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A Comparative Study of *the New York Times* Coverage of the Israeli-Palestinian and Russia-Ukrainian Conflicts before and after 7 October 2023 through the Lens of the Critical Discourse Analysis and the Propaganda Model

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Dedication 1

First and foremost, Al hamdulilleh who gave me the power and faith to complete this work. I dedicate my dissertation to my dear parents Yahiya and Farida khemaissia and my dear brothers Ayoub and yakoub, to the sole of my Grandfather Ounis whom I wished to be by my side today, and to my dear friend and partner Djeddi Oumaima, and to a beloved and special person who always stood by my side.

Abir Khemaissia

Dedication 2

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Abstract

This dissertation critically examines how *The New York Times* framed the Israeli–Palestinian and Russia–Ukraine conflicts before and after October 7, 2023. Using Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and the Propaganda Model proposed by Herman and Chomsky, the research investigates shifts in media representation, linguistic patterns, and ideological framing within NYT headlines. Drawing on Fairclough's and van Dijk's CDA frameworks, the study analyses two months of headline coverage, revealing how narrative focus, lexical choices, and thematic emphasis vary between conflicts and across time. The findings suggest a clear asymmetry in editorial attention and representational balance. The Russia–Ukraine war was covered more consistently and with a focus on Ukrainian resilience, leadership, and suffering, while the Israeli–Palestinian conflict received sporadic attention often surging only during moments of dramatic escalation. Israeli perspectives were more prominently framed with agency and strategic clarity, whereas Palestinian voices appeared largely in humanitarian contexts, often stripped of political identity. The study concludes that The New York Times' coverage reflects subtle patterns of ideological bias shaped by institutional pressures and geopolitical alignments, offering empirical support for the relevance of the Propaganda Model in the digital news era.

Keywords: Critical Discourse Analysis - Israeli–Palestinian Conflict - New York Times Newspaper - Propaganda Modal - Russia-Ukraine Conflict

Résumé

Cette dissertation examine de manière critique la manière dont *The New York Times* a représenté les conflits israélo-Palestinien et russo-ukrainien avant et après le 7 octobre 2023. En utilisant l'Analyse Critique du Discours (CDA) et le Modèle de Propagande proposé par Herman et Chomsky, la recherche étudie les évolutions dans la représentation médiatique, les choix linguistiques et les cadres idéologiques au sein des titres du journal. En s'appuyant sur les approches de Fairclaugh et van Dijk, l'étude analyse deux mois de titres, révélant des variations nettes dans la focalisation narrative, le lexique utilisé et les thématiques abordées entre les deux conflits et à travers le temps. Les résultats indiquent une asymétrie claire dans l'attention éditoriale et l'équilibre de la représentation. La guerre en Ukraine a été couverte de manière plus constante, mettant en avant la résilience, la direction politique et la souffrance du peuple ukrainien, tandis que le conflit israélo-palestinien n'a reçu qu'une attention sporadique principalement lors des moments de forte escalade. Les perspectives israéliennes ont été davantage mises en avant avec une clarté stratégique, alors que les voix palestiniennes ont été présentées principalement dans des contextes humanitaires, souvent dépolitisées. L'étude conclut que la couverture médiatique du New York Times reflète des schémas subtils de biais idéologique, influencés par les pressions institutionnelles et les alignements géopolitiques, apportant un soutien empirique à la pertinence du Modèle de Propagande à l'ère du journalisme numérique.

Les Mot clé: Analyse critique du discours - Conflit israélo-palestinien - Journal New York Times - Modèle de propagande - Conflit Russie-Ukraine

الملخص

تُحلّل هذه الرسالة بشكل نقدي كيفية تناول صحيفة نيويورك تايمز للصراعين: الإسرائيلي–الفلسطيني والروسي–الأوكراني، ونموذج الدعاية الإعلامية الذي وضعه هيرمان (CDA) قبل وبعد 7 أكتوبر 2023. وباستخدام التحليل النقدي للخطاب وتشومسكي، تستقصي الدراسة التحولات في التمثيلات الإعلامية، وأنماط اللغة، والأطر الأيديولوجية في عناوين الصحيفة. ومن خلال الاستناد إلى نموذجَي فيركلاف وفان ديك، تقوم الدراسة بتحليل عناوين الأخبار على مدى شهرين، مظهرةً اختلافات واضحة في التركيز السردي، والاختيارات المعجمية، والمواضيع المطروحة بين الصراعين عبر الزمن. وتشير النتائج إلى وجود انحياز واضح في التغطية الإعلامية وفي توازن التمثيل. فقد حظيت الحرب الروسية–الأوكرانية بتغطية منتظمة ركزت على صمود أوكرانيا وقيادتها ومعاناتها، بينما لم يُسلط الضوء على الصراع الإسرائيلي–الفلسطيني إلا بشكل متقطع، غالبًا أثناء التصعيدات الدراماتيكية. وقد تم إبراز المواقف الإسرائيلية بصورة فاعلة واستراتيجية، في حين ظهرت الأصوات الفلسطينية غالبًا في سياقات إنسانية، مجردة من الهوية السياسية. وتخلص الدراسة إلى أن تغطية نيويورك تايمز تعكس أنماطًا دقيقة من الانحياز الأيديولوجي، تتأثر بالضغوط المؤسساتية والتحالفات الجيوسياسية، مما يدعم صلاحية نموذج الدعاية في عصر الصحافة الرقمية.

الكلمات المفتاحية : التحليل النقدي للخطاب - الصراع الفلسطيني الإسرائيلي - صحيفة نيويورك تايمز - نموذج الدعاية - الصراع الروسي الأوكراني.

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List of Acronyms

CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
EU	European Union
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NYT	The New York Times
U.N.	United Nations
U.S.	United States
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

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Table 02. Words Frequency and Statistics about the Russia-Ukrainian Headlines

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Introduction

The Israeli-Palestinian conflict started in the early 20th century. It became worse during the time when Britain controlled Palestine. During this time "Britain facilitated a significant Jewish immigration process to Palestine... and initiated land confiscation" (Elmalı 7). In 1947, the UN suggested a plan which "allocated approximately 55% of the land to the Jewish state" although Jews being a minority, leading to war and "the displacement of an estimated 700,000 to 800,000 Palestinians" (Elmalı 7–8). On October 7, 2023, "the al-Qassam Brigades, the military wing of Hamas, initiated 'Operation al-Aqsa Flood'," which led to an Israeli unprecedented aggressive fire back. The conflict caused "significant civilian casualties, including a considerable number of children" (Elmalı 6, 30). These events reflect how the conflict still causes violence and shape global media narratives.

On the other hand, the Russia-Ukraine conflict started because of Soviet tensions and it developed after Ukraine became independent. "Russia constantly aims at maintaining its sphere of influence in terms of the economy and politics in this region" (Demedziuk 91). The Maidan Revolution was a turning point, leading to Russia taking over Crimea and waging a war in eastern Ukraine. As noted, "a real breakthrough was the Maidan Revolution and the annexation of Crimea, which resulted in the hybrid war in Ukraine" (Demedziuk 91). This "new dimension of war" involves "non-public actors, paramilitary groups," and heavily impacted civilians (Demedziuk 94), aiming for "destruction of the opponent, its economic and military potential, by keeping soldiers apart from the factual battlefield" (Demedziuk 94).

The New York Times, one of the most prominent newspapers in the world, is also affected by the shift into digital journalism. This change reshaped its newsroom practices. According to a study by Nikki Usher, the paper had to adapt to new digital

values like “immediacy, interactivity and participation,” which now dominate the landscape of news production (Usher 4). These digital-era values are not simple changes but require “fundamental changes to journalism as practice,” influencing even recruitment processes and financial strategies (Usher 130). Usher argue that “ASAP news” as the most disruptive part of the digital shift. She explains that this journalist now fell pressure to report quickly, often at the cost of investigative quality or deep reporting. She asks, “How will the newspaper retain its authoritative curation powers if it must respond to the ASAP pressure?” This question shows the tension between The Times’ traditional editorial authority and the demands of fast-paced digital circulation (Usher 130). Although it’s historical prestige, The New York Times is faced with the same transformations that challenge all media institutions in the digital age.

The Propaganda Model, developed by Edward S. Herman and Noam Chomsky. Which explain how mass media work to support elite interests in capitalist societies. According to the model, media content is shaped through five filters: ownership, advertising, sourcing, flak, and anti-communism (or other dominant ideologies), all of which shape what is considered important news. Herman and Chomsky say that “the media serve, and propagandize on behalf of, the powerful societal interests that control and finance them” (xi). They explain that journalists and editors often take on the elite values. Which cause the news to support what dominant institutions care about. Rather than of being independent and checking on those in charge, the media typically acts as tools for ideological reinforcement. As they say, “the beauty of the system … is that dissent and inconvenient information are kept within bounds and at the margins” (xii). This model shed light on how news that looks neutral or objective can in fact work as a form of propaganda.

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is an important approach that aims to study how the ideological forces behind language use in society. It looks at how both written

and spoken helps produce, maintain, and challenge power differences. As Encarnacion Hidalgo Tenorio explains, CDA focuses on "those features contributing to the fabric of discourse in which dominant ideologies are adopted or challenged, and in which competing and contradictory ideologies coexist" (186). Instead of being neutral, discourse is seen as a tool that can be used to control and ideological influence. Fairclaugh and Wodak define CDA as a form of social intervention that seeks to "demystify texts shaped ideologically by relations of power" and that "focuses on the opaque relationship between discourse and societal structure" (Hidalgo Tenorio 188). This analytical framework is based on social theory and critical linguistics, aiming to reveal hidden power dynamics in texts and media.

This research is an addition to the already exciting literature that is concerned with media studies and analysis. Many studies had been conducted about this topic. In his thesis Libya, The New York Times, and a Propaganda Model of the Mass Media, Randy La Prairie applies Herman and Chomsky's propaganda model to look at how the NYT's reported in the 2011 NATO intervention in Libya. He believes that the newspaper was a tool for U.S. foreign policy. La Prairie writes, "The Times generally conformed to the US government framework of analysis" (110). He also shows how the newspaper ignored or reduced violent actions by U.S. supported forces, stating that "the victims of the anti-Gaddafi rebels black Libyans and African migrant workers will be either ignored or portrayed as pro-Gaddafi mercenaries" (48). This supports the first two filters of the propaganda model using official sources and avoiding stories that might cause flak. For this study, La Prairie's work provides a clear example of how to apply the propaganda model to The New York Times during conflict times.

Another important study is the article by Md. Masum Billah and Arnab Biswas called "Media Representation of the Russia-Ukraine War: A Comparative Discourse

Analysis of Reuters and TASS. Although the article examines Reuters and TASS", it is useful because it shows how framing and words can show bias in war reporting. The authors argue that "Reuters and TASS have employed distinct linguistic strategies that shape public ideologies and perceptions" (150). For example, Reuters uses the term "invasion," while TASS calls it a "special military operation," each one uses words according to national interests (Billah and Biswas 150–51). They say that "neither outlet has cross-checked information, undermining their objectivity and contributing to biased reporting" (150). This study supports using CDA to examine how word choice and headline structure show deeper meanings. Even though the focus is not on The New York Times, the methods in this article help the discourse analysis part of this dissertation.

A third important study is the master's thesis by Sotiria Tzika, titled A Comparative Analysis of Media Framing: The Israel-Hamas and the Russia-Ukraine Wars. Tzika analyses 180 online news articles from The New York Times, The Guardian, and Al Jazeera, focusing on how the news covered the two wars in their first month. One relevant finding is that "the war journalism frame dominated coverage in both cases, but was more prominent in the Russia-Ukraine war" (Tzika 67). She also noticed that most of the time The New York Times used official sources and presented governments as the main actors, observing that "The official sources prevailed over the voices of common people in both cases, though to a much lesser extent for the Israel-Hamas" (Tzika 62). The latter unveils that powerful sources and dominant narratives sought to shape the portrayal of war, supporting the propaganda model's third and fourth filters (sourcing and flak). Tzika work is useful for this dissertation because it covers both conflicts and uses a comparative approach, just like the current study.

Gerard McTigue research explains how the BBC's coverage of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict has often been seen as biased by different groups. While some believe the BBC supports Palestinians, others think it supports Israelis. This shows how difficult it is to investigate balanced reporting. McTigue explains how organizations like Arab Media Watch criticize the BBC because they do not have enough covers in key places like Gaza and the West Bank, saying, “Not having correspondents in key areas, in the heart of the trouble, means not getting the whole story. It is an injustice to those killed from war as well as to the viewers at home” (44). He also presents how stories are told what words are used and how they are showing affects public opinion: “The speakers pointed [out] the importance of language used in reporting and the wording that news sources choose to use and how stories are framed” (6). Furthermore, explains how peoples funding affects public opinion: “Publicly funded news sources... will tend to report and... style what they broadcast... to appeal to those who will be watching” (7). These ideas are essential when looking into how The New York Times and its language, sources, and audience shape coverage of both the Israeli-Palestinian and Russia-Ukraine conflicts before and after October 7, 2023.

Edward S. Herman and Noam Chomsky’s Manufacturing Consent introduces the "propaganda model”. This helps explain why media like The New York Times may show bias. According to them, the media serves powerful groups through five filters: ownership, advertising, sourcing, flak, and anti-communism. One main idea is that the media cares more about people hurt enemy countries. As they explain: “A propaganda system will consistently portray people abused in enemy states as worthy victims, whereas those treated with equal or greater severity by its own government or clients will be unworthy” (Herman and Chomsky 36). For example, when a Polish priest was killed, The New York Times gave the story front-page coverage ten times, but killings

of priests in U.S.-friendly countries like El Salvador got little attention (Herman and Chomsky 39). They argue this difference happens because media uses “placement, tone, context, fullness of treatment” to support political goals (Herman and Chomsky 35). These points are important when comparing how The New York Times covered victims in the Israeli-Palestinian and Russia-Ukraine conflicts some were shown as “worthy,” others not.

This study was chosen due to the growing concern over media bias and its influence on public perception and global narratives, especially in times of conflict. The Israeli-Palestinian conflict and the Russia-Ukraine war are not only politically and historically complex but also heavily covered by international media. The New York Times, as a leading global outlet, plays a critical role in framing these conflicts. This research is significant because it explores how media discourse shifts before and after major events specifically October 7, 2023 using Critical Discourse Analysis and the Propaganda Model. By comparing headlines and narratives, the study aims to reveal how language and ideological framing can reflect or reinforce certain power structures, contributing to the broader understanding of media representation in wartime contexts.

This study assumes that the New York Times changes the way it reports the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and the Russia-Ukraine war before and after October 7, 2023, and that these changes may show bias or hidden political interests. Analysing how headlines and language shift over time, the research aims to uncover patterns in the newspaper’s reporting that could reflect selective framing or unequal attention to certain events or victims. This hypothesis guides the study’s focus on comparing media narratives and exploring how major events influence the way conflicts is represented to the public.

This dissertation is divided into three main chapters, each focusing on a key aspect of the study. Chapter one provides the general introduction, outlining the background of the study, the problem statement, research questions, hypothesis, and the significance of the research. Chapter Two presents the theoretical and methodological framework, explaining the use of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and the Propaganda Model as tools to examine media narratives and ideological framing. Chapter Three offers a comparative analysis of New York Times headlines before and after October 7, 2023, focusing on how the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and the Russia-Ukraine war are represented, with attention to shifts in language, tone, and emphasis.

Chapter One

Overview of the Conflicts and the Tools

The media plays an important role in shaping the public opinion by influencing belief and framing the discourse of important issues "the media have some power to propagate beliefs or, at a minimum, to dampen or distill questions that might challenge existing belief structures" (Winseck 256). It works as an information provider and a channel of transmission from the source to the reader, especially in war times. *The New York Times* (NYT) is one of the outlets of written media along with The Washington Post, USA Today, The Wall Street Journal, and many other newspapers as they have a crucial role in covering many conflicts such as the Israeli-Palestinian war and the Russia-Ukraine one, the civil war in Syria and Yemen…etc. This chapter establishes the foundations of the analysis of the NYT coverage of the Israeli-Palestinian and the Russia-Ukrainian struggles before and after the 7th October 2023.

Firstly, this chapter provides a historical background of the origins of both conflicts tracing back the key events that have shaped and defined the political and territorial tension in both Israeli-Palestinian and Russia-Ukrainian wars. Secondly, this chapter examines and studies the historical development and journalistic influence of *the New York Times* as one of the leading and recognized newspapers. Thirdly, this research will explain the critical discourse analysis and its main models, which is going to be the tool of analysis of the NYT headlines. Finally, the Propaganda Model, which is a prominent model made by Noam Chomsky and Edward Herman, will be introduce. This model will serve as the theoretical framework for this research. This model studies how media coverage is shaped through its five filters: ownership, advertising, sourcing, flak, and ideological control. This chapter serves as the basis and the foundation for this comparative study.

1.1.The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

The Palestinian conflict dates back to a long and complex history. The tension in the Palestinian region started centuries ago. The modern conflict started in the beginning of the 20th century when the Jewish migration to the Palestinian territories raised along with the western powers being more engaged in shaping and making the future of the Palestinian region. The Balfour Declaration of 1917 which was a turning point in the history of this conflict when the British Empire supported the idea of establishing a homeland for Jews which will take place in the Palestinian ground. This declaration played an important role increasing the tension between the Palestinians and the Jewish migrants. During the British mandate period 1917-1948 the Palestinian territories experienced several political and social changes. In 1948, many of the Palestinian population had been displaced after the establishment of the Israeli government in Palestine.

1.1.1. The Origin of the Israeli-Palestinian War

The Israeli-Palestinian conflict is one of long-lasting struggles in modern history. It started in the late 19th and early 20th centuries when two nationalist movements, Jewish Zionism and Palestinian Arab nationalism, began claiming the same land. Zionism was a movement that sought to establish a Jewish homeland in response to increasing persecution of Jews in Europe as Theodor Herzl states in his book a Jewish State “The aim of Zionism is to create for the Jewish people a publicly legally assured home in Palestine” (Herzl VI). Meanwhile, Palestinian Arabs who lived in the land for generations also had a strong connection to their land and wanted to maintain their own sovereignty. In 1917, the British government issued the Balfour Declaration, which stated that Britain supported the establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine. However, this conflicted with earlier British promises to Arab leaders, who had been told they would gain independence if they helped fight against the Ottoman Empire in World War I (Cleveland and Bunton 157;58). When

Britain took control of Palestine after the war. Large numbers of Jewish immigrants arrived, leading to increased tensions between the Jewish and Arab communities. By the 1930s and 1940s, violent clashes had erupted as both sides struggled for control of the land. Many Palestinian Arabs saw Jewish immigration as an attempt to colonize their homeland, while Jewish settlers believed they were reclaiming their ancestral land Khalidi explains in his book *The Iron Cage:*

> The Palestinian Arabs and the [Jews] were acutely aware that the outcome of the struggle between them depended largely on which one would win the 'demographic battle.' This led both to pay extraordinary attention to questions related to immigration. Without massive immigration, the Zionist movement could not hope to claim majority status, dominate the Palestinians demographically, and build a Jewish national home in Palestine. [...] The possibility that they could be outnumbered in their own country came to be a growing concern for the Palestinians, even as that same outcome promised security, victory, and absolute sovereignty to the Zionists."(Khalidi 50)

Both Palestinian Arabs and Jewish settlers knew that their struggle depended on who had the larger population. The Zionists were in need for more Jewish immigrants so they become the majority and establish their national home. Moreover, Palestinians feared being less than the Jews in their own land, while Zionists saw immigration as their path to security and control. In Ilan pappé in his book The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine States that in 1947 the United Nations proposed a plan to divide Palestine into two states. Jerusalem would have been under the international control. The Jews leaders accepted the plan while the Arab ones refused it for the fact that it would be unfair for them, because the Jewish population is higher than the Palestinian one and the plan allocated for them more than the Arabs. (Pappé 57 -58-59).According to Morris Benny in his book 1948: A history of the First Arab-Israeli War, on May 14, 1948, Israel declared itself an independent state. On 15 May 1948, several

surrounding Arab countries invaded Palestine, leading to the first Arab-Israeli war. This war ended in 1949 and Israel had expanded its territory beyond what was assigned in the UN partition plan. Meanwhile, hundreds of thousands of Palestinian Arabs were displaced from their homes, an event known as the Nakba, or "catastrophe". This war created 700,000 Arab refugees (Morris 77).

1.1.2. Key Events in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

The Palestinian conflict had been through a series of events that shaped modern day conflict. One of the main key events in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is the Six-Day War in 1967 Pappé notes that "in June 1967 when Israel occupied the area, retaliation then was directed not towards the Jordanians, but towards the Palestinians: three of the villages in the Latrun valley – Beit Nuba, Yalu and Imwas – were expelled and wiped out. The mass deportation of the villagers was the beginning of a new wave of ethnic cleansing" (202 203). He states that Israel in June 1967 launched a military attack on Egypt, Jordan, and Syria. By the end of this war Israel win occupied the West Bank, Gaza Strip, East Jerusalem, and the Sinai Peninsula. The First Intifada was also one of the significant key events in the history of the Israeli-Palestinian it started in December 1987 in the Occupied Palestinian Territories, exactly in Gaza and the West Bank. It was a result of an incident in the Jabalya camp in Gaza, when an Israeli army vehicle hit a truck, resulting in the death of four Palestinians. Leading to protest against the Israeli government. As Rashid Khalidi describes, "The First Intifada, as it became known, erupted spontaneously all over the Occupied Territories, ignited when an Israeli army vehicle struck a truck in the Jabalya refugee camp in the Gaza Strip, killing four Palestinians" ('Hundred Years …'182). In September 2000, the Israeli leader Ariel Sharon visited the Al-Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem, a sacred place for both Muslims and Jews. Rashid Khalidi states that the Palestinians regarded this as a provocation and threat. This caused the widespread protests called the Second Intifada. Unlike the First

Intifada, the second one was marked by violence, military operations by the Israeli forces, and clashes between the two sides. This violent uprising ended by 6.600 deaths from both Palestinian and Israeli sides (‘Hundred Year’s…’228).

Fast forward, in 2006 Hamas won the elections against Fateh party making from Hamas the leading party in Palestine. As Rashid Khalidi explains, With Hamas in control of the Legislative Assembly, conflicts between Fatah and Hamas escalated. As a range of Palestinian political figures recognized, a split between the two movements was potentially disastrous for the Palestine cause, a sentiment that was strongly supported by public opinion” (‘Hundred Years …’ 234). The election eventually led to violent clashes between Hamas and Fatah, with Hamas seizing full control of Gaza in 2007. With Hamas wining the leadership of Gaza, Israel and Egypt imposed a blockade, limiting the movement of people and goods. This resulted to a humanitarian crisis and armed tensions. Major wars broke out in 2008-2009, 2012, and 2014, each resulting in large Palestinian casualties and destruction in Gaza. Khalidi describes the situation “Gaza was in effect turned into an open-air prison, where by 2018 at least 53 percent of some two million Palestinians lived in a state of poverty, and unemployment stood at an astonishing 52 percent, with much higher rates for youth and women.:” (‘Hundred Year’s…’ 237). In 2018, thousands of Palestinians in Gaza participated in the Great March of Return, asking for their right to return and stop the blockade. Israeli forces responded with fire, killing hundreds. In May 2021, protests over Palestinian evictions in East Jerusalem escalated into an11-day war between Hamas and Israel. Khalidi further explained, “What had begun with international refusal to recognize Hamas’s election victory had led to a disastrous Palestinian rupture and the blockade of Gaza. This sequence of events amounted to a new declaration of war on the Palestinians” **(**‘Hundred years …’ 215).On October 7, 2023, Hamas launched an unprecedented attack on Israel, firing thousands of rockets and carrying out cross-border raids, killing hundreds of Israelis. In response, Israel

launched a large-scale military campaign in Gaza, marking one of the deadliest escalations in decades. Analysts described the attack as “the most significant since the 1948 war, fundamentally altering the geopolitical landscape of the region” (The Guardian). The conflict continues to evolve, with ongoing violence and humanitarian crises.

1.2. The Russia-Ukrainian Conflict

The Russia-Ukrainian conflict is one of the most significant conflicts in the 21century. The full tension started in 14 February 2022, but it has been built throughout the years. Ukraine which was a former soviet republic constituent state that gained its independence in 1991, but Russia sought to maintain control over Ukraine regarding its growing relations with the NATO and the European Union as a threat.

1.2.1. The Origin of the Russia-Ukrainian War

The relationship between Russia and Ukraine has been strained since the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991. Russia has regarded Ukraine as one of its parts, often undermining its sovereignty. As Peter Rutland explains, “Ukraine’s ambiguous geopolitical position, and the clumsy interventions of competing outside powers pursuing their own self-centered agendas, pushed Ukraine’s log-jammed domestic politics over the brink into violent civil war” (1). Moscow’s perceives Ukraine as an inseparable part of its historical empire further exacerbated tensions, with Vladimir Putin famously asserting in 2008 that “Ukraine is not even a country” (Rutland 2).Russian imperialism is also one of the major reasons for the colonisation of Ukraine. Constantin Sonin argues that “the invasion would not happen without the Russian imperial tradition; it would also not happen without the Russian state degeneration into a corrupt, de-institutionalized, and personalistic regime” (1). This indicates that Russian internal political and authoritarian rule, made the invasion of Ukraine possible.

The expansion of NATO and the European Union (EU) into Eastern Europe played a crucial role in increasing the tension. NATO’s eastward expansion was viewed by Russia as a

direct threat to its security. Russia saw Ukraine's membership in NATO as a red line. According to Rutland, "Putin became convinced that Russia was subject to a deliberate strategy of encirclement and containment by the U.S." (1). The 2008 NATO assembly in Bucharest despite the objection declared that Ukraine and Georgia would eventually become members of NATO (Rutland 3).

The EU's growing influence over Ukraine created problems for Russia. Ukraine's attempts to integrate with the EU, particularly through the Association Agreement, led to significant internal conflict. As Luca Cenciarini explains, "The strong will of Ukrainian citizens and political movements in favour of a nationalist approach in opposition to Russian influence led to a period of protests against the government" (2). The increased Western influence in Ukraine made Russia feel threatened.

Ukraine's internal political landscape has been deeply divided between pro-Russian and pro-Western factions. The growing division between these groups created an instable environment with Russia. As Ivan Katchanovski notes "The Russian invasion in February 2022 was an illegal and extreme escalation of conflicts with Ukraine and the West" (3). This indicates that the roots of the war lie not only in external geopolitical struggles but also in Ukraine's domestic political instability. The presence of Russian-speaking populations in Ukraine further complicated relations between the two nations. As Cenciarini highlights "The country manifested more a desire of sovereignty and antipathy, especially in the west region, against Russian historic oppression, rather than a real national ethos"(5). This historical division played a role in fuelling the broader conflict.

1.2.2. The Key Events of the Russia-Ukraine Conflict

Since its start, the Russia-Ukraine struggle had been shaped by many events that led to modern day conflict. In the beginning of 2014, protests in Ukraine led to the removal of its pro-Russian president, Viktor Yanukovych. Russia moved to take control of Crimea, a region

in southern Ukraine with many Russian speakers. In February 2014, unknown soldiers later confirmed to be Russian troops, took control of government buildings and the airports in Crimea. Soon the regional assembly of Crimea declared its independence from Ukraine and held an election on March 16, 2014. The Russian officials stated that 95.5% of voters were with the idea of joining Russia, but Ukraine and the majority of the countries rejected the vote for the fact it was illegal. Despite this, on March 21, 2014, Russia annexed Crimea. Western countries condemned this action leading to the sanctions against Russia. However, Russia remained in control of Crimea since then (Conflict in Ukraine: A Timeline4-6).

After taking control of Crimea, fighting broke out in eastern Ukraine in the Donetsk and Luhansk regions, also known as Donbas. The Pro-Russian separatists in these regions proclaimed independence, and the Ukrainian forces fought to bring back control. This led to heavy battles causing many deaths. Russia signed a ceasefire agreement with the rebels in 5 September 2014. The Minsk agreement aimed to stop violence. However, this agreement did not succeed for both sides continued to fight. A second peace agreement, called the second Minsk Agreement, was signed on February 12, 2015. It included plans for a ceasefire, the withdrawal of heavy weapons, and political changes in eastern Ukraine. Despite this, fighting continued on and off for years, with neither side fully following the agreement (Conflict in Ukraine: A Timeline 5, 15, 19).

On February 21, 2022, Vladimir Putin Russian President announced its recognition of Donetsk and Luhansk as two independent states; these two regions in the east of Ukraine were controlled by Russian separatists. After three days, on February 24, 2022, Russia launched a military attack on Ukraine. The Russian troops entered Ukraine from different directions, starting from Belarus in the north, Russia in the east and Crimea in the south. Putin said that Russia’s goal was to “demilitarize and de-Nazify” Ukraine, but many regarded this as a justification for the invasion. The attack faced international outrage, when Western countries

imposed severe restrictions on Russia. Although Russian forces wanted to capture Kyiv, the Ukrainian capital, they faced strong resistance and eventually retreated to focus on eastern and southern Ukraine (Ukraine Conflict: An Overview 2-3).

In September 2022, Russia held elections in four regions of Ukraine, Donetsk, Luhansk, Kherson, and Zaporizhzhia asking residents if they wanted to join Russia. The voting process was accused as being illegitimate, with reports stating that people were forced to vote under military pressure. On September 30, 2022, President Putin announced that these four regions were now parts of Russia. However, the international community, including the United Nations, did not accept that. Despite the Russian claim for these areas, the Ukrainian forces kept fighting and regained control of some parts of these regions in later months (Ukraine Conflict: An Overview 4).

After months of defending its territory, Ukraine launched a major counterattack in late 2022 with support from Western military aid. Ukrainian troops successfully reclaimed large areas, including key cities like Izium, Kupiansk, and Lyman. In the southern part of Ukraine, they also forced Russian troops to withdraw from the city of Kherson. Encouraged by these victories, Ukraine launched another counteroffensive in June 2023. However, Russian forces had built strong defensive positions, making progress slow and difficult. By the end of 2023, the battlefront had reached a stalemate, with neither side making significant advances (Ukraine Conflict: An Overview 4).

1.3.The New York Times

The U.S. newspapers have an important role in transmitting information to the public and supporting democracy. There are many types of newspapers such as national newspapers like The Wall Street Journal, USA Today, and The Washington Post as well as local ones that cover community news .Each newspaper has it own focus such as politics, business, or culture. *The New York Times* (NYT) is one of the most prominent newspapers in U.S. It was

recognized for its clear and balanced reporting. In the first quarter of 2025, the NYT reported 11.66 million subscribers which reflect the high readability of the newspaper, 11.06of them were digital. The Digital subscribers revenue reached 14.4% year after year to $335 million, which is the highest level in compared to the first quarter of 2024. (Q1 Earning Presentation 2025). These results demonstrate the NYT continuity success, and widespread of its audience and digital footprint.

The New York Times was founded in 1851 by Henry J. Raymond and George Jones, who sought to create a newspaper that avoided the sensationalism of its competitors. The first issue, published on September 18, 1851, declared: "We publish today the first number of The New York Daily Times, and we intend to issue it every morning (Sundays excepted) for an indefinite number of years to come" (Davis 21). Raymond emphasized impartiality, stating: "We do not mean to write as if we were in a passion, unless that shall really be the case; and we shall make it a point to get into a passion as rarely as possible" (Davis 21). Despite early financial struggles, the paper's commitment to balanced reporting helped it grow. By 1857, it claimed a circulation of 40,000 (Davis 27), and its reputation for reliability made it a trusted source of news in an era of partisan journalism.

During the Civil War, The Times became a critical source of information, providing detailed battlefield reports and political analysis. Raymond himself covered the first Battle of Bull Run, though his initial victory dispatch had to be corrected after the Union's defeat (Davis 55). The paper's war coverage was unmatched, with correspondents like Lorenzo L. Crounse and William Swinton sending dispatches from the front lines (Davis 57). The Times also took a firm editorial stance, declaring in 1865 "If the people lately in revolt choose to accept the result of the war like reasonable men, ... every facility should be accorded them for the speedy repossession of every franchise and privilege existing under the constitution" (Davis 66). This balanced approach solidified its reputation as a paper of record.

In the 1870s, The Times exposed the corruption of the Tweed Ring, a defining moment in its history. After obtaining secret financial records, the paper revealed how city officials had stolen millions. One editorial challenged readers “If the public does not come to the same conclusion before we have finished our extracts from the Controller’s books, then facts have lost their power to convince, and public spirit must be regarded as dead” (Davis 106). The exposé led to Tweed’s downfall and proved The Times’ commitment to investigative journalism. Publisher George Jones famously refused a $5 million bribe to suppress the story, later remarking “I don’t think the devil will ever bid higher for me than that” (Davis 103). This fearless reporting cemented the paper’s legacy as a watchdog of democracy.

Under Adolph S. Ochs, who acquired The Times in 1896, the paper underwent a transformation. Ochs introduced the motto “All the News That’s Fit to Print" and focused on ethical journalism (Davis xxvii). He wrote in 1921: “The New York Times is an open book and may be taken at its face value; it is no worse than it may seem to appear; its faults are those of human fallibility” (Davis x). Ochs expanded the paper’s coverage, adding sections like the Sunday Magazine, and ensured its financial stability. By the early 20th century, The Times had become a national institution, known for its thorough reporting and editorial independence.

Today, *The New York Times* remains a global leader in journalism, adapting to the digital age while upholding its founding principles. Its history reflects a relentless pursuit of truth, from Raymond’s early vision to Ochs’ modernization and beyond. As Davis notes, The Times has always aimed to be “a creditable human institution” (ix), balancing fairness with fearless reporting. Over 170 years, it has weathered financial crises, political upheavals, and technological shifts, yet its mission endures: to inform the public with accuracy, integrity, and courage.

1.4. The Propaganda Model

The Propaganda Model, developed by Noam Chomsky and Edward Herman, is a framework used to understand how media can influence public opinion. The model suggests that media often reflects the interests of powerful groups, such as large corporations and governments, rather than being entirely neutral. It argues that factors like media ownership, advertising, and sources can shape how news is presented, often serving specific agendas.

1.4.1. The Origin of the Propaganda Model

The Propaganda Model was developed by Noam Chomsky and Edward S. Herman to explain how the media serves the interests of political and economic elites in democratic societies. Unlike authoritarian regimes that control the press through censorship, democratic systems use more subtle mechanisms to shape public perception. Chomsky and Herman claims that media is not neutral or independent but works for the benefit of powerful institutions while repressing the opposing viewpoints. They state that, “A propaganda model focuses on this inequality of wealth and power and its multilevel effects on mass-media interests and choices. It traces the routes by which money and power can filter out the news fit to print, marginalize dissent, and allow the government and dominant private interests to get their messages across to the public” (2).

Media bias is not always the result of direct government control or the personal opinions of journalists. Instead, it is embedded in the structure of the media industry itself. Because media organizations operate within a capitalist system, their survival depends on financial stability and relationships with powerful institutions. This system naturally filters information, favouring content that aligns with elite interests while discouraging critical perspectives. According to Chomsky and Herman, “Most biased choices in the media arise from the pre-selection of right-thinking personnel and by the editors' and working journalists'

internalization of the priorities and definitions of newsworthiness that conform to the institution's policy" (306).

Chomsky and Herman highlight that journalists and editors often do not see themselves as part of a propaganda system. They are not necessarily told what to report but learn over time what kind of news is acceptable. Those who frequently challenge powerful institutions risk professional consequences such as limited career growth or job loss. This leads to self-censorship, where only content that aligns with elite interests gets published. They argue, "If, however, the powerful are able to fix the premises of discourse, to decide what the general populace is allowed to see, hear, and think about, and to 'manage' public opinion by regular propaganda campaigns, the standard view of how the system works is at serious odds with reality" (302).

The Propaganda Model challenges the idea that a free press guarantees a well-informed public. In democratic societies, media outlets may appear diverse, but they are often controlled by a small number of large corporations. This concentration of ownership limits the range of perspectives presented, ensuring that dominant narratives remain unchallenged. As a result, media serves as a tool to maintain existing power structures rather than as an independent watchdog. Chomsky and Herman state, "The societal purpose of the mass media is to inculcate and defend the economic, social, and political agenda of privileged groups that dominate the domestic society and the state" (298).

1.4.2. The Five Filters of the Propaganda Model

Noam Chomsky and Edward S. Herman introduced the Propaganda Model in their book Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media (1988). The model explains how news and information in mass media are shaped and controlled by powerful interests. It highlights five main filters that influence what news is reported and how it is presented. These filters are ownership, advertising, sourcing, flak, and anti-communism (now

understood as ideological control). Each of these factors plays a role in shaping media content in ways that benefit large corporations, governments, and other powerful groups. Below is a detailed explanation of each filter, with direct quotes from the book to illustrate how they work.

Media organizations, such as television networks, newspapers, and radio stations, are mostly owned by big businesses, wealthy individuals, or powerful corporations. These owners have financial and political interests, and they do not want media coverage to harm their business or political allies. Because of this, news organizations tend to avoid publishing stories that might challenge the people or companies that own them. Chomsky and Herman explain this clearly: “The dominant media firms are large, profit-seeking corporations owned and controlled by very wealthy people or by other large corporations”. Since media companies exist to make money, they focus on content that is safe and profitable rather than stories that could expose corruption, injustice, or exploitation by the elite class. This means that news is often shaped to protect the interests of the wealthy and powerful rather than to inform the public in an objective way.

Most media organizations make money not by selling newspapers or subscriptions but by selling advertising space. Companies pay media outlets to display their ads because they want to reach large audiences. If a news organization publishes content that offends or harms the reputation of advertisers, they risk losing financial support. Because of this, media companies avoid publishing content that might upset major advertisers. Chomsky and Herman explain “Advertisers will want, more generally, to avoid programs with serious complexities and disturbing controversies that interfere with the ‘buying mood” (14).In simple terms, advertisers prefer news that keeps audiences comfortable and in a good mood to buy products. News that challenges powerful corporations, criticizes consumer culture, or exposes unethical business practices is often suppressed or downplayed because it might drive advertisers away.

Media organizations rely on official sources for information, such as government agencies, corporate press releases, and experts who work for powerful institutions. This is because gathering original news stories is expensive, and official sources provide ready-made information at little or no cost. However, this reliance on official sources means that the media often presents the views of the powerful as unquestionable facts. Chomsky and Herman explain that “The large bureaucracies of the powerful subsidize the mass media, and gain special access by their contribution to reducing the media’s costs of acquiring and producing news” (18). Since governments, corporations, and elite institutions provide much of the news, their perspectives dominate media coverage. Alternative voices, such as activists, independent journalists, and marginalized communities, struggle to get their messages heard because they lack the same level of access to media platforms.

Flak refers to the negative reactions that media organizations receive when they publish content that challenges powerful interests. This can come in the form of lawsuits, complaints, threats to cut funding, public relations campaigns, or even personal attacks on journalists. If a news outlet publishes stories that criticize the government or large corporations, it may face consequences that discourage it from publishing similar content in the future. As Chomsky and Herman put it “Flak machines are organizations that undertake to regularly produce negative responses to the media” (26). The latter means that well-funded organizations exist specifically to attack media content that does not align with elite interests. As a result, journalists and news outlets often engage in self-censorship to avoid trouble, leading to a media landscape that favours the powerful.

When Chomsky and Herman first wrote Manufacturing Consent, anti-communism was one of the main ways that governments and corporations justified controlling the media. Any idea that threatened capitalism or corporate interests was labelled “communist” and dismissed as dangerous. Today, this filter has evolved into a broader ideological control mechanism,

where media use new “enemies” such as terrorists, authoritarian regimes, or foreign rivals to justify certain policies and restrict critical voices. Chomsky and Herman explain: “Communism as the ultimate evil has always been the spectre haunting property owners, as it threatens the very root of their class position and superior state” (29)by focusing on external threats, the media shifts attention away from domestic problems such as inequality, corruption, or police violence. This filter ensures that people remain focused on perceived enemies rather than questioning their own government’s actions or the economic systems that create injustice.

Researchers in the field of media studies use different tools and theories to interpret, analyse, and investigate media coverage and the factors that shape it. There are many media theories used in this field such as media framing theory, Agenda setting theory, and discourse analysis and its types. As for the current investigation, critical discourse analysis is chosen as the tool of analysis of the NYT headlines of both conflicts before and after seven October 2023.

1.5.The Critical Discourse Analysis

Researchers in the field of media studies use different tools and theories to interpret, analyse, and investigate media coverage and the factors that shape it. There are many media theories used in this field such as media framing theory, Agenda setting theory, and discourse analysis and its types. As for the current investigation, critical discourse analysis is chosen as the tool of analysis of the NYT headlines of both conflicts before and after seven October 2023.

The Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is one of the main types of discourse analysis. It a method of studying language focusing on how it reflects and shapes power, identity, and society. It is grounded in the belief that “language as a form of social practice,” meaning that every act of speaking or writing is connected to broader social and historical contexts (Janks

1). The CDA asks questions like, “Whose interests are served by this positioning? Whose interests are negated?” to reveal how language can support or challenge power structures (Janks 1). Even texts that seem neutral or kind may carry hidden meanings that maintain inequality or privilege certain groups.

CDA help in understanding that language is not used in a vacuum it always serves particular purposes and reflects particular viewpoints. As Janks explains, “texts are instantiations of socially regulated discourses,” and the choices made in a text are shaped by social conditions (1). This makes from CDA a powerful research tool for analysing media, politics, and public communication. In this research, CDA would be used to examine how language in media texts constructs meaning and reinforces or questions social power.

The critical discourse analysis has many models that can be applied to media and communication .Teun A. van Dijk’s model is one of the main models of Critical Discourse Analysis that focuses on the relation between discourse, power, and cognition. He defines CDA as research that “studies the way social-power abuse and inequality are enacted, reproduced, legitimated, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context” (466). Central to his framework is the idea that “groups have (more or less) power if they are able to (more or less) control the acts and minds of... other groups” (469). This control is achieved not; just through discourse itself but by shaping how people think what van Dijk calls “mind control,”(469) where discourse influences “knowledge, attitudes, or ideologies” (470). Van Dijk demonstrates how media and political discourse can manipulate public opinion using strategies such as presuppositions, metaphors, and topical emphasis, forming what he calls the “ideological square” which “Emphasizing Our good things, Emphasizing Their bad things, Mitigating Our bad things, and Mitigating Their good things” (474).

Another model which is Norman Fairclough’s model, grounded in critical realism, presents a three-level analytical framework: textual analysis (micro), discursive practice

(meso), and social practice (macro). He asserts that “power relations are produced, applied and re-produced by discourse” and that discourse itself is “discourse is a social practice and the creator of social practices” (Gölbaşı 8). Fairclaugh focus closer on language features like vocabulary, grammar, and structure, stating that these are “linguistic characteristics are not coincidental, but are intentional choices” reflecting ideology (Gölbaşı 8). His method focuses on how discourse is understood through “Member’s Resources,” or shared social knowledge and beliefs (10), and that coherence with past texts can mask ideological influence stating that “the greater the coherence... the harder it is to realize the ideology” (quoted in Gölbaşı 11).

This chapter gives an overview of the two major conflicts, Israeli-Palestinian and Russia-Ukraine, subject to the current investigation. It also breaks down the key concepts the investigation revolves around, including the tools that are to be used to gauge how were the conflicts portrayed through the lens of the NYT media coverage, namely Critical Discourse Analysis and the Propaganda Model by Chomsky and Herman. These tools help reveal how powerful interests can influence media narratives. Overall, this chapter sets the foundation for a deeper analysis of how media shapes perceptions of conflict and power.

In this research, the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) would be used as a method that focuses on how language relates to power, inequality, and ideology. CDA helps investigate the hidden meanings in texts and shows how language can be used to control or resist certain viewpoints. It is useful for studying media, politics, and public communication, where language plays a powerful role in shaping public opinion.

Chapter Two:

A Critical Discourse Analysis of *the New York Times* Coverage of the two Conflicts before and after 7th October 2023

After the establishment of a theoretical and conceptual frame work in the first chapter understanding the basis of this research. Starting with the origins of both Russia-Ukrainian and Israeli-Palestinian conflicts leading to the key events that have shaped modern day conflicts. Moving to the development of *the New York Times* (NYT) newspaper which is the case study of this conducted research. Finishing with the two tools of analysis. First, the Critical Discourse analysis and its two models. Secondly and finally the Propaganda Model by Noam Chomsky and Edward Herman understanding its basis and its five filters.

The second chapter of this research will be the analysis of the NYT headlines covering the two conflicts. For this analysis a sample of data where chosen a month before and after 7th October 2023 which are going to analysed using a combination of Fairclaugh and Van Dijk models of Critical Discourse Analysis .Firstly, this chapter will start with the analysis of the Headlines of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict a month before and after the 7th October 2023 than a month after tracing any potential biases while doing the vocabulary analysis. Secondly, this study will also analyse the NYT coverage of the Russia-Ukrainian conflict following the same method used to interpret the data related to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

2.1. Critical Discourse Analysis of the NYT Headlines of the Israeli -Palestinian Conflict

Headlines between 7 September and 7 November 2023 showed that on approximately 53% of the days (33 of 62), at least contain one headline about the Israeli–Palestinian conflict, while the remaining 47% (29 of 62) have no headlines. This split marks that the editorial attention to the conflict was inconsistent, often driven by the escalation of violence rather than ongoing structural conditions. Across the 62-day span, there were 134 headlines with an average of 8 words each, reflecting a balance between brevity and narrative complexity. The

shortest headline included 6 words, while the longest reached 11 words, with some headlines leaning toward more descriptive, diplomacy-focused content. The term “Israel / Israeli” appeared in about 58% of the headlines, making Israel the central referent across both Israeli- and Palestinian-focused coverage. “Gaza” appeared in around 41% of the headlines, largely in humanitarian contexts, and “Hamas” appeared in 23%, most often tied to violence or hostage-related framing. In contrast, the word “Palestinians” appeared in only 14% of headlines, indicating a limited representation of Palestinian identity beyond moments of victimhood or military engagement. Words such as “war” (21%), “aid” (7%), “Netanyahu” (7%), and “hostages” (5%) further emphasize dominant themes of military action, civilian crisis, international involvement, and political leadership. Overall, these patterns reveal a narrative imbalance: Israel is presented as a sovereign actor involved in strategy, governance, and grief, while Palestinians are largely rendered visible only in contexts of suffering, displacement, or conflict, often without political or civic agency.

Table 02. Words Frequency and Statistics about NYT Israeli-Palestinian Headlines

Number of newspaper article	62
Newspapers with at least one headline about Palestine and Israel war	33
Newspaper with no headlines	29
Average word number per a headline	8 words
Longest headline	“Democrats Tell Biden Saudi-Israeli Pact Needs Pledges for Palestinians” (11 words)
Shortest headline	“Palestinian Leader Makes Anti-Semitic Comments” (6 words)
Frequent words about Palestine	Israel / Israeli (78), Gaza (55), Hamas (31), War (28), Palestinians (19), U.S. (12), Netanyahu (10), Aid (9), Strikes (8), Hostages (7)
Frequent words about Israel	Israel / Israeli (78), Netanyahu (10), Hostages (7), Military (6), Strikes (8), War (28), Defence (2), Invasion (2), Unity (3), Cabinet (1)

Source: Extracted by the researchers from NYT newspapers from 7 September to 7 November 2023.

2.1.1. Critical Discourse Analysis of NYT Headlines before 7 October 2023

From 7 September to 6 October 2023, *The New York Times* gave little attention in coverage to the Israeli–Palestinian war. For about a month, headlines about the conflict were found on only eight days. Throughout the whole month, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict was not mentioned at all. This does not mean there was peace; occupation and daily struggles were still happening, but the media in General including the NYT mostly did not give much attention to the conflict unless something dramatic happened. When the conflict was mentioned, it was generally in a negative or narrow way. On 8 September, a Palestinian leader was accused of making anti-Semitic comments, which framed the Palestinians as aggressive. On 10 September, the headline "Pulling at the Thread of Palestinian Identity", this kind of headlines are deeper and rare. On 13 September, the headlines insisted only on the Israeli politics, portraying the Israeli people and society in a sympathetic way, while Palestinians were completely not mentioned. On 19 and 21 September, the focus was on the Israeli ties with the United States .Again insisting the Israeli role as a strong and respected country, while the Palestinians were not mentioned.

This absence of the portrayal continued till the end of the month. From 22 to 26 September, there were no headlines at all about the conflict as it was mentioned before. On 28 September and 1 October, the emphasis was on the improvement of the relationships between Israel and Middle Eastern countries, although, there was no mention of the struggle in a direct way. These headlines made the picture of Israel peaceful and with diplomatic and political ties to other countries, beside the ignorance the ongoing occupation Palestine. On 3 October, there was a headline the framed the Palestinians as victims, "With Fear and Sheep Settlers Run off West Bank Herders" it Formed a rare moment of sympathy toward the Palestinian people. By the 6 October, Palestinians were mentioned as only a problem that must be solved, headlines

like “Democrats Tell Biden Saudi-Israeli Pact Needs Pledges for Palestinians” it was mentioned I the context of what other countries should do for the sake of solving the case .

2.1.2. Critical Discourse Analysis of NYT Headlines after 7 October 2023

Between 7 and 11 October 2023, the headlines covering the Israeli–Palestinian conflict appeared in a sudden way, following a long period of silence throughout month of September. The silence kept till the 7 October 2023. This shift marked a dramatic change in editorial attention. The headlines starting from 8 October portrayed the Israeli-Palestinian conflict using phrases such as “Palestinian Militants Stage Attack on Israel” which picture Palestinians as aggressors who initiated violence, meanwhile the Israeli civilians were framed in an emotional language like “Children Were Terrified” and “kidnappings Leave Israelis With Dread,” focusing on trauma and fear. In addition Israel was shown as a decisive, organized military power using headlines such as “Israel Orders Siege,” “Takes Back Towns,” and “Preparing To Go On Offense,” reinforcing its role as defender and also strategic actor. Palestinian sufferance started emerging in the headlines throughout humanitarian expressions “Warned To Get Out Of Gaza But Having Nowhere To Go” and “Gazans With Nowhere To Hide Issue A Plea” but these was only in the context of giving help, and not as political representation.

Between 12 and 16 October 2023, headlines of the Israeli–Palestinian conflict increased, emphasizing on the Israel military planning and Gaza humanitarian crisis. The headlines framed Israel as an organized and legitimate state actor, through the use of phrases such “Israel Assembles Unity Coalition To Steer The War” and “Netanyahu Vows To Crush Foe,” which conveyed strong leadership and strategic purpose. The Israeli actions were pictured as organized and intentional, portraying its military actions as a response to the attacks rather than aggression. Meanwhile, Palestinians were highly present in the headlines through passive and tragic terms. Gaza was mentioned as “Battered,” with reports stating

“300,000 Homeless” and “Food Runs Low,” showing an image of widespread suffering without assigning responsibility. The word “Exodus” appeared as headlines noted “One Million Palestinians Displaced,” emphasizing historical trauma, but again Palestinians are only mentioned to as victims without agency. Headlines as “Gaza Residents Flee Amid Fears Of Never Being Able To Return” and “Gaza Hospitals Face Another Impossible Layer” shed the light on the fact that the essential services are disappearing, but again with no mention of the political representation behind Hamas.

From 17 to 21 October 2023, headlines showed both the increasing humanitarian crisis in Gaza and the emotional and geopolitical consequences for Israel and its allies. The week headlines started with U.S. President Biden organizing a visit to Israel “Amid Worsening Gaza Crisis” showing how international diplomacy focused on Israeli interests, even when Palestinian sufferance increased. The emotional coverage of Israeli losses kept being strong in headlines such “Hope Battles With Despair For Families Of Those Taken Hostage” while the Palestinians were portrayed throughout mass casualties and paralysis, especially after the hospital explosion on 18 October. Gaza humanitarian crisis took attention at that moment, with hundreds dead and headlines starting to show the global rage, especially throughout reports of large Arab protests. Even in the middle of these tragedies, the coverage remained focusing on the leadership and political validation. Biden backing Israel while also pledging aid to Gaza. Meanwhile, Hamas actions were portrayed as strategic and organized, especially with the release of two U.S. hostages.

From 22 to 26 October 2023, headlines became highly focused on the catastrophic civilian scale in Gaza, while kept giving space to Israeli strategic planning and emotional framing. Early headlines tried to assure the world with phrases like “Israel Says It Doesn’t Plan Long-Term Gaza Occupation,” suggesting intentions of moderation, even as reports Described “Hospitals Collapsing” and people saying “We Are Dying” Palestinians were

framed in extreme conditions attacked, blocked, suffering, and begging for dignity as pictured in emotional headlines such “We Are Not Animals” and “Nowhere To Go” These headlines drew attention to the Palestinian sufferance, but this was done through deep emotional and passive terms, which humanized but did not empower the Palestinians. At the same time, Israel remained appearing as a decisive, state driven actor, “Preparing For Ground War” and “Seeing Justification To Move Forward” the Israeli hostages were a central focus, and their suffering was used to justify military actions, reinforcing a moral logic that supported Israeli actions. Meanwhile, the international pressure started to rise, with headlines showing growing Arab outrage and diplomatic pressure on the U.S., signalling that global patience was wearing thin. But even in those moments, the coverage still favoured Israeli choices and voice, while Palestinian need for support appeared mostly through pleas, trauma, and powerlessness.

Between 27 and 31 October 2023, headlines became more clear and direct in highlighting the large civilian scale in Palestine while remain following Israeli military path. Israel was pictured as taking formal and organized steps in its war “Prepares To Enter Gaza” “Second Stage” “Expanded Operations” with war terms presenting its actions as planned and necessary. However, questions started to rise over Israel’s conduct, with headlines such “Use Of 2,000-Pound Bombs Raises Questions” and “The U.N. Warning Of ‘Collective Punishment” which made international pressure for the first time. On the Palestinian side, suffering was described in highly graphic and devastating with terms like “Bodies In The Street,” “No One Left To Bury Them,” and “We Are Being Erased” insisted not only death, but the collapse of a community, culture, and basic dignity. While these headlines made the scale of loss visible, the Palestinians continued appearing almost as victims, but not as political agents. Hamas continued being present in headlines such “Hamas Video Shows 3 Hostages,” which again shifted the focus toward Israeli trauma. The Israeli headlines,

meanwhile, included not just military updates but reflections like “Political Debate Follows Grief,” reinforcing an image of Israel as both wounded and democratic.

In the final week of this period, from 1 to 7 November 2023, the headlines continued to show the severe humanitarian crisis in Gaza, the increasing international pressure, and a shift in tone toward between the portrayal of Gaza and Israel. Early in the week, the focus was on shocking numbers like “70% Of Gaza’s Dead Are Women And Children” And “Gaza Deaths Pass 9,000” made the number of loss impossible to ignore, and headlines such “Hope Dies As Hospitals Run Out” described a picture of complete disappearance. At the same time, headlines start to show international rage, especially with “U.S. Faces Anger From Arab Allies” and “Allies Try To Hold Israel Back But Aren’t Willing To Stop It,” which insisted on Western inaction and Israel unchecked momentum. While the domination of Gaza humanitarian crisis, there was also a focus on Israeli leadership and strategy, with headlines noting that the Israeli war cabinet was “divided on the endgame” and that officials discussed “Killing Hamas Leaders Abroad” This portrayed Israel as both strategic and internally divided still portrayed with political depth and agency. One emotional headline “Palestinian Father Faces The Death Of His Family” stood out for its raw human impact, showing that some media did focus on Palestinian personal loss. Another headline, “These Palestinians Are Often Not Seen,” addresses directly the media marginalization of the Palestinians, offering rare self-reflection. However, by 7 November, the attention turned again to military threat with “Hamas’s Tunnels Stretch Farther Than Imagined,” which may have helped reframe Israel actions as necessary security responses.

2.2. Critical Discourse Analysis of the NYT Headlines of the Russia-Ukrainian Conflict

This part focuses on the analysis of *The New York Times* coverage of the Russia-Ukrainian conflict through the lens of the Critical Discourse analysis. By analysing the headlines published a month before and after October 7, 2023, this study aims to uncover

underlying patterns, biases, and shifts in language use. Using the combined models of Fairclaugh and Van Dijk, the analysis will highlight how the conflict is constructed and represented in media discourse during these two distinct periods.

2.2.1. Critical Discourse Analysis of the NYT Headlines before 7 October 2023

Headlines between 7 September and 7 November 2023, on 84% of the days (52 of 62) had at least one headline that related to the Russia-Ukraine conflict, suggesting the frequency of editorial attention and the ongoing salience of the war in world media. The headlines were 108 and averaged nearly 8 words per headline, suggesting the pressure between brevity and in formativeness. Whereas other headlines condensed to a length of 4 words, others extended to 15 words with some inclinations to more context-filled or descriptive coverage. The noun "Ukraine" appeared in over 62% of the headlines, symbolizing the front-runner interest of media in Ukraine in their reporting of the war. On the other hand, "Russia" appeared in around 33% of the headlines, symbolizing its appearance as the opponent but one with relatively fewer narrative saliences. Also emphasized are the terms "war" (occurring in about 19% of headlines), "aid" and "Zelensky" (both occurring in about 12%), reflecting dominant themes of conflict, international aid, and political leadership. These usage patterns reflect a narrative with a dominant focus on Ukrainian resistance, international repercussions, and human costs of the war.

Table 02 . Words Frequency and Statistics about the Russia-Ukrainian Headlines

Number of newspaper article	62
Newspapers with at least one headline about Ukraine and Russia war	52
Newspaper with no headlines	10
Average word number per a headline	8 words
Longest headline	"Ukraine Is Grinding to a 'Stalemate' with Russia, a Top General Says" (15 words)
Shortest headline	"Ukraine Has Gained Ground" (4 words)
Frequent words about Ukraine	Ukraine (67), Zelensky (13), Kyiv (7), Counteroffensive (4), Aid (13), Front (6), Drones (3), Claims (3), Gains (2)
Frequent words about Russia	Russia (36), Russian (12), Putin (9), Missiles

	(6), Attacks (6), Invasion (3), Propaganda (2), Executed (2), Abducted (2)

Newspapers from the 7 September to 6 October are characterized by the use of specific vocabulary to portray each side of the conflicts. The vocabulary choice may include some strong terms that can be categorized as biased.

The chosen headlines from 8 to 11 September 2023 employ a militarized vocabulary, forming a clear portrayal of the Russia-Ukraine conflict. The use Words like Blast, Barrage, Torture, and Fight create a sense of violence and urgency. Ukraine is portrayed as strong "Drone Strike Jolts Home of Russian Military Base" and dependent "Cluster Arsenal Keep It in Fight", suggesting a complex position of struggle and reliance. Russia, on the other hand, is portrayed negatively using terms like target, torture, and Blast, picturing it as an aggressor.

Headlines from 12 to 16 September 2023 use strong vocabulary to create vivid portrayals of both political divisions and military escalation around the Ukraine conflict. Words such "Unrelenting Battles", "Defying West" and "Extends Missile Arsenal" represent the conflict as a continuous struggle, emphasizing Russia's defiance and growing militarism. At the same time, headlines like "Some In GOP Oppose Ukraine Aid" and "Biden Creates Role To Buoy Investment In Ukraine" demonstrate internal Western political dynamics, showing commitment and opposition toward Ukraine. The vocabulary choice indicates fracture within U.S. politics and efforts to sustain Ukraine economically. Russia is portrayed through emotional and aggressive language. Phrases like "Axis Authoritarian" and "Escalated Concerns" link Russia to broader authoritarian threats, reinforcing narratives of a global danger. Meanwhile, Ukraine's actions, like "Intensifies Attacks," suggest a shift toward a more assertive and forceful military strategy.

The headlines from 17 to 21 September 2023 present a focus on shifting alliances, internal pressures, and Ukraine's continuing struggle. Vocabularies like "ban", "Defying",

and “Displays Arsenal” insists the tensions both within Europe and with Russia’s strengthening authoritarian partnerships. Ukraine is framed not just in military terms but also by cultural resilience “Still Hosts Hasidim’s Party”, focusing on humanizing its image. Military achievement is depicted as slow but steady “Claims Second Village”, while political crisis is shown through terms like “Fires Defence Ministry Staff” and “Implores U.N.” signalling Ukraine’s dependency on international support. Biden’s call for “Global Unity” highlights and insists on war in Ukraine as a humanitarian cause.

The headlines from 22 to 26 September 2023 focus on solidarity, strategic shifts, and battle achievements. Expressions like “Stands With,” “Reassures,” and “Staying with You” affirm the Western commitment to Ukraine, even as internal political pressures emerge. In the other hand, strong accusations like “Russia Guilty of Genocide” make the framing of Russia as a criminal actor, aligns public opinion with Ukraine. On the military side, language such as “Targets Crimea”, “Prove Their Value”, and “Killed the Admiral” frame Ukraine as increasingly effective, innovative, and offensive against Russian forces.

The headlines from 27 September to 1 October 2023 combine emotional sufferance, military resistance, and strategic position. Human interest terms like “Yearning” and “Total Fear” insists the psychological traumatisation experienced by Ukrainians, creating a sense of sympathy toward Ukraine. Strategic developments are framed in headlines such “New Corridor Signals Might” and “Kyiv Convenes Conference to Promote Arms Industry,” portraying Ukrainian efforts to gain and build military strength. Military pride is presented throughout expressions such as “Day of the Sung Ukrainian Sniper” presenting Ukrainian fighters as heroes. Political uncertainty emerges with “Slovakia’s Election Could Reverberate in Ukraine” suggesting that any changes in European politics could threaten the unity of countries supporting Ukraine.

The headlines from 2 to 6 October 2023 emphasize on geopolitical changes, battlefield facts, and civilian pain. Terms like “Wields Hidden Power” and “Target in Putin’s War” frame the external threats from both Russia and China, presenting Ukraine as the victim of global manipulations. The fragility of Western support is portrayed through the headlines about Slovakia's election and German concern, insisting the division in Europe’s unity behind Ukraine. Meanwhile, battlefield progress is presented with optimism “Gained Ground But Much Farther To Go” but shadowed by severe civilian suffering “51 Ukrainians Killed”.

2.2.2. Critical Discourse Analysis of the NYT Headlines after October 07, 2023

The headlines between 7 and 11 October are characterized by the use of charged and morally assertive language to emphasise Ukraine’s position as a victim of unfair aggression while isolating Russia politically and ethically. Real humanitarian tragedy is framed in headlines like “In an Instant Every Body Died” and “All My Relatives Are Dead,” which personalize the war consequences throughout the use of imagery death and sorrow, r bheinforcing the reader’s sympathy towards Ukraine. On the geopolitical Side, expression like “Billions of Dollars in Aid” and “When it Might End” insists the increasing donor’s exhaustion, presenting subtle doubt about the stability of the aids, headlines such as “Russia Economy Now Puts War Above All Else” and “Russia Fails To Re-Join U.N Human Rights Council” portray Russia as an isolated and consumed country because of its war aims, diplomatically, and economically. In addition, the comparison made by Zelensky comparing the Russian invasion to the attacks on Israel in “The Same Evil” this serves to make from Ukraine a moral narrative through linking it with other Western conflicts, focusing on democratic victimhood versus authoritarian aggression.

The headlines from 12 to 16 October show a clear transition from battlefield dynamics to broader political and diplomatic calculations. On 12 October, “Zelensky Urges NATO Ministers” emphasises Ukraine’s continued dependence on the Western military and financial

support, “Russians Stepping up Attacks” this headline represents the violent and strong attacks by Russia, reinforcing the Ukrainian need for more aid. These headlines stand with the idea that Ukraine is under threat and it is seeking international aid. On the 13 October, the language used switched from being clear to mysterious and strategic. Headlines such as “Meeting of NATO Ministers Ends With 3 Pressing Questions Unresolved” after a NATO meeting reflects the hesitation between the allies, questioning their long term unity. On the other side, “Try to Use a New War to Sway Allies” states that both Ukraine and Russia may are taking advantage of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict not only to gain support but as a geopolitical chess game. Headlines like “War Dead Were Everyone’s Neighbours” talking about the Russian dead, forms a moment of empathy over the Russian people. This formulates a complicated narrative, trough the portrayal of Russia as an aggressor then framing it in a way that bring a humanitarian view. In contrast the coverage returns to be conventional, framing military action in headlines like “Fierce Fight”.

From 17 to 21 October the chosen headlines blend humanitarian, geopolitical, and military themes. On 17 October, the narrative of Ukrainian children “Abducted” and returned uses emotional and strong language to frame Russia as violating international norms, while emphasizing diplomatic efforts that favour Ukraine’s image. The 19 October headlines turns to broader power dynamics, the headline “With Putin By His Side Xi” presents Russia as having ideological allies. The phrase “new world order” shows strong intention to change global system. On 21 October, the idea that Kyiv may be seeking a new front “Kyiv Seeks a New Front” represents Ukraine as actively controlling strategically the direction of war direction of the war, instead of reacting to Russian moves solely.

The set headlines from 22 to 26 October present a narrative combining battlefield pressure and human sufferance. The 23 October headlines show a clear contrast in the same day. in one hand portraying Ukraine as terrifying Russia using the term “unnerving”, at the

same time Russia is mentioned as killing civilians in the headline “Russian Missile Fired From Across Border Kills 6,Ukraine Says” .The 24 October portrayal takes a more contemplative tone. Expression such as like “Cruel Math” and “Tiny Advances” reflects to how hard the war is, while the benefits are few. These headlines as the ones before it emphasize the idea of exhaustion of the countries that are giving aid d to Ukraine. By 25 October, the phrase “Evacuation Of Children” shed the light to the necessity of protection and the growing risk, which makes from Ukraine a defender. On 26 October, attention turned to the long term emotional consequences of the war. Narratives of widows rebuilding their lives reflect the personal and national legacy of war, beyond military acts.

The headlines from 27 to 31 October combine international strategy with personal and symbolic stories. On 27 October, a headline about a new U.S. strategy to counter Russian propaganda portrays Russia as a violent aggressor, while the West seems defensive and focusing on truth. Another headline shows Ukraine preparing for possible winter attacks on its energy system, which emphasizes both military and civilian vulnerability. On 28 October, the headlines show changes in global politics. The uncertainty towards U.S. aid, due to changes in political leadership, raises concerns about the stability of Ukraine’s support. At the same time, the idea that Russia benefits from the Israel-Gaza conflict suggests it may gain from international distraction, insisting Ukrainian need for global attention. On 29 October, the shooting of a Russian backed official suggests local resistance and instability in occupied areas. On 30 October, a story about Ukrainian boys becoming soldiers shed the light on the human consequence of the war and show Ukrainian fighters as ordinary citizens forced into war, which can inspire both sympathy and national pride.

The headlines from 1 to 7 November highlight again an increasing political and strategic fatigue, both in Ukraine and among its allies. Headlines such as “Grinding to a Stalemate” and “Grim Resignation” use language that shows exhaustion, slow progress, and a

lack of clear outcomes. Domestic issues also appear more prominently. Reports of conflict between President Zelensky and military leaders, along with a criminal investigation, point to internal tensions and a more complex political situation than before. These developments may influence how other countries view Ukraine's stability. However, Ukraine continues to be framed as morally justified in its struggle. Even as some aid is reduced or redirected, headlines like "Russia Damages Art Museum" and "Ukraine Success Isn't Given" present Ukraine as defending not only its territory, but also its cultural identity and values.

2.3. A Comparative Analysis of NYT of Both Conflicts

Between 7 September and 7 November 2023, The New York Times showed a clear difference in its coverage of the Russia–Ukraine war compared to the Israeli–Palestinian conflict. The Russia–Ukraine war appeared in headlines on 84% of the days in this period, meaning it was covered almost every day. This made the war seem an ongoing and urgent issue. The NYT Readers were regularly updated with stories about battles, leaders, and the human cost, which helped keep public attention and sympathy high. In contrast, the Israeli–Palestinian conflict was just covered on 53% of the days and most of that happened after the attacks of the 7 October, when the war escalated. Before that, coverage was nearly silent. In fact, there were many days in the month of September with no headlines at all. This silence marks a pattern, the Palestinians sufferance is rarely considered newsworthy unless something violent and dramatic happens. This creates a sense that the Palestinian conflict is not important unless it explodes into crisis. By covering Ukraine regularly but covering Palestine only during moments of escalation, the news gives readers the impression that Ukraine's struggle matters more and is worthy of more attention. Ukraine's story is told in details, while Palestinian story is treated as an occasional headline. This coverage affects how people understand and receive these two conflicts.

Table 03 . Statistical Comparison between the NYT Headlines of two Conflicts

	Russia-Ukrainian conflict	**Israeli-Palestinian conflict**
Total newspapers from 7 Sep. 2023 to 7 Nov. 2023	62	62
Days with headlines	52 (84%)	33 (53%)
Days without headlines	10 (16%)	29 (47%)
Font	Bold	Bold
Colour	Black	Black

Source: Extracted by the researchers from NYT newspapers from 7 September to 7 November 2023

In *the New York Times* coverage of these stories, both Israel and Ukraine are pictured as innocent victims who are under attack by dangerous enemies. Ukraine is often described as a democratic country defending itself from a powerful and aggressive Russian invasion. Headlines mention "Zelensky's leadership," "Ukraine's strength," and "efforts to resist," showing not just Ukraine pain, but also its brave and moral rightness. Ukrainians are framed as real heroes, nurses, families who are part of a meaningful and heroic struggle. Israel is framed in a similar way, especially after the attacks on 7 October. It is portrayed as a nation struggling and trying to protect itself. Even though Israel responded with heavy airstrikes, a complete siege on Gaza, and military operations that killed thousands of people, including many children, the headlines focused mainly on Israeli hostages, fear, and political decisions. Phrases like "Israel prepares to defend itself" or "Netanyahu vows to crush Hamas" appear often, but rarely do headlines show the full effects of Israel's military actions. The destruction in Gaza is mentioned, but the people responsible of this mass destruction are often left out. Similar to Ukraine, Israel is given space to grieve, organize, and act with dignity, while questions about its military choices are minimized. The result is a clear pattern is that both countries are supported and respected in the coverage, presented as democratic and heroic nations facing terrible threats.

While Israel and Ukraine are portrayed as strong victims, their enemies Russia and Palestine are shown in very different ways. Russia is clearly painted as the bad actor in the Ukrainian war. The paper uses words like “Invasion,” “Missile Strikes,” “Propaganda,” and “War Crimes” to portray Russian actions. President Putin is shown as a distant and authoritarian leader, and the Russian government is blamed for violence and lies. Although the Russian people are not often shown, at least they are understood to be under a harsh regime. Palestine, however, is often treated not even as a real nation. The Headlines often avoid using the word “Palestinians” and instead use “Hamas” even when stories talk about bombings, hospitals destroyed, or the deaths of children. This makes it seem like all Palestinians are part of Hamas, which removes the difference between civilians and fighters. It also ignores the fact that Palestinians have a culture, a history, and political voices outside of violence. Their despair and sorrow are shown, but their voices are not heard. Terms like “Bodies In The Street” “Gaza Bombarded,” or “Hospitals Collapse” pictures clearly what is happening, but not who it is happening to. Readers can imagine the pain, but not the people. While Russians are shown as living under a bad government, Palestinians are often portrayed as being under a villain organization but not a government or a political representation. Their identity is erased, and they only appear as faceless victims or as threats. In the end, both Russia and Palestine are shown as dangerous, but only Russia is treated as a real opponent. Palestinians are often made invisible only seen when dying, and blamed when fighting.

Finally This comparison shows that *The New York Times* constructs two different narratives for the Russia–Ukraine and Israeli–Palestinian conflicts both in frequency of coverage and in the way each side is portrayed. Ukraine and Israel are given the space to be seen as victims and heroes, sovereign nations under attack, responding with strength, dignity, and international support. Their stories are filled with names, emotions, leadership, and strategy. In contrast, Russia and Palestine are framed as threats, Russia through direct

villainization, and Palestine through a more silence of coverage and erasure. The frequent replacement of “Palestinians” with “Hamas” removes political identity and blurs the line between militants and civilians, reducing Palestinians to either faceless victims or dangerous enemies. This framing denies them complexity, voice, and legitimacy. While Russian actions are condemned, the sufferance of Russian civilians is rarely explored; and while Palestinian sufferance is shown, the people themselves are often unnamed and unheard.

To conclude this chapter , the NYT’s coverage does not just inform it builds a moral structure in which Western-aligned nations like Ukraine and Israel are seen as worthy of empathy and defence, while their opponents are cast as problems to be solved or silenced. This imbalance has real consequences as it shapes public perception, reinforces global power dynamics, and influences which lives are seen as fully human. The analysis done in this chapter came with the results of the unbalanced coverage of two parallel conflicts in terms of tone and frequency, posing the question of what are the forces behind mainstream media that shapes the news coverage .This question is going to be answered in the third and final chapter in this research.

Chapter Three

The New York Times and the Propaganda Model

In the previous chapters, the foundation for this research has been laid, first by exploring the origin of the two major conflicts the Israeli–Palestinian conflict and the Russia–Ukraine war. The first Chapter, focused on the historical roots and key turning points in the history of both conflicts, tracing how their development over time and how they became central issues in global politics. In addition it introduces *The New York Times* (NYT) as one of the most influential newspapers in the U.S and in the world, exploring its history, growth, and importance in international media. It also introduced the Propaganda Model, a theory created by Noam Chomsky and Edward Herman, which helps explain how media coverage can be shaped by powerful interests. In the end, the first chapter presents the Discourse analysis in General, and the Critical discourse analysis as one of its types which is going to be used in the second chapter.

In the second Chapter, a set of headlines from *The New York Times* published between September and early November 2023 were collected. These headlines were analysed throughout the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), the analysis emphasized on how language and word choices in the NYT headlines may reveal patterns of bias or imbalance. The headlines were divided into two main parts: the first one for the Israeli–Palestinian conflict and the other for the Russia–Ukraine conflict. Differences in the way each side of both the conflicts were presented such as who was described with emotional language, who was quoted more often, and which actions were emphasized or downplayed. This helped to see how public opinion might be influenced through the headline framing and word choice.

In this chapter, the Propaganda Model will be used to help explain the patterns found in the critical discourse analysis of the NYT's coverage of the Russia-Ukraine and Israeli–Palestinian conflict, especially after October 7, 2023. The Propaganda Model states that news

is not just influenced by facts but also by several hidden powers. These include who owns the media, who funds it through advertising, which sources reporters rely on, how they respond to criticism, and what dominant beliefs guide their thinking. These are called “filters” that shape what news and often push media to support the side of elite groups.

3.1. The Five Filters of the Propaganda Model and the NYT

The five filters of the propaganda model explain how Elite groups influence the flow of information in mainstream media. These filters include ownership, advertising, sourcing, flak, and dominant ideology. Large media corporations are owned by rich individuals or company, which create a profit driven structure that selects what is considered newsworthy “The dominant media firms are quite large businesses; they are controlled by very wealthy people or by managers who are subject to sharp constraints by owners and other market-profit-oriented forces” (Chomsky 14). Advertising, which is the second filter, plays an important role by pushing media to avoid topics that upset funders , since “advertisers will want, more generally, to avoid programs with serious complexities and disturbing controversies that interfere with the ‘buying mood’” (Chomsky17). The sourcing filter which is the third one ,it leads media to rely on government and business elites for information, creating a “symbiotic relationship”(Chomsky18) based on “economic necessity and reciprocity of interest” (Chomsky 18).the fourth filter Flak, its acts by pressuring media to stay within acceptable boundaries “If flak is produced on a large scale, or by individuals or groups with substantial resources, it can be both uncomfortable and costly to the media” (Chomsky 26). The final filter, ideology, such as anti-communism, serves to frame events in ways that support elite interests as Chomsky states “The ideology helps mobilize the populace against an enemy and can be used against anybody who advocating policies that threaten property interests” (29). Together, these filters limit critical perspectives and promote narratives that align with those in power, helping to maintain social and political control.

3.1.1. The First Filter: Ownership

In Herman and Chomsky's Propaganda Model, the first filter; ownership; plays a foundational role in shaping media content. It posits that when a media outlet is part of a large corporate or publicly traded structure, its content will tend to reflect the interests and values of its owners and major financial stakeholders. It states that economic priorities of the media companies create the pressure to avoid controversy that might threaten profitability, credibility, or relationships with influential advertisers and subscribers. In this research comparative analysis of *The New York Times* (NYT) coverage of the Israeli–Palestinian and Russia–Ukrainian conflicts, the ownership filter has a main role in explaining editorial patterns such as the prioritization of official voices, cautious framing of controversial topics, and the differential emotional tone analysed in the critical discourse analysis conducted in the second chapter. The available corporate and financial records, especially the 2023 Annual Report and official company filings, reveal the extent to which NYT operates not just as a journalistic institution, but as a competitive, revenue-driven global media brand.

One of the important parts of *The New York Times* ownership structure is the Ochs-Sulzberger family; they have led the newspaper for more than a century. Although the company is publicly traded, the family maintain control through Class B shares, which are not sold to the public and carry special voting power. These shares allow the family to "elect approximately 70% of the Company's Board of Directors" (The New York Times Company Proxy Statement7) although they own just a small portion of the company's total value. Most of these shares are held in the 1997 Trust, created by the four children of Iphigenia Ochs Sulzberger, the granddaughter of Adolph S. Ochs, who first bought the newspaper in 1896. As the report states, "the1997 trust currently holds 738,810 shares of Class B stock, or more than 90% of the Class B shares outstanding" (7). This gives the family a long-term control over the company's leadership and direction. According to the statement, the trust's goal is to maintain

that the newspaper independence and ethical, promising to keep it “entirely fearless, free of ulterior influence and unselfishly devoted to the public welfare” (7). While this goal sounds noble, the fact that power is held by one family also means that their beliefs and values may have an impact on how the newspaper operates. This research context supports the Propaganda Model point, that media ownership affects editorial decisions. The NYT’s is not only shaped by shareholders or advertisers, but also by a powerful family legacy that continues to shape how stories are told especially in sensitive political conflicts.

The New York Times Company is a publicly traded corporation listed on the New York Stock Exchange, with a dual-class stock structure that allows the Ochs-Sulzberger family through ownership of Class B shares to retain a controlling interest in the company (“The New York Times Company,”2017).This may reveal editorial independence, the broader financial model of the company is driven by commercial growth and market expectations. In its 2023 Annual Report, the company celebrated its highest financial performance “Our digital subscription revenue above $1 billion for the first time… We also recorded our highest adjusted operating profit, earnings per share and free cash flow since we began our digital transformation” (2023 Annual Report 1). These achievements are not only presenting business success, but they represent the newspaper as a highly recognized one. The NYT has more than 10.36 million subscribers around 233 countries and territories, with a clear aim to reach 15 million by 2027 (2023 Annual Report 2). It identified its mission as becoming “the essential digital subscription for every curious, English-speaking person seeking to understand and engage with the world” (2023 Annual Report 2). This shows a strong relation between the NYT’s editorial output and the expectations of a global, mostly Western audience that values authority, liberal democratic ideals, and narratives that are market-friendly. Ownership structure and growth strategy generate an environment where reporting must remain suitable to a large subscriber base, decreasing risk by avoiding content that could provoke backlash,

controversy, or damage to the brand. This tendency is evident in the newspapers coverage of Israel–Palestine, which, as Chapter Two's CDA revealed, was framed more cautiously than its Ukraine reporting, with more passive constructions and an emphasis on official Israeli perspectives.

The NYT's journalistic aim is closely connected with its commercial vision. Products like Games, Cooking, and The Athletic are marketed not simply as journalism but as parts of a "bundle" designed to build long-term consumer loyalty (2023 Annual Report 2). In the company's words, "We believe our best opportunity to build direct, lifelong relationships is when people experience the full breadth of all The Times has to offer" (2023 Annual Report). This model turns journalism into a lifestyle product where consistency, familiarity, and trust are important. NYT Reports avoid the deep criticism, for Examples putting the blame on the Israeli military actions or sympathetic representations of Russian perspectives. This Risks alienating subscribers and undermining the brand's cohesive identity. Furthermore, while the Ochs-Sulzberger family maintains voting control, the financial company structure means that it must satisfy the market expectations. In 2023, the NYT's Class A stock was valued at over $6.3 billion, with 163 million publicly held shares (2023 Annual Report). This level of capital exposure increases the company's sensitivity to public sentiment and financial market fluctuations. Thus, even if direct editorial interference from ownership is rare, the overarching structure incentivizes internalized self-censorship and editorial moderation. As seen in Chapter Two, the NYT's framing of the Ukraine war included more emotionally charged, agency-rich language emphasizing resistance and suffering. In contrast, the coverage of Gaza, especially after October 7, 2023, included more neutral and balanced framing, reflecting the institutional need to remain both "credible" and "safe" to a highly segmented but powerful subscriber base.

The NYT's ownership structure, as revealed in its official governance documents and 2023 financial reporting, shows how corporate priorities can shape journalistic content even without overt bias or censorship. Through its dual-class stock system and shareholder-driven revenue model, the Times functions as both a global newspaper and a media business fighting for influence and financial success. Ultimately, this filter shows that editorial decisions, even in respected outlets like the NYT, are made within a structure of constraints financial, reputational, and institutional that influence how international conflicts are represented to the world.

3.1.2 The Second Filter: Advertising

The second filter in Herman and Chomsky's Propaganda Model is advertising, which functions as a critical economic pressure on media institutions. In the modern media environment, especially for newspaper outlets such *The New York Times*, advertising is not simply a source of financial support ,but a structural power that shapes editorial content, tone, and framing. Advertisers generally search for stable, predictable platforms that go with their brand values, making them less likely to support media that consistently publishes controversial, upsetting, or polarizing stories. As such, media organizations are obliged to avoid stories that may alienate or disturb advertisers or their target audiences. In the context of this research a comparative analysis of NYT coverage of the Israeli–Palestinian and Russia–Ukrainian conflicts is conducted, in which the advertising filter will help to explain why the newspaper tends to use emotionally restrained or sanitized language when covering particularly sensitive aspects of the Israeli–Palestinian conflict, and why coverage of Ukraine tends to align with dominant Western ideological narratives. This structural self-regulation does not occur through direct censorship but through an internalized awareness of what types of stories are considered safe, profitable, and ad-friendly.

The New York Times Company works under a "multi-revenue stream model" in which advertising is considered a key pillar of financial sustainability. According to the Q4 2023 Press Release, the total advertising revenue for the year amounted to $505.2 million, with digital advertising accounting for over 62% of this figure (The New York Times Company Reports Fourth-Quarter and Full-Year 2023 Results). The report notes that digital advertising alone was $107.7 million in the fourth quarter, constituting 65.6% of all ad revenue (4). This high reliance on digital advertising coincides with the company's broader shift to the coverage and lifestyle content, including products like Games, Cooking, and The Athletic. These make from the NYT a safe environment for advertisers, which support brands' desire, social responsibility, and trust. However, this also has an influence on the kind of journalism the NYT is willing to feature prominently. Advertisers generally avoid controversy, especially those related to highly charged political topics. For example Content that highlights civilian casualties in Gaza or presents anti-Israel protests in a sympathetic light could upset advertiser, especially for companies wary of brand association with divisive geopolitical content. In addition, controversial or emotionally stories may be covered with passive language, or placed lower in prominence to reduce potential backlash. This was clear in the CDA conducted in Chapter Two, where the Palestinian sufferance was often reported with less vivid language than Ukraine, and headlines were more likely to use institutional language like "clashes" or "conflict" rather than "attack" or "massacre".

The press release report shows that gaining money from ads affects what news stories are chosen and the way they are presented. Sales and marketing gains increased by 9.4% in Q4 2023, driven by "higher marketing and promotion costs" with media expenses alone rising 20.9% year-over-year (5). These figures show that NYT invests in maintaining a brand image that appeals to both subscribers and advertisers, ensuring its advertising slots remain premium and its content suitable for advertisers. The company executive chief officer explicitly links

editorial output with profitability, stating that “Our market leading news and lifestyle products commanded large and deeply engaged audiences, and our multi-revenue stream model contributed to improving profitability” (4). This remark emphasis the way journalistic product is inseparable from its commercial packaging. For advertisers, controversy is dangerous; for NYT, avoiding that risk often means shape a change in the way certain events are framed. In coverage of the Russia–Ukraine conflict, Western agreement allowed for more emotive language about Russian aggression and higher portrayal for stories of Ukrainian suffering. In contrast, the Israeli–Palestinian war presents a greater risk of alienating advertisers or subscribers aligned with either side. As such, editorial caution becomes part of maintaining a stable advertising base. Even though advertising revenue slightly declined overall in 2023 (down 3.5% from 2022), while the digital ad growth remained essential to the company’s future, emphasizing the need for politically safe, emotional and restrained content especially in polarizing issues like the Israeli–Palestinian war (4).in 15 October a picture that took a whole page which is A5 carried clear words we stand with Israel written in a bold white font and a black background and carried the name of a company , although our research focuses on the headlines only this picture presents a clear image of the type of advertisers and their political stance which affect media (see Appendix B).

The advertising filter remains a powerful force in shaping how The New York Times coverage of global conflicts, including the two conflicts analysed in this research. The financial data and statements in the 2023 Press Release show how the NYT revenue model depends heavily on creating an environment attracts advertisers, one that avoids the appearance of instability or extreme partisanship. This encourages cautious framing, emotional restraint, and editorial balance that may obscure the asymmetric nature of certain conflicts. In the comparative analysis, it becomes clear that advertising contribute to the divergent narratives not through explicit bias, but through a structural tendency to favour

stories that suits the audience and advertiser. By filtering out potential controversy, the NYT preserves its profitability but at the potential cost of clarity and critical depth in reporting.

3.1.3 The Third Filter: Sourcing

The third filter in Herman and Chomsky's Propaganda Model is sourcing. This filter investigates how news organizations depend on official sources governments, military spokespeople, diplomatic officials, and recognized institutions for timely, credible, and accessible information. This dependence result in making media content reflect the worldview and language of those in power, while it marginalise voices, such as civilians in war zones or dissenting political figures, are less presented. In the context of *The New York Times* reporting on the Israeli–Palestinian and Russia–Ukrainian conflicts, the sourcing filter is particularly relevant. Both wars involve intense geopolitical interests and polarized narratives, yet the sourcing choices in NYT headlines especially who is quoted or referenced show a significant imbalance. This part extracts headline data from September to early November 2023 to show how NYT's reliance on official and institutional sources shape the tone and framing of its conflict reporting, particularly privileging U.S., Israeli, and Ukrainian state perspectives.

Through the coverage of the Russia–Ukraine war, *The New York Times* highly cited Ukrainian leaders, Western officials, and U.S. military assessments, reinforcing the narrative centered on Ukraine as a democratic victim of Russian aggression. For example, the 8 September 2023 headline, "Ukraine Insists Cluster Arsenal Keep It in Fight," frames the Ukrainian government's military position through an active voice, reflecting direct access to official statements. Similarly, on 22 September 2023, headlines focused on the U.S. position, such as: "President Tells Zelensky the U.S. Stands with Kyiv" and "Biden Reassures Zelensky the U.S. is 'staying with you' as Calls Grow to Curb Aid." These headlines show clear sourcing from Ukrainian and American leadership, without balancing voices from Russian sources or critiques of U.S. military aid. On 9 September 2023, the headline

“Zelensky Says Russia Is Counting on U.S. Elections to Stop Flow of Aid to Ukraine” again focuses Ukrainian official discourse. This pattern aligns with the sourcing filter, to gain access and remain competitive; journalists rely on trusted, institutional contacts meaning that Ukrainian and U.S. voices dominate the narrative, while alternative sources, including Russian civilians or anti-war activists, are largely invisible. While this dependence may be logistically justified during wartime, it also emphasises a binary worldview that frames the conflict primarily through the perspectives of NATO-aligned states.

The imbalance in sourcing becomes clearer when examining NYT coverage of the Israeli–Palestinian conflict, especially after Hamas attacks on 7 October 2023.in the period following the attacks, the coverage adopted Israeli official perspectives. For instance, the 9 October 2023 headlines include “Israel and Hamas Battle in Gaza as Netanyahu Warns of a Long War” and “Caught off Guard, Israel Fights Back.” These headlines place Israeli leaders and military actions at the centre, while the Palestinian side is marginalized and only mentioned through collective terms like “Hamas” or “militants”. Despite the fact that Palestinian civilians were affected by the events, their voices were often absent from the headlines and only indirectly referenced in passive constructions. For example, on 11 October 2023, the headline “With Nowhere to Hide, Gazans Issue a Plea: ‘At Least Warn Us’” provides one of the few examples where Palestinian civilians appear directly, but even here, the broader narrative is shaped by Israeli military action and government responses. On 13 October 2023, “Netanyahu Vows to Crush Foe” again increase Israeli leadership, while Palestinian perspectives are absent. Even coverage of humanitarian crises in Gaza like “300,000 Left Homeless in Gaza as Food, Water, and Fuel Run Low” (13 Oct. 2023) does not include local voices or names. Instead, Palestinians are framed as subjects of broader geopolitical consequences. This sourcing imbalance shows how The New York Times, limited by institutional access and the reputational authority of state actors, ends up

amplifying voices from Israeli and U.S. governments while avoiding Palestinian sources, especially non-militant ones. In contrast to the emotional portrayals of Ukrainian leaders and citizens, Palestinians are more often rendered voiceless or associated primarily with violence and conflict.

The sourcing filter reveals how *The New York Times* dependence on official and elite sources especially from Israel, Ukraine, and the United States shaped its coverage of both conflicts in a way that reinforce dominant geopolitical narratives. While Ukrainian officials were consistently quoted and framed as defenders of democratic values, Palestinian voices, particularly civilians and non-militant sources, were largely missing or overshadowed by Israeli official discourse. This imbalance aligns with the expectations of the sourcing filter: media outlets, constrained by access, time, and perceived credibility, default to voices from powerful institutions. In the case of NYT, this filter contributed to the disparity in how agency, victimhood, and moral clarity were distributed across its coverage of the Russia–Ukraine and Israeli–Palestinian conflicts. When viewed alongside the CDA results in Chapter Two, the sourcing patterns further support the idea that structural pressures not necessarily ideological intent drives editorial asymmetries in mainstream Western journalism.

3.1.4. The Fourth Filter: Flak

The “flak” filter is one of five ideas in Herman and Chomsky’s propaganda model. Flak means the criticism, complaints, or pressure that powerful groups use to shape what the media brings to the four. Newspapers and TV stations may be attacked through angry letters, loss of advertising, or political threats if they publish something unpopular with elites. *The New York Times*, one of the most prominent newspapers in the United States, has often responded to this kind of pressure.

During World War II, *The New York Times* newspaper did not give much attention to the Holocaust. In Buried by the Times, Laurel Leff states that the newspaper had lots of

information about the killing of Jews in Europe, but it chose to hide those stories deep inside the paper. She wrote that Arthur Hays Sulzberger, the publisher of the Times, did not want the newspaper to seem like it was focused on Jewish problems, although he was a Jewish himself. He told the editors that "the Semitic question should be avoided" (Leff 236). As a result, even when the Jewish leaders sent desperate messages to the world, such the one in 1944 saying, "perhaps our last voice from the abyss," the Times printed it on page four, where few people would see it (Leff 1). Leff suggests that this was not because of the lack of facts, but because of fear and pressure "a failure of mind" (quoted in buried by the times 4). The Times did not want to go against the elite groups or to appear focusing on Jewish suffering, so it kept emphasising on maintaining important news out of sight. This shows how the fear of being criticized flak can lead a newspaper to hide the truth, even when that truth is about something as serious as genocide.

Another example comes from how the Times coverage of the Russian Revolution from 1917 to 1920. In A Test of the News, Walter Lippmann and Charles Merz analgised at three years of *the New York Times* articles and found that the newspaper made the revolution appear that it was failing, even when it was not. They state that the news "is a case of seeing not what was, but what men wished to see" (Lippmann and Merz 5). *The New York Times* supported the leaders who wanted to fight the new Soviet government and gave fake hope those anti-Soviet generals were winning. This made from readers believe that the Soviets were not strong, although they stayed in power. The reporters relayed on elite sources like government officials and diplomats who wanted the failure for Soviets. The newspaper framed its narrative to match the views of elite groups.

The lasting impact of The Jayson Blair scandal is one of the clearest examples of how flak influences editorial behaviour at *The New York Times*. In the year 2003, Blair was exposed for plagiarism and fabrication, leading to what was called by the Times itself called

"a profound betrayal of trust and a low point in the 152-year history of the newspaper" (Mnookin 25). This scandal had deeply affected the newspaper's editorial structure and culture. Arthur Sulzberger the publisher responded by adding several new oversight positions, such as a standards editor and public editor, in order to restore credibility and prevent future problems "Sulzberger agreed to fund several new senior-level positions that were designed to shore up the Times' standards and improve its training" (Mnookin 29). This institutional response represent what Herman and Chomsky call flak, which is the organized, damaging criticism that oblige media to self-censor or act carefully in future coverage. Since then, The NYT has used what is called by Mnookin "a prosecutorial zeal" in policing its own content (27), which explains its cautious tone in covering sensitive topics like the Israeli–Palestinian conflict. In the October 2023 the headlines on Gaza war such as "Caught off Guard, Israel Fights Back" (9 Oct. 2023) and "Israeli Strikes Level Neighbourhoods" (13 Oct. 2023) shows a preference for the use of passive voice and balanced portrayal, avoiding emotionally charged language that may provoke criticism. In contrast, the NYT coverage of the Russia–Ukraine war, which aligned more closely with Western ideological narratives and faced less criticism, contained more direct and assertive coverage such as "President Tells Zelensky the U.S. Stands with Kyiv" (22 Sept. 2023). This contrast emphasise the idea that flak, both historical and ongoing, shapes both the way stories are reported and how media institutions protect themselves from reputational damage.

These examples demonstrate that *The New York Times*, as many big media companies, changes how it covers the news to avoid criticism. Sometimes the pressure comes from governments or powerful groups and sometimes from the fear of losing respect or readers. Whether hiding the Holocaust, reporting wrongly on Russia, or ignoring a dishonest reporter, the Times made choices that protected its image rather than telling the full truth. This is what the flak filter does: it pushes the media to avoid upsetting powerful people, even if that means

the public doesn't get the facts. The flak filter helps explain why even trusted news sources sometimes fail to report fairly and fully.

3.2.5 The Fifth Filter: Ideology

The fifth and final filter in Herman and Chomsky's Propaganda Model is ideology the system of dominant beliefs that guide and justify media narratives. Originally framed as "anti-communism," this filter helped explain how Cold War media framed capitalist countries as rational and peaceful, while communist states were depicted as aggressive and illegitimate. However, since the fall of the Soviet Union, anti-communism no longer serves as the primary ideological tool for legitimizing U.S. foreign policy. In its place, a more diffuse but deeply rooted ideology has emerged which is Russophobia that means the irrational fear or hostility toward Russia. As Glenn Dinesen states, "Russophobia refers solely to the irrational fear of Russia and Russians," (2) shaped by centuries of East–West civilizational narratives and amplified by Western media in the post-Soviet era .In addition Islamophobia as a second ideology to interpret the coverage of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

Today the ideological coverage of Russia in Western media continues a long tradition of presenting the country as the "Other," but now without the formal opposition of communism. Instead, as Diesen suggests, the media relies on "binary identities and stereotypes" (4) to maintain "a great binary struggle"(2) where Russia is "inherently a threat,"(2) and the West is "a source of democracy and human rights" (Diesen 8). This allows for negative framing of Russia, regardless of its actions. In *The New York Times,* headlines consistently show this ideological division. For example, in CDA of made in the second chapter the use of frequent active and forceful verbs to describe Russian actions "Russian Strikes Kill," "Russia Targets Civilian Areas" while Ukrainian or Western responses are framed as defensive or humanitarian. According to the CDA results, such language is not accidental; it goes with Diesen's claim that "anything the public hears about Russia is

consistently bad and framed as the opposite of the West" (4). Even after the Cold War, Russia is kept being presented not as a state, but as an opposing civilization to Western values. This ideological affects the credibility and blame the Western allies like Ukraine are treated as moral, while Russia's actions even when defensive are pre-portrayed as expansionist. Thus, the ideology filter helps explain why NYT coverage of Ukraine aligns strongly with U.S. foreign policy interests, focusing on Western identity through the demonization of Russia, not unlike the Cold War-era media's treatment of the Soviet Union.

In other hand the coverage of the Israeli–Palestinian conflict in *The New York Times,* as analysed through Critical Discourse Analysis, shows a frequency consistent with the ideological filter of Islamophobia. The pattern showed in the portrayal of Palestinians either as perpetrators of violence or as victims, with a limited voice or identity, this reflects what Saeed calls as the portrayal of Muslims as the "alien within" Western society (Saeed 444). Headlines like "Palestinian Militants Stage Attack on Israel" frame Palestinians primarily through a security lens, while coverage of the humanitarian crisis in Gaza often omits clear framing of who is responsible of this crisis. This representation goes with the broader fact that Western media tends to portray Muslims as culturally incompatible with Western values, emphasizing narratives of otherness and deviance (Saeed 458). According to Saeed these portrayals are not isolated but they are part of a long media tradition influenced by Orientalist discourses, which generate a dichotomy between a rational, civilized West and a violent, irrational East (448). In addition although pictures are out of the scope a clear message is revealed through a letter to President Biden by the president of the World Jewish congress to thank him for his support to Israel, this letter supports strongly that Ideology and elite forces shape media framing (see appendix C)

The difference in in the way both Ukrainian and Palestinian conflicts experiences are framed is in the way Ukraine is portrayed with political agency, emotional language , and

moral clarity, while the Palestinians are largely presented in simplified terms, this suggests the influence of cultural ideologies on editorial decisions. As Hall asserts, media representations play a central role in shaping public understanding by determining "what and who gets represented, who and who routinely gets left out" (quoted. in Saeed 449).however , the disparity in representation may reflect not only editorial choices but also deeper ideological assumptions embedded within mainstream media discourse.

Each of the five filters of the Propaganda Model ownership, advertising, sourcing, flak, and ideology was applied to *The New York Times* (NYT) coverage of the Russia–Ukraine and Israeli–Palestinian conflicts. The ownership filter presented how the paper's structure, controlled by the Ochs-Sulzberger family and driven by financial goals, affects and select what is published. The advertising filter showed that the NYT avoided controversial content to maintain a safe space for advertisers, especially in its coverage of the Israeli–Palestinian conflict. The sourcing filter in other hand, proved the over reliance of the NYT newspaper on official sources mostly from Israel, Ukraine, and the U.S. while largely marginalizing the Palestinian and Russian civilian voices. The flak filter explained how the fears of criticism control the newspaper to be cautious and moderate, especially with sensitive topics. Finally, the ideology filter presented that ideologues like Russophobia and Islamophobia influence the framing of events, often serving Western allies in a more positive light and others more negatively.

To conclude this chapter, the Propaganda Model application on *The New York Times* resulted that its coverage was shaped not only by facts, but also by pressures that come from its financial needs, ownership, source access, fear of criticism, and cultural beliefs. When all these filters work together, they create a news coverage that suits and favour powerful groups and downplay or exclude other perspectives. This explains the reason behind the language used in NYT headlines, as seen in Chapter Two, how it is emotionally charged and

sympathetic toward Ukraine, while coverage of Palestinians is neutral and distant. The findings show that even respected media can be influenced in ways that affect fairness and balance in how conflicts are represented.

Conclusion

In This study a critical approach has been used to examine how *The New York Times* presented two major conflicts the Israeli-Palestinian and the Russia-Ukraine wars before and after October 7, 2023. By analysing headlines through tools such Critical Discourse Analysis and the Propaganda Model, the research explored how language, focus, and framing may reflect deeper patterns in media coverage. The goal was to understand whether both conflicts were reported in the same way or if one received more attention or emotional framing than the other. Through this analysis, the study aimed to highlight how news narratives can shape public understanding during times of war.

This research is divided into three chapters each chapter plays a vital role in this study. The first chapter introduces the two conflicts which are the focus of this research. It gives a clear historical background for both, showing how complex and long-lasting these conflicts are. It also explains the reason behind choosing *The New York Times* as a case study, as it is one of the most influential newspapers in the world. To guide the analysis, two important tools are introduced: Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), which looks at how language reflects power, and the Propaganda Model by Herman and Chomsky, which explains how media can serve the interests of powerful groups. By the end of this chapter, a solid foundation is set for analysing how these conflicts are reported in the media.

Chapter Two builds on this foundation by analysing how *The New York Times* covered each conflict before and after October 7, 2023. Through a careful look at headlines, the chapter shows how language, tone, and focus change depending on the conflict and the timing. The analysis finds that the Russia–Ukraine war was reported more consistently and in a way that highlighted Ukrainian strength, leadership, and suffering. In contrast, the Israeli–Palestinian conflict received much less attention, especially before October 7. When it was covered, Palestinian voices were often shown only through humanitarian crises, not through

political or national identity. This chapter reveals a clear imbalance in how the newspaper treated the two conflicts, suggesting the presence of selective reporting and possible bias.

Finally, Chapter Three brings everything together by comparing the findings from both conflicts. It confirms that *The New York Times* gave more steady and focused attention to Ukraine, while Palestine was often overlooked unless major violence occurred. Israel was usually portrayed as organized and strategic, while Palestinians were mostly shown as helpless victims. These differences in framing support the main argument of the study that media coverage can be shaped by political influence and underlying ideologies. The chapter ends by emphasizing the importance of media awareness and the need for more balanced and fair reporting in times of conflict.

The analysis in Chapters Two and Three clearly shows that *The New York Times* applied different editorial approaches when covering the Russia–Ukraine and Israeli–Palestinian conflicts. Chapter Two revealed that Ukraine received consistent, emotionally supportive coverage that emphasized national resilience, leadership, and moral legitimacy. In contrast, the Israeli–Palestinian conflict was mostly absent from the headlines before October 7, 2023, and only received strong attention when violence escalated. Even then, Israel was framed as a rational and organized state actor, while Palestinians were largely represented through images of suffering, with little political voice or agency. Chapter Three confirmed these findings by comparing the two conflicts directly. It showed that *The New York Times* prioritized one conflict over the other, shaped by patterns of selective language, emotional framing, and source dependence. Together, these chapters demonstrate that media representation is not neutral but reflects underlying political and ideological positions.

This study also addresses a clear research gap by rethinking the ideological filter in Herman and Chomsky's Propaganda Model. While the original model focuses on anti-communism as the dominant ideological filter, our research recognizes that in today's media

landscape, this has evolved. Since the Cold War has ended, we replaced the out dated anti-communist lens with two more relevant ideologies: Russophobia and Islamophobia. These ideologies played a significant role in shaping how each conflict was portrayed. In addition, our study contributes to the field by introducing a comparative timeline analysis examining *The New York Times* coverage one month before and one month after October 7, 2023. We also combine this with a dual-framework approach, applying both Critical Discourse Analysis and the updated Propaganda Model. These choices make our work unique in scope and method, offering a more current and nuanced understanding of how modern media filters conflict narratives.

Although this study offers meaningful insights into media representation of conflict, it is important to acknowledge certain limitations. One of the main challenges was time. The research was originally expected to be completed within six months, but the data collection process took longer than planned due to difficulties in accessing complete newspaper archives. While the aim was to analyse all relevant headlines, approximately 5% of the newspapers were not available, and the analysis was conducted on about 95% of the data. In addition, access to some academic sources proved difficult, especially those hosted on paid platforms or subscription-based databases. As a result, the range of secondary literature was somewhat limited to freely available or institutionally accessible materials. Despite these constraints, the core objectives of the research were achieved, and the findings remain valid within the scope of the available data.

Future research could take this study further by exploring how algorithmic visibility shapes media bias across different platforms. While this dissertation focused on headline framing in a traditional newspaper, future scholars might examine how *The New York Times* headlines are presented and amplified across social media algorithms, such as on Google News, X (formerly Twitter), Facebook, or TikTok. This would allow researchers to track not

only what is written, but also what is prioritized or muted by algorithmic systems. Additionally, future studies could compare cross-linguistic media bias by analysing the same conflict as covered by *The New York Times* in English and how it is reported or translated in Arabic, Russian, or Hebrew editions (where available). This multilingual, multimodal discourse approach would offer a deeper understanding of how ideology and framing shift across languages and audiences. Another original direction would be to explore AI-generated news content and how such tools might reinforce or challenge traditional ideological filters. As AI becomes more involved in content production, its potential to replicate or disrupt media bias deserves critical attention.

This dissertation has demonstrated that media discourse, particularly in conflict reporting, is shaped by complex layers of language, ideology, and institutional influence. By examining *The New York Times* through the frameworks of Critical Discourse Analysis and the Propaganda Model, this study has shown how certain narratives are foregrounded while others are minimized or omitted. These patterns are not accidental; they reflect broader structures of power, editorial priorities, and socio-political alignments. As media continues to evolve in the digital age, it is crucial for researchers to critically assess how language choices and ideological filters inform public understanding of global conflicts. The findings of this study highlight the ongoing need for rigorous, comparative, and transparent media analysis particularly in times of heightened political tension so that representations of conflict remain accountable to facts rather than frameworks of selective visibility.

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Appendices

Appendix A NYT headlines of Russia-Ukrainian and Israeli-Palestinian conflict before and after 7 October 2023

Date	Russia-Ukraine headlines	Israeli-
7 Sept 2023	➢ No Headlines	➢ No Headlines
8 Sept 2023	➢ Ukraine Insists Cluster Arsenal Keep It In Fight (Front Page (Fp) By Lara Jaks And Erick Schmitt) ➢ Ukraine Strike Jolts Munitions From U.S Keep It In Fight (Lara Jaks And Erick Schmitt A6) ➢ Drone Strike Jolts Home Of Russian Military Base (Marc Santora A6) ➢ Ukraine Limited Incursions May Be Taking A Tole On A Foe(Marc Santora A6) ➢ Slovakia Vote Will Test Its Unity Over Ukraine(Andrew Higgins A7)	➢ Palestinian Leader Makes Anti-Semitic Comments (Patric Kingsley A10)
9 Sept 2023	➢ Russian Strike Prompts Us To Expend F16 Patrols Over Russia(Lara Jakes A7) ➢ Russian Missiles Blast Home Town Of Zelensky.(Victoria Kim A7 ➢ Zelensky Says Russia Is Counting On Us Elections To Stop Flow Of Aid To Ukraine(Andrew E.Kramer 7)	➢ No Headlines
10 Sept 2023	➢ Prigozhin's Death Sets Off A Scramble For His Empire (Anton Troianovski, Declan Wlash, Eric Shemitt, Vivian Yee And Julian E. Barnes Fp) ➢ With Ties To Kyiv Pentagon Cash, Arms Dealer Finds Fortune.(Justin Scheck And Thomas Gibbons-Neff A8) ➢ Corruption Is Being Tested.(Justin Scheck And Thomas Gibbons-Neff A8) ➢ Prigozhin's Death Sets Off A Scramble For His Parliamentary And Media Empire.(Anton	➢ Pulling At The Thread Of Palestinian Identity(Raja Abulrahim A6)

	Troianovski, Declan Wlash, Eric Shemitt, Vivian Yee And Julian E. Barnes A10)	
11 Sept 2023	➢ Experts Says Torture Is Endorsed In Moscow.(Carlotta Gall A9) ➢ Russia Targets Kyiv With Barrage Of Drones.(Costant Méheut A9) ➢ A Campaign To Destroy Infrastructure Demoralize Residents.(Costant Méheut A9)	➢ No Headlines
12 Sept 2023	➢ Some In Gop Oppose Ukraine Aid Even As Districts Benefit.(Karoun Demirjian A13)	➢ No Headlines
13 Sept 2023	➢ Unrelenting Battles Along A 1.000-Mile Front (Mark Senator A6) ➢ Putin Denounces “Persecution Of Trump” And Calls Musk Outstanding.(Pull Sonne And Michel C.Bender A7)	➢ Israelis Feeling Pain Of Discord In Daily Lives(Patrick Kingley Fp) ➢ Israelis Fell The Pain Of Discord In Their Day-To-Day Lives.(Patrick Kingley A9) ➢ Americans Are Joining Israeli Protests Against Judicial Changes(Marc Tracy A10) ➢ Israeli Supreme Court Begins Considering Maw To Curb Its Power.(Patrick Kingley A11)
14 Sept 2023	➢ Defying West, Russia Extends Missile Arsenal (Julian E.Barnes, Eric Schemit And Thomas Gibbons-Neff Front Page Only)	➢ No Headlines
15 Sept 2023	➢ Koreas Aiding Ukraine War. (Choe Sang.Hun Fp) ➢ U.S And Russia Tap Koreas For Arms In Ukraine (Choe Sang.Hun A11) ➢ Biden Creates Role To Buoy Investment In Ukraine.(Michael Crowley A11) ➢ Ukraine Intensifies Attacks On Russia In Cremia And Black Sea.(Marc Sanatora A11)	➢ No Headlines
16 Sept 2023	➢ Kim's Of Russia Escalated Concerns About Axis Authoritarian.(Paul Sonne A5)	➢ No Headlines
17 Sept 2023	➢ 3 Countries Ban Ukrainian Grain, Defying E.U.(Mike Ives A6) ➢ Russia Displays Arsenal To North Korea’s Leader.(Choe Sang.Hun A6)	➢ No Headlines
18 Sept 2023	➢ Ukraine Still Hosts Hasidim’s	➢ No Headlines

	Party Of The Year.(Jelefy Gettleman Fp) ➢ Finnish Leader Warns Europe About Russia.(Steven Erlanger A8) ➢ Ukraine Claims Second Village In Three Days.(Matthrew Mpoke Bigg A8)	
19 Sept 2023	➢ Change In Tone To Accompany Zelensky's Visit.(Andrew E.Kremer Fp) ➢ Biden Plans To Use U.N Speech To Urge Nations To Nurture Democracy.(Michael D. Shear And Peter Blanker A8) ➢ Zelensky's Visit To Us Will Be Accompanied By A Change In Tone.(Andrew E.Kremer A8) ➢ Ukraine Fires Its Defence Ministry Staff A Head Of Talks In The U.S To Shore Up Wartime Aid.(Matthew Mpoke Bigg A8) ➢ In Moscow, The War Is Background Noise And Yet Ever-Present.(Andrew E.Kremer A9)	➢ Netanyahu And Musk Use Social Media Chat To Deflect Criticisms(Patrick- Kingsley Fp)
20 Sept 2023	➢ Biden Urges Global Unity In Sticking Up For Ukraine.(Micheal D.Shear And Peter Baker Fp)	➢ No Headlines
21 Sept 2023	➢ Ukraine Implores U.N To Get Tough(Patrick.Kingstey And Michal D.Shear Fp) ➢ Zelensky Implores U.N. To Revoke Russia's Veto Power.(Patrick.Kingstey And Michal D.Shear A10) ➢ Cargo Ship Is Damaged In Explosion Off Romania (Costant Méheut A10) ➢ Mccarthy Declines To Allow Ukraine Leader To Address House.(Karoun Demirjian A10)	➢ Biden, In Meeting With Netanyahu, Spotlights Unity.(Patric Kingsley And Michael D.Shear Fp) ➢ Biden And Netanyahu Emphasize U.S. Israeli Unity On Curbing Iran(Patric Kingsley And Michael D.Shear A8)
22 Sept 2023	➢ President Tells Zelensky The U.S Stands With Kyiv.(Erika. Green And Katie Rogers Fp) ➢ Despite Putin Boast, His War Distracts Russia From Friend's Fight.(Erika. Green And Katie	➢ No Headlines

	Rogers A10) ➢ Biden Reassures Zelensky The U.S Is Staying With You' As Calls Grow To Curb Aid. (Erika. Green And Katie Rogers A10)	
23 Sept 2023	➢ Zelensky's Visit It Reveals Strategy Divide Between Ukraine And U.S(Helene Cooperand And Julian E.Barnes A8) ➢ Russia Guilty Of Genocide, Zelensky Says To Canadians(Ian.Austen A8) ➢ Armoured Vehicles Breach Russian Defences In South East(Andrew E.Kramer A8)	➢ No Headlines
24 Sept 2023	➢ Kyiv Targets Crimea Sites For 2nd Time In Two Days (COSTANT MÉHEUT A9) ➢ Artillery Delivery Is Easier Said Than Done (LARA JAKES A9) ➢ Kyiv's Budgets Drones Prove Their Value In A Billion- Dollar War(ANDREW E.KRAMER A10)	➢ No Headlines
25 Sept 2023	➢ Amid Black Sea Threats. Ukraine Steps Up Use Of New Shipping Route.(Matthew Mpoke Bigg A5) ➢ U.S Army Hospital In Germany Quietly Aids Americans Fighting For Ukraine.(Apoorva Mandavilli A5)	➢ No Headlines
26 Sept 2023	➢ Aid For Ukraine Stackes2 U.S Feud Over The Budget (Carl Hulse And Catie Ednondson Fp) ➢ Finland Finds Being In Nato Is Complicated (Steven Erlanger Fp) ➢ Ukraine Says It Killed Leader Of Black Sea Fleet(Matthew Mpoke Bigg And Andrew E.Kramer Fp) ➢ Ukraine Says It Killed The Admiral Who Led The Black Sea Fleet(Matthew Mpoke Bigg And Andrew E.Kramer A8) ➢ After Joining Quickly. Finland Finds Being In Nato Is Complicated.(Steven Erlanger A8)	➢ No Headlines
27 Sept 2023	➢ Yearning For A Life At Sea,	➢ No Headlines

	Young Ukrainians Stare Into A Void. (Marc Santora A4) ➢ Death Of Russian Admiral Is Questioned After Moscow Releases Video.(Matthew Mpoke Big, Andrew E.Kramer, Valeriya Safronova And Eric Nagourney A6) ➢ Five In Britain Charged With Spying For Russia.(Steven Castle A6)	
28 Sept 2023	➢ New Corridor In Black Sea Signals Might.(Constant Meheut A8) ➢ For Two Hours, A Circus Brings Black The Joys Of Peacetime. (Diego Ibraa Sancez A8) ➢ Russia Releases New Video Of Admiral Ukraine Claims To Have Killed. (Valeriya Sanfronova And Oleg Matsnev A8)	➢ Visits Symbolize Fast-Warming Saudi-Israeli Ties(Patrick Kingsley A10)
29 Sept 2023	➢ Ukraine And Russia Make Cases At The Hague (Marlise Simons A6) ➢ Clawing For Every Mile As A 19_Month War Inches Along(Josh Holder A6)	➢ No Headlines
30 Sept 2023	➢ Russians Left City A Year Ago, But A Feeling Of Total Fear Has Yet To Fade.(Emma Bubola A8) ➢ Vote To Partly Life Soccer Ban On Russia Draws Anger. (Tareq Tanja A9) ➢ Putin Asks Ex-Executive From Wanger To Join Fight. (Neil Mac Fartuhr A9) ➢ Kyiv Convenes Conference To Promote Arms Industry.(Andrew E.Kramer A9)	➢ No Headlines
01 Oct 2023	➢ Day Of The Sung Ukrainian Sniper: Hiding And Waiting To Shoot. (Thomas Gibbons-Neff And Natalia Yermak A14) ➢ With A Populist Favoured, Slovakia's Election Could Reverberate In Ukraine. (Emma Bubola A14) ➢ Russia Attacks Region It Considers Its Own (Matthew	➢ In Region Of Conflict , Model For Peace (Most Of The Time)(Hiba Yazbek A4)

	Mpoke Big A15) ➢ For Detained Reporter's Family An Agonizing Wait(Anushka Patil A15)	
02 Oct 2023	➢ China Wields Hidden Power In A War Of Drones(Paul Mozur And Valerie Hopkin A8) ➢ Omitted From Budget Deal, Ukraine Is Confident Of Aid. (Matthew Mpoke Bigg A9)	➢ No Headlines
03 Oct 2023	➢ The Next Target In Putin's War: U.S. Support For Ukraine, Officials Say.(Julian E. Barnes A6) ➢ Slovakia's Election Hints At Stains Among Allies.(Roger Cohen A6) ➢ To Show Support, Eu Ministers Met In Kyiv.(Monika Pronczuk A6)	➢ With Fear And Sheep Settlers Run Off West Bank Herders(Patrick Kingsley Hiba Yazbek And Gabby Sodelman A4)
04 Oct 2023	➢ A Small Town Signals Germans Unease With Arming Ukraine.(Catie Edmondson And E.Katrina Bodygina A4) ➢ Russia Fights Advances With Defence That's Elastic.(Matthew Mpoke Big A6) ➢ Preventing Ukrainian Troops From Securing A New Position. (Matthew Mpoke Big A6)	➢ No Headlines
05 Oct 2023	➢ Ukraine Has Gained Ground(Thomas Gibbons- Neef And Lauren Lea Therby A12) ➢ But It Has Much Farther To Go (Thomas Gibbons- Neef And Lauren Lea Therby A12) ➢ U.N Says It Has Evidence Russia Executed More P.O.W.S(Matthew Mpoke Big 12) ➢ Ex-Russia State Tv Journalist Gets Long Sentence For Protest((Valeriya Safronova A12) ➢ In Finland, Self Defence Is Everyone's Concern(Steven Erlanger A13)	➢ No Headlines
06 Oct 2023	➢ 51 Ukrainians Killed At Wake In Tiny Village(Andrew E. Kramer David Gullenfuder And Eric	➢ Democrats Tell Biden Saudi-Israeli Pact Needs Pledges For Palestinians. (Raja Abdelrahim

	Nagourney Fp) ➢ Gop Resistance To Aid In Ukraine Expands In House.(Karaton Demirjian Fp) ➢ Putin Claims Russia Has Tested Nuclear Missile(Riley Millen A6) ➢ Possible Wartime Vote Is Apolitical Hot Potato.(Andrew E. Kramer A6) ➢ 51 Ukrainians Killed At Wake In Tiny Town.(Andrew E. Kramer David Gullenfuder And Eric Nagourney A7) ➢ Slovakia Puts Hold On Military Aid After Political Party Friendly To Russia Wins Election.(Constant Méheut) ➢ Opposition To Aid For Ukraine Becomes Litmus Test For House G.O.P.(Karaton Demirjian A8)	And Hwaida Saad A10)
07 Oct 2023	➢ Billions Of Dollars In Aid And When It Might End.(Michal Growley A9) ➢ In An Instant Every Body Died From A Missile.(Andrew E. Kramer And Maria Varenikova A9) ➢ With U.S Announcement Expected Soon Pressure Builds On Germany To Send Missile To Ukraine.(Lara Jakes And Christopher F. Schuetze A9)	➢ No Headlines
08 Oct 2023	➢ Putin Is Content To Let Others Issue Threats. (Paul Sonne And David E. Sanger A8	➢ Palestinian Militants Stage Attack On Israel.(Patrick Kingasley And Isabel Kershner Fp) ➢ The Children Were Terrified:' Blasts And Gunman At The Door.(Isabel Kershner And Raja Abdelrahim Fp) ➢ As Netanyahu Speaks Of War, The Question Is What Then. (Steven Erlanger Fp) ➢ Palestinian Militants Launch A Coordinated Assault On Israel(Patrick Kingasley And Isabel Kershner A12) ➢ Children Were Terrified: 'Families Flee Airstrikes Or Hide From Gunmen(Isabel Kershner

		And Raja Abdelrahim A13)
09 Oct 2023	➢ "All My Relatives Are Dead": Grief And Fresh Graves In A Tiny Village(Andrew E. Kramer And Maria Varenikova A9)	➢ Caught Off Guard ,Israel Fights Back(Julian E.Barner David E.Sanger Fp) ➢ Israel And Hamas Battle In Gaza As Netanyahu Warns Of A Long War(Isabel Kershner And Patrick Kingsley A6) ➢ After Intelligence Failures, Israel Fights Back(Julian E.Barner David E.Sanger A6) ➢ Shaken To The Core, Israelis Have Questions(Roger Cohen A7) ➢ At A Dance And A Kibbutz, Attackers Slipped In And Unleashed Horror.(Patrick Kingsley Aron Boxermrn And Gabby Soblmen A8) ➢ Warned To Get Out Of Gaza, But Having Nowhere To Go (Raja Abdulrahim A8) ➢ U.S Military Aid On The Way To Israel, With More Coming(Micheal D.Shear A8)
10 Oct 2023	➢ 'The Same Evil': Zelensky Compares Attack On Israel To Russia's Invasion.(Matthew Mpoke Big A11) ➢ Russia Economy Now Puts War Above All Else.(Patrica Cohen A11)	➢ Israel Orders Siege; Hamas Issues Threats(Isabel Kershiner, Aaron Boxerman And Hiba Yazbek Fp) ➢ A Once Pragmatic Approach To Hamas Ends In An Instant (Steven Erlanger Fp) ➢ Governments Once-Pragmatic Approach To Hamas Ends In An Instant.(Steven Erlanger A8) ➢ Kidnappings Leave Israelis With Dread. (Patrick Kingsley Andaaron Boxerman A9) ➢ U.S Pushes Closer Ties For Saudis And Israelis(Edward Wonay, Mark Mazzetti And Viviion Nereim A10) ➢ Across Region, Support Surges For Palestinians(Viviion Nereim A10) ➢ 'The Same Evil ':Zelensky Compares Attack On Israel To Russia's Invasion(Matthew Mpoke Big A11)
11 Oct 2023	➢ Russia Fails To Re-Join U.N Human Rights Council. (Costant	➢ Israel Takes Back Towns Preparing To Go On

	Méheut A9) ➢ Zelensky Says Gaza War Further Russian Aims(Matthew Mpoke Big A10)	Offense(Peter Baker Fp) ➢ In Rows Of Tidy Houses, Carnage In A Kibbutz At Gaza's Doorstep(Isabel Kershner Fp) ➢ Gazans With Nowhere To Hide Issue A Plea: At Least Warn Us(Raja Abdulrahim And Meera Harouda Fp) ➢ Once An Ally Of Israel, Putin Goes Silent(Anaton Troianovski A10) ➢ Rallying Behind Israel, U.S Leaders Show Rare Unity, At Least For Now. (Peter Baker A11) ➢ House Turmoil Complicates Aid Promises(Karoun Demirjian A11) ➢ After The Armed Conflict Is Over, Netanyahu Will Fight For His Name(Steven Erlanger A12) ➢ In Rows Of Tidy Houses, Scenes Of Carnage In A Kibbutz At Gaza's Doorstep(Isabel Kershner A12) ➢ With Nowhere To Hide, Azans Issue A Plea: ‘At Least Warn Us'(Raja Abdulrahim And Meera Harouda A13) ➢ Israel Regains Control Of Towns From Fighters(Isabel Kershiner, Aaron Boxerman A13)
12 Oct 2023	➢ Zelensky Urges Nato Ministers To Maintain Assistance To Ukraine(Lara Jakes And Constant Méheut A14) ➢ Russians Stepping Up Attacks Near Key Towns(Constant Méheut And Andrew E. Kramer A14)	➢ Israel Assembles A Unity Coalition To Steer The War(Ronem Bergman And Patrick Kingsley Fp) ➢ Bombarding Gaza, Israel Forms Unity Government To Navigate War(Hiba Yazbek Nicholas Casey And Patrick Kings Ley A8) ➢ Rescuers In Gaza Are Struggling To Pull People From The Rubble(Raja Abdulrahim A8) ➢ Series Of Security Breakdowns Left Border With Gaza Vulnerable(Ronem Bergman And Patrick Kingsley A10) ➢ Hamas Attack Was Shaped By Deep Thirst For Revenge, Built Over Decades(Ben Hibbart A10)

		➢ As Towns Are Searched, Evidence Of Horrors Emerges(New York Times A11) ➢ Battle-Hardened Citizens In Israel's North Brace For New Front(Isabel Kershner A11)
13 Oct 2023	➢ Meeting Of Nato Ministers Ends With 3 Pressing Questions Unresolved.(Lara Jakes A11) ➢ 2 Sides At War Try To Use A New War To Sway Allies.(Matthew Mpoke Bigg A11)	➢ 300.000 Homeless In Battered Gaza As Food Runs Low(Edward Wong And Hiba Yazbek Fp) ➢ The Ex-General Who Grabbed His Pistol And Took On Hamas(Jefrey Gettleman Fp) ➢ Netanyahu Vows To Crush Foe. First Challenge Is How To Do It. Steven Erlanger And Ronen Beergman Fp) ➢ 300.000left Homeless In Gaza As Food Water And Fuel Run Low(Edward Wong And Hiba Yazbek A6) ➢ After A Vow To Crush A For, A Debate On How To Do It(Steven Erlanger And Ronen Beergman A6) ➢ Binding Laws Of War Already Being Broken(The Interpreter Amanda Taub 7) ➢ Gazans Are Told To Flee, But Egypt Bars The Exit(Declan Wlash A8) ➢ The Retired General Who Grabbed His Pistol And Took On Hamas 5(Juffrey Gettleman A9) ➢ Stream Of Images Shows Everyone Can Be A Combat Photographer(Jason Farago A9)
14 Oct 2023	➢ A Russian Town Where The War Dead Were Everyone’s Neighbours.(Neil Mac Farquhar And Milana Mazaeeva A4) ➢ Fierce Fight Surrounding Eastern Front(Constant Méheut A6) ➢ Support For Ukraine Takes Centre Stage In Polish Election(Andrew Higging A6) ➢ Russia Detains Lawyers Of Jailed Putin Critic (Ivan Nechepurenko A7) ➢ North Korea Shipped Arms To Russia For Use In Ukraine .Us	➢ Israel Is Pushing Gaza Evacuation As Soldiers Mass(Patrick Kingsley, Faranz Fassihi Edwaed Wong And Victoria Kim Fp) ➢ Shaken And Grieving, Jewish New Yorkers Put Aside Differences(John Leland Fp) ➢ Gaza Residents Flee Amid Fears Of Never Being Able To Return(Raja Abulrahim Fp) ➢ Gaza Residents Flee Despite Fears Of Never Being Able To Return Home(Raja Abulrahim Fp

	Says.(Peter Baker A7°	) ➢ Evacuation Of Gaza Is Pushed By Israel.(Patrick Kingsley, Faranz Fassihi Edwaed Wong And Victoria Kim A8) ➢ Fight In Gaza Spilling Over To Jerusalem, West Bank.(Hiba Yazbik A9) ➢ 'United Because Of This Disaster': Israelis Rush To Help(Iabel Kershner And Avishag Shoar-Yashuv A9) ➢ Israel Gives Journalists Tour Of Morgue(Gabby Sobelman (9) ➢ C.I.A. Reports Contained General Warnings Of Potential Gaza Flare-Up(Julian E.Barnes, Adam Entous Edward Wong And Adam Goldman A10) ➢ A Joyous Homecoming Becomes A Nightmare(Julie Bosman Robert Chrico And Nicholas Bogel-Burroujhs A10) ➢ Blinken Touring Mideast To Build Support For Israel(Edward Wong And Michael Crowley A10) ➢ Israel-Hamas Conflict May Threaten Progress Across Entire Region(Vivian Naereim A11) ➢ Invasion Prompts A Renewed Examination Of Hamas's Connections To Iran (Franz Fassihi And Ronen Bergman A11)
15 Oct 2023	➢ In Kyiv, Growing Concerns That Allies Support Has Peaked.(Steven Erlanger A4)	➢ Hamas Attack Exploited Secrets Of Israel's Military.(Patrick Kingsley And Ronem Bergman ➢ Israel Readies An Invasion To Capture Gaza City Patrick Kingsley And Ronem Bergman Fp) ➢ Online Deceits Make The Truth A War Casualty(Steven Lee Myers Fp) ➢ Hamas Exploited Secrets Of Israel's Military In Its Complex Attack (Patrick Kingsley And Ronem Bergman A12)

		➢ One Million Palestinians Are Displaced In Exodus From North Gaza(Thomas Fuller A13) ➢ An Israeli University On The Front Lines Mourns While It Fortifies For War(Juffrey Gettleman A13) ➢ Palestinian Citizens Of Israel Are Wary, Weary And Afraid(Steven Erlanger A14) ➢ Despite Risks In Gaza, Israel Prepares Invasion To Destroy Hamas Leadership(Patrick Kingsley And Ronem Bergman A14) ➢ Young Jews In The U.S. Feel An Isolating Grief(Steven Erlanger ➢ By Mark Tracy And Campbell Robertson A15) ➢ United In Outrage And Grief, Muslims In America Search For Solidarity(Jack Healy Ernesto Londano And Eleen Sullivan A16)
16 Oct 2023	➢ No Headlines	➢ Hospitals Face Another Layer Of Impossible(Raja Abdulrahim Afp) ➢ A Rave ,Then A Shattering Awakening, And Israel Is Transformed(Roger Cohen Fp) ➢ Behind The Curtains, Tense Diplomacy To Curtail A Siege Of Gaza(Thomas Fuller,Aaron Boxerman Raja Abdulrahim Fp) ➢ Israelis Marsh Into A War They Had Thought Their Leaders Would Prevent(Thomas Fuller,Aaron Boxerman Raja Abdulrahim A8) ➢ In Timeline Of Attacks In Israel, Wait For Help Seemed To Be Endless(Lauren Leatherby,Emma Boubla,Arijeta Lajka,Amyschoen Feld Walken, Mollay Cook Escobar And Pablo Robler A9) ➢ Some Took To Safe Rooms And Others Hid In Underbrush Has Military Took Hours To Respond To A Terrorist Incursion(Lauren Leatherby,Emma Boubla,Arijeta

		Lajka,Amyschoen Feld Walken, Mollay Cook Escobar And Pablo Robler 9) ➢ Israel Is Transformed After A Festival Massacre(Roger Cohen A12) ➢ Gaza Hospitals Face Another Impossible Layer With Order To Evacuate(Raja Abulrahim A14) ➢ Biden Urges Israel Not To Occupy Gaza And Says It Would Be A 'Big Mistake'(Prter Baker A14)
17 Oct 2023	➢ Four Ukrainian Children Abducted To Russia A Return Home With Help From Qatar.(Matthew Mpoke Big And Vivian Vereim A6)	➢ Biden Sets Israel Trip In Show Of U.S Bond(Hiba Yazbek And Edward Wong Fp) ➢ Border Chaos Has Foreigners Stuck In Gaza(Matthew Rosenberg And Emma Bubola Fp) ➢ Biden Will Travel To Israel On Wednesday Amid Worsening Gaza Crisis(Hiba Yazbek And Edward Wong A6) ➢ U.S And Israel Keeping Eye On Hezbollah In Hope Conflict Will Not Spread(Julian E. Barnes, Ronen Bergman And Adam Entous.A6) ➢ Hope Battles With Despite For The Families Of Those Taken Hostage(Jeffrey Gettleman. A7) ➢ Two Artists ‘Anguish Over The Kidnappings Of Israelis Spreads Worldwide(Katherine Rosman A7) ➢ At Egypt-Gaza Border, Foreigners Are Stuck While Waiting To Flee(Matthew Rosenberg And Emma Bubola A8) ➢ With Wartime Visit To Israel, Biden Will Face Physical And Political Risks(David E. Sanger And Peter Baker A8)
18 Oct 2023	➢ No Headlines	➢ Blast Kills Hundreds At Gaza Hospital(Patrick Kingsley, Aaron Boxerman And Hiba Yazbek Fp) ➢ Seizing Social Media Accounts, Hamas Wields A New Weapon

		(Sheera Frenkel And Talya Minsbergfp)
19 Oct 2023	➢ With Putin By His Side, Xi Outlines His Vision Of A New World Order(David Pierson, Anatoly Kurmanev And Tiffany May A4) ➢ Putin Plays Down Threat Of Newly Supplied U.S Missile (Mark Sanatora, Constant Méheut And Ivan Neche-Purenko A11)	➢ U.S Backs Israel As Cause Of Blast Remains Disputed(Peter Baker Fp) ➢ Student Letter Hits Fault Line In Free Speech (Anemona Hartollis Fp) ➢ An Explosion ,Then 'Too Many Bodies 'To Count(Raja Abdulrahim, Hiba Yazbek And Yousur Al-Hlou Fp) ➢ In Visit To Israel, President Urges Restraint Even As He Affirms Solidarity(Peter Baker A) ➢ For Biden, A Conflict Presenting Both Risk And Opportunity(Reid J.Epstein A6) ➢ Biden Backs Israel's Claim After Hospital Blast As He Vows Aid To Gaza(Patrick Kingsley, Peter Baker, Michael D. Shear And Katie Rogers A7) ➢ Humanitarian Aid Has Hit A Logjam At Gaza Border Crossing With Egypt (Emma Bubola And Lauren Lea Therby A7) ➢ A Thunderous Explosion At A Hospital, Then 'Too Many Bodies To Count(Raja Abdulrahim, Hiba Yazbek And Yousur Al-Hlou A8) ➢ Protests Over 'Horrific Scenes' In Gaza Erupt In Streets Across The Middle East(Vivian Yee A8) ➢ Hamas's Social Media Ban Isn't Stopping Its Message(Thompson And Mike Isaac A9) ➢ Early Intelligence Links Palestinians To Blast(Julian E. Barnes, Patrick Kingsley, Helene Cooper And Adam Entous A9) ➢ New Divisions On View An Biden Goes To Israel And Putin To China(Steven Erlanger A10) ➢ Senators Grill Biden's Choice To Be Ambassador To Israel(Karoun Demergian A10)
20 Oct 2023	➢ Not Found	➢ Not Found
21 Oct 2023	➢ Denipro Raids Fuel Speculation	➢ Despite Promises, Aid For Gaza

	That Kyiv Seeks A New Front.(Mark Sanator A4)	Is Still Stuck At Border With Egypt(Michael D. Shear And Karoun Demirjian Fp) ➢ Biden Seeks Billions For Conflict Zones(Michael D. Shear And Karoun Demirjian Fp) ➢ Israel Objects To Fuel Being Delivered(Vivian Yee And Matina Stevis-Grid Neff Fp) ➢ Passion For Palestinian Cause Is Reignited In Arab Countries(Ben Hubbard Fp) ➢ War Tension Spills Over At Frankfurt Book Fair(Alexandra Alter And Elizabeth A. Harris A5) ➢ Zelensky Praises Biden For Unflattering Support.(Constant Méheut A5) ➢ Despite Promises, Aid For Gaza Remains Stuck At Egypt's Border(Vivian Yee And Matina Stevis-Grid Neff A6) ➢ Most Strikes On Gaza By Israel Are Still Happening In The North(Elena Shao And Leanne Aborham. A6) ➢ Egyptian Government Backs Rally Supporting Palestinians(Vivian Yee A6) ➢ Passion For Palestinians Cause Is Reignited In Arab World(Vivian Yee And Matina Stevis-Grid Neff A7) ➢ Hamas Frees Two U.S Hostages A Mother And A Daughter For Humanitarian Reasons(Liam Stack And Ronen Bergman A7)
22 Oct 2023	➢ Not Found	➢ Israel Is Urged To Avoid A War With Hezbollah (Edward Wong, Ronen Berman And Julian E. Barnes Fp) ➢ First Part Of Aid Flows Into Gaza. At Egypt Border(Thomas Fuller And Vivian Yee Fp)
23 Oct 2023	➢ Inside The Commando Raids Unnerving Russia In Crimea(Carlotta Gall And Oleksandr Chubko A4) ➢ Russian Missile Fired From	➢ Violence Spreads Away From Gaza, Risking Wide War (Isabel Kershner, Raja Abdulrahim, Euan Ward And Michael Levenson Fp) ➢ Hamas Fails To Show That Israel

	Across Border Kills 6, Ukraine Says.(Matthew Mpoke Big A6) ➢ Israel And Ukraine's Need For Weapons Could Have U.S Running Short On Supplies(Lara Jakes And Eric Schmitt A9)	Struck Hospital(Patrick Kingsley Aaron Boxerman Fp) ➢ As Violence Spreads A Way From Gaza The Risk Of A Wider War Grows.(Isabel Kershner, Raja Abdulrahim, Euan Ward And Michael Levenson A9) ➢ Israel And Ukraine's Need For Weapons Could Have U.S Running Short On Supplies.(Lara Jakes And Eric Schmitt A9) ➢ U.S Advices Israel To Delay Gaza Invasion In Bid To Free More Hostages.(Edward Wong, Eric Schmitt, Michael D. Shear And Rohan Berman A10) ➢ Hamas Officials Fail To Provide Evidence Linking Israel To Strike On Gaza Hospital(Patrick Kingsley And Aaron Boxerman A10)
24 Oct 2023	➢ War In Ukraine Is Cruel Math: Blood For Land.(Mark Sanatora And Constant Méheut Fp) ➢ A Conflict Calculus: Blood And Treasure Pay For Tiny Advances.(Mark Sanatora And Constant Méheut A6) ➢ Navalny Is Forcibly Removed From Jail Cell During Protest.(Ivan Nechepurenko A6)	➢ U.S General Advices Israel On Urban War(Helene Cooper, Adam Entous And Eric Schmitt Fp) ➢ Strikes On Gaza Intensify As Aid Enters In Trickle(Aaron Boxerman And Alan Yuhas Fp) ➢ In Wake Of Violence, Activists Say They See A Path A Path For Peace (Roger Cohen Fp) ➢ Strikes On Gaza As Western Nations Ask For Humanitarian Pause(Aaron Boxerman And Alan Yuhas A7) ➢ Assumptions On Israel And The Palestinians Are Smashed By War (Steven Erlanger A7) ➢ In Aftermath Of Violence, Activists Say They See A Path For Peace(Roger Cohrn A8) ➢ Developing World Accuses West Of Double Standard Over Gaza And Ukraine(➢ With Their Soldiers Paused To Attack Israelis Try To Decipher The Delay ➢ U.S General Aids Israel On Urban War As Officials Cite Concerns Over Goals.

25 Oct 2023	➢ Kyiv Orders Evacuation Of Children Near Front.(Mark Sanatora A12)	➢ For Israelis, Fierce Fight Loom In City(Damien Cave Fp) ➢ Gaza Deaths Rise A Sanger Flares In U.N Speeches(Vivian Yee Farhez Fassihi And Eric Nagourney Fp) ➢ Freed Israeli, 85 Details Hell Of Hamas's Sunken Labyrinth(Damien Cave A6)) ➢ Barrage Increases Deaths In Gaza As Anger Flares In U.N Speeches(Vivian Yee Farhez Fassihi And Eric Nagourney A6) ➢ Fierce Urban Combat Looms For Israelis: It's Going To Be Ugly (Damien Cave A8) ➢ Israel Plans To Demolish Hamas, But Who Will Govern Gaza? (Steven Erlanger A9) ➢ U.S Learns Towards Palestinian Rocket. (Julian E.Barnes And David E.Sanger A9)
26 Oct 2023	➢ Ukraine War Widows Try To Realize Dreams Even After Loss(Maria Varenikova A6) ➢ Golden Artifacts From Ukraine, Seized In Spain, May Be Fakes.(Eduardo Medina A6)	➢ As Bombs Fall, History Hangs Over Gaza Family(Declan Walsh Fp) ➢ How Israelis Justify Scale Of Airstrikes.(Patrick Kingsley Fp) ➢ In Israel And Gaza, Photos Show The Cost Of War ➢ With Fuel Scarce ,U.N. Aid Group In Gaza Faces ‘Very Tough Decisions’(Monika Pronczuk A8) ➢ Widely Cited Missile Video Fails To Shed Light On Hospital Blast.(From Al Jazeera) ➢ How Israel Justifies Scale Of Airstrikes (Patrick Kingsley A9) ➢ As Bombs Fall, History And Fear Again Hang Over A Gaza Family(Declan Walsh A10) ➢ U.S Seeks Attack Delay To Bolster Air Defences(David E. Sanger And Eric Schmit A11)
27 Oct 2023	➢ New U.S Strategy Against Russian Propaganda Is To Expose It Early On.(Steven Lee Myers A10) ➢ Ukraine Braces For Winter Attacks On Energy Grid.(Marc	➢ Taps Run Dry And Food Grows Scarce In Gaza.(Raja Abdulrahim And Samar Abo-Elouf Fp) ➢ Gaza Invasion Being Held Up Over Divisions(Patrick Kingsley

	Sanatora And Matthew Mpoke Bigg Aa6 ➢ Slovakia's Leader Announces End To Military Aid For Kyiv.(Andrew Higging A10)	And Ronen Bengman Fp) ➢ Palestinian Debate Influences University Donors(Stephanie Saul Fp) ➢ In Gaza, Taps Run Dry And Food Gets Scarce(.(Raja Abdulrahim And Samar Abo-Elouf A12) ➢ Israel's Invasion Of Gaza Is Being Held Up By Indecision From Leaders (Patrick Kingsley And Ronen Bengman A13) ➢ Israeli Tanks Raid Gaza For First Time Since War Broke Out(Nadav Gavrielov, Matthew Mpoke Bigg, Vivian Yee And Matina Stevis-Gridneff 14
28 Oct 2023	➢ New Speaker Puts Aid To Ukraine In Doubt.(Karoun Demirjian And Catie Edmondson A17) ➢ Russia Is Emerging As Major Beneficiary Of The Israel-Gaza Conflict.(Hanna Note A23) ➢ To Curb Inflation, Russia's Central Bank Raises Rates.(Ivan Nechepirenko B4)	➢ Ground Activity Increases In Gaza As Airstrikes Rise. (Karla Kelly, Vivian Nereim, Mark Mazzetti And Edward Wong Fp) ➢ Chappelle Can't Help Wading Into Conflict With Microphone.Fp ➢ As Airstrikes Slam Region, Aid Workers Stay On Job (Monika Pronczuk A8) ➢ Israel Ramps Up Gaza A Ground Raids As Bombing Escalates.(Patrick Kingsley, Rohan Bengman, Euan Z. Knaus A8) ➢ Gaza Health Ministry Lists Names Of 6.747 Killed In Israeli Strikes(Vivian Yee A8) ➢ As Gazans Scrounge For Necessities, Hamas Sits On A Rich Trove Of Supplies.(Matthew Rosenberg And Maria Abi-Habib A9) ➢ Amid Shelling, A Student's Audio Diary Of Despair.(Yousur Al-Hlou A9) ➢ New Sanctions Aim To Cut Off Hamas Access To Financing (Alan Rappeport A10) ➢ Pentagon Says Iran-Backed Militias Answered U.S Strikes(Eric Schmitt Helen Cooper A10) ➢ Saudis Warns U.S That Israeli Invasion Could Be Catastrophic

		(Karla Kelly, Vivian Nereim, Mark Mazzetti And Edward Wong A11) ➢ Israeli Police, Outgunned, Fought Hamas House To House(Adam Goldman And Gel Koplowitz A12)
29 Oct 2023	➢ Kremlin's Pick To Lead Kyiv Is Shot In Crimea. (Marc Sanatora A6)	➢ War Has Entered Its Second Stage Netanyahu States.(Adam Goldman, Helene Cooper And Justin Scheek Fp) ➢ In Gaza, A Growing Fear That 'We Are Living The Last Of Our Days(Raja Abdulrahim A A8 ➢ Hamas Sites Concealed By Hospital, Israel Says.(Vivian Yee A8) ➢ Netanyahu, Rallying His Country, Says War Is In 'Second Stage'.(Patrick Kingsley, Ronen Bengman And Thomas Fuller A9) ➢ As China Looks To Broker Peace In Gaza, Anti-Semitism Is Surging Ah Home.(Daisuke Waka-Bayashi, Tiffany May And Claire (A9) ➢ A Kindred Spirit': Biden's Solidarity With Israel Spans Decades.(Peter Baker10) ➢ Vast Tunnel Network, Hidden By Hamas, Poses A Daunting Threat.(Adam Goldman, Helene Cooper And Justin Scheek A11)
30 Oct 2023	➢ Three Boys Grew Into Men In Ukraine Than They Went To War(Megans Specia A6)	➢ Hubris And Missed Signals As Hamas Readied Attack.(Ronen Bergman, Mark Mazzetti And Maria Abi-Habib Fp) ➢ Israeli Deaths Exposed Rift In Hollywood.(Nicole Sperling And Brooks Barnes Fp) ➢ We Were Dying Alone':34 Hours In The Dark Worsens Gaza Chaos.(Abu Bakr Bachir, Iyad Abuheweila, Vivian Nereim And Yasser Al Hlou Fp)
31 Oct 2023	➢ Not Found	➢
01 Nov 2023	➢ Russia Holds 2 Soldiers In Killing Of 9 Civilians(Constant Méheut A9)	➢ Fatal Strike In Dense Area As Israelis Aim At Hamas(Adam Goldman And Eric Schmitt Fp)

	➢ Europe's Economy Falters, As High Rates And Ukraine Fallout Prolong Slowdown.(Liza Alderman B4)	➢ Israeli Troops Battle In Gaza As Airstrikes Draws Conflicting Claims.(Hiba Yazbek Aaron Boxerman A5) ➢ Israel's U.N Envoy Criticized For Wearing Yellow Star Of David.(Matthew Mpoke Bigg A5) ➢ War Intensifies, But Hezbollah Hesitates To Get Lebanon Involved(Maria Abi-Habib And Ben Hubbard A6) ➢ Targeting Hamas, Israel Hits Dense Gaza Are In Deadly Strike(Matthew Mpoke Bigg, Kareem Zraik And Emma Bubola A7)
02 Nov 2023	➢ Ukraine Military Success Isn't Given Zelensky Says.(Constant Meheut A13)	➢ Hundreds Escape Tremulous Gaza At Egypt Border(Vivian Yee And Emma Bubola Fp) ➢ .G.O.P Says Anti-Israel Protests Show 'Woke Agenda' At Colleges. (Liza Lerer Rebecca Davis O'brien Fp) ➢ An Israeli Advance Into Northern Gaza, Seen From Above.(Josh Holder ,Weiyi Cai,Eleanor Lutz A8) ➢ A Fear All Too Familiar Engulfs Jews As Anti-Semitism Surges In Europe.(Roger Cohen A9) ➢ Bolivia Severs Diplomatic Ties With Israel(Casandra Vinograd Emma Bubula A9)
03 Nov 2023	➢ Ukraine Is Grinding To A "Stalemate" With Russia, A Top General Says.(Constant Méheut And Andrew E.Kramer A5 ➢ Putin Resumes Retreat From Arms Treaties.(Neil Mac Farquhan A5) ➢ House Passes Bill Trying Israel Aid To Spending Cuts With Nothing For Ukraine(Cattie Admondson A15)	➢ Troops Encircle Gaza City As Israel Backlash Grows.(Thomas Fuller And Aaron Boxerman Fp) ➢ An 'Israel Explainer 'Makes Her Nation's Case In America.(Katherine Rosman Fp) ➢ Israeli Troops Encircle Gaza City As Backlash Over Airstrikes Grows(Thomas Fuller And Aaron Boxerman A6) ➢ Blinker To Press Israelis For 'Pauses' To Help Get Aid In And Hostages Out.(Michael D. Shear A6) ➢ In Egypt Now. Free!:First Evacuees From Gaza Are Safe, And Relieved.(Vivian Yee And

		Emma Bubola A7) ➢ Saudis Begin Campaign To Raise Funds For Gaza(Vivian Nereim A7) ➢ Horrifying Images Are Real. But They Aren't From Israel's War In Gaza.(Angelo Fichera A8) ➢ Gaza Doctor Witnessing Nightmarish Situation(Hiba Yazbek And Kareem Zraick A8)
04 Nov 2023	➢ Even In War, Death Of A Friend's Star Is Painful For Ukrainians.(Maria Varenikova Fp) ➢ In An Online War Of Word, Russia, China And Iran Are Supporting Hamas. ➢ Kyiv Says Russia Is Stepping For Weak Spots.(Constant Méheut A10) ➢ Even As War Rages, The Death Of A Friends Star Is Painful For Ukrainians.(Maria Varenikova A10)	➢ Israel Rebuffs Blinker's Plea For War Pause(Adam Entous And Thomas Fuller Fp) ➢ Military Cities Steady Gains Made In Gaza. Mark Landler And Ronen Bergman Fp) ➢ Blinken Urges Pauses In Fighting To Deliver Aid For Civilians In Gaza.(Adam Entous And Thomas Fuller A6) ➢ In Speech, Hezbollah Leader Stops Short Of Call To Expand War.(Ben Hubbard A6) ➢ U.N. Shelters Experiencing Dire Shortages(Aaron Boxerman A6) ➢ In An Online War Of Words, Russia, China And Iran Are Supporting Hamas(Steven Lee Myers, And Sheera Frelkol A7) ➢ Israeli Military Cites Steady Gains Being Made In Gaza Ground War Mark Landler And Ronen Bergman A8)
05 Nov 2023	➢ Without End In Sight, Grim Resignation To Stalemate In Ukraine. (Andrew E. Kramer A8) ➢ Zelensky Rebuke Of Top General Signals Friction In Ukrainian Leadership.(Andrew E. Kramer And Constant Méheut A8)	➢ U.S Is Urging Israel To Limit Gaza Fatalities.(Adam Entous, Eric Schmitt And Julian E. Barnes Fp) ➢ U.S Outlines How Israel Can Limit Gaza Deaths(Adam Entous, Eric Schmitt And Julian E. Barnes A12) ➢ Blinken Meets Arab Leaders As Outrages Grows Over Israeli Strikes.(Adam Entous And Thomas Fuller A13) ➢ A Glimpse Into Northern Gaza As It Transforms Into A Giant Israeli Military Camp(Ronen Bergman 13) ➢ A Spike Of Violence Threatens

		Stability In The West Bank(Jeffery Gettlelman ,Rami Nazal Adam Sella A14)
06 Nov 2023	➢ Zelensky Announces Criminal Inquiry Into Attack At Soldier Ceremony.(Matthew Mpoke Big And Maria Varenikova A5)	➢ Blinken Meets With Palestinian And Iraqi Leaders On Gaza(Adam Entous A6) ➢ C.I.A Chief Begins Visit To Mideast A Mid War(Julian E. Barnes 6) ➢ Half A World Away, Praying For Thais Caught In Hamas Attacks.(Hannah Beech, Muktita Suhartono And Ryn Jirenuwat A6) ➢ Israel Suggests Moving Palestinians To Egypt (Patrick Kingsley A8) ➢ Fears That Assault Rifles May Be Given To Settlers.(Edward Wong Patrik Kingesly A8)
07 Nov 2023	➢ Russian Drones And Missiles Odessa, Damaging And Art Museum.(Matthew Mpoke Bigg A6° ➢ Free From Its Endless Shelling(Thomas Gibbons- Neff And Lekandr Naselenko A4)	➢ Israeli Military Divided Gaza Into Two Regions (Michael Levenson, Adam Entous And Andrés R. Martínez Fp) ➢ No Water ,No Anaesthesia: Gaza's Collapsing Hospitals(Ameerah Alharoud, Maria Abi-Habib And Al-Bakr Bashir A7) ➢ To Isolate Hamas Leader, Israel's Military Has Split Gaza Strip Into 2 Regions(Michael Levenson, Adam Entous And Andrés R. Martínez A7) ➢ Striking 450 Targets Overnight As A Third Blackout Takes Hold(Michael Levenson, Adam Entous And Andrés R. Martínez A7) ➢ Biden Faces Limits Of Leverage In Two Wars(David E.Senger A8) ➢ Called Up, Israel Reservists Begin To Deploy(Mark Landler And Adem Sella 8)

(Adopted by the researchers from the NYT newspaper from 7 September to 7 November)

Appendix B: A Picture Posted In The NYT Showing The Support For Israel By One Of The Companies (Palantir Technologies Inc.)



Source :(The NYT newspaper 15 October A5)

Appendix C: A Letter from the World President of the Jewish Congress to President Joe Biden

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WJC WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS

AN OPEN LETTER TO PRESIDENT BIDEN AND MEMBERS OF THE UNITED STATES CONGRESS

As President of the World Jewish Congress, and on behalf of millions of Jews across the United States and throughout the Diaspora, I want to thank you for your steadfast support in this moment of profound crisis for Israel. These traumatic events have shaken the Jewish world to its core. Each day brings new horrors, carried out by a terror organization bereft of humanity.

We are also grateful to every Republican and Democratic Member of Congress who stood up for Israel through Iron Dome funding support, and via acts of solidarity and resolve. This crisis has forced a clarification of where every leader stands. It is encouraging that the vast majority are squarely in support of the Jewish people and the Jewish homeland in its darkest hour in decades.

And, I say, those who have equivocated, stayed on the sidelines, or cast their lot with terrorists, we see you for who you are.

Mr. President, your moral clarity in the historic and defining speeches you delivered from the White House, and your decisiveness in mandating the United States stands not just with the State of Israel, but with the Jewish people, spoke to a depth of understanding few presidents have ever expressed. The world sees that unequivocal support for the security of Israelis and unambiguous condemnation of terrorism is not a political stance; it is a bedrock of U.S. global leadership. And, along with supportive Republicans and Democrats in Congress and in state capitals and major cities across America, this has ensured that our allies, especially in Europe, follow your lead.

Leaders in Israel have put their political and personal differences aside to form an emergency unity government. This is a significant step, the intent of which must be replicated here. Whether conservative or progressive, Orthodox or secular, it is imperative to shed those distinctions and stand together in unity. It is not lost in this moment that, to quote President Lincoln, a house divided cannot stand. We have not been in danger of such a fall in over eighty years.

We are comforted that, as Commander in Chief, you and leaders of every political persuasion have made a lasting commitment to the security and safety needs of Israel, whatever they may be, and for as long as it takes, as the Jewish state fights to protect itself at all costs.

Yours,



Ronald S. Lauder
President
The World Jewish Congress

Source: The NYT newspaper 15 October 2023 A9