



# Depicting Palestine

The Religious Nature of De Volkskrant  
and Its Influence On Their Reporting On  
Palestine In 1948 and 2002

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## Introduction

It is 15 May 1948, and in the Mandate Palestine, the Nakba starts. Just the day before, the State of Israel declared its independence, and the fifteenth day of the month marked the beginning of the ethnic cleansing and mass refugee movement of the Palestinians from their homes.<sup>1</sup> The events that follow each other are reported all over the world, including the Netherlands. Left with the remnants of a harsh war of their own, and amidst trying to get back on their feet, Dutch media had to prioritise what was newsworthy and how they could spend their resources wisely. Dutch society was pillared into four distinct groups, and all of them had their own media to turn to; catholic, protestant, socialist, and liberal.<sup>2</sup> One of the big catholic newspapers was *De Volkskrant*, aimed at the working class within its particular pillar. Having a Catholic background meant reporting from a set perspective. This perspective influences the framework from which news is written. When it is applied to international conflict, it brings forth interesting analyses and constructions of those conflicts. Though facts are indisputable, certain religious and historical backgrounds of news outlets can influence their audience. Religious history of media is the overarching topic of this paper. To be more specific, an analysis will occur to see whether the catholic nature of *De Volkskrant* influenced their reporting on Palestine during the Nakba in 1948, whether this has changed with their switch to leave their catholic roots behind, and if this change was visible during their reporting on the second Intifada in 2002. A question like that must be split up into smaller parts.

Analyses of how the Palestine-Israel conflict has been portrayed in media have been done before, with a notable contribution from Nadia R. Sihan on British newspapers and their reporting.<sup>3</sup> However, there has not been a specific academic focus on the Dutch media landscape, let alone a singular newspaper. Another dimension that has not been explored yet is how Catholicism, media, and international conflict come together when discussing Palestine in Dutch newspapers.

First, the position of the Roman Catholic Church and the Dutch strand of the Catholic Church will be looked at to provide a general understanding of the Roman Catholic perspective, though the Dutch Catholic Church might have its subtle deviations from that of the Vatican. After that, to gain more understanding, a brief historic overview of *De Volkskrant* will be presented, specifying their place within the Dutch media landscape and how this position, and their catholic roots, aid towards their stance on reporting on Palestine. Additionally, four newspapers articles of *De Volkskrant* will be comparatively analysed, two from 1948 and two from 2002, to see whether this can provide an insight into the research question at hand. After the media analysis, a concluding answer will be provided. This paper does not aim to present a judgment on the Israel-Palestine conflict, it is meant to analyse whether having a religious background influences reporting on international conflict by doing a case study on the depiction of Palestine in *De Volkskrant*, a Dutch former Catholic newspaper.

## The Catholic Church and Palestine

Jerusalem and the surrounding land form a geographic place that harbours histories of the three major monotheistic religions, and it is therefore one of the most important cities for many Muslim, Christian, and Jewish people. No wonder, then, that this significance is also the cause for dispute. Palestine is no stranger to being occupied, either. From the Ottoman Empire, to British imperial control over the territory, followed by interference of the United Nations and then illegal settlements of Zionist settler colonists, non-occupation is far away.<sup>4</sup> Current conceptions of the present-day conflict that befalls this historic land tend to view it in a binary perspective; the Muslim Palestinians versus the Jewish Israelis. This conception is factually wrong, since the Palestinian people are diverse, with a big part of them being Christian, Jewish, and affiliated with other religions. Nor are all Israelis Jewish, and simplifying the Palestine-Israel conflict to a matter of religion prevents people to take into account the multifaced nature of general conflict. Just as how, for example, the French Revolution cannot solely be attributed to economic hardship, the Palestine-Israel conflict cannot be viewed from a purely religious lens. However, when it comes to the Holy Land, it is indisputable that religion plays an important part.

Within the Palestine-Israel conflict, the Catholic Church takes a special position. As the scope of this paper starts at the Nakba in 1948, it will not dive deep into the full history of the Catholic Church and its presence in the Holy Land, but it will provide a large overview of the most important

moments. As outlined by Anthony O'Mahony, papal policy regarding Jerusalem as the Holy City of all three major monotheistic religions (Judaism, Islam, Christianity) can be divided into three main phases.<sup>5</sup> From 1897 until 1947 there was an emphasis on the physical integrity of the Holy Places, with needs of the local catholic community at the centre. From 1947 until 1964, the Vatican stressed the safeguarding of the Holy Places, with statements to freedom of access to religion and the right to have control over one's Holy Places. Finally, from 1964 until now, there has been a focus on Jerusalem in a global context, with eyes on the preservation of its identity and vocation with again the call for freedom of religion, though this time placed more in a cultural context.

Up until mid-1948, the Vatican held up a neutral position towards the political division of Palestine. This changed after the State of Israel called out their independence, an act that was followed by the Nakba; the ethnic cleansing of Palestinian families from their homes. The Nakba caused many Palestinian people to flee their homeland, and in this light the Vatican brought forward a relief effort for all refugees.<sup>6</sup> For the Catholic Church, the Nakba also raised the question of Jerusalem's future status. Before the Nakba, the Vatican had been content with British rule in the Mandate, but with the imperial forces gone, it brought new danger to their main project of safeguarding catholic interests in the Holy Land. British rule in Palestine and parts of the Holy Land meant maintaining the status quo of earlier times.

On the one hand, the Vatican choosing to remain neutral within the Palestine-Israel

conflict could be seen as just that: staying neutral in order to protect one's own property and community. However, on the other side there is a different narrative that portrays the situation as well. It is no secret, as Peter Marendy states, that the relationship between (mainly European) Christianity and Judaism knows its sides of distrust and anger.<sup>7</sup> For a long time, Jewish people were looked at in dislike, because of the Christian belief that it was because of the Jews that their founder, Jesus Christ, died almost two thousand years ago. It is not illogical for a link to be made between historic levels of distrust and reluctance to choose a side, or in Israel's case - recognise a new state. *Nostra Aetate*, a declaration from the Vatican from 1965 on the relation of the Church to non-Christian religions, helped amending the relationship between the Catholic Church and the people of Israel. The declaration was dedicated to condemning antisemitism and stated that Jewish people cannot be held accountable for the death of Christ.<sup>8</sup>

Combining these two perspectives on the previous neutrality of the Catholic Church on the conflict in Palestine, it becomes clear that the Vatican took great consideration in its stance. Due to their historically strenuous relation with Jewish people, British rule within the Palestinian Mandate was preferred, and when the British removed themselves from the territory, the Catholic Church favoured Arab leadership over Jewish leadership. This was not only because of millennia of so called "distrust", but also because local Christian communities were more familiar with Arab, non-Christian leadership rather than - mainly European - newcomers. Because Jerusalem as the Holy City, and the surrounding areas

as the Holy Land hold much places of significant value for the Catholic Church, a great motivator for the Vatican to remain neutral within conflict was to protect their Holy Places, and subsequently, their real estate within these geographical borders. Neutrality policy stopped after the Nakba of 1948, and the Vatican remained reluctant towards Israel. This reluctance included not recognising the state of Israel until 1993, long after the publication of *Nostra Aetate*.<sup>9</sup> Though, around the time that *Nostra Aetate* was published, the Vatican actively pushed for a different policy regarding the Holy City Jerusalem, one of internationalisation. There is an emphasis on preserving identity and vocation, making Jerusalem a global cultural city. Even with pressure from both sides on the Catholic Church, the main purpose of their careful navigation within the Palestine-Israel conflict remains the protection of their local communities within the Holy Land (covering areas in Palestine as well as in Israel), and safekeeping of the property of their Holy Places.

The position of the Catholic Church as an institution within the conflict has been presented and provides a needed backdrop for the rest. With a major institution like the Catholic Church, there are local divisions of it that might differ from opinion, or perhaps that do not agree at all with the decisions of the Vatican. Dutch society used to be defined by pillarisation, meaning that there



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were four main “pillars” that defined life: Protestant, Catholic, liberal, and socialist.<sup>10</sup> Belonging to a pillar meant that one would go to school, sports clubs, entertain oneself, marry, and work within it. Social contact between the different pillars was limited, and only on political level did the pillars truly engage with each other. The Roman Catholic Church formed the main authority within the Catholic pillar, which formed the biggest pillar, and on the topic of the Palestine-Israel conflict, they have stayed in line with the Vatican. Compliance with the Vatican notwithstanding, there are different Catholic action groups active within the Netherlands that dissent from the general catholic policy.

## De Volkskrant as a catholic newspaper in the Netherlands

As Joan Hemels writes in his book on the history of the Volkskrant, unity within the Catholic pillar was more a pursuit encouraged by ecclesiastical authority than the true, observable reality that the people within the pillar were living in.<sup>11</sup> This perceived unity was visible in the many newspapers that circulated within the catholic pillar, even before 1919, when De Volkskrant established itself as a new newspaper with a special focus on the catholic working class.<sup>12</sup> There was a distinct aim to make columns from priests, pastors and ecclesiastical speakers not too long nor too difficult, making it easier for the working class to keep up and engage with their faith in a non-church setting. A strong desire was felt to returning to pillarised society as before 1940, and this desire was adhered to in post-war Netherlands. It was in the 1960s that big societal changes shook the ground of the nation, with an upcoming

youth culture shouting for change from the restrictive society they wanted to break out of. It caused the once orderly Dutch society to depillarise. Depillarisation also took place within the media landscape, and De Volkskrant took initiative within the catholic pillar.<sup>13</sup> Once one of the major assets into letting the Catholic stronghold rise, it now was one of the first to demolish it, too.

When Dutch society was pillared, the newspaper, specifically within the Catholic pillar, also functioned as a way for its political leaders to spread their agenda.<sup>14</sup> For De Volkskrant, this meant that its political chief editor Carl Romme, at the same time fulfilled the function of politician in the Dutch parliament for the Catholic People’s Party. For the audience of De Volkskrant, this meant that their political columns were not objective, but influenced by a political agenda that Romme felt needed to be pushed.<sup>15</sup> In his book on the journalistic history of De Volkskrant, Frank de Vree explains that within this time period, just after the end of the Second World War into the 1950s, journalism was seen as a political and religious “calling”, and journalists saw the perceived apostolic character of their job as a natural part of this.<sup>16</sup>

With a country whose societal structure underwent quite a radical change - for Dutch standards - it was only natural that the integral parts of that society changed too. As mentioned before, De Volkskrant took a leading role in depillarising the Catholic pillar in the 1960s, and with that came a new direction for the newspaper. From Catholic mouthpiece to a leftist newspaper where labour unions, students, and the members of leftist-socialist political

parties could often find themselves a free spot to speak their mind, De Volkskrant became almost a pillar on its own within leftist circles in the Netherlands. This idea of De Volkskrant as a leftist newspaper held on for a while, throughout the 1980s, in which professionalisation of the newspaper became the highlight of their decade. Afterwards, at the end of the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s, this division of strict political left versus right ideology became less self-evident. Global political changes such as the fall of the Berlin Wall and the end of the Cold War forced De Volkskrant to rethink their position and how they would confront new issues. The old leftist 'righteousness' on which they trusted blindly in previous decades was no longer there to guide De Volkskrant. This change led to a new change in direction. Moving away from an outspoken leftist nature, De Volkskrant decided to focus on quality of reporting and providing informative articles above political colour. Their slogan for moving into the 21st century was 'moving past left, moving past right' in order to establish itself as a newspaper that praises itself on quality above all else.<sup>17</sup>

## 1948 and 2002: does religious background matter?

To recapitulate, this paper will firstly look at newspaper articles from De Volkskrant dated from 1948, just after the Nakba started in Palestine, and afterwards it will look at articles dated from 2002, in the middle of the Second Intifada, the Palestinian revolt against Israeli occupation of Palestinian territories. What became most noticeable when looking at newspaper articles from 1948 that dealt with Palestine, is that they were mostly small, quick reads. Often, they

were provided to De Volkskrant by bigger press agencies like Reuters or Algemeen Nederlands Persbureau (ANP). However, there are a couple of Volkskrant articles that are written by their own correspondents. One difficulty that rises, is that these correspondents are not named, and therefore no additional research can be done on their backgrounds. Possible personal biases can therefore not be attributed to the author's life, which makes it hard to say whether their contributions were truly as objective and transparent as possible. The first two articles that will be discussed are both printed in the morning edition of 15 May 1948, the day after the Nakba started by the State of Israel declaring their independence. One of them is titled "Jewish State "Israel" recognised by America: Battle in Jerusalem after departure of Cunningham", the other one "Bishops ask for prayers for Palestine". The first article mostly provides factual information, informing the reader about the British forces leaving Palestine and almost immediate recognition by President Truman of the State of Israel.<sup>18</sup> There is one minor mistake, however, when Ben Gurion is named as one of the main people of the Palestinian labour movement, while this should have been Israeli labour movement, respectively. While the text might not provide too much information, the cartoon that comes with the article is more opinionated.

It shows the Israeli people as the underdog, the weaker party in the fight, as David (figure 1), that has to go up against the Goliath that is formed by the Arab countries that surround freshly established Israel. Depicting these countries as a stereotypically Arab Goliath in order to aid Palestine clearly puts them on the other end of the conflict – one



Figure 1: "History repeats itself. Again, David finds himself opposite of Goliath." *De Volkskrant*, 15 May 1948, page 1.

could argue it is the enemies' side. It also shows that *De Volkskrant* was positioning itself within the conflict, and clearly favoured the Israeli state. Not only because of the terrible depiction of an Arab stereotype, but the moral of the story of David and Goliath is that the smaller underdog eventually defeats the giant. Translated to the fight between the Israeli people and the Arab people, this meant that there was a certain kind of hope, perhaps, that the Israelis would win the battle. The second article in the same daily edition of *De Volkskrant* shows more of its catholic nature than the previous article. "Bishops ask for prayers for Palestine" is a small piece on how Dutch bishops responded to the request of the Pope in the Vatican to keep Palestine in their prayers. The Pope expressed his concern for the state of the world, and specifically

oriented catholic prayers to the Holy Places within Palestine; a country that was now overrun with death and destruction.<sup>19</sup> Another article from this period provides some more information on how *De Volkskrant* reported on the conflict in Palestine, an article called "Hate for England grows in the basements of Tel Aviv", dated from 24 May 1948. By now, the Nakba has been going on for a full nine days, yet *De Volkskrant* does not report on it. As Nadia R. Sirhan explains, sometimes, the answer lies in the invisible, the actions that are not shown.<sup>20</sup> A lack of reporting on the Nakba, an omission of information, can be interpreted as representative for something else; it might not have been all that important to report on, or a bias towards one of the parties within the conflict was subtly being pushed. Aforementioned article is written by a 'special correspondent', though their name is not revealed anywhere.<sup>21</sup> The article is written from the Israeli perspective, or at least a perspective that sympathises with the Israeli State. There mainly is positive commentary on the hardworking nature of people in Tel Aviv, and how the compact Israeli forces managed to defeat the bigger Arab military powers. Opposite to these positive comments rest negative comments towards the Arab forces, as becomes visible in this paragraph:

"They now know that King Ibn Saud did not send his troops to Palestine because he had been beckoned by the Americans that all American subsidies would cease. We know that one word from England to King Abdullah, who is still getting his two million pounds a year, would be enough to bring back the Arab Legion — the only truly

dangerous force in Palestine. The English are hated."<sup>22</sup>

There is, again, no mention of the other side of the conflict, of the Palestinian that have to flee their home country in pursuit of safety. There is no mention of Christian Palestinians that are in the middle of a dooming war. Besides the one article that reports on bishops all over the Netherlands to keep Palestine in their prayers, and the cartoon referring to the myth of David and Goliath, there is no Catholic perspective on the Nakba or the Palestine-Israel conflict as a whole.

Before moving over to 2002, the other year chosen for this paper's media analysis, an interesting *Volkskrant* article from 1981 shows how the newspaper changed over time from a small paper catering to the catholic working class, to a professional and established newspaper in the Dutch media landscape. It is titled "Israel deserves criticism, too", and was written in the column "Open Forum", where *De Volkskrant* invited different people to voice their opinion on a topic, from which could be expected it would lead to a debate. The article was written by historian Selma Leydesdorff, and in her text, she expresses her wish to be able to critique the Israeli state, while also recognising its right to exist, though within pre-1967 borders.<sup>23</sup> Deducting from the title, especially the addition of "too" at the end, it might not be entirely unfair to assume that up until then, Israel had not been given the same amount of critique that the Palestinian-Arab side had received from the media.

Now, in 2002, *De Volkskrant* had moved away completely from its catholic roots that it harboured until the 1960s, and its slightly

more radically leftist image that was established in the 1970s, to a newspaper that moved past strict political division towards a greater focus on quality of reporting. Their reporting on Palestine required more historical knowledge than it did in 1948, because at this point in time, reporting on Palestine meant, more often than not, reporting on the conflict that riddled the country. Additionally, for reporting on Palestine in 2002, a couple of events were pivotal. First of all, the attacks of 9/11 on the Twin Towers in New York City had a profound impact on the world order, and caused a traumatically harsh Islamophobic rhetoric to float around in Western countries. Where previously it was mostly an orientalist gaze that rested over Western reporting on events happening in Arab countries, it was now tinged with an irrational fear and incomprehension of the Arab nations and people. Secondly, in 2000 the Second Intifada had started in Palestine after Ariel Sharon, an Israeli politician, made a provocative visit to Al-Haram Al-Sharif, also known as Temple Mount. Just before the visit, peace talks at the Camp David Summit had failed to reach a final agreement, so when Sharon made a goading speech at Al-Haram Al-Sharif, it was cause for the Palestinian people to revolt once more against the illegal Israeli occupation of Palestinian territories.<sup>24</sup> *De Volkskrant* had its Middle East correspondent of that time, Ferry Biedermann, stationed in Jerusalem, from which he reported on the Second Intifada. On 8 April, an article of his was published, called "Deadly despair, ultimate revenge", in which he writes about the suicide bombers that blew themselves up on Israeli grounds.<sup>25</sup> It reads as an almost standard Western report in which Biedermann refers to the American



President, George W. Bush, condemning the bombers, to grieving Palestinian parents who cannot speak the truth because of community leaders telling them so, ending with a sentence that has become synonymous to reports on Middle Eastern affairs: "The question remains why this happens so much more in this conflict than anywhere else. The self-sacrifice reeks too much to blind fanaticism to completely ignore nationalistic, religious, and other indoctrinations". The tags that are related to this article are, as follows, "terrorism", "politics and state", and "domestic political unrest". The topic tag is "Hamas", while the geographic tag is "Israel".

Another article published in 2002, called "Dirty traitors", was written by editor Nell Westerlaken, and dove into the Israeli peace movement and how it fought against the harsh policies of premier Sharon.<sup>26</sup> Immediately noticeable are the tags related to this article, which are "peace and security", "politics and state", "domestic political unrest", and "demonstrations". While the length of the article allows for it to present a more nuanced image of the peace movement with more background information than the shorter article by Ferry Biedermann, both articles make use of the same language that implicitly holds a lot of prejudicial value. When talking about the Palestinian people, more often than not words like "revenge", "suicide bombing" or "terrorist intent" are used. However, when they are reporting on Israeli violence, they use words such as "retaliatory measure", "action", or "safety measures". This is not new within the discourse on the use of language in conflict situations, and it has perhaps become the norm within the discourse on the Palestine-Israel conflict – showing a clear bias.

However, bias notwithstanding, De Volkskrant as a newspaper is committed to provide multiple angles on the same story, and another article comments on the tough landscape that journalists work under when reporting on the Palestine-Israel conflict. Deedee Derksen and Maud Eftting state that Dutch general reporting on the conflict is filled with mishaps and can be quite one-sided.<sup>27</sup> It is not too far-fetched to admit that Dutch history plays a big role in how the media report on Palestine and Israel. There is remaining guilt in our national conscience because of how many Jewish people we deported to Nazi camps from Dutch grounds, which makes Dutch people reluctant to speak negatively on Israeli policy against the Palestinian people. The article further mentions how a majority of Dutch correspondents live in Israeli cities, and only venture to Palestine when needed. The main conclusion is that, while sometimes there are mistakes that wrongly favour Palestinian actions, most of the time Dutch media is inclined to be more favourable towards the Israeli cause.

## Conclusion

Now that articles from 1946, and 2002 are analysed, it begs the question whether the religious nature of De Volkskrant truly had any significant influence on their reporting on Palestine. Journalist standards, more generally media standards, were not as defined in 1948 as they are nowadays in the twenty-first century. Back in 1948, when De Volkskrant was busy in post-war Netherlands to rebuild the catholic pillar; journalistic integrity, impartiality and objectivity had not yet developed to the significant and valuable concepts they are now within journalism. The pillar-specific newspaper was mainly

used to provide the working class with news and gave the political leader of the catholic pillar, C. Romme, a place to elaborate his own political agenda and in doing so, made sure to make his pillar more cohesive. Where the Vatican, and the Catholic Church as a global institution, was very careful in recognising Israel as a state, and very much concerned with its Holy Places in the Holy Land – and the Dutch Catholic Church theoretically followed the lead of the Vatican – this careful attitude was visible in the newspaper articles of *de Volkskrant* as a catholic newspaper. Perhaps this had to do with a distinct distance between the ecclesiastical body and the people, or perhaps this can be linked to the national guilt that was palpable in Dutch society for their prominent role in the deportation of Jewish people in the Second World War. More articles were written in 1948 from the Israeli perspective than from the Palestinian perspective, and this is a fact that also continued well into 2002, as pointed out by Derksen and Effting. However, it must be noted that this paper simply does not have the scope to truly and deeply dive into the relationship between religion and journalism. Perhaps, if one were to analyse more articles from the *Volkskrant* than were touched upon in this paper, a completely different answer might occur. It is an interesting topic, nevertheless, and it would certainly deserve to be researched with more care and diligence. For now, the main conclusion is that no, the catholic nature of *De Volkskrant* did not influence its reporting on Palestine in 1948, but that there were other factors at play that were more important in shaping a narrative, such as pillarised society, weak journalistic standards, national guilt and an international western agenda. It was mainly with the professionalisation of *De Volkskrant* that

their reporting on Palestine changed, and there was no correlation between the Vatican's position on Palestine-Israel.

<sup>1</sup> Sumaya Awad, Annie Levin, "Roots of the Nakba: Zionist Settler Colonialism", in *Palestine: A Socialist Introduction*, edited by Sumaya Awad & Brian Bean (Haymarket Books: Chicago, 2020), 23.

<sup>2</sup> Friso Wielenga, "Pillarisation, Stability, Crisis and War (1918-1945)", in *A History of the Netherlands: From the Sixteenth Century to the Present Day* (London: Bloomsbury, 2019), chapter 6, Kobo.

<sup>3</sup> Nadia R. Sirhan, *Reporting Palestine-Israel in British newspapers: an analysis of British newspapers* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2021).

<sup>4</sup> Sumaya Awad, Annie Levin, "Roots of the Nakba: Zionist Settler Colonialism," in *Palestine: A Socialist Introduction*, edited by Sumaya Awad & Brian Bean (Haymarket Books: Chicago, 2020), 22-43.

<sup>5</sup> Anthony O'Mahony, *The Vatican, the State of Israel, and Christianity in the Holy Land*, *International Journal for the study of the Christian Church*, 5:2, 124.

<sup>6</sup> "All refugees" in this sentence refers to all the Palestinian people who fled their home country, no matter their religious background. The Catholic Church did not only take care of the catholic Palestinians, but of all other Palestinians, too.

<sup>7</sup> Peter M. Marendy, *Anti-Semitism, Christianity, and the Catholic Church: Origins, Consequences, and Responses*, *Journal of Church and State*, Vol. 47 No. 2 (Spring 2005), 289-307.

<sup>8</sup> *Nostra Aetate*, published 15 October 1965, accessed on 14 June 2022, [https://www.vatican.va/archive/hist\\_councils/ii\\_vatican\\_council/documents/wat-ii\\_decl\\_19651028\\_nostra-aetate\\_en.html](https://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/wat-ii_decl_19651028_nostra-aetate_en.html).

<sup>9</sup> "Erkenning Israel en Vaticaan Accord wordt vandaag ondertekend; paus kan op bezoek naar Heilige Land", *Trouw*, 30 December 1993, accessed 14 June 2022, <https://www.trouw.nl/nieuws/erkenning-israel-en-vaticaan-akkoord-wordt-vandaag-ondertekend-paus-kan-op-bezoek-naar-heilige-land~b79f3e35/>.

<sup>10</sup> Friso Wielenga, "Pillarisation, Stability, Crisis and War (1918-1945)", in *A History of the Netherlands: From the Sixteenth Century to the Present Day* (London: Bloomsbury, 2019), chapter 6, Kobo.

<sup>11</sup> Joan Hemels, "Inleiding", in De emancipatie van een dagblad: Geschiedenis van de Volkskrant (Baarn: Uitgeverij Ambo, 1981), 15.

<sup>12</sup> Hemels, De emancipatie van een dagblad, 16.

<sup>13</sup> Frank de Vree, "Inleiding: de Paaskrant van 1968", in De metamorfose van een dagblad: een journalistieke geschiedenis van de Volkskrant (Meulenhoff: Amsterdam, 1996), 7.

<sup>14</sup> Vree, De metamorfose van een dagblad, 9.

<sup>15</sup> Vree, De metamorfose van een dagblad, 10.

<sup>16</sup> Vree, De metamorfose van een dagblad, 12.

<sup>17</sup> Annet Mooij, "Alles wordt anders (2000-2006)", in Dag in dag uit: Een journalistieke geschiedenis van de Volkskrant vanaf 1980 (De Bezige Bij: Amsterdam, 2011), 218-220.

<sup>18</sup> "Joodse Staat 'Israël' door Amerika erkend: Slag in Jeruzalem na vertrek van Cunningham", De Volkskrant, 15 May 1948, p.1, accessed 17 June 2022 on Delpher, <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ABCDDD:010880733:mpeg21:p001>.

<sup>19</sup> "Bisschoppen vragen gebed voor Palestina", De Volkskrant, 15 May 1948, p. 5, accessed 17 June 2022 on Delpher, <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ABCDDD:010880733:mpeg21:p003>.

<sup>20</sup> Nadia R. Sirhan, "Introduction", in Reporting Palestine-Israel in British Newspapers: an analysis of British newspapers (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2021), 2.

<sup>21</sup> "Haat tegen Engeland groeit in de kelders van Tel Aviv", De Volkskrant, 24 May 1948, p. 1, accessed June 17 2022 on Delpher, <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ABCDDD:010880739:mpeg21:p001>.

<sup>22</sup> "Haat tegen Engeland groeit in de kelders van Tel Aviv, De Volkskrant, p. 1.

<sup>23</sup> Seyla Leydesdorff, "Israël verdient óók kritiek", De Volkskrant, 3 December 1981, p. 15, accessed 17 June 2022 on Delpher, <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ABCDDD:010879739:mpeg21:p013>.

<sup>24</sup> Jeremy Pressman, The Second Intifada: Background and Causes of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict, Journal of Conflict Studies, 23(2) 2006, 114-141.

<sup>25</sup> Ferry Biedermann, "Dodelijke wanhoop, ultieme wraak", De Volkskrant, 8 April 2002, p. 4, accessed 18 June 2022 on Nexis Uni.

<sup>26</sup> Nell Westerlaken, "Vuile Verraders", De Volkskrant, 13 april 2002, p. 31, accessed 18 June 2022 on Nexis Uni.

<sup>27</sup> Deedee Derksen and Maud Eftting, Antisemiet of joodse hielenlikker", De Volkskrant, 15 June 2002, p. 1S, accessed 19 June 2022 on Nexis Uni.

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