"MEDIA IN DEFENSE AGAINST TERRORISM . THE MIDDLE EAST CASE STUDY"

by Gerta Zaimi
january2013

MEDIA IN DEFENSE AGAINST TERRORISM . THE MIDDLE EAST CASE STUDY

"The terrorist does not want many people to die, he wants to let a lot of people know."

Raymond Aron

Terrorism has had many definitions. Therefore it is impossible not to mention, nor even to agree with all of them. Terrorism is "the deliberate creation and exploitation of fear through violence, or the threat of violence, in the pursuit of political change"[1]. Terrorism is characterized by the search of a psychological impact through its military impact, to produce a message promising destruction. Terrorism uses its weapons to make its message known, rather than to kill. Especially historically, it considers the media as a weapon. Indirectly then, the terrorist attempts to return the media to the adversary against him. He uses the media to spread terror, but also to echo, to coerce and to recruit future disciples.

Terrorism is a form of communication to transmit political message. They want their event to dominate the most important media: satellite telecasts, mainstream press, radio stations that the majority of people listen to also cable TV and web to display strong and macabre acts. Western media no longer have a monopoly, nor do they control the Internet. "Owning" the media does not guarantee control over the news and their reading against the terrorist. The terrorism has its media and it is a media.[2] Terrorists now use tapes, cd roms, dvd and the web. But terrorists more than own media, they also use the established media for their messages. This will change and will en-act another mechanism on the State propaganda and States media, where the State is totalitarian and have the control of all the media. This will be discussed later.

Through the publicity generated by their violence, terrorists seek to obtain the influence and power on a local or international scale[3]. Publicity helps terrorists to attract recruits and sympathizers.[4] It wishes, not only to outrage the public to mobilize its vast resources but also produces information that the public need. The longevity of a terrorist movement depends on the ability to recruit new

[1] Bruce, HOFFMAN *Inside Terrorism*, New York, Columbia University Press, 2006, p.40.

[2] Francois-Bernard HUYGHE, *Terrorisme et médias*, http://www.huyghe.fr/conference_21.htm

[3] B. HOFFMAN, *op.cit.*,p.41.

[4] *Ibidem,* p.225.

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members as well to expand the numbers of active supporters and passive sympathizer[5], therefore communication is vital. Without publicity terrorism loses much of its message, because it loses its spectacle. To be more effective in accommodating the sympathy of the audience, terrorism should try to make a lot of noise, with fewer victims and not to resort to extreme measures , e.g use of biological or nuclear weapons .

Yet we have also seen that the protracted incident offers great potential to the terrorist for achieving coercive aims directed at government and for gaining some legitimacy and support in the process. Michael Kelly and Thomas Mitchell identify three main aims that terrorists seek to achieve through extended media coverage: attention, recognition, and legitimacy.[6] Research has shown, however, that while terrorists gain attention and sometimes recognition, they rarely gain legitimacy.[7]

In strategic terms there simply is no point in engaging in terrorism unless its effects are felt by an audience much wider than those directly affected. This is why the media can serve as amplifiers, conduits, or even legitimizers of terrorism. In other cases, the media can serve to decontextualize or depoliticize terrorism, and in some cases, particularly State terrorism, to render it invisible.

Journalism is not a first-hand exposure of events, it is an interpretation from the journalists. It is not a precise science with precise criteria, but is based on the discretion of the journalist.[8] In a democracy there is a right to information and it is the duty of journalists to make it so. The knowledge of the individual is not based on direct and certain knowledge, but on the given images[9] and we all know that even images can often be biased.

By choosing to cover or not to cover terrorism and, when covering it, by choosing to present it in certain ways, the media become vehicles of the information's struggles between the two actors: terrorist and government. This rings us to the identification of the triangle of actors: the terrorists, the government and the media.[10]

The government are those individuals who occupy positions of authority and who, as media sources, present the official version of events. Terrorists are those who use violence for political purposes. The media personnel who reproduce the official version in their reporting of news when they have sought the governments out as valuable and reliable sources, establish the parameters of

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[5] B.HOFFMAN, *op.cit.,* p.225.

[6] Peter. R NEUMANN & M.L.R SMITH., *The Strategy of Terrorism*, Routledge, London, 2008, p.16.

[7] *Ibidem*, p.17.

[8] Walter LIPPMAN, *L'Opinione Pubblica*, Donzelli, (last italian edition, Roma), 2004, p.14.

[9] *Ibidem*, p.231.

[10] Ronald D. CRELINSTEN *(1989): Terrorism and the media: Problems, solutions, and counterproblems, Political Communication,* 6:4, 311-339, p.317.

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discussion and thereby frame the issue in a particular way. The media, in the interests of balance or objectivity often seek out other alternatives.[11] The reporter can be expected to cooperate since the official is a valued source. Sometimes the information leaked to the press is true, as in the case of policy initiatives, but sometime it is false. This is what is known as "disinformation" or "black propaganda."[12]

There are three ways terrorist can manipulate the use of the established media:

1. Skillful manipulation, profiting from the competition through the media for the market share. The media are mainly economic companies i.e. business. We must consider that consumers pay for the doctor, lawyer or other, but they don't want to pay for the media who pretend to know the truth.[13] The success in keeping media attention is when the terrorist can provide mystery, quick action and tension.[14]

2. The way to interact with the population is by seeking to address the population through alternative media, especially the internet. The Internet offers the terrorist the opportunity to see their side of the story. Many of the terrorist organizations have professional web sites in more than one language. But traditional media remain dominant and the internet has not a strong impact in all the population, to the same degree as satellite TV, news channels. etc.

3. Terrorist messages can be disseminated through political agitation. This need open political structures, active involvement. It seeks to mobilize a section of population who were previously skeptical of the group's ideology.[15] In this case the most important role is that of a charismatic leader and the services provided by the organization's political front. The political front serves to create support, transmit messages to their loyal following and create structures to sustain the military campaign.

Terrorist on the one hand and governments on the other compete for media attention. There are two primary elements to the terrorism and the media problem. The first deals with the role of the media, while the second deals with the impact of the media.

The role of the media is to report threats of terrorism or incidents of terrorism as they occur. This is not covered by the media in the same way when we are dealing with State terrorism. In the late case usually the cause of the terrorist, is played down in the middle paragraphs of newspaper reports

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[11] *Ibidem*, p.318.

[12] *Ibidem*, p.319.

[13] W.LIPPMAN, *op.cit.,* p.232.

[14] NEUMANN & SMITH*, op.cit.*, p.47.

[15] *Ibidem,* p.49.

or the middle of telecasts and are mentioned briefly or not at all. The terrorist viewpoint is rarely presented on its own merits, but is usually "balanced" by a spokesperson for the official view.[16]

Impact : Today the power of the media grows more and more, in an acute and uncontrolled manner. This becomes even more important when the political leadership is discredited, their authority is undermined. Hence the war of terrorism to undermine the authority of the State to defend the own citizens trying to discredit him, and also the importance of institutions in the dissemination of the right information is giving certainty to the people.[17]

The act of terrorism is a master key for unlocking the door to the mass media.[18] Their violent deeds are a huge attractive message to the target-audience. But the response side authors are also in a good position to answer because they are part of the foundation of the triangle of political communication with links and relationships in place before emergencies arise.[19]

The media types that terrorist use are:

- Clandestine , rebel radio station
- Newspapers, posters, or other publication
- Conventional , commercial or state owned mass media (Radio, TV and press)[20]
- Internet,
- Cheap video production
- Private, terrorist–owned Television stations.

All this has, as we have said, attractions and limitations. The use of internet serves more in recruitment, engagement on "information laundering" and fund raising. Therefore it is a key for both external propaganda and internal command and control information.[21] Now, every terrorist group has its own website and can be found on the web. Any terrorist event that is covered by TV cable or satellite now, resorts to using the terrorist organizations own video recording of the spectacle.

In the Middle East, the terrorist possesses great capabilities in the use of the technologies, new media for offensive purpose and more for typical propaganda, fund raising and recruiting. They own TV-s and Radio Stations, websites, journals, which are in different languages with different purpose, orientation and intended audience. The faithful reader is the unique daily judge of the

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[16] *Ibidem*, p.58.
[17] W.LIPPMAN, *op.cit.*, p.14.
[18] B.HOFFMAN; *op.cit.*, p.196.
[19] *Ibidem*, p. 198.
[20] *Ibidem*, p. 199.
[21] *Ibidem*, p.202.

media.[22] And to remain faithful the media canons of truth must conform to stereotypes of the readers or spectators.[23] Hence the different message that the same web or TV make service in different languages, depending on the type of target that they wish to remain faithful to them.

Terrorists often use the media for their own communication purposes, either to draw the attention of governments and other audiences or, in the case of terrorism by government, to draw attention away from the government by calling opponents of the regime terrorists themselves and having the media reproduce this official version of events, instead of the actual state of affairs.[24]

Quality, content and transmission capability of the terrorist group on the use of the media has really matured. Prerecorded statement are done well, with quality and masterful timing. The percentage of people who read newspapers is less than those watching TV. Barriers to economic, social and cultural events prevent access to many people to the new technologies. And the most powerful are satellite channels. The spreading of the news is the means to an end.

The established media are used more versus the target audience .

Target

Even the choice of victim is made to mean something : it obeys the logic of representation and symbol. The terrorism nature has the essential feature "to make a spectacle" of actions and to dramatize the violence that it implements. Its main forum are the media, tools of mass communication. Using the media scene, he turns it to his advantage, manipulating symbols that are carefully scripted. The capability to broadcast instantaneously coupled with the pressure to scoop competitors. The networks competitors now are not only cable but also satellite TV and internet. Being a business, media coverage needs the scoop, the event, and as any business they respond to "consumer demand" which coincides with the need of the media as in all businesses, to collect a greater audience share.

On the psychological level, the terrorist "machine" acts on two key levers: emotions and imagination, through simple manipulation and thresholds of tolerance of ordinary sensitivity.[25] The invention of the steam-powered press in 1830 began the modern era of mass media communication. The second revolution in mass communication that directly affected terrorism occurred on 1968[26] with the introduction of "real-time". The big event is real time in satellite and cable to an audience

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[22] W.LIPPMAN, *op.cit.,* p.237.
[23] *Ibidem,* p.238.
[24] R.D. CRELINSTEN, *op.cit.*, p.316.
[25] F.B.HUYGHE, *op.cit..*
[26] B.HOFFMAN, *op.cit.,* p.178.

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with appetite for news in real time. The terrorist recognized immediately, the power of the mass media technology. The terrorist strikes more where the public can be more impressed and therefore having greater affect on the attitudes of the governments. Television and media put a pressure where pressure needs to be put. One of the axioms of terrorism is to generate publicity and to attract attention to the terrorist and their cause.[27]

Terrorism has a political logic, so is the use of violence for political end, but it is not a war between two regular forces. This is the difference between a terrorist act or hate crimes or criminal acts. He wants to threaten the ability of a State to ensure the security and consequently its claim to legitimacy. Terrorism has the psychological strategy of mass terror. It aims to push even democratic governments to armed conflict and violence in order to create popular uprisings, led by them, to unsettle the democratic system. At that point, the State comes under pressure and could play the censorship and propaganda card. So they will empty the independence of the media into instruments of propaganda and at that point the terrorism wins. The freedom of orientation of the public opinion should not be turned into a propaganda tool. In this way, they would legitimize the terrorists logic and slogan.

Only when the majority of people rise above the state of disorientation and begin to transfer support from the government to the terrorists, then terrorism becomes an existential threat to the regime. Indeed it is only then, that the terrorist could declare victories.[28]

The essence of terrorism is the use of armed against the unarmed[29] and in the same time it is a political decisive strategy. To better understand how psychological terrorism works, we should make a distinction between two types of victims: the direct victims: men and women who fell under the blows and indirect victims : the general public or international opinion, who are the real targets of terrorism.[30] The terrorist wants to attract an audience far beyond the immediate victims, so the publicity is really important to them. It wants to scare, so the answer from the government authorities will be violent; taking measures leading to a reduction in democratic rights and civil liberties. Terrorists by fear and violence want to dominate and control. So they want to attract attention and through publicity to communicate their message.

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[27] B.HOFFMAN, *op.cit.,* p.176.

[28] NEUMANN & SMITH*, op.cit.,* pp.46-47.

[29] Charles TOWNSHEND, *Terrorism, A very short Introduction*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2002,p.8.

[30] Pierre MANNONI, *Le Terrorisme, un spectacle sanglant*, 2011, http://www.scienceshumaines.com/le-terrorisme-un-spectacle-sanglant_fr_13770.html

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Their target- audience are on the one hand are people for recruitment, sympathizers and financial helps. To recruit, terrorists need to kill. Recruitment serve to increase their ranks in numbers, but also because it needs young blood. It wants to undermine popular confidence in government and leadership (eg. Syria and Iran have always used, at different times the PKK inside Turkey to contain the rising of the Turkish State), creating an inability in the government and security forces to provide defense or protection to the population.

The victim is chosen because their victimization will resonate with specific audiences, either in generating fear or exhilaration, or in affecting allegiances and behavior. Even in the case of the "indiscriminate" violence of the machine-gunning of tourists in airports, the car bomb in city streets, or the massacre of villagers, the lack of discrimination between combatant and noncombatant, between involved and uninvolved, between active supporter and passive sympathizer, between innocent and guilty, has a symbolic function.[31]

Terrorist attacks amplify the impact and concerns about security. The media have obviously a great influence on its amplification. There is an extent of media's symbiotic relationship with terrorism, no less than the public fascination to which both media and terrorist actively cater.[32] They have gradually given a major role in the development and application of the modern terrorism, and will have more importance in the coming decades providing a platform to exchange views and to share experiences on many issues connected to terrorism. The intense coverage and the spread of the publicity is made mostly by reporters, producers, journalists, and lately by internet. All the media tools become an instrument for the terrorist, as for example in the case of hostages.

But must be really careful : not all types of terrorist can be put in the same basket, otherwise we have to apply the same strategy to fight them, when in fact they are different. In general, the resistance groups that receive more likes and global consensus have a vertical hierarchy of leadership rather than horizontal. They have a known location, a coordinated and local leadership. This is unlike other types of terrorism.

The Propaganda

The Propaganda spreads faith, doctrine, certainty, confidence and cause hostility towards their opposition. It also spreads texts, songs, pictures and icons. The words evoke mobilizations, total wars and totalitarian ideologies. So the terrorist organizations or State use the high-tech tools of

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[31] R.D. CRELINSTEN, *op.cit.*, p.317.

[32] B.HOFFMAN, *op.cit.*, p.185.

news dissemination. The centrality of propaganda to the communication process and its importance to the terrorist are self-evident.[33] Propaganda is when a group of people, able to prevent free access to the facts, manipulate the news in view of their end. Whether the goal is patriotic or not, this does not affect the validity of the account.[34]

Without some form of censorship, propaganda in the strict sense of the word is impossible. To exercise propaganda there must be some barrier between the public and the event. The access to the real-world environment must be limited, before anyone can create a pseudo-environment that looks right and appropriate.[35]

Propaganda is used by terrorist organizations and also by States. Within the context of this issue, people do not seem to realize that governments use the media at all times. In fact, we could learn a lot about how terrorists use the media from analyzing how governments and politics use the media daily.

On the one hand, propaganda is known at least since ancient times – "repeat, simplify, demonize, using symbols". On the other hand the art of convincing the masses evolves according to the ideologies that mobilize them and technologies that materialize it. Propaganda has virtually always been there. We know the war of the Greeks from Thucydides. It is clear that his stories are wonderful, but they are seen from the Greek point of view, as well as we know the Roman wars from the Romans point of view. In time and especially now with the rise of the mass media, the propaganda is refined. It previously existed, but it was more an accessory of the war. Today it is almost more important to make the propaganda than the war.

In the propaganda there is a message and a target. Sometimes the message can be also auto-propaganda in order to strengthen moral, or justify and legitimize or explain particular controversial decisions.[36] It can be applied also by terrorist as by governments and its security forces.

Through propaganda terrorists try to communicate a particular message to a particular target audience. The propaganda serves States in imposing its own wishes or foreign policy tools in an intervention with other countries. According to Lippman, censorship in time of war by the army would have political motivations to avoid spreading alarmism in the population and give courage to civilians in a difficult phase, so the propaganda purpose is clear.

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[33] *Ibidem*, p.198.
[34] W.LIPPMAN, *op.cit.*, p.31.
[35] *Ibidem*, p.32.
[36] B.HOFFMAN, *op.cit.,* p.199.

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The importance of symbols and stereotypes in communication affect even also communicators and managers of communication. The big newspapers and the media generally have a larger influence even over the small ones. The role of the manager in the selection of news topics, the position in which they are located, quantity and space that they must occupy, the tone to be given are all tools and instruments in spreading the news .

There is less and less space for independent journalists in the war. Of course it is difficult for the same journalist to follow a war on both sides. Today in order that the journalist participates in a war, he must be embedded in one of the parties fighting. This is partly because he cannot participate: either because they he is not allowed, or because he would be shot and killed. It is hard to not be affected in a war. The journalist as we have said, interprets the images he sees, using its sources and interpreting the information. The newspapers, the mainstream media and the broadcast have less and less money and invest less in this area. New technologies have made the duty of the independent journalist more difficult. For example: the guerrilla, terrorist or resistance fighter puts his movie on the web and it goes around the world. Manipulation and propaganda have become the main battleground. Especially when the war itself is changed. In the majority of cases we have asymmetrical war and the reporter undergoes strong pressures of various kinds.

Propaganda is a double-edged sword. There are cases where it is used as a measure against terrorism, but it is better not to give too much propaganda as it gives legitimacy and importance to those who desire it. The propaganda in this case actually uses the adversary, but can also make him a service.

Two parties in a war have two different stories. Each one has his own message for the audience. The insurgent television can be inside the State where they act, or in other countries, in the event that they can't work in the State which they oppose. For example the PKK used the MED TV based in London and ROJ TV based in Denmark; Hezbollah uses Al Manar Tv based in Lebanon.

Furthermore, this two-way communication usually occurs in a wider forum where others watch and listen; it is a form of communication that speaks to other audiences beyond the target that is directly "addressed."

 Insurgents speak not only to governments, but also to the constituents of governments and their own constituents, perceived or desired. Governments speak not only to revolutionaries and reformers, but also to their supporters and sympathizers, as well as their own.[37]This is why the mass media is so central to the issue of terrorism.

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[37] R.D. CRELINSTEN, *op.cit.*, p.313.

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The emergence of modern state sponsored terrorism

Typically, the definition of a State sponsor of terrorism is a country that uses surrogates as its weapon to attack other people or country. Terror as tactic can be used by individuals groups as by a State. Governments have long engaged in different types of illicit, clandestine activities, including the systematic use of terror – against their enemies, both domestic and foreign. Some governments embrace terrorism as deliberate instruments of foreign policy: the use of surrogate warriors terrorist. For example: the student group on Teheran about US hostages. And it was only the first of a different and extensive State sponsored terrorist campaign directed by Khomeini against the US and other States. There are other governments and States doing the same action. Acts of violence perpetrated by terrorist secretly working for governments are used by the latest because there are relatively inexpensive and risk free from international punishment or reprisal.[38]

The States in this case furnished them with weapons, passports, false identities, and often the terrorist are different nationalities from the State sponsored.[39] For example the Abu Nidal organization has often been employed by Syria, Iraq and Lybia. The attacks on Lebanon in 1983, kidnapping of hostages in Lebanon by Islamic Jihad and than Hezbollah, the use of PKK from Iran and Syria to destabilize Turkey, the killing of Iranian and Syrian dissidents abroad as Shahpur Baktiar in Paris or the fatwa against Salman Rushdie, or the killing of Iranian scientist in Iran by Mossad agents.

State sponsored terrorism had more profound impact on patterns of terrorism. He needed less publicity, did not depend on local population for support, as he didn't want a public backlash. The terrorist groups are used in this case as their fifth column.

For State sponsor, terrorism is not a fanatical act or indiscriminate violence, but has a purposed target with a deliberately calibrated method. Each country has its own list of groups that called terrorists or States that calls terrorists sponsor. And if we see the same fact from different points of view we will change the shape.

State terror may not fit the common model of clandestine terrorism, but undermines liberal norms and public confidence . Somehow the partisan fighter as irregular[40], must always lean on a regular power. When multiple third parties concur, the partisan retains a certain space for his policy.[41]   The

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[38] B.HOFFMAN, op.cit., p.258.

[39] Ibidem, p.266.

[40] Carl SCHMITT, *Teoria del Partigiano*, Adelphi , Milano, 2005, p.104.

[41] Ibidem, p.105.

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third provides not only powerful weapons and ammunition, money, materials and medicinal benefits of any kind, but also procures the political recognition for the irregular fighter. He needs that it not be considered as a pirate or criminal.

Terrorist organizations can attack an already existing State internationally or transnationally, across borders, to create a new State. And often this can be used by others State in containment of the power seizing (e.g Iran and Syria versus Turkey through PKK) or to create a friendly government (ex. Actually Iran versus Iraq). States may send their own terrorists abroad to target dissidents living out the country, or to train other non-State terrorist group. The latest one serves to those States for military intervention or as instruments of their foreign policy. The case study of Iran and Syria are important to understand well two points:

- The reason why States use the terrorist organizations and how the States use the propaganda at this purpose.

- The support of the one or more States to a terrorist organization is quite important to its longevity .

The media are between the terrorist organizations and government information. So the media becomes the field of fire for advertising messages by governments and by the terrorist group. The transmission of the political messages is important, so if the free transmission of information will be not permitted, the insurgents will be neutralized, as all the channels of mass communications are controlled by authorities. It is typical of the authoritarian State or on dictatorship .

Terrorism must be a public act. What distinguishes insurgents/or terrorist organizations from State terrorism is that the latter does not necessarily seek publicity. So the terrorist will try to use the media. The purpose is the control of the population and without the mass media the effect of terrorism could be lower. The media helps terrorists more in their strategic goals than tactical.

Recommendations

Today, the irregular fighter, as the partisan of Schmitt, is the terrorist. When considered the terrorist as enemy of humanity, the status of combatant, in principle is denied him. The hostility is pushed to the extreme, war becomes limitless, the enemy is reduced to criminal. This is the phenomenon of radicalization of the conflict to war without limits. It's true that sometimes the solutions are the mask with which they present new problems. But we must always remember Clausewitz when he tells us that politics and war go together, and the war is a form of politics. War is made up of guerrilla warfare and terrorism (in the case when terrorism has a political purpose). The best thing

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at this point is legitimizing it, recognize it and then follow in politics. That's what the British government did with the IRA, and how the Turkish government tries to deal with the PKK. In the long run we must legitimize the irregularity moving towards the regular and for this there are two choices for the irregular force: the recognition from a regular existing, or to assert a new regularity on their own. The latter is difficult, however.[42] The use of symbols and stereotypes for this purpose is interesting: terrorism is absolutely evil, resistance is nice, guerrilla warfare is neutral. Anyone who risks their lives for a political purpose has the right not to be treated as a bandit. If legitimacy is not given at some point by the opponent, they will only   be considered as criminals and bandits. And at that point it is not possible to follow in politics, leaving only the military option.

Some strategies may not have immediate and fast answers, but they need time. One has to wonder whether the hazard is such, as to permit the suspension of democratic guarantees, limiting the role of the press, etc. There are no good answers for all occasions. But must always remember that any restriction of liberty is a gift to the enemy. In a global situation where every situation is different and changes must have a high level of improvisation. If we view all terrorism the same way, as in the axis of evil strategies, it will be wrong, because terrorism's diversification isn't taken into account. Terrorism has its own strategy, but when used by third-world countries it's a tactic used as an instrument of the third-world country foreign policy. The war on terrorism is a war against different kind of terrorism.

Terrorism cannot be understood only in terms of violence. It has to be understood primarily in terms of propaganda. Violence and propaganda, however, have much in common. Violence aims at behavior modification by coercion. Propaganda aims at the same by persuasion. Terrorism is a combination of the two.

This begs the question, are the target and the audience suited to being coerced into compliance of specific demands from specific targets. The processes of negotiation and bargaining between governments and terrorists then become further opportunities for propaganda and publicity.

Recommendations to journalists and media

Must remove the money sources to terrorist groups and hit them in the financial circuits where they are funded.

Must try to narrow the area of sympathy and consent to remove the possibility of recruitment of young people.

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[42]I*bidem*, p.106.

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Must keep in mind that terrorism is multi-faceted and a counter-terrorism strategy can not be limited to combat the phenomenon on the basis of moral or civilian unacceptability. First of all the origins must be understood and then eradicated at its root. There cannot be, however, only a military strategy. It must always be accompanied by a political strategy.

The independent media must include community radio stations providing information and training for networks of citizen journalists, bloggers, and cyber-activists which would support their ability to document, package, and disseminate information on developments of events. It would provide independent news reporting; technical assistance and equipment to enhance the information and communications.

Independence would be based on three points: the funds, the conditions of the employment relationship and access to the facts. [43]

On this theme new guidelines that are developed and applied by the media organizations themselves are important. The use of existing guidelines that have been developed for other reasons that can be applied to cover terrorism and hostage-taking.[44]

Another is to "provide context, perspective, background, possible motivation of the terrorists." [45]

This again reflects objectivity as well as the self-perceived media role as chronicler of news and provider to the public of sufficient information for informed judgments.

There are general principles of professionalism to be respected, that exist within the media community, just as in any other professional community.

The cooperation between media personnel and the authorities is important. One point about the issue of cooperation: The media are clearly quite aware of the dangers of cooptation inherent in this approach. The idea of responsible journalism embraces not only the notion of cooperating with authorities to facilitate crisis management and to avoid endangering lives, but also the notion of playing the role of public watchdog on government and safeguarding the public's right to undertake training and education.

In the face of a terrorist act, or any other high-impact event, the journalist must always cite the sources of his information. Especially when it is impossible for him to access the site. A journalist has to watch and compare as much as possible the variety of sources and these sources must be reliable.

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[43] W.LIPPMAN, *op.cit.,* p.278.
[44] R.D. CRELINSTEN, *op.cit*., p.325.
[45] NEUMANN & SMITH, *op.cit*., p.70.

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Journalists in our society so that they can maintain their independence as much as possible should regulate themselves, auto condemn themselves, otherwise the State will decide what the media should say, do, or not do. That is the risk-point, because in this case we are facing a State censorship. The media must find the point of balance between freedom of information and right to information.

All forms of violence must be condemned, trying to not be an amplifier of the propaganda to those who use violence. The cases should be evaluated from time to time condemning violence against civilians, but without censoring facts and information. There should be no need to pass a body of information to an organ of censorship and propaganda. This typically happens in dictatorships. If the facts and information would be censored, the media would lose credibility. And if media lose any credibility, it also loses value.

I am convinced that all acts of terrorism must be fought with democracy within its rules. Because it is the only way to remove the popular support and the sympathy of an audience from any actor who performs an act of terrorism.

Journalists should try to tell the facts and news, as objectively as possible, to act within the rules of democracy. By setting car, usually if it is to choose just one side, must chose the side of the weakest Between two parties if one of them are slaughtered women and children, the journalist must choose to stay on their side. The journalist is neither a priest nor a philosopher in search of the absolute truth and we must be realistic that perfection is not of this world. Assuming the journalist is in situ however, his interpretation of the fact. The journalist must try to tell the facts consistent with the complexity of the world and with utmost honesty.

The journalist should not have preconceived ideas.

Public opinions must be organized for the press if they are to be meaningful, and not by the press as often happens. [46]

The media should try not to turn the terrorist into a hero and martyr of the war.

In particular, in the Middle East, the media must try to create a non-political partisan press, but independent from any political parties or movements.

Our case study covers two States : Iran and Syria. Both of them considered as terrorist States by many countries. Just to remind you: "State-sponsored terrorism is the act of a state, directly supporting terrorist acts or organizations through funds, weapons, smuggling assistance, training camps, media outlets, propaganda, and sanctuary". Rogue States are safe havens for terrorist

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[46] W.LIPPMAN, **op.cit.,** p.24.

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activity. It is not my intention to show all of the acts of terrorism by each State, but to show how they use the media for propaganda purposes.

IRAN CASE

Since the arrival of Khomeini after the fall of the Shah, and the capture of the US hostages in Teheran on November 1979, Iran is accused of many terrorist acts. Iran continued to provide financial, material, and logistical support for terrorist and militant groups throughout the Middle East and Central Asia.[47] It has continued to provide   "lethal support", including weapons, training, funding, and guidance, to Iraqi Shia militant groups supporting the de-stabilization of Iraq. Iran has used the PKK (Kurdish Kommunist Party in Turkey) to destabilize the country providing the PKK with supplies in the form of weapons and funds. The *Qods* Force provided training to the Taliban in Afghanistan on small unit tactics, small arms, explosives, and indirect fire weapons, such as mortars, artillery, and rockets.

Iran has provided weapons and training to the Assad regime in Syria, as well as providing weapons, training, and funding to Hamas, Palestinian Islamic Jihad, and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command, amongst others, and has assisted in re-arming Hezbollah.

During the 1980s and the 1990s a wave of kidnappings, bombings, and assassinations of Western targets, particularly American and Israeli, occurred in Lebanon and other countries. The attacks were attributed to the group. Iran has been accused by the United States of giving weapons and support to the Iraqi insurgency (which includes the terrorist group *al-Qaeda*),also Muqtada al-Sadr and his *Mahdi* army.

Along with the above allegations, Iran is also accused of other acts of terrorism such as: The *Fatwa* on the author Salman Rushdie for his novel *The Satanic Verses*, the Mykonos restaurant assassinations in Berlin on 1992, killing Kurdish insurgent leaders, and the 1994 AMIA bombing in Buenos Aires, which followed Argentina's decision to suspend a nuclear technology transfer contract to Tehran.

At the same time the Iranian government calls the MKO or MEK (Mojahedin e –Kahlq), the PJAK (the Kurdish communist Party) and some other guerilla groups, as terrorists.

Censorship in Iran is largely seen as a measure to maintain the stability of the country and the control by the Islamic government. The Media of Iran are privately and publicly owned but subject to the control of the government. A special court has authority to monitor the   print media and may

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[47] Council in Foreign Relations, http://www.cfr.org/iran/state-sponsors-iran/p9362

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suspend publication or revoke the licenses of papers or journals that their jury finds guilty of publishing antireligious material, slander, or information detrimental to the National Interest.

Now let's see concrete examples of use of the media by the government's media or those near the government .

http://www.iranglobal.info/node/11598 *(it's a newspaper near Pasdaran).*

Pasdaran play with the PKK card to embarrass the Turkish government "*which started an offensive policy in the region…*" It is a card that Iran had abandoned and has been picked up at the beginning of the situation in Syria.

Murat Karayilan in an interview with a newspaper in Irbil called "Rodav" said "*to have mediated the cease fire among the Iranian government and PJAK in the conflict between the Revolutionary Guards and PJAK on the Iran – Iraq borders*".

Comment: The fact is that since the rebellion in Syria started, the death sentences of PJAK prisoners in Iran were no longer carried. This to help PKK activities in Turkey.

http://www.presstv.ir/detail/2013/01/06/282130/history-of-americas-terror-squads/

"Terrorism with a "human face": The history of America's death squads.

"The recruitment and training of terror brigades in both Iraq and Syria was modeled on the "Salvador Option," a "terrorist model" of mass killings by US sponsored death squads in Central America. It was first applied in El Salvador, in the heyday of resistance against the military dictatorship, resulting in an estimated 75,000 deaths".

http://www.presstv.ir/detail/2012/12/19/278997/us-fails-to-ratify-uncrc-treaty/

United States fails to ratify UN Child Rights treaty

The United States remains one of only three United Nation member states who have not ratified the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, Press TV reports.

http://www.presstv.ir/detail/2012/12/16/278424/us-uk-train-syrian-militants-in-jordan/

US, UK training Syrian militants in Jordan: Report

Syrian militants have been receiving training to use light and heavy weapons in Jordan with the help of the British and US governments, a new report says.

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FROM FARS NEWS

http://english.farsnews.com/newstext.php?nn=9107135145

US Seeking to Provoke Kurds against Iran's Central Gov't through Turkey

TEHRAN (FNA)- Sources disclosed on Sunday that Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan has started exercising a US and Israeli plan to provoke Iran's Kurdish population against the government in Tehran through the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK).

http://english.farsnews.com/newstext.php?nn=9107132499

Turkish Fighter Jets Hit Over 20 PKK Targets in Northern Iraq

TEHRAN (FNA)- Turkish fighter jets bombed over 20 targets of the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) in Northern Iraq late Monday.

http://english.farsnews.com/rslt.php?txt=pkk&asdate=01%2F05%2F2004&todate=01%2F14%2F2013&aor=sh&area[]=Title&nr=14&srv[]=0

US Urges PKK to Shelter MKO Members at Iran's Borders (2010-07-20)

TEHRAN (FNA)- The White House has, in a message, called on the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) to harbor the members of the anti-Iran terrorist group, the Mojahedin-e Khalq Organization (MKO), in the mountainous areas on the Iraq-Iran-Turkey borders, a PKK source disclosed on Tuesday.

Iraqi Official: Unearthed Mass Graves Proves MKO-Al Qaeda Collaboration (2013-01-13)

TEHRAN (FNA)- The mass graves which have recently been unearthed near the main training camp of the terrorist Mojahedin-e Khalq Organization in Iraq's Diyala province, unveiled a strong bond between the MKO and the Al Qaeda terrorist group.

Defection from MKO Growing (2013-01-06)

TEHRAN (FNA)- A growing number of Mojahedin-e Khalq Organization (MKO also known as the MEK, PMOI and NCR) members are leaving the terrorist group as MKO ringleaders are using all types of physical and mental tortures against members to prevent their mass defection.

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http://www.farsnews.com/newstext.php?nn=8608050044

Highlights in the news errors of Turkish government, giving an example*: "bomb in Istanbul, three people died, but the error is that the Turkish government doesn't develop the poor sectors of the country*."

Comment: Interestingly, when talking about the PKK, none of the Iranian media talk about "terrorists", even when they speak badly of it. In most cases they speak about the lack of human rights, poverty, etc.. So it is true, it was a bomb *(the fact)*, but in some way it must be understood because the Turkish government does not understand their needs *(interpretation)*. They use the word terrorist always in the case of PJAK.

FROM IRNA NEWS

Victims of terrorism send letter of protest to UN secretary general

Tehran, Dec 2, IRNA - Association for Defending Victims of Terrorism in the Middle East region sent a letter of protest on Sunday to UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon for granting asylum to MKO members at Ashraf camp in Iraq.

http://www.khabaronline.ir/detail/257446/World/middle-east   Khabar on line 2 months ago.

A spokesman of Foreign Affairs of the Iranian government, Ramin Mehmanparast, goes to Ankara and reports on relations between the two countries. Among the topics of the official discussion as Brahimi and his plan in Syria, etc. he mention also PKK as terrorist group ..., but "*a terrorist group supported by the West*".

http://**www.guardian.co.uk**/world/2012/aug/06/iranians-confess-nuclear-scientist-murders

Iran Scientist Assassinations: Confessions In Murder Of Nuclear Scientists Aired On State TV.

Regarding the death of Iranian scientists, obviously the news is that this was done by Mossad, with the collaboration of Iranians group. These are all people whose confessions were taken by force. Why this? Because they don't want to recognize the ability of Israel to have entered in Iranian soil and to be able to commit these crimes.

SYRIA CASE

Syria is a secular dictatorship accused of committing serious human rights violations by the Human Rights Watch. Syria in 2010 continued its political support of a variety of terrorist groups affecting the stability of the region and beyond. Syria provided political and weapons support to Hezbollah in

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Lebanon and allowed Iran to resupply the terrorist organization with weapons. It has a covert presence in Lebanese politics. The external leadership of Hamas, the Palestine Islamic Jihad (PIJ), the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PLFP), and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command (PFLP-GC), amongst others, were based in Damascus and operated within Syria's borders. From 1980 until 1998, the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK), which sought an independent Kurdish State, used Syria as a headquarters and base of operations against neighboring Turkey.[48] After the undeclared war between Turkey and Syria, Syria placed restrictions on PKK activity on its soil. In fact after years based on Syria, after the restrictions Oçalan was obligated to let Syria. But after the beginning of the war in Syria, the governments are once again using the PKK to destabilize the situation in Turkey. It must be remembered that the conflict between the two countries is connected to border and water issues.

The media of Syria has been completely State-controlled since the Syrian Arab Republic came into existence in 1961. The Ba'athist regime which ruled Syria until the outbreak of the Syrian Civil War in 2011, has been responsible for the abduction and murder of several independent journalists and has consistently been ranked as one of the most repressive countries in the world in terms of press freedom.

Criticism of the president and his family, the ruling Baath Party, and the military is forbidden by the non-State media. The legitimacy of the regime may not be questioned. The government's human rights record, Islamist opposition, allegations of official involvement in drug trafficking, the activity of Syrian troops in Lebanon, and anything unfavorable to the Arab cause in the Arab-Israeli conflict are topics that are censored. Statements supporting terrorist groups like Hamas and Hezbollah consistently permeated government speeches and press statements.

Iraqi Baathists continued to congregate in the Syrian capital and some of them call for violence against the Iraqi government and Iraqi civilian targets. Al-Rai Television, a television station owned by Iraqi Baathist Mishaan al-Jaburi and broadcast from a suburban Damascus location, transmitted messages of violence in support of terrorism in Iraq throughout the year. Some experts characterize Syria's involvement in terrorism as "passive support."

FROM SANA AGENCY (govern)

http://sana.sy/eng/337/2013/01/17/462403.htm

Terrorists Killed, Vehicles Destroyed in Several Areas Jan 17, 2013

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[48] Council in Foreign Relations, http://www.cfr.org/syria/state-sponsor-syria/p9368

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Units of the Armed Forces killed and injured a number of terrorists in Mleiha, Douma farms, Harasta and Daraya in Damascus Countryside. In Daraya, units of the Armed Forces foiled terrorist attempts to detonate tens of explosive devices, whose weights exceeded 30 kg, in al-Shariydeh Square….

http://sana.sy/eng/21/2013/01/17/462268.htm

Syria Affirms Commitment to Cooperating with UNICEF , Jan 17, 2013

Social Affairs and Labor Minister Dr. Jassem Mohammad Zakaraya affirmed his Ministry's commitment to cooperating with UN organizations operating in Syria, particularly the UNICEF. In a meeting with UNICEF resident representative in Syria Yousef Abdeljalil on Wednesday, Zakaraya called for expanding cooperation and implementing programs that help more sections in society, particularly women and children…

http://sana.sy/eng/21/2013/01/17/462175.htm

Foreign Ministry Calls on UN and UNSC Member States to Condemn Massacre against Aleppo University Students and Terrorist Crimes in Syria, Jan 17, 2013

Foreign and Expatriates Ministry yesterday Wednesday called upon the UN and the UN Security Council member states to condemn the terrorist crimes in Syria, including the massacre committed against Aleppo University students, employees and citizens who took refuge there. Addressing two identical letters to the President of the UN Security Council and the UN Secretary General, the ministry said that the victims of the terrorist attack against the University of Aleppo are students who were on their first day of exams and they have no guilt but that they are continuing their educational attainment and preparing themselves to take part in their country's progress and building its future. "On the afternoon of Tuesday, January, 15th, 2013, the armed terrorist groups targeted the University of Aleppo with two rocket shells from al-Lairamoun neighborhood, causing the martyrdom of 82 students and the injury of hundreds," the Ministry said in its letters.

http://newsfromsyria.com/ (not govern press)

Farouq Al-Sharaa's missing week, *September 6th, 2012 · Politics*

It has been said that the Syrian regime only learns of a defection when an official doesn't turn up to work. So when the country's vice president disappeared from the public eye for a week, it seemed as though the FSA had claimed a major scalp.

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http://www.dp-news.com/en/detail.aspx?articleid=136671

Syrian Army: Armed Forces & Syrians carry out War of Defending Homeland

Source: http://www.dp-news.com/en/detail.aspx?articleid=136671#ixzz2IHnGxoEe

http://www.dp-news.com/en/detail.aspx?articleid=136320

US labels Syria Jihadist Group "Jabhat al-Nusra" as Terrorists

Source: http://www.dp-news.com/en/detail.aspx?articleid=136320#ixzz2IHnayihn

From EIN NEWS

Syria: Proxy War By U.S. And Gulf Monarchies 18 Jan 00:35 GMT

… , the Syrian Opposition Coalition, as the "legitimate representative" of the Syrian people … to the Syrian opposition? Probably because the situation in Syria is extremely … Gaza. Syria is also backed by Russia, which has given Damascus very … perhaps Russia, rather than Syria. Inside Syria, the secular opposition backed by …

http://**www.bbc.co.u**k/news/world-middle-east-20009357 (**must be watched**) October 2012 *Reporting from inside Syria is becoming increasingly difficult for foreign journalists. But all forms of media - particularly Syrian state TV - are strictly controlled to serve the interests of the regime. Syria currently ranks 176th out of 179 countries in the International Press Freedom Index. BBC Monitoring's Mike Linstead explains how social media sites are becoming the new battleground for control of news and information as pro-government and anti-government activists use the internet to put their side of the conflict over.*

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