

Media in War & Crises

Prof. Sondra M. Rubenstein

Course Number: 2803.3.183.01

Semester: א- Spring 2010

Class Time: Thursdays 12:15-1:45

Class Location:

Office Hours: Thurs., 10:30-11:30 & by appt.

Location: Room 8044, Rabin Hall

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Description:

This Seminar examines the functions, roles, responsibilities, and behavior of the media in times of national and international threats to national security and other crises. The differing and competing perspectives of government, terrorists, dissidents, general public, and the media frequently clash, resulting in government efforts to control the media and to use them as tools of propaganda. (3 credits)

Class discussions will be based on assigned readings and will cover theories relating to communication, propaganda, persuasion, media ownership, news values, blind spots in the news, and general coverage of extra-ordinary events.

IMPORTANT: Please download both the "Theory Packet" and the packet entitled "War, Propaganda and the Media" (compiled by Anup Shah). These packets will help you review and select various theories in preparation for writing your research paper.

Note: Since the research project **must** have a theoretical grounding, these packets, combined with the reading assignments will assist you in selecting those theories and concepts most relevant and helpful to your content-analysis study.

Seminar goals:

To enhance your existing awareness of mediated reality in the realm of crisis coverage

To enhance your research, writing, analytical, and presentation skills

To encourage use of these skills in undertaking a content-analysis project

The Seminar grade will consist of the following requirements:

Nine weekly reading and writing assignments (25%)

Formal proposal (4-5 double-spaced pages, including preliminary Bibliography) (15%)

PowerPoint presentation (15-20 minutes) (15%)

Formal research paper (18-20 double-spaced pages, including Bibliography) (35%)

Participation/attendance/overall evaluation (10%)

Please see the Addendum (from p. 5) for policies, details, and instructions. It is imperative that you read it. It contains everything you need to know about the course requirements.

Important dates:

1. By **March 11, 2010**, please email me two ideas (plus a brief explanation for each choice) for a content analysis of a crisis.
2. Formal Proposal: Due **by -- April 1, 2010** via email.
3. Presentation dates to be assigned: **May 20, 27, and June 3, 2010**
4. The Final Paper: Due on or before **20 July 2010**, via email.

Reminder: See Addendum. It is a "MUST" read!!!



SEMINAR OUTLINE AND READING ASSIGNMENTS

Reminder: See the Addendum for instructions and helpful suggestions relating to your Assignments, the Proposal, Presentation, and Research Paper.

All assignments are **due by email by the date indicated**. No final paper will be accepted until all 9 assignments have been completed.

Readings will be placed on electronic reserve and can be downloaded. **Suggestion:** Take notes; prepare to discuss the readings. Feel free to ask questions and voice your opinions. It is important for us to hear diverse perspectives, which are encouraged and will be respected.

VERY IMPORTANT: Please be sure to download all reading assignments. Once you leave campus, you will not have access to the reading assignments.

You are expected to **take the initiative in discussing your comments and questions in class**. For purposes of widening the discussion, you will also be called upon from time to time, to read and discuss your written responses. Be sure to bring a copy of your assignment to class each week.

Date	Chapter/Pages	Sources	Discussion Topics
Feb. 25	Welcoming new International Students	Syllabus, Theory and Propaganda Packets.	Overview of course; review of requirements, methodology of content analysis, etc. Please note: By March 11 , submit (via email) two ideas for your crisis content analysis.
Mar. 4	10. Ch. II (+ end notes), <i>Packaging Terrorism: Co-opting the News for Politics and Profit</i>	Susan D. Moeller (MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009).	Politics of coverage; making terrorism the big story; the voices of the powerful... *Submit 4 Cs for #10
Mar. 11	11.1. How Bias Shapes the News: <i>Challenging N.Y. Times' status as a newspaper of re-cord on Middle East</i> , 282-304. --- 11.2. Ch. 5, 61-84, "Government's Little Helper." NOTE: Be sure to	1. Zeizler, Park, Gudeluna (Sage Publ., 2002) --- 2. J. Zaller & D. Chiu, in <i>Decision-making in a Glass House</i> , Eds. B.L. Nacos, R.Y.	Consideration of framing and agenda-setting issues. --- U.S. press coverage of foreign policy crises, 1946-1999. From "rally round the flag" reporting, to "national conscience" during the Vietnam war, to . . . (Gulf War I and what we've seen since).



	submit 2 ideas for your content analysis by this date.	Shapiro, & P. Isernia (London: Rowman & Littlefield, 2000)	*Submit 4 Cs for #11
Date	Chapter/Pages	Sources	Discussion Topics
Mar. 18	12.1. Ch. 2, 11-26, "Declarations of Independence" by R. M. Entman. ---- 12.2 <i>Myth of Gulf War 2 and Media's Battle Cry</i> , pp. 1-11, down-loaded packet. --- 12.3. 249-260, "Perspectives on the Persian Gulf War in Popular Black Magazines"	1. <i>Decision-making</i> by Nacos, Shapiro & Isernia (2000) ---- 2. R. Keeble's lecture, Univ. of Lincoln (2003) and his article for "Medialens" (2001) a British media watchdog . ---- 3. V.T. Berry and K.E. Karloff in <i>Seeing Through the Media</i> , Eds. S. Jeffords and L. Rabinovitz (N.J.: Rutgers State University, 1994)	Growth of Media Power after the Cold War ---- Keeble argues about the media-centric nature of low-intensity conflicts that have taken place since the 1980s and that continue into the 21 st Century. Video clips: Vietnam, the living room war ---- Am. black politicians generally opposed U.S. action against Iraq. Exploring the dual consciousness of the Am. black population, as it relates to the black press. The conflicting values of the military and the press: hierarchy vs. no ranks; loyalty and confidence in superiors vs. objectivity and skepticism, etc. *Submit 4 Cs for #12

PASSOVER VACATION: MARCH 25 -- APRIL 9, 2010

Date	Chapter/Pages	Sources	Discussion Topics
Apr. 15	13.1. Ch. 17, 520-525, "Government News Management" ---- 13.2. Ch. 16, 181-200, "CNN: Elites Talking to Elites" by R.C. Vincent ---- 13.3. <i>Terrorists and their goals</i> , 48-74 (notes on 170-173).	1. Voices, Folkerts & Teeter (1988) ---- 2. <i>Triumph of the Image</i> , eds. Mowlana, Gerbner & Schiller (Boulder: Westview, 1992) ---- 3. Brigitte L. Narcos in her <i>Terrorism & the Media</i> (NY: Columbia U., 1994)	Press pools, the Persian Gulf, and Panama; management of special-interest news; the Exxon Valdez environmental crisis. ---- How CNN presented news of GW I. Compare this with CNN's coverage of GW II. Eight categories of stories. Press release journalism. Silencing the anti-war voices: Case study: The London <i>Daily Mirror</i> . ---- Impact of live broadcasts on publicity afforded international terrorists (1972-1986) *Submit 4 Cs for #13
Apr. 22	(North Ireland press) 14.1. 96-103, "Divided people, divided press"	1. J. O'Farrell, in <i>Media Studies Journal</i> (Spring-	Role of media in a "fractured" society: Northern Ireland. Local newspapers try to staff the same number of Protestant and



	<p>----</p> <p>14.2. 114-121, "Breaking ranks in Northern Ireland"</p> <p>----</p>	<p>Summer 1998).</p> <p>----</p> <p>2. M. O'Doherty, in <i>Media Studies Journal</i>, (Spring - Summer 2000).</p>	<p>Catholic columnists.</p> <p>----</p> <p>Broadcasters/newspapers seek balance in interviewees/commentators, based on their perceived ethnic background, rather than political positions.</p> <p>*Submit 4 Cs for #14</p>
Date	Chapter/Pages	Sources	Discussion Topics
Apr. 29	<p>15.1. Ch., 9, 106-117, "War Reporting: Collateral Damage in European Theater" by F. Corcoran</p> <p>----</p> <p>15.2. Ch. 10, 118-127, "Ruling by Pooling," by Stig A. Norstedt.</p> <p>----</p> <p>15.3 <i>The Press & the Myths of War</i> by Chris Hedges</p>	<p>1-2. Both in: <i>Triumph of the Image</i>, Eds. F. Mowlana, G. Gerbner, & H.I. Schiller (Boulder: Westview, 1992)</p> <p>----</p> <p>3. <i>The Nation</i> (Apr. 3. 2003)</p>	<p>Changing attitudes toward media in post-Vietnam era: The Falklands War, Grenada, and Panama. [An Irish perspective.]</p> <p>Video: Paper Tiger TV's <i>The Gulf Crisis TV Project</i>, the anti-war series.</p> <p>----</p> <p>The media's war in the Persian Gulf. [A Swedish perspective.]</p> <p>----</p> <p>On blind patriotism, self-glorification, weapons worship, etc.</p> <p>*Submit 4 Cs for #15</p>
May 6	<p>16.1. Ch. 11, 128-135, "Innovations of Moral Policy," H. Luostarinen.</p> <p>----</p> <p>16.2. Ch.12, 137-143, "Truth: The First Victim of War" by R. Ottosen.</p> <p>----</p> <p>16.3. Ch. 4, 91-110, "The Terrorist Act as a Media Event"</p>	<p>1-2. Both in: <i>Triumph</i>, eds. Mowlana, Gerbner, & Schiller (1992)</p> <p>----</p> <p>3. <i>The Theater of Terror: Mass Media and International Terrorism</i>, Weimann & Winn (NY: Longman '94)</p>	<p>New methods to control the media during Gulf War. [A Finnish perspective.]</p> <p>----</p> <p>As with Grenada, during '89 U.S. invasion of Panama, there was an absence of independent information and a great deal of disinformation. [A Norwegian perspective]</p> <p>----</p> <p>E. Katz's seven attributes of "the high holidays of broadcasting." Galtung & Ruge's canons of newsworthiness. Katz and Dayan's useful attributes for comparison of media events....</p> <p>*Submit 4 Cs for #16</p>
May 13	<p>17.1. Ch. 13, 144-156, "Public Opinion and Media War Coverage in Britain," M. Shaw and R. Carr-Hill.</p> <p>----</p> <p>17.2. Ch. 17, 202-211, "Exterminating Angels: Morality, Violence &</p>	<p>1-2. Both in <i>Triumph of the Image</i>, eds. Mowlana, Gerbner, & Schiller (Boulder: Westview, 1992)</p>	<p>Demonization and neutralization of the "Great Satan"; the technological tools that dominated.</p> <p>Some questions to consider:</p> <p>1) How do you evaluate the arguments presented in the two chapters (Ch. 13 and Ch.17) that you read from this book?</p> <p>2) Do you agree/disagree with the philosophical and ideological assumptions?</p>



	Technology in Gulf War," Aksoy & Robins --- 17.3. <i>Limited War</i> -- <i>The Stereotypes</i> , by Prof. Edwin E. Moïse	--- 3. See: http://www.clemson.edu/caah/history/FacultyPages/EdMoise/limit1.html	3) Did Prof. Moïse's article (#16.3) affect your opinion of what Aksoy and Robins are arguing? If so, how? Assignment choice – You can either: 1) Submit responses to the three questions above, or 2) Submit the usual four comments. *Submit your choice (above) for #17
Date	Chapter/Pages	Sources	Discussion Topics
May 20	Catch up/review Note: #18 (the final assignment) is due next week.	Workshop on Research problems and questions	**Presentations of International School Students Time permitting, discussion on previous assignments.
May 27	18.1. Ch. 6, 74-85, "Toward a Propaganda Analysis of the Gulf War" G. S. Jowett; and --- 18.2. Ch. 23, 312-322, "Between Reality and News: Differential Perception of the War in the Gulf" A.A. Cohen ---- 18.3. "War Policy, Public Support, and the Media" (pp. 121-134).	1-2. Both are from: <i>Desert Storm and the Mass Media</i> , Eds. B.S. Greenberg and W. Gantz (Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press, 1993) ---- 3. William M. Darley, in <i>Parameters</i> , Summer '05	10-Step program of propaganda analysis. The role of the negative metaphor "not another Vietnam," and the tactics of the organizations engaged in formulating and spreading propaganda. ---- Measuring the perceived complexity of conflicts: Comparison of "common sense" objective reality and its symbolic representation (in the form of television news). The Media-Dependency hypothesis (Ball-Rokeach & DeFleur). ---- The role and influence of the news media on public opinion and national policy. **Presentations continue *Submit 4 Cs for #18
June 3	Last Class for International Students	Workshop -- Research; problems encountered	**Presentations continue.

SEE ADDENDUM BELOW -- It is a "MUST READ"!!!

ADDENDUM: "The Rules of Engagement."

MISCELLANEOUS INFORMATION



1. Attendance and lateness policy:

University policy regarding excessive absences will be followed. Unexcused absences will result in a lowered grade. Attendance will be kept. Lateness is disruptive and cannot be tolerated. Each absence beyond two, will result in a lowered grade. Two latenesses will be considered one unexcused absence.

2. Grading system: See page one of this Syllabus.

Given that there are no exams, the reading assignments (discussed below and worth 25% of the final grade) are extremely important. Many of them will be helpful in writing your paper and must be incorporated.

3. Reading assignments:

Completion of the 9 readings assignments will be demonstrated by the submission **four** comments relating to the assigned readings for that particular class.

Be sure each reading is represented in your comments. [Note: If there are two or more separate readings, divide the four comments (any way you wish) so that each reading is represented by at least a single comment.]

The comments must be computer generated, typed double-spaced in English.

At the top of every assignment be sure to type:

- (a) Your name, ID#, and email address.
- (b) Assignment number, as indicated in the Syllabus (not week number).
- (c) The title of each article, essay, or chapter, and its author.

Please number each comment (1-4) and indicate the author and page number to which you are responding.

For example, in your first assignment, Assignment #10, identify the comments as follows: 1) Moeller, p. 50, 2) Moeller, p. 106, etc.

Please note: Providing page numbers is very important because it provides me with some context, enabling me to understand your reference point.

Please keep copies of all your work and bring a printout of your comments to each class. From time to time, you will be called upon to read a comment in class.

Your comments will be graded on the basis of your ability to identify either key issues or subtleties presented in the readings. I am looking for original thinking, for connections to history and respected "thinkers." Please avoid the mundane and self-evident. The mundane will receive a much lower grade than the profound and provocative.

As we progress through the Seminar, try to relate your comments to other readings, issues discussed in class, various crises, etc., but most importantly, please try to relate the readings to your particular crisis, in so far as that is possible.



All readings have been selected with great care. It is your task to find the relevance in the various readings to Seminar themes and concepts.

After reading and grading your comments, I will prepare "feedback" (responses) to what you have written and will email these to you. I will retain a computer file of all your assignments and my feedback comments. Please remember to save copies of your work and my feedback comments.

Should you miss a class, for whatever reason, the comments are still required and are due on the date indicated.

Reminder: You are expected to relate applicable readings to the content analysis of the media coverage of your crisis and to include appropriate references to such readings in your final paper.

4. The Formal Proposal (Worth 15% of your grade):

(a) Prepare two choices for a topic (in order of preference) for submission by **March 11, 2010**. I will provide feedback on your choices as quickly as possible.

(b) Proposal length -- between 4-5 double-spaced pages, including the preliminary bibliography. Questions about the theoretical foundation and methodology are always welcome and will be discussed in class. The Proposal is very important because it will guide you through your research effort.

(c) **Deadline for Proposal -- no later than April 1, 2010**, via email:
sondrarubenstein@yahoo.com

The Proposal will consist of a description of your topic, the aim of your research, why your topic qualifies as a crisis, the specific media content and dates you will examine; questions, issues and hypotheses to be examined, comments regarding your initial thinking about the paper's theoretical framework, methodology, and a preliminary bibliography, which must include at least one researched (scholarly) article from a Journal (that is not part of the reading requirements in this syllabus).

IMPORTANT: Please use **section headings** to separate and organize the content of your proposal and later, your final paper.

To summarize: Please include the following information in your Formal Proposal (**written in prose**, the PowerPoint Presentation (written as bullets), later in your Final Paper (which will again be written in prose):

(a) In the first section, the **Introduction**, explain why you decided on this case study, why it qualifies as a crisis, and what type of crisis it is: societal, economic, national



security, health, etc. Identify your goals and briefly mention the dates and media sources you will examine and analyze.

(b) In a section called **The History** (or Historical Background) provide an overview of the background of the crisis you selected.

(c) In a section called **Literature Review**, briefly discuss both of the following:

- The main points in the **Journal article you selected** (which is not part of the assigned readings) and explain its relevance to your project. Specifically, explain how this article will help you to better understand the crisis you are studying.
- The relevance to your analysis of **those articles from the assigned readings** that you found relevant to your particular crisis or to your theoretical foundation.

(d) In the section called **Theoretical Foundation**, discuss those theories that you may have researched on your own, or from the Theory and Propaganda packets, which are applicable to your content analysis. Explain why.

(e) Under the section heading **Methodology**, briefly identify:

- Which media you are going to examine (print, broadcast, etc.),
- The specific dates of the crisis, and
- The specific names of the media entities (for example: *The London Times* and *Ha'aretz*; the BBC and Al Jazeera (websites or archives), etc.

Explain how you will select the content (key words, phrases, etc.). In short, this is where you explain the process of selection and analysis: What exactly are you examining -- news articles, opinion pieces, headlines, paragraphs (the first, the first two or three paragraphs, the entire article?).

Include your Hypothesis or Hypotheses: This is critical to your content analysis. Please explain your initial thoughts, concerns, and questions about the subject matter.

To formulate a Hypothesis: Consider your assumptions about what you could discover from your content analysis. What do you think will be the most likely outcomes? What exactly do you hope to learn from this research effort?

- We will have discussions in class relating to the Hypothesis.
- **In preparation for that discussion: Begin to formulate an assumption as to what you will find in your research, and then phrase it in a clear sentence.**

(f) If by the time you are creating your Proposal (or the Presentation), you have encountered problems or obstacles, you ought to include a section that describes the research problem(s) and your resolution(s). You will later also include such a section -- toward the end of your final paper -- in which you can discuss this.

More on this in class: Please feel free to raise questions at any time.



5. The Presentation (15-20 minutes; worth 15% of your grade).

Possible Presentation dates: May 20, 27, and June 3, 2010.

Coming at the end of the semester (but before you have written your final paper) this essentially is an opportunity for you to describe your research project and to discuss briefly the relevant Journal article that you have researched.

Please limit the amount of information you put on each slide. **Only list 3-4 points on an individual slide and use a large font (28-32 points).**

Preparation for the PowerPoint will be discussed several times during the Seminar. To be sure you understand what is required, please ask questions as they arise.

IMPORTANT: One week before your **final presentation**, please give me a copy of the article you selected, so that I can read it and be prepared.

6. The Research Paper (worth 35% of the grade) is due on or before 20 July 2010.

Note: If the International School deadline is earlier, and you must meet their deadline, please let me know. If you want an extension, I can extend your deadline until the above date (20 July).

Requirements: The Final Paper (18-20 pages, including the Bibliography) will include everything contained in the Presentation and the Proposal (but further developed) and written in prose style. In addition, it will contain the:

- (a) Findings from your content analysis including anything unexpected/surprising, etc.,
- (b) Relevant input (feedback) from class discussions, and your conclusions
- (c) Problems encountered at any point in the research or development of the paper

Please email the completed paper to me at: sondrarubenstein@yahoo.com

7. Recommended reading list:

Ahern, Tim. "White Smoke in the Persian Gulf: How the Press Pool Worked," *Washington Journalism Review*, October 1987.

Allen, Barbara, Paula O'Loughlin, Amy Jasperson, John L. Sullivan. "The Media and the Gulf War: Framing, Priming, and the Spiral of Silence," *Polity*, Vol 27.2 (Winter 1994).

Allen, Henry. "The Gulf Between Media and Military," Ch. 7, 174-179, in *Messages 2: The Washington Post Media Companion*.

Altschull, Herbert. "From Lenin to Glasnost" (on Lenin's three roles for the press) in *Agents of Power, The Media and Public Policy*, pp. 209-223 (NY: Longman, 1995).



Anker E. "Villains, victims and heroes: Melodrama, media and September 11," *Journal of Communication*, March 2005, pp. 22-37.

Arnett, Peter. *The Media and the Gulf War: an eyewitness account* (Abu Dhabi: Center for Strategic Studies and Research, 1997).

Belknap, Margaret H. "The CNN Effect: Strategic Enabler or Operational Risk?" *Parameters* (U.S. Army War College Quarterly), Vol. XXXII, #3, Autumn 2002, pp. 100-114.

Bennett, W. Toward a Theory of Press-State Relations in the United States, *Journal of Communication*, Vol. 40, Issue 2, Spring 1990, p. 103-127.

Bennett, W. Lance and David L. Paletz, Eds. *Taken by Storm: The Media, Public Opinion, and U.S. Foreign Policy in the Gulf War* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994).

Carey, James. "Time, Space, and the Telegraph," *Communication in History*, 3rd Ed. (NY: Longman, 1999), pp. 135-141, David Crowley and Paul Heyer, Eds.

Cohen, Bernard. *Press and Foreign Policy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1963).

Cohen, Yoel. *Media Diplomacy: The Foreign Office in the Mass Communication Age* (London: Frank Cass, 1986).

Corry, John. "TV News & the Neutrality Principle," *Commentary*, May 1991, pp. 24-27.

Darley, William M. "War Policy, Public Support, and the Media," *Parameters* (U.S. War College Quarterly), Vol. XXXV, No. 2, Summer 2005, pp. 121-134.

Dorman, William A. "Press Theory and Journalistic Practice, The Case of the Gulf War," pp. 118-125, *Do the Media Govern? Politicians, Voters, and Reporters in America*, Shanto Iyengar and Richard Reeves, Eds. (London: Sage, 1997).

Entman, Robert M. "Framing Bias: Media in the Distribution of Power," *Journal of Communication*, Volume 57, Issue 1, Page 163-173, Mar (2007).

Entman, R. M. Declarations of Independence. In *Decision-Making in a Glass House-Mass Media, Public Opinion and European Foreign Policy in the 21st Century*, (ed) Brigitte Nacos, Rowman & Littlefield, 2000, Chapter 2, pp 11-26.

Feldstein, F. P. and Acosta-Alzuru, C. "Argentinean Jews as scapegoat" A textual analysis of the bombing of AMIA," *Journal of Communication Inquiry*, 2003, pp. 152-170.

Gamson, Croteau, Hoynes, Sasson, Media Images and the Social Construction of Reality, *Annual Review of Sociology*, August 1992, Vol. 18, Pages 373-393

Gazit, Shlomo. *Trapped Fools: Thirty Years of Israeli Policy in the Territories*, London: Frank Cass (2003).

George, Alexander. "Covering Up Casualties," in *Lies of Our Times* (Monthly Media Criticism, Sheridan Square Press, NY), April 1991, p.3.



Gitlin, Todd. *The Whole World is Watching: Mass media in the making and unmaking of the new left*. (Berkeley, CA, University of California, Press. 1980).

----- "Antiwar Movement Redux: Jump-Start for The Peace Forces," *The Nation*, January 7/14, 1991, pp. 8-11.

Hedges, Chris. "The Press & Myths of War in *The Nation*, 2003, April 3, 2003.

Haiqing Yu, *Media & Cultural Transformation in China* (Routledge, 2009)

Iyengar, Shanto. *Is anyone responsible?* University of Chicago Press, 1993.

Iyengar, S. & A. Simon. "News Coverage of the Gulf Crisis and Public Opinion: A Study of Agenda Setting, Priming, and Framing," *Communication Research*, 20, pp. 365-383; also in *Taken by storm: The media, public opinion and U. S. foreign policy in the Gulf War* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994).

Jansen, Sue Curry. "Censorship in Capitalist Societies," *Censorship: The Knot That Binds Power and Knowledge* (Oxford, 1991), Chapter 7, pp. 131-157.

Keeble, R. "Silencing the History of the Middle East: The Linkage Taboo." *Secret State, Silence Press*. (Luton, UK: University of Luton Press. 1997)

Knightley, Phillip. *The First Casualty--From the Crimea to Vietnam: The War Correspondent as Hero, Propagandist, and Myth Maker* (NY: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1975).

Lederman, Jim, *Battle lines: The American Media and the Intifada*, Henry & Holt Co., 1993.

March, James G.; Olsen, Johan P., The Institutional Dynamics of International Political Orders, *International Organization*, Vol. 52, Issue 4, p. 943, Autumn 1998

Miller, Abraham H. *Terrorism and Hostage Negotiations* (Boulder: Westview, 1980).

----- *Terrorism, the Media, and the Law* (Dobbs Ferry, NY: Transnational, 1982).

Moeller, Susan, D. *Packaging Terrorism: Co-opting the News for Politics and Profit* (MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009).

Mueller, John E. *War, Presidents and Public Opinion* (Lanham: Univ. Press of America, 1985).

Narcos, Brigitte L. *Terrorism & the Media: From the Iran Hostage Crisis to the Oklahoma City Bombing* (NY: Columbia Univ. Press, 1994).

----- *Mass Mediated Terrorism: The Central Role of the Media in Terrorism and Counterterrorism* (NY: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2002), Chapters 2 and 6, pp. 34-65 and 156-187.

Newkirk, Pamela. "Ida B. Wells-Barnett: Journalism as a weapon against racial bigotry," *Media Studies Journal* (NY: Freedom Forum), Spring/Summer 2000, pp. 26-31.

Oakley, Robert B. "Terrorism, Media Coverage, and Government Response," Simon Serfaty, Ed. *The Media and Foreign Policy* (NY: St. Martin's, 1991).



O'Doherty, M. "Breaking Ranks in Northern Ireland," *Media Studies Journal*, Spring-Summer, 2000.

O'Farrell, John. "Divided People, Divided Press." *Media Studies Journal*, Spring-Summer, 1998.

Payne, Kenneth. "The Media as an Instrument of War," *Parameters* (U.S. Army War College Quarterly), Spring 2005, pp. 81-93.

Powe, Lucas A., Jr. "Freedom of the Press in Times of Crisis" *The Fourth Estate and the Constitution*, Freedom of Press in America (Berkeley: Univ. of California, 1991), Ch. 2, pp. 66-78.

Rosen, Jay. "Glitz! Visuals! Action! The Whole World is Watching CNN," *The Nation*, May 13, 1991, pp. 622-623, 625.

Said, Edward W. *Covering Islam: How the Media and the Experts Determine How We See the Rest of the World* (NY: Pantheon. 1981).

Scheufele, Dietram A. Framing as a Theory of Media Effects, *Journal of Communication*, 49 (1), 1999, pp.103-122

Scheufele, Dietram A. & David Tewksbury (2007). "Framing, Agenda-Setting, and Priming: The Evolution of Three Media Effects Models," *Journal of Communication* 57, 2007, pp 9-20.

Solomon, Norman. "Giving War One Chance After Another," *Counterpunch*.
<http://www.counterpunch.org/solomon07272005.html>

Spillman, K.R. and Spillman, K. "Some sociobiological and psychological aspects of Images of the Enemy," in *Enemy Images in American History*, Ragnhild Fiebig-von Hase & Ursual Lehmkuhl, Eds. (NY: Berghan Books, 1997, pp. 43-64.

Stech, Frank J. "Winning CNN Wars," *Parameters* (U.S. Army War College Quarterly), Vol. XXIV, #3, August 1994, pp. 37-56.

Sullivan, Stacy. "New Wars, New Correspondents" (1999, Reporting on dangerous events in the former Yugoslavia), *Media Studies Journal* (NY: Freedom Forum), Spring/Summer 1999, pp. 84-89.

Tenenbaum, Karen and Eiran, Ehud. Israeli Settlement Activity in the West Bank and Gaza: A Brief History. *Negotiation Journal*. (April 2005).

Thompson, Allan, Editor. *Media and The Rwanda Genocide*, (London: Pluto Press, 2007).

Turner, Stansfield. *Terrorism and Democracy* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1991).

Vincent, Richard C.(1992). CNN: Elites Talking to Elites. *Triumph of the Image-The Media's War in the Persian Gulf : a Global Perspective*, Eds. Mowlana, Gerbner & Schiller, Westview Press, Ch. 16, 181-200.



Weinmann, Gabriel & Conrad Winn. *The Theater of Terror: Mass media and International Terrorism* (NY: Longman, 1994).

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