Media in Armed Conflicts: Is It Still a Good Idea?

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Abstract

[Purpose] Many recent conflicts in different places in the world are considered as a perfect illustration of the growing risks faced by media working in conflict zones. It is therefore important to call renewed attention to the fact that direct harms against the media and its role are illegal based on the principles of international humanitarian law, which is the law that regulates the conduct of war (jus in bello) and protects civilian persons and objects, as long as they are not making an effective contribution to military action. The role of media and its great value cannot be considered a legitimate target in conflicts. Respectively, the media also benefit from all measures that must be taken by the conflicting parties measures –not confined to them alone– such as the principle of proportionality and the obligation to give a warning. As of late, many books and articles have been addressing the media in the time of conflicts. They all appear to discuss it either from one perspective, or consider its role concerning one single issue, but not daring to dive too deeply into specific related issues to the media in a time of conflicts. The purpose of this paper is to present evidence on how media plays a role in armed conflicts so that can help to prevent insecurity and violent conflict, and contribute to peace and justice. It aims to help recognize the importance of media and its positive and negative potential about conflicts.

[Methodology] The paper will examine the available literature on this subject specifically focusing on the challenges faced by media and underlining the knowledge gaps around media in armed conflicts.

[Findings] We have directed ourselves to approach the topic from a different perspective. We hope to accomplish it, in part, by introducing the role of media in armed conflicts and whether it is still a good idea.

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INTRODUCTION

Media has played a significant part in the IHL context. IHL1 aims to limit the effects of armed conflict for humanitarian reasons.[2] It "aims to protect persons who are not or are no longer taking part in hostilities,"[3] i.e. the sick, the wounded, prisoners, and civilians, and it defines the rights and obligations of the parties to a conflict, be the state or non-state[4] affiliated armed forces, in the conduct of hostilities.[5] Hence, one of IHL's purposes is to protect its beneficiaries,[6] and information has an enormous role to play to ensure that protected persons remain

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[1] Fundamental to IHL are the following two principles: 1- Persons who are not, or are no longer, participating in hostilities must be protected; and 2- The right of parties to an armed conflict to choose methods and means of warfare is not unlimited.

[2] Because it is law, IHL imposes obligations on those engaged in armed conflict. Not only must they respect the law, they have an obligation to ensure respect as well.

[3] The key IHL treaties include the 1907 Hague Regulations, the four Geneva Conventions, and their Additional Protocols. 1907 Hague Regulations Convention (IV) respecting the Laws and Customs of War on Land and its annex: Regulations concerning the Laws and Customs of War on Land. The Hague, 18 October 1907. Convention (I) for the Amelioration of the Condition of the Wounded and Sick in Armed Forces in the Field, Geneva, 12 August 1949. Convention (II) for the Amelioration of the Condition of Wounded, Sick and Shipwrecked Members of Armed Forces at Sea. Geneva, 12 August 1949. Convention (III) relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War. Geneva, 12 August 1949. Convention (IV) relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War. Geneva, 12 August 1949. Protocol Additional to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949, and relating to the Protection of Victims of International Armed Conflicts (Protocol I), 8 June 1977. Protocol Additional to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949, and relating to the Protection of Victims of Non-International Armed Conflicts (Protocol II), 8 June 1977. Protocol additional to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949, and relating to the Adoption of an Additional Distinctive Emblem (Protocol III), 8 December 2005.

[4] In international relations, violent non-state actors (VNSA), also known as non-state armed actors or non-state armed groups (NSAGs), are individuals and groups that are wholly or partly independent of state governments and which threaten or use violence to achieve their goals. Hofmann, Claudia, Schneckener, Ulrich, Engaging non-state Armed Actors in State and Peace-building: Options and Strategies, International Review of the Red Cross, 93, 883, 2011.

[5] Sumariwalla, Russy, Making a Difference: The Role of International NGOs in the Evolution of International Human Rights and Humanitarian Law, HRHL, 19, 2011.

[6] Kleffner, Jann, Improving Compliance with International Humanitarian Law through the Establishment of an Individual Complaints Procedure, 15:1 Leiden J of Intl L, 237, 238 (2002).

so throughout armed conflicts. However, information is crucial for military purposes.[7]

Indeed, the amount and quality of information are essential for military leaders during the orchestration of armed conflicts. Military personnel must make proper decisions: ones respecting the IHL principles of proportionality,[8] necessity,[9] humanity,[10] and distinction.[11][12] Conflict is one of the defining features[13] of the modern world. Since the end of the Cold War,[14] there have been

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[7] In military intelligence see i.e., Finnegan, Terrance, The Origins of Modern Intelligence, Surveillance, and Reconnaissance: Military Intelligence at the Front, 1914–18, Studies in Intelligence, (2009). Fuller, J. F. C., A Military History of the Western World, vol. 1: From the Earliest Times to the Battle of Lepanto, New York: Da Capo Press, 1987. Gabriel, Richard A., S. Metz, Karen, From Sumer to Rome: The Military Capabilities of Ancient Armies, New York: Greenwood Press, 1991.

[8] Under the Statute of the International Criminal Court, "intentionally launching an attack in the knowledge that such attack will cause incidental loss of life or injury to civilians or damage to civilian objects … which would be clearly excessive in relation to the concrete and direct overall military advantage anticipated" constitutes a war crime in international armed conflicts. ICC Statute, Article 8 (2) (b) (IV). See also UNTAET Regulation 2000/15, Section 6 (1) (b) (IV).

[9] The "principle of military necessity" permits measures which are actually necessary to accomplish a legitimate military purpose and are not otherwise prohibited by international humanitarian law. In the case of an armed conflict the only legitimate military purpose is to weaken the military capacity of the other parties to the conflict. In Military necessity see Gerald, Draper, Military Necessity and Humanitarian Imperatives, in RDMDG, vol. 12/2, pp. 129-151, 1973. Dunbar, N.C.H., The Significance of Military Necessity in the Law of War, in Juridical Review, vol. 67/2, pp. 201-212, 1955. Gardam, Judith, Necessity, Proportionality and the Use of Force by States, Cambridge, CUP, p. 259, 2004. Hayashi, Nobuo, Requirements of Military Necessity in International Humanitarian Law and International Criminal Law", in Boston University International Law Journal, vol. 28, Issue 1, pp. 39-140, 2010.

[10] The principle of humanity forbids the infliction of all suffering, injury or destruction not necessary for achieving the legitimate purpose of a conflict. Further reading in this specific principle see Blishchenko, Igor P., Les Principes du droit international humanitaire, in Studies and Essays on International Humanitarian Law and Red Cross Principles in Honour of Jean Pictet, Geneva, The Hague, ICRC/M., Nijhoff, pp. 291-300, 1984. Chetail, Vincent, The Fundamental Principles of Humanitarian Law through the Case Law of the International Court of Justice", in Refugee Survey Quarterly, vol. 21/3, pp. 199-211, 2002.

[11] Article 13 (2) of Additional Protocol II prohibits making the civilian population as such, as well as individual civilians, the object of attack. The prohibition on directing attacks against civilians is also contained in Amended Protocol II to the Convention on Certain Conventional Weapons. Additional Protocol II, Article 13 (2) (adopted by consensus). Amended Protocol II to the CCW, Article 3 (7).

[12] See Corn, Geoffrey, Schoettler, James A, Targeting and Civilian Risk Mitigation: The Essential Role of Precautionary Measures, 4 Mil L Rev, 785, 2015.

[13] For global conflict tracker, see https://www.cfr.org/interactive/global-conflict-tracker (Last seen January 30. 2021).

[14] The Cold War came to an end when the last war of Soviet occupation ended in Afghanistan, the Berlin Wall came down in Germany, and a series of mostly peaceful revolutions swept the Soviet Bloc states of Eastern Europe in 1989. Further reading on the

countless conflicts that have involved the death of millions of people and the suffering and displacement of millions more. At first sight, one could have the impression that IHL does not provide much protection for media; given that IHL treaty law[15] only contains two references to media personnel (war correspondents and journalists in dangerous professional missions in areas of armed conflict). Today, armed conflicts, usually do not take place between two armies; the most devastating ongoing conflicts are civil wars. Furthermore, this often takes place in countries undergoing major political changes,[16] such as countries that have taken steps towards democratization. In other words, today's post-Cold War world[17] looks different from previous eras.

One replaced two superpowers and the acceleration of technological advancements continues to transform some of the basic characteristics of political communication. Full-scale nuclear war seems like less of a threat today, but instead smaller, particularly vicious, and more difficult to solve, conflicts that to a higher degree implicate civilians as combatants and as victims pose the biggest threat.

War and armed conflict all have at least one thing in common: violence, which like no other means destroys everything from, people, crops, infrastructures, and other material resources to institutions, including education, and political will, hope, and trust.[18] Regrettably, there are no statistics for wars[19] that have been successfully prevented or where the escalation of violence was

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end of the Cold War, see Ball, S. J., The Cold War: An International History, 1947–1991, British Perspective, 1998. Beschloss, Michael, Strobe, Talbott, At the Highest Levels: The Inside Story of the End of the Cold War, 1993. Brooks, Stephen G., Wohlforth, William C, Power, globalization, and the end of the Cold War: Reevaluating a Landmark Case for Ideas, International Security, 5-53, 2001.

[15] International humanitarian law is based on treaties, in particular the Geneva Conventions and their Additional Protocols, and a series of other conventions and protocols on specific topics. There is also a substantial body of customary law that is binding on all States and parties to a conflict.

[16] Some theorists, such as Francis Fukuyama, argued that liberal democracy had decisively defeated tyranny with the collapse of the Soviet Union, which marked the "end of history". Indeed, since then, while there have been setbacks in countries such as Ukraine and Zimbabwe, dictatorship has been in retreat. Baker, Pauline H., The Dilemma of Democratization in Fragile States, The United Nations Chronicle: The Magazine of the United Nations, 48 (4), 2011.

[17] Some ideas for further reading, see Sakwa, Richard, Russia against the Rest: The Post-Cold War Crisis of World Order, Cambridge: CUP, 362, 2017. Wood, Luke B., The Politics of Identity and Security in Post-Cold War Western and Central Europe, European Politics and Society, 18.4, 552-556, 2017.

[18] Carruthers, Susan L. The Media at War: Communication and Conflict in the Twentieth Century, New York: St. Martin's Press, p.13, 2000.

[19] The CDP list of armed conflicts for the period 1946 to 2001, available at www.pcr.uu.se (Last seen January 30. 2021).

avoided. Nevertheless, the numbers in this case, whether large or small, would not make it any less significant.

The media has a very complex role to play that, unfortunately, is often taken for granted by political decision-makers and the military.[20] Statements claiming the media's impressive effects are often heard from decision-makers.[21] Political practitioners, and even researchers, most often assume the effect of news media in political conflicts. An example of the extent is reflected in a 1995 survey, in which 64% of American military officers still believed that media had the prime responsibility for ruining the war effort in Vietnam.[22] Today most Defense Ministries, particularly in the Western countries, have public relations and media specialists.[23] In light of this it is surprising, and perhaps even alarming, that relatively little in terms of research and resources have been allocated to improve our understanding of the media's role in armed conflicts[24] and democratizing states.[25]

Causes of conflict are often divided up into root causes and direct causes.[26] Root causes are related to causes that stem from long-term, large-scale structural factors and these may not always be manifest. Economic factors and political structures are often considered typical root causes. While direct causes resemble trigger events such as a sudden change in policy, an economic downturn, or a symbolic threat.

Reactions as a result of direct causes are more immediate.[27] It is difficult to pin an exact date for when the communications revolution began,[28] but it is during the last couple of decades that this technological development emerged,

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[20] Blondel, Ylva Isabelle, Violent Conflict and Roles of the Media. Uppsala University report commissioned by Sida and UNESCO, pp. 1-37, 2003.
[21] Id.
[22] Taylor, Philip M., Global Communications, International Affairs and the Media since 1945, 1st ed, New International History Series, London: Routledge, 1997.
[23] For references and further reading see Public Relations World Congress "Between People and Power", 10th, 1985, Amsterdam, Netherlands, Meiden, A. van der (Anne), 1929. Denig, EA., Geography of Public Relations Trends: Selected Proceedings of the 10th Public Relations World Congress "Between People and Power", Amsterdam 3-7 June 1985, M. Nijhoff, Boston, 1985.
[24] Brown, Michael E., The International Dimensions of Internal Conflict. Edited by Sean M. Lynn-Jones, Micheal E. Brown, Steven E. Miller, CSIA Studies in International Security, London, England: The MIT Press, 1996.
[25] Blondel, supra note 21, at 14.
[26] In root and causes see Franks J., Approaches to Conflict: The Root Causes. In: Rethinking the Roots of Terrorism, Rethinking Peace and Conflict Studies, Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2006.
[27] Blondel, supra note 20. at 14.
[28] I.e., The pre-printing-press era from the beginning of humanity through the mid-1400s.

and its spread has accelerated dramatically.[29] Firstly, and above all, media should be considered as a medium of communication in which various actors in society communicate with other groups.

This includes political activists, decision-makers, journalists themselves, and larger society-level audiences. Secondly, another common observation is the often-close ties between the media and the state, political elites, and economic decision-makers.

Simply put, in any given society, political power can usually be translated into power over the media,[30] and most conflicts today take place in two continents, Asia and Africa.[31] Assuming that states in Africa have some form of unified national identity is not unproblematic.[32] Hence, armed conflicts have a major effect on people with colonial pasts since they had no luxury of time to develop territorial borders based on social geography.

Consequently, media usually refers to news media communicated through mass mediums such as radio, press, television, internet, and other means of media. One should not forget that media can play a role in escalating conflicts, which also demonstrates the potential for positive purposes. The media have the power to defuse tensions before they even reach a critical point and keep a critical eye on the government, opposition, and society.

By supplying credible information and reaching a large audience, the media help in managing conflicts and promote democratic principles. In the aftermath of a conflict, reconciliation and societal development can be encouraged as well.[33] As Harry S. Truman once said, "You can never get all the facts from just one newspaper, and unless you have all the facts, you cannot make proper judgments about what is going on."[34]

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[29] Monroe E., Price, Thompson, Mark, Forging Peace: Intervention, Human Rights and the Management of Media Space. Edited by Philip M. Taylor, International Communications, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2002.

[30] Wolfsfeld, Gadi, Media and Political Conflict: News from the Middle East, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

[31] For further explanations of this fact, see diagrams available at https://www.acleddata.com/2015/03/25/conflict-dynamics-within-and-across-africa-and-asia/ (Last seen January 30. 2021).

[32] In today's politics, identity is an issue, however, in her publication, W(h)ither the Nation-state? National and State Identity in the Face of Fragmentation and Globalisation, Shampa Biswas cited Donald Levin in his classifications regarding using force. See Biswas, Shampa, W(h)ither the Nation-state? National and State Identity in the Face of Fragmentation and Globalisation, Global Society, 16:2, 175-198, 2002.

[33] Westphal, Florian, The Right Information at the Right Time, available at http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0013/001389/138983e.pdf, pp. 27-29, 2004. (Last seen January 20. 2008).

[34] Trueman, Harry S., available at http://www.sayings-quotes.com/harry_truman_quotes/ (Last seen January 20. 2021).

To that end, the methodologies used in this contribution are historical analysis and interpretative approaches to understand the issue in question holistically. In doing so, it explores media in armed conflicts involving national and international actors in conflicts. Also, it provides a key point of reference for media in the modern world and to answer the main question, Armed conflicts, and the media: Who needs whom.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF IHL AND MEDIA

Laws of war have always existed to limit the destruction of war.[35] The ancients, the knights of the Middle Ages, the jurists of the early modern period all testify to the record of this concern.[36] Nor is it just a Western concern. Other cultures, such as China, Japan, India, and the Islamic world, have their traditions of rules of warfare.[37] Yet, despite this universal concern, the attempt to limit war has suffered various setbacks. It was not until the 19th century that a movement to codify the laws of war began and modern international humanitarian law was born.[38]

The history of international humanitarian law, both its actual development and the symbiotic narratives about its development, was shaped by a range of actors.[39] Some of these actors were conventional practitioners of international law, others less so.[40]

In the days before the advent of the television and the internet, print media was the only source of information for people. With the advent of television, the ground rules changed since people could view the actions and the statements of their fellow citizens and the elected representatives live and hence, could form

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[35] See i.e., Henckaerts, J. M., Doswald-Beck, L., for the International Committee of the Red Cross, Customary International Humanitarian Law, ix (2005).

[36] See i.e., Sassòli, M., Bouvier, A.A., How Does Law Protect in War? vol, 1. Library of Congress, pp. 124-25 (2006). Meron, T., Bloody Constraint: War and Chivalry in Shakespeare, Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 12 (1998).

[37] See i.e., Bassiouni, Cherif, 'The Normative Framework of International Humanitarian Law: Overlaps, Gaps and Ambiguities', 8 Transnational Law and Contemporary Problems, Transnat'l L & Contemp Probs, p. 199 1998. Greenwood, C., 'Historical Development and Legal Basis'. In: D. Fleck and M. Bothe (eds), The Handbook of International Humanitarian Law, p. 1, 2008. McCoubrey, H., International Humanitarian Law: Modern Developments in the Limitation of Warfare, Routledge, p. 1, 2019.

[38] See i.e., McCoubrey, Sassòli, M., Bouvier, A.A., How Does Law Protect in War? pp. 124–125 (2006). Meron, supra note 36, at 12.

[39] Actors of IHL includes governmental and non-governmental organisations, international organisations, National Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies and private companies, among others.

[40] Alexander, Amanda, A Short History of International Humanitarian Law, European Journal of International Law, Volume 26, Issue 1, pp. 109–138, 2015.

their opinions about them. Further, as the saying goes, a picture speaks a thousand words, and hence the moving images that are beamed into the living rooms on the Television did spark a revolution of sorts among the countries of the world. Moreover, as the legendary media theorist, Marshall McLuhan put it, the medium is the message, and hence, TV radically altered how countries and their systems of governance functioned. This has had a cascading effect on all forms of body polity.[41]

Definitions of IHL and Media

The term 'international humanitarian law' refers to the current understanding of the *ius in bello*[42] – the laws concerning the conduct of warfare. The ICRC,[43] which is considered to have a special relationship with international humanitarian law as its guardian and promoter,[44] describes it in the following manner:

> "International humanitarian law is part of the body of international law that governs relations between states. It aims to protect persons who are not or are no longer taking part in hostilities, the sick and wounded, prisoners and civilians, and to define the rights and obligations of the parties to a conflict in the conduct of hostilities."[45]

Media are the communication outlets or tools used to store and deliver information or data. The term refers to components of the mass media communications industry, such as print media, publishing, news media,

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[41] Management Study Guide, available at
https://www.managementstudyguide.com/introduction-to-media.htm (Last seen February 1. 2021).
[42] The rules by which international law regulates the actual conduct of hostilities once the use of force has begun. For further read in understanding the differences between ius in bello and Ius Ad Bellum see Greenwood, Christopher, The Relationship between Ius Ad Bellum and Ius in Bello, Review of International Studies, vol. 9, no. 4, pp. 221–234, 1983.
[43] The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) ensuring humanitarian protection and assistance for victims of war and other situations of violence.
[44] See i.e., Dormann, K., Maresca, L., The International Committee of the Red Cross and Its Contribution to the Development of International Humanitarian Law in Specialized Instruments', 5 Chinese J Int'l L. 217, 2004–2005. Sandoz, Y., The International Committee of the Red Cross as Guardian of International Humanitarian Law (31 December 1998), available at
www.icrc.org/eng/resources/documents/misc/about-the-icrc-311298.htm   (Last   seen January 8. 2021).
[45] International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), War and International Humanitarian Law (29 October 2010), available at www.icrc.org/eng/war-and-law/overview-war-and-law.htm (Last seen January 8. 2021).

photography, cinema, broadcasting (radio and television), and advertising.[46] Nevertheless, mass media refers to a diverse array of media technologies that reach a large audience via mass communication. The technologies through which this communication takes place include a variety of outlets.[47]

IHL and Media: Good vs. Bad

It has been argued that respect for the rules of humanitarian law would weaken states' ability to adequately respond to current security challenges. Although laws and customs have regulated warfare for centuries,[48] it is only in the last century and a half that the laws of war have been codified into centralized governing documents.[49] Unlike modern IHL,[50] early IHL instruments were enforced through reciprocity:[51] if two signatories to an IHL instrument engaged in

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[46] What is media? Definition and meaning, BusinessDictionary.com, Cory Janssen, what is Communication Media? Definition from Techopedia, Techopedia.com, Martin Lister; Jon Dovey, Seth Giddings, Iain Grant, Kieran Kelly, New Media: A Critical Introduction (PDF) (2nd ed.). Dunston, Bryan, "Postal system". The Chicago School of Media Theory, 2002. Livingstone, Sonia M., Lievrouw, Leah A., New Media: A Critical Introduction. Taylor & Francis. pp. 52–53, (2009).

[47] Potter, W. James, Arguing for a General Framework for Mass Media Scholarship, Los Angeles, SAGE. p. 32. 2008.

[48] For international law perspectives see Nussbaum, Arthur, A Concise History of the Laws of Nations, New York, p. 191, 1950. Koskenniemi, Martti, The Gentle Civilizer of Nations. The Rise and Fall of International Law, Cambridge, 2001. For historical perspectives, see i.e., Iriye, Akira, Global Community, The Role of International Organizations in the Making of the Contemporary World, Berkeley, 2002, Quataert, Jean H., Advocating Dignity, Human Rights Mobilizations in Global Politics, Philadelphia, 2009. Eyffinger, Arthur, The 1899 Hague Peace Conference, "The Parliament of Man, The Federation of the World," The Hague et al., pp. 126, 1999. Davis, Calvin DeArmond, The United States and the Second Hague Peace Conference, American Diplomacy and International Organization, 1899-1914, Durham, pp. 182-86, 1975. Dudden, Alexis, Japan's Colonization of Korea, Discourse and Power, Honolulu, p. 11, 2005.

[49] On the Red Cross in regard to the development of humanitarian law, see i.e., Development of Modern International Humanitarian Law, INT'L COMM. RED CROSS (2010).

[50] Modern international humanitarian law is made up of two historical streams: The law of The Hague, referred to in the past as the law of war proper; and the law of Geneva, or humanitarian law. For further reading see i.e., Pictet, Jean, Humanitarian Law and the Protection of War Victims, Leyden: Sijthoff, pp. 16–17 (1975).

[51] Geneva Conventions (1949) Common Article 1 of the 1949 Geneva Conventions requires parties to respect the provisions of the Conventions "in all circumstances". Geneva Conventions (1949) Common Article 2 (3) of the 1949 Geneva Conventions provides: Although one of the Powers in conflict may not be a party to the present Convention, the Powers who are parties thereto shall remain bound by it in their mutual relations. They shall furthermore be bound by the Convention in relation to the said Power, if the latter accepts and applies the provisions thereof. Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties Article 60 (5) of the 1969 Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties states: Paragraphs 1 to 3 [laying down the principle of reciprocity] do not apply to provisions relating to the

warfare and one side breached its obligations, the other was entitled to do so as well. If a signatory to an IHL instrument engaged in warfare against a non-signatory, the signatory had no obligation to respect the rules of that instrument.[52] In short, it was a system that relied on states' strategic or normative desire to protect their troops and civilians. In this regard, states were understandably more concerned with respecting the rights of war correspondents authorized by their counterparts, rather than independent journalists. In doing so, they could ensure that the war correspondents they had authorized would be protected. While violent conflicts exist in all Four Corners of the world, there are two regions in which violent conflicts predominate and where the fiercest fighting prevails. Since the end of the Cold War, Africa and Asia are the regions with the highest concentration of violent conflicts.[53]

Therefore, the media dimension has become increasingly important, and it is no coincidence that media assistance emerged, and has been increasing in importance, since the end of the Cold War.[54] The great majority of studies focus on international media in conflict,[55] and comparatively rarely on national media.[56]

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protection of the human person contained in treaties of a humanitarian character, in particular to provisions prohibiting any form of reprisals against persons protected by such treaties. Additional Protocol I Article 1 (1) of the 1977 Additional Protocol I requires parties to respect the provisions of the Protocol "in all circumstances".

[52] See i.e., 1907 Hague Convention, art. 2 "The provisions contained in the Regulations ... are only binding on the Contracting Powers, in case of war between two or more of them. These provisions shall cease to be binding from the time when, in a war between Contracting Powers, a non-Contracting Power joins one of the belligerents". 1899 Hague Convention, art. 2 (same). Convention (IV) Respecting the Laws and Customs of War on Land and Its Annex: Regulations Concerning the Laws and Customs of War on Land, Oct, 18, 1907, art. 13. Convention (II) with Respect to the Laws and Customs of War on Land and Its Annex: Regulations Concerning the Laws and Customs of War on Land, July 29, 1899, art. 13.

[53] Eriksson, Mikael, States in Armed Conflict, Uppsala: Dept of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University, p. 73, 2002.

[54] Price, supra note 30.

[55] Jakobsen, Peter Viggo, focus on the CNN Effect Misses the Point: The Real Media Impact on Conflict Management Is Invisible and Indirect, Journal of Peace Research 37, 2 (2000).

[56] Ruggie, J.G., Multilateralism Matters: The Theory and Praxis of an Institutional Form, New York: Columbia University Press, 1993. Joseph, R.A., State, Conflict, and Democracy in Africa, Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner, 1998. Russett, B., Grasping the Democratic Peace: Principles for a Post-Cold War World, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993. Doyle, M., Ways of War and Peace, New York: Norton, 1997. Keck, M., Sikkink, K., Activists beyond Borders, Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1998. Ratner, S.R., International law: The Trials of Global Norms, Foreign Affairs, 110, pp. 65–80, 1998. Gurr, T.R., Minorities at Risk: A Global View of Ethnopolitical Conflicts, Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1993.

Furthermore, there is an immense predominance of research concerning specifically Western and international media even though a majority of these studies claim that the relevance of this media is greatly exaggerated. However, the 90s did produce research that focused on non-Western media. In these cases, it is primarily media in Asia and Latin America.[57]

The role of media in armed conflicts can be considered both a positive role and a negative role.[58] The media[59] enabled civilians to become more involved in conflicts that they would not otherwise have known if the media was not involved.[60] Likewise, the role of states concerning conflicts has also shifted due to social media. Countries are more accountable for their actions because civilians are more able to defend humanitarian aid or end conflicts.[61] Despite this, such actions should not deviate media institutions from their natural context, goals, professional and ethical rules.[62] Rather, such institutions should work to establish the ethics of the media[63] profession under international principles and values.

Therein lays the peril of the media[64] so that its role sometimes is to stoke up conflicts. With the development of media technology, receiving and

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[57] Carruthers, supra note 30, at 13.

[58] The Preamble to the Constitution of UNESCO declares that: "since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defenses of peace must be constructed."

[59] For the purposes of this paper, the term media refers to both 'traditional' mass media (newspapers, TV, radio) and social media (online blogs, Facebook, Twitter). The two have become 'intimately intertwined,' with both used as sources of news, information and tweets used as soundbites. "Media and journalism should be understood as part of a wider 'communication ecology' that includes a wide range of stakeholders and practices." See i.e., José van Djick's discussion of this issue in her book: The Culture of Connectivity: A Critical History of Social Media, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013. Allen, K., Schaer, C., eds., FoME Symposium: Observer, Agitator, Target: Media and Media Assistance in Fragile Contexts. Berlin, p. 17, 2016.

[60] Murthy, D., Towards a Sociological Understanding of Social Media: Theorizing Twitter, Sociology, 46:6, p. 3, 2012. White, A., Media Ethics in a Context of War or Conflict: A discussion paper for International Media Support, p. 12, 2016.

[61] For i.e., see Katz, E., Lazarsfeld, P., Personal Influence: The Part Played by People in the Flow of Mass Communications, New York, Free Press, (1964). Miranda, S., Young, A., Yetgine, E., Are Social Media Emancipatory or Jegemonic? Societal Effects of Mass Media Digitization in the case of the SOPA Discourse, MIS Quarterly, vol. 40 (2), p. 304, (2016).

[62] For a fuller discussion of these issues see i.e., Cass Sunstein's book: Republic: Divided Democracy in the Age of Social Media, Princeton University Press. 2017.

[63] The core principles of ethical media include, truth, accuracy, independence, fairness, humanity and accountability.

[64] Monroe Price has written extensively on this issue. See i.e., A Module for Media Intervention: Content Regulation in Post-Conflict Zones, (with Peter Krug). In: Price, M., Thompson, M., Forging Peace: Intervention, Human Rights and the Management of Media Space, Edinburgh University Press, 2002. Polarization and Media: The problem of the Governance Agenda in Post-conflict Societies (with Nicole Stremlau and Iginio Gagliardone). For World Bank CommGap conference report on "The Role of the News

exchanging information, and the increasing frequency of global interconnection with various means of communication, media has become a greater risk[65] that may cause the emergence of conflicts and the outbreak of wars; therefore, media plays an essential role of the world's conflicts today.

ARMED CONFLICTS AND THE MEDIA: WHO NEEDS WHOM?

The question here arises: who needs whom? Do armed conflicts need media? Or does the media need armed conflicts? The answer is, however, unpretentious. Throughout history, both institutions have been at odds with each other.

Although it also has its share of incompetence, news media is often unpopular for its independent functioning, without rules, regulations, or even a code of conduct except for some that are self-imposed. The mass media has a variety of interests depending on the means employed and sets different goals to be achieved. The various kinds of media have their fulsome share of rogues, incompetents, and avaricious vultures. Yet at their best, media provides nations with a vital service that they can get nowhere else, and it is one of the pillars of states.[66]

When the two institutions meet during a conflict, clashes are inevitable. The media wants to tell the story, and the military wants to win the war and keep casualties to a minimum.[67] The media wants freedom, no censorship, total access, and the capability to get their stories out to their audiences quickly. The military, on the other hand, wants control. The greatest fear of a military commander in a pre-invasion scenario is that something might leak out that would tip off the enemy. Otherwise, the surprise is also the most potent weapon in the Commander's armory.[68]

On the other hand, the media fears that the military might stifle news coverage for enhancing their public image or covering up their mistakes. Those are fundamental differences that will never change. At times, the military and the patriotic media have also worked together in harmony, but usually, animosity

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Media in the Governance Agenda," Norris, Pippa, ed. See also UNESCO Media Development Indicators.

[65] See further White, supra note 60, at 12.

[66] Kennedy, William V., The Military and the Media-Why the Press Cannot be Trusted to Cover a War, Praeger Publishers, West Port USA, p. x, 1993.

[67] Shanker Singh, Anand, The Role of Media in Nation Building, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, p. 27, 2016.

[68] Id at 27.

tarnishes their relationship and our opinion. Therefore, we defiantly need a better understanding of these two forces.

A perfect co-operative union of the media and the military is likely impossible; given the differences in missions and personalities but there are wise heads in both institutions who recognize the mutual need. The media is hungry for stories while the military needs to tell their story. Above all, they need public support. The media can tell their story and, if there are close rapport and understanding, can tell it well and effectively. Both institutions will work better during the tension and the fog of war if they learn to get along in peacetime.[69] It is important to remain optimistic about using media in conflict prevention and peacebuilding while at the same time remaining grounded in the theoretical evidence from the literature about realistic media abilities. New studies began to outline the initial arguments about the media's ability to assist the goals of peacebuilding.[70]

Media as a Formidable Force

It is interesting how media can be a formidable force[71] and has an effect on armed conflicts, such effects are possible on the positive or negative sides. There are some obvious findings that media helps in armed conflicts between the armies and the civilians together.

To the mind of many observers, the 1991 Gulf War coverage[72] in Germany plunged the media into a severe credibility crisis because of numerous cases of misinformation and uncritical handling of information sources.[73] The equally uncritical reporting on the war in Kosovo deepened that crisis and showed the lack of learning aptitude in the media.[74] Media in other countries had also come in for

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[69] Hali, Sultan, The Role of Media in War, Defence Journal, available at http://www.defencejournal.com/2000/aug/role-media-war.htm (Last Seen January 21. 2021).

[70] Bratic, V., Examining Peace-oriented Media in Areas of Violent Conflict, Communication and Conflict Online, 5:1, (2006). Price, M, Al-Marashi, I. Griffin, D., Towards an Understanding of Media Policy in Iraq: A Foreword and Two Reports, Center for Global Communication Studies Annenberg School for Communication, University of Pennsylvania, 2006. Lynch, J., McGoldrick, A., Peace Journalism, Boulder CO, Rowman and Littlefield, 2005.

[71] Reference and further read in the use of force, i.e., Alshdaifat, Shadi, International Law and the Use of Force against Terrorism, Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2017.

[72] A heavily televised war. New technologies, such as satellite technology, allowed for a new type of war coverage.

[73] Krüger, Udo Michael, "Der Irak-Krieg im deutschen Fernsehen: Berichterstattung in ARD/Das Erste, ZDF, RTL und SAT. 1," Media Perspektiven, pp. 398-413, Weischenberg, 2003.

[74] Ulrich, Albrecht, Jörg, Becker (eds.), Medien zwischen Krieg und Frieden, Nomos, Baden-Baden, primarily pp. 64-122, 2003. Löffelholz, Martin, Neue Schlachtfelder—alter

severe criticism of their war coverage even before the 2003 Iraq war,[75] but German observers were particularly fast and outspoken in their adverse.

In doing so, media coverage plays a decisive role, not only it expressed public opinion, but it also influenced such opinion. By keeping media coverage under control, it is possible to sway the general public towards affirmation or rejection of the war.[76]

The U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam had been attributed to far too lax media coverage by military circles. The images of civilian victims, of the inhumanity of warfare and U.S. casualties, had been blamed for the fact that the American public deprived the government of their backing for the war. This reasoning cannot be verified scientifically,[77] but it led to the very creative handling of new forms of censorship by the military.[78] Despite considerable knowledge about the general quality of war coverage and the particular political or national bias of some media outlets, and although the information policy of warring parties and related media systems has recently attracted some attention, hardly anything is known about the potential effects of war coverage, i.e. the effects on the public or media audience, and those on the political system. The influence of war coverage on the broader public can be seen in the "rally-round-the-flag effect".

Several studies show that in wartime leading political and military executives gain popularity and public confidence, an effect attributed to the supportive media coverage at those times. However, this public support does not continue in the long run but declines to the pre-war level after a few months.[79] A

Journalismus? Bedingungen und Konsequenzen der Kriegskommunikation im Zeitalter globaler Public Relations", pp. 27–36, p. 32 and Hermann Meyn, "Aus Fehlern gelernt? Kriegsberichterstattung als Herausforderung des Journalismus und seiner Ethik," pp. 105-113, at p. 110, both in Deutsche Welle (ed.): "Sagt die Wahrheit: Die bringen uns um!" Zur Rolle der Medien in Krisen und Kriegen, Vistas, Cologne, 2001.

[75] See the Special Issue of the European Journal of Communication, (3) 2000. The Media and the Kosovo Conflict: Editors' Introduction, European Journal of Communication, 15 (3), 291–292, 2000. Grundmann, R., Smith, D., Wright, S., National Elites and Transnational Discourses in the Balkan War: A Comparison between the French, German and British Establishment Press, European Journal of Communication, 15 (3), 299–320, 2000.

[76] Eilders, Christina, Media under Fire: Fact and Fiction in Conditions of War, International Review of the Red Cross, p. 642, 2005.

[77] Daniel C. Hallin, "The Media, the War in Vietnam, and Political Support: A Critique of the Thesis of an Oppositional Media," in Daniel Hallin, We Keep America on Top of the World: Television Journalism and Public Sphere, Routledge, London, New York, pp. 40-57, 1994.

[78] Gunther, Schrader, "Zensur und Desinformation in Kriegen". In: Ulrich Albrecht/Jörg Becker (eds.), 2002.

[79] Bytzek, Evelyn, "Kosovokrieg, Kriegsberichterstattung und die Popularität der deutschen Regierungsparteien und-politiker," Themenheft Medien & Kommunikationswissenschaft, pp. 369-388, 2005.

current differentiation includes three more effects of war coverage which can be identified in almost every kind of international crisis.[80] Going beyond these common professional standards, two particular functions are important but frequently forgotten. In the complexity of modern wars, information based on facts does not give the public sufficient insight. The media are therefore expected to interpret and assess the events at length. In that way, they can convey meaning and relevance to the tangle of perpetually new shreds of information provided by simultaneous journalism, and can thus help to orientate the public.[81]

In many cases, the media are expected to contribute to peacemaking, either almost automatically through their routine coverage or consciously as a more or less influential element committed to restoring peace. There is no agreement in scientific debate as to whether a sheer reproduction of reality in every detail is in itself conducive to peace, or whether only active urging for change can be recognized as a contribution to peace, as some supporters of peace journalism claim — or indeed whether such partisanship by the media, even in terms of peace or other universal values, is desirable at all.[82]

The question of whether or not the media should actively assist civilians or parties in a conflict is all difficult to answer, as two universal values are often mutually incompatible. However, we suggest that media coverage align itself to be geared more to the role model of the neutral mediator than to that of an adverse party in the armed conflicts.

The Modern World and the Media: Media and the International Community

Nowadays, we have a strong awareness of the idea of the International Community and the media, we often hear about the international community, and especially about what it has done, what it is doing, and so much about what it

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[80] Eytan, Gilboa, "The CNN effect: The Search for a Communication Theory of International Relations". In: Political Communication, No. 22, pp. 27-44, 2005. Livingston, Steven, "Clarifying the CNN Effect: An Examination of Media Effects according to Type of Military Intervention," The Joan Shorenstein Center, Research Paper, R-18, 1997, Robinson, Piers, "Theorizing the Influence of Media on World Politics: Models of Media Influence on Foreign Policy," European Journal of Communication, Vol. 16 (4), pp. 523-544, 2001.

[81] Gilboa Id at. 27-44.

[82] Livingston, Steven, "Clarifying the CNN Effect: An Examination of Media Effects according to Type of Military Intervention," The Joan Shorenstein Center, Research Paper, R-18, 1997, Robinson, Piers, "Theorizing the Influence of Media on World Politics: Models of Media Influence on Foreign Policy," European Journal of Communication, Vol. 16 (4), pp. 523544, 2001.

should do. Yet, if the idea of an international community is commonly accepted, its reality is more complex. Its identity is very confusing.[83]

The contemporary International Community has its roots in the settlement of Westphalia in 1648. This settlement ended the Thirty Years War in Europe and opened the way for the creation of independent states, which enjoy the sovereignty to pursue their interests without destroying each other or the international system of which each is a part.[84]

Very often, people tend to identify the international community with the United Nations Organization. The U.N. seems to consider itself as the international community because its General Assembly is constituted by almost the quasi-totality of all nation-states of the world.[85] Their role can take two different and opposed forms. Either the media takes an active part in the conflict and has responsibility for increased violence, or stays independent and out of the conflict, thereby contributing to the resolution of conflict and alleviation of violence.[86] One consequence is that while some conflicts have acquired global attention through exposure in the media, others have failed to receive significant attention through neglect. Many of the African conflicts of recent times in which millions have died –whether it is the wars in the Congo since 1997,[87] the renewed civil war in Angola,[88] the inter-related conflicts in Sierra Leone, Cote D'Ivoire, Guinea, and Liberia– have passed almost without notice under the international radar. The wars in the North and South Caucasus are in a similar category;

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[83] Arsène Brice, Bado, Understanding the International Community, Hekima Review, No. 44 Physical, pp. 101-111, 2011.

[84] Lyons, G.M., Mastanduno, Michael, Beyond Westphalia? State Sovereignty and International Intervention, Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, p. 5, 1995.

[85] The General Assembly is made up of 192 Member States. There is one non-member observer state, the Holy See (which holds sovereignty over the state of Vatican City). It has been a permanent observer state since 6 April 1964, and gained all the rights of full membership except voting on 1 July 2004. Non-member observer states are recognized as sovereign entities, and are free to submit a petition to join as a full member at their discretion. Yet, there are some states that proclaimed their independence and have been recognized by other states, but they are not members of United Nations for the reason that their independence is not acknowledged by all the states. This is the case of the "Republic of China" usually called "Taiwan"; it has 23 diplomatic representations in the states who acknowledged its independence. It is also the case of the "Republic of Kosovo" whose independence has been acknowledged only by the "People's Republic of China". See Bado, supra note 84, at 103.

[86] Puddephatt, Andrew, Voice of War: Conflict and the Role of the Media", A Report by the International Media Support (IMS), Published in April, 2006.

[87] The First Congo War was in October 1996 to May 1997 and the Second Congo War, The Great War of Africa in August 1998 to July 2003.

[88] The Angolan Civil War was a civil war in Angola, beginning in 1975 and continuing, with interludes, until 2002.

hundreds of thousands of dead, dwarfing for example the deaths in the Second Intifada between the Palestinians and Israelis, but with little expressed international concern either from governments or civil society.[89]

In a growing number of conflicts of recent years, the international community – that, in this case, means states acting in concert through the United Nations or regional bodies such as NATO, the European Union or the African Union, or informal coalitions – has, at some point, decided to intervene in a country or countries marked by conflict. This is a comparatively recent development and a controversial decision as there are very limited grounds in international law for violating the sovereignty of another state.[90] More controversially there may be circumstances where the existing media is either too partisan or too weak to provide adequate coverage of the political process. In these circumstances, the international community has, in the past, established its media outlets with a mixed record of success.[91]

The U.N. currently runs several radio stations in countries such as the Democratic Republic of Congo and Liberia, some solo and some in co-operation with private initiatives such as the venture with Hirondelle. One of the key issues here is the effect on the local journalistic capacity of establishing international outlets.[92] One of its more successful operations was the U.N.'s mission to Cambodia (UNTAC) which established a radio station to provide a popular mix of balanced news and coverage of the May 1993 elections with Cambodian music and culture. It is credited with helping the high turnout (90%) of voters and provided free and equal access to all twenty of Cambodia's political parties. However, the U.N. removed the equipment at the end of the mission for use elsewhere, a decision that caused some bitterness locally and which removed an important asset from the fledgling democracy.[93]

The followings are suggested aims and objectives for the international community regarding media:

– Ensuring guarantees for media freedom is a part of any peace agreement and that there are provisions which specify that parties to the agreement agree to respect independent media and forego intimidation or harassment of any kind; to respect the safety of journalist while they are doing their job, and so forth;

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[89] Puddephatt, supra note 86.
[90] See the Responsibility to protect a report of the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty, available at http://www. iciss.ca/menu-en.asp (Last seen February 2. 2020).
[91] Puddephatt, supra note 86.
[92] Id.
[93] Id.

–   Establishing mechanisms to enable local media to report accurately on the terms of a peace agreement (i.e., cooperation between STT and UNAMET during East Timor conflict);

–   Establishing an outline media plan that sets the framework for subsequent media assistance taking into account the local circumstances;

–   Establishing the right framework from the beginning. Key elements will include regulator, a public broadcaster, fair system for allocation of private licenses, secure form of independent income (i.e., mobile phone licenses as in Iraq);

–   Trying to assist others to develop local media if the existing outlets are inadequate;

–   Ensuring that there is a high degree of local involvement in whatever framework arrangements are put in hand;

–   Considering how information can be got to remote or isolated areas that may be cut off from urban-based media;

–   Putting pressure on local administrations to respect the independence of the media and offer support in drawing up policies to that end;

–   Conducting proper market research to assess the size and scope of the media market to ensure that any investment decisions play close attention to the problems of sustainability once peace has been stabilized and the aid caravan has moved on;

–   Taking steps to guarantee, wherever possible, the physical safety of journalists and put in hand effective measures to investigate attacks upon them.[94]

Local Media and Internal Conflict

Generally speaking, there can be no real peace unless the parties themselves – both the leaders and the population at large – are willing to make the necessary effort to settle. But covering conflict is also when good media is most important. In conflict situations, the role of media is critical in providing the public with full, reliable, and non-partisan information. The approaches and methods of conflict-sensitive journalism allow the media to provide the public with more comprehensive, neutral, and accurate information on the conflict.

In a time of armed conflict, whether international or local, the media has got a crucial role to play. Given that in wartime there are practically no operational civil society organizations to control public authorities and armed forces,

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[94] Puddephatt, supra note 86.

journalists become the main (if not the only) source of unbiased and objective information. According to Article 4 A (4) of the 1949 Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War,[95] war correspondents are representatives of the mass media who have accreditation with the armed forces, accompany military formations without actually being members thereof. Despite the critical significance of the roles played by media in conflict and conflict resolution, this area has been relatively neglected by both scholars and practitioners. Most existing studies focus on the often-negative contributions of the media to the escalation and violence phases of conflict.[96] Very few studies deal with the actual or potential media contributions to conflict resolution and reconciliation.[97]

Indeed, the media, particularly radio and television, were instrumental in fomenting conflict and violence in places such as Rwanda and Bosnia.[98] The Danish cartoon controversy also demonstrates that the media can even cause violent conflict.[99] Scholars and practitioners have noticed how the media exacerbate conflict and have concluded that the media's role can be reversed and converted into positive contributions to conflict resolution.[100] This reversal, however, is difficult to achieve. It is always easier to foment conflict than resolve it, and the media's role in conflict resolution is more complicated than the roles of those dominating the violence phase.

Any analysis of media roles in conflict resolution must address both the traditional media (newspapers, television, and radio) and the new media (Internet). Moreover, evolutions in communication technologies have created

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[95] Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War, 75 U.N.T.S. 135, Article 4.

[96] See i.e., Hume, Mick, Whose War Is It Anyway? The Dangers of The Journalism of Attachment, Special Volume, BM Informlinc, London (1997).

[97] See i.e., Gilboa, Eytan, Media and Conflict Resolution. In: The SAGE Handbook of Conflict Resolution, pp. 455–74 (Jacob Bercovitch, Victor Kremenyuk & I. William Zartman eds., 2009). Gilboa, Eytan, Media and International Conflict. In: The SAGE Handbook of Conflict Communication: Integrating Theory, Research, and Practice, pp. 595–620 (John G. Oetzel & Stella Ting-Toomey eds., 2006).

[98] See Temple-Raston, Dina, Justice on The Grass: A Story of Genocide and Redemption, pp. 1–11 (2005), Bernard, Phyllis E., Eliminationist Discourse in a Conflicted Society: Lessons for America from Africa, 93 MARQ. L. REV. 173, 191–200 (2009). Buric, Ahmed, The Media War and Peace in Bosnia. In: Regional Media in Conflict: Case Studies in Local War Reporting, pp. 64–99 (Alan Davis ed., 2001). Malley, Lynn M., Observations from an American Conflict Resolution Professional in Serbia on the Effects of the Accessibility of International Media, 93 MARQ. L. REV. 241, 245 (2009).

[99] See generally Bonde, Bent Norby, how 12 Cartoons of the Prophet Mohammed Were Brought to Trigger an International Conflict, 28 NORDICOM REV. 33 (2007). Powers, Shawn, Examining the Danish Cartoon Affair: Mediatized Cross-Cultural Tensions, 1 MEDIA, WAR & CONFLICT, 339–59 (2008).

[100] See i.e., Gilboa, supra note 81, at 461.

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global news networks and various online social networks.[101] Unlike conventional media, the Internet is almost unlimited in space, is a very fast mode of communication, allows sophisticated utilization of multimedia functions and interactivity, reaches large audiences around the world, is not subject to stiff regulation and control, and is relatively inexpensive to maintain. Besides, websites and social networks have become sources of information for traditional media as well as for global news networks.[102]

When analyzing the media's role in armed conflicts, it is necessary to distinguish different types and levels of media. Many studies address only the Western media. However, media is global and can reach audiences worldwide without national, ethnic, or cultural bias. The hybrid (*Glocal*)[103] refers to media that deal with local or national issues, but are capable of reaching audiences around the world, such as through the Internet.[104] A more useful approach would distinguish five levels of media by geopolitical criteria: **(1)** local, **(2)** national, **(3)** regional, **(4)** international, and **(5)** global. Local media include newspapers, television, and radio stations operating in a town, city, or district. National media include newspapers and electronic media operating within the boundaries of nation-states. Regional media operate in a region defined by history, culture, tradition, values, language, or religion. Examples of regional media include Dubai-based Al Arabiya,[105] which broadcast primarily to the Middle East, and the South African Broadcasting Corporation,[106] which serves Africa. International media include broadcast and print media used or sponsored by states that operate across international borders.

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[101] Flew, Terry, New Media: An Introduction, Oxford University Press, 102–03, 188–89 (2002).

[102] Gillmor, Dan, We the Media: Grassroots Journalism by the People, for the People, at xix–xxix, (rev. ed. 2006); Mark Deuze et al., Preparing for an Age of Participatory News, 1 JOURNALISM PRAC. 322, 322–23 (2007). Stephen D. Reese et al., Mapping the Blogosphere: Professional and Citizen-Based Media in the Global News Arena, 8 JOURNALISM 235, 239 (2007).

[103] Glocal is defined by the lexicographers at Oxford Dictionaries as Reflecting or characterized by both local and global considerations.

[104] Wellman, Barry, The Glocal Village: Internet and Community, 1 IDEA&S 26, 29 (2004), available at http://www.ideasmag.artsci.utoronto.ca/issue1_1/idea_s01-wellman.pdf. (Last seen February 2. 2021).

[105] Launched on 3 March 2003, the channel is based in Dubai Media City, United Arab Emirates, and is owned by Saudi broadcaster Middle East Broadcasting Center (MBC).

[106] The South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) is the public broadcaster in South Africa, and provides 19 radio stations (AM/FM) as well as five televisions.

Examples include the Voice of America,[107] BBC World News,[108] China's CCTV-9,[109] France 24,[110] Russia's Vesti-TV,[111] and Iran's Press TV.[112] The global media include privately owned commercial television networks such as CNN International and print media such as the International Herald Tribune[113] and the Economist.[114][115] Both the international and the global media reach audiences worldwide, but the international media presents news and commentary from the perspective of a particular state, while the global media have no such official allegiance. Several states such as China, Russia, France, and Iran established international news networks in English because they were dissatisfied with coverage of more established global networks such as CNN International and BBC World News, and have accused those networks of having a Western bias.[116]

The global media have more worldwide bureaus and reporters than the international media and cover a much wider variety of global issues, while the international media tend to cover issues directly relevant to the states which own them. It is also interesting to note that both CNN and BBC operate two separate broadcasting systems; CNN International is a global network, while CNN-US is national, and BBC World News is a global network, while BBC-UK is national. The global networks do not broadcast respectively in the U.S. and the U.K.[117]

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[107] Voice of America (VOA) is a U.S. multimedia agency which serves as the United States government institution for non-military, external broadcasting. It is the largest U.S. international broadcaster.

[108] BBC World News is an international pay television channel that is operated by BBC. The BBC is a public corporation of the UK government's Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport.

[109] China Global Television Network, or CGTN, is a multi-language network.

[110] France 24 is a French state-owned international news television network based in Paris. Its channels broadcast in French, English, Arabic, and Spanish and are aimed at the overseas market, similar to BBC World News, DW, RT and VOA.

[111] Vesti-TV is a brand used by the Russian broadcaster VGTRK and the regional GTRKs for their news service on television, on radio and online.

[112] Press TV is a 24-hour English- and French-language news and documentary network affiliated with Islamic Republic of Iran Broadcasting.

[113] The New York Times became a joint owner of the Paris Herald Tribune in May 1967, whereupon the newspaper became known as the International Herald Tribune (IHT).

[114] The Economist is an English-language weekly magazine-format newspaper owned by the Economist Group and edited at offices in London.

[115] Gilboa, supra note 97, at 87.

[116] See i.e., Parsons, Robert, Russia: New State Channel Goes Global in English, Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, Sept. 16, 2005, available at http://www.rferl.org/content/Article/1061443.html (Last seen February 2. 2021). Morning Edition: Iran's Press TV to Rival Western Media (NPR radio broadcast July 2. 2007), available at http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=11650177. (Last seen February 2. 2021).

[117] Id.

NGOs Inside Conflict Areas in International and Local Media

How do NGOs shape media discourses on armed conflict? Media discourses are the sum of discourses that are produced on a specific topic and disseminated via media organizations using multiple channels such as newspapers, radio, television, and social networking services. We focus on traditional media as they retain a substantial audience share among the general public and especially among foreign policy communities in European democracies. Much of the writing about the role of NGOs in foreign affairs has focused on their significant and growing influence on the longer-term formation, diffusion, and internalization of new collective norms through both public and non-public advocacy. This is traced to growth in the number, resourcefulness, and stature of NGOs since the end of the Cold War. For example, between 1992 and 2010, the number of NGOs registered with U.N. ECOSOC grew from 724 to 3,382.[118] According to Keck and Sikkink[119] or Price,[120] NGOs form transnational action networks that can raise awareness and support for Universalist causes even against the resistance of national governments. NGOs have also been recognized as essential gatekeepers for insurgency movements striving to gain international recognition for their cause and thus access to legitimacy and external support.[121]

In short, quantitative studies have found evidence that, for example, Amnesty International's reports on human rights have resulted in increased coverage of those issues in European news media, thus 'suggesting that global advocacy NGOs can shape the agenda'.[122][123] Since the end of the Cold War, some have argued that, as a result of the emergence of non-state actors in international politics, governments have been increasingly challenged in the production of

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[118] STATISTA, Changes in the number of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) with consultative status with ECOSOC, 1948 to 2010. (2017). Available at https://www.statista.com/statistics/268357/changes-in-the-number-of-ngos-worldwide-since-1948/ (Last seen January 27. 2021).

[119] Keck, ME., Sikkink, K., Activists beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1998.

[120] Price, R., Reversing the Gun Sights: Transnational Civil Society Targets Land Mines, International Organization, 52 (3), 1998.

[121] Bob, C., The Marketing of Rebellion: Insurgents, Media and International activism. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

[122] Meyer, C. O., Sangar, E., Michaels, E., How do Non-governmental Organizations Influence Media Coverage of Conflict? The Case of the Syrian Conflict, 2011–2014, Media, War & Conflict, 11 (1), 149–171, 2018.

[123] Ramos, H., Ron, J., Thoms, Oscar, N., Shaping the Northern Media's Human Rights Coverage, 1986–2000, Journal of Peace Research, 44 (4), 385–406, 2007.

authoritative claims.[124] We do not assert that rising NGO influence on media coverage is necessarily positive.

A good argument can be made that news media's increasing dependence on NGOs for conflict coverage is problematic: 'While providing information on forgotten conflicts and access to forbidden areas, [NGOs] also attract penniless journalists whom they expect will provide coverage that will at the very least be uncritical, and ideally be favorable'.[125] What is problematic is that some NGOs, particularly those focused on Human Rights, are quoted with conflict interpretations and advocacy, which are strictly speaking outside their mandate as well as their expertise. However, many NGOs do provide staff with working conditions that are more favorable to quality research and fact-checking than what is possible in the majority of newsrooms today. In this sense, the growing reliance on NGOs could be seen as a symptom rather than a cause of the multiple crises affecting Western journalism today,[126] and the most important challenges facing NGOs are political rather than technical.

In their daily function, NGOs need to choose where and how they position themselves within conflicts and the response system in which they are embedded.

NGOs can choose to keep quiet, to separate themselves from the conflict, to remain independent, or to engage with the conflict context and. Whilst the first position is neither credible nor tenable, the second position is more promising.

However, political engagement combined with a pluralist approach may create room for maneuver and wider systemic change. The same types of NGO interventions may have very different effects in different settings. Whether an intervention has explicit peacebuilding objectives or not, it influences the conflict context.

Nowadays, NGOs have a higher tolerance of risk, are more flexible, and are better able to conflict-proof their activities, compared with governmental and intergovernmental organizations. The extent to which NGO programs do harm has been overplayed. Far more significant than humanitarian aid was the role of development assistance in contributing to the origins of the conflict. Also, NGOs have a range of positive political, economic, and social effects on peacebuilding processes. Multi-mandate NGOs with an operational presence can play an important stabilizing role, protecting local leadership, stimulating social energy, and stemming human capital flight.

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[124] Hall, RB., Biersteker, TJ, The Emergence of Private Authority in the International System. In: Hall, RB, Biersteker, TJ (eds) The Emergence of Private Authority in Global Governance, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 3–22, 2002.

[125] Marthoz, JP., African Conflicts in the Global Media. In: Frère, M-S (ed.) The Media and Conflicts in Central Africa, Boulder, CO: Lynne Reinner, pp. 221–239, 2007.

[126] Meyer, supra note 122, at 159.

Attempts to improve practice depend on political feasibility. However, continuing with business, as usual, is not a viable option. NGOs must:

- Engage politically more smartly and robustly to 'humanitarianize' politics;
- Be conscious of the effects of their actions;
- Gather substantial knowledge about the conflict in question and its political and socio-economic context.
- Adopt a pluralist approach and keep their options open by widening, not narrowing choices.
- Think seriously about how to organize and manage complexity.[127]

Several studies confirm that the impact of the media on conflict is greater than the impact of the media on conflict prevention and peacebuilding.[128] Peace journalism scholar Gadi Wolfsfeld notes there is a "fundamental contradiction between the nature of a peace process and news values, the media often play a destructive role in attempts at making peace".[129]

FINAL REFLECTIONS

It is important to remain optimistic about using media in armed conflicts while at the same time remaining grounded in the theoretical evidence from the literature about realistic media abilities. New studies began to outline the initial arguments about the media's ability to assist the goals of peacebuilding.[130] The media's role in armed conflicts and its effect on a large scale is unique.

Needless to say, media can play a major role in conflict prevention and leads to peace plans when the opposing parties know when, why, and how to use

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[127] Goodhand, J., Politics, Policy and Practice, Chapter 8 in Aiding Peace? The Role of NGOs in Armed Conflict, ITDG Publishing, UK, pp. 171-193, 2006.

[128] Wolfsfeld G., Media and the Path to Peace. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004. Hamelink. C. J., Communication May Not Build Peace, But It Can Certainly Contribute to War, Media Development, 2002. Gowing, N., Media Coverage: Help or Hindrance in Conflict Prevention, 1997, available at www.wilsoncenter.org/subsites/ccpdc/pubs/media/medfr.htm (Last seen January 28. 2021).

[129] Id, at 15.

[130] Bratic, V., Examining Peace-oriented Media in Areas of Violent Conflict, Communication and Conflict Online, 5:1, 2006. Price, M., Al-Marashi, I., Griffin, D., Towards an Understanding of Media Policy in Iraq: A Foreword and Two Reports, Center for Global Communication Studies Annenberg School for Communication, University of Pennsylvania, 2006. Lynch, J., McGoldrick, A., Peace Journalism, Boulder CO: Rowman and Littlefield, 2005.

it which will in part lead to peace and harmony. In our challenging armed conflicts throughout the globe, media is essential, and it is the responsibility of the states to exchange experiences. A careful assessment of whether the media is likely to play a positive or negative role in armed conflicts requires conflicting parties to move forward to the right path in a very constructive manner. Modern conflicts could not be viewed without the media being presented. Few would doubt that media serve to maintain the conflict in all its aspects and in general contributing to democratization processes, as seen for example in Eastern Europe during and after the Soviet Union's collapse. By contrast, there is a great deal of controversy when it comes to the issue of whether media serve or harm armed conflicts. A bulk of research, therefore, deal with the question of how media plays as an actor in armed conflicts. To this end, the media should fulfill a role that leads to cease armed conflicts, and the key findings are as follows: First, the evidence in this paper suggests the need for caution when media present in armed conflicts since media could be used for a political change in the international arena. Second, using media in armed conflict is still a good idea if used for peace and harmony. Third, media appears to have a major role in the developed and developing world than is often assumed, and international law can lead to rigorous evaluations of future media and its role in armed conflicts.

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