**PREFACE**

The aim of the course is to study the concept of propaganda and the role of the media in the period of international military conflicts. This allows including a historical approach that takes into account the numerous theoretical problems associated with the study of propaganda, as well as various ways of interpreting and using political propaganda at the international level during the war. Each section provides an opportunity of critically thinking about how propaganda spreads during the war and what pressure governments are exerting on media and journalists during conflicts. In addition, students can pay attention to the types of conflicts and how technology changes the relationship between the media, military and government. The course examines the influence of media on public opinion, especially in the context of new information technologies and social networks.

During the First World War, journalism for the first time became propagandistic and manipulative. The soldiers' trenches on the airplanes scattered leaflets with appeals and advertisements, comics and posters. Spartak Beglov wrote: «Allies in the Entente tried to keep in sight all the targets: the enemy and their own rear, and allied audience, as well as neutrals»[[1]](#footnote-1). The governments of many countries in subsequent armed conflicts used the experience of propaganda and information in world wars.

Thousands of journalists, photo reporters and cameramen were involved in the events of the second world war in the combat zone. Ernest Hemingway the American writer, the cartoonist Bill Moyddin and others were there. The military journalists of the USSR and military men at the same time worked directly on the front lines. Articles of military journalists were censored. More than 300 military journalists were represented from the republics of Central Asia and Kazakhstan. The great Kazakh batyr Baurzhan Momyshuly during the Great Patriotic War was not a military correspondent, but he always found time to keep diaries (kept now in the Central Military Academy of the RK), in which he described the hostilities at the war in details. Later, the diaries they formed the basis of the famous novel «Volokolamsk Highway» by A. Bek and his own works as «Behind Us Moscow», «Psychology of War», etc. It is no coincidence that Baurzhan Momyshuly was an idol for Ernesto Che Guevara, and «Volokolamskoe Highway» was one of Che's favorite books and Fidel Castro[[2]](#footnote-2).

During the war in Vietnam (1964-1975), for the first time American journalists were allowed to be together during the military operation in the Vietnam war. Journalism of that period was called «a living-room war», because television broadcasted images of war without censorship. The emergence of video and photographic materials with horrible pictures of hostilities sharply exacerbated the mood in society. This war is now being interpreted as the defeat of the American army because of the activities of American journalists.

The training manual also contains sections that analyze the activities of journalists during the military conflicts in the Falklands and Kosovo. For the first time here, the war is the events of the war are covered without reporters-eyewitnesses due to satellite technologies. Much attention is paid to how the so-called «built-in journalists» method work on the example of two wars in the Persian Gulf. Despite the negative consequences of the relations between the military and journalists, a system of information management and media continued to develop was developed. The journalists activities were strictly controlled then. They pledged to give only certain information that was not a secret. For example, the British Ministry of Defense issued the so-called «Green Book». It outlines the main scenarios for interaction between media and military department in the period of the military conflict, so that as a result, the society could receive an objective and timely information about the military situation in the country. The military organization of Great Britain was the initiator of creating a model of the effective interaction with media and journalists, which later became known later as «implanted». Special training, seminars, and practical exercises were conducted for them, as a result of which the most reliable journalists, able to understand the importance of ensuring personal safety, received accreditation and the right to be present in the war zone, to receive qualified explanations from the officers. 662 journalists were «attached» to the US Army and 95 – to the Armed Forces of Great Britain[[3]](#footnote-3).

However, many journalists were eager to collect materials outside the provided dosage information of the military department. During the war in Iraq and Afghanistan, independent journalists often acted at their own peril and risk, in order to present the war picture more truthfully. There could be problems with the locals, as they could consider them spies. During the longest war unleashed in Afghanistan from 2001 to 2014,unleashed by the United States almost all information was controlled by American and British sources. The only independent source was the Al-Jazeera TV channel, officially authorized by the Afghan authorities to work in the country.
The journalists experienced great difficulties in covering the
events during the civil war in Syria (2011). Human rights organization Amnesty International claims that about 40 journalists were deliberately killed in Syria since the beginning of the conflict.
It was noted that reporters were endangered by both government forces and insurgents. On May 27, 2013, the journalist of the Syrian state television channel Al-Ihbaria, Yara Abbas, was killed
by a sniper in the area of Quseir during the coverage of the
offensive by government forces against the rebels.[[4]](#footnote-4)

Thus, journalism is one of the most dangerous professions. Most reporters die in «hot spots», which appear in different parts of the world every year. The journalist, unlike the soldier, is practically not protected. Notepad, pen and photo-camera, and now digital gadgets – the «weapon» of a journalist. Every week, four journalists die in the world. Such statistics are contained in the report of the Press Emblem Campaign (PEC), was published in 2016 in Geneva. It shows that over the past three years, 422 journalists have been killed in areas of armed conflict. Afghanistan, Iraq, Syria, Libya, Mexico, Somalia, Turkey, and Yemen remain as the most dangerous areas in Mexico. Though there are no military operations in Mexico, twelve journalists were killed there only last year. The difficult situation in Pakistan and India, which is due to the unstable situation on the Afghan-Pakistan border, as well as ethnic conflicts in the north of India we can say about an uneasy situation in Brazil, the Central African Republic, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Egypt, Israel, Mali, the Philippines, Turkey, Ukraine. If you look at the map of the world, then the most dangerous region for journalists will be Asia. Latin America and the Middle East follow it. Lots of journalists were wounded, kidnapped or imprisoned. Most of them were stolen in Afghanistan, Somalia, Congo, Iraq, Gaza Strip and Mexico. Many journalists were killed precisely for their professional activities. PEC notes that murderers of journalists often go unpunished[[5]](#footnote-5).

Issues of the deteriorating situation in journalism, especially in Mexico, Afghanistan, the Syrian Arab Republic, were considered.
At the 35th session of the Human Rights Council of the
UN General Assembly it was stated that during the first half
of 2017, 47 media workers were killed in 17 countries. The main causes of heavy casualties were armed conflicts, terrorism, criminal activity, impunity. The UN session also noted that when performing professional work, journalists encounter obstacles to digital
access to the Internet, that «Internet stops have become a popular means of monitoring information, especially during the
elections and around the protests»[[6]](#footnote-6).

There are many journalistic organizations that help in ensuring the safety and protection of journalists, such as the Committee to Protect Journalists[[7]](#footnote-7), the International Federation of Journalists[[8]](#footnote-8), Reporters without Borders[[9]](#footnote-9). Among them, the Dart Center «Journalism and Trauma»[[10]](#footnote-10), which is particularly effective and operates at Columbia University in New York, and provides competent
and ethically correct coverage of news about violence,
conflicts and tragedies. Freedom of Press without Restrictions[[11]](#footnote-11) provides people around the globe an access to information. The International Institute for the Safety of Journalists[[12]](#footnote-12) is a coalition of journalistic organizations that ensures the safety of journalists when working in a hostile environment. The Institute offers trainings for journalists around the world and explains their responsibility for ensuring journalistic security to politicians media and military. Among the journalistic organizations, there is the International Fund for Women Journalists[[13]](#footnote-13). This is a global network aimed at strengthening the role of women working in media as a means of further expanding press freedom. Among the journalistic organizations there are a lot that provide trainings and seminars for journalists who intend to work in the conditions of armed conflicts. For example, it is the Institute for War and Peace Reporting[[14]](#footnote-14), which teaches journalists the skills of reporting from conflict zones and draws public attention to human rights, organizes public debates and discussions on these topics. The International Center for Journalists (www.icfj.org) supports independent journalists around the world, offering those, trainings and scholarships. And publishes training manuals on the development of reporter skills and professional ethics issues, which are freely available on the Internet[[15]](#footnote-15).:

There is the Museum of the History of Journalism «Newseum»[[16]](#footnote-16) The Memorial to the dead journalists are located there. This is a high wall, with the names carved, photographs placed and short biographies of 2305 (data for 2017) journalists from different countries of the world killed in the performance of professional duty. The history of life and heroism of each journalist can be found in the application, which is available on the organization's website[[17]](#footnote-17). The curator of the Memorial Don Ross, himself a journalist in the past, says: «It is in the Iraq war, unlike all the previous ones, that the warring parties deliberately shoot journalists, as they are not interested in the world learning the truth about what is happening. Even during the Second World War or Vietnam War, no one deliberately took aim at the reporters.

«Difficulties are always accompanied by journalists; even now journalists cannot get into the war zone to cover the armed conflict in Syria». Initially, the regime of Bashar Assad did not want the journalists to be present, so journalists conducted reports in the areas controlled by the opposition: Homs, Hama, and Aleppo. Seizure of Western journalists’ hostage, a year later massacres began against seven Western prisoners, which forced the country to open the country to journalists and media. From 2012 to 2014, France-2 managed to remove only four reports in the government of Syria, and from February 2015 to April 2016, the channel's journalists agreed to
13 materials from the zone under the control of the regime. According to Reporters without Borders, 53 journalists (most of them
Syrians) and 145 civilian journalists[[18]](#footnote-18).

During the military operation in Iraq (2003), the warring countries could not resist the temptation to show in the television news the prisoners of war, which is a direct violation of the Geneva Conventions. If by Euronews, the BBC and CNN, these were unpersonal evidence of the defeat of one side or another, then in the frames of the Arab media – specific persons – US military pilots. George W. Bush – at that time the president of the country – immediately issued a statement accusing the Arab media, including Al Jazeera TV, of violating the Geneva Conventions and probably not by chance that the office of this television company in Baghdad was completely destroyed by missile strikes. Confrontation in Iraq has shown that information campaigns are becoming one of the key elements of the war. The main task that has been attacked by the country is the
swaying of world public opinion (remember the numerous demonstrations in the leading countries of the world), intimidation by its horrors of war and casualties among civilians. The US information actions were aimed at demoralizing the army of Iraqis and the population, so there appeared «dead traitor» Tariq Aziz, «captured» Iraqi soldiers «hiding in a country house» and falsely killed by the first shot Saddam Hussein and other provocations. It was believed that the latest media technologies, including the Internet, were used for coverage of military operations in Yugoslavia for the first time. Nevertheless, the war in Iraq showed that it is possible to conduct information warfare with media tools at an unprecedentedly high level, for example, by introducing about a thousand reporters into the army, «Built-in» journalists who went foot in step with the military. Many journalists, who did not want to put their professional ambitions in dependence on the favor of the military, worked independently. However, it was very dangerous, for example, American soldiers were brutally beaten and captured by Portuguese journalists; journalists of Great Britain, Spain, Arab and the coalition forces killed other countries.

This issue was openly discussed at the Eurasian media forum in Almaty, which coincided in time (April 2003) with the end of the military operation in Iraq. Journalists, political scientists and public figures exchanged opinions on the «hot pursuit» on the coverage of military operations, which became a vivid example of how media distorts news, how they shape the enemy image, which methods are used to cover military conflicts. Participation in the forum of international journalists involved in the coverage of events in Iraq gave credibility and actuality to such issues as journalist's security, its security, application of the Geneva Conventions and the Additional Protocol. During the Eurasian Media Forum, experts held a practical seminar on the training of journalists covering military conflicts and other crises from Australia, the GRASP center. This is one of the most authoritative training centers for training journalists to work in conflict zones. Another professional center is the Department for training and preparing journalists for their activities in the «hot spots» on the BBC in the UK.

Since the beginning of 2017, Kazakhstan has become a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council. The country's mission was outlined in the debate on «Preventing Conflict and Preserving Peace» in the address of President Nursultan Nazarbayev
«Kazakhstan Conceptual Vision to strengthen a Global Partnership for Building a Safe, Fair and Prosperous World»: approaching a world without nuclear weapons, preventing the threat of a global war; The promotion of peace in Afghanistan and the formation of a regional peace zone in Central Asia, etc. It is natural that from January of this year Astana as the capital of Kazakhstan has become a platform for peaceful negotiations on the solution of the armed conflict in Syria. «We plan to propose to the UN member states and the UN Security Council the development of the Astana Code of Conduct to carry out international antiterrorist operations. It can become the basis for the formation of a global anti-terrorist coalition (network) under the auspices of the UN, which I proposed to create in my speech at the 70th session of the UN General Assembly, «the address of Nursultan Nazarbayev says[[19]](#footnote-19).

Since January 2017, a single delegation of the armed opposition of Syria and representatives of the official Damascus, with
the mediation of the guarantor countries of the armistice agreement in the country (Russia, Turkey, Iran) monthly gathers in
Astana, the capital of Kazakhstan, where it conducts difficult but fruitful negotiations on the establishment of security zones that
Have been reflected in domestic and foreign media[[20]](#footnote-20).

Since 2015, the Ministry of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Kazakhstan organized unique seminars «Military Discourse» for journalists of national and regional media. Issues of the seminar, apart from image-makers, were aimed at preparing journalists for coverage of events in the zones of armed conflicts, riots, psychological training of journalists working in extreme conditions. Journalists were offered different situations, for example, actions during a sudden attack of conditional insurgents, security measures and behavior in shelling with artillery and grenade launchers, methods of circumventing minefields, principles of working in combat areas and features of coverage of military events.[[21]](#footnote-21) The issues of training journalists in the context of military operations began to pay attention to the largest military department of al-Farabi KazNU.

Why is the study of international humanitarian law relevant for journalists involved in the coverage of armed conflicts?

First, as it was noted, modern journalists work not only in peaceful conditions, they have to visit the so-called «hot spots». This dictates the need for journalists to learn the rules and behaviors in areas of armed conflict, the basics of security, and understand their rights and obligations as a journalist set out in the Geneva Convention and the Additional Protocols – the basis of international humanitarian law.

Secondly, as one of the leading employees of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) Marian Haroff-Tavel rightly believes that «the educational process of IHL for journalists must begin in peace conditions, while there are no emotions and hatred invariably engendered by armed conflict, when it is easier to talk about the meaning of protection provided by international law. This is a sympathy for the suffering people, a sense of solidarity and respect for the dignity of each person, the lack of discrimination in information transmitted by the media[[22]](#footnote-22)

Thirdly, the ICRC staff warns journalists that the situation is changing the term «humanitarian» in their reports, that the media does not always correctly use it. Mass repressions and murders are said to be a «humanitarian crisis». Reporters call sending troops to stop fighting between warring factions a “humanitarian intervention”. Violations of international humanitarian law or human rights in the mouth of journalists become «humanitarian failures». This is not just a change in the meaning of the word, but a profound political distortion that undermines the principles of the ICRC as a humanitarian organization.

The current political and information environment throughout the world tends to restrict the autonomy of humanitarian organizations, orient their efforts in the certain areas and involve them in resolving conflicts as the main organization. In fact, three important principles of the International Committee of the Red Cross are under threat: neutrality, impartiality and independence. “When the politicization of the humanitarian sphere takes place, this increases the vulnerability of humanitarian personnel”, says ICRC analyst and chief of staff Francois Bougnion[[23]](#footnote-23).

In addition, finally, fourth, the role of media in the coverage of armed conflicts in the conditions of new technologies and digitalization has changed significantly. The editors use not only the materials of their journalists, but also the witnesses of events, bloggers who can transmit messages using WhatsApp, Skype, Telegram, Facetime and social networks by direct inclusion. Media can influence the nature of conflicts, the resolution of humanitarian problems during and after the fighting. Two hundred years ago, Napoleon Bonaparte said, «four newspapers can inflict more evil on the enemy than a 100,000-strong army». In modern conditions in times of armed conflict, digitalization of media, new digital technologies have become weapons of war, and information is used to harass and intimidate the enemy.

The first course of lectures on «Regional Conflicts and the Media» was published with the assistance of the Central Asian Section in 2001. In 2002, the manual «Reginal Conflicts and the Media» was posted on the website of the Union of Journalists of Russia – Center for Journalism in Extreme Situations, and the author became the laureate of the prize of the Union of Journalists of Kazakhstan for the best textbook on journalism.

In 2009, the textbook was supplemented and republished as «Coverage of military conflicts in the media and IHL», and received positive reviews not only in domestic publications, but also in foreign authoritative scientific journals as Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly[[24]](#footnote-24)

This edition of the textbook «Coverage of international conflicts in media and IHL» is published in the third edition, supplemented and updated, and will be a good support for undergraduates and doctoral students of journalism faculties in Kazakhstan and other countries. The work uses new materials and sources that reveal the activities of journalists in the situations of armed conflicts. The development of the Bochum University, the Institute for International Peace and Armed Conflict (Germany), the Moscow State University named after M.V. Lomonosov (Russia), the Tajik State University (Tajikistan), as well as the modules of the course «War, Media and Society «of the University of Kent (UK), etc. are involved in developing the training program[[25]](#footnote-25). The author also used new sources, like the monograph A. Hoskins and B. Lafling “War and Media. The Emergence of Diffused War” (2016), J. Battler «Frames of War: When Is Life Grievable?» (2009), M. Connelly and D. Welch (ed.), «War and the Media: Reportage and Propaganda 1900-2003» (2005).

The author expresses gratitude to the organization of the Red Crescent of Kazakhstan and the International Movement of the Red Cross and Red Crescent who initiated the preparation and publication of this training manual in 2001, and conducted seminars at the Turkmen University in Ashgabat (2000, 2001). Moscow State University (2002) for teachers in international humanitarian law and journalism, as well as systematically attracted to the competition F.F. Martens for IHL university students.

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