***Cheap Talk or Policy Lock? Nationalist Frames and Sympathetic Audience Costs in International Territorial Disputes***

**Appendix I: Territorial Frames**

***Israel frames***

**Jerusalem frames**

Security

Friends, there are those who continue the assault against the Jewish state and who openly call for our destruction. They seek to achieve this goal through terrorism, missile attacks and most recently by developing atomic weapons. Many good people have told us that dividing Jerusalem is the key to peace with the Palestinians. The claim that territorial withdrawals will bring peace with the Palestinians, or at least advance peace, has up till now not stood the test of reality. The fact is that every withdrawal was met with massive waves of terror, by suicide bombers and thousands of missiles. Dividing Jerusalem will put the heart of our country in their sights. We don’t want to see rockets and missiles streaming into a Palestinian state and placed on the hills encircling Jerusalem. Although the founding of Israel did not stop the attacks on the Jews, it did give the Jews the power to defend themselves against those attacks. Experience has shown that only an Israeli presence on the ground can prevent such attacks. Israel stands ready to make the compromises necessary for peace. But one thing we must never compromise on is our security. Therefore, we must ensure Israeli control over an undivided Jerusalem.

Economy

Friends, there are few priorities today which are more pressing than our country’s economic development. Very few countries have managed to grow and prosper as quickly as Israel has in 60 years, from an orange exporter to an international high-tech power. As the world economy becomes more competitive, Israel is well placed to succeed. We are global leaders in high technology. Our scientists win Nobel Prizes. Our innovations in science, medicine, water, energy, communication, agriculture and in many other fields are literally changing the world. Economic development in Jerusalem has played an important role in these achievements. Today, Jerusalem is a vibrant metropolis with a high concentration of people working in the fields of the life sciences, medicine, bio-technology, and medical equipment. There is also the extensive field of tourism and heritage. Jerusalem’s economic achievements cannot be consolidated if its neighborhoods, east and west, are divided. Private enterprise and international business will not invest here if the status of this city remains in question. To truly ensure its force and status as the capital of Israel - the modern, prosperous and dynamic capital of our country - Jerusalem must remain whole.

Heritage

Friends, the connection between the Jewish people and the Land of Israel cannot be denied. The connection between the Jewish people and Jerusalem cannot be denied. There is an attempt to paint us as foreign invaders, as conquerors, as a people with no connection to this place, and our response is: No other people has such a bond with its capital as the Jewish people do with Jerusalem. For 3000 years, Jerusalem has been the capital of the Jewish people, and it was never the capital of some other people, only ours. We have an unbreakable bond with Jerusalem and we never ever relinquished that bond. We did not relinquish it when the Temple was destroyed the first time; we did not relinquish it when the Temple was destroyed the second time; we did not relinquish this bond at any point thereafter. Every year, every day during our exile, we said, “Next year in Jerusalem.” The Jewish people were building in Jerusalem 3000 years ago and the Jewish people are building in Jerusalem today. Jerusalem is not a settlement. Jerusalem is the capital of Israel; Jerusalem is the capital of the Jewish people; Jerusalem is unified, it is indivisible and it will stay that way.

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Friends, sixty-three years ago, the most remarkable transformation in the history of any nation took place. A dead people resurrected itself and returned to Zion. It was only through the hard labor, sweat and blood of these pioneers that our state was born. When Israel reunited Jerusalem in 1967, we returned in the same pioneering spirit to resettle the land. For 19 years the city was divided by mine fields, besieged and gloomy; and since then it is one, open and united.  For 19 years, Jewish feet did not cross the eastern municipal line, and since then, the city is full of life, surrounded by Jewish neighborhoods. Today, it is said that the Jewish presence here is an obstacle to peace with the Palestinians: that we must withdraw from these neighborhoods and evacuate its Jewish residents. But building in Jerusalem has never been an obstacle to making peace – not with the Egyptians, not with the Jordanians, not even negotiating with the Palestinians until now. Rather, it is the demand that Israel expel 200 thousand Israelis from their homes that is the real obstacle to peace. After the national trauma of the Gaza Disengagement, Israelis do not want a war of brother against brother. Jews do not evict Jews. We will continue to build and be built in Jerusalem.

**Golan Heights frames**

Security

Friends, there are those who continue the assault against the Jewish state and who openly call for our destruction. They seek to achieve this goal through terrorism, missile attacks and most recently by developing atomic weapons. Many good people have told us that withdrawal from the Golan is the key to peace with Syria. The claim that territorial withdrawals will bring peace, or at least advance peace, has up till now not stood the test of reality. The fact is that every withdrawal was met with massive waves of terror, by suicide bombers and thousands of missiles. Withdrawal from the Golan will only make us more vulnerable. For 19 years, when Syria controlled the Golan, there was an open season for killing Israelis. We will never again allow Syria this capability. Although the founding of Israel did not stop the attacks on the Jews, it did give the Jews the power to defend themselves against those attacks. Experience has shown that only an Israeli presence on the ground can prevent such attacks. Israel stands ready to make the compromises necessary for peace. But one thing we must never compromise on is our security. Therefore, we must ensure Israeli control over the Golan.

Economy

Friends, there are few priorities today which are more pressing than our country’s economic development. Very few countries have managed to grow and prosper as quickly as Israel has in 60 years, from an orange exporter to an international high-tech power. As the world economy becomes more competitive, Israel is well placed to succeed. We are global leaders in high technology. Our scientists win Nobel Prizes. Our innovations in science, medicine, water, energy, communication, agriculture and in many other fields are literally changing the world. Economic development in the Golan has played an important role in these achievements. The source of much of Israel’s freshwater, the Golan is one of the most agriculturally productive regions in the country, home to much of the country’s milk, beef, fruit, and grain industries. The Golan is also a critical center for tourism. Hundreds of thousands of Israelis come to the Golan every year to bike, hike, ski, swim, tour its wineries, and vacation in its idyllic campgrounds and weekend cabins. To give away such an economic asset cannot be justified.

Heritage

Friends, the connection between the Jewish people and the Land of Israel cannot be denied. The connection between the Jewish people and the Golan cannot be denied. There is an attempt to paint us as foreign invaders, as conquerors, as a people with no connection to this place, and our response is: No other people has such a bond with this region as the Jewish people do with the Golan. The Golan was always part of the Jewish homeland. We were here thousands of years ago and we will still be here for thousands of years. When the Jewish people revolted against the Romans, it was at Gamla where they made their stand. It was at Gamla where thousands of Jewish fighters lost their lives for the redemption of the Land of Israel. When we liberated the Golan in 1967, we returned. We are not here by chance. We returned to this land because it is our land. We are paving roads and transforming a barren land into a flourishing garden. This is our answer to those who seek our destruction. The Golan is not a settlement and it is not an occupied territory. It is integral to our national heritage and our homeland. Gamla will not fall again.

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Friends, sixty-three years ago, the most remarkable transformation in the history of any nation took place. A dead people resurrected itself and returned to Zion. It was only through the hard labor, sweat and blood of these pioneers that our state was born. When Israel liberated the Golan in 1967, we returned in the same pioneering spirit to resettle the land. Today, it is said that the Jewish presence in these areas is an obstacle to peace with Syria: that we must leave these areas, evacuate its Jewish residents, and dismantle the settlements. But settlements have never been an obstacle to making peace - not with the Egyptians, not with the Jordanians, not even negotiating with the Palestinians. Rather, it is the demand that Israel expel 18 thousand Israelis from their homes that is the real obstacle to peace. After the national trauma of the Gaza Disengagement, Israelis do not want a war of brother against brother. Jews do not evict Jews. Settlement in the Golan will forever be an inseparable part of the sovereign State of Israel. Our message is clear. We are planting here; we will stay here; we will build here.

**West Bank frames**

Security

Friends, there are those who continue the assault against the Jewish state and who openly call for our destruction. They seek to achieve this goal through terrorism, missile attacks and most recently by developing atomic weapons. Many good people have told us that withdrawing from the West Bank is the key to peace with the Palestinians. The claim that territorial withdrawals will bring peace with the Palestinians, or at least advance peace, has up till now not stood the test of reality. The fact is that every withdrawal was met with massive waves of terror, by suicide bombers and thousands of missiles. There is a real danger that if Israel were to withdraw an armed Palestinian state would emerge that would become another terrorist base against the Jewish state. We don’t want Kassam rockets on Petach Tikva, Grad rockets on Tel Aviv, or missiles on Ben-Gurion airport. Although the founding of Israel did not stop the attacks on the Jews, it did give the Jews the power to defend themselves against those attacks. Experience has shown that only an Israeli presence on the ground can prevent such attacks. Israel stands ready to make the compromises necessary for peace. But one thing we must never compromise on is our security. Therefore, we must ensure Israeli control over the West Bank.

Economy

Friends, there are few priorities today which are more pressing than our country’s economic development. Very few countries have managed to grow and prosper as quickly as Israel has in 60 years, from an orange exporter to an international high-tech power. As the world economy becomes more competitive, Israel is well placed to succeed. We are global leaders in high technology. Our scientists win Nobel Prizes. Our innovations in science, medicine, water, energy, communication, agriculture and in many other fields are literally changing the world. Economic development in the West Bank has played an important role in these achievements. Today, the West Bank is critical to our national transportation infrastructure, with major highways connecting East to West and North to South. Also, the region is an important source of water for Israel with three major aquifers which sustain regional agriculture and drinking water to the whole country. It is difficult to imagine that Israel could continue to grow and prosper without the open access these aquifers. This is a national asset which Israel cannot afford to concede.

Heritage

Friends, the connection between the Jewish people and the Land of Israel cannot be denied. The connection between the Jewish people and Judea and Samaria cannot be denied. There is an attempt to paint us as foreign invaders, as conquerors, as a people with no connection to this place, and our response is: No other people has such a bond with this land as the Jewish people do with Judea and Samaria. The connection between the Jewish people and Judea and Samaria has lasted for more than 3500 years and is anchored in our national sentiment. The places where Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, David and Solomon, and Isaiah and Jeremiah lived are not alien to us. This is the land of our forefathers. Our right to build our sovereign state here arises from one simple fact: this is the homeland of the Jewish people, this is where our identity was forged. The rights of the Jews to Hebron and Beit El, Rachel's Tomb and Shilo, are indisputable. Judea and Samaria are not settlements and they are not occupied territories, they are the story of every Jew. They are integral to our national heritage and our homeland and must remain in our hands.

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Friends, sixty-three years ago, the most remarkable transformation in the history of any nation took place. A dead people resurrected itself and returned to Zion. It was only through the hard labor, sweat and blood of these pioneers that our state was born. When Israel liberated the West Bank in 1967, we returned in the same pioneering spirit to resettle the land. Today, it is said that the Jewish presence in these areas is an obstacle to peace with the Palestinians: that we must leave these areas, evacuate its Jewish residents, and dismantle the settlements. But settlements have never been an obstacle to making peace - not with the Egyptians, not with the Jordanians, not even negotiating with the Palestinians. Rather, it is the demand that Israel expel 300 thousand Israelis from their homes that is the real obstacle to peace. After the national trauma of the Gaza Disengagement, Israelis do not want a war of brother against brother. Jews do not evict Jews. Settlements in their major centers will forever be an inseparable part of the sovereign State of Israel. Our message is clear: we are planting here; we will stay here; we will build here.

***Serbia frames***

**Kosovo frames**

Security

Honored citizens, we stand at the precipice, facing down into the shadows of uncertainty. Over the past decade, Kosovo has become a hotbed of injustice, anarchy, and crime; a European center of women and drug trafficking. Violence against Kosovo’s Serbs is rampant and Islamic fundamentalism is growing threatening the security of Serbia and Europe as a whole. Kosovo's unilateral declaration of independence is an attempt to partition a sovereign state against its will in order to appease a volatile and threatening ethnic Albanian minority. This outcome sets back regional integration and it uncouples the Western Balkans from its future in Europe. We all know that there are dozens of Kosovos throughout the world, just waiting for secession to be legitimized, to be rendered an acceptable norm. Many existing conflicts could escalate, frozen conflicts could reignite, and new ones could be instigated. The Republic of Serbia is truly ready to make a compromise. We are ready to be bold, to be visionary, and to be a partner in peace. But we will not fall prey to criminals and we will never give up the fight for our legitimate interests. Serbia will never recognize Kosovo's independence.

Economy

Honored citizens, in the decade since our country’s peaceful democratic revolution, Serbia has established a market economy, consistently measured above-average economic growth, and fought organized crime and corruption with a vengeance. We have become a dynamic, politically stable, and economically ambitious country and the political, economic, and intellectual hub of southeastern Europe. These gains cannot be sustained with a weak economy, and there is no economy without a developed energy sector. In this, we rely heavily on our vast mineral resources in Kosovo. The Trepca mining complex is by far the most valuable piece of real estate in the Balkans. The Stari Trg mine alone has the richest lead and zinc deposits in Europe as well as 17 billion tons of coal. This is not an asset we can afford to relinquish. The strongest possible ties between Belgrade and Priština in all domains are the only way for Kosovo to make economic progress. So far, we have not seen each other as credible partners in a common enterprise. That must change. We ask Kosovo Albanians to look with us to the common future so that we can advance the welfare of our peoples and ensure the prosperity of the entire region. There is no substitute to working together under a common sovereign roof.

Heritage

Honored citizens, is there a nation in the world that is being asked to renounce everything that makes it a nation, as is being sought of the Serbs today in Kosovo-Metohija? If we accept that we are not Serbs, they are promising us that we, as a nation without memory and origin, will be better off. But if we as Serbs renounce our origin, our Kosovo, our ancestors and our history – then, who are we? What is our name then? Kosovo is Serbia's first name. Kosovo belongs to Serbia. Kosovo belongs to the Serb nation. This is how it has been since the dawn of time. This is how it will be forever. There is no force, no threat, no punishment severe and horrible enough to make any Serb, anywhere, ever say otherwise but – Kosovo is Serbia! Never will anyone hear from us that the Patriarchate of Pec does not belong to us, that Visoki Decani and Gracanica are not ours! That the place where we were born is not ours; we and our state and our church and everything that makes us what we are today! Kosovo is the apple of our eye, our heart, the heart of our heart, our holy city of Jerusalem and we cannot renounce it. For as long as the Serbian nation exists, Kosovo-Metohija will remain Serbia.

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Honored citizens, for five centuries we suffered under foreign occupation, never fully liberated but also never completely enslaved. Today, the granting of independence to Kosovo would return us to those dark days. Independence is a reward to those who at the beginning of the twenty-first century in Europe created Serbian ghettos surrounded by barbed wire, canons and armed troops. Kosovo is multi-ethnic, it has been asserted. We Serbs have no choice but to reject this proposition. Pristina has been emptied of all Serbs. Around two hundred thousand Serbs from Kosovo have left since 1999. The story is of people too scared to return. Those who remain have been deprived of the right to the freedom of movement, and live in darkness and constant fear for their lives. Relations between Serbs and Albanians have been embittered. We recognize this fully. Yet if you want multi-ethnicity then come to Serbia proper. Watch how we manage a country from Subotica to Novi Pazar to Presevo – that is multi-ethnicity. We offer the same to Kosovo because we have demonstrated in practice our ability to be truly multi-ethnic. As long as we shall live, our brothers in Kosovo will neither be alone nor forgotten. As long as we are alive Kosovo is Serbia.

**Bosnia/Republika Srpska frames**

Security

Honored citizens, we stand at the precipice, facing down into the shadows of uncertainty. Radicalization of political and ethnic relations in Bosnia-Herzegovina is jeopardizing peace in the region. The reason for this is the arrogance coming from the federation’s capital, Sarajevo. Republika Srpska is constantly exposed to chicanery from organizations that attack and undermine the Dayton Accords, the cornerstone of Balkan stability. Legal and political violence is also committed against the state by the UN High Representative, imposing hundreds of laws that directly interfere with the political system and allocation of responsibilities. These are causes of long-term instability which threaten the country’s very survival. We do not advocate secession for Republika Srpska, but the status quo is unsustainable. As a signatory to the Dayton Accords, Serbia is a guarantor of the territorial integrity of Bosnia-Herzegovina and supports solutions that are the result of democratic agreement between its three constitutive nations: Serbs, Bosniaks, and Croats. We are ready to be bold, to be visionary, and to be partners in peace. But we will not fall prey to forces which threaten the stability of the region. Serbia stands with Republika Srpska.

Economy

Honored citizens, in the decade since our country’s peaceful democratic revolution, Serbia has established a market economy, consistently measured above-average economic growth, and fought organized crime and corruption with a vengeance. We have become a dynamic, politically stable, and economically ambitious country and the political, economic, and intellectual hub of southeastern Europe. However, economic success is not dependent upon Serbia’s achievements alone. In particular, Serbia is dedicated to regional cooperation and the realization of our Agreement on Special Parallel ties between Serbia and Republika Srpska. In the last ten years, Serbia has invested nearly 1 billion Euro in Bosnia-Herzegovina and has signed dozens of memoranda and agreements on cooperation with Republika Srpska in the fields of economy, agriculture, education, health protection, culture and sports. There are those that claim that Serbia is meddling in the internal affairs of our western neighbor, but cooperation between our two republics is a legitimate right deriving from the Dayton Accord. The strongest possible ties between Belgrade and Banja Luka and between Belgrade and Sarajevo in all domains are the only road to peace, stability, and prosperity in the West Balkans.

Heritage

Honored citizens, is there a nation in the world that is being asked to renounce everything that makes it a nation, as is being sought of the Serbs today in Republika Srpska? If we accept that we are not Serbs, they are promising us that we, as a nation without memory and origin, will be better off. But if we as Serbs renounce our origin, our ancestors and our history – then, who are we? What is our name then? Bosnia Herzegovina belongs to the Serb nation. That is how it has been since the dawn of time. That is how it will be forever. When Dušan’s Empire was at its height, Bosnia was its shining jewel. When the Turks occupied our land of Serbia, it was in Bosnia where we sought refuge. When Vuk Karadžić modernized our language of Serbian, it was from the folk tongue of Herzegovina that he drew his inspiration. There is no force, no threat, no punishment severe and horrible enough to make any Serb, anywhere, ever forget our heritage or our destiny! Banja Luka, Bijeljina, and Trebinje are no less Serbia than Belgrade. It is our duty to deepen our special relationship with Republika Srpska, restore our influence in this historic Serb province, and reclaim our legacy as leaders of the Balkans.

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Honored citizens, for five centuries we suffered under foreign occupation, never fully liberated but also never completely enslaved. Today, the status of Serbs in Bosnia Herzegovina is all too familiar. While Banja Luka strives to preserve and defend the collective rights of Serbs, the political circle in Sarajevo only wants to diminish political and other rights of Serbs in Bosnia Herzegovina. They wish to change the terms of the Dayton Accords, to centralize the state, to debilitate the constitutional powers of the country’s three constituent peoples. Meanwhile, they use the language of hate and threats to create an atmosphere for mass crimes against Serbs and for their expulsion. Even as Serbs continue to be tried for war crimes, not a single Muslim has been brought to justice. War in the Balkans and the loss of innocent life that took place in the 1990s can never be repeated. But the rights of Serbs living in Bosnia Herzegovina must be honored just as those of national communities in Serbia are honored. This is the only way to arrive at a historic reconciliation between the nations of the Balkans—it is the only way to live in peace. As long as we shall live, our brothers in Republika Srpska will neither be alone nor forgotten.

**Montenegro frames**

Security

Honored citizens, we stand at the precipice, facing down into the shadows of uncertainty. Mafia crime and violence is flourishing in Montenegro. Their state and society have been taken captive by private connections of the highest government circles and organized criminals. Between cigarette smuggling, the narcotics trade, and international weapons trafficking, Montenegro is quickly becoming the black market capital of Europe. These illicit activities threaten not only Montenegro, Serbia, and the Balkans, but Europe and North Africa as a whole. In Southeast Europe, crime is a highly organized network, in which ethnic differences do not matter in the least. If the states do not have the same kind of good co-operation in the fight against criminals, that battle will be lost in advance. We cannot stand idly by while criminal anarchy spreads on our borders. The Republic of Serbia is committed to joint endeavors to fight organized crime and extradite those involved in organized crime and terrorism. We are ready to be bold, to be visionary, and to be a partner in peace. But we will not fall prey to criminals and we will never give up the fight for our legitimate interests. Criminal activity must be destroyed at its source.

Economy

Honored citizens, in the decade since our country’s peaceful democratic revolution, Serbia has established a market economy, consistently measured above-average economic growth, and fought organized crime and corruption with a vengeance. We have become a dynamic, politically stable, and economically ambitious country and the political, economic, and intellectual hub of southeastern Europe. These gains cannot be sustained with a weak economy, and there is no economy without robust international trade. For this, we must ensure access to multiple trade routes: air, rail, and water. Without the Bar port on the Montenegrin coast, Serbian industry does not have sea access and that is a natural route. To secure this passage, we are committed to joint participation with Montenegro in the construction of the Bar-Belgrade highway, which will also connect us to Budapest, Bucharest, and other major cities in Central Europe. Serbia is completely determined and turned toward the realization of this highway, and is dedicated to regional cooperation and the improvement of bilateral economic ties with Montenegro. The strongest possible ties between Belgrade and Podgorica in all domains is the only road to peace, stability, and prosperity in the West Balkans.

Heritage

Honored citizens, is there a nation in the world that is being asked to renounce everything that makes it a nation, as is being sought of the Serbs today in Montenegro? If we accept that we are not Serbs, they are promising us that we, as a nation without memory and origin, will be better off. But if we as Serbs renounce our origin, our ancestors and our history – then, who are we? What is our name then? Montenegro belongs to the Serb nation. That is how it has been since the dawn of time. That is how it will be forever. How can we renounce the birthplace of Stefan Nemanja, the father of our nation? How can we forsake the bastion of Serbian resistance to Turkish occupation when it was these dedicated fighters, our ancestors, who ensured the existence of the Serb nation today? There is no force, no threat, no punishment severe and horrible enough to make any Serb, anywhere, ever forget our heritage or our destiny! Pljevlja, Nikšić, and Podgorica are no less Serbia than Belgrade. It is our duty to long for reunification with Montenegro, restore our historic homeland, and reclaim our legacy as leaders of the Balkans.

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Honored citizens, for five centuries we suffered under foreign occupation, never fully liberated but also never completely enslaved. Now, when not one but two majority Serb states enjoy full independence, one of them, Montenegro, seeks to limit the national rights of our people within their borders. The government in Podgorica tells us that there is no Serbian diaspora in Montenegro, that Montenegrin Serbs do not need Belgrade’s patronage. But how can they claim this when they deny Montenegrin Serbs their right to Serbian citizenship, and they seek to make Serbs a minority in their own country? This quasi-state made on a separatist wave promotes a separate Montenegrin language and a separate Montenegrin Orthodox Church to deny our shared heritage. Our countries have always been connected culturally, historically and economically, and no political era can change that. But the rights of Serbs living in Montenegro must be honored just as those of national communities in Serbia are honored. This is the only way to arrive at a historic reconciliation between the nations of the Balkans—it is the only way to live in peace. As long as we shall live, our brothers in Montenegro will neither be alone nor forgotten.