

# Notes

## Introduction

1. Email and social networks were still out of reach at the time, and direct contact between the participants from Palestine and Italy was maintained by post for almost a year. Beyond this period only very sporadic contacts continued.
2. Barbie Zelizer (2004a: 111) stated that cultural approaches were based on 'defining journalism and its study on its own terms'.
3. See "Peace Journalism in the Philippines" [http://sydney.edu.au/arts/peace\\_conflict/research/peace\\_journalism.shtml](http://sydney.edu.au/arts/peace_conflict/research/peace_journalism.shtml).
4. See <http://mapmena.org/activities/>. For the work of Vanessa Bassil, founder of MAP, see Lynch (2013).
5. See <http://www.umdf.or.ug/content/peace-journalism-bread-world>. For Steven Youngblood's experience promoting a peace and electoral journalism project in Uganda in 2009–2010, see Youngblood (2012).
6. See <https://pjfeastafrica.wordpress.com/about/> and <https://peacejournalismfea.wordpress.com/about-pjf/>.
7. See <http://stevenyoungblood.blogspot.co.uk/2012/10/bronx-students-initiate-important-peace.html>.
8. See <http://www.bronxnet.org/aboutbronxnet>. The workshops tackled controversial themes such as terrorism and forgiveness, racial stereotypes, migration and religion. For the first workshop in 2012, see for example the video project <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LOPRvf7MstY> and <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LOPRvf7MstY>.
9. See <http://www.corresponsaldepaz.org/es/>.
10. See for example <http://www.peace-counts.org/english/journalism/>.
11. See <https://www.transcend.org/tms/>.
12. See <http://www.park.edu/center-for-peace-journalism>. In addition, the Center for Global Peace Journalism at Park University in Missouri publishes the magazine "The Peace Journalist", a semi-annual publication dedicated to projects, courses, research and coverage related to peace journalism, available at [park.edu/center-for-peace-journalism](http://park.edu/center-for-peace-journalism).
13. See the discussion about the inability of journalism to consider "justice" as "truth", and the role of the Enlightenment project in this, provided in Martinisi and Lugo-Ocando (2015: 442).
14. See Youngblood (2013).
15. This definition may not correspond to the meaning or assumptions about "peace" of the interviewees, and in the discussion of the results the term is used as an open, lay concept in order to reconstruct the variety of discourses and more or less articulated meanings about it.
16. See Caldwell (2007) for an analysis of Foucault's evaluation of change and emancipatory discourses.
17. One of the interviewees, Raouf Halaby, was interviewed twice.

## 1 Media and Change

1. The second Intifada started in late September 2000 and ended in 2005. It was the second major Palestinian uprising against Israeli occupation after the first Intifada (1987–1993).
2. For example, they found that the number of articles increased during violent outbreaks, or that Israelis were mentioned more often than Palestinians.
3. In July 2004 the International Court of Justice issued an advisory opinion that the barrier separating Israel from the West Bank was illegal. This was backed up by the United Nations General Assembly which adopted Res. ES-10/15 the same month. See Bekker (2005), UN Press Release (2004).
4. This research is particularly relevant for this study because it highlights the dynamics of media coverage before and after the signing of the Oslo accord.
5. Jimmy Carter's "Palestine: Peace Not Apartheid" (2006).
6. As Savir recounted, Rabin could not cope with the difficulty of shaking hands with someone he still considered his enemy (Savir 1998: 78). As Makovsky put it, Rabin was putting himself in the position of being seen by the Israelis "as powerless to deal with the security issues that [had] been his strongest suit" (1996:140).
7. Noakes and Gwinn Wilkins (2002: 663) discovered that the PLO started to be depicted in "a more positive frame", in particular "from 1994 on, after the first round of agreements reached [with]in Oslo".
8. Handley analysed how the news of the killing in Hebron of 29 Palestinians by an Israeli settler at the end of February 1994 disrupted the paper's peace narrative and how the paper repaired it by "blaming the massacre on 'extremism'" (2009: 260).
9. For a review of early research about the conservative role of the media from a peace perspective, see Gonzalez (1990: 203).
10. Thompson later became a scholar and contributed to various initiatives about this genocide and the role of the media. In 2006, he launched the Rwanda Initiative, a collaboration between Carleton University and the National University of Rwanda for professional and education exchange about journalism; the following year he edited the collection *The Media and the Rwanda Genocide* (Thompson 2007). See <http://www.allanthompson.ca>.
11. These are the strategically, automatically, personally, and socially curated flows. The strategically curated flow is defined as "the flow of information directly targeted to individual citizens by elites or politicians"; the automatically curated flow is "the flow of information managed by computer algorithm such as in search engines"; the personally curated flow is "the flow of information selectively chosen by each individual"; and the socially curated flow is "the flow of information influenced by the social network which one participates in" (Choi 2014: 4).
12. Other scholars follow a similar multidimensional perspective: Starkey, for example, states that "balance [...] does not exist merely in two dimensions" (Starkey 2007: 38).
13. Israelis who refuse to serve in the army. They constitute a varied group, usually ranging from those who refuse to serve for general pacifist reasons to those who refuse to take part in the implementation of Israeli policies on the Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

## 2 Peace after the Intifada

1. Theodor Herzl published *Der Judenstaat* (*The Jewish State*) in 1896. See Herzl (1988).
2. Resolution 181 assigned to the Palestinians 44% of Palestine, the mainstream interpretation of 242 assigned to them 22% of it instead (Rajiva 2008).
3. This was an idea of the Israeli Prime Minister Shamir, who also opposed the idea of an international peace conference and preferred direct negotiations (Maher 2003: 513), but who agreed to participate after US pressure linked to guarantees for loans for the absorption of Soviet Jewish migrants (Morris 2001: 613–14; Miller et al. 2002: 185). In reality the Palestinian spokesperson, Hanan Ashrawi and the head of the Palestinian team Faisal Husseini, had Jerusalem identity cards (Ashrawi 1995: 90–91), but they became part of a Guidance Committee, while the actual team was headed by Haidar Abdel-Shafy. Husseini was accepted and “proposed” as head of the team only in April–May 1993, in order to show Arafat that the Washington channel could have led to a serious outcome. This “might be just enough to scare Arafat into hurrying the Oslo channel forward” (Perry 1994: 276).
4. The text itself has two versions, the French and the English (United Nations 1967). The French version talks of withdrawal from “des territoires occupés lors du récent conflit”; the English version talks of “withdrawal from territories” occupied by Israel in 1967. Consequently, the meaning of this resolution has been constantly disputed. While for the Palestinians the resolution calls for a withdrawal from all the territories occupied in 1967, on the Israeli side the interpretation is different. For example, according to Israeli historian and politician Shlomo Ben Ami, Resolution 242 did not call for withdrawal, but for negotiations about boundaries (Ben Ami 2001: 140).
5. Rabin retained Elyakim Rubinstein, who had been representing Israel at the conference with Shamir, in the Israeli negotiating team (Ashrawi 1995: 212) as chief negotiators (Beilin 1999: 54). According to Ashrawi, at the peace talks “Labor picked up where Likud left off” (Ashrawi 1995: 217).
6. As Aruri (1992) clarifies, Rabin had always distinguished between strategic, or security-related, settlements, which connected relevant areas to Israeli control, and which he supported, and political settlements scattered in the middle of the West Bank and Gaza.
7. The by-product of this situation consisted of giving Israel more time “to create facts on the ground” (Ashrawi 1995: 221) without attracting international criticism, because the peace conference was still on.
8. Rabin’s Labour Party won the elections after 15 years of Likud government, and formed a “razor-thin majority” with the left-wing Meretz Party (12 seats) and the external support of five Arab delegates, enhanced by six members of the ultra-orthodox Sephardic Shas party (Morris 2001: 615). “Shas” stands for Sephardim Shomrei Torah, the Sephardic Guardians of the Torah. This party brings together the “oriental” ultra-orthodox Jews; see Algazy (1998).
9. The leading figure in the study was Terje Rod Larsen, who also initiated the secret dialogue with Israelis and Palestinians.
10. In this context, the pressure on the leader of the ultra-orthodox and Sephardic Shas party, Arye Dery, following his pending indictment for corruption (Morris 2001: 620–621; Makovsky 1996: 68–69; Freedman 1995: 130–131),

- did not affect Israeli demands. It instead had the effect of “softening” the demands by Arafat, who was frightened by the possibility that a new Israeli government could have barred the way to his negotiations.
11. Article XIII.3 stated that “Further redeployments to specified locations will be gradually implemented commensurate with the assumption of responsibility for public order and internal security by the Palestinian police force ...”. In the DoP, withdrawals are for the Gaza Strip and Jericho, while redeployments are for the rest of the West Bank; see the cogent analysis of the DoP and the issue of the multiple jurisdictions by Socialism and Democracy Online (Limitations of the Oslo Accords 2011).
  12. In this letter the Minister stated he did not deny them access to Christian and Muslim holy sites, and far from hindering, he promoted the Palestinian institutions in east Jerusalem (Enderlin 2004: 670–671).
  13. The Palestinians, having agreed to provide the guarantees required by the Israelis, had also posed “mirror” demands to the State of Israel, such as official renunciation of violence against the Palestinians (Savir 1998: 53; Corbin 1994: 149). The Israelis had asked for guarantees on mutual recognition to be excluded from the peace accord and agreed upon separately (Corbin 1994: 144; Dajani 1994: 8).
  14. Dennis Ross was President Clinton’s Middle East envoy, Warren Christopher was the Secretary of State.
  15. The meeting held on September 8 and 9 near Paris was closed to journalists, but it is widely reported by Savir (1998: 68–76). Savir’s account provides evidence of the many issues that had remained unresolved when the deal was already sealed.
  16. The ceremony was broadcast live by Cable News Network, and Martin Indyk, head of the National Security Council for the Middle East, was the ceremony commentator (Hadar 1994: 85–86). Many of the accounts of the ceremony stress the difference between Arafat and Rabin, for example: “Arafat beamed like a boy in a toyshop, while Rabin looked as if he had just swallowed cod liver oil” (La Guardia 2001: 136); Rabin looked “like a mourner at a funeral, Arafat an actor collecting his Oscar at a Hollywood ceremony” (Heikal 1996: 468). Arafat’s goal was actually to impress the American public, and for this reason the PLO leader stressed in his speech that the Palestinians and the US shared the same values of freedom, justice and human rights (Litvak 1995: 172). Ashrawi noticed that Arafat’s speech was forged with a new language, and that some of her acquaintances defined the language “of hard-core politicians, one in which slogans are the weapons of a struggle for power [...] not humanistic visions” (Ashrawi 1995: 273). Arafat and Rabin’s speeches are reported in Freedman (1995: 235–238).
  17. Israel’s jurisdiction was recognised in the sectors not transferred to the Palestinian Council (specific understanding on Article VII), on top of the sectors relegated to the final negotiations. Therefore, it maintained some powers in the territories that Palestinians received. In fact the powers of the Palestinian Authority would be derived solely from negotiations with Israel, and they were not representing an alternative, territorial, jurisdiction, but affected only the Palestinians, and only internally to the specific territory.
  18. This is the thesis that prevailed in the DoP, although the UN General Assembly Resolution 194 of December 1948 had called for the return of refugees “at the earliest practicable date” (United Nations 1948).

19. These had already been accepted by the PLO since 1988. Palestinian demands for the right of return were based on the land occupied by Israel in 1967 and Resolution 242, and this already implied a relevant renunciation for them, because it meant that right of return could be granted only to the 1967 refugees, but not to those of 1948.
20. For example, the halt to new settlements was to be obtained only if all subsequent Israeli governments were to fulfill what the Palestinians had understood to be the promise of the Israeli negotiating team in 1993. Article IV of the DoP provided for a joint effort to preserve the integrity of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. This article, however, did not clarify whether the territory in question should be under Israeli or Palestinian sovereignty. Finally, article V.4, establishing that “the outcome of the permanent status negotiations should not be prejudiced or pre-empted by agreements reached for the interim period”, only focused on the agreements, but said nothing about unilateral acts which could have contravened the spirit of the DoP (Dajani 1994: 18).
21. This narrative is also present in some of the literature about the peace process, such as, for example, in Makovsky (1996: 141). In order to mitigate this deprivation, Makovsky hypothesised that following the DoP Israel could have helped a Palestinian industrial plan within the self-governed areas and, in the short term, also transferred unemployment compensations to the Palestinians (Makovsky 1996: 141).
22. English translation by the author. “Ils [les Palestiniens] veulent que l'accord stipule que les négociations sur le statut définitif conduisent à l'application de ces résolutions, alors que nous ne sommes prêts qu'à une formule stipulant que l'accord définitif représente l'application de ces résolutions.”
23. Art. I and V of the DoP established the beginning of the permanent negotiations by May 1996 and its end by 5 years from when the DoP came into effect.
24. As Shlaim noted, (2010: 274–276) “Barak’s version of events rapidly gained ground”. An important account of that meeting, Clinton’s Middle East envoy Dennis Ross’s *The Missing Peace* (2005), contributed to spread this version in the longer term. As LeVine clarified, “even a 100% Israeli withdrawal with land swaps would not enable the creation of a viable Palestinian state because” of... “the canton system that prevents the territorial contiguity” (2009: 98).
25. Two-thirds according to Morris (2001: 622), while *Yediot Aharonot* reported that 53 per cent supported it (Bar-Siman-Tov 2001: 47). Noticeable that before the Intifada Israelis advocating dialogue with the PLO were still a minority (Bar-On 1996: 213, in note n.76).
26. Palestinian opposition to any peace accord with Israel was led by Hamas and Islamic Jihad, though there was also some opposition among moderate Palestinians over the specific content of the DoP. Immediate criticism on the agreement indeed was not lacking (Shlaim 2000: 521–522) both from the academic and cultured Palestinian world, and from the same Palestinian representatives in Washington that were part of it (Said 1993, 1995; Ashrawi 1995: 260–261, 273; Perry 1994: 303), as well as the PLO.
27. Unlike before 1987, by the end of 1988 Israelis supporting dialogue with the PLO were in the majority (Bar-On 1996: 251).

28. Caught between their need to be loyal and respectful of the symbol of the Palestinian cause, Arafat, and their anxiety about the gaps in the DoP, much of the new Palestinian elite was soon out of the nascent institutions, either because of the imprinting that Arafat gave to the new Palestinian autonomy or from personal choice (Ashrawi 1995: 294–296).
29. For an account of that tragedy, and the start of the wave of suicide bombings that followed, see La Guardia (2001: 274–283). In particular, the author makes it clear that the Hebron massacre could have been either the cause or the pretext for Hamas to start the new campaign, but in any case the structured campaign of violence against Israeli civilians (rather than settlers and soldiers) only followed that event. Previously Palestinian violence had been seen either as a sequel of the first Intifada or “little more than explosive suicide” (La Guardia 2001: 282). The beginning of attacks on civilians broke Rabin’s promise of “no terror inside the Green Line” in exchange for a deal with the Palestinians (Makovsky 1996: 85), thus mining the whole Israeli consensus for the peace process.
30. The leader of the Likud beat the outgoing Prime Minister Peres by a handful of votes. The elections were carried out in a tense context, two years after the start of the Palestinian attacks on Israeli civilians and a few months after Rabin’s death, and under a new electoral mechanism that provided for direct election of the Prime Minister (Sprinzak 2001: 93).
31. See Kimmerling and Migdal (1994).
32. Ben Ami (2001: 144) stated that during the Rabin government the settlement population increased by 50,000 people. Bishara wrote that at the beginning of the official negotiations in 1991, the settlers in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip amounted to about 75,000, that they rose to 95,000 before the signature of the DoP and that they reached 147,000 between 1993 and 1996 (Bishara 2001: 134–135). Israel expanded the settlements by expanding the extension of *military security locations*, areas of Israeli security that the agreement had provided for, but without specifying their size. In the DoP “military locations” are considered to be an issue to be regulated by the final negotiations (Specific Understanding n. 1 on art. IV).
33. See also Hasson (2014) on Israelis’ support for a Palestinian state in which, however, Palestinians lack full rights.

### 3 Grassroots Visions of Peace

1. The US Interreligious Committee for Peace in the Middle East (USICPME), created in 1987, was one of these groups. Like many others, it focused on inter-religious dialogue and brought together Jews and Palestinians living in the US. These groups were connected across the country; for example, one of the members of USICPME, Richard Schwartz, was mentioned by Raouf Halaby as one of the promoters of ACMED (first interview with the author, 23/08/2010). One of the latest organisations for the promotion of dialogue at grassroots level created before Oslo was Seeds of Peace (USA), founded by John Wallach in March 1993.
2. Such as Interns for Peace (founded in 1976), which mostly operated in the field. For a discussion of early Israeli–Palestinian encounters promoted by

- Americans see Bar-On (1996: 209–218). Bar-On’s work clarifies how, before the first Intifada, there was a dialogue between Israelis and Palestinians. Although not endorsed officially, this dialogue had involved a few high-level officials on both sides, and it was carried out especially outside Palestine, where the PLO was the unquestioned point of reference for the Palestinian side. Internally, instead, contacts had developed between Israeli peace groups and the new Palestinian elite.
3. Letter sent by Raouf Halaby, member of ACMED interviewed in this study, to alert the media to the ACMED forthcoming tour.
  4. At the time, however, the media system was still untouched by fundamental changes brought by new technology and the proliferation of TV channels. For example, when the ACMED members visited the area, Israel only had one TV news programme. In ACMED, Report on the May–June 1988 Trip, p. 5.
  5. ACMED, The Dialogue, September 1988 newsletter.
  6. ACMED, Report on the May–June 1988 Trip, p. 7.
  7. An article about the delegation in the *Philadelphia Inquirer* clearly stressed that this reflected one of the main concerns of the Arab elite in the region (Duvoisin 1988).
  8. ACMED, Report on the May–June 1988 Trip, p. 9.
  9. The one-state solution was “energetically advocated by the Palestinian mainstream for many years”, but, as already noted, Palestinians “had unenthusiastically accepted the “two states solution” because it appeared to be the only compromise the Jews might eventually accept” (Bar-On 1996: 235).
  10. Interview with the author, 16/06/2011.
  11. Interview with the author, 03/01/2011.
  12. Peace Now, radical left-wing groups, and soldiers who refused to serve in the military. ACMED, Report on the May–June 1988 Trip, pp. 9–11. Many Israeli peace groups were born during the Intifada, for example, Rabbis for Human Rights and B’tselem. Gush Shalom was not a fruit of Oslo too, but was created following the deportation of 415 Palestinians by the Rabin government in December 1992.
  13. ACMED, Report on the May–June 1988 Trip, p. 11.
  14. Officially founded in 1959 and active with “more than 100 GUPS branches worldwide...coordinating with other student groups and raising awareness about the Palestinian [*sic*]. However, it collapsed after the Oslo accord in the mid-1990s” (Abdulhaq 2008).
  15. Interviews with the author, Marino 18/09/2011, Cecconi 17/06/2011.
  16. The formula was first applied in 1979 by J.E. Rash, who founded The Global Youth Village International summer Program in the US; see <http://www.globalyouthvillage.org/about-our-international-summer-camp/who-we-are/>. It would become the basis for the activities of Seeds of Peace, the US organisation founded in March 1993 by journalist John Wallach and which was still operating in 2015 (see <http://www.seedsofpeace.org/camp>), and Building Bridges for Peace, created in 1994 (see <http://www.buildingbridgesshift.org/who-we-are/history/>), among the most important ones.
  17. The 1993 Florence peace camp was organised by the Italian regional committee, the Comitato per i Campi di Pace in Toscana, the Palestinian Young Falcon Movement and the Israeli association Shachar; it was funded

by local institution the Provincia di Firenze, and supported by many other Italian local institutions, workers' unions and Italian private enterprises. Peace camps in Tuscany had been inaugurated the previous year and they drew from the Emilia-Romagna Region experience, which had launched the first camp in 1990 thanks to the combined efforts of local Italian institutions and local Israeli and Palestinian organisations.

18. Interview with the author, 30/12/2010.
19. Interviews with the author, Imad 29/12/2010, Masum 27/12/2010.
20. Such as the renewed violence in Southern Lebanon and Northern Israel during that summer which also interested Palestinian refugee areas (Greenberg 1993).
21. Interview with the author 22/12/2010. See also "Making Peace", introductory leaflet to the Florence peace camp portfolio.
22. Interview with the author, 10/01/2011.
23. Quotes or paraphrases in this section are taken from the second interview of Halaby with the author, 23/06/2011.
24. In reality, Rabin's hesitation did not last a second, while it is true that he did not extend his hand to Arafat, but simply reacted to the Palestinian leader's move, which was originally prompted by Clinton. In general, however, the perception of a degree of reluctance in Rabin's move was the consequence of the wider, symbolic value that the event, and each of the participants, embodied. This value allowed for smaller and different non-verbal elements to become loaded with wider meanings. The analysis provided by Manusov and Milstein (2005) has explained the importance of non-verbal elements surrounding the handshake in triggering a variety of frames in the media. This context stimulated the amplification of time in Halaby's memory and, together with its media representation, it made the handshake a "flash-frame", an iconic image of an historical event (Hoskins 2004).
25. Initially I thought that Halaby could have been deceived by a public relations trick, the cheering made by politicians to fake the existence of enthusiastic members in the audience during mass mediated events. This works because audiences, both the one attending the event and the one watching on the screen, are looking at the speaker and, if they are attending in person, are surrounded by other people. An example of Hilary Clinton using this technique is shown in James Millar's 2008 documentary *Secrets of Body Language*, and clearly explains the bluff. A follow-up email exchange confirmed instead that Halaby's first interpretation reflected what had actually happened, because Clinton cheered one part of the audience, the Jewish people, and because the media were not present there, there was no need to stage the atmosphere for a wider, distant audience. What is relevant, however, is that the email exchange clarifying this also induced Halaby to express more clearly a position that had remained hidden between the lines until then, i.e. that "Clinton is a politician of the first class. When I talked to him he emoted and made me feel like I was the only one in the room. But then he does this with everybody" and that some people "in Arkansas call him Slick Willie" (Halaby email to the author, 18 September 2012). Halaby specified that "this is not meant in a negative way. Rather, this is his warm personality. Arkansans called him Slick Willie because he was able to get out of many



- political scrapes, he was slick and smooth” (Halaby email to the author, 19 March 2013).
26. Interview with the author, 19/03/2008.
  27. Interview with the author, 08/03/2011.
  28. Second interview of Halaby with the author 23/06/2011.
  29. See <http://www.rete-eco.it/2012/home/chi-siamo.html>.
  30. Interview with the author, 09/04/2008.
  31. “Making Peace”, introductory leaflet to the Peace Camp portfolio.
  32. Personal conversation with the Italian organiser; Weksler’s letter to the Italian organisers about funding and preparation of a new peace camp, 24 November 1994.
  33. For example, the collections obtained from the Florence peace camp’s portfolio were directed to the Alternative Information Center in Jerusalem, and to the Trade Unions in Gaza to support the building of a kindergarten.
  34. Interview with the author, 22/12/2010.
  35. Lazarus (2011) analysed the peace-building activity of the Israeli and Palestinian students of Seeds of Peace’s first decade (1993–2003), and challenges the idea that dialogue activities involving young people may be a waste of money and have no impact. However, he recognised “that extensive follow-up programming was essential for sustaining long-term commitments to peacebuilding” (2011: iv).
  36. Interview with the author, 03/01/2011.
  37. IFPB is a US-based organisation, which, similarly to the Beyond Bridges programme discussed later, “sends delegations to Israel/Palestine so that residents of North America can see the conflict with their own eyes” (see <http://www.ifpb.org/about/default.html>). Unlike the Beyond Bridges programme, however, it is open to all citizens and not only to students. The analysis provided in this section is based on reports of the IFPB delegations that visited Palestine. The reports of the first 10 delegations (2001–2003) have been kindly retrieved and provided by Mark Daly, IFPB programme coordinator. The other reports are available online at the IFPB website <http://www.ifpb.org>.
  38. Report 4, April 26, 2002, Fourth delegation.
  39. Final Days, Report 6, 14–26 April 2002, Fourth delegation.
  40. Report 1–10 January 2001. This destruction was not the direct consequence of the violence of the conflict. These houses were destroyed or occupied by the Israelis in retaliation for the killing of settlers, or according to Israeli land management policies. This is a common policy in Palestine, through which Israeli institutions take control of new areas to build the settlements or replace Palestinian with Israeli owners in certain neighbourhoods, and it intensifies during violent periods such as this one.
  41. Brief Overview, 25 January–8 February 2002.
  42. Report 1, 17 April 2002, Fourth delegation.
  43. Report 4, Delegation 39, Oct–Nov 2011.
  44. For example, Israelis who protested against the 2014 Gaza offensive were threatened and attacked. See Sharron Ward’s mini-documentary “Israel vs Israel” for Katalyst Productions Ltd and AJ+ at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qzu5jnzf16k>.

45. See, for instance, IFBP Delegates in Action (<http://ifpbea.tumblr.com/>), a relatively new blog where IFPB features some of the media advocacy that former delegates do or are featured in.
46. This is a summer programme that takes American students to Palestine to develop comparative conflict analysis and skills for conflict transformation.
47. Interview with the author, 28/02/2011.
48. Interview with the author, 07/01/2011.
49. Interview with the author, 19/04/2011.
50. A myriad of different educational and solidarity organisations are part of this long-term and unstructured project. They are currently active in the field, often across the Israeli–Palestinian divide, and they operate alongside the international groups and campaigns about the conflict. Unfortunately, a discussion of their activity is beyond the scope of this book. Among these organisations are the Israeli Committee Against House Demolitions (ICAH), Ta'ayush, Breaking the Silence, Combatants for Peace, Rabbi for Human rights, the Hand in Hand school and the Parents Circle Families Forum, to name a few.

#### 4 The Media Seen from Below

1. First interview with the author, 23/08/2010.
2. Interview with the author, 28/02/2011.
3. Interview with the author, 08/03/2011.
4. Second interview with the author, 23/06/2011.
5. Cecconi contrasted the ethnic nature of the first approach to the right of return with the territorial nature of the second kind.
6. This initiative, organised in October 2010 by Italian journalist Fiamma Nirenstein, was entitled “Per la Verità, per Israele” [For the Truth, for Israel]. It consisted of a conference marathon, with speakers from different countries, fields and organisations. The aim of the conference was to “rovesciare la delegittimazione di Israele che avviene a tutte le latitudini e senza freno” [reverse the unrestrained delegitimation of Israel that happens everywhere]. See <http://fiammanirenstein.com/articoli.asp?Categoria=6&Id=2431>.
7. The TV programme was “Le Storie. Diario Italiano”, see <http://www.lestorie.rai.it/>.
8. Interviews with the author, Andrea 01/01/2011, Alessio 27/12/2010 and brief supplementary follow-up on 1/7/2015.
9. Alessio did not visit the area as the other Italian participants of the Florence peace camp did at the end of 1993. However, he had participated in the activities during the camp and in that context he developed his direct and non-mediated knowledge.
10. Interview with the author, 16/06/2011.
11. Interview with the author, 03/01/2011.
12. Interview with the author, 29/12/2010.
13. Interview with the author, 27/12/2010.
14. Report 3, 21 April 2002.
15. Interview with the author, 19/04/2011.
16. Tamar started participating in dialogue and encounters with Palestinians at the end of the Oslo process, and they engaged with foreign stories of oppression, as for example that of South Africa.

17. Interview with the author, 22/12/2010.
18. Interview with the author, 30/12/2010.
19. Interview with the author, 23/06/2011.
20. First interview with the author, 23/08/2010.
21. Interview with the author, 03/01/2011.
22. Interview with the author, 09/04/2008.
23. Report 5, 27 April 2002.
24. Elena's reflections on her visit, December 9, 1994, material collected by the Italian organiser of the peace camp.
25. Interview with the author, 10/03/2015.
26. See for example the dichotomist coverage of Italian activist Vittorio Arrigoni, after he was killed in Gaza in 2011. *The Guardian* talked about one aspect of this controversy (Sherwood 2011), i.e. the piece published in *The Jewish Chronicle* by historian Geoffrey Alderman, who started his article stating "Few events – not even the execution of Osama bin Laden – have caused me greater pleasure in recent weeks than news of the death of the Italian so-called "peace activist" Vittorio Arrigoni". The hidden constructive contributions in the field are endless. One example is Ta'ayush, a grassroots Israeli–Palestinian movement, which support Palestinian farmers to cultivate their land and live a relatively normal life. See <http://www.taayush.org/>.

## 5 Journalists Covering Palestine: Old and New Perspectives

1. Interview with the author, 09/03/2011.
2. Interview with the author, 23/06/2011.
3. Interview with the author, 14/05/2011.
4. Interview with the author, 18/03/2008. "Established in 1988 by a group of Palestinian journalists and researchers seeking to disseminate information on events in the West Bank (including East Jerusalem) and the Gaza Strip [...] Today, the JMCC partners to publish the acclaimed bitterlemons publications, a critical resource for journalists and policymakers the world over" (JMCC 2009).
5. In his book Enderlin tells the story of the Israeli version about Camp David, and said that it was planned before the meeting took place, in order to be ready to be used immediately in case of failure of the negotiations (Enderlin 2003: 215–227, 261–264). In our interview he also said that "it took me a year to get access to the personal notes written in real time, in Camp David, by Israelis negotiators, for the same negotiating moments – dates and hours – on the Palestinian side, and cross reference them".
6. Interviews with the author, American journalist 08/04/2008, Freedman 09/04/2008.
7. Interview with the author, 18/06/2011.
8. Interview with the author, 09/06/2011.
9. Interview with the author, 05/04/2011.
10. Interview with the author, 21/06/2011.
11. Interview with the author, 24/03/2008.
12. This was experienced by famous Israelis, such as journalist Gideon Levy, see Hari (2010). See also Brooks (2014) or Raz (2014) for recent problems experienced by activists.

13. Widespread and autonomous support and good relations with Arab countries characterised Italian politics at least until 1989, usually in association with the support of the Palestinian cause. One exemplary case in this sense was the 1985 Sigonella affair, when the Italian government refused to hand over the Palestinian hijackers of the Italian cruise ship Achille Lauro to US forces (Brighi 2013: 98; Nuti 2005: 187–188).
14. Iain John Hook was UNRWA (United Nations Relief and Works Agency) manager for a project for the rebuilding of the Jenin Refugee Camp in the West Bank. He was killed by an Israeli soldier in Jenin on 22 November 2002.

## 6 Journalists and Their Profession

1. Interview with the author, 14/05/2011.
2. Interview with the author, 23/06/2011.
3. Interview with the author, 18/06/2011.
4. Interview with the author, 05/04/2011.
5. Interview with the author, 18/03/2008.
6. Interview with the author, 09/04/2008.
7. Interview with the author, 09/02/2011.
8. Interview with the author, 24/03/2008.
9. Interview with the author, 21/06/2011.
10. Among these: “the American government has consistently [...] considered this to be a significant and meaningful conflict that it wanted to get involved in helping to fix”; “a strong Christian tradition in the United States”; “the question of whether the oppressed became the oppressor”. Bronner specified: “I don’t think I could speak for *The New York Times*, but I could tell you my sense of why the paper views it with such, with any significance”.
11. See for example his account about how aid workers engaged with a discussion about gym facilities in Ramallah, in Freedman (2008).
12. Freedman, for example, spoke about how his coverage could influence many non-political subjects and “foreign” politicians.
13. Interview of Gazzeri with the author, 09/06/2011.
14. Interview with the author, 17/09/2010.
15. Interviews with the author, 08/04/2008.

## Conclusions: A Strategy for Peace Journalism

1. See <http://nena-news.it/>.
2. Interview with the author, 21/05/2015.
3. The initial idea of awards for peace journalism was suggested by Professor Sandra M. Gustafson of the University of Notre Dame.

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