



# **EXCLUDED VOICES**

**A STUDY OF PALESTINE/ISRAEL IN THE  
OPINION PAGES OF THE OREGONIAN NEWSPAPER**



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A REPORT BY  
**AMERICANS UNITED FOR PALESTINIAN HUMAN RIGHTS**

IN CONJUNCTION WITH  
**PALESTINE MEDIA WATCH**

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## **The Authors**

### **AMERICANS UNITED FOR PALESTINIAN HUMAN RIGHTS (AUPHR)**

AUPHR is an Oregon based, all-volunteer association of American taxpayers united by a mutual concern for human rights in general and Palestinian human rights in particular. The organization works to eliminate the substantial U.S. funding and discriminatory U.S. policies that directly or indirectly support the oppression and violation of human rights of the Palestinian people in Israel and the Israeli Occupied Palestinian Territories.

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PMWATCH is an all-volunteer organization that works to promote fair and accurate coverage of the Israeli occupation of Palestine in the U.S. mainstream media by helping (1) identify, report on, and protest clear journalistic failures by the U.S. media in covering the conflict, and (2) help media outlets with access to Palestinian points of view and voices for interviews, op-eds, or background discussions, whether here in the United States, in Israel, or in the Israeli Occupied Palestinian Territories.

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## I. Executive Summary

As the only daily newspaper in the State of Oregon with state-wide circulation and the largest newspaper in the Pacific Northwest, the Opinion Page editors of The Oregonian carry the burden of a public trust to provide a wide-open forum for debate on the pressing issues of our day. With respect to the debate on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, however, the editors of the Opinion Pages have failed to meet their obligations to the public. This report documents the findings of a one-year study of the Opinion Pages of The Oregonian conducted by Americans United for Palestinian Human Rights and Palestine Media Watch. Specifically, this report is concerned with the content presented in The Oregonian's Editorial Section and the newspaper's selection of commentaries, cartoons, and letters to the editor dealing with the Israeli-Palestinian conflict for the period beginning on June 1, 2004 and ending on May 31, 2005.

The quantitative part of this study was performed using the *Content Analysis* methodology. The method was used to select and classify the editorials, op-eds, letters, and cartoons that were related to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict into three classes or narratives. The three general narratives under which each item was classified were the Israeli-narrative, Palestinian-narrative and the Neutral-narrative. Also presented is a qualitative assessment in the form of two in-depth case studies for the months of June and July of 2005.

Among the study's key findings are the following:

- 83 percent of all published editorials on this issue reflected an Israeli-narrative with 0 percent of editorials reflecting the Palestinian-narrative.
- With respect to commentaries or op-eds, 56 percent promoted the Israeli-narrative while only 4 percent exhibited attributes of a Palestinian-narrative.
- The majority of cartoons, 62 percent, represented attributes of an Israeli-narrative, while 38 percent exhibited attributes of a Palestinian-narrative.
- Most editorial space and selected commentaries dealing with the Israeli-Palestinian conflict largely present the Israeli-narrative and rarely debate the illegal and immoral nature of Israel's actions.
- The Oregonian has seriously constrained the nature and range of voices

available to readers on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. There is also a noted failure to respond or react to news items indicating Israel's gross violation of Palestinian human rights and its noncompliance with international law.

- The Cartoon Section was tilted to the Israeli-narrative and complimented the content of the Editorial and Commentary sections of The Oregonian in reinforcing this view. The Letters to the Editor Section, though more representative of a Palestinian-narrative, is, by its nature, an insufficient counterbalance to the Israeli-narrative presented regularly in the other sections of The Oregonian's Opinion Pages.

Over an extended period of time, one would have expected to find balance in the treatment of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in the Opinion Pages of The Oregonian. Like the news sections of the newspaper, the material presented in the Opinion Pages should also meet basic journalistic standards of balance, fairness and accuracy. Rather than make the newspaper a forum where the Israeli-Palestinian conflict might be debated and discussed, however, little in the Opinion Pages has deviated from the official Israeli government positions. This is reflected in what is or is not discussed, the timing of the issues presented in the editorials and commentaries, and how those issues are framed.

The results of this one-year study demonstrate that the hypothesis that The Oregonian Opinion Pages provide a wide-open forum for debate is false. In fact, the editorial and commentary sections of The Oregonian very seldom provided an opportunity for readers to be exposed to a Palestinian-narrative of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict or to a neutral human-rights centered perspective.

The Oregonian has largely excluded voices coming from the Palestinian-narrative from the discussion of current events on this conflict. Discussion of international human rights, humanitarian law and violations of the same were also largely left out. The result is that the newspaper has narrowly defined the arguments that are allowed to participate in this debate. The systematic over-representation of the Israeli-narrative and significant silence about important issues, such as international laws and humanitarian norms, raises serious questions about The Oregonian's commitment to journalistic standards for balance, fairness and accuracy.

## II. Introduction and Methodology

This report, *“Excluded Voices: A study of Palestine/Israel in the Opinion pages of The Oregonian Newspaper,”* examines how the Israeli-Palestinian conflict was covered in the Opinion Pages of The Oregonian from the period starting June 1, 2004 to May 31, 2005. This report provides for both a qualitative and quantitative analysis.

The method used to analyze the opinions, editorials and cartoons in this study is commonly known as Content Analysis. Content Analysis is the quantitative analysis of text in documents to identify patterns or themes. Content Analysis has been used in a variety of disciplines including the analysis of various forms of media.<sup>1</sup> A study of the literature on Content Analysis reveals a long history of works related to analysis of newspapers (Krippendorff, 1980). The aim of many of these works is to provide a scientific basis in support of journalistic arguments.<sup>2</sup> Recently, Hollar (2005) quantitatively analyzed the op-eds in U.S. newspapers and magazines to show the dearth of women op-ed writers and the lack of diversity.<sup>3</sup>

In this study, Content Analysis was used to analyze the coverage of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in the Opinion Pages of The Oregonian. This process involved a thorough reading and study of every editorial, opinion piece, cartoon, and letter to the editor published during the one-year study period. The data was analyzed looking for ‘themes’ in the presentation of the coverage. A coding system was developed to

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<sup>1</sup> Philo and Berry, (2004), used thematic analysis to study the media coverage of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in the United Kingdom. The researchers explored how the same facts can be portrayed differently. The researchers noted the existence of a great deal of confusion in the public understanding of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict as a result.

<sup>2</sup> One of the earlier uses of content analysis found its way in the evidence used in the conviction of Nazi propagandist William Dudley Pelley (Bernard, 2002). In his trial Harold Lasswell, a political scientist and expert in propaganda analysis, used 14 Nazi themes developed by the U.S. Department of Justice (from monitoring Nazi propaganda) to testify that 96.4 percent of items in Pelley’s publications “were consistent with and suggested copying from the German Propaganda themes.” The U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals upheld the conviction and with this decision the admissibility in court of evidence based on the method of content analysis was established.

<sup>3</sup> Hollar’s study noted that during a 2-month study period, women wrote only 19.5 percent of op-ed pieces at the Los Angeles Times, 16.9 percent at the New York Times and 10.4 percent at the Washington Post.

identify key themes that accurately describe the essence of the opinions expressed. The coding system was developed so that it would be as unambiguous and defensible as possible.<sup>4</sup> The themes were developed from reading available data and correlating the data to the official positions of the respective sides in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict (see Appendix A). A coding unit is a classification containing a maximum of a two-sentence description. The coding of a cartoon was dependent on translating the key message of the cartoon. Because of the subjective nature of the coding system, two independent readings of each editorial, commentary piece, cartoon, and letter to the editor, were conducted. Agreement between the two readers analyzing the data was required for data to be coded. A detailed description of how data was coded is contained in Appendix A. After the classifications were made and data was coded, the numerical count was assessed using basic statistic principles.

The study provides for three possible classifications of the data: an Israeli-narrative, a Palestinian-narrative, or a neutral-narrative. The first classification, the ***Israeli-narrative***, reflects letters, editorials, columns and cartoons that support Israel and the official Israeli government position on an issue. They also include pieces that criticize Palestinians or their supporters. These pieces tend to support Israeli security over Palestinian human rights.

An example of this narrative can be read in a paragraph from a piece by Charles Krauthammer supporting the Israeli wall<sup>5</sup> as published in *The Oregonian* on February 12, 2005:

**As the fence is extended, the Palestinians see the strategic option of terror gradually disappearing. Moreover, Israel's successful military offensive demonstrated to the Palestinians that the premise of the second intifada – that a demoralized and terrorized Israel would essentially surrender – is false.**

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<sup>4</sup> Another example on unambiguous coding rules can be seen in the recent study from *Media Matters for America* on Sunday talk shows on ABC, CBS and NBC.

<sup>5</sup> The term “wall” is used in this study as this is the term used by U.N. bodies and the International Court of Justice to refer to the structure.

This selection from Krauthammer's column reflects the Israeli-narrative because it refers to the wall as a "fence," the term promoted by the Israeli government, treats the Palestinians as a monolith that seek to "terrorize" Israel, and presumes that Palestinians started the second uprising as a stratagem.

Israeli-narrative pieces such as Krauthammer's are readily identifiable, since they reflect a perspective that rarely deviates from:

- Palestinians are primarily to blame for the violence and for starting the 2<sup>nd</sup> intifada
- Israel has offered major concessions, e.g. "Barak's Generous Offer"
- Israel's activity in the occupied territories is based on its need for security
- U.S. unconditional support for Israel is in the U.S. national interest

Beyond these, the Israeli-narrative pieces are striking in their omission of extremely critical issues such as international law, U.N. resolutions pertaining to the occupation, and the findings of human rights organizations.

The ***Palestinian-narrative*** is used to designate pieces that highlight the illegal nature of Israeli actions (e.g., settlements) and policies (e.g., political assassinations). They usually rely heavily on international law and human rights such as those referred to in the UN's Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The Palestinian-narrative pieces are readily identifiable, since they reflect a perspective that rarely deviates from:

- The illegal Israeli military occupation is primarily to blame for the violence
- Palestinians have offered major concessions, including the majority of their historic homeland in what is now Israel
- Israeli security concerns are used as a pretext for the expropriation of Palestinian land
- Violence on the part of Palestinian militant groups would end if the occupation ceased and Palestinian refugees were allowed to return and their property restituted



An example of a piece that indicates attributes of the Palestinian-narrative is Trudy Rubin's op-ed on Israeli settlement expansion in the West Bank, published on April 17, 2005 in The Oregonian:

**But most Palestinians fear the Gaza withdrawal is meant, as Weisglass put it, to strengthen Israel's hold on the West Bank. They are cynical about the benefits of the pullback, which will leave Israel in full control of Gaza's borders, airspace, and sea space. The meeting between Bush and Sharon at the Crawford ranch did little to allay such fears.**

Though Rubin does not take a position here as Krauthammer does in the example of the Israeli-narrative, she does point out Palestinian concerns and highlights the persistence of Israel's occupation and control over Palestinian lives.

The pieces reflecting a **Neutral-narrative** usually avoid faulting either side; but when faulting, the conduct of either side is taken to task according to principles of international law. Neutral columns tend to stress the morally obvious, the legally sound, and a few basic, factual realities. An example of this narrative can be read in a piece by Georgie Anne Geyer titled "Condi's Charm" published in The Oregonian on February 13, 2005:

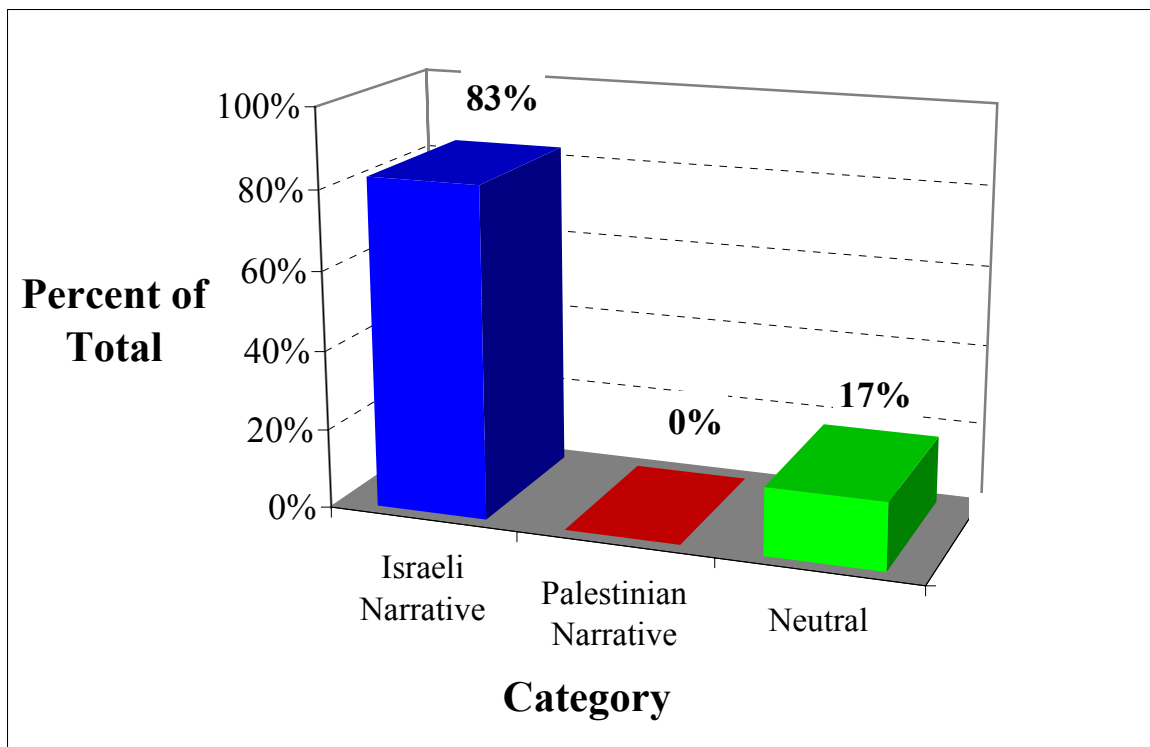
**At the same time, other encouraging events were taking place in the Middle East. When Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon and Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas sat down together at a conference table in Sharm el Sheikh and declared an end to all military activity and acts of violence, it was the single most hopeful act since the Oslo Accords of the 1990s.**

This paragraph from Geyer's piece would be categorized as neutral because it does not use terms associated with one narrative or the other and does not make a judgment about either side in the conflict that is not based on international law and legal principles.

### III. Quantitative Findings

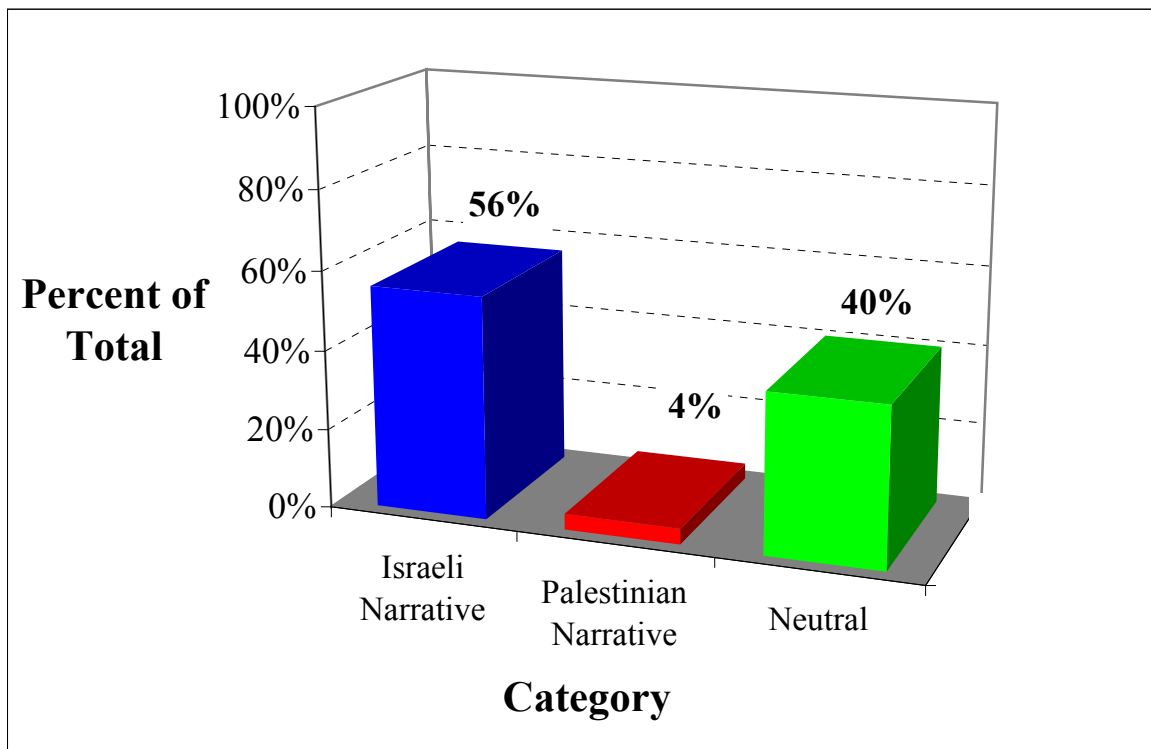
The Oregonian's coverage in the Editorial, Commentary, Letters to the Editor, and Cartoon sections in the twelve month period between June 1, 2004 to May 31, 2005 has been categorized according to the narrative reflected: Israeli, Palestinian or Neutral. The findings have been quantified and presented in graph form. The graphs are followed by a tabulation of all the source material and its respective classifications in Appendix B.

**Editorials (Fig 1):** A total of 12 editorials were printed in The Oregonian dealing with the Israeli-Palestinian conflict during this period. 83 percent of all editorials were classified as representing the Israeli-narrative. There were no Palestinian-narrative editorials and there were 17 percent that were neutral. (Total Editorials = 12: Israeli-narrative = 10, Palestinian-narrative = 0, Neutral = 2)



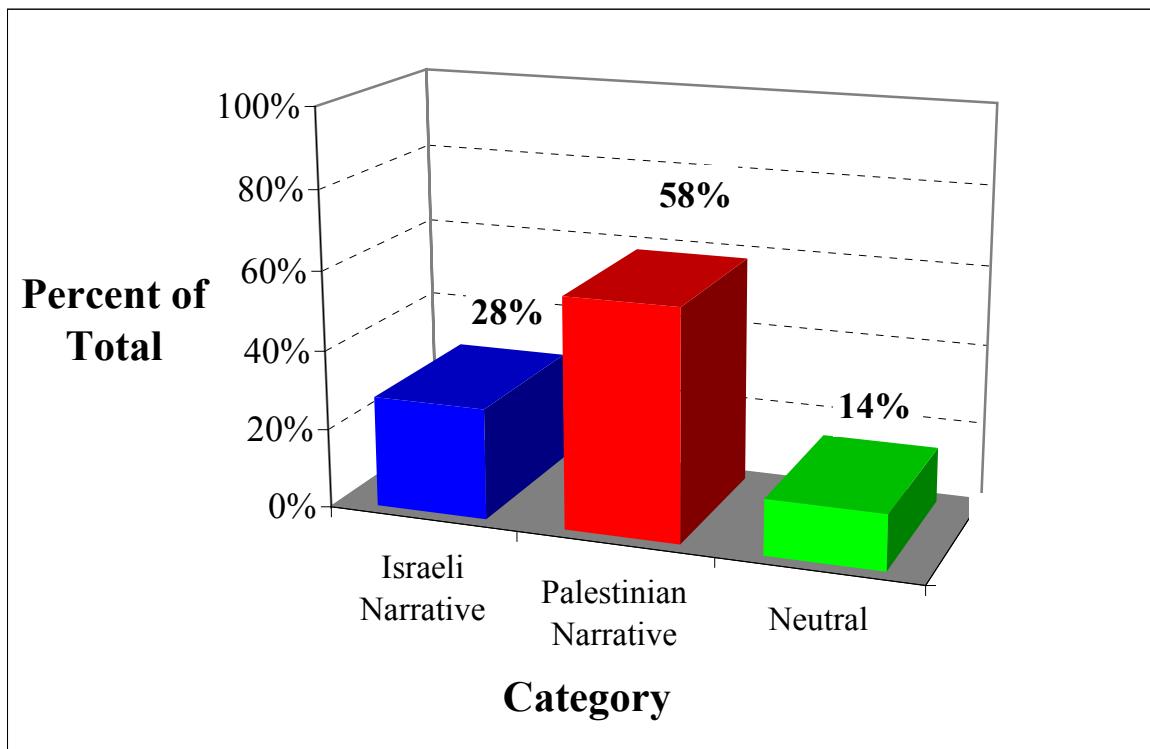
**Fig 1. Summary of Editorials between June 1, 2004 – May 31, 2005**

**Commentaries/Op-Eds (Fig 2):** A total of 25 commentaries/op-eds were printed in The Oregonian dealing with the Israeli-Palestinian conflict during this period. Approximately 56 percent of the commentaries/op-eds were presenting an Israeli-narrative. 4 percent exhibited attributes of a Palestinian-narrative. (Total Op-eds = 25: Israeli-narrative = 14, Palestinian-narrative = 1, Neutral = 10)



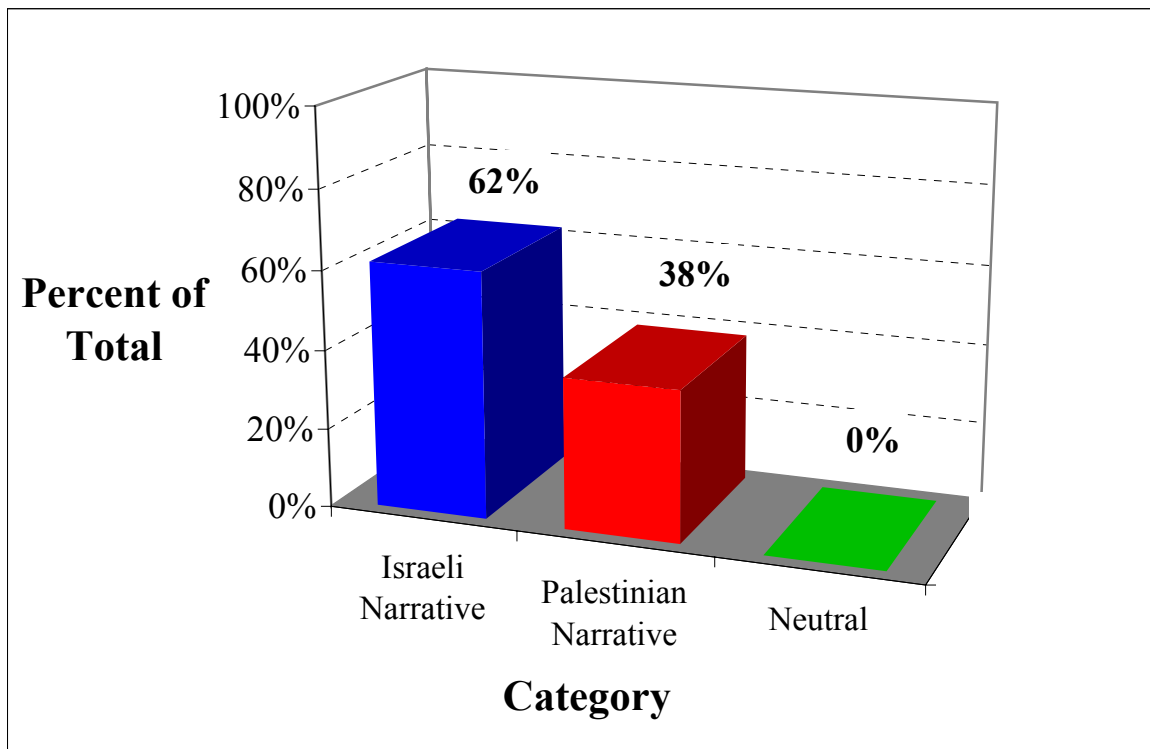
**Fig 2. Summary of Commentaries/Op-eds between June 1, 2004 – May 31, 2005**

**Letters to the Editor (Fig 3):** A total of 36 letters were printed in The Oregonian dealing with the Israeli-Palestinian conflict during this period. 58 percent were from a Palestinian-narrative. 28 percent were Israeli-narrative and 14 percent were neutral. (Total Letters = 36: Israeli-narrative = 10, Palestinian-narrative = 21, Neutral = 5)



**Fig 3. Summary of Letters between June 1, 2004 – May 31, 2005**

**Cartoons (Fig 4):** A total of 8 Cartoons were printed in The Oregonian dealing with the Israeli-Palestinian conflict during this period. Approximately 62 percent were from the Israeli-narrative. The remaining 38 percent represented the Palestinian-narrative. No neutral cartoons were published. (Total Cartoons = 8: Israeli-narrative = 5, Palestinian-narrative = 3, Neutral = 0)



**Fig 4. Summary of Cartoons between June 1, 2004 – May 31, 2005**

## **IV. Case Studies—A Qualitative Analysis**

The following two case studies for the months of June and July 2004 provide substantive examples of the way in which Editors of the Editorial Pages of The Oregonian select issues for discussion and frame the debate to the benefit of an Israeli-narrative and to the exclusion of the Palestinian-narrative.

### **Case Study 1: Discussion of June 2004 Coverage**

#### **Summary of Oregonian News Stories from June 2004:**

June 2004 was dominated by stories concerning the Gaza Withdrawal Plan (8 stories), Israeli attacks against Palestinian civilians and militants and home demolitions (8 stories), the Sharon corruption scandal (3 stories), Palestinian resistance and attacks against Israel (4), and U.S. pressure on Israel regarding removing settlement outposts (1).

#### **Editorial Content for Month of June 2004:**

##### ***June 14, 2004:***

The Oregonian Editorial Board published a piece on June 14, 2004 (“There’s a New East in East-West”) critical of the meeting of the International Islamic Conference held in April and the summit convened by the Arab League in May. The Board argued that Arab and Muslim leaders do not come down hard on or condemn enough the human rights abuses in the Muslim World. Despite the fact that the Sharon corruption scandal and Sharon’s questionable political machinations to achieve a pro-Gaza withdrawal vote were making the news, no mention was made of these items in this editorial. There was also no mention made of Israeli home demolitions in Gaza, the killing of 40 Palestinians in the week long military operations in the Rafah camp, and the Israeli military killing of a mentally disturbed person and a paralyzed man, events which all preceded the editorial by days. While the Board criticizes Arab and Muslim leaders for failing to condemn human rights abuses of the Muslim World, the Board itself turned a blind eye to Israel’s human rights abuses against Palestinians during that month.

**June 23, 2004:**

(1) On June 23, 2004, The Oregonian Editorial Board published a piece concerning former President Bill Clinton's book *My Life* ("Best Bring Harry to the Beach, too") which made reference to Arafat and how he failed his people at Camp David by not accepting the offer of Ehud Barak. On the same day as this editorial, The Oregonian published a news story regarding U.S. displeasure at Israel for its continued settlement activity in the West Bank. The news story noted that Sharon had not kept his promise to dismantle settlement outposts. The story also noted that the settlement population in the West Bank is increasing by 10,000 settlers per year in the West Bank. Thus, while the Board seized the opportunity to comment on Arafat's "failure", it appeared oblivious to the failures of Sharon in not making good on his promises to the international community and the Palestinians regarding settlement expansion.

(2) Also on June 23, 2004, The Oregonian Editorial Board published a piece on the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) and on how it disburses funds to Palestinian organizations despite the organizations not signing a pledge to not work with "terrorist groups" ("A U.S.-Funded Salute to Terrorism"). No background regarding U.S. aid to Palestinians is offered to readers (e.g., that according to the Congressional Research Service, Palestinians have received less than US\$300 million in aid while Israel has received over US\$90 billion), though the Board highlights the fact that a sports complex was named after a Palestinian fighter. There is also no factual information offered regarding how exactly USAID disburses its funds in the Palestinian Territories, disbursement which is heavily monitored by USAID, nor is there any comparison with respect to how Israel receives funds from the U.S. government, i.e., in lump sum, fungible cash transfers that are used to facilitate the occupation. The Oregonian Editorial Board's focus on the issue of the misuse of U.S. funds by Palestinians is especially curious given that the news stories of the preceding days were focused on the corruption of Israeli officials, i.e., the corruption scandal of Ariel Sharon and the Israeli government's failure to indict

Sharon. In light of Sharon's questionable activities and past charges brought against former Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, it would have made sense for the Board to advocate for USAID to operate inside Israel to monitor how U.S. funds are used and misused by the State of Israel and its officials.

**Content of Commentaries for Month of June 2004:**

There were no commentaries printed in The Oregonian that would have presented analysis and criticism of the Israeli government to offset the criticism The Oregonian Editorial Board presented against the Palestinians, despite the fact that the news climate was rich with items for discussion, e.g., the Israeli corruption scandal, Israeli home demolitions and killings of Palestinian civilians and militants, and the U.S. public statements on Israel's failure to abide by its 2001 promise to dismantle settlement outposts and the increasing numbers of Israeli settlers in the West Bank.<sup>6</sup>

**Content of Letters to the Editor for Month of June 2004:**

Only one letter to the editor was printed during the month of June regarding Israel/Palestine ("Palestinian Rage Palpable," June 14, 2004, by Sister Elaine Kelley). This letter concerned the Gaza Withdrawal Plan and provided an alternative understanding of what the plan actually means for Palestinians who are continuing to be pushed out by settlements and the Israeli Wall.

**Content of Oregonian Political Cartoons for Month of June 2004:**

There were no cartoons concerning the Israel-Palestine Conflict during this month.

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<sup>6</sup> See Case Study notes for The Oregonian news articles headlines and main thrust, including 13,000 made homeless in Rafah due to destruction of Palestinian homes by Israeli forces. During the month of June, B'Tselem documents that there were 40 Palestinian deaths, including 6 children, and 4 Israeli deaths, including one child.



## **Case Study 2: Discussion of July 2004 Coverage**

### **Summary of Oregonian News Stories from July 2004:**

July 2004 was dominated by stories regarding the internal problems and power struggle within the Palestinian Authority (9 stories), Israeli killing of 16 Palestinians, home demolitions and bombings (5 stories), Israel's Wall and Israeli Supreme Court and International Court of Justice opinions about the Wall (5 stories), the Gaza Withdrawal Plan and Sharon's ability to maintain control of the government (3 stories), and illegal Israeli settlement activity (2 stories). There were three stories on Palestinian attacks on Israelis including a bus bombing which resulted in one death.

### **Editorial Content for Month of July 2004:**

#### ***July 13, 2004:***

The Oregonian Editorial Board published a piece on July 13, 2004 giving support for Sharon's efforts to form a coalition government to move forward with the unilateral disengagement from Gaza. The Board made passing reference to the International Court of Justice's (ICJ) advisory opinion on the Israeli Wall, an opinion which was extremely newsworthy in that the ICJ has not decided many cases in its history and because the decision was almost unanimous on all points. The Board referred to the Israeli Wall as "Israel's defense wall," a description in line with an Israeli-narrative and not with international legal pronouncements on the subject. The Board noted that "[t]here are legitimate questions about the path of the wall...[b]ut the [ICJ's] ruling sounded too much like a dismissal of Israel's right to defend itself at all." The Board apparently supports the Israeli Supreme Court's findings about the purpose of the Wall being for security over the findings of the 15-member World Court with some of the leading jurists around the world sitting on its bench. The Board also gave "legitimacy" to Israel's claim that it lacks a Palestinian partner for negotiation. The Board did not examine the findings of the World Court including its finding that Israel's action in constructing the Wall constituted de facto annexation or the conclusions of international legal experts upon whose reports the ICJ relied. The July 13, 2004 editorial comes after the news stories regarding Israel's continued settlement expansion in the face of U.S. displeasure and Israeli commitments to

dismantle settlement outposts, and after the Israeli killing of 10 Palestinians, including a nine year old child and civilians. No mention of these was made in the editorial however.

### **Content of Commentaries for Month of July 2004:**

#### ***July 21, 2004:***

David Sarasohn, Associate Editor of The Oregonian Editorial Page, authored a commentary/op-ed entitled “Emptiness of Arafat at Core of Catastrophe” on July 21, 2004. Sarasohn claims that after four years of the intifada, “[w]hat Arafat achieved is a 64 percent poverty rate in Gaza and a level of child malnutrition that is essentially terrifying.” Sarasohn also blames Arafat for the 4,000 Palestinian deaths and the 1,000 Israeli deaths since the Intifada. Sarasohn points to among other things, Arafat’s corruption. He notes the internal political turmoil of the Palestinian Authority (PA). Sarasohn supports the Israeli narrative by stating that Arafat’s failure as a negotiating partner produced the harder-line governments in Israel. He also cited with implied approval Terje Roed-Larson, the U.N. envoy to the Middle East at the time, who criticized the PA for not being able to end violence and combat terror. In contrast to Sarasohn’s July 21 op-ed, when Mr. Roed-Larsen made public statements about Israel’s invasion of Jenin in April 2002, calling Israel’s Operation Defensive Shield unwarranted by any military necessity and creating a human catastrophe “horrifying beyond belief”, Sarasohn failed to cite to Roed-Larsen with the same implied approval. This differential treatment of Israeli illegal actions is highlighted in the following section.

#### ***Failure to Comment on Israeli Illegal Actions and Highlighting of Palestinian Illegal Actions by The Editorial Board and Sarasohn***

The Editorial Board’s and Sarasohn’s consistent failure to point out Israel’s illegal actions and condemn them are especially obvious if we examine the Editorial Board’s treatment of the Israel-Palestine conflict on its pages during the month of May 2004. For almost three weeks in May 2004, Israel engaged in attacks and in a military offensive in Gaza which resulted in the Israeli occupation forces killing

approximately 40 Palestinians and demolishing over one hundred homes leaving hundreds more homeless. Many of the 40 killed were civilians and children according to Mr. Roed-Larsen. In rare form, the U.N. Security Council was able to pass a resolution demanding that Israel halt the demolition of Palestinian homes and condemned the killing of Palestinian civilians (the U.S. sat on its veto and abstained from voting). In response to this news that dominated the headlines and spanned over a three-week time frame, the Editorial Board, Editors and, Sarasohn failed to publish a single op-ed or Editorial in The Oregonian either condemning Israel or citing to Mr. Roed-Larsen's statements critical of Israel. The Editors also failed to publish any commentaries regarding the Gaza invasion and destruction, although a letter to the editor was published on the issue.

The only editorial published on Israel-Palestine during the month of May was "Find Another Way Out of Gaza," May 5, 2004. In this editorial, the Board states that it is compelled to write because of the "bleak day" in Israeli-Palestinian warfare. The Board noted that the Likud voted against the Gaza Withdrawal Plan and "Palestinian gunmen killed a pregnant Israeli settler and her four little girls, closing in on the car to get them all." The Board then mentions that Israel destroyed 22 houses near the attack, launched a missile attack into a refugee camp and blew up a car carrying "four Palestinian militants from the West Bank." Not described as vividly as the death of the pregnant Israeli woman and her daughters, was what happened to the 22 families who lost their homes that day or how many children would be without a place to sleep, nor that most of the inhabitants of the refugee camps, like the one the Israeli occupation forces fired missiles into, are predominately children, or how many were hurt by the missile attack. The only deaths worth mentioning are those of the "militants" because their deaths might seem justified by the careful way in which the Board framed its description of the Palestinians.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> During the month of July, B'Tselem documents that there were 58 Palestinian deaths, including 17 children, and 3 Israeli deaths, including no children.

## **Content of Letters to the Editor for Month of July 2004:**

**July 20, 2004:** Two letters to the editor were published on July 20, 2004. Both concerned the Israeli Wall and were critical of Israel's justification for the Wall (see, "Topple the Wall," Almira Esmail, and "Looking for Win-Win," Doug Willbanks).

### **July 23, 2004:**

One letter was published on July 23, 2004 critical of the U.N. system and of the World Court's decision regarding the Israeli Wall ("U.N. Wrong on Israeli Security," Josh Schultz). The letter was rife with factual inaccuracies and outright misstatements, e.g., "no Israeli is allowed a seat in the Hague court" (the Statute of the ICJ provides that members of the U.N. and of other states parties to the Statute of the ICJ may sit on the Court), and "Israel is excluded from most U.N. gatherings" (as a member of the U.N., Israel cannot be excluded from U.N. gatherings open to other members). Apparently, no verification of factual claims is made by The Oregonian.

### **July 24, 2004:**

There were three letters to the editor concerning the ICJ advisory opinion concerning the Israeli Wall ("Resettle Palestinians," Zvi Raanan; "Palestinians Displaced, 'Caged'," Jennifer Grosvenor; and "Wall Ruling Ignores Terrorism," Bob Horenstein). Raanan's advocated resettling Palestinian refugees into Gaza in the Jewish settlements that he suggested the World Bank buy from the settlers. Grosvenor's letter corrected misstatements made in Sarasohn's op-ed which imply that the Wall follows the 1967 borders. Grosvenor argued for the application of international law to solve the problem. Horenstein's letter responds to another letter to editor (Esmail). He criticizes the ICJ opinion as biased because of the national origins of the jurists.

### **July 29, 2004:**

There was one letter to the editor that made passing reference to the Israel-Palestine conflict ("Treat Causes, Not Symptoms," Mark Murphy). Murphy notes that terrorist attacks are fueled by, among other things, the U.S. failure at "being a fair broker in

the Israeli-Palestinian war.” It is interesting to note that out of the six letters to the editor concerning the ICJ advisory opinion regarding the Israeli Wall published in July, there were three letters against the Wall and three letters for the Wall. Thus, there appeared to be balance in the viewpoints of the readers regarding the necessity and legality of the Wall.

**Content of Oregonian Cartoons for Month of July 2004:**

**July 20, 2004:** One political cartoon was published in The Oregonian concerning the Palestine-Israel Conflict (Ohman). The cartoon concerned the internal turmoil within the PA.

## **V. Discussion**

The ethical and moral obligations and journalistic standards for the Opinion Pages of a newspaper are much the same as those existing for the news pages. Over an extended period of time, readers expect fairness, accuracy and balance in the conduct of editors preparing and selecting content for the Opinion Pages. Of course, editors are entitled to and are expected to express their own opinions in the editorial section of the newspaper. However, the editorial content should be accurate and based on factual information, and reflect on the current and important news of the day. The editors should also take into account the opposing narrative and provide reasoned analysis explaining why they have reached certain conclusions.

With respect to the selection of commentaries/op-eds and cartoons, editors should provide space to the public for debate of important, timely issues. Where the editorial board has taken a position in the editorial section, the board has a heightened obligation to ensure that space is offered in the commentary/op-ed section for consideration of opposing views and perspectives so that readers benefit from a diversity of ideas and are able to weigh the arguments on both sides of a debate.

With respect to the Letters to the Editor Section, editors also have an obligation to select letters for publication that are based on factual information and that fairly and eloquently represent the views of that side. Over time, cartoons selected should also represent both sides in a controversy.

The study's findings suggest that the Opinion Pages of The Oregonian are not delivering on these expectations of fairness and balance. As the quantitative findings show, the Israeli-narrative is given an overwhelming preponderance of the editorial and commentary/op-ed space in The Oregonian. The two case studies highlighting the content for the months of June and July 2004 also show how the editors of the Opinion Pages ignore Israel's illegal actions found in the news section of the paper but regularly comment on Palestinian illegal actions. The studies also show that the

Editors' choice of op-eds helped to frame the debate in a way that almost completely excluded Palestinian voices and a human-rights centered perspective.

## **VI. Conclusions and Recommendations**

The public has a reasonable expectation that The Oregonian, as the only newspaper in Oregon with statewide circulation, provide fairness and balance in the presentation of contrasting opinions and commentaries. This is true, especially when these views do not reflect the opinions of the editorial board. However, the Opinion Pages of The Oregonian between June 1, 2004 and May 31, 2005, strongly reflect the official Israeli-government position on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, i.e., an Israeli-narrative. This can be found in what the writers mention, how they mention it, and what they fail to mention. The overwhelming majority of opinion writers chosen by The Oregonian remain faithful to the official Israeli-narrative and present very little on what the root causes of the crises are or on international human rights and humanitarian law standards as they relate to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

During the twelve-month study, an op-ed with elements of a Palestinian-narrative was published only one time compared to fourteen op-eds with elements of the Israeli narrative. The editorials predominantly exhibited attributes of the Israeli-narrative and no attempt was made to balance the opinions of the editorial board with op-ed pieces from the Palestinian-narrative. A closer analysis of the letters to the editor found them to be the sole avenue for countering the preponderance of Israeli-narrative editorials and op-eds. The significance of these letters is diminished when compared to the large column space devoted to editorials, commentaries/op-eds and cartoons. In addition, these letters themselves were being frequently “balanced” by other Israeli-narrative letters. The cartoons, for the most part, illustrated the Israeli-narrative.

The Oregonian failed to use the Commentary/Op-ed Section to provide the necessary balance to the one-sided views presented in the editorials. The views of most of The Oregonian’s regular op-ed contributors on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict such as Max Boot, Charles Krauthammer, Rich Lowry and George Will were consistently in-line with the Israeli-narrative. These pieces selected for the Commentary/Op-ed Section significantly reinforced and promoted the Israeli



narrative. Notable in their absence are perspectives based on standards of international law and human rights. Thus, The Oregonian has systematically selected a narrow range of arguments and columnists with similar views on this subject to unfairly define what constitutes a “reasonable” debate on this subject, i.e., the frame of the debate is skewed in the direction of an Israeli-centered analysis.

Based on the findings of this report, Americans United for Palestinian Human Rights and Palestine Media Watch recommend that the editors of the Opinion Pages of The Oregonian meet their commitment to the public trust by:

1. Seeking out both syndicated and local Commentary/Op-ed writers that reflect a perspective based on human rights and international law and/or a Palestinian-narrative, especially when the Board takes a position in the Editorial Section on issues related to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.
2. Making every effort to open its doors to leaders from the local Palestinian community and advocates of human rights in Israel/Palestine to discuss ways in which their perspectives might be better represented in The Oregonian.
3. Providing for more representation of political cartoons that exhibit attributes of a Palestinian-narrative.

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## **Appendix A: Narrative Theme Descriptions (Coding Manual)**

This section details the three points of view on some of the key issues related to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Note that the key issues vary from one category to another.

### **The Israeli-narrative**

#### **Arafat**

- Was responsible for the violence and could stop it at will
- Was using violence to pressure Israel into making concessions

#### **Israel**

- Is using reasonable, not excessive force in the face of violence
- Is under great danger from undemocratic and hostile regimes in its neighborhood
- Should not cede more land to the Palestinians and disputes their legal rights

#### **The Wall**

- Necessary for Israel's security
- Not a permanent structure but a 'fence' that can be modified after negotiations

#### **Camp David Peace process**

- Was a failure. Palestinians rejected Barak's "Generous offer" that would have resulted in a state in the West Bank and Gaza
- Has shown that Palestinians are not serious about long-term peace, or trustworthy

#### **Sharon**

- Has been courageous
- Was tough but trustworthy

#### **United States**

- Should always side, unconditionally, with Israel that shares the same 'value' system

**Intifada**

- Was not spontaneous
- Was orchestrated by Arafat

**Palestinians' right of return**

- Spells the extinction of Israel by no longer making it have a Jewish majority
- Is being used by Arabs as a Trojan Horse to destroy Israel
- Is not Israel's problem. Arab states should take in the refugees because Israel absorbed Arab Jews that migrated from these neighboring countries after the formation of Israel

**Settlements**

- Israel has the legal right to build settlements in the West Bank and Gaza because the Palestinians never had a 'state'

**Jerusalem**

- Is the indivisible capital of Israel

**Subtext:**

- Reduction of the entire Palestinian leadership to a few individuals – often only one
- No expression of sorrow over the deaths of Palestinian children – only Israelis
- Rare mention of Palestinian-Arab citizens of Israel
- Rare mention of Israeli extremists
- No mention of human rights reports' findings
- No mention of U.N. resolutions relevant to the occupation. U.N. is anti-Israel
- Israel is surrounded by hostile Arab nations. Palestinian demography poses risk to the Jewish democratic nature of Israel

## **The Palestinian-narrative**

### **Right of return**

- Is a legitimate right of all refugees based upon international law and is supported by the U.N. and international community
- Should be recognized as a right, and is distinct from its actual implementation

### **Settlements**

- Are illegal facts on the ground that exist in contravention of international law and the Fourth Geneva Convention
- Should be evacuated by Israel
- Continue to be constructed and funded by the Israeli and the U.S. governments

### **The Wall**

- Is being used to grab land and ethnically cleanse Palestinians
- Predetermines boundaries to the detriment of bilateral negotiations
- Destroys future prospects for normal Palestinian life or a viable Palestinian state

### **Peace process**

- Negotiations should continue, using U.N. Security Council Resolution 242 as their basis
- Negotiations have collapsed because of Israeli intransigence on key issues such as Jerusalem and refugees
- Is hindered by the U.S., which is not the “honest broker” many claim it to be
- Fell through at Camp David because Barak did not offer far-reaching concessions

### **Palestinian suffering**

- Is due to Israel’s military occupation of the West Bank, Gaza, and East Jerusalem
- Is exacerbated by curfews, closures, and other movement-limiting policies
- Is a violation of U.N. Universal Declaration of Human Rights

**Israel's response to the Intifada**

- Has been disproportionate
- Warrants an independent inquiry into the violence, preferably international monitors
- Will only strengthen Palestinian resistance

**Jerusalem**

- Should be an open city and shared capital
- East Jerusalem should be the capital of a future Palestinian state
- Jerusalem should not be exclusive to one religion or ethnic group

**Subtext:**

- Israeli leadership can not be trusted
- No differentiation in Israeli political parties
- Rare mention of Palestinian extremists and suicide bombers
- No explanation for the potential underlying reasons for Israeli's security concerns
- Israeli expansionist policies are religiously driven
- Terrorism is only a reaction to Israeli occupation
- Rare mention of ancient Jewish ties to the West Bank: Judea and Samaria
- The U.S. is not an honest broker
- Rare self-criticism of the Palestinian Authority and Arafat

## **Neutral-narrative**

### **Violence**

- Cannot be condoned from either side
- Will not lead to victory for either side
- Causing the death of anyone – Palestinian or Israeli – is condemnable

### **Settlements and the Wall**

- Construction should be halted
- Wall should be on 1967 border if anywhere

### **Israeli and Palestinian Violence**

- Violence only fuels more violence

### **International law**

- U.N. Resolutions should if possible be the basis for peace negotiations and final status
- Deems Israeli settlements and the construction of the wall as illegal
- Deems Israeli assassination policy and suicide attacks by some Palestinian groups as illegal

### **Peace process**

- Offered Palestinians a homeland crisscrossed by Israeli settlements and Jewish-only bypass roads
- Has failed due to Israel's failure to stop settlement expansion or to implement many of its road-map obligations
- Has failed due to the Palestinian Authority's failure to disarm militants
- Negotiations should resume

### **Leadership**

- Critical of Israeli, Palestinian and American leadership. Recognizes the strengths and flaws of individual leaders

## Appendix B: Classification Tables

### Tabular Summary of The Oregonian's Coverage

(June 1, 2004 – May 31, 2005)

<b>Editorial</b>		
	Number	Percentages
Israeli-narrative	10	83 %
Palestinian-narrative	0	0
Neutral	2	17 %
Total	12	
<b>Op-ed</b>		
	Number	Percentages
Israeli-narrative	14	56 %
Palestinian-narrative	1	4 %
Neutral	10	40 %
Total	25	
<b>Letters to the Editor</b>		
	Number	Percentages
Israeli-narrative	10	28 %
Palestinian-narrative	21	58 %
Neutral	5	14 %
Total	36	



<b>Cartoons</b>		
	Number	Percentages
Israeli-narrative	5	62 %
Palestinian-narrative	3	38 %
Neutral	0	0
Total	8	

## Table of Editorials

<b>Date</b>	<b>Title of Piece</b>	<b>Type</b>	<b>Author</b>	<b>Classification</b>	<b>Comments</b>
06/14/04	There's a new East in East-West	Editorial	Staff	Israeli-narrative	Ignores Israel's abuses of human rights and international law.
06/23/04	Best bring Harry to the beach, too	Editorial	Staff	Israeli-narrative	Adopts Israeli-narrative on Camp David Talks 2000.
06/23/04	A U.S.-funded salute to terrorism	Editorial	Staff	Israeli-narrative	Ignores Israel's abuses of human rights and international law.
07/13/04	Israel's coalition to clear out	Editorial	Staff	Israeli-narrative	Adopts Israel's narrative on Wall.
10/30/04	Arafat's illness	Editorial	Staff	Israeli-narrative	Ignores Israel's abuses of human rights and international laws. Adopts Israel's narrative on Camp David Talks of 2000. Arafat is viewed as the main obstacle to peace.
11/06/04	The right time in the Middle East	Editorial	Staff	Israeli-narrative	Ignores Israel's abuses of human rights and international laws. Arafat is viewed as the main obstacle to peace.

<b>Date</b>	<b>Title of Piece</b>	<b>Type</b>	<b>Author</b>	<b>Classification</b>	<b>Comments</b>
11/12/04	Opening the door in Palestine	Editorial	Staff	Israeli-narrative	Ignores Israel's abuses of human rights and international law. Adopts Israel's narrative on Camp David Talks of 2000. Arafat is viewed as the main obstacle to peace.
12/17/04	Giving peace a chance?	Editorial	Staff	Israeli-narrative	No mention of Israeli violence or occupation.
1/12/05	A big win, a bigger challenge.	Editorial	Staff	Israeli-narrative	No explanations as to what actions Israel must take to advance peace.
01/18/05	Abbas response should spur talks	Editorial	Staff	Israeli-narrative	Adopts Israel's narrative of defensive posture. No explanations as to what actions Israel must take to advance peace.
02/09/05	An old reality in the Mideast	Editorial	Staff	Neutral	No descriptions as to steps necessary for peace.
04/12/05	Referring back to the road map	Editorial	Staff	Neutral	

**Table of Commentaries/Op-Eds**

<b>Date</b>	<b>Title of Piece</b>	<b>Type</b>	<b>Author</b>	<b>Classification</b>	<b>Comments</b>
07/21/04	Emptiness of Arafat at core of catastrophe	Op-ed	David Sarasohn	Israeli-narrative	Adopts Israel's narrative on Wall and Arafat.
09/05/04	No culture is perfect in Middle East	Op-ed	Irshad Manji	Israeli-narrative	Handwaving reference to Israel's human rights violations. Racist argument on Palestinian culture, calling it "a popular culture of incitement." Op-ed should be named the "problem with Palestinian culture".
09/08/04	The massacre of innocents	Op-ed	David Brooks	Israeli-narrative	Ignores Israel's human rights abuses.
09/28/04	Misreading the mayhem of the jihadists	Op-ed	David Ignatius	Neutral	
10/16/04	Not all voices in Mideast talk of death	Op-ed	Robert Landauer	Israeli-narrative	Ignores Israel's abuses of human rights and international law. Utilizes material exclusively from pro-Israel website without disclosing important information about founders of the website.

<b>Date</b>	<b>Title of Piece</b>	<b>Type</b>	<b>Author</b>	<b>Classification</b>	<b>Comments</b>
11/12/04	Arafat – who was he (A Terrorist)	Op-ed	Max Boot	Israeli-narrative	Ignores Israel's abuses of human rights and international law. Adopts Israel's narrative on Camp David Talks of 2000 and Arafat is viewed as the main obstacle to peace.
11/12/04	Arafat – who was he (A martyr: The hero of a people)	Op-ed	Ali Alarabi	Neutral	
11/16/04	Arafat's legacy? The mire of revolution	Op-ed	Charles Krauthammer	Israeli-narrative	Ignores Israel's abuses of human rights and international law. Adopts Israel's narrative on Camp David Talks of 2000. Arafat is viewed as the main obstacle to peace.
11/17/04	Questions for Rice's confirmation	Op-ed	George Will	Israeli-narrative	Ignores incitement in Israel against Palestinians.
11/18/04	Farewell to a voice of reason	Op-ed	Nicholas Kristof	Neutral	Encourages balanced approach between U.S. administration and Israel.
11/18/04	Another View	Op-ed	William Safire	Israeli-narrative	

<b>Date</b>	<b>Title of Piece</b>	<b>Type</b>	<b>Author</b>	<b>Classification</b>	<b>Comments</b>
12/10/04	After Arafat, new paths in Middle East	Op-ed	David Sarasohn	Israeli-narrative	Ignores Israel's abuses of human rights and international law. Adopts Israel's narrative on Camp David Talks of 2000. Arafat is viewed as the main obstacle to peace.
12/14/04	Ballots and pistachios for Iraq	Op-ed	Thomas Friedman	Neutral	
12/23/04	One unfortunate event after another into a hopeful future	Op-ed	David Brooks	Israeli-narrative	Adopts Israeli-narrative regarding international laws and human rights arguments in support of Israeli security.
12/28/04	Reckoning with a year of analytical folly	Op-ed	Rich Lowry	Israeli-narrative	Adopts Israeli-narrative regarding Arafat, Palestinian Authority, Sharon's "crackdown" and peace process.
1/12/05	Europe warms to Bush	Op-ed	Micklethwait and Woolridge	Neutral	
1/16/05	The Iraqi election imperative	Op-ed	Thomas Friedman	Neutral	
02/09/05	Peace doesn't soar, but may inch forward	Op-ed	David Sarasohn	Israeli-narrative	Adopts Sharon's government position.
02/13/05	Abbas undoes Arafat's intifada; will he keep peace?	Op-ed	Charles Krauthammer	Israeli-narrative	Makes racist claims, "Arabs respect toughness." Adopts extreme right wing views of Israeli government.

<b>Date</b>	<b>Title of Piece</b>	<b>Type</b>	<b>Author</b>	<b>Classification</b>	<b>Comments</b>
2/13/05	Democracy in Iraq remains our best chance	Op-ed	Thomas Friedman	Neutral	
2/13/05	Condi's charm	Op-ed	Georgie Ann Geyer	Neutral	
03/02/05	Lebanon: the danger facing Palestinians	Op-ed	David Sarasohn	Israeli-narrative	No attempt to have an understanding that Palestinians do not control their territories or that they are under economic and military occupation.
04/03/05	Rice Draws Four Wild Cards	Op-ed	Thomas Friedman	Neutral	
04/17/05	The irony of Gaza	Op-ed	Trudy Rubin	Palestinian-Narrative	While this op-ed may have qualified as neutral, it is counted as Palestinian narrative since it includes more elements from the Palestinian narrative.
05/28/05	Guantanamo Bay? Just shut it down	Op-ed	Thomas Friedman	Neutral	

Mentions not used in this study in editorials and op-eds (Less than 2 sentences)

<i>Date</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Author</i>
11/17/04	Colin Powell's redeeming failures	Op-ed	Walter Isaacson
11/20/04	Pursue the Oil-for-Food scandal	Editorial	Staff
12/19/04	Bush stalls crucial U.N. Arab report	Op-ed	Thomas Friedman
4/10/05	Hope of Arab reform of Arab regimes...	Op-ed	Thomas Friedman
5/20/05	U.N. human rights operation has a long way to go	Op-ed	Goli Ameri



### Table of Letters to the Editor

<b>Date</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Classification</b>	<b>Comments</b>
06/14/04	Palestinian rage palpable	Palestinian-narrative	Printed same day as editorial.
07/20/04	Topple the wall	Palestinian-narrative	Printed same day as editorial.
07/20/04	Looking for win-win	Palestinian-narrative	Counters 7/13 editorial.
07/23/04	U.N. wrong on Israeli security	Israeli narrative	
07/24/04	Resettle Palestinians	Israeli-narrative	
07/24/04	Palestinians displaced, 'caged'	Palestinian-narrative	Counter's Sarasohn's 7/21 Op-ed.
07/25/04	Wall ruling ignores terrorism	Israeli-narrative	
07/29/04	Treat causes, not symptoms	Neutral	
08/02/04	Changing policies won't help	Israeli-narrative	
08/29/04	Changing Iran's nuclear arms	Israeli-narrative	
08/29/04	Senators abet Israel's land grab	Palestinian-narrative	
09/09/04	Grief and sympathy in Russia	Israeli-narrative	
09/10/04	Israel's wall should come down	Palestinian-narrative	
09/11/04	Radical Islam a 'barbaric enemy'	Israeli-narrative	
10/25/04	Peace opportunity squandered	Neutral	

11/02/04	Arafat's editorial mean-spirited	Palestinian-narrative	Counters 10/30 editorial.
11/03/04	Camp David offer unacceptable	Palestinian-narrative	Counters 10/30 editorial.
11/03/04	Arafat rightly rejected plan	Palestinian-narrative	Counters 10/30 editorial.
11/12/04	With passing, hope for peace	Israeli-narrative	Printed same day as editorial and Max Boot op-ed.
11/12/04	Israel never kept its promises	Palestinian-narrative	Printed same day as editorial and Max Boot op-ed.
11/12/04	Not right to take neighbor's land	Palestinian-narrative	Printed same day as editorial and Max Boot op-ed.
11/18/04	Arafat comments one-sided	Neutral	
11/18/04	To many, Arafat only hope	Palestinian-narrative	Counters Krauthammer 11/16 op-ed.
11/19/04	Look at history of region	Israeli-narrative	
11/19/04	Help attain peace in Mideast	Neutral	
11/20/04	Defending Arafat 'unconscionable'	Israeli-narrative	Supports Krauthammer 11/16 op-ed.
11/20/04	Peace begins with Palestinian state	Palestinian-narrative	
12/20/04	See how we support democracy	Palestinian-narrative	Counters Sarasohn's 12/10 op-ed.
12/22/04	Violence not one-sided	Neutral	
12/29/04	All such settlements illegal	Palestinian-narrative	Counters Brook's 12/23 op-ed.
01/29/05	Is it all just about liberation?	Palestinian-narrative	Counters 1/18 editorial.

02/21/05	It's up to Israel to make peace	Palestinian-narrative	Counters Sarasohn's 2/9 op-ed and Krauthammer 2/12 op-eds.
02/25/05	Israel still taking, not giving	Palestinian-narrative	Counters Sarasohn's 2/9 op-ed and Krauthammer 2/12 op-eds.
03/07/05	Palestinians deprived of control	Palestinian-narrative	Counters Sarasohn's 3/2 op-ed.
03/08/05	Palestinians respond to aggression.	Palestinian-narrative	Counters Sarasohn's 3/2 op-ed.
03/21/05	Palestinian issue key to U.S. Image	Palestinian-narrative	

Mentions on Israel or Palestine (Not used in study due to letter focus.)

<i>Date</i>	<i>Title</i>
11/14/04	Get International Help
11/18/04	Learn about the Arab world
2/18/05	Don't punish entire village
3/10/05	Put Syria's actions in perspective
4/6/05	No lies just bad information

**Table of Cartoons**

<b>Date</b>	<b>Subject</b>	<b>Classification</b>	<b>Comments</b>
07/20/04	Corruption of Palestinian Authority	Israeli-narrative	Adopts Israel's views on the Palestinian Authority.
09/15/04	Violence continues after Saddam's capture	Israeli-narrative	Ignores violence on Palestinians.
09/07/04	On Israel relocating settlements from the Gaza to the West Bank	Palestinian-narrative	Adopts Palestinian view on settlements being an obstacle to peace.
11/12/04	Arafat - "A road bump to Peace"	Israeli-narrative	Adopts Israel's narrative on Arafat.
11/13/04	Suha stops by dispossessed Palestinians	Israeli-narrative	Adopts Israel's narrative on Arafat.
11/13/04	Kerry reads paper, "Arafat widow may inherit billions"	Israeli-narrative	Adopts Israel's narrative on Arafat.
03/26/05	Sharon begging behind high-rise settlement construction.	Palestinian-narrative	Adopts Palestinian view on settlements being an obstacle to peace.
04/17/05	Sharon leaving settlers behind at Bush's Crawford ranch	Palestinian-narrative	Adopts Palestinian view on settlements being an obstacle to peace.

Note: Cartoon on 9/5/04, about a 'mole' in the Pentagon, was not included because it did not directly apply to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

## Appendix C: Case Study 1 and 2 Notes

### Case Study 1: June 2004

News articles and main thrust when not obvious from the headline:

1. June 4, 2004: "Sharon Pledges Cabinet Vote on Gaza Withdrawal"
  - Sharon fired cabinet ministers opposed to plan
  - Israel destroyed at least 18 houses in Gaza
  - Week long sweep through Rafah camp resulted in 40 Palestinians being killed with international criticism lodged
  - Sharon's goal is clear—to trade Gaza for control over West Bank Settlement Blocks
2. June 5, 2004: "Sharon Fires Plan Foes, But One Minister Eludes Notice"
  - A Sharon minister dodges couriers carrying dismissal letters
3. June 6, 2005: "Sharon denies hardliners have weakened Gaza Plan"
  - Vote scheduled today on Gaza Withdrawal Plan
4. June 7, 2004: "Diluted Israel Withdrawal Plan OK'd"
5. June 7, 2004: "Israel Jails Fatah Leader For Life in Fatal Attacks"
6. June 8, 2004: "Sharon's Political Woes Persist Despite Votes of Confidence"
  - Two Palestinians including a mentally disturbed man killed by the Israeli military
  - A day earlier, a paralyzed man was killed by the Israeli military

7. June 10, 2004: "Court Decides Against Charging Israeli Leader's Son With Contempt"
  - Gilad Sharon refused to provide documents to court regarding father's, Ariel Sharon, corruption case
8. June 11, 2004: "Israel Will Pay Settlers Who Leave Gaza Voluntarily"
9. June 13, 2004: "Teens Recruit Teen Bombers, Israel Says"
10. June 14, 2004: "Israel Attorney-General Declines to Indict Sharon"
11. June 16, 2004: "Israel Drops Sharon Corruption Case"
12. June 18, 2004: "Israel Proposes 2 ½ Mile Gaza Trench"
  - Unclear whether Palestinian homes would have to be razed
  - Israel has razed 100 Palestinian homes recently
  - In Rafah, 13,000 Palestinians have been displaced as a result
13. June 21, 2004: "Peres Presses Sharon on Withdrawal from Gaza"
14. June 23, 2004: "U.S. Presses Israel on Settlements"
  - Jewish settlement population increases by 10,000 per year
  - Sharon promised in 2001 to dismantle settlement outposts and has not done so
  - Israel killed two Palestinians in Gaza
15. June 27, 2004: "Israelis Kill 7 Fugitives in West Bank Ambush"
  - Nablus raid
16. June 28, 2004: "Palestinians Turn Tunnel Into Bomb; One Dead"
  - Palestinians dig tunnel under army outpost in Gaza and detonate bomb killing one soldier

- Fight resulted between the Israeli military and Palestinian fighters with two Palestinians being killed
  - Total of 11 Israeli soldiers have died in Gaza in one year and “dozens” of Palestinians have been killed in Israeli raids in Gaza
17. June 29, 2004: “Israel Drives Into Gaza to Prevent Attacks”
- Major drive into Gaza with bulldozes, tanks and gun-ships
  - Palestinians launched a rocket attack which killed a three year old and a man
  - Israel fires from helicopters into a 16-story building housing a “ Hamas-linked media center”
  - The Israeli military blew up an 8-story building after razing 15 nearby Palestinian homes with 60 people left homeless
18. June 30, 2004: “More Palestinian Rockets Hit Israeli Town as Sharon Visits”
- Rocket hits Sderot during Sharon visit; one person is injured
  - In Gaza, Israeli tanks encircle the town of Beit Hanoun, home to 21,000 Palestinians
  - Bulldozers tore up the main road in the 8th major Israeli operation there since the outbreak of fighting in 2000
  - 17 Palestinian youngsters are wounded

## Case Study 2: July 2004

News articles and main thrust when not obvious from the headline:

1. July 1, 2004: "Israeli Court Tells Army to Reroute Part of Wall"
  - Israeli Supreme Court found that Israel had legitimate security rationale for Wall
  - Government should reroute with Palestinian farmers needs in mind
  - Beit Surik was one affected village with 48,000 acres that would be confiscated on "Israeli side"
2. July 2, 2004: "U.S. Scolds Israel On West Bank Outposts"
  - U.S. officials criticize Israel for moving to declare illegal outposts "legal" to avoid dismantling them as required by 2003 U.S. backed peace plan
  - In Gaza, Israeli soldiers killed five Palestinians and a nine year old boy
3. July 3, 2004: "Palestinians Kill Suspected Informant"
  - Israeli troops kill three Palestinians in Gaza
  - Israel destroys homes and structures where the Israeli military claims Palestinians are building a tunnel
  - Israel to review route of its Wall after Israeli Supreme Court ruling
  - Palestinians fire rockets against Israeli town of Sderot
4. July 8, 2004: "Fatah Cites Corruption, Calls for Arafat to Share Power"
5. July 9, 2004: "Sharon, Peres Discuss Coalition"
  - Palestinian man killed in Qalqilya after soldiers open fire on stone throwers
  - Palestinians fire rockets into Israel; no one is injured
6. July 10, 2004: "Court Rules Israel Should Destroy Wall"
  - World Court rules Israel is violating the freedom of movement of Palestinians



- Wall route constitutes de facto annexation
  - Wall gravely violates Palestinian rights and infringements can not be justified by military exigencies or by requirements of national security or public order
7. July 11, 2004: "Israel Bus Stop Bombing Kills One, Wounds, 21"
  8. July 13, 2004: "Sharon Invites Labor into His Shaking Coalition"
  9. July 15, 2004: "Israel Prepares for Arafat Death, Puts Jerusalem Burial Off Limits"
  10. July 16, 2004: "Sharon Asks Ultra Orthodox Party Coalition"
  11. July 17, 2004: "Palestinian Security Officials Resign"
    - Four French citizens and Palestinian police chief were kidnapped by Palestinian militants
  12. July 18, 2004: "As Tension Builds, Arafat Agrees to Security Overhaul"
  13. July 19, 2004: "Arafat, Swept Up in Near Anarchy, Struggles for Footing"
  14. July 20, 2004: "Arafat Struggles With Political Crisis"
    - Israeli helicopters fired missiles twice at a house in Shati Refugee Camp in Gaza wounding one
  15. July 21, 2004: "Palestinian Prime Minister Stays on Job Despite His Resignation"
    - General Assembly passes resolution calling on Israel to abide by ICJ ruling and tear down Wall Vote of 150 to 6
  16. July 21, 2004: "2 Israeli Soldiers, 1 Guerrilla Killed in Fighting Along Lebanon Border"

17. July 23, 2004: "Report Says Israel Ignoring Pledge, Permitting Growth of Settlements"
  - Peace Now report uses aerial photography to prove that Israel is expanding settlements
  - More than 100 acres of West Bank and Gaza land being built in last six months for settlements
  
18. July 25, 2004: "Palestinian Militant Attacks Challenge Arafat's Control"
  
19. July 26, 2004: "Thousands of Israelis Form 55 Mile Protest Line"
  - The Israeli military killed six Palestinians in the West Bank town of Tulkarem
  
20. July 27, 2004: "New West Bank Barrier Route Selected"
  - Israel Defense Minister mapped out a new route for the Israeli wall that will reduce some hardships to Palestinians
  
21. July 28, 2004: "Palestinian Prime Minister Withdraws Resignation"
  
22. July 30, 2004: "Israel Changes Route for West Bank Barrier"