

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

#### A. Research Background

The conflict between Palestine and Israel initially emerged during World War I, specifically through the Balfour Declaration of 1917, in which Britain expressed support for the establishment of a "national home for the Jewish people" in the region of Palestine. This declaration led the Jewish population to consider the area as their homeland. In his book, Dipoyudo (1977) explains that the Palestinian Muslim community, on the other hand, had its own stance regarding territorial claims. The Palestinian population viewed Britain's imposition of a Jewish state in Palestine as conflicting with the majority of Palestinian society. Furthermore, they perceived that the West was attempting to resolve the issue of Jewish refugees in Europe by seizing territory in the Arab lands.

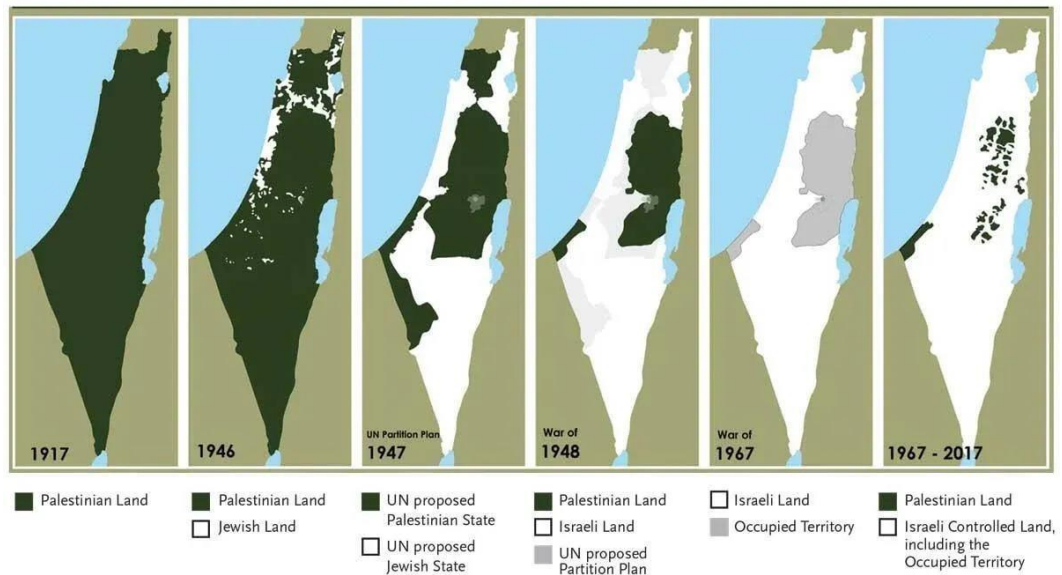


Figure 1. 1 Palestinian Map Over The Years

Here, the author will explain the brief history of the map above from both the Palestinian and Israeli perspectives. Sources for these events are derived from videos, articles, journals, and books that are closely related to the historical context of this region.

## 1. 1917 Balfour Declaration

As previously mentioned, in the book *"Timur Tengah dalam Pergolakan"* (The Middle East in Turmoil) by Dipoyudo, the conflict between Israel and Palestine has deep historical roots, extending over more than a century. It all began when Britain, in the midst of the upheaval of World War I, made a controversial promise later known as the Balfour Declaration. At that time, Britain committed to establishing a national home for the Jewish people in Palestinian lands. This declaration was officially issued on November 2, 1917, by Arthur Balfour, the British Foreign Secretary, who expressed support for the establishment of a "national home for the Jewish people" in Palestine, with the provision that nothing would be done to harm the civil and religious rights of the non-Jewish communities already residing there.

This commitment sparked controversy and conflict, not only among Jews but also among the Arab communities that had long inhabited the region. The situation grew increasingly complicated when British forces seized control of Palestine from the Ottoman Empire at the end of October 1917. With the fall of the Ottoman Empire, the territory came under British administration, which subsequently governed Palestine under a mandate from the League of Nations.

During the British mandate period, tensions between the Jewish and Arab communities intensified. Jewish people began migrating to Palestine in large numbers, with aspirations to establish their own state. Meanwhile, the Arab community viewed this immigration as a threat to their existence and rights in a land they had inhabited for centuries. These tensions often culminated in violence and clashes between the two communities.

Over time, this conflict has never truly been resolved. The Balfour Declaration, initially intended as an effort to provide a safe haven for Jewish people suffering persecution worldwide, instead became the trigger for an enduring conflict involving numerous parties. Although various peace efforts have been attempted, this issue remains one of the world's most complex and challenging conflicts. Its deep-rooted nature, coupled with the difficulty in resolving the Israel-Palestine issue, continues to be a significant challenge for the international community.

## 2. Tahun 1947 (Resolusi PBB terhadap wilayah Palestina)

In an article by Haddad & Chungtai (2023) published on the Al-Jazeera website, the escalating violence in Palestine soon drew international attention and was referred to the newly established United Nations. In an attempt to resolve the intensifying conflict, the UN adopted Resolution 181 in 1947. This resolution proposed the partition of Palestine into two independent states: one for Arabs and one for Jews. According to this plan, approximately 55 percent of the territory was allocated to the Jewish population, while the remaining 45 percent was designated for the Arab population. Jerusalem, due to its religious and cultural significance, was declared an international zone under UN administration.

Despite being proposed with the intention of fostering peace, this partition sparked controversy and conflict. Today, Jerusalem remains a divided city. West Jerusalem is predominantly Jewish, while East Jerusalem, which Israel captured during the Six-Day War in 1967, has a predominantly Palestinian population. Israel's annexation of East Jerusalem and the West Bank is not recognized by the international community, which continues to view these areas as occupied territories.

East Jerusalem, particularly the Old City, holds significant religious value for the three major world religions: Christianity, Islam, and Judaism. Within the Old City lies the Al-Aqsa Mosque compound, known to Muslims as al-Haram al-Sharif, and the Temple Mount, a site of profound significance for Jews. These sacred sites

often serve as focal points of tension and conflict due to their importance to the identities and faiths of each community.

In recognition of Jerusalem's extraordinary historical and cultural value, the UN designated the Old City as a World Heritage Site in 1981. This designation was intended to protect and preserve its cultural and religious heritage for future generations, despite the ongoing political and security challenges. The conflict in this region highlights the profound complexity of intertwining history, religion, and politics in the search for a peaceful solution for all involved parties.

### 3. 1948 (The Nakba)

A documentary video uploaded on Al-Jazeera English's YouTube channel explains a tragic event in 1948 that remains deeply embedded in the collective memory of the Palestinian people: the Nakba. This event not only reshaped the political landscape of the Middle East but also determined the fate of millions of Palestinians (Al-Jazeera, 2013).

The Nakba began on May 14, 1948, when David Ben-Gurion declared Israel's independence. This declaration was met with strong opposition from Palestinian Arabs, who viewed it as a threat to their existence. Armed conflict quickly ensued, marking the beginning of a war that would deeply impact the lives of the Palestinian people.

Amid the ensuing chaos, approximately 700,000 Palestinian Arabs fled or were forced to abandon their homes. They left behind lands they had inhabited for centuries, carrying with them memories and shattered hopes. Their homeland, encompassing 78% of the former British Mandate of Palestine, was declared part of the new state of Israel.

The violence during this conflict not only led to a mass exodus but also resulted in the destruction of more than 400 Arab villages. Among the most painful memories of this period is the massacre at Deir Yassin, where at least 100 Palestinians were killed, leaving a lasting wound in the hearts of many. This

massacre has come to symbolize the cruelty and injustice experienced by the Palestinian people during this time.

The impact of the Nakba is both wide-reaching and enduring. Many Palestinian refugees today remain stateless, trapped in refugee camps across neighboring countries. They live in uncertainty, their hopes of returning diminishing over time as Palestinian territories continue to shrink, compounding their suffering and insecurity.

Each year on May 15, Palestinians worldwide commemorate Nakba Day. The term "Nakba," meaning "catastrophe," was coined by Yasser Arafat in 1998 to remember the loss of their homeland. This commemoration serves not only to honor the past but also to reinforce the Palestinian people's ongoing struggle and hope for a just future.

The Nakba of 1948 represents one of the darkest chapters in the history of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Its impact remains evident today, affecting the lives of millions of Palestinians and continuing to be a vital part of their narrative of struggle. This tragedy underscores the importance of seeking a peaceful and just solution for all parties involved.

#### 4. 1967 (Israeli Occupation of Gaza and the West Bank)

A documentary video published by Al-Jazeera on their YouTube channel provides a detailed account of the major events leading to the Israeli occupation of Gaza and the West Bank. In 1967, a series of pivotal events took place in Palestine and Israel that greatly affected the ongoing conflict between the two sides. One of the most significant events was the Six-Day War. On June 5, 1967, Israel launched a military attack against a coalition of Arab countries, including Egypt, Syria, Jordan, and Iraq. The attack ended with an Israeli victory, and Israel succeeded in occupying all of historic Palestine, including the Gaza Strip, the West Bank, East Jerusalem, and the Golan Heights of Syria (Al-Jazeera, 2023b)

This occupation led to the forced displacement of Palestinians for the second time, an event referred to as the "Naksa" or "catastrophe" in Arabic. During and

after the war, Israel began establishing settlements in the occupied territories, including the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Jewish settlers were granted special privileges as Israeli citizens, while Palestinians lived under discriminatory military occupation.

In December 1967, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), a Marxist-Leninist group, was established. This group carried out a series of attacks and airplane hijackings, drawing international attention to the suffering of the Palestinian people. These events had long-lasting impacts on the Israel-Palestine conflict, including the increase in refugees and the continued military occupation of Palestinian territories.

The above reflects a general view, often leaning towards the Palestinian perspective on territorial claims. However, an Israeli individual named Adir Duchan presents a different view regarding the region. In summary, Adir asserts that the term "Palestine" for the Arab community was created by former President and Chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), Yasser Arafat, in 1964, in order to create a narrative connection between the Arabs living in the area. According to his view, prior to the 1960s, the population now referred to as Palestinians was simply known as "Arabs." Even in the 1947 UN plan, the terms used were not "Palestinians" but rather "Jewish Community" and "Arab Community" (Adir Duchan (ההרא מדהרה), 2023).

In the context of the ongoing conflict, media plays a crucial role in framing narratives, disseminating information, mobilizing support, and shaping public opinion. This conflict has given rise to three main parties: pro-Palestinian, pro-Israel, and neutral groups.

Given Israel's military strength and substantial resources, Israeli media plays an important role in shaping the global perception of the conflict. Recognizing that Palestine has fewer resources compared to Israel, Israeli media has broader access to international media outlets, allowing it to control the narrative and promote a positive image of the country on the global stage.

Several forms of media dominance employed by Israel to influence global perceptions of the conflict include:



1. Framing and Agenda Setting: Israeli media often promotes its own perspective while sidelining Palestinian viewpoints. For instance, Israeli outlets frequently portray the conflict as a "war against terrorism," with Israel cast as the victim. This framing minimizes the Palestinian narrative and justifies Israeli actions.
2. Dehumanization: Israeli media often dehumanizes Palestinians or those of Arab descent by labeling them as terrorists. This portrayal helps to justify violent actions against Palestinians by stripping them of their humanity and reducing their claims for rights and sovereignty.
3. Ignoring Israeli Violations: In an effort to protect its image, Israeli media tends to downplay or ignore human rights violations committed by Israel. This includes dismissing or underreporting incidents of violence against Palestinians or the displacement caused by Israeli military operations and settlement expansions.
4. Projecting Israel's Positive Image: Israeli media often projects the country as a modern, democratic, and advanced nation. This image can cause global audiences to overlook the discrimination faced by Arab citizens of Israel or the ongoing occupation of Palestinian territories, as well as the violations of international law that accompany these actions.

The impact of these media strategies is evident in the global public perception of Israel and Palestine. These tactics result in international support for Israel's "fight against terrorism," the dehumanization of Palestinians and Arab people, and a lack of awareness regarding the internal issues within Israel, such as discrimination against Arab citizens and the continued occupation of Palestinian land.

To counterbalance the propaganda promoted by Israel and pro-Israel media, it is imperative for pro-Palestinian media to engage in counter-propaganda. Propaganda and counter-propaganda share a symbiotic relationship: wherever there is propaganda, there will also be counter-propaganda. Counter-propaganda serves as a tool to challenge and oppose existing propaganda efforts. Therefore, it becomes

essential for pro-Palestinian media to actively work to counter these misleading narratives and present a more balanced and truthful account of the situation.

Although pro-Israel media holds significant power in its propaganda efforts, Palestine, along with media organizations and the global community concerned with the situation in Palestine, has engaged in various counter-propaganda initiatives. These efforts include:

1. **Mainstream Media:** Outlets like Al-Jazeera and Ma'an News Agency work hard to report on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in an objective and balanced manner. These platforms focus on providing the Palestinian perspective and often bring attention to the humanitarian issues and political struggles that are frequently overlooked or underreported in pro-Israel narratives.
2. **Social Media:** Pro-Palestinian groups also use social media platforms such as Twitter and Instagram to counter Israel's propaganda. These platforms have proven to be effective tools for spreading awareness and mobilizing support, especially among younger audiences. Hashtags like #FreePalestine and #SaveSheikhJarrah help amplify Palestinian voices, bypassing traditional media channels and reaching a global audience in real time.
3. **Diplomacy:** In addition to armed resistance, Palestine engages in diplomacy to gain international support for their cause. This includes lobbying within international institutions like the United Nations, engaging with foreign governments, and advocating for global action to end the occupation and ensure Palestinian rights. Diplomatic efforts aim to shift international opinion and pressure Israel into complying with international law.
4. **Activism:** Activists play a crucial role in raising awareness about the situation in Palestine. Pro-Palestinian activists organize protests, campaigns, and demonstrations worldwide to demand an end to the Israeli occupation. They also work to pressure governments and multinational corporations to hold Israel accountable for human rights violations and to withdraw support for its occupation policies.

However, Palestinian counter-propaganda faces several challenges, including:



- **Lack of Resources:** Palestinian media and advocacy groups often operate with fewer resources than their Israeli counterparts, which limits their capacity to reach broader audiences and produce high-quality content on the scale that pro-Israel media can manage.
- **Greater Israeli Control over Media:** Israel's significant influence over both domestic and international media allows it to shape the narrative in its favor. By dominating major media channels, Israel can suppress or distort Palestinian narratives, making it harder for Palestinian voices to be heard on the global stage.
- **Bias in International Media:** Many international media outlets have been criticized for their bias, often favoring Israel or providing an imbalanced portrayal of the conflict. Political and economic pressures, including lobbying by pro-Israel groups, can affect how media outlets report on the situation, hindering the effectiveness of Palestinian counter-narratives.

While propaganda is often associated with the spread of misleading or false information, it is important to recognize that counter-propaganda does not involve spreading falsehoods in return. The most effective form of counter-propaganda is to present accurate, objective, and well-researched information to challenge the misleading and biased narratives put forward by pro-Israel media. By offering an alternative narrative grounded in truth, Palestinian counter-propaganda can help shift global perspectives, promote justice, and raise awareness of the realities of the occupation.

## **B. Problem Identification**

In the research "Counter-Propaganda: Palestine's Strategy Against Israel's Media Hegemony," several issues can be identified, highlighting the significant challenges faced by Palestine in countering narratives dominated by Israeli media. Here are the key issues identified in the study:

1. **Media Dominance:** Israeli media plays a significant role in spreading narratives that strengthen their position and tarnish the representation of

Palestine. With greater access to international media platforms, Israel is able to influence how the world views the conflict, often portraying themselves as victims of terrorism, while Palestine is frequently depicted as the more aggressive side or even as terrorists.

2. Manipulation of Global Public Opinion: Israeli media's influence on global public opinion is substantial. Dominant media, both domestically and internationally, allows Israel to manipulate the public perception of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Through controlled framing, Israel is able to gain international support while downplaying human rights violations or aggressive actions taken against Palestinians.
3. Information Race: In this conflict, there is an intense information war between Israeli and Palestinian media. This complicates Palestine's efforts to present their own fair and objective narrative. Stronger Israeli media with broader access often dominate the discussion space, while Palestinian media is hindered by limited resources, making it difficult for Palestine to gain international sympathy.
4. Public Trust: Many individuals and organizations around the world get their primary information about this conflict from media that is biased towards Israel. As a result, they often form conclusions or take stances based on information that does not always reflect a fair or objective reality. The high trust placed in biased international media makes it harder for Palestine to correct misconceptions about the situation in the region.

### **C. Problem Formulation**

Based on the background presented above, the author can formulate the research questions as follows:

1. How do Israel's media strategies influence global perceptions of the Israel-Palestine conflict?
2. What are the strategies and efforts of counter-propaganda employed by Palestine to resist Israel's media hegemony?

## **D. Research Objectives**

The purpose of this research is as follows:

1. Understanding the hegemony of Israeli media and its impact on global perceptions of the Israel-Palestine conflict
2. Analyzing the strategies and counter-propaganda efforts undertaken by Palestine

With the aim of this research, it is hoped that the study "Counter-Propaganda: Palestinian Strategies Against Israeli Media Hegemony" can contribute to a deeper understanding of how Israeli and Palestinian media use propaganda and counter-propaganda to influence public opinion.

## **E. Research Benefits**

Research is like a light in the dark, revealing the veil of ignorance, and guiding us to the gate of new knowledge. The results of research are like an invaluable treasure, bringing benefits to various parties, both theoretically and practically. The section on the benefits of this research is portrayed as a map that guides readers to understand the contributions this research makes to science. Here, we will explore the benefits of this research, from its contribution to the development of theory, solving problems, to how it can be applied in real life.

The theoretical benefits of this research are as follows:

1. Understanding the Dynamics of Power and Hegemony

This research helps uncover how Israel uses media to construct narratives that benefit them and manipulate public opinion. This is crucial for understanding how power and hegemony are embedded in media practices and how marginalized groups like Palestine challenge them.

## 2. Understanding the Role of Media in Social Movements

This research highlights the crucial role of media in a social movement, particularly in mobilizing support, raising awareness, and challenging dominant narratives. Understanding the role of media in the Israel-Palestine conflict can provide valuable insights into other social movements around the world.

## 3. Developing Effective Counter-Propaganda Strategies

By studying Palestine's strategies, this research can help develop more effective counter-propaganda strategies to combat harmful and oppressive narratives. This can benefit marginalized groups who are facing propaganda and suppression by mainstream media.

In addition to the theoretical benefits mentioned above, this research also has practical benefits. The practical benefits of this research are as follows:

### 1. Raising Public Awareness

The findings of this research can help raise public awareness about how Israel uses media to manipulate public opinion and suppress the voices of Palestinians. This increased awareness can encourage public action to counter the propaganda created by Israel and support the Palestinian struggle.

### 2. Supporting Alternative Journalism

This research highlights the importance of alternative journalism in countering propaganda and providing a voice for marginalized groups. The findings of this research can help support the development and funding of Palestinian and other alternative journalism efforts.

### 3. Strengthening International Solidarity

This research can help strengthen international solidarity with the Palestinian cause by showing how Israel uses media to suppress and silence opinions about the situation in Palestine. Strong solidarity can pressure Israel to end its occupation and human rights violations against the Palestinian people.

This section of benefits aims to convince readers that this research is not just about accumulating theories on paper, but about producing solutions that can improve the quality of life for communities.

## **F. Framework of Thought**

This research plays a crucial role in understanding and analyzing the efforts of counter-propaganda carried out by Palestine through various media strategies.

The framework of this research aims to understand and analyze the concept of counter-propaganda within the Israel-Palestine conflict. This thinking will be based on the concepts of propaganda and counter-propaganda as they are employed in the conflict between Israel and Palestine.

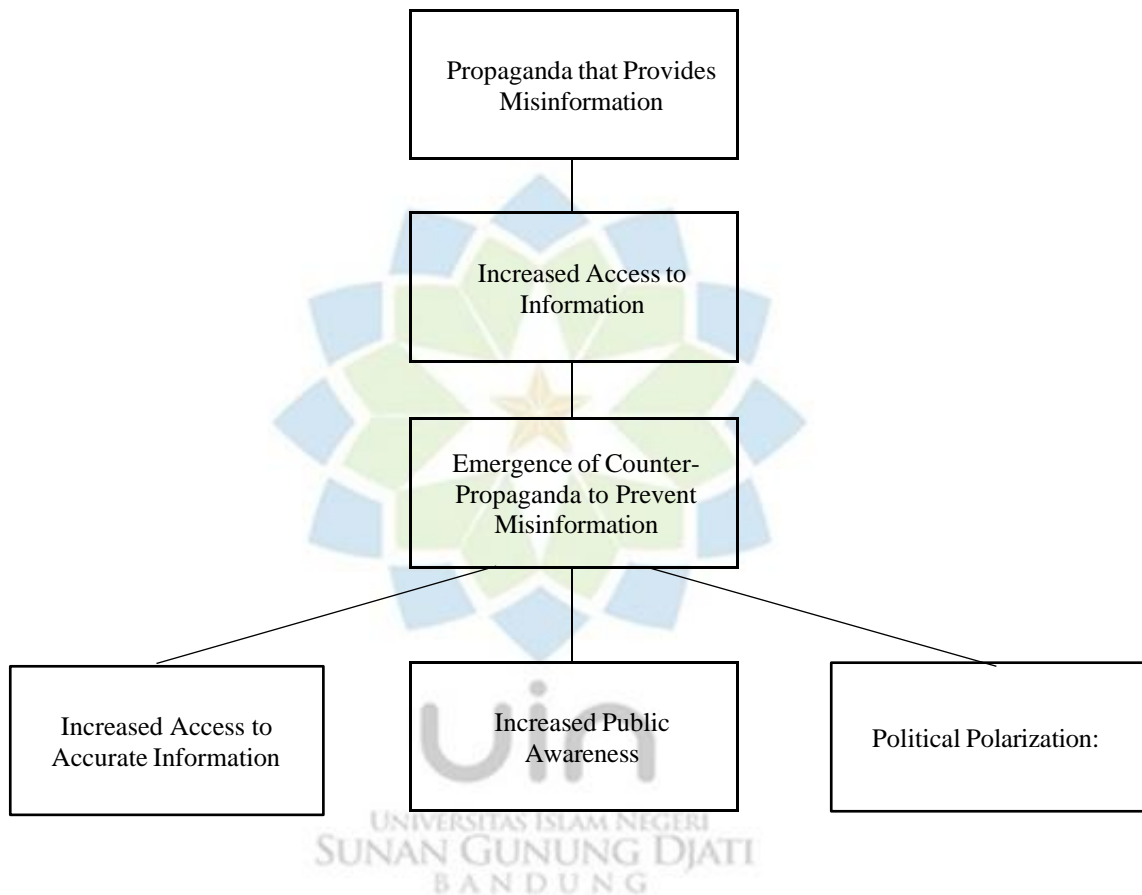
First, the framework will begin with the concepts of propaganda and counter-propaganda. According to Jowett & O'Donnell (2012a) propaganda is a deliberate and systematic effort to manipulate an individual's thinking, shape perceptions, and guide behavior to elicit a response that diverges from what the society desires. The definition of counter-propaganda, according to Herbert Romerstein, is a carefully prepared response to false propaganda aimed at denying misinformation and weakening the propagandist (Romerstein, 2008). Understanding the characteristics of propaganda will serve as a foundation for understanding how both propaganda and counter-propaganda are carried out.

Next, the role of the media in conducting propaganda and counter-propaganda in a conflict will be examined. Both propaganda and counter-propaganda are used to shape public opinion on a variety of issues, such as government policies, ongoing events, and matters concerning enemy states. This process is vital as it plays a significant role in shaping political opinions, garnering support, weakening opponents, and maintaining control.

Finally, the framework will explore the interaction between media consumers and politics. This research will analyze how propaganda and counter-

propaganda activities can influence public political understanding, as well as how such activities can impact individuals' perceptions, ways of thinking, and actions.

Based on the above explanations, the following framework will be developed:



**Figure 1. 2 Conceptual Framework**



## **G. Previous Research**

The search for topics relevant to the focus of this research was conducted in print publications, books, and scientific journals. The researcher seeks studies related to the conflict between Israel and Palestine, and studies on counter-propaganda as a way to see how the Palestinian side resists the dominance of Israeli media. Here is an article from the study that is relevant to the author's research.

First, the journal written by Moran Yarchi and Lillian Boxman-Shabtai titled "The Image War Moves to Tiktok: Evidence from the May 2021 Round of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict" published in December 2023. In this journal, the researchers used a mixed-methods approach, a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods, to analyze TikTok posts during the war. In this analysis, it was found that each side used different narratives, such as Israel believing that they are the victims and the use of personal life stories on the Palestinian side. This research also found that although Israel used the platform to explain the ongoing conflict systematically and strategically, they were unable to surpass Palestine in gaining engagement (Yarchi & Shabtai, 2023) in 2021.

Second, the journal published by INSIGHT Turkey titled "Obstacles and Possibilities for Peace between Israel and Palestine" written by Galia Golan in the winter of 2020. This research explains the factors that keep the conflict between Israel and Palestine alive and prevent a resolution to the conflict, such as historical, territorial, ideological, and religious factors. This research also explains that although there have been peace negotiations as a means to secure the Arab region, the biggest obstacle is the lack of leadership with the political will to achieve that solution, especially Benjamin Netanyahu, who at that time was being tried for corruption in Israel and showed no political will to find the best solution together (Golan, 2020).

Third, the journal published in 2020 titled "President Trump Peace Strategy: Emerging Conflict Between Israel and Palestine," written by Jibrin Ubale Yahaya, PhD., from the Department of Political Science at the National Open University of Nigeria. (NOUN). In his writing, Yahaya explains that "the deal of the century"

played by Donald Trump as an attempt to bring peace between Israel and Palestine turned out to be a slap in the face for Palestine. Especially after Trump clearly recognized Jerusalem as the capital of Israel. This made Mahmoud Abbas, who is the president of Palestine, declare that the United States can no longer play a role in the peace process in the Middle East (Yahaya, 2020).

Fourth, the journal written by Ilmi Dwiastuti from President University titled "The Roots of Israel-Palestine Conflict: A Political Culture Analysis," published in 2020. Dwiastuti analyzes the causes of the conflict between Israel and Palestine from the perspective of the political culture of each nation using the political culture theory of Gabriel Almond and Sydney Verba. Based on her analysis, Dwiastuti finds that cultural elements are crucial for understanding the roots of the conflict. The analysis also found that the fundamental ideas in Judaism and Islam actually teach peace and equality, but regarding claims over the land, each has a different narrative, which makes the conflict very difficult to resolve. Thus, in the end, conflict and war are the only paths (Dwiastuti, 2020)

Fifth, there is a journal titled "Kontra Propaganda Deklarasi Negara Papua Barat dalam Konstruksi Pemberitaan Tempo.co" by Martianto & Isnaini (2018) The type of research is qualitative with a constructivist paradigm. The results of the study indicate that the online media framing by Tempo.co regarding the Declaration of the State of West Papua is a negative framing. Counter-propaganda is constructed from the media text framing that asserts Papua is part of Indonesia as the sole entity governing Papua, protected by international law. The researchers also found that the Counter Propaganda in the Media Construction of Tempo.co in this study also serves as a form of propaganda by the media itself in expressing its bias or political stance.

Sixth, the research titled "Faktor Penghambat Perdamaian Konflik Palestina-Israel" by Firdaus dan Yani (2020) found that the peace hoped for by the people of both sides and expected by the international community is still hindered by several factors, especially internal obstacles from both conflicting parties. Israel is faced with internal friction between two sides, where the first group desires the existence of Israel as a strong state as the *raison d'être* of Israel's existence itself. Or the

second option means taking the path of peace that leads to the establishment of an independent Palestinian state. Meanwhile, on the Palestinian side, the obstacles to achieving Palestinian independence are hindered by internal factors, namely the conflict between Fatah and Hamas, which becomes a stumbling block for Palestinian strength in achieving true independence from Israel.

From the results of the above research, the author found relevant findings to support this study. These findings include the following:

3. In examining the conflict between Israel and Palestine, the cultural elements of each country are crucial for understanding the roots of the conflict.
4. Each country has its own narrative, such as Israel believing that its country is a victim of terrorism perpetrated by Palestinian militants, and Palestine using the lived experience of Israeli occupation to explain the narratives of the conflict.
5. Historical, territorial, ideological, and religious factors contribute to the ongoing nature of the conflict between Israel and Palestine, making it difficult to find a mutually agreed-upon resolution, and thus, this conflict will continue to persist.

The difference between this research and previous studies is:

1. Focus on the counter-propaganda strategies employed by Palestine to combat the dominance of Israeli media.
2. Analyze how mainstream media framing is conducted regarding the conflict between Israel and Palestine.
3. Compare the effectiveness between the use of mainstream media and social media in countering Israeli propaganda.

With these differences, research on Palestinian counter-propaganda strategies to combat Israeli media dominance has the potential to provide new insights and different contributions to the understanding of counter-

propaganda activities.

