

# **Media Coverage of UN Membership Request of Palestine: An Analysis on New York Times**

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## **ABSTRACT**

On 28 September 2011 the Palestine's Authority Administration applied to the UN to change its "Entity" status to an "Observer Membership" status. On 29 November 2012 the majority of UN general assembly members voted in favour of the application. It is to be noted that the USA voted against the Palestine's Authority Administration application to the UN. Media coverage on this application process is important to see in this study.

New York Times was selected as the focus of this research study because it is one of the very well-known newspapers all-over the world and it has the highest international circulation. NYT is widely quoted by other newspapers all around the globe and it is considered a credible source by the public, congress and decision makers in the USA and abroad. Further, it is highly influential because it has international wire services, and has its own correspondents in different parts of the world.

The main purpose of this study is to find out how NYT framed the issue of the Palestinian application and if there is a parallel between USA interest and the media coverage on this matter. The research study is important since there is no previous study on the media coverage of Palestine's Authority application for observer status membership for UN on NYT. UN decision on the Palestine application will be of critical importance not only to the Palestinian people but also to many other countries beside the Arab world.

This study focused on three questions: What issues were emphasized by the NYT in its coverage of Palestine's application for the observer membership status in the UN? Is there a relation between NYT coverage and the USA's decision regarding the Palestine's application for UN membership? And How NYT presented Palestine's issues versus Israeli issues? The research study focused on the news published for 19 months between June, 2011 and December, 2012. The electronic archive of NYT was used to analyse the relevant news stories. Content analysis is used in this research study.

The main results of this study show that NYT coverage was against Palestinian interests and against Palestinian application to get an observer status UN membership. In contrast, the general coverage of NYT was in favour of both Israel and U.S interests.

**Keywords:** Palestine, Israel, UN, USA, NYT.

## ÖZ

28 Eylül 2011 tarihinde Filistin birleşmiş milletler 'deki 'gözlemci kuruluş' statüsünü, 'üye olmayan gözlemci devlet' statüsüne yükseltmek için başvuruda bulunmuştur. 29 Kasım 2012 tarihinde de oy çokluğu ile bu statüyü kazanmıştır. ABD bu oylamada Filistin'in üyeliği için red oyu kullanmıştır. Bu süreçte medyanın tavrına bakmak bu çalışmanın temelini oluşturmuştur.

Bu tez çalışmasında en çok tanınan uluslararası bir gazete olmasının yanında, en yüksek tiraja sahip olması nedeniyle New York Times gazetesi örneklem olarak seçilmiştir. NYT gazetesi pek çok uluslararası medya kuruluşu için kaynak olarak kullanılmakta ve hem kamuoyu hem de karar veren mekanizmalar ve kuruluşlar tarafından da güvenilir haber kaynağı olarak görülmektedir. Uluslararası haber gündem etkili bir yere sahiptir ve dünyanın dört bir yanında muhabirleri bulunmaktadır.

Bu çalışmada NYT gazetesinin Filistin'in başvuru sürecinde nasıl bir tavır takındığı ve yayınlarında ABD menfaatleri ile bir paralellik gösterip göstermediğine bakılmıştır. Filistin'in BM'ye 'üye olmayan gözlemci devlet' statüsüne yükseltmek için bulunduğu başvuruya ilişkin bir medya çalışması olmaması açısından bu çalışma önemlidir. BM'in bu konudaki kararı sadece Filistin değil tüm dünya için hassas bir öneme sahiptir.

Bu çalışma üç soru etrafında yoğunlaşmaktadır: Filistin'in BM'ye 'üye olmayan gözlemci devlet' statüsüne yükseltmek için bulunduğu başvuruda hangi konular NYT tarafından daha çok işlenmiştir? NYT yayınları ile ABD kararları arasında Filistin'in

bu başvurusu konusunda bir paralellik var mıdır? NYT Filistin konusunu İsrail karşısında nasıl konumlandırmıştır?

Bu çalışma Haziran 2011 ile Aralık 2012 tarihleri arasındaki 19 aylık haberleri incelemiştir. NYT'ın electronic arşivi kullanılarak haberlere ulaşılmıştır. Araştırmada içerik analizi uygulanmıştır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Filistin, İsrail, BM, ABD, NYT.

## **To My Family**

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# Chapter 1

## INTRODUCTION

Palestinian issue is one of the important political issues in the world because the long time of conflict between Palestinian people and Israel. To explain some important events and the role of United States media coverage for this issue, this chapter shows background of the Palestinian Israeli conflict since the war of 1948. Then gives an overview about the relation between U.S and Israel. Also this chapter shows the purpose of this study, the research questions, the importance of study, and the limitations of study.

### 1.1 Background of Study

The Palestinian cause suffered severe challenges through the past six decades. The war of 1948 (Al Nakba) which was between Israeli armed gangs (Hagana, Stern, Irgun) against Palestinian people. Arab countries were involved armies: (Egypt, Lebanon, Syria, Trans-Jordan, Iraq, and contingents from Saudi Arabia and Yemen). (Lodewijk, 2011). A UN vote resulted in the establishment of the State of Israel.

After the establishment of the state of Israel there has been a several wars between (Al-Nakba) in 1948 to (Al Naksa) in 1967, like 1956 war between Egypt and (Israeli, France and UK) and 1967 war. The war of 1967, resulted in Israel's occupation of the remaining historic Palestinian land: the East Jerusalem, West Bank and Gaza Strip. Also, Israeli occupied the Syrian Golan which it controls until now. Subsequently, the region has witnessed the signing of several peace agreements like

Madrid Conference 1991 and Oslo Agreement 1993. (see sections 2.2 and 2.3). None of these agreements, to date, succeeded so far to resolve the Arab-Israeli conflict.

As a result of the repeated failed attempts to reach peace, Palestinian's leadership whose interested in having a statehood, decided to apply to the United Nations on 28 November 2011, to seek international recognition of Palestine's right, to gain the status of observer. Thus, this step was an attempt to seek international legitimacy of and support to the Palestinians' right to live in their land that was captured by Israel in 1967: the West Bank, Gaza Strip and East Jerusalem to be its capital. This important event was a hearty meal for the local, national, and international media. The International media gave this event a large space in its coverage.

U.S. media in particular, covered the event in different ways and at different levels of importance. Many previous studies showed the bias of the American media coverage favouring the Israeli position (Chang, K and Zeldes, G, 2006). Moreover, according to a study of Abushhab (2013), U.S. media sided with American-Israeli interests in its coverage against the Palestinian cause. The American media has obvious imbalance in its coverage of the conflict. (Abushabe, 2013). For example, Chang and Zeldes (2006) study, shows the high number of Israeli sources that was considered in comparison to than the Palestinian ones in three from the four major American newspapers, New York Time, Washington Post, Los Angeles Times and Houston Chronicle (Chang and Zeldes 2006). Further, the US media showed negativity towards the Arabs, their religious background and their behaviour (Abushabe, 2013).

Understandably the U.S. economic and strategic interests play vital role in its foreign policy decisions. In addition, the impact of the very strong Israeli lobby in the United States has been very obvious in strongly influencing the foreign policy of the United States in favour of Israeli's interest.

According to Mearsheimer, J. & Walt, S., (2006), the Israeli lobby has two important strategies for pressuring U.S governments to support Israel. First, it is a historical fact that Israeli lobby has a great influence in Washington, where it has been very successful in exerting a great deal of pressure on almost all the members of the Congress, as well as the executive branch to support "Israel" interest. The second strategy is that the Israeli lobby has been equally successful in influencing a vast segments of the public which manifests itself in the public discourse in US. The Israeli lobby has for decades portrayed Israel as a victimised progressive democratic country, the only country in the Middle East that is ally and willing to defend the US strategic interest. Therefore, Israel believe it is entitled to receive all the support militarily as well as economic.

This study will present in detail, how the US media behave/perform towards the complexity and interactions between American interests and the continuous relentless pressure of the Israeli lobby on the decision-makers in the United States.

## **1.2 Purpose of Study**

This study examined the New York Times coverage of the Palestinian's Authority's application to the UN to change its "Entity" status to have an observer membership status. The study aims to analysis New York Times' coverage of Palestinian application to the UN. Furthermore, it compares the relation between US interests

and NYT coverage about Palestine, where Palestinian issue has been of interest to regional powers, and the international community.

Further, the study provided data that related the importance of foreign news, international news, and international media that are related to the content of this study. Thus, the main purpose of this study is to find out how NYT framed the issue under study and if there is a relationship between USA foreign economic and strategic interests and the media coverage.

### **1.3 Research Questions**

The study focuses on three questions:

Q.1. What issues were emphasized by the NYT in its coverage of Palestine's application for observer status in UN?

Q.2. Is there a relationship between NYT coverage and the USA interests regarding the Palestine's application for an observer status at the UN?

Q.3. How did NYT presented Palestine and Israel?

### **1.4 Importance of the Study**

The Palestinian issue is of great concern to Middle East Region and the international community. Also it has been one of the most important concerns to both the Intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations around the world. The reason of such attention is the long-time of the conflict between Israel and Palestinian people. The application of Palestinian authority to the UN seeking observer member status, was the latest step to give Palestinian people their rights and achieve their dream by achieving a Palestinian statehood. Further, USA is the most powerful country in the world which has an important interest and role in the peace

process between the two sides. Equally other countries around the world have interest in solving the conflict.

This study seeks to identify the role of the NYT in covering this issue because it is one of the influential media outlets in USA. NYT has strong impact on the dissension makers and the public inside and outside USA. The study tries to find out the relation between USA interests and the NYT coverage of Palestinian application to the UN for an observer status. On the other hand the study attempts to explain the difference between Palestinian situation before the request to gain the observer membership status in 28 September 2011 and the consequences of being accepted in 29 November 2012.

### **1.5 Limitations of Study**

The researcher used NYT online archive which allowed him to access news published from 1871 till our current time. But the main problem here is that NYT allows non-registered users to use only 10 published stories per month. Therefore the researcher had to use 19 different computers to download the articles. The news stories during the 19 months period of 1 June 2011 to 31 December 2012 were chosen for this research. The period chosen to cover NYT from 28 September 2011 to 29 November 2012 aims to explain the difference between Palestinian situation before the request in 28 September 2011, and after been accepted in 29 November 2012. Additionally, there is a limitation in the number of previous studies about the coverage of NYT for Palestinian case.

## **Chapter 2**

### **PALESTINIAN HISTORY**

The aim of this chapter is to give an overview about the Palestinian history of long struggle. The first section focuses on the history of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. The second section will focus on pseudo attempts to solve the conflict. The third section presents the stalled negotiations after Oslo agreement until the application period. The fourth section will focus on the Israeli lobby in USA. And the fifth section focuses on the before, during and after Palestinian application for UN.

As we started the year 2014, we can see clearly a lot of transformations in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. A lot of outstanding issues between the two parties remains due to tactics by Israel to frustrate the peace process for more than 20 years.

The settlements issue in the West Bank and status of Jerusalem as the capital of proposed Palestinian state has been one of the major problems. Racial segregation converted the Palestinian cities into ghettos. There are heavy losses to the Palestinian economy because the Israel's have full control of it. Moreover, Israel's blockade of the Gaza Strip turned it into a big prison for about 1.8 million Palestinian (El hela, A. and Itani, M., 2010).

At the internal level, the split between Fatah and Hamas has a negative impact on the Palestinian situation, and the deserve of the Palestinian people to achieve their rights and independence. According to Fanack organization report about Palestinian

conflict, in January 2006, Islamic Resistance Movement ( Hamas) won in the Palestinian Legislative Council (PLC) elections; Hamas won 74 seats of the total 132 seats in the (PLC). The Palestinian National Liberation Movement (Fatah) which it was the most important political force among the Palestinians at that time, it has got 45 seats. Thus, the Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas appointed Ismail Haniyeh (a Hamas leader) as prime minister on March 29 / March 2006.

“On 14 June 2007, Abbas dismissed Haniyeh at the height of internal clashes in Gaza between armed forces of Hamas and Fatah, which led to the complete takeover of power in the Gaza Strip by Hamas" (Fanack, 2010, p. 1). Apart from the negative effects of the division on the internal Palestinian situation, it has also led to the "complicated further the negotiations with Israel which by that time had already come to an almost complete standstill." (Fanack, 2010, p. 1).

Meanwhile, in the time of the stoppage of the path of negotiations between the Palestinians and Israelis, Israel seeking to keep the Palestinians without a state for the longest possible period, because the advantage of the time factor in the expansion of settlements and the imposition of conditions on Palestinian in any future solution.

According to Alshare (2005), Israel aims to complete the construction of the separation wall, which can take control of half the area of the West Bank that are supposed to be part of a future Palestinian state. Secondly, separate Jerusalem from the West Bank with the aim of taking it out of any future settlement with Palestinian. Thirdly, Controlling on over half of the water sources in the West Bank (basins water). Lastly, the new reality on the ground will be different by the road map

provided by Israeli negotiator since the start of negotiations. Thus, cutting the way for the establishment of Palestinian state.

At the international level, the international organizations and bodies such as the United Nations, the Security Council, and the Quartet, are still incapable to find a solution to the conflict that continued for more than 65 years.

The international collusion mortgaged the Palestinian rights due to the positions of some major countries. The major losers are the unarmed civilians who are suffering from successive wars. The heavy losses of life and property, closures, roadblocks, and deteriorating economy. In addition to the worries of every daily life the population suffering due to the brutal practices by the occupation forces.

## **2.1 The History of Palestinian-Israeli Conflict**

The history of the conflict between the Palestinians and the Israelis, has been through a complex stages since the Israel's occupation of Palestine which culminated in 15 May 1948 (Al Nakba). On that fateful day of the Palestinian people where Israeli committed massacres against the Palestinian Civilians inside their towns and villages (Jbara, Beshawi, Abed, 2011). The infamous (Deir Yaseen) in 9 of April 1948 is an example of repeated massacres which “254 Palestinian people were killed” (Matthew, 2011, p. 330). The Palestinian people were forced to flee their home land and become refugees in West Bank and Gaza Strip and many Arab countries, as Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, and Egypt, and other Western countries. They became refugees in those countries, where they live in refugee camps in deteriorating humanitarian conditions until the present day. (Bahdi, 2003)

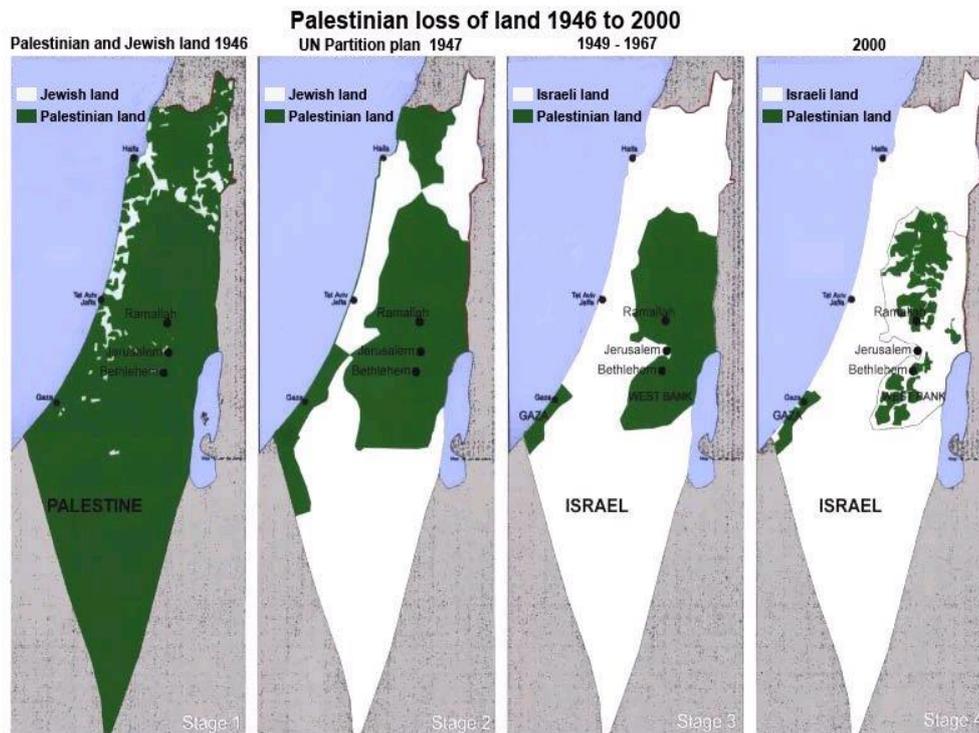


Figure 1: Palestinian land between 1946 to 2000, from ([www.sadaka.ie](http://www.sadaka.ie))

The Palestinian historical map shows the drastic losses of their land that they have been suffering since 1946. Before Al Nakba, of 1946 Palestinian had legally owned most of Palestine. In 1947, UN decided on the division of Palestine to become two states: Palestinian state and Jewish state. Then Palestine after the wars and after unjustified military expansion by Israel, it shrank and was reduced to Gaza and West Bank including East Jerusalem. Consequently, Palestinian cities became ghettos controlled by Israel.

According to (Palestine's Modern and Contemporary History book, 2011 by Jbara.T, Beshawi. S, Abed.R,) after the Israel's occupation of Palestine the region has seen many wars, up to 1967 war when Israel by then completed its occupation of the remaining historic Palestine (West Bank and the Gaza Strip). In addition Israel occupied the Syrian Golan which it controls until now. Egypt recovered most of Sinai in the October war in 1973. Subsequently a peace agreement between Egypt

and Israel was signed in 1979. Accordingly, Egypt recovered all of Sinai but with restrictions regarding deploying military combat troops. Sinai witnessed a relative calm since then (Jbara, Beshawi and Abed, 2011).

A Qaeda extremist however, about two years ago, invaded the Eastern Area in Sinai, and has been launching brutal attacks against Egypt. Since the beginning of the sixties of the last century, the Palestinian scene began witnessing an increasing activity in the political debate about the rights of the Palestinian people to resist by all means. Further, The aim of that struggle is to recover the usurped rights and land. Also to promote the Palestinian cause in United Nations.

Following Palestinian first conference in Jerusalem in 2 June 1964, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) led by Ahmed Shuqairi was announced (Qree, 2008). PLO included the Palestinian organizations and factions that were resisting the occupation. Later PLO became the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people in all international forums. (Palestine's Modern and Contemporary History book, 2011 by Jbara.T, Beshawi. S, Abed.R.). Moreover, the United Nations has issued a resolution (3236) in 1974 which recognized the rights of the Palestinian people to return to their original homeland and independence. Also it recognized the PLO as the sole representative of the Palestinian people (Qree, 2008).

The Israelis invaded Lebanon in 1982 and killed thousands of Palestinians and Lebanese civilians in the massacres of Sabra and Shatila. According to the book of Gelbert Ashkar and Michelle Wartfishcy, (2007) the real aim of Israelis invade is to eliminate the presence of the PLO in Lebanon and that what happened when Israel

succeeded to expel the Palestinian resistance led by Yasser Arafat from Lebanon to Tunisia (Ashkar, G. and Wartfishcy, M., 2007).

In 8 December 1987 the first Palestinian Intifada (uprising) began after an Israeli truck collision with two Palestinian cars in Jabalya refugee camp in Gaza Strip. This incident resulted in the martyrdom of 4 Palestinian workers and ignited the first spark of the “Stones Uprising”. Subsequently, it spread all over Palestinian territories. Moreover, the aims of Al Intifada was to put pressure on Israel to end its racist practices against Palestinians, such as the iron fist, the emergency laws, sacrilege, and raising of taxes (Philo and Berry, 2011).

The most important results of the first Intifada were the announcement of the Declaration of Independence by Yasser Arafat when he was in Algeria. Yasser Arafat announced the birth of the Palestinian state on the Palestinian land and Jerusalem as its capital. Then the United States' decided to open a dialogue with the Palestine Liberation Organization.

## **2.2 Pseudo Attempts to Solve the Conflict**

Middle East region has witnessed the signing of the first peace agreement between Israel and an Arab state on 17 September 1978. It was Between Egypt and Israel in the resort of Camp David in the United States. Whereby the withdrawal of Israeli forces from the Sinai was agreed upon whereby political and economic relations between Egypt and Israel commenced (Brams, J. and Togman, M., 1996).

Madrid Peace Conference held on 30 October 1991, included parties to the conflict in the region ( Israel, Jordan, Syria , Lebanon, and Palestine within the Jordanian delegation ) under American-Soviet sponsorship.

In 1991, Israel established the first secret contacting with the PLO (Area Studies, 1992, p. 132). Subsequently, the two sides started contacting each other. The conference was the first episode in a series of negotiations between the Palestinians and the Israelis. Thus was supposed to be in exchange for the organization recognition of Israel's right, to exist and live in peace side by side, according to UN Security Council resolutions 242 and 338 (Area Studies, 1992).

Furthermore, the resolutions call for Israel's withdrawal from territories occupied in 1967. Moreover, it calls for the establishment of an independent Palestinian state with East Jerusalem as its capital, and the right of return by the Palestinian refugees (Jbara, Beshawi and Abed, 2011).

After Madrid conference, there have been secret negotiations between the PLO and Israel in the Norwegian capital-Oslo which continued for about a year and a half. According to Yasha (2010), these negotiations suggested the establishment of a Palestinian transitional government for a period of five years. Leading to a permanent settlement according to the resolutions of the Security Council (242, 338) (Yasha, 2010, p. 78). "Resolution 242 asserted that Israel must remove its military occupation of Palestine and respect Palestine's sovereignty" (Keramati, 2008).

According to Eli Hertz (2009), the UN Security Council Resolution 242 (1967) of 22 November 1967 includes:

"1. Affirms that the fulfilment of Charter principles requires the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East which should include the application of both the following principles:

(i) Withdrawal of Israel armed forces from territories occupied in the recent conflict;

(ii) Termination of all claims or states of belligerency and respect for and acknowledgment of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every State in the area and their right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries free from threats or acts of force;

2. Affirms further the necessity

(a) For guaranteeing freedom of navigation through international waterways in the area;

(b) For achieving a just settlement of the refugee problem;

(c) For guaranteeing the territorial inviolability and political independence of every State in the area, through measures including the establishment of demilitarized zones;" (Hertz, 2009, p. 6)

The Oslo agreement 1993 resulted in a "Declaration of Principles", which was signed later in Washington on 13 September 1993, which calls for the withdrawal of Israeli troops from Gaza and Jericho. It resulted in the establishment of self-governing civil authority, and holding elections for the presidency which was won by Yasser Arafat (Jbara, Beshawi and Abed, 2011).

According to Palestine's Modern and Contemporary History book, 2011, there were many agreements between the Israeli and Palestinian after Oslo. It included the expansion of Palestinian self-rule authority, and the division of powers in some areas between the two sides. Subsequently it was agreed upon in Washington in 1995 to divide the West Bank into three zones:

Area A, Palestinian self-rule.

Area B, Palestinian civil liability and Israeli security.

Area C, under Israeli civilian control and military.

But all of these rounds of negotiations and agreements between the two sides reached a dead end. Ariel Sharon's storming of the Al-Aqsa Mosque, led to the flare up of the second Palestinian uprising.

According to David Kibble the failures of all the peace talks between the two sides is due to the arrival of right wing extremists to power in Israel, who in fact do not seek to reach a peaceful solution. In addition to the presence of Palestinian armed parties which use force to kill civilians (Kibble, 2003). But from the standpoint of the Palestinian, the struggle against the occupation is right of the Palestinian people and all the methods of struggle against this injustice are legitimate in international law.

### **2.3 Stalled Negotiations**

The Oslo agreement which was held in September 13, 1993 between both Israeli and Palestinian sides, signed to reach a just and comprehensive peace for stopping the decades of conflict between the two sides (Lustick, 1997). According to Ghandor study (2001), the Palestinian negotiators (Saeb Erekat and Muhammad Ishtayeh) suffered from a long series of disappointments due to the failure to reach any concrete agreement on the ground. On the other hand, Israel worked to dictate its presence and force the facts on the ground through the expansion of settlements, Judaizing of Jerusalem and its extensive annexation of additional territories occupied since 1948. Then it became increasingly difficult to make Jerusalem the capital of a future Palestinian state (Ghandor, 2011).

The Palestinian dream was that through peace talks they can establish a Palestinian state on the territories occupied in 1967, (West Bank, Gaza Strip) and East Jerusalem to be the capital of such a state. But that dream began to dissipates, because of the Israeli intransigence, repressive measures and brutal measures against Palestinians. Furthermore they continued the policy of Judaization and settlement expansion, which didn't stop.

According to Ghandor study 2011, negotiations between the two sides failed to offer any serious compromises for more than 20 years. Palestinian leadership were surprised by the request of the government of Benjamin Netanyahu demanding the recognition of the "Jewishness of Israel". According to Palestinian that means it would be impossible to have the "right of return" to Palestine. Moreover, this was the preparation for the expulsion of more than a million and half million Palestinians from Israel (Ghandor, 2011).

In light of the Arab Spring revolutions that started in 2011 which took place around the Palestinians on each side, the Palestinian leadership felt the need to achieve any accomplishment, even if it is only morally.

Facing these challenges the Palestinian leadership decided to raise the issue of the declaration of the Palestinian state at the United Nations seeking an observer membership status, and a recognition as a member state based on the 1967 borders.

## **2.4 The Israeli Lobby in USA**

It is common knowledge that the U.S. relationship with Israel has been very strong before and since the establishment of Israel (Al Nakba) of 1948. USA was the first country to recognize Israel. Moreover, USA provides unlimited support to Israel in several fields. Economic, politic, military, and others.

According to a study of Mearsheimer & Walt (2006), most of American political support for Israel is due to the role of the national media influence in the USA. The Israeli lobby in USA has succeeded in strongly influencing U.S foreign policy to favor the interest of Israel.

According to (Tichore, 2013) the lobby is a group of active customers that they have special interests and they put a pressure on U.S public officials, especially on the legislators in order to achieve the lobby's interests. The Israeli lobby has formally registered with the U.S. Department of Justice as American- Israeli Public Affairs Committee (Tichore, 2013).

There is no other special interest groups in USA achieved the success of that of the Israeli lobby, "... the Israeli lobby success... [Convinced] Americans that U.S. and Israeli interests are essentially identical"(Mearsheimer & Walt, 2006, p. 30).

Since the war of October 1973, the United States lavished aid and support on Israel in a unique way that has no parallel in the world. Israel "have been the largest annual recipient of direct U.S. economic and military assistance since 1976 and the largest total recipient since World War II" (Mearsheimer & Walt, 2006, p. 31). Furthermore, the total U.S. aid to Israel was more than 140 billion dollars in 2003. "Israel receives about \$3 billion in direct foreign assistance each year, which is roughly one-fifth of America's foreign aid budget. In per capita terms, the United States gives each Israeli a direct subsidy worth about \$500 per year" (Mearsheimer & Walt, 2006, p. 31).

Militarily speaking, the United States provide Israel with all kinds of weapons, and Israel can use 25% of the total support funds allocated to them to support its military industries (Mearsheimer, J. & Walt, S., 2006). Further, Israel is able to use some of the USA money for the purposes of building settlements in the West Bank (Mearsheimer & Walt, 2006).

One of the serious privileges offered by America to Israel is that USA allows Israel to get intelligence information about its closest allies in NATO. In addition USA is

turning a blind eye of the Israel's nuclear weapons system (Mearsheimer & Walt, 2006). Also USA ignores Israel's use of internationally forbidden weapons against Palestinian people, as what happened in 2008 Gaza war, when Israel used white phosphorus against Palestinians citizens. USA was silent.

At the political level, the United States does not hesitate to support Israel diplomatically continuously in all international forums. "Since 1982, the United States has vetoed 32 United Nations Security Council resolutions that were critical of Israel, a number greater than the combined total of vetoes cast by all the other Security Council members" (Mearsheimer & Walt, 2006, p. 31).

According to Tichore (2013), the influence of the Israeli lobby on the general policy of the United States has three prongs:

- The penetration of the Jews in U.S. economy.
- The Jews maintain their immense influence by financially contribute to political campaigns of both Republican and Democratic parties. They commit more money to those who support Israeli interests.
- The common US-Israeli interests.

Moreover, the main tasks that carried out by the Israeli lobby in the United States according to Abed Alrahman Tichore (2013) are:

- Implement the instructions of the leadership of Israel and the Zionist Organization.
- Getting Congress to allocate aid to Israel and withholding it from the Arabs
- Prevent the convergence of an Arab-American possible interest.

- brainwash members of Congress politically and psychologically for the slogan " high-value of Israel" to insure the U.S. interests in the Middle East (Tichore, 2013).

Hence, we can see clearly the intertwined relationship between USA and Israel and how U.S interests in some areas overlap with Israeli interests. According to Mearsheimer & Walt (2006), the United States used Israel to dominate the Middle East, at the same time Israel used USA to control the Palestinians. Thus, this study try to find out if there a positive of negative relationship between USA interests and the coverage of NYT the Palestinian application for an observer seat at the UN.

## **2.5 Application for UN**

The failure of the long rounds of negotiations between the Israeli and Palestinian sides is evidence that the Israeli's stalled the negotiations without reaching a settlement on purpose. They exploited the situation and continued building and expanding the settlements, and the Judaization of Jerusalem.

The Palestinian leadership recognized that the best solution is to get international recognition of a Palestinian state through seeking observer membership status as a last step towards statehood in the United Nations. International recognition should pressure the Israeli to reach a peace agreement. That requires the establishment of a Palestinian state with a fully sovereign status that is based on the borders before the occupation of 1967.

Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas decided that Palestine will apply for an observer status at the UN. Abbas addressed the international community in his speech at UN in New York on 23 September 2011. He called the world states to

recognize the rights of the Palestinian people to have an independent state with full sovereignty, based on the territory of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, with East Jerusalem as its capital.

“On 27 September 2011, the Under-Secretary-General for Political Affairs reported that on 23 September, the President of the Palestinian Authority had submitted an application to the Secretary-General for observer status membership in the UN, in accordance with the Charter and the rules of procedure” (UN, The situation in the Middle East, including the Palestinian question, 2011) (See Appendix C).

### **2.5.1 UN Vote**

On 29 November 2012, the UN vote was in favor of the Palestinian request for non-full observer status membership. The General Assembly adopted resolution 67\19, in which it granted Palestine a non-member observer status at the United Nations. The vote was 138 in favor of the resolution, nine countries opposed and forty one members refrained from voting (UN, 2013).

We can see that some important countries voted in favour Palestine. The Arabs countries voted yes, as well as most of Islamic countries like Turkey. Turkey played a pivotal role in persuading some countries to vote in favor of the resolution. Further, the Turkish Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoglu led an international diplomatic campaign to persuade other countries to vote yes.

Furthermore, there are important European countries voted for Palestinian application such as France, Spain, Italy, Russia, Sweden, and Cyprus. This suggests that these countries chose to side with Palestine over this particular issue of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. At the same time they ignored the USA and Israeli

pressure to vote against the application. On the other hand there are important countries in South America voted in favour the request as Argentina, Brazil, and Mexico. Further, China and many other Asian countries voted in favour of the Palestine application (UN, 2013).

According to UN, 2013 report, nine countries opposed (United States - Israel - Canada - Panama - Marshall Islands - Czech Republic - Micronesia - Palau – Nauru). (UN, 2013). We can clearly see that most of those countries have strong relations with USA. Further, other than Canada and Israel, the other countries are small and controlled by USA in different ways. On the other hand there are forty one member refrained from voting.

The decision had a positive reaction in the Palestinian street where joy pervaded in all the Palestinian territories because this decision was an international recognition of the rights of the Palestinian people, which was violated by Israel over many decades.

The Israeli had an angry reaction of the vote in the UN. They reacted by the decision to build 3,000 new housing units in the West Bank and East Jerusalem. Moreover, the Israeli government decided to cut off the tax revenues of the treasury of the Palestinian Authority. As result, the Palestinian economy entered in another phase of deterioration that reached the point of stopping the payment of salaries to Palestinians employees. (UN, 2013).

### **2.5.2 The Importance of Palestinian Non Full Membership Request for UN**

Palestine achieved the status of non-full membership observer status at the UN. There is a difference between the full membership status in the UN, in the dealing of the international community with the state not having full-membership in UN.

According to Nabil Remawi (2012), there are some states that are important, but for one reason or another are not members in the United Nations, like China before it became a member. Thus, the non-full member status is not less important than the full membership status. However, the important question here is what would accrue to Palestine by achieving the non-full member observer status? (See section 2.5.3 below).

This study mentioned earlier that the United States and Israel voted against the Palestinian request. Moreover, these two countries over the history of the Arab-Israeli conflict, refused to recognize the right of the Palestinian people for self-determination and statehood, the right of return. According to Remawi (2012), the self-determination and statehood actually means a probable change in the demographic, geographic, political and legal reality of Palestinian society.

On a practical level, we find that Israel's settlement policy moving at a fast pace, it aims to end any possibility of establishing a Palestinian state, because the most important factor in the establishment any state is all the land (territory).

In addition, the emergence of Palestinian state is a blow to the Zionist theory, which it held by Israel. Zionist theory argues, Israel is an alternative to Palestine and the Jewish people an alternative to the Palestinian people (Jonathan, 2012).

What counts is that the international community confirmed the fact that there is a potential for a Palestinian state. Clearly, the international community declared the error of approach by the colonial British policies, and the historical error and conspiracy due to the Balfour Declaration, which confiscated the historical rights of

the Palestinians who are entitled to their land in Palestine and immorally and wrong gave it to those who do not deserve. (Roger, 2012).

Therefore, it is null and void all the consequences of Balfour Declaration, because of what is built on falsehood is false. In other words, international recognition of Palestinian observer status will take away legitimacy from Israel.

### **2.5.3 The Direct Gains**

According to Al Rimawi (2012) Palestine gained many direct advantages from the international recognition. Firstly, it is the first time that the international community dealt with Palestine as an observer state. Secondly, ending the Israeli allegations, which claims that the Palestinian territory is disputed land. Thirdly, the downfall of the Zionist allegation, which was artificially created by Israel, which claims that Israel is an alternative to Palestine and the Jewish people is an alternative to the Palestinian people. Finally, the ascendance of Palestine as being recognized and accepted by the UN, opened the doors to join the international conventions, treaties, organs and specialized agencies of the United Nations. In addition, joining the four Geneva Conventions of 1949, and institutions of international humanitarian law; would strengthen the legal status of Palestine. This will emphasize that the Palestinians will not stand idly regarding the massacres perpetrated by Israel against them, because they can now legally prosecuted Israel in accordance with international laws and norms (Al Rimawi, 2012).

## **Chapter 3**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW ON NEWS MEDIA**

This chapter focuses first, on international news media, and second on audience-news relations. Further, the first section empathizes two aspects, first, international news coverage; in order to examine NYT's coverage of Palestinian application for UN seeking an observer status. Clearly this issue is an international one and has worldwide implication. Also to see if there is a relation between the NYT news coverage and the USA strategic interests. The second aspect, is the international flow of news to find out how NYT depends in its coverage about Palestinian application for UN on different news flow, and based on it as a sources of news. Also what is the important of news sources on press coverage (see table four below), and what the relation between the sources and the bias in and of press coverage. The second section will focus on audience-news relations. This chapter also focuses on USA media via show an overview of it. Then, provide an explanation of the relation between American media and politics.

#### **3.1 International News**

This section focuses on tow side that relation with international news. Firstly, international news coverage which explain how media cover the events in different countries around the world. Secondly, international news flow, which focus on flow the information and news.

### **3.1.1 International News Coverage**

Before diving in the details of international news, we have to know the difference between national and international news. International news includes the coverage of media in one country of events in other country. So the difference between national and international news are that the national news contents include the media coverage for local events inside the country (Ogbimi, 2012). International news contents include the media coverage for the international events in other countries around the world. Moreover, international news has been defined as “the activities of news exchange between countries, regions, or between countries and regions” (Ogbimi, 2012).

Media cannot cover all the events in all the countries around the world every day, but it can focus on some news that has more importance than others. International news is always selected, filtered and edited through various processes (Ting Z. , 2005). Here the gatekeepers play important role in selection of news according to media agenda and they "tend to select information that reflects unexpectedness, proximity, discrepancy and prominence" (Wu, 2000). Moreover, according to a study of Al-Rawi and Gunter (2013), journalists and news organizations selection of issues are usually determined by news values. The principles of good journalism prevent journalists from being biased in their coverage of events (p.22).

When media covers the news, it usually presents the news from local angle (according to the interests of home country and the own agenda of the media). For example, “Many studies carried out on foreign news since the 1960s have shown that the major mainstream media institutions in the US have rendered great support to American foreign policy decisions” (Kara and Atabey 2013, p.176). Especially when

the news are related to international conflicts or issue like the Palestinian-Israeli one. On the other hand there are other important factors "lead to an increase of news coverage about the issues of trade, territorial size, culture ties, communication resources, and physical distance" (Wu, 2000, p. 111).

According to (the paper that prepared for the Annual Meeting of the International Communication Association, New York, 2005), the results of past studies about international news coverage are not always compatible for two reasons. Firstly, that research has been studied via methodologically diverse approaches and in different geographical settings. Secondly, there is no one theory that has been developed despite the large number of studies in this field.

According to Ting (2005), there are two types of the research about the international news coverage, descriptive research and exploratory research. The first one used when the researchers examine the news from different countries "in content categories and compare the flow and distribution of international news among different countries or regions" (p.3). The second research type examines the presentation and the selection of international news. Explanatory research "looks at different kinds of factors as independent variables and how they influence international news coverage" (Ting Z. , 2005, p. 3).

The presentation of international news lends themselves to be studied via content analyses because these studies examine the text and the way of it coverage. Also the sources of news that will reflect on the text in the news stories. The text in international news or foreign news stories overlap with many important factors like national and international power relations and the ideological framework of the news

media with regard to the selection, production and the presentation of certain events (Kara, N. and Atabey, M., 2013).

According to the book of (news analysis case studies of international and national news in the press, 1988) production of the context of foreign news or (international news) in the press is subject to a number of well-known contextual constraints that directly or indirectly impinge on its contents and structures such as the role of foreign correspondents and stringers, and the distribution of news from and to many nations across different types of communication networks (Van Dijk, 1988, p. 36).

According to Van Dijk book, 1988, “there are three major sources for the newspapers (press) to product their news stories,

- (1) National and especially transnational news agencies;
- (2) Foreign correspondents or special envoys;
- (3) Self-produced background articles by editors or staff writers.

\_ Sometimes these sources are combined” (p.37).

According to McCombs (2005), the pattern of news coverage that defines the media agenda results from the norms and traditions of journalism, the daily interactions among news organizations themselves, and the continuous interactions of news organizations with numerous sources and their agendas" (p.548-549). So the source of news has an important role in shaping the text content and it can effect on the way of coverage of the media. The following part the study focuses on the news sources according to the international news follow and the big role of the international news agencies.

### **3.1.2 International News Flow**

International news flow is “one-way asymmetrical flow of information” (Sadikhova, 2013, p. 19). For instance, people in different countries around the world are not equally informed. Since the news flow depend on the level of technology that is being used in each area (Sadikhova, 2013). According to Van Dijk (1988) there is a lack of balance of international news flow for several reasons. “Firstly, most of the international news production by organizations in the northwestern countries relies on strong technological and financial infrastructures. Secondly, the foreign news is predominantly about the developed countries; thirdly, the interests that is implied by news selection and contents are predominantly western” (p.41).

There are different suggestions from scholars about that factors that affect the selection and flow the news. For example, Galtung and Ruge (1965) suggest 12 news factors that affect the newsworthiness of international events, such as frequency, unexpectedness, personification and negativity. They argue that these factors are internal attributes or conditions that justify making that events international news (Ting, 2005).

According to Ostgaard (1965) there are two types of factors affecting the flow and structure of news: external factors such as political and economic ones, and inherent factors in the news process that enhance the event’s newsworthiness. On the other hand, Ronsengren (1974, 1977) suggests a new idea of intra-media and extra-media data in international news research. He suggests using data that are as independent of the news media as possible, such as economic and political variables, as effective predictors.

According to these different suggestions above, we can say there is no specific factors for structure and flow the international news, because there is a lot of reasons for selecting the news that influence international news coverage. For instance, the relations between the countries, political interests, the volume of economic exchange, and the country's status in the global system. In addition to some of the common factors between the people such as culture, language and religion. Moreover, there is no fully developed framework that accommodates all these factors to explain international news coverage (Ting, 2005).

The big four international news agencies, Reuters, France-Press, United Press International (UPI) and Associated Press (AP), play an important role in the flow of international news. According to Palmer (2008) these agencies are an important source of news for many newspapers, channels, and radio stations around the world. For example, NYT as one of the most important U.S newspapers depends on some of these agencies as source of its news stories about Palestinian application for UN. (See chapter 5, Analysis and Findings, part 5.7)

According to Ogbimi's study, the adoption of news agencies will help the corporations for establishing local offices (offices in the local region) around the world for collecting and distributing the news. On the other hand if we take into account, the main centers for international news agencies in the West, more than 80% of the available news are provided by these agencies. Many scholars warn that this could lead to cultural hegemony on the world (Ogbimi, 2012).

What we have said previously about the flow of international news, has a close association with the international news agencies. International news agencies as other

media companies depend on the financial and technical resources in their work. These sources guarantee their workflow and continuity. Many previous studies found that the news agencies are controlled by huge corporations (Palmer, 2008).

According to Kara, and Atabey's (2013) study, the flaws of the coverage of international news agencies for the remote areas (less development parts) in the world comes from the core countries. Moreover, it is accused that it's news coverage focuses more on natural disasters, wars and that will lead to adoption of one stereotype of public regarding of the events. The academic research studies in 1970's, argues that the "international news flow has been under the control of a handful of western news agencies which causes a one-sided and imbalanced news flow from the northern developed countries to the southern less developed countries." (Kara and Atabey, 2013, p.176).

According to Ogbimi (2012) Study, the coverage of International news agencies is not balanced in remote countries. News agencies contribute to the lack of balance in the news coverage of foreign countries by managing cost through "lesser of staff.. (part-time work). Also by the practice of parachute journalism (journalist fly in to cover an event only when there is a big event). Lastly, by profit-oriented motives of selling news as product to Western media organizations irrespective of balance" (Ogbimi, 2012).

### **3.2 Audience and News Relations**

The framing by the media to news has an important role in affecting the audience. Especially if it contains important information relevant to them. The relation between frame and communication, according to Manusov & Milstein, is that

“Frames are definitions for communicative events that guide our subjective involvement.” Moreover, according to Gumperz (1982), “frames enable us to distinguish among permissible interpretive options”. In other words, frame is important to understand the meanings and "support certain meanings for potentially ambiguous cues" (Manusov, 2005, p. 184).

Other researchers explain frame as “a means by which people make sense of specific interpersonal behaviours, events, and relationships”. So we can say frame can affect the opinion of people according to their understanding of news content. Furthermore, according to Robert Entmen, “the concept of media framing consistently offer a way to describe the power of a communicating text” (51).

In fact there are a lot of definitions of frame; most of it suggest that when focusing on some aspects in the coverage you make them more salient. In one way or another, it helps to "promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the items described" (Manusov, 2005, p. 184).

According to Powell’s study, media can lead the readers to interpret an event in a certain way according to its view or angle of the event in the coverage. Moreover, Powell’s study explain framing as “how news stories are made" so how the pieces of information are selected and organized to produce stories that make sense to their writers and audiences’ (Powell, 2011, p. 93).

This study is going to take into account the dimensions of news that influence frame development. According Powell (2011), the most important dimensions in a news

coverage are "script structures or an evaluation of the newsworthiness of an event; thematic structures, including causal themes for news events; and rhetorical structures, which include "stylistic" choices made by journalists" (Powell, 2011, p. 94).

### **3.3 Overview on USA Media Impact on Public Opinion**

U.S media has been widely spread and greatly expanded, after the recent development of communication technologies. Further, the American public increased their following-up of the media, and estimated that it reached almost 3,500 hours per person per year (Zidan, 2010).

At the quantification level, the number of daily and weekly newspapers in the United States has reached 10 thousands, magazines 11 thousand, radio stations 11,500, TV stations 1,500, and thousands of internet sites. In addition to 2500 publishing houses and other centers of production and studies (Gareeb, 2000. p.79).

American elites have discovered the importance of the media early. They believe whenever the relationship between media and them was good whenever they success to reach the highest political office. For example, the football player Jack Kemp was able to transform his sports character to a political personality which led him to the Congress and encouraged him to run for president in 1988 (Zidan, 2010). Moreover, Ronald Reagan was able to exploit his fame in the media, and converted to the fame which led him to be president of USA for two consecutive terms. This compelled the persons who wish to reach congressional seats to be closer to the media than to their parties (Al Rabee, 1990, p.15).

The results of the development of giant companies specializing in influencing public opinion, and creating ways to measure it make these companies potentially dangerous. These influential approaches impact public opinion and affect choosing specific candidates (Izat, 2009). Further, the large companies can manipulate the public to the extent that a party member may defect to the opposite party (Izat, 2009).

Two centuries ago, U.S. President Thomas Jefferson told the press, “if I have to choose between a government without the press or the press without a government, I will choose the second choice without hesitation” (Ibrahim, 2009, p. 1). He said that when he was subjected to a violent attack in his seventh year, he was facing an attack by the press in 1807, but he stuck to his first opinion when he said "The press is the evil that cannot be repaired" (Ibrahim, 2009. p.1).

According to Hamede study, the function of the press in the United States and the world is in crisis today, especially in authoritarian states. Media coverage become increasingly superficial more for entertainment at the expense of serious news (Hamede, 2002).

Rashid Al Khalidi cited in Zidan study (2010) describes the situation in the media during the reign of the republicans from 2000 to 2008 years of their rule. He further said that the conduct of the presidency during George W. Bush rule was unacceptable to attempt to control the media and it distorted the relationship between the press and the citizen. Such as situations does not fit the image of the country that leads the worlds (Zidan, 2010).

American politics has significantly interfered with the American media coverage. Furthermore, there was excessive overlapping of political interests of some individuals and political parties with the media which undermined the media. Further, American media coverage of foreign affairs, such as the war in Iraq and Afghanistan are living examples of the domination of the political elites on the U.S media coverage. This study will address this issue next.

It is well known that the U.S media on behalf of elites, almost construct and manufacture American politics. (Herman, E. and Chomsky, N., 1988) The media in USA has been an integral part of the formation of the two main pillars of U.S. politics, the Democratic party and the Republican party.

Moreover, according to Zidan (2010) Study, media provides more sophisticated speech, using all frames and psychological theories to influence the public and manipulate them. Recent studies suggest that media audience is active in that it is affected by the media contents. There are three main factors affecting U.S media in relation to the audience:

- Firstly, Capitalism is believed to be the natural way for the US economy, therefore the evolution of American society, as it is now is inevitable.
- Secondly, U.S. has the syndrome of “American exceptionalism” in comparison all other states in the world, and its core values are God, country, foreign policy and the military.

Thirdly, the political solutions that are possible and deserve to be taken into consideration, are the ones that Democratic and Republican parties, determine. Moreover, the alternative policies are less important. (Zidan, 2010)

We can say that the dispute between the government and the media, leads to strain the relationships between the two sides. In many cases the dispute cause the divergence of views, even within the government itself. So each political group try to exploit the media in its own favor, to weaken the credibility of the political competitor.

### **3.4 The Performance of the U.S. Media**

The particular point in this section is to find out how the U.S. media coverage do the balance between its coverage and the U.S. politics interests. The Project for Excellence in Journalism of the “Pew Research Center” select a set of key points related to the performance of the U.S. media. Accordingly, the 2007 report, pointed out that the old media, or the traditional media, such as newspapers and television networks has a diverse news agenda more than the modern media (Zidan, 2010).

According to Izat’s study, the diversity of news in the old media was characterized by making strong major news stories that are not limited to political news. The new media covers what of interest to the U.S. interests take place around the world, as long as there is no American interest in international cases that will not be mentioned in the media (Izat, 2009).

According to Robert MacKenzie (He is a critic of U.S media system).

“The USA media system is not formed as a result of popular will, but rather there are powerful interests that control it. The monopoly and the focus on the most important features of the U.S media system, is controlled by few giant companies. Also, it dominates the entire media industry, communication and culture. So those power interests groups play an important role in promoting what should be known which the (stereotypical image) (Salih, 2008. p.22).

Stereotype according to American journalist Walter Lippmann (he was the first one used this term) is the feeling of anyone about the event without experimenting it, a

feeling that comes from his mental conception of event. This perception is not based on certain or direct knowledge, but the image was manufactured by him (Izat, 2009).

At the domestic level, Pew Institute for Press said that the media has failed to meet the needs of members of the American people, it did not covered the issues that concern them. Also it did not take into account the audience's interests and priorities in its news coverage. For example, a sample of citizens confirmed that media coverage does not include the issues which are important to them, such as high fuel prices, but it is interested in foreign affairs, such as the coverage of Iraq war (Harding, 1968).

Finally, Pew Institute observed that American media emphasize external issues that reflect their agenda regarding specific topics. Moreover, the coverage did not provide sufficient info that is relevant and/or important to the American public. This raises the question about the possibility of liberating American media from the control and influential of giant media companies in US.

### **3.5 USA Media Coverage of Palestinian Case**

#### **3.5.1 Overview on USA Media Coverage of Palestinian Case**

When a researcher wants to evaluate the U.S media coverage of the Palestinian issue, it must be taken into account that there are saliant points related to this matter. Firstly, the influence of U.S. foreign policy and U.S. interest on American media coverage of the Palestinian cause. Secondly, "the role of news sources in the formation and presentation of news content" (Chang, 2008) about the case. Thirdly, the knowledge and understanding of USA media of the history of Arab-Israeli conflict. Specially the framework adopted by USA media for the characterization of

the events of the issue. Finally, the influence of both the Israeli lobby, and U.S's Muslim communities on the United States government and on the US media coverage of the Palestinian issue.

Given that, the news coverage is the main source of information to the Americans public about the Arab-Israeli conflict, it becomes important to study the news stories that are conveyed by the American media (Ackerman, 2001). This would lead to raise an important question: does the media coverage truly reflect (present) the reality of the conflict on the ground or not? (Ackerman, 2001, p. 64).

On the other hand, Morvichk (2003) says that the outbreak of the cycle of violence between Palestinians and Israel in 2000 (Al Aqsa Intifada), is the most tragic episodes in the modern history of the Middle East. Therefore, this raises the comment responsibility of the media to cover the event with its complex sites and intricate details.

In fact, if you ask an Israeli about the number of Palestinians who are arrested and killed in the Palestinian territories in any one day since the outbreak of the Al Aqsa Intifada, the simple answer will be that this is not the issue because Israel has no choice to defend itself and provide the security for Israelis people (including the settlers who live in West Bank). On the other hand when asked Palestinians about the reason for their insistence on facing Israeli soldiers, their answer will be because Israel is occupying their land. So the problem here is that each side believes that Palestine is an integral part of his land. Thus, it possible to use the violence to protect the people and the land (Reinhart, 2006).

The biased US media day and night shows the pictures of Palestinians throwing stones and Molotov on Israeli soldiers. In contrast the scenes of Israel's brutal occupation of Palestinian land is underplayed in its coverage. At the same time, Israel's media accuses the west media of bias in its coverage and that they are favouring the Palestinians, it showed the Arabs as victims (Abushabe, 2013). In view of this complicated situation, the American media and others should adhere to moral and ethical standards and convey the truth as it is on the ground. Moreover, the media should be even handed when it frames and represent the issue (Almedia, 2011).

### **3.5.2 The Palestinian Issue in USA Media**

The U.S. media coverage is highly influenced by U.S interest, and by the interest groups, especially when media representation is about foreign cases as Arabic-Israeli conflict (Ackerman, 2001).

On the other hand the sources of news has important role in framing the news. In this case, according to Chang (2008), news sources are the frontline gatekeepers and it affects agenda setters. Moreover, both Israeli and Palestinian sources are an integral part of the U.S news stories. Nevertheless, the important issue here is the space of each one in the news coverage about Palestinian issue.

According to Chang (2008), the civilian and official Israeli sources, "have persistently framed the conflict as Israel safeguarding its sovereignty and Palestinians exercising terrorism, and simultaneously defacing Palestinian independence effort" (p.3). On the other side, "Palestinian officials have framed the same conflict as promoting their independence movement." (Chang, 2008, p. 4).

Chang conducted a content analysis study of four major USA newspapers, (New York Times, Washington Post, Los Angeles Times, and Houston Chronicle). The study found a significant correlation between the text's content in the newspapers and the positions of United States about the Palestinian cause. For example, the newspapers focused on "Palestinian terrorism—PLO or other Palestinian factions' acts or threat of terrorism aimed at Israel" (Chang, 2008, p. 14).

In addition, the major USA newspapers has been adopting Israeli's news sources, in relation to the security of Israel, and its sovereign right to defend itself in facing Palestinian terrorism. In contrast, the major USA newspapers relied less on the Palestinian news sources. Additionally, the cause of peace has dominated the coverage of American newspapers more than any other issue (Almedia, 2011).

The major conclusions of this study are: (1) U.S. news writers cite Palestinian and Israeli civilians in a very different way than they cite Palestinian and Israeli authorities; (2) throughout most of the five years it is apparent that U.S. news writers found the Palestinian civilian experience more newsworthy than the Israeli civilian experience (3) writers relied heavily on the Israeli government for information about events and persons; (4) the expression of negative emotion is a prominent feature of the news discourse; (5) the language of the news coverage is characterized by the extensive use of words denoting violence and bloodshed, indicating the construction of a discourse of violence; and (6) a discourse of continual conflict has been constructed by news writers, so events and persons are described with a focus on conflict (Almedia, 2011, p. 1587).

Describing the media coverage of USA media for Arabs and Muslims in general as always linked with Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Moreover, it relies on Israelis sources more than Palestinian ones. Therefore, according to Abushebe (2013), there are important results in this case:

- 1- There is bias favoring the use of Israeli news sources more than Palestinian sources.
- 2- The sources quotes emphasize and present undesirable image of the Arabs and Palestinians.
- 3- In United States the Israeli officials, including Prime Ministers, have a positive press pictures and more support.

The most striking result is that the NYT was largely biased against the Palestinian officials, and the Palestinians in general compared to their Israelis Counterparts. By comparison, the frequent use of non-official Palestinian sources is dramatically clear in the newspaper (Abushabe, 2013, p. 20).

## Chapter 4

### RESEARCH METHOD AND ANALYSIS

This chapter discusses the method used in collecting and analyzing data for this research. The study aims to examine the NYT coverage for Palestinian application for observer non full membership status at the UN. Thus, how neutral was the news representation NYT and if there is a relation between NYT's quality of coverage and US interests . The news articles about Palestinian application to the UN found in NYT online newspaper during the 19 months in the period between (1 June 2011 to 31 December 2012) constitutes the population of this study. Further, the main reason for choosing this period was that the Palestinian authority applied for UN membership observer status in (28 September 2011). The application was accepted by the UN in (29 November 2012). Thus, the study aims to examine this specific period, and also to report on the reverberations during The period before the application (1 June 2011-27 September 2011), and one month after Palestinian request from (1 December to 31 December 2012). The study expected that there is less interest in the period before the application, but more interest during the application period of 15 months, (28 September 2011 to 29 November 2012), then less interest during the one month after the UN accepted. So the study aims to find out the difference in NYT coverage among the three periods.

Content analysis method was used in this part of study to analyze the text of NYTs news stories about the Palestinian application for UN in order to answer the questions.

"Content analysis has evolved as a central method in communication research, useful in assessing how texts represent different ideas or constructs" (Stryker, 2006). Further, according to Bouma and Atkinson (1993), the simple definition of content analysis is that it is a systematic method designed to analyze the content. Further, the main steps for conducting content analyses studies are:

1. defining and limiting the communication population to be studied.
2. selecting coding unites and classification systems coding unites are the categories used to count the communication forms
3. sampling messages
4. coding message content
5. analyzing data
6. interpreting results (Bouma, G. and Atkinson, G., 1993)

The study used the content analysis' SPSS program to analyze the data. The research study which based on the content analyses consisted of 12 questions applied to the 151 news articles published in NYT during the period between 1 June 2011 to 31 December 2012. The study accessed the electronic archive of NYT online newspaper and found 430 items about "Palestine UN" in the total search engine from June 1, 2011 to December 31, 2012. Further, the study focused only on news articles type, thus 246 news items were excluded, also 33 articles were excluded because they are

talking about other issues like Afghanistan, Iraq, Libya, and Syria war. Therefore, 151 news articles were the population of the study.

#### **4.1 Research Design**

Quantitative content analysis was used in this research to find out what kind of news topics were selected, which sources were used, and how these news articles were presented. As it has been mentioned earlier, the aim of this study is to find out how NYT framed the Palestinian application for observer membership status at UN.

NYT was chosen in this study for several reasons. Firstly, it is one of the largest circulated newspapers in the USA. Secondly, it uses international wire services. Thirdly, it has its own correspondents in different parts of the world. Lastly, it is read by decision makers and the public, and widely quoted in news outlets (Ting, 2005).

For example, in 2007, the newspaper published about 1, 120, 420 copies per day. It has the highest circulation in the USA. Furthermore, "the website of NYT includes all the achieve from first published day till the present. NYT online newspaper has more than 30 million visitors per month" (Sadikhova, 2013, p. 39).

NYT was established in 1851 by Henry Raymond and George Jones. It is published in New York City and it has international distribution. "The newspaper begun publishing on September 18, 1851 as the New York Daily Times" (Sadikhova, 2013, p. 38). The newspaper has an influential role in determining the course of American public opinion over the past two centuries. It is considered a respectable reference for the researchers interested in events that occurred inside or outside the United States (Zidan, 2010).

The New York Times Company is one of the largest media companies in the world, owns more than 20 newspapers in various parts of the United States like Boston Globe , as well as it has eight television stations in various states in USA, like Discovery Channel. Moreover, it has two radio stations in New York. NYT owns shares in a number of companies like, Boston Red sox, Fenway Park, and other companies (Zidan, 2010).

## **4.2 Population of the Study**

The coverage of NYT for the Palestinian application for UN is the subject of this study. Further, the study used the electronic archive of NYT from June 1, 2011 to December 31, 2012. The study analyzed 151 news articles. The total time period of the study is 19 months. The period before the application (1 June 2011-27 September 2011), 15 months during the application period (28 September 2011- 29 November2012), and one month after the Palestinian application (1 December 2012- 31 December 2012).

The main reason for choosing this period was that the Palestinian authority applied for non full membership observer status at the UN in 28 September 2011. The application was accepted in 29 November 2012. Thus, the study aims to investigate this specific period, and also to report on the reverberations during the period before the application from 1 June 2011 to 27 September 2011, and one month after the Palestinian request.

## **4.3 Instruments Used and the Data Gathering Procedures**

This section will focus on how the Palestinian application for UN was presented in NYT coverage. Content Analysis Coding Schema consisted of 12 questions (see

appendix A) applied to the 151 news articles published in NYT during the period between 1 Jun 2011 to 31 December 2012.

To achieve the main purpose of this study, there are 13 questions related to quoted coverage sources in the news articles, evaluating the titles, topic of the news story. Therefore, The aim of this study is to find out how NYT framed the Palestinian application for non full membership observer status for UN and if there is a relationship between USA interests and the media coverage on this matter.

The content analyses for NYT coverage for Palestinian request addresses the following issues: How the journalist selected the headlines used (quotes, description, commentary)? What is the length of stories ? What are the dominant frames? What are the sources of the stories that appeared in NYT ? What is the most repeated term used? What is the general tune of the news story (favor Palestine, Israel, or balanced)?

The study accessed the term "Palestine UN" from 1 June 2011 to 31 December 2012. It found 430 items in the total search engine of the electronic archive for NYT online newspaper. Further, the study focuses only on news articles, thus 279 news items were excluded and 151 news articles were chosen as the population of this study.

Three categories have been decided upon after detailed analysis of the content of the newspaper. First, the period before the application (June 1, 2011- September 27, 2011). Second, 15 months during the application period (September 28, 2011- November 30, 2012). Third, one month after the UN accepting on the request (December 1, 2012- December 31, 2012).

Table 1: The periods of study

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	The period before the application (June 1, 2011 - September 27, 2011)	52	34.4	34.4	34.4
	15 months during the application period (September 28, 2011 - November 30, 2012).	84	55.6	55.6	90.1
	One month after the application accepted (December 1, 2012- December 31, 2012	15	9.9	9.9	100.0
	Total	151	100.0	100.0	

Table 1, shows the results of the number of news stories that were gathered in each period of the study. The news stories were divided into three coding categories. Firstly, there are 52 news articles 34.4% published in the period before the application ( June 1, 2011 - September 27, 2011). Secondly, there are 84 news articles 55.6% published in 15 months during the application period (September 28, 2011 - November 30, 2012). Thirdly, there are 15 news articles 9.9% published in one month after the application accepted (December 1, 2012- December 31, 2012. So we can say that the NYT's coverage for Palestinian application for UN was high before and after the Palestinian application period, while it was low during the application period.

## **Chapter 5**

### **ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS**

#### **5.1 Analysis and Findings of the News Stories that Published in NYT Online Newspaper**

This chapter presents important aspects related to the news stories that published in NYT. First, evaluation of the NYT newspaper headlines. Second, source of the stories in NYT. Third, the frequent repeated terms in the NYT news stories. Forth, the length of the stories in NYT coverage. Last aspect, the general tune of the news stories. Further, to find out the validity of answers to the research questions in this study, a “Content Analysis Coding Schema” (see Appendix A) was prepared and applied. In the following pages, the study will evaluate the findings for each code.

#### **5.2 Evaluation of the NYT News Paper Headlines**

Before reporting the results, the study will explain the following evaluation standards used in the process. The Content Analysis Coding Scheme which consist of 13 questions is used to analyse the news story. The news stories used in this piece of research study are listed in three groups in Appendix B according to their time period:

- 1- between 1 June 2011 to 27 September 2011
- 2- between 28 September 2011 to 29 November 2012
- 3- between 1 December 2012 to 31 December 2012

The headlines of the news stories were categorized in three as; quote, descriptive and commentary. A quote headline uses direct expressions from the reference people or institutions related to the Palestinian application for UN or to any case was covered that connected with it. For examples, “Palestinian Leader Says U.S. Is ‘Too Late’ on U.N. Bid” and “Obama Says Palestinians Are Using Wrong Forum”. In the second category the headline of the news story which includes any descriptive title towards the Palestinian application for UN or any event related to the Palestinian request, is marked as a descriptive. The followings are the examples for descriptive headlines: “Palestinians Turn to U.N., Where Partition Began” and “U.S. Is Appealing to Palestinians to Stall U.N. Vote”. In the third category the headline of the news story which comments on the situation or gives explanation on any comment of others about the Palestinian application for UN is marked as a commentary. Such as; “Palestinians Set Bid for U.N. Seat, Clashing With U.S.” and “A Nervous Hamas Voices Its Issues With a Palestinian Bid for U.N. Membership”.

Table 2: Evaluation of the headlines in NYT newspaper

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	8	5.3%	5.3	5.3
Quotes	94	62.3%	62.3	67.5
Description	49	32.5%	32.5	100.0
Commentary	151	100.0%	100.0	
Total				

The results of Table 2 show that the majority of the NYT newspaper headlines related to the Palestinian application for UN to be an observer status are descriptive 62.3 %. Commentary headlines contributed nearly a half of descriptive percentage 32.5%, while quotes headlines taking only 5.3% from the total percentage. The result

shows that NYT is mostly giving the news headline from a descriptive perspective. However, the commentary ones which is the second high percentage show the side NYT is taking in this case. Most of the commentary headings were not in favour of Palestine but Israel.

The headlines have an important role in the press, it is the first step to get readers attention to the articles, also it is the first message from the writer to the reader, "it is a kind of minor summary of the news or the story" (Sadikhova, 2013, p. 45). According to (Pasternack, 1987), "Headlines are designed to summarize articles, suggest their level of importance, serve as a graphic device and attract readers to an article" (Pasternack, 1987, p. 33). NYT used descriptive headlines in most of news stories about Palestinian application for UN. Further, NYTs used quotes headlines in limited times to give quotes from variety sources. Furthermore, NYTs prefers to describe or comment on the news stories more than giving quotes from different sources.

### **5.3 Source of the Stories in NYT**

Table 3 shows that the majority of the news stories about the Palestinian application for UN that published in NYT newspaper were written by their own reporters 82.1 %. The NYT reporters provide stories from different countries around the world such as Palestine, Israel, USA, Turkey and others. According to (Sadikhova, 2013), most of the US press including the NYT newspaper are financially capable of employing reporters to meet their requirements. Thus, these newspapers are "independent in covering their own stories, therefore, they are not dependent on the information made available by press agency sources" (Sadikhova, 2013, p. 46)

Table 3: The sources of the stories that appeared in NYT in terms of media companies

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
own reporter	124	82.1%	82.1	82.1
news agencies	6	4.0%	4.0	86.1
other media	13	8.6%	8.6	94.7
unknown	8	5.3%	5.3	100.0
Total	151	100.0%	100.0	

The results show only 4% from the sources of news stories that used by NYTs to cover the Palestinian application for UN are news agencies. Such as; Reuters and Agence France-Press. The percentage of the other media is 8.6%, while the percentage of unknown sources is 5.3%. NYT depends less on the other news agencies as a source for their news stories.

In order to identify the results of the sources of the news stories that used by NYT about the Palestinian application for UN, a "Content Analysis Coding Schema" was divided into two parts. The first part was trying to define the sources of the stories in terms of the profile of news stories (Palestinian source, Israeli source, USA source, UN source, Multiple source..etc). The second, the origin quoted sources used in news stories (government bodies source, academic/expects source, public, non-government organization source..etc).

Table 4: The sources of the stories in terms of the profile of news stories

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Palestinian source	11	7.3%	7.3	7.3
Israeli source	35	23.2%	23.2	30.5
USA source	6	4.0%	4.0	34.4
UN source	14	9.3%	9.3	43.7
Valid Multiple	80	53.0%	53.0	96.7
Palestinian source & UN source	2	1.3%	1.3	98.0
other source	3	2.0%	2.0	100.0
Total	151	100.0%	100.0	

Table 4 shows that the majority of the news stories in NYT online newspaper about Palestinian application for UN are multiple sources 53%, which means the NYT used more than one valid source, for example, (UN and Israeli sources), more than two sources, for example (UN, USA , and Israeli sources), or more than three sources, for example (Palestinian, USA, UN, and Israeli Sources). In general multiple sources include Israeli sources more than Palestinian one.

The other important result in Table 4 is that the number of Israeli sources that used by NYT reached 23.2%. While the number of Palestinian sources is not more than 7.3%. That means NYT coverage relied more on Israeli sources compared to the Palestinian ones in its coverage about membership request of Palestine. This finding shows that NYT coverage may be was biased in favour of Israeli sources, because it relied on the Israeli sources in this matter.

The percentage of UN sources that used by NYT online newspaper reached 9.3%. Moreover, the USA sources are 4%, both Palestinian sources and UN sources were

only 1.3%. The percentage of other sources from other countries and organizations were only 2%.

If we compare these results in Table 3, we notice that the multiple sources are the majority 53%, followed by Israeli sources 23.2%, then UN sources 9.3%, then Palestinian sources 7.3%, then both Palestinian and UN sources 1.3%, lastly, the other sources 2%. Although the NYT coverage of Palestinian application for UN may should be based on Palestinian sources because they are the concerning in this matter more than others, but the NYT coverage was used Israeli sources more than Palestinian ones

Table 5: The origin quoted sources used in news stories

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
governmental bodies	65	43.0	43.0	43.0
Academics\ experts	46	30.5	30.5	73.5
Public	12	7.9	7.9	81.5
other organizations	14	9.3	9.3	90.7
nongovernmental organizations	12	7.9	7.9	98.7
Other	2	1.3	1.3	100.0
Total	151	100.0	100.0	

Table 5 illustrates the origin quoted sources that used by NYT. According to the results in Table 5, NYT depended on its coverage on governmental bodies more than any other quoted sources. This is 43% of the total percentage. It means that NYT depends more on the official institutions in its coverage for Palestinian application for UN. This suggests that NYT relies more on the official views in its coverage. Further, 30.5% of the origin quoted sources based on experts or academics from

different courtiers to comment or analyze the news about Palestinian application. Further, 7.9 % of the origin quoted sources depend on the public like Palestinian people and Israeli people. Other organizations like United Nations have 9.3 % of the total percentage of the origin quoted sources. Moreover, 7.9% of the origin quoted sources depend on nongovernmental organizations from Palestine like the Independent Commission for Human Rights: (ICHR), Israel like Association for Civil Rights in Israel (ACRI) and USA like United States Agency for International Development (USAID). Lastly, only 1.3% of the total percentage of the origin quoted sources belong to other category.

#### **5.4 Frequently Repeated Terms in the NYT's News Stories**

The most repeated terms that were used by NYT's coverage of Palestinian application for UN, had an important role in support second and third hypothesis in this study, which the bias of the NYT newspaper coverage about this matter.

Table 6 below includes four essential terms. The first term 'Palestine' is written before Israel in the news stories, for example, (Palestinian-Israeli conflict/ relation/ flashpoints/ peace). The second term, the term 'Israel' used first (Israeli-Palestinian conflict \ relation\ flashpoints\ peace). The third term, NYT did not use Palestinian-Israeli or Israeli Palestinian. Last term, NYT used both of terms in the same news articles. For example it used (Palestinian-Israeli and Israeli Palestinian conflict/ relation/ flashpoints/ peace).

These terms used to express on several common issues between Palestine and Israel, like conflict, relation, flashpoints and peace.

Table 6: The most repeated term used in the coverage of NYT for the Palestinian application for UN.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Palestinian-Israeli conflict \ relation\ flashpoints\ peace	4	2.6	2.6	2.6
	Israeli-Palestinian conflict \ relation\ flashpoints\ peace	82	54.3	54.3	57.0
	Neither	63	41.7	41.7	98.7
	"1+2"	2	1.3	1.3	100.0
	Total	151	100.0	100.0	

Table 6 shows that only 2.6% of the total percentage of the repeated terms used by NYT news stories is about Palestinian-Israeli conflict/ relation/ flashpoints/ peace. The majority of the terms used in NYT are Israeli- Palestinian conflict/ relation/ flashpoints/ peace. It has 54.3%. This result shows that NYT coverage may be biased in favour of one side in this matter. Moreover, there is 41.7 % of the total percentage which NYT did not use any Palestinian- Israeli or Israeli Palestinian terms in its news stories. Lastly, only 1.3% of the total percentage used both Palestinian-Israeli and Israeli Palestinian terms, it means that NYT may be lost the balance when it presented Palestinian application in UN.

In order to answer third question in this study, which is, how did NYT present Palestine vs Israel? the study analysed the most repeated term used by NYT about Palestinian application for UN, in terms of the repeated Palestinian application terms or Israeli's terms. For example, the NYT used Palestinian application/ request/

membership/bid and it used Israeli security/ news/ government/ rights. Here the study seeks to compare between these terms. Notice the term used in reference to Palestinian “bid” vs the term “security” in reference to Israel. Also note the absence of the terms “right” for Palestinian.

Palestinian interest means that when the coverage of media use the terms that support the Palestinian application for UN to be an observer status , that will put these terms in favour of Palestinian interests. In contrast, when media used Israeli terms more than the Palestinian’s one, that will be against of Palestinian interests.

Table 7: The main terms that used in NYT coverage about Palestinian application for UN, and the most repeated terms used.

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Palestinian application / request/ membership/ bid	44	29.1	29.1	29.1
Valid Israeli security / news/ government/ rights	105	69.5	69.5	98.7
Neither	2	1.3	1.3	100.0
Total	151	100.0	100.0	

Table 7 shows that 29.1 % of the total percentage of NYT’s coverage used terms of Palestinian application/ request/ membership/bid. In contrast, 69.5% of the total percentage of the coverage used terms of Israeli security/ news/ government/ rights. If we compare the results we will find that NYT focuses on Israel’s security and rights –means NYT does not mentioned Palestinian “right” or “return to their homeland” – more than Palestinian application. Further, only 1.3% from the NYT’s news stories included both Palestinian and Israelis terms.

Furthermore, these results answered the third question in this study, which is, How did NYT presented Palestine vs Israel? The result of the data shows that NYT presented Israel more than Palestine, and it highlighted importance of Israeli's issues like news/ security/ rights more than Palestinian application.

There is a differences between Palestine and Palestinian authority, The term of Palestinian authority means that Palestinian has self-rule without full sovereignty on the ground. (Abu Daieh, 2006). But the term of Palestine means that it a state with full sovereignty as other states in the world.

Hence, this study analysed the most repeated term that used by NYT's coverage about Palestinian authority's application for UN.

Table 8: The most repeated term used by NYT coverage

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Palestine \ Palestinian state	55	36.4	36.4	36.4
Valid Palestinian authority	89	58.9	58.9	95.4
Neither	7	4.6	4.6	100.0
Total	151	100.0	100.0	

According to Table 8, the term of Palestine or Palestinian state used less than Palestinian authority. Only 36.4 % of the total parentage of the NYT's coverage used Palestine/ Palestinian state. While 58.9% of the total percentage used Palestinian authority. Further, 4.6 % of the news stories did not used any term about Palestine or Palestinian authority. The results above proved that the NYT coverage may be was biased against the interests of Palestine. Because one of the important aims to

Palestine is call it as a state not authority specially when the media present Palestinian application to be an observer status for UN.

### 5.5 The Length of The Stories in NYT Coverage

The length of news stories gives an indication of the degree of importance that given by NYT coverage to the Palestinian’s application for an observer status at the UN. This was determined by the number of words of each news story. In this study there are three categories about the length of story: firstly, is short (less than 250 words), secondly, a medium (between 250- 499 words) and lastly a long one (more than 500 words).

Table 9: The length of NYT news stories

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Short, less than 250 word	6	4.0	4.0	4.0
Medium 250-499 words	19	12.6	12.6	16.6
Long, more than 500	126	83.4	83.4	100.0
Total	151	100.0	100.0	

Table 9 shows that the most news stories 83.4% that wrote in NYT about Palestinian application for UN was long. There was high different between long and medium 12.6% of the total percentage. While only 4% of the total percentage was short news stories. That means the NYTs was interested in the issue and gave it large space in the coverage.

### 5.6 The General Tune of the News Stories

The general tune of the news stories is very important to understand the way NYT covered the Palestinian application for UN. The study relied on the space given for the issues and

how they were presented. Then, What is the general view of the story. For example, some stories present the Palestinian application for UN more than Israeli security, so it categorised in favour of Palestine. Other example, some stories presented Israeli security more than Palestinian application, so it was categorized as being in favour of Israel. At the same time there are some news stories that focused on the USA and Israeli interests, For example, the relationship between the USA and Israel, and the American support for Israel. This was considered in favour of Israel. A little of news stories was mixed which means that it presented the two sides (Palestine and Israel) without bias on one of them, so it was categorized as mixed. Lastly, the stories that focused on other countries like Europe were categorized of interest to other countries.

Table 10: The general tune of the NYT news stories

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
favour Palestine	39	25.8	25.8	25.8
favour Israel	94	62.3	62.3	88.1
Mixed	11	7.3	7.3	95.4
Of interest to other countries	7	4.6	4.6	100.0
Total	151	100.0	100.0	

According to Table 10, the majority 62.3% of the news stories that were published by NYT about Palestinian application for UN were in favour Israel. These stories focused on Israelis interests and the Israeli view about Palestinian application for UN. Here it is important to recall the fact that Israel and the USA voted against Palestinian application to the UN, also both Israel and USA played an important role in putting a pressure on some countries to vote against the Palestinian request. So the Israeli view will be negatively and against of Palestinian interest. That led to support hypothesis two which refers to the biased of NYT coverage on favour of Israel.

One of the most important common interests between the USA and Israel about Palestinian application for UN is to foil the Palestinian step by all means. Thus, in order to answer question two, is there a relationship between NYT coverage and the USA interests regarding the Palestine’s application for an observer status at the UN? The study analysed the news stories as related to USA interests or not related.

Table 11: If the news related to USA interests or not related

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Related to USA interest	61	40.4	40.4	40.4
Not related	90	59.6	59.6	100.0
Total	151	100.0	100.0	

Table 11 shows that 40.4% of the analysis of the news stories which were of in favour USA interests. Further 59.6% of the total percentage of the coverage is not related to USA interests. That led to the answer, that there is an important space of the NYT coverage that related to USA interests.

In order to answer question one in this study about what issues were emphasized by the NYT in its coverage of Palestine’s application for observer status in UN? Table 12 which it is the general topic of the news story answered on this question. Table 12 divided to five issues, Palestinian application for UN, Gaza war, Peace march, Israeli settlements and other.

The general topic has the main idea in the story so it will lead us to category the news stories according to the general idea of it.

Table 12: The general topic of the NYT news story

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Palestinian application for UN	85	56.3	56.3	56.3
Gaza war	19	12.6	12.6	68.9
Valid Peace march	15	9.9	9.9	78.8
Israeli settlements	8	5.3	5.3	84.1
Other	24	15.9	15.9	100.0
Total	151	100.0	100.0	

According to Table 12, the Palestinian application for UN dominated the news stories, amounted 56.3% of the total responses. Then Gaza war was the second in interest 12.6%. Gaza war started in 14 November 2012 and finished in 23 November 2012. The statistics reported in the Middle East newspaper, during 8 days Israel killed more than 162 Palestinians, including 43 children, 15 women, and 18 elderly. While the number of Palestinian Injured 1222, including 431 children, 207 women and 88 elderly. In contrast, the Palestinian resistance killed five Israelis, and injured 240 others. The first victim of the Israeli aggression was the leader of Al-Qassam Brigades, Ahmed Ja'bari (MEN, 2012). These information confirming the important space that given by NYTs for Gaza war during the Palestinian application period.

The Peace march has only 9.9% of the total percentage of the coverage, which means that what the study mentioned earlier about the stalled of negotiation between Palestinian and Israeli sides. The coverage of Israeli settlements has only 5.5% of the total percentage, which means that NYT covered the main reason for the stalled of negotiations in less interested and that will be favour on Israel. Other issues covered were 15.9% of the total percentage. The other issues that were covered by NYTs are

about several events such as the internal Palestinian division and the Israeli blockade of the Gaza Strip.

## **Chapter 6**

### **CONCLUSION**

At the end of this study, the conclusion part sets out the main arguments by presenting a summary of the study, general results of the NYT coverage of UN membership request of Palestine for observer membership status, and suggestions for future researches.

#### **6.1 Summary of the Study**

The aim of this study was to examine the NYT's coverage of Palestinian application for observer membership status at UN. Furthermore, it compares the relation between U.S. interests and NYT coverage about Palestine where Palestinian issue has been of interest to regional powers, and the international community. In order to answer the research questions, a case study was done. The news stories that published in New York Times online newspaper during the 19 months period of 1 June 2011 to 31 December 2012 were chosen as the focus of this research. Lastly, the results of this study limited to NYT's news stories coverage.

#### **6.2 Results of The NYT News Stories of Palestinian Application For Observer Membership Status at UN**

In light of the analysis of the NYT's news stories about the Palestinian is application for UN, the following evaluation can be made for the NYT.

### **6.2.1 The Period of Study**

The news stories in this study are divided into coding categories. Firstly, there are 52 news articles (34%) published during the period before the application to the UN (1 June 2011 – 27 September 2011). Secondly, there are 84 news articles 55.6% published in the 15 months during the application period (28 September 2011 – 30 November 2012). Thirdly, there are 15 news articles 9.9% published in the one month after the application accepted (1 December 2012- 31 December 2012). The NYTs coverage for Palestinian application for UN was high before and after the Palestinian application period, while it was low during the application period.

### **6.2.2 Evaluation of the Headlines**

The majority of the NYT newspaper headlines related to the Palestinian application for UN to be an observer status were descriptive headlines 62.3 %. Commentary headlines scored nearly half of description 32.5%, quotes headlines occupied only 5.3% from the total percentage. This result shows that NYT describes the event also commenting on it, and it gives its own opinion.

### **6.2.3 The Source of News Stories**

NYT depends on its own reporters to cover the Palestinian application. NYT as other USA media, has a “sufficient funding to employ journalists to meet its requirements” (Sadikhova, 2013, p. 67). As a result the majority of the news stories about the Palestinian application for UN that were published in NYT newspaper were written by their own reporters 82.1 %. Only 6% of the news articles that were used in NYT to cover the Palestinian application for UN are news from other agencies, like Reuters and France-Press. The percentage of the other media is 13%. While the percentage of unknown sources were 8%. Thus, there is less dependence on news stories from other media.

#### **6.2.4 The Source of the Stories Interm of the Profile of News Stories**

This part of the research was covered out. In order to examine if NYT was biased, and if it was biased on whose side was the bias. The majority of the news stories in NYT online newspaper about Palestinian application for UN are multiple 53%, which means the NYT used more than one source for example, (UN and Israeli sources), more than two sources. For example (UN, USA , and Israeli sources), or more than three sources, for example (Palestinian , USA, UN, and Israeli Sources). In general multiple sources include Israeli sources more than Palestinian one. The other important result is that the number of Israeli sources that used by NYT were 23.2%. While the number of Palestinian sources not more than 7.3%. This means NYT considered on Israeli sources more than Palestinian one in its coverage of the Palestine request for observer membership status for UN. The percentage of UN sources that used by NYT online newspaper reached 9.3%. Further, USA sources are 4%, both Palestinian sources and UN sources only 1.3%. The percentage of other sources from other countries and organizations are only 2%. If we compare these results, we will find out that the multiple sources are the majority 53%, Israeli sources 23.2%, UN sources 9.3%, Palestinian sources 7.3%, both Palestinian and UN sources 1.3%, lastly, the other sources 2%.

#### **6.2.5 The Origin Quoted Sources Used in News Stories**

NYT depended in its coverage on governmental bodies more than other quoted sources, which was 43% of the total percentage. It means that NYT relayed on official institutions more than any other in its coverage for Palestinian application for UN. This result shows that NYT shows the official views in its coverage. Further, 30.5% of the origin quoted sources were experts or academics from different courtiers who commented or analyzed the news about Palestinian application. Thus,

7.9 % of the origin of quoted sources depended on the public liking of Palestinian people or the Israeli people. Other organizations as a source like United Nations scored 9.3 % from the total percentage of the origin quoted sources. Furthermore, 7.9% of the origin quoted sources were from nongovernmental organizations from Palestine, Israel and USA. Lastly, only 1.3% of the total percentage of the origin quoted sources made up of the category.

#### **6.2.6 The most Repeated Term (Palestinian-Israeli Conflict or Israeli-Palestinian conflict)**

This part examined the most repeated terms in the NYT news stories in order to know if there is bias, and in whose favour. Further, the main results for the repeated terms in NYT news stories show only 2.6% of the total percentage is about Palestinian-Israeli conflict/ relation/ flashpoints/ peace. Compared to the majority of expressions for Israel in NYT were Israeli- Palestinian conflict/ relation/ flashpoints/ peace, which it had 54.3% of the total percentage. It means that NYT coverage may be was biased in favour of one side in this matter. Lastly, only 1.3% of the total percentage used both Palestinian-Israeli and Israeli Palestinian terms, it means that NYT may be lost the balance when it presented Palestinian application in UN.

#### **6.2.7 The most Repeated Term (Palestinian Application or Israeli Security)**

When NYT covered Palestinian events like the Palestinian application for UN, it should focus on the terms that were related to the Palestinian application more than the other side. In order to examine how NYT present Palestine and Israel. The results show 29.1% of the total percentage of NYT coverage used terms of Palestinian application/ request/ membership/ bid. In contrast, 69.5% of the total percentage of the coverage used terms of Israeli security/ news/ government/ rights. Further, only 1.3% from the NYT's news stories included both Palestinian and

Israelis terms. Moreover, these results also answer the third questions in this study, which is how did NYT presented Palestine and Israel? The result shows that NYT presented Israel in a more favourite light compared to the Palestine, and it emphasized Israeli's issues like Israeli news/ security/ rights more than Palestinian application, to have an observer status in anticipation for statehood.

#### **6.2.8 The most Repeated Term (Palestinian State or Palestinian Authority)**

One of the most important Palestinian interests is that Palestine become a state not just an authority. Each of these terms has different meaning in the political world, the term of Palestinian authority means that Palestinian self-rule without full sovereignty on the ground (Abu Daieh, 2006). But the term of Palestine state means that it is a state with full sovereignty as other states in the world. The results showed the bias that the term of Palestine or Palestinian state used less than Palestinian authority. Only 36.4% of the total parentage of the NYT coverage used Palestine/ Palestinian state. While 58.9% of the total percentage used Palestinian authority. Further, 4.6% of the news stories did not used any term about Palestine or Palestinian authority. The results above support hypothesis 3, NYT coverage was biased against the interest of Palestine.

#### **6.2.9 The Length of News Stories**

NYT preferred to write long stories 83.4% about Palestinian application for UN. There was vast difference between long and medium size of the stories. The medium stories have 12.6% of the total percentage, and only 4% of the total percentage was short news stories. That means the NYT was interested in the event although negatively and gave a large space in the coverage.

### **6.2.10 The General Tune of the News Stories**

This part conducted in order to examine the general tune and the general frame of NYT's coverage. The majority of the news stories that published by NYTs about Palestinian application for UN was in favour Israel 62.3%. the stories focused on Israelis interests and the Israeli view of the Palestinian application for UN. Here it is important to remember that Israel and USA voted against of Palestinian application for UN, also Israel with USA played an important role in pressuring on some countries to vote against the Palestinian request. So the Israeli view has been negative and against of Palestinian interest. That lends support to hypothesis two in this study which is about the biased of NYT coverage being in favour of Israel's position.

### **6.2.11 Was the News in Favour to USA Interest or Not**

In order to examine hypothesis one in this study about the relation between NYT coverage and USA interests, the results show that 40.4% of the total analyses of the news stories are on the side of USA interests. Further 59.6% of the total percentage of the coverage was not related to USA interests. This leads to the conclusion that there is an important space of the coverage in favour to USA interests.

### **6.2.12 The General Topic of the News Stories**

The Palestinian application for UN occupied the majority of the news stories, which was 56.3% of the total percentage. Then Gaza war has 12.6% of the total coverage. Gaza war started in 14 November 2012 and finished in 23 November 2012. These event were given some space of NYT coverage for the Gaza war during the Palestinian application period. Further, the Peace march has only 9.9% of the total percentage of coverage, this is an evidence of Israeli evasion of serious intent to reach, peace agreement and further explains why negotiation between Palestinian and

Israeli sides have been talented. The coverage of Israeli settlements has only 5.5% of the total percentage, which means an indirect support by the NYT towards the establishment of Israeli settlements. Other issues amounted to 15.9% of the total percentage. The other issues that covered by NYTs are about several events such as the internal Palestinian division and the Israeli blockade of Gaza Strip.

### **6.3 Conclusions Drawn from the Study**

This study aims to examine one outlet of media coverage of UN membership request of Palestine for observer membership status. The study was based on the analysis of New York Times' coverage on this issue. Furthermore, it compares the relation between U.S. interests (roles and biased voting position) and NYT coverage of the Palestine issue, which has been of interest to regional powers, and the international community. Moreover, the study provided data on the importance of foreign news, international news, and international media that related to the content of this study. Thus, the main purpose of this study is to find out how NYT framed the main issue and related ones and if there is a relationship between USA foreign interests in regard to the Arab- Israeli conflict in general and the Palestinian- Israeli continuous conflict, and the media coverage. There are reasons to select NYT in this study. First, it is a well known and a lot of people read it ,so it becomes a source of influence. Also NYT is one of the largest circulated newspapers in the USA. It uses international wire services. Also, it has its own correspondents in different parts of the world. And, it is read by decision makers at most levels in the USA dominations, and widely quoted in international news outlets.

After conducted content analyses of 151 news stories published in NYT online newspaper during the period between 28 September 2011 to 29 November 2012, the research questions in this study has been answered in a numerical manor.

Q.1. What issues were emphasized by the NYTs in its coverage of Palestine's application for observer status in UN?

According to the results of this study, NYTs focused on five issues related to Palestinian application for UN. Firstly, the Palestinian application itself which the newspaper covered before, during and after the application period from June 2011 till the end of December 2012. Secondly, NYTs gave Gaza war good space during the specific period when it presented Gaza war in 2012 and Palestinian application for UN at the same news stories. But the main space in the 8 days of Gaza war period focused on the war more than the application. Thirdly, one of the most important issues that presented by NYTs beside the Palestinian application was the peace march between Palestinian and Israel, which the NYTs look the side of Israel and blamed the Palestinian leaders for going to the UN without the consent with Israel. It should be noted here that USA also criticized the Palestinian decision to go to the UN. So we can see connection between USA politics and NYTs coverage. Lastly, the issue of Israeli settlements was covered by NYTs but in a less space. This issue was the major obstacle to continue the negotiation between both sides. But NYTs did not focused on this issue as required. This gives us impression that the NYTs coverage was biased on favour Israel by introducing these issues.

Q.2. Is there a relationship between NYT coverage and the USA political and strategic interests as they related to the Palestine's application for an observer status at the UN?

USA is the strangest supporter of Israel, worldwide. The influence and pressure by Israeli lobby on the USA governments and nongovernment institutes is extensive and it is clear that the USA interests are intertwined with the interest of Israel.

The relation between NYT's coverage and the U.S interests was clear in the news stories about Palestinian application. Ample space 40% given to support USA interest in NYT's coverage. For example, there are some news stories focused on USA and Israeli mutual interests and how strong the relationship between USA and Israel.

Q.3. How did NYT presented Palestine and Israel?

In general NYT was interested in the issue and gave it large space in the coverage. On the other hand NYT presented both sides in non-neutral way. The results show that NYT was much more favour of Israel in different aspects. First, in terms of using the Palestinian and Israeli terms, NYT repeated Israeli terms much more than Palestinian ones. For example it presented Israel's term before the Palestine one like, Israeli-Palestinian conflict/ relation/ peace. Second when NYT presented Palestinian application it focused on Israeli security/ news/ government/ rights more than Palestinian application/ request/ membership/ bid. Third, the result of this study show that NYT used the term of Palestinian authority more than Palestine of Palestinian state, which means that NYT was against Palestinian interest.

#### **6.4 Suggestions for Further Research**

This study focused on NYT's coverage as a print USA media for the important political-international issue of the Palestinian application. Further research is needed to focus on USA TV and/or radio coverage and compare it with USA foreign policy. Further, increase in the "content analyses studies" of the USA media coverage for Palestinian issue and compare it with other media in other countries like UK. In order

to compare how global issues like the Palestinian issue was treated, especially in the light of the presence of Israeli pressure on important institutions in USA. Lastly, future frame analysis would enrich the discussion questions and hypotheses for similar studies.

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## **APPENDICES**

**Appendix A: Content Analysis Coding Scheme used in the Analysis of  
Palestinian UN Application**

New York Times newspaper coverage of Palestinian non full membership observer  
for UN (June 2011 – December 2012)

- 1-** The periods of study:
  - a- The period before the application (June 1, 2011 - September 27, 2011)
  - b- 15 months during the application period (September 28, 2011 – November 29, 2012)
  - c- One month after the application accepted ( November 30, 2012- December 31, 2012)
- 2-** How the journalist selected the headlines ( evaluation of the headlines):
  - a- Quotes
  - b- Description
  - c- Commentary
- 3-** What are the sources of the stories that appeared in NYT in terms of media companies:
  - a- own reporter
  - b- news agencies
  - c- other media
  - d- unknown
- 4-** What are the source of the stories in terms of the main profile of the news story:
  - a- Palestinian source
  - b- Israeli source
  - c- USA source

- d- UN source
  - e- Multiple
  - f- Not clear
  - g- Other
- 5-** What are the origin of quotes used in news stories of NYT:
- a- Government bodies
  - b- Academic\ Experts
  - c- Public
  - d- International organization
  - e- Non-governmental organization
  - f- Other
- 6-** What is the most repeated term in news stories:
- a- Palestinian- Israeli (conflict, relation, flashpoints, peace)
  - b- Israeli- Palestinian (conflict, relation, flashpoints, peace)
  - c- Neither
  - d- A+B
- 7-** What is the most repeated term used:
- a- Palestinian request/ application/ membership/ bid
  - b- Israeli security/ news/ governments/ rights
  - c- Neither
- 8-** What is the most repeated term used
- a- Palestine \ Palestinian state
  - b- Palestinian authority
  - c- Neither
- 9-** What is the length of stories:

- a- Short, less than 250 word
- b- Medium 250-500 words
- c- Long, more than 500

**10-** What is the general tune of the news story:

- a- favor Palestine
- b- favor Israel
- c- Balance
- d- Of interest to other countries

**11-** If the news

- a- related to USA interests
- b- not related

**12-** What is the general topic of news story:

- a- Palestinian application for UN
- b- Gaza war
- c- Peace march
- d- Israeli settlements
- e- Other
- a- Not related

## **Appendix B: The Periods of News Stories**

- A. The period between 1 June 2011 to 27 December 2012
  1. U.N. Charts High Jobless Rate in Gaza, Despite Israel's Easing of Blockade
  2. What to Do With Lemons
  3. Ahead of U.N. Vote, Effort to Restart Mideast Talks
  4. Buying Into Palestinian Statehood
  5. The U.N. and a Two-State Mideast Solution
  6. Israel Blocks Air Travellers to Palestinian conference
  7. Virtual Bridge Allows Strangers in Mideast to Seem Less Strange
  8. A Year of Waste
  9. Security Council Debate Offers Preview of Palestinian Bid Where Politics  
Are
  10. Complex, Simple Joys at the Beach
  11. Palestinians and the U.N.
  12. U.S. Threatens to Halt Gaza Aid Over Hamas Audits
  13. Questions About a Palestinian State
  14. Syrian Enclave of Palestinians Nearly Deserted After Assault
  15. U.S. Is Appealing to Palestinians to Stall U.N. Vote
  16. Abbas Affirms Palestinian Bid for U.N. Membership
  17. Elusive Line Defines Lives in Israel and the West Bank
  18. Palestinian Leader Says U.S. Is 'Too Late' on U.N. Bid
  19. In Seeking Statehood, Palestinians Stir Concern
  20. An Israeli Case for a Palestinian State
  21. Palestinian Statehood
  22. Veto a State, Lose an Ally

23. E.U. Divided by 'Palestine' Bid at U.N.
24. After the U.N. Vote on Palestine
25. Palestinians Pressured to Seek General Assembly Vote on Statehood
26. U.S. Scrambles to Avert Palestinian Vote at U.N.
27. Palestinians Pressured to Seek General Assembly Vote on Statehood
28. Palestinians Say a U.N. Gamble on Statehood Is Worth the Risks
29. Palestinians Resist Appeals to Halt U.N. Statehood Bid
30. The U.N. Vote on a Palestinian State
31. Palestinians Set Bid for U.N. Seat, Clashing With U.S.
32. Ten Reasons for a European 'Yes'
33. Palestinians See U.N. Bid as Their Most Viable Option
34. A Nervous Hamas Voices Its Issues With a Palestinian Bid for U.N.  
Membership
35. Why Israel Fears a Palestinian State
36. Palestinians Turn to U.N., Where Partition Began
37. The Palestinian Bid for U.N. Recognition of a State
38. House G.O.P. Tightens Its Bond With Netanyahu
39. Taking a Stand, and Shedding Arafat's Shadow
40. Peace Now, or Never
41. Obama Rebuffed as Palestinians Pursue U.N. Seat
42. Obama Says Palestinians Are Using Wrong Forum
43. France Breaks With Obama on Palestinian Statehood Issue
44. The Arab Spring Finds Itself Upstaged by a New Season
45. The Palestinians' Bid
46. Ready for Statehood

47. Harsh Words From Turkey About Israel, and From Iran About United States
48. Palestinians Rally in West Bank for Abbas Speech; Clashes Reported
49. Palestinians Request U.N. Status; Powers Press for Talks
50. Palestinians' Security Council Application Goes to a Committee
51. Scuffle at the United Nations Ends in an Apology to Turks
52. After the Palestinian Bid at the U.N.
- B. The period between 28 September 2011 to 29 November 2012
  1. The Palestinians' U.N. Bid: How the P.L.O. Sees It
  2. Palestinians Win a Vote on Bid to Join Unesco
  3. Is Israel Its Own Worst Enemy?
  4. A State is Born in Palestine
  5. Palestinians in Gaza Celebrate Prisoner Swap Deal
  6. Palestinian Bid for Full Unesco Membership Imperils American Financing
  7. Arab Rejection of '47 Partition Plan Was Error, Palestinian Leader Says
  8. Unesco Accepts Palestinians as Full Members
  9. Israel and the Apartheid Slander
  10. Palestinians Inch Closer to Rejection at U.N. Body
  11. Palestinian Bid for U.N. Membership Faces Near-Certain Defeat
  12. Committee Is Deadlocked Over Palestinian Membership Bid
  13. Israel and 'Pinkwashing'
  14. Rival Palestinian Leaders Meet but Fail to End Rift
  15. The Arab Awakening and Israel
  16. The U.S., the Palestinians and U.N. Agencies
  17. A Man of the Past
  18. U.N. Leader Urges Israelis and Palestinians to Resume Talks

19. Protesters in Gaza Throw Shoes and Sticks at U.N. Chief
20. Unity Deal Brings Risks for Abbas and Israel
21. To Save Israel, Boycott the Settlements
22. Israeli Officials Denounce U.N. Rights Council Bid to Study Effects of Settlements
23. Islamist Victors in Egypt Seeking Shift by Hamas
24. Israel's Top Court Orders Settlers to Leave Outpost
25. Court Rejects Palestinians in Their Bid for a Tribunal
26. West Bank Leader Says Security Forces Can't Get Guns
27. Hamas-Run Schools Set Out to Teach 'the Language of the Enemy'
28. A Palestinian Whose Cameras Are Witnesses and Casualties of Conflict Going Directly to Israelis and Palestinians
29. Unesco Adds Nativity Church in Bethlehem to Heritage List
30. Peace Talks Must Resume, Clinton Says in Israel Visit
31. Gaza: Fears of Economic Isolation
32. Why Not in Vegas?
33. Israel Bars Foreign Envoys From West Bank Meeting
34. Preserving Israel's Uncertain Status Quo
35. When It Pays to Talk to Terrorists
36. The Truth About Obama and Israel
37. Year After Effort at U.N., New Aim for Palestinians
38. Egypt's New Leader Spells Out Terms for U.S.-Arab Ties
39. Before Palestinians Act at U.N., Israeli Officials Urge Other Steps
40. Obama's Speech to the United Nations General Assembly — Text
41. Nod to Obama by Netanyahu in Warning to Iran on Bomb

42. Waiting for an Arab Spring of Ideas
43. What Netanyahu and Abbas Said at the U.N.
44. Cutoff of U.S. Money Leads Unesco to Slash Programs and Seek Emergency Aid
45. Civic Duty and Economic Worries Drive Palestinian Voters in Parts of West Bank
46. In Jerusalem, Carter Derides Netanyahu and Obama
47. Who Threw Israel Under the Bus?
48. A Push by Palestinians for U.N. Status Continues
49. Answers to Questions About New York
50. Palestinian's Remark, Seen as Concession, Stirs Uproar
51. Palestinians at the U.N., Again
52. Netanyahu Rushes to Repair Damage With Obama
53. Palestinians Renew Push for Enhanced U.N. Status
54. Ferocious Israeli Assault on Gaza Kills a Leader of Hamas
55. Israel Heightens Warnings Over Palestinians' U.N. Bid
56. Bolder Hamas Tests Alliances in a Shifting Arab World
57. The Violence in Israel and Gaza
58. In Israeli Border Town, Rubble and Blood
59. Israel and Hamas Step Up Air Attacks in Gaza Clash
60. With Gaza Attacks, Egypt's President Balances Hamas Against Israeli Peace
61. U.S. Fears a Ground War in Gaza Could Hurt Israel and Help Hamas
62. The Israel-Palestine Conflict Won't Go Away
63. Gaza Crisis Poses Threat to Faction Favored by U.S.
64. While Trying to Mediate, Egypt Blames Israel for Gaza Conflict

65. Hamas Leader Dares Israel to Invade Amid Gaza Airstrikes
  66. Turkey Finds It Is Sidelined as Broker in Mideast
  67. Clashing Views on Israel and Gaza
  68. Israel and Hamas Agree to a Cease-Fire, After a U.S.-Egypt Push
  69. Factions in Gaza Make Unity Vow After Cease-Fire
  70. Time to Impose a Plan
  71. Tension and Confusion Linger in Gaza Strip After Cease-Fire
  72. Two-State Solution on the Line
  73. France to Vote in Favor of Palestinians' U.N. Bid
  74. U.S. and Israel Look to Limit Impact of U.N. Vote on Palestinian Authority
  75. Israel Plays Down Importance of U.N. Bid by Palestinians
  76. The U.N. To Vote on Palestine
  77. Hamas Chief Revives Talk of Reuniting With P.L.O.
  78. The Palestinians' U.N. Bid
  79. After Vote, Palestinians and Israel Search for the Next Step
  80. U.N. Assembly, in Blow to U.S., Elevates Status of Palestine
  81. Housing Move in Israel Seen as Setback for a Two-State Plan
  82. New U.N. Status for Palestinians Could Open Door for Claims of Israeli War Crimes
  83. For Obama, Difficult Timing of an Israeli Plan Is Nothing New
- C. The period between 1 December 2012 to 31 December 2012
1. Dividing the West Bank, and Deepening a Rift
  2. Collaboration in Gaza Leads to Grisly Fate
  3. Amid Euphoria Over U.N. Vote, Palestinians Still Face Familiar Challenges
  4. Mr. Netanyahu's Strategic Mistake

5. European Nations Summon Envoys of Israel
6. Iron Empires, Iron Fists, Iron Domes
7. Cheering U.N. Palestine Vote, Synagogue Tests Its Members
8. A Synagogue's Dissent on Palestine
9. If Not Two States, Then One
10. Netanyahu, in Visit to Germany, Defends Settlement Plans
11. Rabbis Apologize for Tone of E-Mail on U.N. Vote
12. Israeli Minister Vents Anger at Europe
13. Hundreds of men and boys sporting the signature green of the Hamas faction  
marched through the West Bank on Thursday.
14. Israel Defies Allies in Move to Bolster Settlements
15. The Fading Mideast Peace Dream

## Appendix C: The UN Documents about the Application

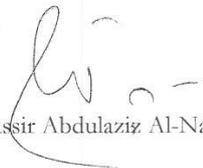


23 September 2011

Excellency,

I have the honour to bring to your attention the enclosed letter dated 23 September 2011 from the Secretary-General of the United Nations, regarding the application of Palestine for admission to membership in the United Nations and a further letter, attached thereto, from H.E. Mr. Mahmoud Abbas, President of Palestine, dated 23 September 2011.

Please accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.



Nassir Abdulaziz Al-Nasser

All Permanent Representatives and  
Permanent Observers to the United Nations  
New York



THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

23 September 2011

Dear Mr. President,

In accordance with rule 135 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly and rule 59 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council, I have the honour to convey herewith the attached application of Palestine for admission to membership in the United Nations, contained in a letter received on 23 September 2011 from its President. I also attach a further letter, dated 23 September 2011, received from him at the same time.

I should be grateful if you could bring the letter of application and its annex to the attention of the members of the General Assembly. I would also be grateful if you could bring the further letter to the attention of the members of the General Assembly.

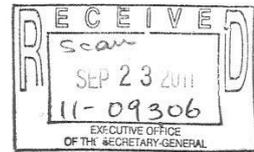
Please accept, Mr. President, the assurances of my highest consideration.

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Ban Ki-moon". The signature is fluid and cursive, with the first name "Ban" being the most prominent.  
BAN Ki-moon

His Excellency  
Mr. Nassir Abdulaziz Al-Nasser  
President of the General Assembly  
New York

(Transmitted under cover of)  
# 109 11-09305

ACTION VNO  
COPY Mr. D. B. ...  
NH



**Application of the State of Palestine  
for Admission to Membership in the United Nations**

Excellency,

I have the profound honor, on behalf of the Palestinian people, to submit this application of the State of Palestine for admission to membership in the United Nations.

This application for membership is being submitted based on the Palestinian people's natural, legal and historic rights and based on United Nations General Assembly resolution 181 (II) of 29 November 1947 as well as the Declaration of Independence of the State of Palestine of 15 November 1988 and the acknowledgement by the General Assembly of this Declaration in resolution 43/177 of 15 December 1988.

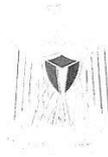
In this connection, the State of Palestine affirms its commitment to the achievement of a just, lasting and comprehensive resolution of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict based on the vision of two-States living side by side in peace and security, as endorsed by the United Nations Security Council and General Assembly and the international community as a whole and based on international law and all relevant United Nations resolutions.

For the purpose of this application for admission, a declaration made pursuant to rule 58 of the Provisional Rules of Procedure of the Security Council and rule 134 of the Rules of Procedure of the General Assembly is appended to this letter.

I should be grateful if you would transmit this letter of application and the declaration to the Presidents of the Security Council and the General Assembly as soon as possible.

**Mahmoud Abbas**  
**President of the State of Palestine**  
**Chairman of the Executive Committee of the**  
**Palestine Liberation Organization**

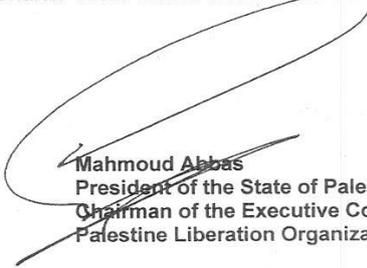
**H.E. Mr. Ban Ki-moon**  
**The Secretary-General of the United Nations**  
**The United Nations**  
**New York**



STATE OF PALESTINE

**Declaration of the State of Palestine**

In connection with the application of the State of Palestine for admission to membership in the United Nations, I have the honor, in my capacity as the President of the State of Palestine and as the Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, to solemnly declare that the State of Palestine is a peace-loving nation and that it accepts the obligations contained in the Charter of the United Nations and solemnly undertakes to fulfill them.

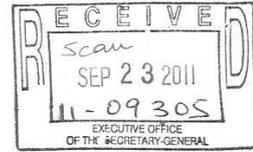


Mahmoud Abbas  
President of the State of Palestine  
Chairman of the Executive Committee of the  
Palestine Liberation Organization

(Handed to SG by President in)  
Mtg on 23 Sept.



THE PRESIDENT



ACTION  
COPY

VN  
Ms. O'Brien  
NH

23 September 2011  
Ramallah, Palestine

Excellency,

(Related  
copy  
#11-09306)

After decades of displacement, dispossession and the foreign military occupation of my people and with the successful culmination of our State-building program, which has been endorsed by the international community, including the Quartet of the Middle East Peace Process, it is with great pride and honor that I have submitted to you an application for the admission of the State of Palestine to full membership in the United Nations.

On 15 November 1988, the Palestine National Council (PNC) declared the Statehood of Palestine in exercise of the Palestinian people's inalienable right to self-determination. The Declaration of Independence of the State of Palestine was acknowledged by the United Nations General Assembly in resolution 43/177 of 15 December 1988. The right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and independence and the vision of a two-State solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict have been firmly established by General Assembly in numerous resolutions, including, inter alia, resolutions 181 (II) (1947), 3236 (XXIX)(1974), 2649 (XXV) (1970), 2672 (XXV) (1970), 65/16 (2010) and 65/202 (2010) as well as by United Nations Security Council resolutions 242 (1967), 338 (1973) and 1397 (2002) and by the International Court of Justice Advisory Opinion of 9 July 2004 (on the Legal Consequences of the Construction of a Wall in the Occupied Palestinian Territory). Furthermore, the vast majority of the international community has stood in support of our inalienable rights as a people, including to statehood, by according bilateral recognition to the State of Palestine on the basis of the 4 June 1967 borders, with East Jerusalem as its capital, and the number of such recognitions continues to rise with each passing day.

Palestine's application for membership is made consistent with the rights of the Palestine refugees in accordance with international law and the relevant United Nations resolutions, including General Assembly resolution 194 (III) (1948), and with the