflict and the Construction of Victim-based Identity," *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 43, no. (2015): 513, 523.

[137] Vamik Volkan, "Large-Group-Psychology in Its Own Right: Large-Group Identity and Peace-making," *International Journal of Applied Psychoanalytic Studies* 10, no. 3 (2013): 230-232, 234-237, 239.

thoughts, wishes and fears from the past inform actions and decisions in the present. Reframing shared trauma can thus be used for large group mobilisation and is directly related to contemporary political and societal circumstances.[138]

6.4 Notions of Victimhood

Adversarial groups involved in protracted violent conflict compete over various concrete and psychological resources, including victim status.[139] Victim status grants legitimacy and moral capital, and is therefore a useful tool that can be manipulated to promote a variety of ethical and political goals.[140] In the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, victimhood has become highly politicised, yet the construction of a grievance based identity is a fundamentally contested process, as the lines between victim and perpetrator are blurred by ongoing cycles of violence and retribution.[141] In public discourse the victimised has more or less acquired a status beyond critique, which makes the distinction between innocent victim versus guilty perpetrator paramount.[142]

Claims to victimhood are present on both sides of the conflict, as Israelis and Palestinians both deploy the binary worldview to construct a narrative that is intended to solidify group identity and belonging, but also ensure national and international political and public support.[143] In Palestine, victimhood is exemplified by the growing culture of martyrdom, and in Israel by the use of the slogan *never again*, in reference to the Holocaust.[144] Because each community sees and presents itself as the victim, resorting to violence only when deprived of all other options, Palestinians and Israelis

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[138] Lucien van Liere, "Terror/ism and Violence in the Name of God," in *Controversies in Contemporary Religion*, ed. Paul Hedges (Santa Barbara: Praeger, 2014), 154-155.
[139] Nurit Shnabela, Samer Halabib and Masi Noor, "Overcoming Competitive Victimhood and Facilitating Forgiveness through Re-categorization into a Common Victim or Perpetrator Identity," *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, no. 49 (2013): 867.
[140] Tami Amanda Jacoby, "A Theory of Victimhood: Politics, Conflict and the Construction of Victim-based Identity," *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 43, no. (2015): 517, 526-527.
[141] Ibid., 512.
[142] Diane Enns, *The Violence of Victimhood* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2012), 39, 44, 50.
[143] Diane Enns, "Identity and Victimhood: Questions for Conflict Management Practice," *Berghof Occasional Paper*, no. 28 (2007): 21.
[144] Enns, *The Violence of Victimhood*, 39, 44, 50.

blame each other for being forced into the role of aggressor.[145] Because it is such a significant aspect of the individual and shared identity, victims often become deeply invested in their victim status.[146] This attachment to victimhood can engender powerful identity crises during peace negotiations and can thus have a debilitating effect on the process of reconciliation.[147]

6.5 Injustice Frames

Chosen traumas and notions of victimhood are employed by both sides to conceptualise the conflict. They are part of an overarching injustice frame that focuses on hardships and inequities to generate moral judgment and righteous anger.[148] Frames in general help to construct reality by rendering events or incidents meaningful, they function to organise experience and guide action. Injustice frames also perform this interpretive function by arranging and simplifying aspects of an issue, but in ways that are intended to mobilise potential followers, assemble support, and demobilise antagonists. These frames are related to the way movements identify victims of a given injustice and amplify their victimisation.[149]

The critical dimension of an injustice frame, other than victimhood, is to ascertain who is responsible. The undeserved suffering must be attributed to malicious acts perpetrated by clearly identifiable individuals or groups.[150] The final aim is to

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[145] Herbert C. Kelman, "The Interdependence of Israeli and Palestinian National Identities: The Role of the Other in Existential Conflicts," *Journal of Social Issues* 55, no. 3 (1999): 595.

[146] Tami Amanda Jacoby, "A Theory of Victimhood: Politics, Conflict and the Construction of Victim-based Identity," *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 43, no. (2015): 529.

[147] Diane Enns, "Identity and Victimhood: Questions for Conflict Management Practice," *Berghof Occasional Paper*, no. 28 (2007): 17.

[148] William A. Gamson. "Bystanders, Public Opinion, and the Media," in *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*, ed. David A. Snow, Sarah A. Soule and Hanspeter Kriesi (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), 245.

[149] Robert D. Benford and David A. Snow, "Framing Processes and Social Movements: An Overview and Assessment," *Annual Review of Sociology* 26 (2000): 614-616, 628.

[150] William A. Gamson, "Constructing Social Protest," in *Social Movements and Culture*, ed. Hank Johnston (London: Routledge, 2013), 148.

publicise and potentially redress the wrongdoing.[151] The mass media provides the most generally available and effective platform to reach large audiences and influence opinions. Since people use media sources to construct meaning on political and social issues, they become a major site of contest.[152] Journalists, editors and commentators shape and frame the discussion on an issue in their interpretations and analyses, thus simultaneously serving as sources, transmitters, and propagators of a broader public discourse.[153]

6.6 Public Discourse and the Apartheid Analogy

In a protracted conflict situation it is not enough for each community to demonstrate its own legitimacy, great energy must simultaneously be invested in discrediting the legitimacy of the other.[154] The conflicting parties are thus not only engaged in a physical war, but also in a discursive conflict over which narrative will provide the dominant framework.[155] This is especially important considering the fact that these frameworks convey ideological significance and moral attributes to events, actions, peoples and places.[156] Contests over meaning can be understood as framing contests.[157] In the Palestinian-Israeli context this contest is usually played out through a systematic delegitimising and dehumanising effort.[158]

  Both groups have selectively constructed, deployed and circulated different types of delegitimising beliefs and used political, cultural, and media channels to

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[151] Tami Amanda Jacoby, "A Theory of Victimhood: Politics, Conflict and the Construction of Victim-based Identity," *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 43, no. (2015): 521-522.

[152] William A. Gamson, David Croteau, William Hoynes and Theodore Sasson. "Media Images and the Social Construction of Reality," *Annual Review Sociology* 18, (1992): 374.

[153] Nadim N. Rouhana and Daniel Bar-Tal, "Psychological Dynamics of Intractable Ethnonational Conflicts: The Israeli-Palestinian Case," *American Psychologist* 53, no. 7 (1998): 765.

[154] Herbert C. Kelman, "The Interdependence of Israeli and Palestinian National Identities: The Role of the Other in Existential Conflicts," *Journal of Social Issues* 55, no. 3 (1999): 586-591.

[155] Michael V. Bhatia, "Fighting Words: Naming Terrorists, Bandits, Rebels and other Violent Actors," *Third World Quarterly* 26, no.1 (2005): 6, 7, 12-13.

[156] Julie Peteet, "Words as Interventions: Naming in the Palestine-Israel Conflict," *Third World Quarterly* 26, no.1 (2005): 153.

[157] Gamson, Croteau, Hoynes and Sasson. "Media Images and the Social Construction of Reality," 374.

[158] Kelman, "The Interdependence of Israeli and Palestinian National Identities," 586-591.

transmit and perpetuate them.[159] Each narrative involves highly contrasting sets of expressions, labels and terminologies. The Jewish strategy stresses the struggle for survival and security. In this narrative the continued Palestinian resistance is framed as an antisemitic manifestation of subversion, and outbursts of violence are framed as acts of terrorism.[160] The Palestinian strategy on the other hand stresses displacement, dispossession and sustained resistance. In this narrative the continued occupation is framed in terms of colonialism, discrimination and inequality.[161]

Dominating the narrative and thereby influencing public discourse can change the balance of power, which is generally characterised by a perceived asymmetry in favour of Israel.[162] Narratives circulated by the dominant group are usually accepted as objective and legitimate, and thus considered to be truthful and accurate, while those of the inferior or defeated group are dismissed as propaganda, and thus disregarded as biased and misleading.[163] Consequently, a successful framing strategy is of the utmost importance, as it has the potential to engender public sympathy and support, increase visibility and mobilisation potential, and provide grounds for justifying political and military action.[164] The Israel apartheid analogy is part of the Palestinian injustice frame, in which the victim is the dispossessed Palestinian and the perpetrator the occupying Israeli state. Most analogies are not developed independently, but are borrowed from other contexts to define the nature of a situation and trigger particular associations. The negative normative associations that are activated by referencing the South African system of apartheid make it a powerful delegitimisation and mobilisation tool in the dynamic and continuous contest over meaning.[165]

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[159] Nadim N. Rouhana and Daniel Bar-Tal, "Psychological Dynamics of Intractable Ethnonational Conflicts: The Israeli-Palestinian Case," *American Psychologist* 53, no. 7 (1998): 765.
[160] Ibid., 763.
[161] Julie Peteet, "Words as Interventions: Naming in the Palestine-Israel Conflict," *Third World Quarterly* 26, no.1 (2005): 158.
[162] Rouhana and Bar-Tal, "Psychological Dynamics of Intractable Ethnonational Conflicts," 764.
[163] Peteet, "Words as Interventions," 155.
[164] William A. Gamson, "Bystanders, Public Opinion, and the Media," in *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*, ed. David A. Snow, Sarah A. Soule and Hanspeter Kriesi (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), 243, 248-249.
[165] Michael V. Bhatia, "Fighting Words: Naming Terrorists, Bandits, Rebels and other Violent Actors," *Third World Quarterly* 26, no.1 (2005): 9.

8. Conclusion

American scholar and politician Patrick Daniel Moynihan once said "while everyone is entitled to their own opinions, they are not entitled to their own facts". In the protracted conflict between Israel and Palestine it appears that it is precisely the facts that are controversial and highly disputed, since both sides are convinced that their own beliefs are just and the beliefs of the other group are either untrue or distorted. The analogy between Israeli policy in the occupied Palestinian territories and the South African system of apartheid is an example of the dynamic and continuous contest over meaning. The analogy provides an interpretive injustice frame to simplify and arrange the complex social and political situation in the Palestinian territories.

Historical analogies, such as the apartheid analogy, are readily understood by international audiences and are thus an effective method to delegitimise the enemy and influence the balance of power, which is generally perceived as asymmetrically in favour of Israel. The apartheid analogy primarily activates negative normative associations with discrimination and inequality, but at the same time it conjures up memories of how pressure from the international community, combined with popular mass protests, brought the South African system of apartheid to an end. The analogy may thus simultaneously serve as a powerful delegitimisation and mobilisation tool.

The case study has shown that although the news reports in both papers are unbiased, the opinion pieces are not. Commentators frequently draw entirely different meanings from the same events and the analogy is used to either underwrite grave human rights violations perpetrated against the Palestinian population or as a salient example of the threat of new antisemitism. In this context, claims to injustice, persecution and victimhood mirror each other, as both opponents and proponents of the apartheid analogy interpret the facts to fit their narrative.

In reviewing the dominant voices defining the debate it appears that the analogy is often employed by stakeholders, observers and activists who are not directly involved in the conflict. Prominent social and political leaders such as Jimmy Carter, John Kerry and Desmond Tutu have made use of the analogy to draw attention to the

perceived injustices that continue to unfold in the occupied territories. It thus appears that some aspects of the Palestinian injustice frame, including the apartheid analogy, have been appropriated by third parties to protest Israeli policies in the OPT.

The analogy further exemplifies the ongoing polarisation between the two societies. Within the context of conflict resolution, use of such incendiary rhetoric is neither beneficial nor prudent in the pursuit of justice for the parties involved. In this respect scholars point to the importance of social psychology for resolving intergroup conflicts. In addition, positive reframing of certain issues may contribute to the construction of a shared identity, as both Palestinians and Israelis have suffered from the ongoing cycle of violence and retribution.

This thesis has offered some insight into how the apartheid analogy can be understood within the context of public discourse, providing further evidence of the complex nature of the intractable Israeli-Palestinian conflict, as battles are not only fought with weapons but also with words. Despite the fact that I have attempted to provide a nuanced understanding of the historical development and public debate surrounding the analogy, by analysing a variety of sources, the present study is limited in scope and depth.

Future research may therefore include a larger selection of data from a wider range of sources, including Hebrew language newspapers, over a longer period of time. Such research may provide a better understanding of how the analogy is appropriated by domestic and foreign actors alike. Additionally it would be interesting to not only investigate the interplay between negative frames and public discourse in protracted conflict situations, but also the interplay between positive frames and public discourse, as a potential means for conflict management and peace building.

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