AL-FARABI KAZAKH NATIONAL UNIVERSITY

Galiya Ibrayeva

THE COVERAGE OF

INTERNATIONAL MILITARY

CONFLICTS IN THE MASS MEDIA &

THE INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN LAW

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**Reviewer**Doctor of Historical Sciences, Professor ***S.X. Barlybaeva***

Doctor PhD **S.B.*Kozhamkulova***

Associate Professor **K.*Myssayeva***

**Ibrayeva G.Zn.**

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This is a tutorial offers a systematic analysis of the international coverage of the war in the mass media over the past almost two centuries. The study presents a new approach to understanding the dynamic relationship between the military and the mass media in terms of international humanitarian law, provides an overview of key literature on the activities of journalists in international war conflicts.

The textbook is addressed to students, especially in the field of media, communication, cultural studies, politics and international relations, sociology, journalism and research in the field of security and international humanitarian law.

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**ABBREVIATIONS**

IHL – International Humanitarian Law (IHL).

GENCOV – The Geneva Convention

AP – Additional protocols to the LCD (AP)

ICRC – International Committee of the Red Cross

Media – mass media

UN- United Nations

BBC – British Broadcasting Company

CNN – International Cable News Network USA

ABC- American Broadcast Corporation

NBC – National Broadcast corporation

Fox - Fox Broadcasting Company

CE - The Council of Europe is an international organization

OSCE - Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe

FCC - The Federal Communications Commission USA

ECHR - The European Court of Human Rights

DIRECTIVE TWF - The Television without Frontiers Directive

CBS – American Broadcast Corporation

IOJ - International Organization of Journalists

COI - Committee of Public Information

CIS - Commonwealth of Independent States

**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.

**‘’– Do you think I'm a scientist, well-read man?**

**– Of course, said Ji-gong. – And does not it?**

**Not at all, said Confucius.**

**I just grabbed one thread**

**which binds all the rest’’.**

***Lecture 1***

**Introduction**

**Objectives of the course «The coverage of the International Military Conflicts in Mass Media & the International Humanitarian Law». International Humanitarian Law in Kazakhstan. What is conflict? Details of the conflict. Activities in conflict situations. Peacekeeping and observation missions. Central Asia and regional conflicts. A literature review on the topic of the course.**

The advent of nuclear technology and the prospect of planetary extinction extinguished the aspirations of active military-industrial complex of the major powers, but the geopolitical interests continue to heat up the political, inter-regional, inter-ethnic conflicts. However, the community began to oppose actively the military ambitions and armed conflicts, create a law providing protection for the person to avoid casualties.

The Algerian war of France, the United States Vietnam War, Afghan war Russia – war began turning in the destinies of not only individuals but also nations. But war – is the oldest game of the mankind. In the period from 1992 to 2016, the UN counted a lot of armed conflict in the world, of which more were internal. The armed conflict between Argentina and Britain over the Falkland Islands (Malvinas), the landing of US troops in Grenada, Panama, Indian guerrillas in Guatemala, the revolutionary struggle in Colombia and Peru, the Christian rebellion in southern Sudan, the Muslim uprising in Mindano, fighting in Miane and Thailand, tribal wars in Angola, the opposition warlords in Somalia or Liberia, ethnic civil wars in Rwanda and Burundi, the resistance in Western Sahara Moroccan authorities, the civil war in Algeria, the civil war in Afghanistan, the civil war in Sri Lanka, the civil war in Bosnia, lasting for decades the Arab-Israeli struggle and war, war in the Caucasus and many other continuing armed conflicts.

The transformation of war leads to terrorism – the form of violent conflict. This is a potential nuclear, chemical, bacteriological and hostage-taking, indiscriminate killing. Armed conflicts have decreased over time – turned in an instant, into the great cruelty events. And since this event, journalists are at the site of action. The frames were shot in the jungle on one of the trails of war reporter, shaking his irony. This is the real danger faced by people, whose task is to bring the truth about the event. In Washington, there is a small museum of journalists, who were destined to be thrown to «hot spots». Enlarged photographs of reporters in camouflage with video against the backdrop of military vehicles and soldiers are placed on the top stands . Captions under pictures tell what country was a journalist, during the armed conflicts and a certain number, year and place of death. The tree of memory was installed at the entrance to the Museum, showing the sad list of the names of the journalists who died during such trips. Every year this list is updated, but the numbers of journalists striving to countries where there are «hot» events are not reduced.

Despite the efforts of many international organizations regional political, economic, ethnic, and religious conflicts are being continued. These conflicts are often of armed nature . People want to know what's really going on, and then, despite the danger, journalists, and reporters are sent to scene.

What are the rules of international humanitarian law, which are able to protect journalists, allowing journalists to be in areas of an armed conflict?

How to write information, analytical materials about the armed conflict, in any form or report conduct an interview, what questions do accents, in accordance with the principles and rules of international humanitarian law? The key of this course: charity, war, journalism.

What is there rule of law? This is primarily international humanitarian law – is a set of rules designed during international or internal armed conflict to provide protection to persons who are not or no longer taking part in hostilities, to limit the methods and means of warfare, as well as providing protection to journalists who are in hazardous trip.

For the CIS countries – this is a new branch of knowledge, as previously this area of law has not been studied. It is above all the 1949 Geneva Conventions and their Additional Protocols.

There is a question whether it is possible in situations of armed conflict to abide by the basic rules of life-saving, respectively, to these documents? However, in the face of the appalling suffering caused by human beings to each other there should be international laws and regulations to be followed in the event of armed conflict. Such law is the international humanitarian law. More than one hundred countries in the world, including Kazakhstan are required to comply with these rules.

Of course, the IHP is not a panacea. In itself, this right is not able to prevent the violation of the obligation of compliance with IHL, but it is needed to know about the international humanitarian law, especially for journalists. Because the audience perceives the armed conflict through the prism of the TV image, analytical newspaper articles, radio related web and journalist who does not have IHL knowledge, denouncing committed anywhere brutality may simply be drawn into the search race sensations, blood, violence, sometimes covering the «yellow «press, passing messages that make a dramatic developments in the documentary TV series, distorted interpret the IHL framework thus forms a wrong attitude to humanitarian action in many people. This can cause a lack of confidence; it makes it impossible for a dialogue, which would help in resolving the conflict. Sometimes the journalist himself provokes proactive opponents, causing their negligent or careless visuals teleporting commentary in news stories.

**International Humanitarian Law in Kazakhstan**

In the context of the policy radical transformation of the Kazakhstan society, where the main goal is to build the rule of law with particular relevance the radical transformation problem occurrence of a young Kazakhstani sovereign state in the world, political arises concerning the and legal environment, including the reduction under the rules of the Kazakhstan right to IHL. The Republic of Kazakhstan has entered into a number of authoritative international organizations, the role and significance of which is unquestionably significant today. Suffice it to note that Kazakhstan is a member of the UN, UNESCO and other international organizations.

Kazakhstan is an active study of the foundations of international humanitarian law in the Faculty of Law, Faculty of Journalism, military institutions. Students participate in the competition named after Martens, which is organized in the form of lawsuits.

The study of IHL has an important role in training future military, political and intellectual elite of the country, which will be responsible for taking political decisions.

**What is Conflict?**

People are always worried about not only the conflict and its aftermath as well. They are afraid of the violence of a civil war, loss of job, and death. How to prevent this, and is there a chance? Government is not always able to cope with conflicts because of bad imagination how they occur. Analysis of conflicts, political crises is extremely relevant in the theoretical and practical importance in relation to the tas[[26]](#footnote-26)k.

The term «conflict» (translated from Latin) means a collision, disagreement, dispute, threatening complications. In the modern Western literature this concept has a large number of definitions, of which the most widely definition was given by the American sociologist L. Kozer and logged in to many dictionaries and encyclopedias in the social sciences. Giving the term «conflict», he proposes to understand the struggle for power and claim to a certain social status, insufficient for all the material and spiritual benefits. The objectives consisting of the parties to the conflict are the neutralization of, damage to or destruction of the opponent. Value conflicts L. Kozer sees that they prevent the ossification of the social system, pave the way for innovation.

According to Social Sciences the «conflict» means a conflict of interests, actions, attitudes, positions as individuals, with sufficient significance in politics, and entire social groups.

Every conflict has its own subject and object. It can be political, economic, social, religious, ethnic, cultural, linguistic, professional, etc.

Consequently, the conflict – is the result of the interaction of distinct elements of social relations system. It is necessary to accept as an axiom that the conflict is the norm rather than the pathology of society. For a long time there was the concept of «conflict-free», which had a negative impact on all spheres of human life. It is impossible to avoid conflict in our life; we must learn how to explore its causes, driving forces, authorization path. This position is the role conflict thinker of the past. H. Spencer, who considered the conflict with social Darwinism position, considered it inevitable phenomenon in the history and social development impetus. Roughly, Weber, saw the same conflict who called it «a struggle».

German sociologist Leopold Bizet (1876-1969), rejecting Darwinian approach (as a manifestation of natural selection), put forward the idea of conflict regulation through a friendly agreement or by means of social institutions.

One of the founders of the Chicago School of Social Ecology Robert Park (1864-1944) included a conflict in one of the four main types of social interaction, along with the competition, adaptation and assimilation. In his view, competition is a social form of the struggle for existence, consciously, turns into a conflict, which is due to assimilation is intends to lead to a durable mutual contacts, to cooperate and contribute to a better adaptation.

Ralf Dahrendorf called his doctrine «conflict theory» (b. 1929). He – a sharp critic of «unilateral», «utopian» social equilibrium concepts, the theory of the class struggle (Marxism). He believes that conflict is the result of the resistance existing in any society relations of domination and subordination. Suppression of the conflict, according to him, leads to the aggravation and rational regulation – to a controlled evolution. Although the causes of conflicts are inevitable, «liberal» society can settle them on the level of competition between individuals, groups and classes.

**Typology of Conflicts**

The US scientists K. Boulding and A. Rapoport, gives the typologies of social conflicts highlighting their six types:

– actual conflicts, i.e. objectively existing in a particular social system;

– occasional conflicts or dependent on different moments, minor in relation to the fundamental contradictions;

– vicarious conflicts, which are the visible manifestation of latent conflicts;

– latent conflicts develop gradually, without rushing into the eyes; their members for various reasons cannot go to an open fight with each other;

– poor knowledge of the conflicts often arise because of the lack of reliable, comprehensive information, as well as the application of the principle «divide and rule»;

– false conflicts, i.e. do not have an objective basis. They are based on subjective factors, however, can be transformed into the actual conflict.

Considering the regional conflicts with the position of political science, we need to evaluate them as political conflicts. They represent a kind of relationship in which political interests interact with media, and used political methods of conflict resolution in all other spheres of society.

Considering the political conflicts at various levels of social organization, the following major events should be noted:

а) world wars, including the huge material and human resources on a global scale;

б) cold War (1945-1990), which is a confrontation between the two world systems in the economic, military, political, ideological, and other areas. Even after the collapse of the former Soviet Union, scientists and politicians spoke about the era of the termination of the Cold War (the same idea confirmed «Charter of Paris for a New Europe» (1990), however, the election of a new US administration (2001) shows that this opposition is not lived out, it just becomes more subtle. For example, in the spring of 2001, the US government expelled from the country six Russian diplomats.

в) interstate conflicts, which can be both armed and unarmed. Armed conflicts are manifested in local wars. Their danger is that they may develop into large-scale clashes. Unarmed interstate conflicts are manifested in the «customs», «financial» wars, non-trading shares.

г) intra-state conflicts. They are determined by the following reasons:

– the desire to change the political system, political orientation, political regime;

– ethnic clashes.

Internal conflicts are the most acute. The subject of such a conflict is one or another ethnic community; it develops either between indigenous nations (Armenians and Azerbaijanis), an indigenous nation and a national minority (the Lithuanians and Poles, Georgians and Ossetians).

Two fundamental trends are manifested in the development of inter-ethnic conflict manifested: one – to the disengagement, the other – to the consolidation. For example, the protracted conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh includes issues on the territory of the autonomous region and its economic development, about the nature of education in schools, etc. Chechnya – it is an issue of political independence, Azerbaijan – Regional identification;

– conflicts in political life – from the pre-election campaign of candidates from to intra parliamentary fight, a civil war between different groups (Tajikistan).

Multi-party system also suggests the possibility of conflicts between the political parties. It uses not only acceptable methods of parliamentary ethics, but such methods, which are generally located outside any morality. Media attract media.Interpersonal political conflicts (G. Kasymov, A. Kazhegeldin and others), strengthen them, involving many people.

**Activities in Conflict Situations**

To counteract conflicts, it is necessary to find them. The best option when it is possible to recognize the existence of the conflict, when it was still hidden.

However, it happens so that many of the elements of the conflict notice are formed itself.

An example is a brief excerpt from the book O.Grinevskiy «Sec­rets of Soviet diplomacy»[[27]](#footnote-27), shows typically hidden conflict from the publicans and journalist mechanism of development of the armed conflict, in this case the way of the by the Soviet government decisions on military intervention in Afghanistan under the slogan «elegant provision of international assistance». This example is interesting because it reveals many of the secrets of diplomacy of both The Soviet union and America with respect to this country.

*«The Afghan issue literally broke into the Soviet policy. It was discussed and a by a limited number of persons at the top: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Committee of State Security, Ministry of Defense and the International Department of the Central Committee of the CPSU. Strange discussion: on the surface of a sound and in his office is talking about Afghan. If we sum up the essence of these conversations –they are lost in Moscow with the development of events after the April revolution. Where to be confused?*

*On April 29, at the first meeting with the Soviet ambassador Puzanov, the new Afghan leader, poet Taraki, proudly declared that his country «following Marxism-Leninism, will follow the path of building socialism and will belong to the socialist camp». However, this line intends to conduct a «careful» policy and for a time to be hidden from the people. But no care and did not exist – Kabul and the whole country were filled with scarlet banners. Everywhere adorned with posters and banners with slogans of the ruling party: «The purpose of the Saur revolution – socialism!», «Land and Water – to peasants!»*

*That's only in the villages where the peasants this land was distributed free where the first cooperatives were born – the collective, rattling gunfire, shot disagreed with the reforms. For Afghan refugees crowd rushed outside. There were tent camps, in Pakistan where armed opposition groups were formed and pockets of resistance, which gradually turned into a civil war, began to emerge in the country.*

*Gromyko grumbled:*

*– That was not sadness. This was a good, obedient neighbor – well, just to the south of Finland. What do we expect now from these madmen?*

*But the party ideologists Suslov and Ponomarev began to consider Afghanistan as another socialist – in the near future – country. At first, was the enthusiastic builder of socialism Afghanistan the chief of Soviet intelligence V. Kryuchkov, although his chief Andropov took a low profile.*

*What's in Washington? Most Americans hardly about then the existence of Afghanistan then. And American politicians a little interested in what is happening there. All their thoughts were occupied by the Middle East and Iran.*

*However, all the same total opposition Vance – Brzezinski took place within the administration. Security Council Secretary argued that the April coup – this is only the first step towards the approval of Soviet hegemony in South Asia. Therefore, the United States should initiate covert operations to thwart the plan. And Secretary of State preferred the understated line, stressing that there is no evidence of Soviet involvement in the coup. He agreed with the conclusions of his assistant for the Middle East and South Asia, Harold Saunders, who wrote in a confidential memo: «We need to take into account the mixture of nationalism and communism in a new direction and to avoid pushing the regime into closer embrace of the So-  
viet Union. On the other hand, elements opposed to the regime in Afghanistan will be keenly watching us, in order to determine whether we are giving tacit consent and whether to accept the seizure of power by the Communists... ».*

*Two months after the April coup in Kabul, a new US Ambassador Adolph Dubs, a longtime specialist on the Soviet Union, well-spoken in Russian came to Rabul.*

*He managed to establish good contacts with the new Afghan leadership. He met Amin alone fourteen times and concluded that it was «a communist-nationalist» who will seek more independence, but does not go as far away as Tito and Ceausescu. The United States must therefore be careful to extend assistance to Afghanistan, so as not to provoke the Soviet Union into countermeasures against Amin and possible military intervention. Apparently, the State Department listened to these proposals.*

*The treaty of friendship was signed by the USSR and Afghanistan, in December 1978 which provided the adoption of «appropriate measures» in the event of a military threat to Afghanistan. Months had passed since the outbreak of the Iranian revolution. Shah and the American advisers were forced to leave the country. The growing alarm monitor the situation in South Asia in Washington.*

*The intensified movement of the Afghan Mujahedeen and other Islamic movements have been intensified in Pakistan very soon. Their armed groups and caravans with weapons through the mountain trails are increasingly penetrated across the Afghan border. At the beginning of February 1979, «Washington Post» published a sensational report, showing how the new Afghan rebels are training at the former army base in Pakistan.*

*According to Soviet intelligence, about 40 thousand rebels acted in Afghanistan in late 1979.*

*Early in the morning of February 14, 1979, neat and punctual, US Ambassador Adolph Dubs was driving through the streets of the bustling, noisy Kabul.His car was stopped in the centre by four Afghans in the form of traffic police. They pointed their gun at him and ordered to leave. Then they pushed ambassador to the car standing next and sped away.*

*Very soon, however, the kidnappers showed up. They barricaded in a hotel room «Kabul» and begun negotiations with the authorities, demanding the release of Bahriddin Bahez, one of the separatist leaders of Tajik, who was in prison in Afghan. Otherwise, they threatened to kill the ambassador. Foreign Minister Amin took a tough stance. In vain the Soviet and the American Embassy asked him to settle the matter peacefully. Three hours later, without achieving results, Amin ordered the assault.*

*Police opened fire and burst into the room. The ambassador was seriously wounded and died shortly afterwards. Thieves shot immediately.*

*The American press setting out this version that the on-site storm attended four Soviet advisers whose worked side by side with the Afghan police. One of them allegedly gave instructions snipers to open fire.*

*A different picture arose from private messages. «Outdoor advertising» spotted ambassador, when he met in the same hotel in the same room with same people that kidnapped him. In the ill-fated morning Dubs took a suitcase and when he met friends, stopped   
the car. It should be borne in mind that the car of the American   
ambassador – armored, with bulletproof windows and doors are opened only from the inside. Why he opened the door to the kidnappers? ...*

*Moscow authorities believed that the US ambassador kept in contact with the opposition in Afghanistan, which was preparing a coup. After the death of Dubs, US reduced its presence in Afghanistan and completely stopped economic aid. The Amin then restore a relations with the United States but all attempts were not successful....*

*Then similar conversations were held on the Staraya, Lubyanka and Smolensk areas»[[28]](#footnote-28),).*

Thus, this example shows how the apparent maturing of the armed conflict, the information is well-protected from the media and the press.

What should a journalist know to appreciate the looming conflict correctly:

а) have an objective comprehensive information on current events;

b) identify the parameters of the process of a conflict: the   
participants, the subject of conflict, contradiction depth, degree of severity;

c) the search for an answer «To is this conflict is profitable?». This helps to identify internal causes of conflict, the options of future events;

d) isolation of the forces of extremism, so as not to lead to a sharp destabilization;

e) Analysis of the press, expressing the interests of the warring parties.

Can a journalist be considered in his analytical article regulating the conditions of social conflicts? German political scientist and sociologist R. Darendorf identifies the following factors that contribute to this. First, when both sides are trying to think about the arguments of each other; second, when both parties are organized; Third, when there is an agreement between them in respect of the rules of the game.

The most widely used method among the specific control methods is the institutionalization of social conflicts (the creation of various committees, boards, commissions and holding «round tables», etc.). This method leads previously disparate parties to the conflict to the ordering requirements, claims, and aspirations

An intermediary third party, can play an important role to the regulations of the conflict which aims to develop and conduct activities of a conciliatory nature.

Theoretically, such an approach is possible and easy, but in reality, it is difficult to follow these rules.

Here is an example of the conflict, which was also hidden from the eyes of journalists and developed the scheme, the mechanism of which was published many years later, but after ten years even by the Soviet propaganda did not dare to give a frank picture of an what happened as a result of armed conflict in order to protect the revolutionary Cuba, and it would be very sad outcome with the use of nuclear weapons.

This is an excerpt from the book by Anatoly Gromyko «1036 days of President Kennedy»[[29]](#footnote-29) . It reflects the memories of the era of 70-ies.

*«Cuba worried a lot about Kennedy's presidency in the first days. The plan of invasion Cuba was imitated by the Government of Eisenhower. First, Americans toyed with the idea of organization in Cuba, «the guerrilla movement». Then they asked to capture the Isle of Pines, but it was promptly strengthened and protected by Cubans. Then, the US leaders decided that it was necessary to organize a surprise attack.*

*It can be little doubt that Kennedy was weighing the possibility of the US invasion of Cuba before the elections in 1960. And he could not ignore the fact that such an action would have an adverse effect on his campaign.*

*Kennedy was well acquainted with one of the tactics of the bourgeois parties in power, when on the eve of the general election, they have resorted to deliberate aggravation of the international  
situation, so as to make the swing voters «in the hour of danger»   
vote «for the preservation of stability», i.e. for the former management.*

*On October 20, in the midst of the election campaign with Nixon, Kennedy performs an important statement: «We must try to strengthen democratic forces ... that are in exile and in Cuba itself, which are associated with the hopes for the overthrow of Castro».*

*On January 3, 1961 the US government announced a complete break of relations with Cuba, January 20, Kennedy officially becomes president.*

*CIA demanded an immediate invasion of Cuba. A new date was scheduled for March 1. Then it was transferred. The meeting was informed that «the situation in Cuba was ripe for revolt.*

*The brigade will be easy to keep the area as soon as aircrafts land. Military aircraft will monitor the airspace at the landing site. At 6 am on April 15 three groups of CIA bomber invaded Cuban airspace and attacked Havana, San Antonio de los Banos and Santiago de Cuba. They dropped bombs of great destructive force and shelled civilians with machine guns.*

*There were reports in media that the counter-revolutionaries-pilots escaped from Cuba and bombed its territory. The second run for the bombing was planned. However, Kennedy instructed to cancel the second flight.*

*Kennedy canceled the invasion as a whole. Counterrevolutionaries’ fleet was ready. Let us recollect the memory the morning of April 17th. The closer the hour at of Cuba, invasion was comming the more doubts about the feasibility of the plan prepared by the CIA. Kennedy again repeats the order: American warships remain outside the 20-mile radius from the place of the landing. There should also be a new indication: American submarines must not be in the drop- off area.*

*By the evening of April 17, it became clear that the complete defeat of 1400 mercenaries was terminated. The Cuban aviatorstors had sunk two ships of counterrevolutionaries with ammunition. Their fate was sealed.*

*On April 18, the White House held a magnificent traditional reception for the members of Congress and their families. By tradition, the hosts spouses Kennedy opened the ball in the White House. They belonged to the right of the first dance. The evening reception was approaching. .Kennedy tossed around the office, waving away the reminders that the ball is about to start and it's time to wear a tuxedo. Just a few minutes before the start of the ball Kennedy assistants managed to persuade him to change clothes and go out to the guests.*

*Regular meeting began late in the evening. The military demanded to land back the Marines to Cuba [[30]](#footnote-30)... (pages 146-162.)*

The true position became known many years later, when many documents of the Soviet government were made public. Inspired by the success of the flight of the first cosmonaut ,the Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev openly stated openly about the possibility of a nuclear attack. There is a real threat of a third world war. History will assess the effect of each policy, including wisdom of the young US president who did not take risks, not only his country but also the world.

There is another method of conflict management, which proposed School of Government experts named after John Kennedy at Harvard University, called the method of «single text».

Mediation side draws up a draft treaty and gives it to one of the conflicting parties. This project can be criticized, and amended. Parties may offer their version of the contract. As a result, both parties return multiple regular options and an intermediary treaty is reached a relative agreement. A treaty acceptable to all is made. This method is often used in the treaty negotiation practices of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

However, to reach a consensus – is a complex and difficult task. UN work practices and other international organizations suggest that a consensus – is not unity, not unanimity. In the case of the interaction of concessions and tolerance opponent believes that it is better to refrain from objections.

Resolution of the conflict through negotiations and armed intervention is the most civilized way.

The journalists, analyzing the situation, can also take advantage of such a scheme and resolution of conflicts:

– adequate definition of the interests of the parties underlying the conflict events;

– search arbitration court to resolve the conflict;

– opponent show the possible consequences of non-peaceful solution to the problem;

– the consistent implementation of the resolution lines to reach consensus;

– involvement in the negotiations the other participants, which will allow you to search out of the conflict situation[[31]](#footnote-31).

**Peacekeeping and Observation Missions**

Analysis of regional conflicts shows that deliberate efforts aimed at their prevention and control, achieve their goals. People tend to relate to conflicts negatively, strive as far as possible to avoid open conflict, particularly if they are going to be extremely painful and devastating.

**Central Asia and Regional Conflicts**

Batken events in Kyrgyzstan, Surkhandarya in Uzbekistan, and the civil war in Tajikistan show that the Afghan factor has not yet passed its final stage.

Kazakh newspaper «Egemen Kazakhstan», «Jas Alash», «Kazakhstanskaya Pravda», etc., systematically provide information and analysis of international developments in Central Asia and outside the region. Television and Radio «Khabar» has repeatedly sent its reporters to «hot spots». The publication seriously and carefully analyze the international and regional issues on the pages of the science magazines like «Akikat» and «Mysl» and analytical centers[[32]](#footnote-32).. There is another solid publication that provides a custom view of the political problems of the region in the magazine «Central Asia and the Caucasus», which goes abroad. There are also a sufficient number of publications on the Internet.Under scrutiny is the region and foreign political analysts like Z.Brzezinski[[33]](#footnote-33), M.Olkott[[34]](#footnote-34), E.Mickiewicz[[35]](#footnote-35), M.Nemecek[[36]](#footnote-36) and others. Kazakh political scientists «Kazakhstan and the West: Retrospective relations in the 1990s», «Central Asia and the Caucasus» 2001 №2 believe that «the new independent states of Central Asia, especially Kazakhstan, have come under scrutiny of the West. The reasons for this should be sought exclusively in the field of geopolitics».

American political scientist Fuller G. Central Asia: the New Geopolitics. – Santa Monica (CA): RAND Corporation, 1992, p. V. Region West urgency explains as follows:

1) the presence of the Soviet nuclear weapons on the territory of Kazakhstan;

2) large reserves of hydrocarbons in the Caspian Sea;

3) the closeness of the Islamic world;

4) uncertain prospects for democracy;

5) the Russian factor.

M. Olcott attaches importance to these factors in her book «Central Asia's new States: Independence, Foreign Policy, and Regional Security» (1996). It considers both the incredible speed of the former Soviet Union became independent states, carry out their own foreign policy, and yet these republics have little experience in international relations, and their appearance on the international stage may upset the balance in the region, which is still fragile. The new states of Central Asia are of great interest for the West, because they are rich in resources of oil and gas, most of these countries are the Muslim countries and they are related to the changeable Middle East. This is being analyzed by not informed sources strange region. This book, says the author, – helps to fill that space in-depth study of the foreign policy of the Central Asian republics – notably Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan. The book explains in detail how countries have implemented transition to an independent state. The author makes the important conclusions about the involvement of the region and the international world of new republics. Martha Olcott the – author of «The Kazakhs», published in the US, as well as the first journalist who broke the «taboo» to communicate with the former first secretary of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan Dinmukhamed Kunayev, who was in disgrace taking him for an interview for the US media.

In addition, M. Olcott as an expert on Central Asia regularly appears on CNN with the analysis of geopolitics and economy of the region.

Another well-known researcher of the CIS countries –Dr. Ellen Mickiewicz (USA), vice-head of the Commission on the Television Policy under the Carter Center and was working hard to study current media policy issues in the pre-election technologies, specifics of TV and radio information for the different ethnic groups, as well as the role of the state in media development, especially in the transit societies. These are books like «Changing Channels», «Television and Elections», «TV and radio information and minorities», and «Autonomy of television and the state» (co-authored). Many books E.Mickiewicz, books, have been translated into the Kazakh language with the assistance of the Carter Center, contributing journalists and to introduce to the public in the field of election technologies, TV and radio information for minorities.

Much has been done in practical terms for the development of management in the mass media of Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan, a group of scientists led by Dr. of Journalism Maureen Nemecek from US Oklahoma State University, which for 1995 has been working with journalists, practitioners, students and researchers of the Faculty of Journalism of these countries, sharing knowledge in the field of media work in market conditions. The Oklahoma State University conducted a course on Central Asia in 1998, which deals with history, religion, geography, politics, economics, literature, art aspects (works of Chinghiz Aitmatov), journalism, etc., which is provided by the scholars, invited from the Central Asian countries and the United States.

Another American political scientist Zbigniew Brzezinski in his book «The Grand Chessboard» book[[37]](#footnote-37) devotes an entire section of the so-called «Eurasian Balkans».According to the author. Along with others in the region, «Eurasian Balkans» includes the Central Asian countries as well as South-Eastern Europe, parts of South Asia, the Gulf area and the Middle East. The traditional Balkans represented potential geopolitical claims of the object in the struggle for European domination, densely populated and ethnically heterogeneous. «Eurasian Balkans» is located on a vast territory, also ethnically heterogeneous and is a stumbling block to interference from more powerful neighbors: Russia, China, etc. However most of all, the region is a tasty economically: the area has a huge reserve of minerals, including gold, oil, natural gas, etc. The Caspian Sea basin has natural gas and oil deposits, which exceed the reserves of Kuwait, the Gulf of Mexico and the North Sea.

It is understood that this potentially rich region excites «national ambitions, motivate corporate interests, rekindles historical claims, revive imperial aspirations and warms the international competition»[[38]](#footnote-38).

The following countries are known as, «the boiler of ethnic contradictions» Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Georgia, as well as Afghanistan, Turkey and Iran. According to the author for the first five states of Central Asia, of the period of nation-building is characteristic, there are strong sentiments associated with tribal and ethnicity, so that the main problem are the internal contradictions. In the state with all types of these vulnerable points can be used more powerful and imperial ambitions of its neighbors. Potentially, another reason for the regional conflict emergence is a border question. At the time, the borders of these states have been designated in accordance with the ethnic principle, and reflected the Kremlin's interest in the preservation of internal disagreements. At that time, Moscow has rejected offers truly Central Asian leaders to announce the merger of different peoples of Central Asia into a single political entity, such as Turkestan. The Kremlin chose to create five independent «republics», each of which had its own name and border.

Also, the internal factors create instability in the region. From Central Asia the perspective of cultural linguistics , four out of five newly independent states of is are a part of the Turkic world. From the linguistic point of view in Tajikistan is dominated by the Persians, while Afghanistan is characterized by such ethnic mosaic as Paton, Tajiks, Pashtuns, and Persians. All the six countries are Muslim. Thus, these countries are vulnerable to internal and external conflicts.

Among the five newly independent Central Asian states Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan are the most important ones. Kazakhstan is the shield in the region, and Uzbekistan -is the soul of a variety of national enlightenment . According to Brzezinski, Uzbekistan becomes a leader in fostering a sense of postmodern ethnic nationalism, and an object of particular concern among its neighbors. He believed that the Uzbek leaders set the pace in building the nation and in the promotion of the idea of ​​broader regional self-sufficiency, a relatively large national homogeneity of the country and more active manifestation of national identity fearsome rulers of Turkmenistan, Kyrgyzstan and even Kazakhstan .Thus, the leadership and domination of Uzbekistan in the region can grow . This concern hinders the development of regional cooperation between the new sovereign states, and increases the vulnerability of the region.

Kazakhstan may face the danger of the territorial management, with Russia will be observed by serious degradation. Brzezinski presents America's position in relation to the Central Asian region, considering that the primary interest of America is to help to ensure a situation in which power could not control this geopolitical space and the international community would have an unhindered financial and economic access to it. American political scientist wrote that «the achievement and consolidation of regional balance should be the   
essential task of a comprehensive US geo-strategy for Eurasia»   
(p. 180).

Thus, we have considered a number of aspects that are important for understanding of the conflict the mechanisms of emergence of the, its typology, a peaceful solution to the conflict, as well as the urgency of this course.

**Control questions and tasks:**

1. What is the essence of the conflict? What are the dynamics of conflict?

2. Why did the war take place within states? – Who is the partner for peacemaking?

3. What type of conflict is happening in Central Asia?

4. Which ways to eliminate conflicts, you know?

5. Prepare a review of the international press (including in English) on the conflict situations in the world.

6. What are the ways of formation an armed conflict in the political circles of a totalitarian state?

7. What a journalist should do in order to properly assess the looming conflict?

8. How Zbrigniew Brzezinski calls the region of Central Asia, and why? – Prepare a review of the «Continent» magazine May 25, April 8, 2001,   
№ 8, based on interviews with the Minister of Defense of the Islamic State of Afghanistan, Ahmad Shah Massoud and the special representative of the UN Secretary General for Afghanistan F.Vendrell.

**Main literature:**

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*Brzezinski Z. Strategic Vision: America and the Crisis of Global Power, 2013.- 240 pg.*

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*Ellen Mickiewicz No Illusions The Voices of Russia's Future Leaders 2015  Publisher: Oxford University Press; 1 edition (September 12, 2014) 264 pages*

[*After the czars and commissars: Journalism in authoritarian post-Soviet Central Asia*](http://books.google.com/books?hl=en&lr=&id=trZFBAAAQBAJ&oi=fnd&pg=PT9&dq=info:qnvm4c7J_hIJ:scholar.google.com&ots=OEyjuLf4Ot&sig=y90BzADwiQnOc0YQIdBO7_f2hEU) *Authors Eric Freedman, Richard Shafer Publication date 2011/6/1 Pages 217-232/*

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**«Death, war and time**

**Are the essence of the eternal historical allies»**

***M. Castells.***

***Lecture 2***

**BACKGROUND OF THE (IHL)**

**OF INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN**

**LAW DEVELOPMENT**

**Jean Pictet on the premises of International Humanitarian Law development. Ancient times. Middle Ages. Grotius and the right of peoples. Jean-Jacques Rousseau as the Author of the new principles of Warfare. F. Martens and it’s role in the development of International Humanitarian Law. Islam, Christianity, chivalry and IHL. Period to the XX century.**

With the emergence of tribal relations, probably reasons for armed clashes occurred. This were the rivalry between the tribes   
and the rivalry between the leaders. However, even in the most   
difficult situations, people have tried to follow certain rules and traditions that have been sparing for the wounded people, women and children.

People at all times sought to find a law that would help them to build human relations, even in armed conflict situations . One such action was the emergence of humanitarian law as a part of international law.

One of the most active practitioners and researchers of international humanitarian law was Jean Pictet. He analyzed the formation of the foundations of international humanitarian law in the society.

*Ancient times.* At an early stage of development of human society was dominated by so called «law of the jungle». However, even in this period, archaeologists have found traces of attempts to mitigate the horrors of war. The study of savage peoples, such as Papua, where tribes are constantly at war with each other, the enemy is always warned in advance about the time of the outbreak of hostilities and the war does not begin until both the enemy will not be ready. Arrowheads are not chipping, as well as inflict harm is unnecessary . The war ends for 15 days, when they kill or seriously injure a person. Both participants are given an equal opportunity, and integrity, guaranteed by the guest, even if it is an enemy, and those who took refuge in the temple walls.

For example, here is the time of the armed conflict between the African Ndebele tribe and British troops of Cecil Rhodes, who created the British Empire in Africa. His name is connected with the two countries South and North Rhodesia. (Figure 224). Notice how carefully they are trying to comply with the rules of armed conflict, with TZ European human primitive tribes to develop, and how insidiously and violently treat their victims of British troops.

*«Rise of the Ndebele prepared carefully. All people. An important role was played by ministers of religion. Ndebele planned to surround the Bulawayo to expel aliens, and then split up into small groups, to drive them from the country.*

*Detachments of soldiers organized moved to Bulawayo, came close to the city and took up positions on three sides except the South-West of the road, which they left to the British. As if was inviting to leave on good terms. On this road for all the time of the uprising any crew was not arrested any of the, a single European was not killed, although nearby was a large force of rebels.*

*Obviously the Ndebele leaders did not want bloodshed and naively thought that the Europeans are frightened and leaved themselves. In addition, there was no unity among the leaders of the uprising.*

*Meanwhile, the British recovered from the first shock. During elaboration of an action plan the public opinion began. The first report from the South Africa British people read in the «Times» of wildlife massacre, countless mutilated corpses of compatriots on brutally murdered blond girl. «*

*The propaganda has done its job – helping Rhodes. Quit Ndebele way the British used not to leave, but on the contrary, to receive reinforcements.*

*In early July, the British military forces launched a broad operation. They burned villages, stole livestock, destroyed crops, and «strengthening» – caves blasted with dynamite. On the question as to whether the rules of war, the destruction of homes by fire and dynamite Chamberlain replied:*

*– Customs of the South African War, the burning of villages of the indigenous enemy matches.*

*Rebel troops retreated to the mountains. The British realized that the uprising was delayed. But how to engage in talks with the Ndebele? After all, they are well remembered as disappeared without a trace, «by mistake», and envoys from the African side.*

*At the negotiations went Cecil Rhodes. Around five or six most prominent Induno settled a lot of soldiers. On Rhodes barraged of accusations. At some point, Rhodes stepped away from his companions and sat down among the Ndebele, trying to emphasize that it is entirely with them. The meeting lasted for four hours.*

*The world immediately – with colorful details – is known about the feat of Rhodes, about how he came to the camp of the enemy, and risking their lives every minute, has made stopping the bloody war. The great empire builder came to unarmed savages. Nobody has encroached on his life, although there were a number of young soldiers, such hotheads. «(A.B. Davidson Cecil Rods – empire builder. M., 1998. 448 pp. (317-325pp.))*

Gradually, the state and the rulers came to the need for legal rules of warfare – says Jean Pictet – which could at the international level regulate issues such as the beginning and the end of hostilities, conduct military operations, the provision of medical care to the wounded and sick, granting protection of war prisoners ,limiting the choice of fighting in the war techniques.

With the growth of cities, the formation of nations and the development of international relations, circa 2000 BC, the first laws of any law, which was later called international.

Already the Sumerians hostilities process was well organized, accompanied by a declaration of war, opportunities for truce immunity and, finally, a peaceful treaty. The Babylonian king Hammurabi, declared the famous code that bears his name, which began with the words: «I set these laws to prevent the strong subdue the weak». Usually hostages were released after making a purchase.

Culture of Ancient Egypt was imbued with concern for people. «The Seven Acts of Mercy True» call «to feed the hungry, give drink to the thirsty, clothe the naked, give shelter to the stranger, the prisoner release, heal the sick, bury the dead.

«In the first millennium BC new civilization in Asia flourished. While Hinduism is called to give each person his own fate, Buddhism took its slogan compassion, believing that it is, it will lead to mutual assistance. Lao Tzu believed that the only human value serving the people, and Confucius preached effective altruism, based on solidarity and knowledge. Mehdi introduced the concept of universal love as a source of mutual benefit.

In Persia, Zarathustra taught tolerance, and Cyrus became famous for treating wounded Chaldeans as well as its own soldiers.

In the «Iliad», Homer described the war, which is generally conducted according to the rules of fair play, a war with truces, war in which respected the dead enemy.

When due to Alexander the Greats conquest by expanded the Greek possessions, for many it has become apparent that people do not differ from each other fundamentally nothing . This marked the beginning of a new philosophical current – stoicism. School of Stoicism, founded by Zeno in about 310 BC, preached the following: any living being is permeated with love for him. Relationship to other equated to him.

The doctrine of the Stoics acquired the strongest supporters, including Seneca and Cicero, and entered its golden age. Its adherents proclaimed the equality of all people and condemned slavery. They replaced the slogan – man is a wolf to – human life is sacred. Preexisting – Woe to the vanquished, they have replaced such idea – I'm a man, and nothing human is alien to me, enemy of suffering – not the enemy.

From this brief overview it is clear that all ancient civilizations of Asia and Europe, providing, if introduced, contributing influence on each other in origin and development of humanitarian law.

Describing the middle Ages, Jean Pictet draws attention to the following factors affecting the development of humanitarian law – it is Christianity, Islam and chivalry.

*Christianity.* Christ preached love for one's neighbor, and brought it to the level of general principle. Human love needs to be a reflection of divine love – the absolute and unconditional. It should apply to all, even enemies. You must love your neighbor for his own sake, regardless of his merits, and not expecting anything in return.

Unfortunately, according to Professor J. Pictet – people have distorted the doctrine, considering humanity as a means to increase their own chances of survival as a ticket to heaven, but considering the precept as the domain only of his brothers in the faith.

*Chivalry.* Warfare has become its main social function. Military profession afforded rights and privileges as determined by a special caste beliefs, ethics, traditions and cultural values.

In military duty the Knights defended the honor and dignity of the suzerain, and most importantly – from encroachment by neighboring feudal lords in internecine wars and armies of other states in the event of an external attack. Under the conditions of strife line between protection of its own possessions and the seizure of foreign lands it was quite shaky, and a champion of justice in words was often the invader, in fact, not to mention participation in the aggressive campaigns organized by the royal power, such as numerous hiking Germanic emperors in Italy, or by the pope, as the crusades. Knights’ army is a powerful force. His weapons, battle tactics were responsible to be military tasks, the scale of military operations and the technical level of their time. Secure metal military armor, knightly cavalry; low vulnerability to foot soldiers 'and peasants' militia played a major role in the battle.

Participation in knightly army demanded a certain security, and land grants were not only a reward for his service, but also the necessary material conditions for its implementation, since warhorse, and expensive heavy weapons (spear, sword, mace, armor, armor for the horse), Knight acquired at their own expense, not to mention the content of the respective suites. Knight armor comprised of up to 200 parts and the total weight of military equipment up to 50 kg; to their complexity and the price rose over time. Preparation of the future soldiers served knight system of training and education.

However chivalry does not apply to ordinary soldiers who participated in numerous internecine battles of the time. Crusades represented the era in which Christianity and chivalry converged.

*Islam.* According to the Professor Mesingtona «Islam walked Christianity into a legitimate attempt to restore dignity to the barbarians and slaves». Despite this fact, moderation commandment in the Qur'an referred only to the faithful. Muslims called just war «Jihad» – a word incorrectly translated as «holy war». It was also imbued with the spirit of chivalry, most notably the right to shelter and hospitality. POWs were executed or enslaved, except for those for whom a ransom was added as well as fallen into Islam. Vigayyat, written in 1200, was a real set of war laws at the height of the reign of the Moors in Spain. It prohibits the killing of women, children, the elderly, the mad, the sick and the envoys. It also prohibits applied uveya defeated, poison arrows, and water sources.

Contracts were entered by the caliphs and the Eastern Roman Empire meant the humane treatment of prisoners and the possibility of redemption. Muslims consider it impossible to break the contract, while in Europe it was common belief that the agreement with the Gentiles may be terminated unilaterally.

Crusades cost the lives of millions of people. Both warring parties staged a terrible massacre. Christians who advance the church let all the sins committed unimaginable crimes. In this way they drove a wedge into the relationship between East and West. We confine ourselves to a few examples.

When the Crusaders took Jerusalem in 1099, they massacred the entire population. An eyewitness wrote: «So much blood was spilled in the ancient Temple of Solomon, where 10,000 Muslims took refuge, the bodies were floating in the stream in the yard next to the severed hands».

The stark contrast, when Salah al-Din, known under the name of the Crusaders Saladin entered Jerusalem in 1187, his soldiers killed and cruelly treated with any of the residents. To monitor this, Saladin put special patrols to protect the Christians. He subsequently released wealthy captives for ransom and poor – just like that.

Saladin allowed even doctors from the army of the enemy to come and treat their wounded compatriots, and then return to their camp. He sent his own doctor to Richard the Lion heart, who later killed in cold blood about 3 thousand inhabitants in September Jean d Acre. The worst of these crimes was the looting of Constantinople by the Venetians and the Crusaders in 1204 and this time the winners and victims were Christians.

What was the fate of the soldiers in Europe? In those days, the outcome of war is often determined by a single battle, after which no one thought about the soldiers who were carrying out the work. When a soldier was wounded, he could not rely on the mercy and care. In the armies there was no medical service. Knights accompanied by their personal physicians. Ordinary soldiers are usually finished off a baton. It was not better accounted for the civilian population.

In 1027 the church invited the Western world the so-called «truce of God», forbidding military action from Saturday evening to Monday morning.

Thus, from the standpoint of IHL Middle Ages were fanatical and bloody period in history.

**Grotius and the «Right of peoples».**

Grotius, jurist and diplomat, is the founder of the right of peoples. He lived in the era of The Christian Reformation divided the world, he believed that the law is no longer an expression of divine justice and the human mind, that it was not preceded by practice, and emerged from it. Hence the need is to find a new general principle for international relations. The right of the peoples of this principle is provided. In his book «De jure belli ac paris» («On the Law of War and Peace») Grotius lists the rules relating to the very foundations of the law of war.

Following the example of Grotius jurists and philosophers began to study issues relating to the conflict management.

In this regard in the eighteenth century very much , a lot was made by Jean-Jacques Rousseau, who formulated the following principle relating to the conduct of the war between the states: «War – a relationship not between individuals but between nations and people become enemies of the accident, not as human beings and not as a citizens, but as soldiers; not as citizens of their country, but as its defenders ... If the aim of the war – the destruction of the hostile State, the other party has the right to destroy its defenders, while they are holding a weapon, but as soon as they put it, and surrender – they cease to be enemies or agents in the hands of the enemy, and again become mere men, whose lives do not allow anyone to take away. «

In 1899, F.F. Martens suggested the following principle for cases not covered by humanitarian law «… populations and belligerents remain under the protection and the rule of the principles of law, as they result from established among civilized peoples customs, the laws of humanity and the dictates of public conscience « This Martens clause has become a rule of customary law.

If Rousseau and Martens have formulated the so-called principles of humanity, the drafters of the St. Petersburg Declaration set out in this document the principles of distinction, military necessity and the prohibition of causing unnecessary suffering.

«The right of peoples» – is an expression of classical jurisprudence, which is similar to currently widespread now expressions. It is known as a «public international law» or «international law»[[39]](#footnote-39).

Considering the period to the twentieth century, Jean Pictet begins with the end of the fourteenth century with the appearance   
of a firearm, which allowed making a turning point in military   
history. Internecine wars ceased. Slavery was banned. The efforts of   
caring for prisoners are developed. In XVI century not less than   
300 agreements have been concluded between the commanders of the opposing armies. They agreed to and the non-participation of women in the war, the wounded integrity, respect for their persons and property.

However, the path from theory to practice has been long. Due to robberies soldiers thirty Years' War reduced the population of Bohemia three times. In 1521, in Mexico City, soldiers destroyed the entire city, and more than 400 temples. In 1527 the soldiers of Charles V four months plundered Rome, they even did not spar the cathedral basilica of St. Peter. At that time, the army still was a gang of poorly paid mercenaries.

However, only after the Louis XIV and Frederick II reforms army became regular, representing national spirit and composition, it also was tidy received salary and disciplined.

In the XVIII century, war has become a battle of professional armies with fewer soldiers. Civilians are no longer involved into military action. Looting was for bidden. The most remarkable document was the «Treaty of Friendship and Peace» signed between Frederick the Great and Benjamin Franklin in 1785 This document has been agreed on the condition that in case of conflict, both sides will refrain from the blockade and the civilians of the enemy may leave each of the countries after a certain time.   
POW will keep and feed as well as soldiers and holding power, and a man trusted, will be able to visit them, facilitating their participation.

On the eve of the Battle of Fontenoy in 1747 Louis XV asked how to deal with the wounded enemies. He said: «Just like with our own, because being wounded, they give us no more enemies»

**Lieber Code.**

Since the first appearance of conflicts and to keep contemporary humanitarian law has been recorded over 500 cartels, codes of conduct, agreements and other documents, were aimed to regulate the conduct of hostilities. Among them Lieber Code or «Lieber Instructions» is worth nothing. This Code, which entered into force in 1863 has great significance because it was the first attempt to codify the then existing laws and customs of war. However, unlike the Geneva Convention, adopted a year later, this document does not have contractual force, as it was intended solely for the Union army, participated in the Civil War in the United States.

Gradually, military conflicts have been regulated states and rulers. This required the development of legal norms of warfare and the establishment of international humanitarian law.

**Control questions and tasks:**

1. What are the main ideas of IHL appeared in the ancient times?

2. What were the rules of Christianity and chivalry towards the defeated enemy?

3. How Islam helped to preserve human dignity during armed conflict?

4. What is «Jihad»?

5. What is the idea of Grotius?

6. What are the new principles of warfare, which Jean-Jacques Rousseau, have been proposed?

7. What is the right of Martens clause prisoners of war?

8. The essence of the Lieber Code.

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**«Oh! How I suffer! – Tell me**

**these unfortunate – we threw,**

**we are left to die without help,**

**and in fact we had a good fight!»**

***Henri Dunant***

**«Memories of the Battle of Solferino»**

***Lecture 3***

**THE EMERGENCE AND DEVELOPMENT**

**OF INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN**

**LAW. (IHL). THE EMERGENCE OF IHL**

**The role of Henry Dunant and his book «Memories of the Battle of Solferino» in the development of international humanitarian law (earlier contracts). Geneva Conventions of 1949 and their Additional Protocols of 1977. Changes in international humanitarian law since 1949. Key IHL provisions. Determination of the IHP. Subject of IHL. IHL structure. Hague Rules. Geneva law. International and non-international conflict. The role of Henry Dunant and his «Memories of the Battle of Solferino» book in the development of International Humanitarian Law (IHL)**

It is impossible not to admire the entrepreneurial spirit and initiative of the journalist George Blumberg who once found that Red Cross founder Henry Dunant who lived as a hermit in a village in German-speaking Switzerland. First, the gray-haired patriarch hesitated whether to disclose the soul before this curious reporter. Suddenly he begun to speak. Blumberg’s article became a real sensation. Reprinted by a number of newspapers, it spread the whole of Europe. In a few days in 1895, the Red Cross became will known in the whole world. After Europe, the movement spread to America, Africa, Asia, 37 countries have national Red Cross societies already. This ascetic journalist writes Pierre Buanase in the preface to the Henry Dunants «Remembering the Battle of Solferino book».

During this period, the Red Cross said these word during 38 armed conflicts, proving in practice .The words «Mercy on the battlefield» is not as paradoxical, that made them as a motto. Hundreds of wounded who have died, abandoned on the battlefield, came back to life thanks to the Red Cross. A few months later, the world celebrated the 68th anniversary of Dunant. He received a letter written by the Pope, other outstanding figure of that time writing. In Germany, organized by the subscription in his favor. The Russian Congress of the thousands of doctors from Moscow awarded him «For service to suffering humanity». Prize within these days Dunant returned to his fame. He throws himself into the fight for the international court for disarmament and peace creation. Europe thrilled his appeals once again. In 1901 the Norwegian Parliament awarded him the first Nobel Peace Prize. So from oblivion thanks to the perseverance of the journalist Blaumberga Henri Dunant was tangible evidence of gratitude, which had for him the world.

Where does it all begin? Pierre Buanase writes that « on June 24, 1859 not far from the village of Solferino a bloody battle started. It was dusk, when a rich businessman Dunant heard the sound of cannon fire. In Castiglione rampant confusion and confusion, it was all filled by soldiers wounded in a terrible battle. Nine thousand people are on the streets, squares, churches. Stunned Dunant leaves the crew. Along the slope, a chute, intended to drain rainwater, continuous flow in human blood is flowing for many days.

Dunant attempts to wash the wound, bandage, accident brings water. It encompasses compassion and indignation: people thrown! A total of six French military doctors. By nightfall, there are looters. Also to my horror Dunant know that so-prois always goes. Back in Paris, Henry Dunant wrote a book, «Memories of the Battle of Solferino». He does everything to tell the truth about the other side of the war, which is carefully hushed up. The book had a success. It is impossible to read the story, not sharing the feelings of the author. However , the purpose of Dunant was as follows: «In extraordinary cases, when going to ... the head of military affairs of different nationalities, why do not they use such meetings to work out some rules that, once accepted and approved, would have formed the basis of the Company alms wounded in different European countries? ... Humanity and Culture urgently require such companies ... Which ruler fails in its support for such societies ... What a state which does not want to patronize people who are trying to save the life of his subjects? What the officer what General ... What is a military quartermaster what the chief surgeon ... Why we cannot establish a voluntary society, which, during the war, served or to organize aid to the wounded and care for them? ... Why not take advantage of the relatively peaceful and quiet time to discuss the issue of paramount opportunities and humanity and Christianity?»

In February 1863, the Committee of five members was created: General Dufour, Gustaf Moynier, Henry Dunant, Dr. Louis Appia, Dr. Theodore Monuar. These five people constitute the Geneva Plan of Action. They believe that all countries should establish such a society, which would in peacetime possessed «rescuers volunteers», as well as warehouses medical-ray materials, stretchers, Bldg. Once war breaks out, the company will be able to go to the theaters and help immediately.

It seems that everything is simple. However, will the government agree to service headquarters and quartermaster? Conversation with Dr. Basting Dunant discovers that in cases when a military doctor caught between the warring armies locations, enemy soldiers without hesitation opened fire on him. Thus why, in fact, they should act differently. After all, it does not indicate that the lack of soldiers purposes other than care for the wounded. Tunic officer at the doctor makes it a good target. Also if with him in the wagon wounded? Let's say, near a house, but no one knows that it is a military field hospital. The enemy would not expose the building fire, if he knew about it.

Dunant greatest merit in the fact that he manages to find a way to do away with this provision – deadly at the same time ridiculous. The method he proposes is so simple that wonder people around. The concept is simple.

To solve this problem, it needs only one thing: to agree on the introduction of a specific identification mark common to all armies. He will give wear the doctors and nurses; it will be shown in the sanitary transport. The flag and the sign on the sleeve will be white with a red cross. This sign is a kind of «taboo», will ensure the integrity of who will wear it. He will give them a new legal status that Dunant called «neutrality». This proposal is so unusual that even the rest of the committee members take it very cool.

Then he comes to my mind is one simple way: he personally sends letters to all the potentates of Europe and invites them to send representatives to a conference in Geneva, October 26, 1863. On this appeal respond king of Saxony, Bavaria and the minister. In this period in Geneva gather 18 representatives of 14 governments. International Conference to take decisions, among which is this: «During the war, the warring States should proclaim the neutrality of health carts and military hospitals, as well as completely and utterly neutral should be recognized as an official medical personnel, voluntary medical personnel, inhabitants of the country, coming to the aid of the wounded, and own wounded».

Thus , October 29, 1863, the Conference adopted the emblem – a red cross on a white background – as a distinctive sign of society to assist the injured, who later became known as the National Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies. Geneva became the home of the Red Cross Committee.

The first conference, in which the provisions of IHL, held in Geneva, was developed in 1864. The sign of the Red Cross recognized by the Diplomatic Conference as the distinctive sign of the sanitary service of armies. In 1876, during the Russian-Turkish war raged in the Balkans, the Ottoman Empire decided to use instead of the Red Cross, the Red Crescent on a white background, stating that the sign of the cross «insults Muslims soldiers». At the Diplomatic Conference in 1929 as a distinctive sign two other emblems were recognized: the Red Crescent emblem and the Iranian a red lion and the sun. In 1980, the Islamic Republic of Iran has refused to use a red lion and the sun. Currently, two signs used: Red Cross and Red Crescent.

Thus , the first Geneva Convention consisted only of 10 articles. Basically, they were distributed to those who took part in various military operations on land. In 1876, the First Geneva Convention, ratified by 27 states, and they have become indispensable for the application.

**International Humanitarian Law (IHL).**

IHL means by international humanitarian law international standards as the contractual and conventional nature, which are specifically designed to address the humanitarian problems that are a direct result of armed conflict – international and domestic – and limits on humanitarian grounds, the right of parties to the conflict to choose to methods and warfare agents actions, as well as provide protection to persons and property, which have suffered or may suffer as a result of the conflict[[40]](#footnote-40). Thus, in the middle of the last century, largely with the effort of Swiss lawyers and businessmen, attempts were made to develop a convention that would regulate the conduct of armed conflict.

The first revision of the Geneva Conventions occurred shortly after the Russian-Japanese war. It was supplemented by articles on the protection of individuals, loss of a shipwreck, who sang during sea battles.

More in-depth revision of the Geneva Convention was held after the end of the First World War, during which the participants are often violated international humanitarian law. For example, despite the existing conventions, prisoners captured medical staff, used torture against the military and civil servants. In this regard, the   
1929 Geneva Convention has been extended; it includes additional provisions for the protection of certain categories of citizens. In particular, it was the first to introduce a provision on the protection of war correspondents – A.Raskin notes.

However, it was not enough to prevent another humanitarian disaster – the S World War II. After the horrific genocide of Nazi Germany against whole nations, it became clear that the Convention of 1929 cannot fully provide protection for war victims . In 1949, at the international conference in Geneva, in which the four Geneva Conventions, have been made and are valid up to date

Before we look at the actual Geneva Convention, I would like to say about the other direction of the IHL, namely the Hague law, which regulates the issue of limiting war in the choice of means and methods of armed conflict. I must say that in many respects the initiative of creation of the Hague rights belongs to Russia. Russia came with the initiative of limited war in the use of different weapons in 1863 that inflict incomparably greater damage to the enemy, than is necessary for a military victory. For example, the offers from Russia to ban bullets and shells were made, which could produce a flammable effect. In addition, there have been proposals to ban explosive bullets and bullets with a displaced center of gravity. Subsequently, these provisions form the basis of an international agreement, signed in The Hague in 1899. Revision of the Hague Convention was held first in 1907 and then in 1925. This happened because these types of weapons were used during the World War I, which previously was not even plamed. For example, the aircraft began to be applied during the First World War. However , the worst thing that was used in World War I is a chemical weapon. Accordingly, there was a question on the introduction of restrictions on the use of these weapons, particularly chemical.

The rules of the Hague Rules were substantially amended in 1954, 1972, 1980, 1993. The adoption of provisions that restrict or completely prohibit the use of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons. (This is the Hague Convention on Protection of Cultural Property in 1954, the 1972 Convention on the prohibition of the production and distribution of biological weapons, the Convention of 1980 on the prohibition of certain types of strategic weapons, the Treaty of Paris in 1993 to ban the manufacture and proliferation of chemical weapons ).

Returning to the Geneva Conventions, it should be stressed that they have ratified in approximately 187 states of the world, including Kazakhstan. Thus, they are mandatory for use in most countries.

The most important part of IHL is the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of War Victims, 1949

On the Amelioration of the Wounded and Sick in Armies in the Field;

On the Amelioration of the Condition of Wounded, Sick and Shipwrecked Members of Armed Forces at Sea;

On the Treatment of Prisoners;

On the protection of the civilian population.

Thus, after the World War II the need of a separate convention, was created which would regulate procedure treatment of prisoners. This was done under the influence of the Nazi policy effects toward captured combatants and civilians.

The revision of these conventions was held in 1977. Then the conventions were supplemented by two Additional Protocols (AP)

DP (1), relating to the Protection of Victims of International Armed Conflicts;

PD (P) relating to the Protection of Victims of Non.

Why is there a need?

The fact that after World War II the IHL began to change the character of the armed conflict. If earlier conflicts had mostly an international character, when the country fought with each other or made territorial, or due to economic reasons, after the World War II, the world embraced the fire of so-called local wars for national liberation, or other local conflicts. Thus, it creates the need for the adoption of a special additional protocol on non-international armed conflicts.

Statistics show that over the past 3,400 years has been only 250 years of peace has been in the world. All the rest of the time there were some armed conflicts in a particular part of the world.

The World War I resulted in the death of 10 million people, the World War II -50,000,000 people. During the period from 1945 to 1996, the world has seen at least 73 major armed conflicts. Basically, the conflicts that occur in the world today – this conflict or internal character or mixed character. The number of international conflicts at the same time reduced.

Here are just a few: a major military conflicts that occurred after World War II. This is the Korean War, the Vietnam War, Indo-Pakistani War, the Arab-Israeli war, the war in Afghanistan, the war in the Falklands, the Gulf War, etc .;

internal conflicts – civil war in China, the civil war in the former Yugoslavia, the conflict in the Great Lakes region of Africa, clashes in Rwanda, the conflict in Chechnya, and others.

The four Geneva Conventions of 1949 includes 429 articles. The 1977 Additional Protocols includes 128 articles. Thus, only the Geneva law consists of 557 articles. Actually, such a huge legal material is difficult to digest. In this regard, currently every armed conflict is accompanied by participation in the lawyers, experts in IHL. Each major group of military or army has a special department, which includes military lawyers. However, there are two articles that can be considered as a key that opens each of the four conventions: the first article points out that the High Contracting Parties undertake in all circumstances respect and ensure respect for the present Convention. The second article, which, as it follows from the first, noted that the present Convention shall apply to all cases of declared war or any other armed conflict which may arise between two or more High Contracting Parties, even if one of them does not recognize the state of war.

**International Humanitarian Law structure:**

IHL consists of two large sections. On the one hand, – the right of Geneva, on the other hand – it is right of The Hague or Geneva and Hague law. Hague law, or the law of war, regulates the rights and duties of belligerents, fighting in limiting the choice of means and methods of damage to the enemy, considering the question of the reduction of violence, which was not caused by military necessity. Geneva right or proper humanitarian law the key word is «humanitarian» – protects, but does not regulate, therefore it protects the wounded and sick from the breakdown, shipwrecked at sea, prisoners of war, civilians and foreigners and others does not take part in hostilities, including journalists. Summarize, the right to engage in one of Geneva's main strategic objective, namely the preservation of human life, even gets caught up in armed conflict.

1. Hague law (the law of war governs:

a) the rights and duties of belligerents;

b) the restriction of fighting in the choice of means and methods of damage to the enemy;

c) the restriction of violence is not caused by military necessity.

2.Geneva right (proper humanitarian law) provides protection:

a) from the breakdown of the wounded and sick;

b) shipwrecked at sea;

c) prisoners of war, civilians;

g) medical personnel, religious personnel, journalists, ie person who is not taking part in hostilities.

IHL as the law of armed conflict or the law of war is: the right of Geneva or humanitarian law itself, whose purpose – to provide protection to the military, out of service, as well as persons who do not participate in the hostilities, particularly the civilian population; – The Hague rule, or the law of war, which defines the rights and obligations of belligerents in the conducting of military operations, it also limits the choice of means used to damage the enemy.

However, these two branches of international humanitarian law do not exist completely separately from each other, since some rules of The Hague rights provide protection for victims of conflict, and some limit the actions of Geneva right of belligerents in the course of hostilities. Currently. After the 1977 Additional Protocols, in which both branches of IHL were merged, this distinction is of interest only from a historical and scientific points of view[[41]](#footnote-41).

Thus, does the humanitarian law apply in some situations? To whom it is addressed and protected?

IHL applies in situations of two types or provides two modes of protection: a) International armed conflict

In this case, the 1949 Geneva Conventions and Additional Protocol 1 of 1977 Humanitarian law is addressed mainly to the Parties to the conflict, and provides protection to any person or class of persons who are not or no longer taking an active part in the conflict.

It includes:

– Wounded or sick military personnel in land warfare conditions, as well as the staff of the medical service of the armed forces;

– The wounded, sick and shipwrecked military personnel at sea in conditions of war, as well as the staff of the medical service of naval forces;

– Prisoners of war;

– The civilian population, such as civilians

– Foreigners on the territory of the conflict parties, including refugees; – Civilians in the occupied territories; – Interned and detained a civilian; – Medical and religious personnel, civil defense organizations.

It should be noted that wars of national liberation, covered by the Article 1 of Protocol 1the definition shall be treated as international armed conflicts.

B) a non-international armed conflict

In this case, applying of the Article 3 common to the four Geneva Conventions and Protocol II. It is necessary to clarify the conditions of Protocol II application are more stringent than the Article 3conditions. In such situations, humanitarian law is addressed to the parts participating in the conflict, the armed forces, both regular and irregular, it provides protection to any person or class of persons who do not take or no longer taking an active part in the hostilities, for example: – the wounded and sick combatants; – Persons deprived of their liberty in connection with the conflict; – The civilian population; – Medical and religious personnel.

**Subject of the International Humanitarian Law**

1. Inter-state relations on the outbreak of war and neutrality of States not participating in the war. This is a very important and significant position, which deals specifically with the procedures of the formal start of hostilities, fighting a declaration of war, procedures for the termination of the armed conflict and many other issues related to, for example, to third countries the status of independent countries, neutral countries not taking part in armed conflict.

2. Limitation of fighting in the choice of means of warfare. It is also essential provisions of IHL, which prohibits the use of weapons of mass destruction, prohibits the use of undue influence of money on your arms.

3. Limitation of fighting in the methods of warfare.

4. Protection of War Victims. It means the protection of prisoners of war, wounded, refugees, internally displaced persons, migrants and other categories, which, one way or another, were involved in an armed conflict.

5. Protection of cultural property in times of war. This position has been significantly supplemented by UNESCO standards, which were adopted after the Second World War, on the protection of cultural property.

6. Mode of military occupation.

7. The end of hostilities, t. e. The procedure of signing of the peace agreements, the exchange of prisoners, settlement of disputes, the resolution of these issues, the question of reparations, indemnities and other issues.

8. The end of the war. The procedure, which regulates the procedure of conciliation, the parties return to a normal, peaceful mode.

9. Responsibility of States for violation of International Humanitarian Law.

10. Criminal liability of natural persons for violation of the rules of International Humanitarian Law.

**The main article of the Geneva Conventions**

Article 1. The High Contracting Parties undertake in all circumstances respect and ensure respect for the present Convention.

Article 2. In addition to the provisions which shall take effect in time of peace, this Convention shall apply to all cases of declared war or of any other armed conflict which may arise between two or more of the High Contracting Parties, even if one of them does not recognize a state of war.

The basic provisions of international humanitarian law are applicable in armed conflicts:

1. Persons who have ceased to take part in hostilities, as well as persons who do not directly participate in them, are entitled to respect for his life, and the moral and physical integrity. In all circumstances, they must be protected and treated humanely, without any distinction.

2. The enemy who surrendered or no longer took part in hostilities is prohibited to kill or inflict injury.

3. Wounded and patients should be selected, and they shall be to assist the parties to the conflict in whose power they find themselves. Medical personnel are under the protection, which the care facilities, the transport and equipment. Support the emblem of the Red Cross or Red Crescent is the sign of such protection and this is protection must be respected.

4. Captured combatants and civilians who are in the enemy's power, have the right to preserve his or her life, and be respect their dignity, personal rights and convictions. They must be protected from any act of violence and persecution. They should have the right to correspond with their families and to receive medical care.

5. Everyone fundamental judicial power should be protected. No one is responsible for them imperfect crime. No one shall be subjected to physical , mental torture, as well as corporal punishment or humiliating, or degrading treatment.

6. The parties to the conflict and the members of their armed forces are limited in their right to choose methods and means of warfare. Using prohibited weapons or methods of warfare may causing superfluous injury or unnecessary suffering.

7. The Parties, being in conflict shall distinguish the civilian population and combatants at all times, to ensure respect and the protection of the civilian population and civilian objects. They should not attack on the civilian population as a whole nor an individual civilians. The attack must be directed only against military objectives.

The main categories of citizens who fall under the protection of international humanitarian law

First of all, it is the military out of order due to injury and surrender. Second – it is the civilian population and persons who were in the territory of an armed conflict. In this case, under this category journalists whose professional duty is – to be where there is armed conflict, and directly participate in the coverage of these events. However, IHL says that civilians could lose the right- to be protected by the WFP, if they enter the armed forces, if they take up arms, and even and are close to a variety of military installations, since in this case no one can be guaranteed of their lives may be the targets of military and be attacked at first..

It is necessary to pay attention to the problem related to the protection of children and women of IHL. According to the norms of international humanitarian law, it is prohibited to recruit the persons under the age of majority into the armed forces. Nevertheless, in the territory of African countries and other countries, unfortunately, are children and those militants who are taking up some arms and participate in armed conflicts. Sometimes it is even more fierce than the adult population.

Who are repayable for violation of the rules of IHL?

If it is right, that some responsibility must be established for the violation of this right. First and foremost, the responsibility is established in each state, as IHL elements are included in the basic law of each state – the constitution and other legal acts. Thus, the crimes committed by ordinary individuals in the course of armed conflict are classified as criminal offenses.

The Geneva Conventions provide penalties for the following offenses, which are premeditated murder, torture, deliberate infliction of injury, the attack on the civilian population, indiscriminate military operations, armed attack on nuclear facilities and attacks on non-defended localities, the attack on the wounded, the medical use of emblems for military purposes. For each of these crimes or violations of IHL should take responsibility.

If it is impossible to conduct an investigation and punish those who are responsible on the basis of existing national legislation, it shall enter into compulsory international agreements. Although the International War Crimes Tribunal has long existed, but truly effective it was only the act recently. In recent years, it held the tribunals, who considered war crimes committed on Rwandan territory, Bosnia and Herzegovina. As a result, the perpetrators have been named for the deaths of civilians in these conflicts.

I would like to mention one example, the use of national legislation for war crimes, in particular on the territory of Russia. We are talking about the murder of the journalist Natalia Alyakin-Mrozek. She and her husband were on a business trip in Chechnya, and when their car is already drove to the checkpoint, one of the soldiers suddenly fired with a heavy machine gun at their car. Natalia Alyakin was killed. This case was referred to the military prosecutor's office, and in Stavropol Territory was its consideration in court. However, the soldier, who was accused of murder, received a two-year suspended sentence, and that the case came to court only because the husband of Natalia Alyakin vowed hound leaving without penalty sought through international organizations, through the OSCE, the official intergovernmental affairs excitation channels. However, the huge number of war crimes is not only without adequate judicial review, but also without some trials, for it is not taken out any sort of decision.

**International and Non-International Armed Conflict.**

The Company has decided not to use the word «war», instead the word «armed conflict». IHL applies only in cases of military action. How to define a conflict: the international or non-international? It depends on who is fighting whom?

If it is an international armed conflict involve two states,and one state is military action, the other is military occupation. In the situation that occupied states agrees to be part of it, then there is an annexation. (for example Israel's actions (1967) against Palestine.)..

Unarmed Conflict: The number of non-international conflicts. It is difficult to determine the non-international armed conflict, it often involves such situations :

– The existing government and the group, which in opposition to the government, but the government is legally obliged to obey;

– Confrontation is carried out by force of arms;

– Confrontation is carried out within the territory of one State;

– Opposition to reach the scale of civil war or armed rebellion.

International Humanitarian Law recognizes two categories of armed conflict. (44p. LCD IV and Art. 73 DP1.) Distinctive feature here is the state border: the war between two or more States is considered as an international armed conflict, and armed clashes taking place within the territory of one state – non-international (internal) armed conflict (commonly referred to as civil wars). The exception is when the peoplerebelled against colonial domination, exercising their right to self-deter­mination: the adoption of the Additional Protocol 1 national liberation wars were considered as international armed conflicts.

Hans-Peter Gasser, the author of the book «Introduction to International Humanitarian Law», rightly drew attention to the incompatibility of these articles: Geneva Conventions, together with the Additional Protocol, contains only 20 provisions on non-international armed conflicts and almost 500 articles on international wars. However, there is no doubt that from a humanitarian point of view, the problems are the same, whether shooting across borders or in the borders. The explanation of this enormous difference which Gasser regarded in relation to the concept of «sovereignty».

Experience shows that the state, as a rule, always ready to make detailed provisions governing the relationship between them even during wars. In fact, in their interests to have precise rules if they want to improve the protection of their citizens from other states. But when it comes to civil wars, immediately say, «No, it's our internal affairs!». The international community should not interfere, and then that international law must be silent. That is why the decision of the Diplomatic Conference of 1949, common article 3 of the LCD was a truly revolutionary event, refers to the first breakthrough of state sovereignty position.

Around this time, the international law of human rights has become increasingly important as the protection of human rights is nothing but as a systematic intervention in the internal affairs of States through agreements of international law. The concept of humanitarian law is applicable in non-international conflicts, gained thanks to this continued support. However, even after the adoption in 1977 of the Additional Protocol II constraints humane order during civil wars played a modest role compared to the role of the law applicable at the time of wars between states. These significant differences make us consider these areas individually legal.

**Regional Conflicts and Mass Media.**

An example of an international regional conflict that arose not meanly of economic issues, but because of political ambitions, as well as the need to revive the spirit of patriotism greatness of the former powerful British Empire was the conflict which the United Kingdom and Argentina over the Falkland-Malvinas Islands.

*Backgroun*d. The islands belong to the United Kingdom since 1833. There are millions of sheep and a few million penguins as the as laud . The permanent population is about 2 million people. In 1982, forty-Argentines under the guise of scrap collectors have landed on the island, they sang the national anthem and raised the blue and white flag of Argentina. It was challenged last bastion of the empire.

Beginning of the armed conflict: the dying soldiers and sailors, falling aircraft, warships. For two months, killing about a thousand people. Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher sent a nuclear submarine to the area of ​​conflict. It planed a major combat operation the had been developed. It was received support from the US President Ronald Reagan. However, the United States came to the conclusion that England cannot win initially : the distance that spans communications, calendar, the balance of power – everything was against it.

Meanwhile, Argentina strengthened the islands. Transport aircraft delivered food, ammunition, trucks and soldiers. England sent the expanses of the Atlantic twenty squadron of destroyers, frigates and support ships, forming the largest armada since the Second World War.

In one battle, there is a combat zone of 200 miles was sunk by two torpedoes second largest ship of Naval Forces of Argentina. The loss of about 400 sailors and a warship was a great psychological blow to the prestige of the junta. Thatcher gave an order to all-out offensive on the island.

The reaction of the media. The English tabloid press stoked jingoistic passions. The newspaper «San» was published with a yardstick headings «crashed!» about the ship sinking. However, two days later the rocket released the fighter hit the HMS. 22 people of 270 died. England was trying to resolve the conflict at the UN mediation, but Argentina has been strongly opposed.

Newspapers published Thatcher spelling at the Congress of the Conservative Party in Scotland: «Over the past few days we have seen how our ancient country rise to meet the challenge that she cannot ignore. Once again we scored the sources that feed the sense of pride in England».

However, not all of the media supported by the Premiere. British Broadcasting Corporation, as is known, subsidized and controlled by the government, trying to impartially cover the war. Thatcher believed that impartiality is almost treason. She insisted on the unconditional support of its soldiers in a propaganda style of the Second World War. However, the BBC aired an interview with the Argentine heartbroken widows. Known fact that in the BBC had been shown video clip shot by the Argentine pilot.

Correspondents committed together with the prime minister exhausted flight to the Falklands to conduct a report on how it was presented military medals, personally fired from artillery shells, resemble past shops selling her photographic portraits – it was all under the lenses of cameras, retaining the impressive images for next election campaign[[42]](#footnote-42).

The UK also provides a classic example of protracted regional internal conflict.

**Irish conflict**

**We had a fight on Silver Street: grabbed two regiments**

**Such trust in Dublin not seen yet**

**«Hindu bastards» – Ireland shouted us**

**«Hey, rear rat» – shouted by the British.**

**R. Kipling «Plaques».**

*Background.* The roots going back to bloody internecine fighting extremists in the Catholic minority and Catholic majority in Northern Ireland. In 1171, King Henry II invaded Ireland. In 1250 most of Ireland was conquered, but the Irish continued to struggle against the British. England failed to regain full control over Ireland until 1558, when on the throne, Elizabeth 1. In 1607, King James 1, the successor of Elizabeth, increased pressure on the Irish people. «You are only half the subjects, because you only put half of the rights». These words made him reinforced the seizure of estates Irish Catholic princes, some of whom had left the country. Their lands were given to the English and Scottish settlers. In the middle of the seventeenth century, Oliver Cromwell Irish thugs brutally. Discrimination has been strengthened by English law, for which Catholics were forbidden to hold political office, inherit or purchase land. In 1916, the Irish Republican Brotherhood volunteers proclaimed an independent republic. The execution of the fifteen leaders of the uprising shocked the whole country, sparked a guerrilla war against the British. In 1921, London finally agreed to the partition of the island. 26 Catholic counties of the south formed the independent Republic of Ireland, and Britain retained control of the 6th North County, known as Ulster, which was dominated by Protestants. Since the 60s civil disobedience British authorities turned into terrorism when fighting groups of the IRA – started a street war against British «invaders».

In 1985, after lengthy negotiations, it had adopted an important document which regulated relations between the North and South of Ireland, and England. In the early '90s in Northern Ireland, there were about 30 thousand soldiers of the British troops. England, Northern Ireland, the content costs about US $ 4 billion per year[[43]](#footnote-43)

Thus, the regional conflict is a systemic factor in international relations, it affects the formation of a national strategy of the state and lay an important role in the international system, includes a wide range of historical, political, social, economic and psychological causes. This context becomes important for studying the behavior of the basic concepts of ethnic groups within the country and the impact on international relations, the analysis of regional conflicts in terms of their impact on national security.

**Control questions and tasks:**

1. In what year was the Geneva conference for the first time? How many countries have ratified the Geneva Conventions at the moment? When was the provision for the protection of war correspondents introduced for the first time ?

2. Why revised Geneva Conventions again in 1949? It is known that IHL includes the four Geneva conventions, list their names.

3. Why there was a revision of the Geneva Conventions in 1977? List the main seven principles of IHL.

4. What are the categories of people who were protected under international humanitarian law? Who take responsibility for violation of IHL?

5. What is the international and non-international armed conflict?

6. Read and outline A.Dyunan’s book «Memories of the Battle of Solferino».

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«Wayfarer, there is no way

– we pave it, going his own way».

***Antonio Machado Spanish poet***

**Lecture 4**

**APPLICATION OF**

**INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN LAW**

**Activities of the International Committee of Red Cross (ICRC). International Tribunal. International humanitarian organizations. Collective responsibility of the state for the observance of humanitarian law. Individual responsibility for violations of IHL. Problems in the application of humanitarian law and the prospects for their resolution. The negative impact of the media on humanitarian activities.**

International Committee of Red Cross (ICRC) – an impartial, neutral and independent organization whose exclusively humanitarian mission is to protect the lives and dignity of victims in the war, as well as victims of suffering internal violence and to provide them with assistance. It directs international relief operations conducted by the Movement in armed conflicts. In addition, it seeks to prevent suffering from promoting and strengthening humanitarian law and universal humanitarian principles. Founded in 1863, the ICRC is at the origin of the International Red Cross and Red Crescent.

ICRC – governmental and independent organization. Members of the ICRC should not owe their position to anyone, any power. In addition, according to Alexis François – one of the brightest representatives of the ICRC, «the main danger in the way to major humanitarian enterprises is that they shy away from their traditional objectives and become an instrument in the hands of diplomats. Machiavelli lies in waiting for their prey relentlessly. Drawn appetite, governments sometimes do not neglect the table of the angels. And the angels must learn to fight them off with their wings»[[44]](#footnote-44).

The ICRC and the Movement. International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement is composed of three components, which work closely together:

– The International Committee of the Red Cross, founded in 1863;

– National Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, the first of which was founded in 1863;

– International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (Federation), founded in 1919. The movement is guided by its founding principles, which are the custodian of the ICRC. These principles define the activity of components of the Movement.

**International Federation of Red Cross activities during the First World War**

The start of hostilities was marked by large-scale offensive operations: the camps flooded with prisoners of war. And in Geneva all the belligerent countries began to receive numerous requests from concerned families – several thousand a day. In Geneva, the ICRC has created the International Prisoners of War Agency. The number of worked mostly volunteers are more than 1,200 people. Powers agreed to provide information about prisoners of war. It was necessary to ensure that in each country have been established information offices, which have to to cooperate with the Central Agency. By the end of the war the number of wanted was more than 5 million. A special form was designed to collect information on each prisoner of war, as well as to search engine missing. In addition through the Red Cross it began to receive parcels from their families for their loved ones. It received 2 million such chips, which then be transformed to their addressees ICRC. The ICRC is seeking permission from the warring sides to directly the collect assistance in totaling 1813 cars. It also contributes to the creation of national aid committees. Interesting help put forward the ICRC in 1919 in Hungary, fragmented, and during the Revolution, led by Bella Kun, the ICRC delegation received permission to visit political prisoners, the delegates organized mail exchange cards between internees and their families, achieved liberation patients, elderly and foreigners. When power passed into the hands of the counter-revolution, the delegation has taken similar action in favor of the former masters of the situation, the priest, in turn, in conclusion. Ultimately, it operates at four different political regimes.

Brilliant reviews about the noble ICRC activities can serve as words of two great writers. Here is what he said in 1917 about the ICRC Romain Rolland, who by himself worked as a volunteer in the Central Tracing Agency: «The International Red Cross was one of the brightest rays of light to illuminate the darkness of these tragic years. He became the comforter of the suffering of millions, the guardian of the spirit of brotherhood in an atmosphere of universal suffering. For thousands of people it is a harbinger of a better future. I would like, on behalf of whom supported by his example and action, to give him a gift as a token of a humble expression of my deep gratitude to 50,000 francs (it amounted to half of the Nobel Prize received by the writer) for the noble cause of the International Agency for Prisoners of War Affairs. But what I said about the ICRC Stefan Zweig: «During these three years, he was the heart and soul of Europe. Fear, excitement, desperate cries for help, screams of horror of millions of people invisible stream of raining down on him every day. And the same in the opposite direction of the flow carries words of comfort, advice and information about relatives. So, for this and the walls around the world countless wounds bleed tormented heart of Europe. But here is the heart still beating. Because here the inhuman suffering of our epoch is opposed to the eternal compassion for people[[45]](#footnote-45).

**International Federation of Red Cross activities during the Second World War**

The war in Spain had the character of an international conflict. Because of perseverance of patient, the ICRC obtained permission to visit the prisoners, exchange of hostages, and the distribution of aid. Then we have developed forms of family messages, consisting of 25 words, which allowed family members separated by war to keep in touch. Jean Pictet writes that when the September 1, 1930 flames erupted grand war, the ICRC faced a triple challenge: to provide protection for the victims of conflict, to transfer them to lead and finally – to help them. Considering activities are to provide protection. The Committee requested that the medical personnel to assent prisoner to received an identity card, which would allow them to determine their status and obtain permission for repatriation. In addition, the ICRC is strictly followed to respect the Red Cross emblem and fought against the abuse of the emblem. The ICRC has taken steps to create conditions for the repatriation of the seriously wounded and seriously illed. But the most important work was in favor of war, to help them avoid reprisals, ensure that the camps were located in a safe and suitable areas that prisoners were kept in normal heated rooms, eat properly, have the necessary clothes to practice good hygiene that prisoners are not forced to work excessive and that they receive for a fair wage, to satisfy their spiritual and intellectual needs, etc.

ICRC relied on for their work the assistance of its delegates, who numbered 340 at the time, and many of them were killed while on their janitors duty. All were. During the war, the delegates have visited the camps more than 11 thousand times. They were not only impartial witness of what is happening they are also the people who, seek to identify the actual state of affairs. Another aspect – which includes the collection of information. The Central Agency employs three thousand employees, most of which were voluntary. The agency has received 52 million. Letters and telegrams, the same were sent. The files name of prisoners and missing people have been found through computers provided by the United States,. The third aspect – financial assistance. Only prisoners were transported 33 million. Parcels. Allies gave permission for the transportation of relief supplies through the blockade zone only with the condition that the ICRC monitors distribution in the camps. Loads concentrated in Lisbon, where the ICRC warehouses occupied square kilometers. And all the food, clothing, medicines have be to pass as through the sea, filled with submarines. The Committee was able to get 14 ships, and then they get 40. The ships were provided with immunity by all the warring parties. Vessels carrying the emblem of the Red Cross, they were accompanied by special representatives – a guarantee that the goods have a humanitarian character. However, there were no incidents except 4 ships were sunken with cargo. The members of their crews were killed. Off course this happened due to the fact that one of the ships and was torpedoed. Court ICRC boggles the imagination, as hard to believe that these white illuminated ships have an exceptional ability to cross the hostile sea. The ICRC was able to reach 400 machines to find drivers – the ICRC obtained permission to use this as a Canadian prisoners of war. It carried out the suppling of millions of prisoners, and the loss of the goods does not exceed 5 per cent over five years.

The ICRC carried out the supply of a comprehensive, entertaining and religious literature in the camp. Musical instruments, sports equipment, board games have been sent. A significant event was the ICRC in cooperation with the Government of Sweden and the Swiss Red Cross to save starving in Greece, the day that soup kitchens . Distributed to 800 thousand all the children received milk. For his humanitarian work in the most severe time in the history of war, the ICRC in 1945 was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.

**The Basic Principles of the International Federation**

**of Red Cross**

**Humanity.** ICRC way born of a desire to provide assistance to the wounded on the battlefield, without exception or preference, trying at all times, both at the international and national capacity, to prevent and alleviate human suffering. Its purpose is to protect life and health and to ensure respect for the human night. It promotes mutual understanding, friendship, cooperation and lasting peace amongst all peoples.

**Impartiality**. It makes no discrimination as nationality, race, religious beliefs, class or political opinions. It only seeks to alleviate the suffering of the people, and especially those who are most in need.

**Neutrality.** In order to enjoy the confidence of all, the Movement may not take sides in hostilities or engage in controversies of a political, racial, religious or ideological nature.

**Independence**. The Movement is independent. National Societies providing their governments with their humanitarian activities, and subject to the laws of their country, must nevertheless always maintain their autonomy to be able to act in accordance with Red Cross principles.

**Voluntary.** It is a voluntary relief movement not prompted activity in any manner by desire for gain.

**Unity.** There can be only one national Red Cross or Red Crescent. It should be open to all and carry on its humanitarian work throughout the country.

**Versatility.** The movement is global. All National Societies have equal rights and are obliged to assist each other.

The seven Fundamental Principles are shared by the International Movement of Red Cross and Red Crescent. The movement, which includes 175 national societies and which has tens of millions of members. Movement activities – mostly practical work. The differences do not become an obstacle to co-ordinate the opposite point of view or to contribute to the implementation of a consistent and at the same time effective activity, the Movement is necessary to have general guidelines, develop the main directions of work and to achieve ideological unity. In other words, the motion needs the Fundamental Principles. These principles, which are the custodian of the ICRC, have been proclaimed at the Twentieth International Red Cross Conference held in Vienna in 1965

International Conference of the Red Cross and Red Crescent were held, usually once every four years. It is main role is mainly to consider the interest of the humanitarian general issues to all. Conference participants all are components of the Movement, as well as representatives of states – participants of the Geneva Conventions[[46]](#footnote-46).

The ICRC is one of the well-known international organizations. ICRC – is a private Swiss humanitarian organization, which has the status of an international organization confirmed its mandate to operate throughout the world, the mandate of which is provided by the Geneva Conventions.

What are the peculiarities of the legal status of the ICRC? The ICRC has arisen due to the private initiative. However, the ICRC carried out a variety of tasks assigned to the Geneva Conventions and the Additional Protocols thereto, and its activity has acquired an international character. These objectives are the protection of war victims.

The ICRC's mandate allows it to opening delegations (representation) and sending its delegates to conduct a dialogue with States and parties for the conflict. The dialogue with the authorities, in the hands of who are victims of war, cannot be interpreted as an act of recognition of those authorities by the ICRC. The international character of the ICRC by the fact are in more than 50 states,it concluded an agreement on the status and activities of their delegates to their territories. Such agreements fall within the scope of international law, and provide him with benefits and privileges which are normally used by intergovernmental organizations. These agreements provided, in particular, the jurisdictional immunity, through which the ICRC is not subject to administrative, or prosecution, as well as the inviolability of its premises, archives and other documentation. ICRC delegates have the same status as representatives of intergovernmental organizations. These benefits and privileges guaranteed the neutrality and independence –of ICRC two essential conditions for its activities. ICRC – a non-governmental organization, is different from both the UN agencies and other humanitarian non-governmental organizations by its nature and composition.

March 19, 1993 the ICRC signed an agreement with Switzerland on the status and activities of the ICRC in its territory, which recognizes that the ICRC is a subject of international law and confirmed its independence from the government of that country.

What are the ICRC's humanitarian activities? The ICRC carries out the following activities on behalf of victims of armed conflicts and other situations of violence: 1. the activities of the Central Tracing Agency 2. Visits to persons deprived of their liberty 3. Activities Assistance: Food assistance shelter, tent distribution, clothing, blankets and so on. d. Emergency agricultural and veterinary assistance 4. Assistance in the field of public health. Helping people who were injured during military operations support existing health systems Water supply and sanitation activities Events in the field of nutrition. 5. Dissemination of knowledge. This refers to the dissemination of knowledge of international humanitarian law.

What is the legal basis for the ICRC? This agreement and the charter of the Red Cross and Red Crescent.

Contracts. During international armed conflicts, the ICRC operates based on four Geneva Conventions and their Additional Protocols. The ICRC uses the right to carry out these activities.

Thus, the ICRC is a humanitarian organization, a non-governmental organization (25 members of the committee – Swiss citizens). They are elected by the private co-opting sector. Independent from any government organization. In this organization, there is international law subjectivity, and it has the right to sign agreements with governments, to enter into agreements, to have diplomatic immunity. This is a unique situation. Currently (as of January 1, 2000.) The president of the ICRC, Mr Peter Maurer (2018).

**The Doctrine of the ICRC.**

Jean Pictet, the author of the monograph «The ICRC: a unique institution». It highlights the main provisions of the doctrine of the ICRC.

The first duty is considered the «golden rule», the ICRC – the first place to put the interests of the victim. The Red Cross is an institution which provides voluntary and selfless assistance. The concept of selfless service in some way corresponds to the principle of humanity. It means that the activities of the Red Cross is not built on the desire for gain.

Second. Conditions ICRC - Getting the consent of the warring parties. Although the signatory States undertake to implement them, it is necessary to support the diverse activities of the Red Cross in the form of contracts.

Third. The principle of reciprocity. It is not the principle of humanitarian law, nor the principle of the Red Cross. It aim to achieve that each party complied with humanitarian law. For this reason, for example, the ICRC does not act in favor of the principle of exchange of wounded or internees one by one. The Committee tries to ensure the repatriation of the two groups, no matter how many persons are not included.

Fourth. It should focus on this aspect that is that is cut as a restraint in statements. It is clear that the ICRC never disclose information that could harm the victims and their families. In addition, the ICRC strictly observes the principle of secrecy about their negotiations with the authorities and the conclusions reached by its delegates. However, now, when the media is becoming increasingly important, in order to use the financial support and the generosity of the public, it is necessary to provide the community the most comprehensive and objective information. In the recent past, the ICRC even somewhat exaggerated the requirements of secrecy and underestimated the importance of self-promotion. «For too long, the desire to respect the principle of neutrality, hidden in the» ivory tower «effect on the dissemination of information policy»[[47]](#footnote-47).

So now the reports of ICRC delegates to visit their places of internment be submitted exclusively to governments of the countries. In the press, the Committee does not endorse any conclusions about the delegates, nor about the treatment of prisoners of war or internees. However, the ICRC refers to the fact that the visits is were allowed, or, on the contrary, systematically banned.

Fifth. The boundaries of action problem. ICRC must take care not to spend unnecessarily, neither the power nor the resources to help those who need it in the first place. After all, the ICRC is the wrong sung Heine new Atlas, carrying on his shoulders the suffering of this world, says Jean Pictet.

Problems in the application of humanitarian law and the prospects for their resolution in December 1996, the murder of six Red Cross workers in Russia. This tragic incident has led the ICRC delegates to the idea that it is necessary to develop recommendations to improve the safety of humanitarian personnel.

With interesting ideas was made by François Bugnion – Delegate General for Eastern Europe and Central Asia. They mark a new approach in the ICRC's activities in the current period. Therefore, students need to know the main points of the speech.

In particular, F. Bugnion says that no rules, no protective measures are no substitute for a well-established contacts with all parties to the conflict, to persuade each of them in the neutrality, impartiality and independence of the ICRC. If those who direct combat units, take sides according to the ICRC, the organization may be subject to attacks. Conversely, neutrality – and above all an understanding of the combatants’ neutrality – is for all belligerents best guaranted that the ICRC does not pose any threat to them. The neutral position is occupied by the ICRC delegates convinces combatants that its humanitarian action has no effect on military operations».

So it formulated one of the basic provisions of the concept of security, which the International Committee of the Red Cross has developed a few years ago, to be guided by it in the course of its activities in situations of armed conflict. This is a sensible concept developed through years of experience in the implementation of humanitarian operations in conflict occurring on all continents and latitudes, it has a sober and balanced approach. It is hard to imagine that such a humanitarian organization, the ICRC, suddenly changed his concept, because it is simple and realistic, it combines’ common sense with a good will. And yet, in recent months the murder of the ICRC committed an unprecedented rate: in June 1996, three of them were ambushed in Burundi, and in December in Chechnya six others – mainly members of the national Red Cross societies were killed. But this is only attracted the attention of the greatest atrocities.

The main issue, which focuses F. Bugnion as the following: whether the match continues the concept of the ICRC's current security situation? Do they understand and adhere to it proper heads operating units or over time it has become blurred due get used danger or because of a naive faith in the existence of some kind of humanitarian immunity? Or, on the contrary, the conditions for humanitarian work have changed in such a way that it were possible to carry out only by force of arms or threat to life? Or, finally, the increasing vulnerability of the humanitarian organizations is due to the emergence of new forms of banditry, the emergence on the international scene of new and particularly violent actors, enhanced in various regions of the world anarchy, cynicism of the authorities and the fall of the discipline in the armed groups?

Of course, the ICRC and other components of the Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement are affected by this wave of attacks, killings and hostage-taking no more than any other humanitarian organization, whether private or part of the UN system. However, we acknowledge it or not, the movement as a whole (and the ICRC in particular) considered themselves more protected from the manifestations of the war than any other organization because of its long tradition, principles of work, their independence, impartiality and expertise, thanks to the fact that the emblem of the Red Cross enjoys universal recognition, and finally because it is aware of the real war, in a situation where it has to act directly and continuously.

Today, this confidence shattered. It was an illusion, and not stood the test of life. From now on, it should be recognized that all humanitarian organizations are equally vulnerable. F. Bugnion believes that the increased vulnerability of the Humanitarian Organizations is that there are new, more or less organized, armed groups, which seem totally alien to the idea of ​​respect for humanitarian action. It is believed that, consisting mostly armed gangs acting without fear or conscience of the very young soldiers, obeying no one, cruel and often drugged drugs that rampant looting, robbing, raping and killing. Humanitarian organizations need to protect their staff from all kinds for the most part of banditry, which are usually accompanied by a situation of armed conflict. They, they should not only take appropriate technical protection measures, but also seek to establish dialogue with all armed groups, without any bias, and regardless of the purpose – or lack thereof – that are supposedly haunted. It was only when considering the specific situation on the basis of the experience it becomes apparent that such a dialogue is not possible, the question is not whether to stop the operation or to withdraw the personnel involved in humanitarian work.

The same is true for situations of complete anarchy, which in these days due to the strange restraint became known as «unstructured conflicts». History is replete with examples of such situations, each of which is unique. One of the features of the present stage of development of events is that the impression is created in rich countries, through periods of chaos, are always marked by war and revolution, and the duration of which does not exceed a few days or weeks, in some regions are becoming so long that even transformed into certain rate. In these new conditions of life, without rules, there is no more space for humanitarian workers. We have here in mind Somalia, Liberia. However, such a view is misleading. It does not so much reflect reality as evidence of how difficult it is for foreigners to understand the complex laws of a number of functioning societies in crisis when the crushing power passes a certain limit (recently, it would be called «the Lebanese option», and before «Balkan style» scenario). It is obvious that an increase in the number of warring parties creates more danger. Neither the nature of these threats nor their strength does change, they just become more heterogeneous.

The «kaleidoscopic» conflict, the greater subtlety and compassion, courage and modesty, hardness and flexibility must be the personnel involved in humanitarian work. And in this situation for the ICRC have no other way but having dialogue and openness.

To explain why humanitarian organizations have become more vulnerable often resort to another theory: it is a consequence the de-depth change in the nature of armed conflicts, and humanitarian organizations, lulled by outdated notions do not know how to adapt to new circumstances, is now paying the price for his carelessness. The case alleged that after the Cold War, which ended as it is considered in the early 90s, armed conflicts have ceased to carry the ideological character and lost its strategic importance, as a result – all the constraints.

There is an opinion that conflicts today are primarily caused by ethnic in nature or the difference in cultures. They are closely associated with the subjective affirmation of collective identity, and their goal is to complete destruction of the enemy, both combatants and civilians, and not a victory over the enemy. It is not neutralize the enemy as expressed by the military and the elimination of entire people. In these circumstances, humanitarian activities, the purpose of which, by definition, is to ensure respect for the other person to the enemy, ensuring their survival, will inevitably come into direct conflict with the intentions of the belligerents. Those who carry out humanitarian activities are an insoluble dilemma: bravely resist their intentions, or refuse to carry out its mission through the conclusion of a shameful deal, risking being useless and powerless witnesses of massacres, forced displacement, destruction, torture, and extermination.

In both cases, the failure would have been a complete and painful assistance to victims of the war – almost zero. This contradiction would become unresolvable. Civil and military authorities involved in conflicts of this kind would understand perfectly the situation, and if necessary, without the slightest hesitation would have directed their weapons against humanitarian workers who become uncomfortable witnesses their bloody crimes. It is for such a scenario, as claimed, conflicts will occur in the future.

Humanitarian action is doomed, it belongs to the past when there were clear rules and order, and in the coming decades will dissolve in the blood of those who are still so naive that she dedicates her life. However, this theory is fatal. First of all, because in all wars – whatever their ideological background assertion of collective identities (national, ethnic, racial, religious, ideological, cultural, linguistic, social, clan, etc…) – always more or less happened, and there was opposition to the enemy. Today is impermissible to forget about it, given the countless victims of war and genocide that took place in the past. In addition, this theory is nothing but a generalization made on the basis of several recent cases in which the ethnic violence has reached an extreme degree; it tries to put humanitarian action to narrow the choice between complete rejection and transaction, at the same time a deadlock and damning. Local difficulties of humanitarian action is precisely the recognition that today, like yesterday, a man capable of insane brutality, and this – the ruthless reality, but at the same time in the most horrible and terrible moments, we must do everything possible to remind the forehead that he can be compassionate and generous, can respect the other person – in a word, to be human. Statements that humanitarian action has lost all meaning, equivalent a denial of medical services under the pretext of congestion hospitals.

However, the fact remains – the danger to humanitarian workers is great in situations where it seems that human life has lost value. But in this case, humanitarian organizations have no weapons other than dialogue.

**The Negative Impact of the Media on the**

**Humanitarian Activities**

F. Bugnion believes that a significant impact on the change in the working conditions of the humanitarian organizations is not only the situation on the ground over the past years, many factors associated with the policy and the media. Humanitarian assistance popularity among the general public in developed countries, a new surge   
of interest in states of humanitarian activities, the participation  
of the UN and other intergovernmental organizations in the establishment of peace in conflict areas, the increase in the number of   
organizations – all this, oddly enough, make humanitarian work more dangerous.

The number of organizations involved in humanitarian activities does not cease to grow. Traditional organizations (UN agencies, major non-governmental organizations, the Red Cross) in the last quarter of a century added many smaller ones, which often specialize in a particular field (care for children, orthopedics, etc.) or work in a particular region.

Some of them have arisen in the wake of altruism caused by the media exist only for such time as they are engaged in the implementation of several specific actions. Others are in contact with the reality on the ground; gradually increase the scope of its activities. These organizations do not always observe impartiality in the conflict. Each of them pursues its own objectives and uses the methods of operational work, which it considers adequate, and hardly necessary to criticize it. But it is clear that the parties to the conflict, especially when a lot of them and when they are small, have neither the desire nor the ability to take into account this diversity of methods. For them, humanitarian organizations are a single whole. Suffice it to one of them to displease parties to the conflict, and the blame will be placed on all organizations. The safety of all organizations depends on the security of each of them. The most important thing – clearly recognized that the main reason for the high degree of vulnerability is clear politic in nature.

Humanitarian activities are in the West represent the world, the woven of Christian morality, the individualism, and the great importance of suffering and compassion. These organizations can operate without the financial support of Western countries or the public in these countries. It is not surprising that the collapse of the USSR, which deprived of Western powers of a particular enemy, around which to form their foreign policy, made to show interest in familiar humanitarian action and make it the main argument in explaining the policy to public opinion in their countries.

On the substitution of humanitarian policy, in particular, with regard to Europe's strategy in relation to the crisis in the former Yugoslavia, it was the media said a lot, and it is not necessary to return to this issue. An important consequence of this strategy. And they were to put a considerable strengthening of pressure on the humanitarian organizations on the part of governments. The trend is that the government is no longer limited to the consent or refusal to finance a project developed by a humanitarian organization, and strives to make it an integral part of its overall strategy towards the country concerned. The government was forced to respond to the emergence of crisis and perhaps caught by surprised and emotional reaction of the public and in that case, can claim that his foreign policy failed primarily due to the humanitarian. Although the state is perfectly legitimately aiming to determine the policy according to their own interests, such as strategic, economic, political, military or commercial. Among the mass of all kinds of projects with a lack of funds, the state selects those that best serve his political for financing in the ends. And the media are spreading the idea in the guise of «humanitarian action».

The government uses the effect and the budget of the major humanitarian organizations by the size of its contribution, to ask these organizations some guidance, to change their priorities, to participate in determining the direction of their work, in short, to turn them into conductors of the objective of its policies. There are organizations that are opposed to this invasion policy in the humanitarian sphere. But none of them can say that this process did not touch it.

At the same time, it has increased the direct involvement of the UN in resolving conflicts on the ground, and it is another expression of the same trend. The public has witnessed a growing number of peacekeeping or peacemaking requiring the combined efforts of the international community, parallel actions in the military, humanitarian, political and diplomatic spheres through the mass media.

For soldiers of the international forces, which, above all, are the guarantors of the political process initiated in New York, and living proof of the high importance accorded to these processes are increasingly tasked with protecting civilians, objects indispensable to their survival, and access paths to them, as well as ensure the safety of humanitarian organizations, to facilitate humanitarian assistance smuggle goods across the front line and in some cases even to participate in their distribution operations. «

In this case, there is a substitution of «a picture» of the true purpose ICRC, whose functions are trying to borrow a military organization, posing as virtuous and caring peacekeepers, although everyone understands that people in uniform are intended specifically for military intervention. F. Bugnion continues that in some conflicts, humanitarian aid is actually more based on the structure of the military logistics. Moreover, it is largely merged with the political picture of the conflict, the features of which are defined outside of the conflict. In these circumstances, the notion of the term «humanitarian» becomes infinitely extensible. About massacres or a mass exodus of the endangered population media saying that: «humanitarian crisis». Sending troops to stop the fighting with warring factions reporters called «humanitarian intervention». Violations of international humanitarian law or human rights are in the mouths of journalists as «setbacks in humanitarian terms». Gradually the media imposes on us the belief that a successful outcome, and therefore the purpose of humanitarian action can only be the establishment of peace. This is not simply a change of meaning of the word, but a profound political change.

Today, humanitarian work is not limited to enable the provision of emergency assistance to the victims and non-political war, oblige it in the name of moral principles that are commonly due to the cultural community, become an instrument of peace. However, the world is by definition a political category, the result of a compromise, a reasonable calculation, the military realities, fatigue, and hope. And the safety of humanitarian personnel, of course, depends on how much will it be nonpolitical activities.

The current political situation and the information in the world tend to restrict the autonomy of humanitarian organizations to focus their efforts on certain areas and to involve them in the resolution of conflicts as the main organization. In fact, at stake are three fundamental principles of the Red Cross activities. However, these principles are not only of moral value but also of practical value, especially for operational activities.

In the statement, the ICRC security concept, says the security personnel here involved in humanitarian activities depends on how combatants perceive its activities if they consider it to be neutral, impartial and independent.

More specifically, if one of the combatants was felt that one or other humanitarian organization or its personnel are a threat to it, it is the weapon of the enemy or a means of political interference in the course of the conflict, if it was believed that the organization is part of a global conspiracy against it or the case that it stands for, or just a symbol of what it is fighting – in this case, the combatant will try to destroy this organization: such is the logic of war. In other words, to the personnel of humanitarian organizations, would take greater risk more insistently, we will put the humanitarian work in conflict situations purpose at first other than the unconditional provision of emergency and impartial protection to those who need it, regardless of any whatever other considerations.

It is in this «creeping» politicization of humanitarian sphere lies the main reason for increasing the vulnerability of personnel engaged in humanitarian activities.

What to do? The answer is simple: it is necessary once again – and has never decisively – to separate the activities of humanitarian organizations from political activity. Facilitate the resolution of various conflicts, stunning contemporary world, must organs of political power. They have all the necessary for these diplomatic, military and economic capabilities. The humanitarian organization is authorized to operate in conflict zones, will do everything in their power to alleviate the suffering caused by these conflicts, not being involved in the political game.

This is bank to a clear division of roles is inevitable, even if it may seem a simplistic solution. What is happening right now merging politics and the humanitarian action already bears the seeds of its own destruction: the dangers that inevitably accompany humanitarian action in modern conflicts, will be added more danger due to the political merging with humanitarian activities, and this is absolutely impossible to carry out, where it is most needed. But when humanitarian organizations left the area in which they cannot work, the proponents of such a merger will be seen as crumbling the very foundations of their strategy.

These are the new ideas put forward by F. Bugnion, considering that the objectives of the organization, the ICRC must be aimed primarily at preserving the main principles of the ICRC: neutrality, impartiality, independence, and above all by political ambitions.

**Control questions and tasks:**

1. Basic principles of the ICRC. What are the peculiarities of the legal status of the ICRC?

2. What are the three components of International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement?

3. Why does the using of other logos inappropriate?

4. The different functions of the ICRC and the IFRC?

5. What activities do the ICRC?

6. How many countries are party have a member of the Geneva Conventions?

**Read the following article and answer the questions:**

1. What are the problems of the ICRC? How the media influence the image of the organization, the ICRC?

2. As some governments are trying to work on the principles of the ICRC? What forms and methods of protection the ICRC delegates to enhance their safety should apply?

3. In December 1996, the media in many countries have reported the deaths of six ICRC delegates killed in cold blood by armed men, whose identities have not been established, in hospital housing in the village of New Atagi, near Grozny.

4. Marion Harroff- Tavel, Deputy General Delegate of the countries of Eastern Europe and Central Asia, 17 December 1996

**The murder of six ICRC delegates in Chechnya.**

**Fernanda Calado – Ingeborg Foss – Nancy Malloy**

**Gunnhild Myuklebyust – Sheryl Thayer – Johan Elkerbut.**

*There were six wonderful professionals, six people with open, warm heart. They were carrying aid to the victims of the Chechen conflict, providing them with shelter and care, comforting and encouraging. They come from Spain, Canada, Netherlands, New Zealand and Norway for the Red Cross appeal. These people worked in the ICRC hospital in New Atagi. They were no longer with us. Another delegate found himself wounded by a bullet, which was supposed to kill him. And all those who witnessed the murder, filled with sorrow and compassion.*

*This tragedy makes us not only shocked, not only protest, not only questioned but also pained. The pain from the loss of dear people, people who were not supposed to die so early and so scared. The pain of relatives, colleagues and friends, the pain of all Red Cross and Red Crescent, of all the people close to us. «Even the Red Cross!» – They exclaim. Yes, even the Red Cross! – Sign guarding suffering humanity, a symbol of life and hope, a symbol designed to protect ...*

*To our sorrow mixed with anger. It was a cruel, terrible, ruthless, cold-blooded murder. Are we then to believe in there is the human dignity of each person? Should we see man as it is or the way we want it to be?*

*We are also plagued by doubts. How far should we go, providing humanitarian and medical assistance? Where to begin our commitments and where they end up? At some point, you have to refuse to perform them? What is the price and what will be the consequences for those to whom we help? In this terrible hour, when we gather to honor those who died and express our sorrow and share the pain of their relatives, forget for a few minutes, where we are. Forget about comfort, security that is approaching the holidays.*

*We are in Chechnya. The snow-capped Caucasus Mountains are towering above the plain. Residents of Grozny, the inhabitants of the villages are trying to rebuild destroyed houses, leave the wounded, the pieces to recreate your life, because of so many broken lives – the Chechens, the Russian. But how difficult it is! Water pipe damaged, pumping stations are not working, clogged sewer. People are victims of the disease. Some were no drugs at all, others are too expensive, and the third is missing. It destroyed most of the hospitals.*

*Products on the market are so expensive that it is not accessible to all. Old people who have the most difficult time lunch in the cafeteria of the Red Cross and catch with a piece of bread – will be their dinner.*

*People lose touch with loved ones. Many of those who left their homes, afraid to return. Some of the remaining gripped by fear and leave.*

*Children are undermined by the mines.*

*Six of our colleagues have died, although they have come here precisely in order to breathe life in the hospital. Like all ICRC delegates, they were inspired by the ideals of humanism. The ideals are embodied in deeds and acts committed in the name of others.*

*Life is full of enthusiasm for the delegate. But in it, there are difficult moments, and then there is the fear and the fact that above fear – humility before the inevitable. But there is an inevitability of crime. Delegate Life is full of courage, it illuminates the light of joy when humanitarian action bears fruit, and it is full of pain when all you need is to start anew. In life, these people have a place of work, self-sacrifice, self-discipline, and sometimes fear, but also a place of laughter, friendship and mutual assistance. This is life on the team. For many, it is LIFE – flowing, of course, among the ruins, but at the same time – in direct contact with the most disadvantaged, allowing you to fully enjoy solidarity with them.*

*Therefore, for us at the ICRC death of six people is an attempt on the lives of thousands of others, the lives of all the ICRC employees, whether they come from Switzerland or sent to other national societies, attempt on the life of all the victims of the Chechen conflict, which you have to pay for this murder. This sorrow must not trample us into depression; it should unite us in a strong rejection of what cannot be tolerated. We must be united by the grief in order to make the work of the ICRC on the benefit of the victims are even more effective.*

*This tragedy makes us think serious. We cannot go on living as if nothing had happened. Murder in New Atagi was abroad at the time for us – it was the time before and will be after him. We do not know what lies behind it abroad, but we know that the future has to be different. Killer crossed a terrible hell. And we need to learn from this test. It is not just about the ICRC but also of all those engaged in humanitarian work around the world.*

*Yes, we must act. But how? We need to act, expressing how we do it here, their despair and indignation. Voluntary participants in humanitarian actions are increasingly at risk. What kind of world would it be, if in some countries or the Red Cross or Red Crescent are not able to provide their services? What kind of world it would be where these organizations are forced to only watch helplessly from the outside of the crimes committed, «behind closed doors»? What kind of world would it be, where the fine words and good intentions often do not lead to any results? A world where inaction or silence of those who can play a role in the political arena in order to prevent violations of international humanitarian law, as similar to deal with his conscience. A world where the ICRC cannot identify, find the perpetrators of violence, which could hold a dialogue before the situation became chaotic. A world where the humanitarian action was bet in the political game, where meanness could crush hopes for a life without war. Indeed, what kind of world it would be?*

*Let us not deceive ourselves. This world – is our world. And you have to meet the action. You must act out of respect for our colleagues who died in New Atagi, out of respect to all the other people around the world who have died in the course of humanitarian activities. To act over and over again to make sure that our children will live in a different world.*

*Marion Harroff-Tavel, Deputy General Delegate for Eastern Europe and Central Asia.*

*François Bugnion, Delegate General for Eastern Europe and Central Asia In the night from 16 to 17 December 1996 in the hospital of the International Committee of the Red Cross in the village of New Atagi, near to Grozny, armed criminals six ICRC delegates were despicably murdered. The decision to open in Chechnya ICRC field hospital took in late summer 1996 It was caused by the fact that the major hospitals in Grozny were badly damaged and a large number of the wounded were unable to get the proper care. a number of options were considered hospital accommodation. The final choice fell on the village of New Atagi, located approximately   
20 kilometers south of Grozny: it is virtually not damaged during the fighting because its inhabitants managed to avoid participation in armed conflicts. In addition, there was a complex of buildings of the former boarding school, which well suited for this purpose. Hospital equipment provided by the government and the Red Cross of Norway, the medical staff was basically granted by national societies of Western Europe, Canada, and New Zealand. The ICRC also carried out the management of this medical institution. The hospital was opened on September 2, 1996, and on the same day, he received about 50 patients – all of them had been injured for the reason of military action. Prior to the attack on December 17 in hospital, were treated, 321 patients. Hospital staff conducted 594 surgeries and 1,717 outpatient consultations. This activity purpose of which was to assist the victims of the conflict in Chechnya, was suddenly interrupted in the night of 16 December 17, 1996, when masked men armed with pistols equipped with silencers, secretly penetrated into the territory of the hospital; they made their way to the building where the delegates were sleeping and shot in cold blood at close range six. We will call the names of those killed: Fernanda Calado, the nurse, the ICRC, a citizen of Spain Ingeborg Foss, a nurse, Norwegian Red Cross Nancy Malloy, a medical administrator, Canadian Red Cross Gunnhild Myuklebyust nurse, Norwegian Red Cross Sheryl Thayer, a nurse, the New Zealand Red Cross Johan Elkerbut, engineering builder, Netherlands Red Cross Another delegate – Christoph Hensch – was wounded in the shoulder, but survived because the killer thought he was dead. In the first hours after the attack, the ICRC handed over the hospital and patients under the responsibility of the Chechen Ministry of Health. The staff was evacuated: the same day Christophe Henshaw was sent to Switzerland for air ambulances, and other survivors of the staff of the hospital, as well as the remains of the victims, were transported by special plane the next day. Before the departure and arrival of the aircraft, as well as the homeland of the memorial service were held to victims. National mourning has been declared in Chechnya. This bloody murder prompted the ICRC to suspend the implementation of those operations, which require the presence of its delegates in Chechnya. Nevertheless, the ICRC continues to carry out activities aimed at assisting with the support of the Ministry of Health and the local Red Cross committee in the country, having the ability to conduct operations, which used the ICRC's material resources and engage its employees from the local community. The ICRC is also partially suspended its operations in Dagestan and Ingushetia – neighboring autonomous republics as to ensure the security there is becoming increasingly difficult. However, continuing the work of his office in Nalchik – the capital of Kabardino-Balkar Autonomous Republic, where you can monitor the development of the situation in the North Caucasus. Immediately after the murder of law enforcement bodies of Chechnya, as well as law enforcement bodies of the Russian Federation, was launched an investigation. Although the ICRC has not yet received any information about the outcome of these investigations, it is clear that the attack was carefully prepared and committed by people who knew the location of the premises in the hospital and had a special weapon. This attack was, of course, directed against foreign personnel, since the two-Chechen translator who lived in the building that occupied delegates were left alive, and the two guards caught up on the way the attackers, stunned but not killed. And finally, all indications are the perpetrators apparently intended to kill all of the delegates who were in the hospital, but they did not succeed until the end of carrying out his plan since the alarm was raised. The ICRC still has no information about any individual or the motives of the offender and the offense customers. No one has claimed responsibility for the murder and is unlikely to do so in the future since this heinous crime merited universal condemnation. In these conditions, it has to be limited to the purely speculative hypotheses, none of which is devoid of any objective justification. The deep striking contrast between the cruelties of premeditated crimes, committed in cold blood is extremely cynical murderers, and those countless expressions of sympathy and solidarity, which have been received from all over the world, including in Chechnya. The ICRC expresses its heartfelt condolences to the relatives of the dead who gave their lives for the ideals of humanity and solidarity with the victims of a devastating war in Chechnya. The ICRC has also expressed condolences to the Canadian Red Cross, Netherlands Red Cross, Norwegian Red Cross and New Zealand Red Cross. ICRC strongly condemns this attack, which dealt a blow to the heart of the humanitarian action. The murder was committed on the territory of the hospital. The protected emblem of the Red Cross acts solely in order to provide medical assistance to the victims of the war, said François Bugnion, Delegate General for Eastern Europe and Central Asia.*

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*Near Kabul city*

*the horn blowing, bayonet forward!*

*Choked, drowned it*

*Not that he was a ford».*

***R. Kipling***

***Lecture 5***

**REGIONAL CONFLICTS**

**IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY**

**The Nature of Conflicts in the twentieth century. Evolution of armed conflicts. (M. Castells) The First and Second World Wars and the creation of the First promotional centers. Propaganda in the structure of the Fascist Society. US media, McCarthyism and the «Cold War». Broadcaster CBS in the service of War.**

In general, regional conflict represents nothing more than the result of a competitive interaction between two or more states, challenging each other's distribution of power, territory or resources. This reaction can be carried out in different ways: diplomatic negotiations, the inclusion of a third party, armed intervention, etc. The twentieth century was the most devastating, bloody in human history. The first and second world wars have claimed millions of lives. Equally difficult was the period of «cold war».

What is a regional armed conflict – the war? Modern large sociologist and researcher M. Castells in his famous book «The Information Age: Economy, Society, and Culture» devotes only a few pages on the armed conflict, but every art has so many useful ideas and thoughts. The most interested in the part called «Instant War». M.Castells warns the reader that his understanding of the war and the social context of fighting inspired by the book which is the oldest military treatise on strategy: «On the Art of War» , the Chinese Sun Tzu. Here is an excerpt from the text of the book:

«The art of war is vital for the state. It is a matter of life and death, a road either to safety or to ruin. Therefore, it is a subject of study, which in any case cannot be ignored. Then, the art of war is controlled by five constant factors, what should be taken into account their thinking to anyone who seeks to define the conditions that he will get on the field. These factors are as follows: 1) The Moral Law; 2) Heaven; 3) Land; 4) The military commander; 5) Method and discipline.

The moral law is the cause of people with the full consent of their ruler so that they will follow it, not caring about their lives. Sky stands for night and day, cold and heat, times and seasons. The land encompasses distances, great and small, the danger and safety, open space and narrow passages, the chance to survive and die. Warlord symbolizes wisdom, virtue, honesty, generosity, courage, and strictness. By method and discipline shall mean the alignment of the army in accordance with the inherent divisions, tradition ranks among the officers, the maintenance of roads by which supplies may reach the army, and control of military expenditures»[[48]](#footnote-48).

Next Castells writes that in the developed democratic countries it quickly came to three conclusions about the conditions needed to make the war more or less acceptable to the public.

1. It does not affect ordinary citizens, i.e. should be conducted by a professional military, forced recruitment should resort only in case of real emergency and they are assumed to be unlikely.

2. It should be short, even instant. The results are not forced to wait, depleting human and economic resources and raising the question of the justification for military action.

3. It should be clean, surgical, with a reasonable quantity of destruction (even of the enemy), and hidden from the public view as much as possible, which leads to the close connection of information processing, imaging, and warfare.

Impressive advances in military technology that have taken place over the past two decades provide a means to realize the socio-military strategy. Well-trained, well equipped, devoting all his time to the service, professional armed forces do not require the massive involvement of the population in military affairs. It only needs to watch and applaud from their living rooms especially exciting show, marked by deep patriotic feelings. Professional management of news in the media can lead to people's homes to live with a limited war, sterile perception killing and suffering. But most importantly, the technology of communication and electronic weapons allows inflicting devastating blows in an extremely short time of the Gulf War (referring to the Persian Gulf – Ed.) Was a dress rehearsal for a new type of war, and its 100-hour isolation, when the Allies dealt with a large and well-armed Iraqi army, it was the demonstration of the determination of new military powers, when the rate is an important issue (in this case – the Western oil supply).

Powers are on the same technological level of development[[49]](#footnote-49), it would be much harder to get satisfaction from each other. However, in case of mutual non-use of nuclear weapons, major military powers of their potential wars and wars between their satellites countries are likely to be dependent on the rapid exchange of blows, determine the true state of technological imbalance between the warring parties. Massive destruction or a quick demonstration of the possibility to implement it apparently in the minimum time is a common strategy of warfare of the modern type in the information age[[50]](#footnote-50). (Castells schedule of mortality)

However, this strategy may hold only powers that dominate the technology, and it is in stark contrast to the numerous, endless internal and international armed conflicts, fill the world since 1945. This temporal (time) difference in the conduct of war is one of the most striking manifestations of differences in the temporal that characterizing our segmented global system.

“The dominant society – says Castells, – a new era of martial arts has a significant impact on the time and the concept of time. Extremely intense moments of taking military decisions will arise as the moments that define the shape of the world, or long periods of restrained tension. For example, according to a quantitative historical study of armed conflict, conducted by the Canadian Ministry of Defense, the duration of the conflicts in the first half of 1980 decreased on average by more than half compared with the 1970s, more than two-thirds – from the 1960s. Figure (426p.), based on the same source, demonstrating reductions, in recent years as a result of wars, mortality reduction especially when compared with the number of civilians. However, the same figure shows the extent to which historically war – and especially in the first half of the twentieth century. – was a way of life. Other sources say that the number of deaths attributable to per capita in the wars in Western Europe, North America, Japan, and Latin America, was significantly less than in 1945-1989yy., Than 1815-1913yy.

In the new temporality of hostilities generated descending together with the civil society and pressure technology in developed countries, it seems very likely that the war is falling by the wayside of these mainstream societies. However, – Castells noticed- need to «remember yourself that instant, surgical, closed, technological war is the privilege of technologically dominant nations. Throughout the world, year after year, the drawn half-forgotten brutal wars often waged by primitive means, even though the global spread of high-tech weapons and capture the market.

This asymmetry in their countries with regard to power, wealth, and technology determines the difference in the temporality, especially in terms of fighting. In addition, the same state can move from low-intensity wars to instant wars depending on their relationship with the world system and the interests of the dominant powers. Iran and Iraq for seven years conducted a brutal war, carefully fueled by Western countries that support both parties slaughter (the United States and France – helping Iraq, Israel – Iran, Spain – selling chemical weapons, and both of them), so that mutual destruction would undermine the ability of each of them to endanger the supply of oil.

When Iraq with a well-equipped, battle-hardened army has decided to consolidate its leadership in the region (in fact, count on leniency Western powers), he was confronted with instant war technology at the show of force, which is a warning to the world of the future disorder. In another case, a protracted, brutal war in Bosnia ... NATO countries resolve their differences and switched mode technology for a few selective, destructive attacks that caused damage to the combat capability of the Bosnian Serbs. When the conflict gets high priority in plans for the world powers, it would in a different pace.

Of course, – concludes Castells – even the dominating companies end of the war does not mean the end of violence and violent confrontation with the political machines of various kinds. Transformation of War introduces a new form of violent conflict, the main of which is terrorism. Potential terrorism, when the focus of the action is the media, is likely to become a form of fighting in developed societies. However, even these violent acts could hurt the psyche of anyone experienced as separate moments in a series of peaceful events of everyday life. This is in stark contrast with all permeability generated by state violence in much of the world. Instant War and temporality generated by technology, but the essence of the attribute information societies, along with other new dimensions of temporality characterize the forms of domination in the new system, to the exclusion of countries and events that are not central to the emerging, dominant logic[[51]](#footnote-51).

**The First and Second World Wars and the Creation of the First Promotional Centers.**

World War II is the culmination of the struggle between the major powers for new markets and areas of profitable investment of capital. So the main issue of the First World War was about who will be able to survive in this fight and what benefits can be drawn from the inevitable following the war redrawing of borders. «This war has completely exposed itself as an imperialist, reactionary, predatory war, and on the part of Germany and by the capitalists of Britain, France, Italy, America, are now beginning to quarrel over the division of spoils, over the division of Turkey, Russia, Africa and Polynesian colonies, the Balkans, etc. Hypocritical Wilson phrases about «democracy» and «union of nations» are exposed amazingly fast, when we see the capture of the left bank of the Rhine by the French bourgeoisie, the Turkish seizure (Syria, Mesopotamia) and Russia (Siberia, Archangel, Baku, Krasnovodsk, Ashgabat etc.) by the French, British and American capitalists, – when we see the increasing animosity over the division of spoils between Italy and France, between France and England, between England and America, between America and Japan, «- he wrote in V.I.Lenin in his «Letter to the workers of Europe and America»[[52]](#footnote-52)..

The conflicts between the major powers did not prevent them from uniting against the proletarian state, to prevent the spread of the ideas of communism, – says historian E. Ivanyan. To enhance the impact of the secondary country connecting, which provides specific guidance on the impact of the enemy. For example, the Swiss said, will not give the bread if you do not start to fight against Bolshevism, Holland – do not dare to admit yourself to Soviet ambassadors. The blood had sunk the Bavarian Soviet Republic and the Hungarian Soviet Republic[[53]](#footnote-53).

Renowned political analyst D.A.Volkogonov writes in his book «Psychological warfare: the subversive actions of imperialism in the public consciousness»[[54]](#footnote-54): «In essence, the First World War 1914-1918. It was the military confrontation, which was first widely used print media against the enemy. During this war, it was used means and methods of psychological warfare, which began to lead each other imperialist coalition. At the same time the Anglo-French-Russian and Austro-German-Italian coalition strengthened chauvinism,   
jingoism in their own countries are widely resorted to social, national, religious demagoguery. Each of the coalitions portrayed their   
participation in the war as forced, wearing a purely defensive in nature”.

With the prolongation of the war, coalition leadership came to the conclusion about the need to strengthen the spiritual effect on the enemy. At the headquarters of the warring armies created by the relevant departments and units designed to organize the «war of words» – propaganda of the enemy. Especially actively engaged in psychological warfare with the help of England printed materials. They were issued millions of leaflets that were dropped and the aircraft with the help of balloons cross over the enemy positions. In addition, the British government set up special bodies, supplying the prints of other countries of the British version of the war. Edition of the magazine «War in graphics» has been established, the newsletters, the war films were produced on the situation on the fronts.

By order of the French, leaflets were commanded to distribute among the population and the enemy forces. During the course of the French army propaganda service in World War I on the German city copies of leaflets, newspapers and the position of the troops it dropped about 30 million in the position of the troops. At the end of the war, the Allies took the first steps to coordinate their advocacy efforts: there was a special headquarters for the decomposition of the enemy troops. Russia war participated on a smaller scale in this propaganda, as it was poorly prepared technically. Nevertheless, the psychological war waged by the Entente countries has played a role in the defeat of the Kaiser's Germany and his allies.

In turn, Germany also tried to conduct a propaganda war against the Franco-Russian coalition, making extensive intimidation, deception, and misinformation. So, in the leaflets that were dropped from the German zeppelins on the Eastern Front in 1915, claimed that the Anglo-French troops in the West defeated and the same fate awaits the Russian troops, to avoid «unnecessary bloodshed», Russian soldiers are invited to be organized to give in captivity.

The First World War was the first war in which widely used subversive means to demoralize the enemy troops and population. For the first time a special propaganda units were set up to spread technique printed, formed bodies «war of words»[[55]](#footnote-55).

S. Beglov author of «Foreign propaganda: Essay on the theory and practice”[[56]](#footnote-56).: «In the countries of the Entente propaganda mechanism was a series of mutations. In England, the case began with the creation of the military propaganda bureau at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, led to the creation of the Ministry of Information, headed by the newspaper magnate Lord Beaverbrook and propaganda department on the enemy led by a friend of Lord Northcliffe press. In France, it was the «Press House» and the informal organization «Alliance Frances». The Americans established «Psychological subsection» at army headquarters in Europe. However, the most famous work of the Committee of Public Information (COI) established in the United States, headed by a personal friend of President George Wilson. Krill. By the time of the appointment, Krill already was a had experienced propagandist-newspaperman. Much attention is paid to specialization by type of propaganda, such as section news, foreign-language newspapers, civic education, movies, military exhibitions, fairs exhibitions, relationships with manufacturers, «the labor union and democracy», lecturers, advertising, and cartoons.

It was delivered in the American way – to the conveyor base. Intellectuals, writers, artists, journalists made mass production of propaganda, the costs to all the US and the world ends. Krill wrote: «Three thousand historians are at our disposal, ready to call to write the desired brochure at the first; the services of each of the major expert in the area of ​​the US were used in; It has about advertising section 50 thousand people in the ranks of the speakers».

Laynbardzher P., in his book «Psychological War» focuses on two principal expected effects on the operation of «psychological war»: the first – the conversion, hence the «full conversion propaganda coup in value orientation of individual or groups; the second – the effect of splitting the enemy ranks. Which hence the «dividing propaganda». Function – demoralizing effect – destabilizing. Examples: «Mourning» i.e. the threat of death (over the Japanese position is cleared poems about death); «Famine» – dumped colorful postcard depicting various dishes and delicacies; «Lost cause» – an suggestion opponent. With his work in vain; «Inevitable decline» – suggestion thoughts about the meaninglessness of his resistance; «Captivity charm» – bringing evidence of former colleagues, surrendering prisoners, who are happy that the war was over for them, etc[[57]](#footnote-57).

An example of the organization of promotional activities of the company can serve the American President Franklin Roosevelt's administration during the Second World War. An excerpt from the book of N.N.Yakovlev «Franklin D. Roosevelt – a man and a politician»[[58]](#footnote-58). Roosevelt began to work on the escalation of propaganda headquarters in the country.

*«January 6, 1942, Roosevelt came to the Capitol to read a message to Congress annually on the situation of the country. The message has a lot of good phrases – «the world is too small to provide adequate living space, Hitler and God» – were the slogan of winged US-British propaganda. Roosevelt concluded: «There is no compromise completes this conflict. You can never reach a satisfactory compromise between good and evil. Only a total victory can reward supporters of tolerance and decency, freedom and faith».*

*The message of Roosevelt made a significant impression on the American people. He, to whom it was addressed, found it possible to throw off America. January 7, 1942, Hitler told in detail in his close circle, why he does not believe in the power of the United States: «The Americans have no future. In my opinion, this country is in decline. They have a racial problem and the problem of inequality ... As you might expect, that this country resisted, – 80 percent of its revenue comes from the pockets of the people because they are all built on the dollar! « Hitler gave the order German propaganda – «to all stations as often as possible to talk about a drunkard Churchill and in Roosevelt criminal». From the point of view of Hitler, the «crime» FDR was the fact that the United States took the side of the Soviet Union.*

*People for (a month ago), there was a terrible event – the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor. In the United States were growing confusion. Then Roosevelt explained that «fireside conversation», as explains the fellow military situation. Performance in 1942 was on a Sunday, and in a long time the FDR has refused to speak on Sundays – church people complained that it distracts believers from churches – “fireside conversation’ was scheduled for 23 February. In the evening of that day, Americans have heard the voice of Commander. He invited them to expand the world map and look at them), newspapers were instructed to print the map on this day). FDR very carefully and quietly counted the distance, which turned out to be guilty of that the Americans could not provide adequate resistance in the Pacific – was far from their bases. For example, there was an opinion that Pearl Harbor had prepared the success of the Japanese campaign in the Philippines. «It is not, – said Roosevelt. – If it was not an attack on your maps, it can be seen that it would be hopeless to try to send the fleet to the Philippines – should cover thousands of miles of ocean, while all the bases on the islands were under Japanese control».*

*As for injuries, Roosevelt said that during the war of liberation in the eighteenth century «for eight years, General Washington and his army stood in the face of vastly superior enemy and carried the continuous destruction». He proposed to draw from the past confidence in the future. «In Berlin, Rome and Tokyo say about us as a nation» wimps ««, hucksters «who hire British, Russian and Chinese soldiers fight for us.*

*Let repeat it now! Let them say it to General MacArthur and his men! Let them say it's the sailors fighting in the remote waters of the Pacific Ocean. Let them say it's a boy in the «Flying Fortress»! Let them say it's the Marines!».*

*«But, – he warned FDR concluded» tyranny, like hell, is not easy to win. «These words, written by Thomas Peng on the drum   
during the liberation war in 1776, it is appropriate by sounded harsh in 1942.*

*Roosevelt knew perfectly the value of a secret war. He anxiously watched the spread of defeatism and took various measures to prevent them, based on intelligence and counterintelligence. June 18, 1941, guarding to the orders of Roosevelt the Office Coordinator of Information was established, headed by Major General U. Donovan, who was responsible for their activities only to the president. June 13, 1942, Roosevelt shared the organization of management of military information under the guidance of E.Devisa and management of Strategic Services under General U. Donovan. The first was engaged in propaganda and counter-propaganda, and the second – espionage and sabotage. Propaganda Department of the foreign country became manage R. Shervud.*

*FDR aroused unusual interest and taste for business, which is almost not included in the official history of the war. He was busy staging propaganda, including the «black» – misinformation opponents.*

*When hitting the «whisperers and unfortunate gossip in our midst» in a speech February 23 FDR, he told a secret memorandum prepared by the intelligence. During the speech, the president continually focused on the inspiration of print and radio campaign against the «fifth column». Public opinion was emergence. Next propaganda orders materials postage «isolationists», those sympathetic powers «axis», was banned. Then, some print media have been closed, and thirty-three of the most active publishers planted on trial, convicted and put behind bars.*

*The flow of specially prepared programs and articles attacked the Americans. Morale has increased significantly. FDR himself found it necessary to include in their presentations heroic episodes – as the «Flying Fortress» strayed from 18 Japanese fighters, the exploits of the crew of the submarine «Skvalus». The president has successfully used an old trick – if there is no major victories, many stories of individual heroism creates the right mood. Opinion polls have shown that Roosevelt is on the right track.*

*In the interest of FDR propaganda dealt a masterstroke. According to the decree of the aircraft carrier «Hornet» secretly went to the Japanese islands. 16 bomber, which was launched from an aircraft carrier, dropped bombs on Tokyo. Roosevelt was satisfied. The attack spawned extremely exaggerated rumors about US capabilities, which, in fact, were what, Roosevelt sought”[[59]](#footnote-59).*

During the Second World War, it was in the course of the so-called compromising propaganda.

At the beginning of the war, the Nazi propaganda tried to undermine the influence of the British Prime Minister Winston Churchill's own country, to drop its prestige in the eyes of the British. «Wanted for murder!» – Was the title of one of the leaflets, were disposed over England. Almost the entire page Churchill took a photo with artfully built-gun, which he held in his hands get ready. But at the headquarters of the Wehrmacht, in the eyes of the most discerning professionals, to promote this leaflet is regarded low. In one of the German reports said: «It should be noted in respect of the leaflets» Churchill gangster «that insult, ridicule or distorted image of Winston Churchill at the moment will have on the British population -» the opposite effect». In another report also indicates that the use of the image of «gangster» in relation to the leader is able to cause the opposite reaction and only «strengthen the national resistance to the British, rather than weaken it». In addition, in the report, it noted that the text is linguistically a «literary-bookish» and did not use the language in everyday English.

More successful were attempted to discredit Hitler. This is one of the propaganda operations, designed for an audience of their own country and its allies, and the neutral countries. In 1940, in the British newsreels featured the following frames. The ceremony of the France surrenders in Compiegne Forest. Hitler accepted the surrender, performing a dance, some semblance of «victory dance». It turns out that one of the English filmmakers, looking German film, saw that Hitler, after he accepted the surrender, slightly jumped, raised his right leg, and for a few seconds started her left knee. It was a few seconds. The moment when the leap seemed the most stupid way, is mounted in a row many times and now Hitler had already danced «militant jig». Through skillful falsification solemn moments captured German newsreel, it was turned into a comedy[[60]](#footnote-60) (ibid p. 105 excellent.

The most important place in the arsenal held the «black propaganda», i.e. this kind of psychological diversion, in which the location and ownership of their origin is attributed to «opposition parties» and «resistance groups in the ranks of the enemy». To the category of the masterpieces of Western experts consider the activities of the English head of British operations «black propaganda» by S.Delmer. For example, he played in radio broadcasts in the German army on the fictitious channel (if ensconced somewhere in the forests of Thuringia) the role of a senior German officer. In the wake of call «Gehaym zenderays» every day he spoke to the German audience with reflections on the situation at the front and in the country (Germany). Posing as a veteran bully, he did not spare in their judgments any Western leaders nor the fascist leaders. Along the way, he relished anecdotes, rumors compromising Hitler. The radio channel was so well disguised that even US intelligence for some time thought it was taken as true[[61]](#footnote-61). (see p. 106)

**Propaganda in the structure of the fascist society**

World War II was not only gigantic war machine but also a huge machine «total propaganda», – says Volkogonov. Theoretical roots of Nazi ideology back to the irrational, mystified form of thinking. Nazi ideology, being a mechanical connection of diverse opinions, theories, etc., based on the romanticized stories of ancestors, the philosophy of history, brute force, exalted Aryan «Superman». In this ideology that fanatical belief in the divine, purpose of Nazism. Most of this ideology followed by Spengler and Nietzsche. One of the main Spengler's thesis is that the world history – it is not the history of the peoples – it is the history of wars. This conclusion the Nazis considered the methodological basis of the ideology that «war is the natural state of society and in the war laid the higher meaning of life». Nietzsche's philosophical aphorisms of «superman», designed to command the «subhuman», have become axiomatic foundations of Nazi ideology. Goebbels introduced Office departments for propaganda to influence the Soviet audience[[62]](#footnote-62).

*When 1933 in Germany, Hitler came to power (he became Chancellor), all political parties except the National Socialist German Workers Party (NSDAP) were banned. Hitler cultivated socialism for the chosen race (Aryan), the foundation of which was totalitarian, political terror, nationalism. Inferior races were announced as Negros, Jews, and Slavs. It would seem that the German model should not succeed – because people in German are educated enough to understand what is fraught with such appeals. But this – is a mystery of Nazism.*

That's how Hitler justified the need for just such a rigid ideology: Attaching the promotion of the most radical character, I wanted to make sure that over time, the organization received only the most benign human material. The more radical and the caller was my promotion, the more it is pushed all the weak and vacillating, and even more so, it prevented people enter the ranks of the organization and its main core.

Thus, violence was not declared fascist ideology as a necessary evil, inevitable in the fight with the enemy, but as the highest virtue. A characteristic feature of this empire was that this ideology has enjoyed the support of the overwhelming majority of the population. Therefore, there existed a powerful system of propaganda and agitation.

The initiator of the propaganda apparatus was Goebbels. It implements all the ideas of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda Ministry. The chief ideologist of the Nazi – propaganda Reich, Dr. Joseph Goebbels wrote: «We promote no method, but have a purpose, and the purpose of this policy is always to the conquest of the masses», but, despite this, in Nazi Germany coherent theory of propaganda has been developed. And its creation took many leading scientists involved. So, professor of journalism at Berlin University were classified into the following types:

– Guiding, or journalism, to find ideas. Its mission – to win over a small number of like-minded people, who then had to expand the number of supporters of the idea.

– Promotion. It should be addressed to the mass and to be devoid of humanity, when the self-will is presented with all the passion and dedication of the individual. Language breaks with a quiet and business area is filled with power, energy, and often – the pathos of speech

– Agitation. This is – propaganda addressed to the enemy. The agitation reached its goal only when the enemy is defeated completely on the ground.

– Educating people. This species was to combine all the previous, but not necessarily supported by «convincing facts».

On the basis of this division, scientists have deduced the main propaganda laws: the law of intellectual simplicity, the law limits and the filtering material, the law «hammered repetition» and the law of emotional discharge. At the same time proposed «jettison» to the concept of public opinion, for the mass of opinion should form the propaganda. Unlike the propaganda campaign: propaganda – purely emotional form, but propaganda – «approving and positive», and propaganda – was a «negative» content. Propaganda is addressed to associates, and propaganda – to the enemies must be destroyed.

The country was created by huge apparatus for the preparation and conduct of all kinds of propaganda and disinformation shares, from mass meetings and ending with the targeted impact on the ruling circles of foreign countries. The Nazi propaganda tools were crucial techniques of disguise and surprise, lies and deceit. Goebbels wrote: «.. you can shoot the enemy machine guns, as long as he does not recognize the superiority of those who have the guns. This is an easier way. But the nation can be transformed by the revolution and the spirit, thereby destroy the enemy, and even to win over to their side. Our National Socialists, came this second way, and they will go on and on».

In the hands of Goebbels apparatus virtually all editions moved in 1944: property publishers KPD and SPD, publishing concerns Rudolf Mosse and Ulshteynov that were big monopolies in Germany as well as the concern of Alfred Hugenberg – provincial monopoly. «The German news agency», which combines the «Telegraph Union» Gugenbergai Wolff Telegraph Agency has been created. «Imperial Union of the German press» was created – who he did not go,   
I did not have the right to work in the media.

The basis of «propaganda troops» Wehrmacht: made up of so-called «Propaganda Company», staffed by persons who were required to be proficient in the same way as the actual journalistic skills, as well as all kinds of weapons of war. They were engaged in propaganda directly to the parts, as well as provide psychological treatment of enemy troops and population. They created a weekly newsreel: even at the beginning of 1945 in the Berlin weekly sent to 20 thousand meters of film. Much attention was paid to the demonstration of these issues abroad. At the beginning of the war were 1,000 copies weekly, with narration in 15 languages manufactured.

The detection system dissenters: installed surveillance authors underground newspapers and leaflets. When the Gestapo got leaflets, replicated them there and spread from house to house. All receiver were obliged to pass the flyer. Those who do not give up – declared anti-Hitler’s were arrested and repressed.

**The Methods of the Nazi Propaganda**

The basis of all fascist propaganda were ideological myths, concrete event-related inventions. Initial reception – to establish contacts with the audience through the assurances of sincerity and objectivity in the form of confidential messages Goebbels demanded compliance with the following rules:

– Never use the official unit for infiltration of false reports, news agencies, etc.;

– Source lies must immediately be masked;

– Radio and press in their own country do not have to compromise themselves with such a lie;

To lie only on suitable channels coming abroad.

Radio channels were created for broadcast in foreign countries. There were network so-called «black» stations, which worked on the foreign audience. They posed as mouthpieces of the opposition in different countries. One of these stations broadcast on the Soviet Union on behalf of the «Leninist old guard». In the last weeks of the war on the idea of ​​Goebbels radio «Werewolf» has been created to broadcast on behalf of the «German resistance movement», informational texts wrote by Goebbels himself, specially staged all kinds of lining to gradually convince the listener that he is dealing with an entirely unsophisticated, clumsy people touching, c to cause the listeners love for the German program and speakers.

Goebbels organization engaged in the task of processing of foreign journalists in various forms. When the German embassies in foreign capitals, at the insistence of Goebbels were assigned «the attach on advocacy issues». Particular attention was given to the press conferences that were actually training for journalists (from autumn 1939). They were held twice a day, and required to be specially accredited representatives of Berlin, as well as major provincial newspapers (a total of about 100 people). By the mid 30-ies of the Nazis, they created a worldwide network of its publications, which included 307 newspapers.

Special officers were required to listen to radio broadcasts of major Nazi gathering in the areas equipped with loudspeakers, or in large spaces. There were special organization engaged in «whisper propaganda», i.e. radiated rumors among the German population. The organization «Vineta» has been working among prisoners, as exported to Germany. For example, anti-fascist ideas spread from the Soviet Union.

Advocacy conducted both domestically and abroad. This was reflected in the structure of promotional agencies, designed to spread disinformation among foreigners, among the compatriots, and it was assumed that the internal misinformation could have international repercussions.

Thus, the basic methods were: Broadcasting on the wave of the enemy, the spread of fake leaflets in the camp of the enemy, trusting verbal forms of communication (dissemination of legends and rumors), spread untruths and false prophecies, halo mystical otherworldliness, omnipresence, infallibility around the media (mass audience is not supposed to know how to make paper), a safety net posts false true, tuck event-a mass audience gross analogy, clothed in the form of historical references[[63]](#footnote-63).

**US media, McCarthyism and the «Cold War».**

After World War II there was «Marshall Plan», which was an extensive program of expansion of American ideas. This required a radical change in media work. One of the TV companies, which was actively implementing a new policy of the United States, became the Columbia Broadcasting System, or C-PBS, which was headed by media mogul U.Peyli. The basis of the activities of all the US media was the speech of Eisenhower on October 8, 1952: 'We have to adapt its foreign policy to the strategic consequences, «Cold War». The main ideologue of the campaign became D.F.Dalles – creator of the US Information Agency. Paley was a collaborator of Dulles and admired his book «War or Peace», in which he wrote: «In recent years, the United States spent many billions of dollars, in preparation for a possible war, bombs, airplanes and guns, but spent little on the war of ideas, in which we are involved and which fail, no irretrievable military power».

The journalist R.Rasstrelnikov writes in his book «The prisoner of the body of the octopus»[[64]](#footnote-64). Paley extracted from the annals of the history of the materials of the notorious organization called» Committee of Public Information, «created by president Woodrow Wilson during World War II. Committee of tens of millions of printed flyers, who been thrown into the trenches of the enemy. Fabricating those fakes and provocative rumors were intended to bring confusion to the troops of the enemy, to deprive them of combat capability. Great influence on the Paley as the head of the propaganda of the trust, had been written by Freud, from which he took the idea of ​​the possibility of using the effect of «irrational» or «subconscious» factor on the behavior of people, their psyche for manipulation of mass consciousness. Another ideological teacher helped Paley became professor M.Chukas, which also specialized in matters of propaganda, was to be hidden away in the package «impartiality» and «documentary».

By order of the White House was prepared by a large number of advertising promotional materials, dispersed throughout the world and subordinate for one purpose – to create a favorable image of America. However, Paley was unable to hide his connection with the most notorious reactions and ultra-ers, such as the notorious Senator D. McCarthy

During this period, together with the growth of the audience and television role in creating an atmosphere of mass psychosis, to intimidate the population «communist conspiracy», wrote S.G. Kolesnik.

***McCarthyism and television USA[[65]](#footnote-65).***

Dips foreign policy of the Truman administration made it a constant target for criticism from the struggling for the votes of the Republican Party voters, which began searching for communist espionage in the government and, therefore in the Democratic Party apparatus. In February 1950 (the year of the midterm elections in Congress) Republican Senator from Wisconsin, Joseph McCarthy said he had a list of 205 communists working in the State Department. The Name of obscure senator immediately appeared on the pages of major newspapers, radio, and TV. Thus began McCarthy a career, around which began to unite forces of the extreme right.

By 1950. It has developed a system of persecution of dissenters among TV professionals. In June 1950 McCarthyism tuned weekly «Kaunter-rettek» published a report about the «communist» filtering radio and television under the name «Red Channels». The report indicated 151 names of art, from which the people moved were required leave their work, or to prove their commitment to anti-communism. To owners of TV stations from the Federal Communications Commission began to demand an oath of loyalty. She decided not to issue licenses to all connected with the Communists. Thus, broadcasters fear for their own fate became one of the reasons for the rapid spread of the ideas of McCarthyism.

Another reason for the success of McCarthy on television can be considered as his ability to use the chase for sensations journalists. Once one exposure fails, he had performed with the new. Television networks were limited to simple statements Quote McCarthy, who in the eyes of an ordinary spectator of his senatorial rank elevated to the official point of view. McCarthy successfully used television to advertise his ideas that the mid-term elections to the Senate got more invitations, to speak on behalf of the Republican Party than the rest of the senators, taken together. Financial support like big financiers and industrialists provided McCarthy televised Texas oil tycoons. They expected McCarthy to discredit the Democrats which will promote the election in 1952, President Eisenhower Republican. The stakes in the presidential election campaign both parties have been made on the TV. All the people were able to observe the work of the congresses of the leading parties for nominating presidential candidates (I must say that the owners of TV sets accounted for 50% of the voters.

An important part of the plan that the election of the Republicans campaign was the theme of the «red danger» and government Democrat Truman charged with aiding the Communists. Democrats' criticism was entrusted with McCarthy, who made extensive use of this TV. The central point of McCarthy attacks on Adlai Stevenson, the Democratic candidate, was the performance of McCarthy in one of Chicago restaurants on a paid lunch in the Republican Party fund. There he made a speech, which was broadcast radio and television. Printed text was prepared for the press. TV viewers saw McCarthy with the evidence in the hands («I hold in my hands an article ..».), on the screens «exposing» «communist conspiracy» Democrats. Expressing his accusations, McCarthy was clearly guided by the television and radio. In his speech, McCarthy cited an article written by Schlesinger for «New York Times» December 11, 1949. In this article, he only read quote: «I am convinced that the Communist Party of the freedom of political action must be provided, and that the Communists should be allowed to teach in the universities. « But the text of the released press contained the rest of the quotation, which puts everything in its place: «.. until the moment when they disqualify themselves intellectual distortions in the classroom». Newspaper reports contained a full quote, but the newspaper has left after it was handed over to McCarthy on television and radio.

Hopes for easing McCarthy persecutions associated with the government of Eisenhower which disappeared when six days after taking office, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles went on television with regular anti-communist speech in which he said that State Department officials divulged Russian secret of the atomic bomb. This meant that the «witch-hunt» will continue then in. A new stage in the use of television McCarthy began regular television broadcasts of Senate committee to investigate the activities of government agencies, headed by McCarthy («recantation» and «renunciation» of the previous views of journalists, broadcast of the meeting of the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee, in which McCarthy subjected to aggressive criticism of the proposed Senator Fulbright international student exchange). Such methods of public pressure on the government started to cause discontent, but the president got off in silence, because it totally dependent on the support of the conservative country.

In this situation, «the League of the fight against discrimination» was preparing to celebrate its anniversary, of which was conceived as a means to exert pressure on the Eisenhower. Telecast about this holiday was held November 23, 1953 and was named «TV dinner with the president». Among the guests were senior government officials, as well as newspaper publishers and heads of all US television stations, the latest in a veiled form was charged with aiding in limiting democracy. But the basic call to prevent further violation of freedom was converted to Eisenhower. In response, he gave a speech that was interpreted as a condemnation of McCarthy, although it is open to anything that was said. I must say that this speech was a real spur of the president, or a clever game of impromptu.

McCarthy Investigations illuminated TV, radio and the press, according to Gallup. In January 1954 it found support at the 50% of the respondents, 25% of treatening them negatively, 21% had no opinion. In March, McCarthy's actions against the army (the investigation «communist subversion in the army») condemned the war minister Stevens. His statement was fully supported by Eisenhower. On the same day with McCarthy broke ultraconservative Republican Party Chairman Leonard Hall, basing it this way: «When he starts to attack those who, like him, fight against communism, I cannot go with him». Thus began the process discredit McCarthy, a crucial role in that was to play a TV.

Faster than other bearings in the situation, the company C-CBS was the first criticism of McCarthy. In October 1953, it has undergone several transfers, documenting reports on past wrongs in the field of civil rights. The authors of the transmission were Democrats Edward Morrow and Fred Friendly. Edward Morrow conducted during World War II popular transfer «Now look», which listened and watched by every American, during the war waited on a war correspondent and bureau chief Xi CBS in London all the of news E. Morrow from the fronts of the Second World War, reported of major events in the world.

March 6, Adlai Stevenson spoke on television and radio in Florida with sharp criticism of McCarthy, who immediately demanded air time to respond. But by order of the government, information networks have given this time to Vice President Nixon, in a televised address condemned that McCarthy for «irresponsible way of speaking and controversial practices». McCarthy intimidated the broadcasters. So, Edward Lamb, the owner of television and radio stations in the Midwest, the FCC, has been accused of he was a Communist, and could renew the license.

March 9, 1954, there was a transfer of Murrow on investigative techniques McCarthy. It caused a strong reaction. In C-PBS, there was a stream of letters, and in New York, the ratio of the letters, all refers to be sympathetic to Morrow and protect McCarthy was 15 to 1, in Chicago – 2 to 1. April 6 McCarthy spoke on the C-PBS in the program «Senator McCarthy said Mr. Morrow, «the script which has been prepared with the help of advisers McCarthy. The program mainly talked about McCarthy accusations contained in Morrow’s communist positions. According to the survey, 59% of respondents have seen or heard the program about it, of which 33% believed that McCarthy’s doubts about Morrow is right. Obviously, this happened because of the absent of transfer comments and viewers themselves could not understand the situation.

Controversy Morrow and McCarthy once again stressed that McCarthy enjoys the trust of viewers, identified McCarthy the need for new exposures via television. They began disputing McCarthy lighting with the army in the Senate in April-May 1954. English journalist Robin Day wrote: «Perhaps the rise of television helped Senator McCarthy, but it is also his undoing, sitting in front of their television, millions of Americans watched silently. However, the striker spot Army, lawyer Joseph Welch denounced McCarthy and his inexperienced colleagues Kona and Shine «The political career of Senator was over. July 30, 1954 (election year in Congress), Senator Ralph Flanders introduced a Senate resolution censure McCarthy activities not compatible with the dignity of the Senate members. Commission investigate the charges against McCarthy. Meetings of the Commission are open to the press and public, but the usage of television and film cameras is prohibited. The purpose of the prohibition: to erase the image of McCarthy on television – on the one hand, on the other – not to allow weapons, which he so well mastered. 8 November 1954 the commission issued to censure, McCarthy. After December 2, 1954, the Senate voted in favor of Flanders resolution, a point on the career of Senator Joseph McCarthy was set, and it forever disappeared from television screens[[66]](#footnote-66)...

*E. Morrow was a famous writer; he was back on American soil, «a war hero», «journalism superstar» with a reputation as a staunch anti-fascist reputation. That is why it is so hot and without the knowledge of Paley began to collect it revelatory material about «ultra-patriots» J. McCarthy, showing at the same time a great responsibility, patience and resourcefulness journalism. Some of his performances have been met with disbelief, but a greater number of listeners reacted with understanding. It E.Morrow contributed to the final overthrow of the McCarty with its pedestal. This came after an interview with the senator on television. Morrow literally laid bare the essence of this «greatest demagogue of the twentieth century». However, Paley and ultra-right forces have not forgiven Morrow involvement in exposing McCarthy. It was reduced airtime transfers Morrow, started hounding journalists connected to the FBI and CIA agents. Before his death, Morrow admitted that his belief in the «impartiality and integrity» of journalism shaken that she became «an instrument of manipulation rather than increase knowledge».*

Soon, under the pressure of U.Peyli, CBS left many well-known television journalists in the United States. Among them was U.Fred, who did not want to associate your name with the aggressive goals of the Pentagon, the barbarism and brutality of soldiers and officers that destroyed tens of thousands of Vietnamese in the name of «freedom and democracy». Another reporter M.Seyfer a company because of its truthful reports about the atrocities of the US military in South Vietnam shocked not only Paley, but US President Lyndon Johnson, the owner of the White House personally called the head of the television network, to learn how to C-CBS could be «communist» and gave the CIA job to do «self-willed and rebellious reporter».

**CBS in the Service of the US War.**

Company CBS has always been an integral part of the military-industrial complex, it gradually supplanting its main competitors CNN, BBC and ABC, BBC. It has become a major supplier of products for the Pentagon and for the aerospace industry. This relationship with the corporation U.Peyli military-industrial complex, and especially California monopolistic group, facilitated the rise to power of President Reagan, left a mark on all economic and ideological activities of C-PBS, writes journalist Strelnikov. Regular advertisers of the company became well-known military corporations as «General Electric Co»., «Ford Motor Company», «General Motors», «The Boeing Company», «American Telephone and Telegraph», and others. These companies finance the sensational reports in various «hot points «, a new series of gangster films and others. Transmission. Strelnikov says that «whenever in America started» budget season «Corporation C-PBS immediately included it in all the newspapers and magazines, radio and television, urging the population to the need for provision of military production.

Since March 1981, CBC began a series of programs in television programs, which contained reports from the place of military maneuvers in Honduras, the Pacific and other regions of the globe, numerous interviews with senior leaders of the Pentagon, which were intended to prove the need to build a race arms in the face of «the threat of Moscow».

Around the clock in television CBC display stand-traded short (15-20-second) transmission of advertising in which an attempt is made to show «positive image» of the American soldier. The authors of this TV production did not spare the money, but through a variety of outreach methods to show the attractiveness of military service. This was followed by display of a new military technology, new types of weapons, etc.

It has begun with a series of programs in which reporters tried to rehabilitate war veterans of Korea, Vietnam, to glorify the exploits of US troops in Grenada and other «hot spots» of the planet. About this period, there were a series of documentaries and feature films, which instills the idea of ​​American exceptionalism. In the mid 80-ies in the United States published a book «Politics in the social advertising on television». It contains plenty of evidence of how TV magnate use their communication channels to instill public perceptions about the inevitability of war and the growth of military spending.

For example, a typical news program 80 in CBS in terms of Soviet journalist R.Strelnikova.

Evening edition led by a well-known journalist U. Kronkayne throughout the country. «The screen is literally trembled from the thunder of shots. There was a skirmish gangsters rob a bank, also was police. Killed people fell down, blood was shed. These frames were replaced by a picture of a fire in a multi-story hotel «Hilton» in Las Vegas. Then there was a story about the murder of a black resident of Atlanta. Let's interview with the mayor and the sheriff, speculate about the killer’s personality built: «Who is he? – Or a racist maniac» Then the audience went to El Salvador. Government soldiers taken by truck killed fighters Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front. The car streamed body blood. Commentator inspired viewers to support weapons; the dictator of El Salvador is required for the defense of democracy, freedom and the United States national security in the region. Then footage of a jewelry store robbers, smugglers transporting drugs, and then fragment shows from Broadway, and then began to float across the screen bulk of US Navy ships. They plied the waters of the Arabian Gulf. Suddenly, on the screen there was a bloody prison bars, filling the entire screen. Against this background loomed the «American flag» «humiliated Iran». This commentator spoke of American hostages in Tehran. Ended with the release of an interview with an American general person, who spoke with alarm about the US lagging behind in the arms race with the Russian «- described the evening edition of Soviet journalist.

At that time, a kaleidoscope of events really carefully planned propaganda of US intelligence agencies. But the also modern thirst for sensationalism characteristic of television.

For example, in the autumn of 1999, the author was among the audience of a lecture given by well-known commentator on CNN Judy Woodruff[[67]](#footnote-67) on the problems of contemporary information on television at Duke University in North Carolina USA. Judy Woodruff identified in her view, the main characteristics of modern television: sensationalism, Technology and Corporate, which she believes are undermining the integrity and honesty of the media. An example of steel television sensation – Christmas murder of Jon Benet Ramsey girl, US President Monica Lewinsky scandal, many months of video series of criminal stories dayed by actor and athlete O.J. Simpson who changed the environment of the media in the United States. She saw three factors of the reasons: the ongoing technological revolution, the public appetite for scandals, competition between information corporations. Television has become a kind of «national fire», – she said. More and more celebrities are involved in the news: politicians, financiers, and journalists are trying to artificially dramatize the news, to create excitement around the iconic political figures, – she said. «All that happened was hypocritically and dishonestly raffled scripted television soap opera. I think – frankly said Judy – we have lowered the bar for all of our television. Increased number of reporters, stations and networks increased the competition by moving news to big business and profitability. It is time to reconsider our journalism, because without trust we confirm journalists as – nothing».

However, in the 80s, many TV shows, movies have focused on the growth of military weapons, the creation of a space shield in case of being attacked by an aggressor.

Paley Television Company began to produce films, «King Fear» directed by A. Hitchcock. Superman and superwoman were empowered mythological Titans. Promotion of violence in films such as «Caligula» is likely to gradually introducing the idea of ​​the inevitability of war. A series of television programs has become an expression of the White House directed by the program «The Truth», «Democracy and Public Diplomacy», «The directive number 138» and others. There always be a searching of new television heroes, like this film «Dallas», released by CBS. It called a record interest of the audience and brought a new campaign of millions of dollars. The film was shown in 57 countries, including Kazakhstan. This peculiar saga of numerous Ewing clan, create a financial well-being by fraud, lying, murdering. Particularly the movies of George Lucas' became popular, such as «Star Wars», «The Empire Strikes Back», «deep sky» and others.

Simultaneously with the release of the Star Wars movies,   
viewers imposed to the idea of ​​a possible «perfidy» nuclear  
attack and the Pentagon begins to unfold «star fever» – the   
propaganda machine starts to operate. Still the film «Defense of the United States» shows how to bombers soar in the sky which carrying nuclear weapons are immersed in the depths of the ocean nuclear submarines. The film «Attack on the Americas» was a typical militarist film.

A TV star C-CBS broadcaster Dan Rather has received a series of reports from Pakistan and Afghanistan, and later he led his famous reports to the Persian Gulf. With his assistant and cameraman, D.Razer shot tragic massacre of Afghans on videotape. Although Soviet journalist Strelnikov frankly outraged bloody scenes documentary film rather, it interior to the film about the Chechen war reported by the journalist in the St. Petersburg journalist, who led the daily program «600 seconds».

The new leader of the program «60 Minutes» Dan Rather (previously U. Kronkayt) immediately began to broadcast from the «hot spots» – Afghanistan, Grenada, Central America – Nicaragua, and El Salvador. Of course, the journalist is in danger, ground by the of armed people. However one of, the desire – to tell about your goals and aspirations, and TV programme – show sensational stories about life in hazardous areas, help to find a common language. A campaign C-PBS, along with ideological goals, it helps to solve financial issues[[68]](#footnote-68).

**Control questions and tasks**

1. What are the three important conditions that make war more or less acceptable to the public.

2. Describe the evolution of military conflicts Castells? What is the «instant war»? «What is terrorism

3. When the print media were first used to affect the enemy? Why was used during the Second World War propaganda radio?

4. The forms and methods of propaganda during the World Wars

5. Basic propaganda laws designed by Goebbels

6. Methods of Nazi propaganda

7. US media's role in support of «McCarthyism»

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«Four of the newspaper will be able to

cause more harm to the enemy,

than one hundred thousandth army»

***Napoleon Bonaparte***

***Lecture 6***

**MEDIA COVERAGE OF ARMED**

**CONFLICT AND HUMANITARIAN ISSUES**

**The role and responsibility of the Media in Covering the international and internal conflicts.** **Methods and techniques of media coverage of the armed conflict.** **Comparative analysis of the Kazakh, Russian and Western traditions in covering armed conflict and humanitarian issues.** **Ethics image of Humanitarian action.**

Our planet, sandwiched body companions, turned into the prediction of Marshall McLuhan in his book «Understanding media: the extension of man» – «a Global Village». Today, information of the super tycoons Ted Turner and Rupert Murdoch, et al. are the main events of director’s «of the village». Reports on the progress of military operations in Kosovo, Chechnya, Dagestan, Kyrgyzstan became a sort of tragic teleroman nightly. The leading news agencies of the world CNN, REUTER, BBC, etc., as if were competing with each other, showing a real-time «theater» of military action. The image became emotional, the psychological weapon attacked our minds, influenced our thinking, left us defenseless under the pressure of video dramas.

The action shown on the screen, are increasingly entering the military generals. They dictated what information and to what   
extent should show the audience under any angle. They also decided where and how journalists can be tolerated in a war zone. You cannot believe the military that the war was covered as it was in   
Vietnam.

**Techniques and Methods of Propaganda Materials**

**processing Information**

Preparing to print each number of the newspaper and television release – is not just a selection of facts and news. It is carrying out an editorial policy for the formation of public opinion. This requires knowledge of techniques and methods of the various science including psychology, sociology, etc., allowing you to select in journalism such as the interdependent category «group journalism», «annotated report», «the editorial style», etc. Journalism Group – is a kind of division of responsibilities between the correspondents and members of literary publications. For example, in «Time» (USA) finished reporters do not write articles nor reports, they are sent to the editor of raw material procurement. Reading more about the specifics of foreign journalism in the book Burmistenko A. «Time» – service on propaganda[[69]](#footnote-69).

The press usually has so much power to won the first instance, the Vietnam War – journalists, forming a negative public opinion in the United States. The Chechen war in Russia, – says G.G. Pocheptsov[[70]](#footnote-70) where the army, the government and security forces came under fire of criticism so that admitted defeat in the information war with Chechnya. Fighting was completely rebuilt propaganda support of the campaign. But all in vain, it did not help even the announcement that journalists were bribed by Dudayev regime. Pocheptsov cited an article from the «Komsomolskaya Pravda», entitled «Feeding the captives before the cameras are more useful than shoot», and with the subtitle «Our generals have a lot to learn in order to ‘sell’ their war Russian Democratic Mass». The article has the following lines: «One cannot but pay tribute to the homegrown Chechen (or is it the mercenaries from Bosnia?) Experts on» public relations «They brilliantly coped with the task. Feeding the prisoners in front of the television cameras is much more useful than the shoot». And another passage of the Gulf War: «There were tool works with the media, based on mutual understanding. The military realized that if a journalist does not give, he will take himself, because the money for he gets. But the press was kept in the bounds of decency, as the military has been the main object of interest and the main source of information about themselves. But in Darkhan gathered a few hundred of aces. Almost any journalist can lure even accustomed to take with your hands and with the help of affected «exclusive» information and ironic author[[71]](#footnote-71).

French war reporter Jean-Claude Giyebod’s evidence that any of the accredited journalists there was actually rank commander, a huge machine of the American army was in his possession. On any transport (air, road) is always three seats allotted to journalists. Preliminary censorship did not exist for either film material or for the military essays and reports. To transfer the materials used even military communication. The press had a right to know about everything. From previous wars in Vietnam were only inherited briefings every evening gather in Saigon. Once, when one such briefing, US General said about the success of the US forces, which allegedly seized some base, an American journalist asked him a helicopter to fly back and check, on the grounds that «the press has the right to know everything». And this requirement was satisfied, as a result of reporters have seen on the ground that the general picture somewhat embellished. So in terms of media freedom Vietnam has become an unprecedented case in the history of modern warfare. Jean-Claude Giyebod’s «Military journalism – it is a moral challenge»[[72]](#footnote-72).

**Military Censorship.**

In Russia, during the war in Dagestan (autumn, 1999), the government was ready to enter the military censorship. Heads of leading broadcasting companies received a telegram from the Russian Ministry for Press, Broadcasting and Mass Media with a stiff asking them not to air the words of Chechen rebels. According to M. Udugov (called Chechen Goebbels), «Russian media are censored. They are engaged in an absolute propaganda, which gives them the Russian military»[[73]](#footnote-73).

During the Arab-Israeli war, the event was covered by journalists 1200-1300 times. Then there was a censorship, the lines were tapped, and if the rules are violated secrecy, the Israeli officer cut off the connection. However, to circumvent the prohibitions was easy. For example, American journalists hired plane, and every evening flew to Cyprus where freely dictate their materials.

If a journalist is not allowed to the site of the event, such as the conflicts in Bangladesh, Iran-Iraq, Grenada, Panama, actually became Malvinas war without witnesses. Thus, the loss of about three thousand people in Panama passed almost unnoticed. The conflict in the Malvinas has become almost a taboo subject for the British. The scandal broke out due to the fact that the BBC has bought from Argentine journalist’s film, which was filmed dogfights and were shown indisputable superiority and courage Argentine pilots.

«The Pentagon controls all the footage», – the journalist is complaining about American journalists for the first time faced with the military censorship. Indeed, the Pentagon decided to learn the lessons of Vietnam. Then in Saigon journalists they were free and did what they wanted. In Saudi Arabia, they are allowed to move around the country only when they are accompanied by an officer. Only the army decides what to do, where and when. Preference is given to television journalists, not the press, which is considered more critical. As a result, we have to wait more than 12 hours after the start of air raid so that the Pentagon will give permission to broadcast an interview with the pilots who participated in the raid: Security requires. «The enemy watches you», – explains the military effect, pointing a finger at the screen where are reports CNN»[[74]](#footnote-74).

Indeed the Gulf War was the first war that was monitored by the electronic media. Several years passed, and in 1999, the war in Yugoslavia was covered with the help of the Internet. And the Albanians and the Serbs had their websites. It helped to get first-hand information, although not without flaws, as not excluded factor «subjectivity». But this was the first war, reflected in such detail on the electronic pages in cyberspace global network. Here military interference is minimized.

The phenomenon of tensions generals and journalists explored in his book, written after the war in the Falkland Islands, a British military reporter Derek Mercer. He is convinced that none of the countries do not have a monopoly on the news, as they are instantly spread via TV broadcast around the world. In addition, according to the journalist, it is difficult to apply the concept of the protection of «national interest» to the international organizations in the field of media. Moreover, some of the «brothers of the pen» does not want to accept the fact that there are still some national interests. Others believe that it is necessary to reveal the intentions of the authorities, do not trust them. Complaints against the media by the military are well-grounded, – concludes the writer further – especially in cases when competing journalists, trying to get ahead of their rivals, opened the enemy military plans.

The British have learned a number of lessons from the experience of the war in the Falkland Islands and thus published by the Ministry of Defense and signed by leading journalists at the beginning of January 1991 the basic rules for the media did not cause any serious objections, although served as a subject of debate. As stated in his book, Mercer, journalists will always find a common language with the military in order to save their lives, not reputation.

UK Ministry of Defense also issued a seven-page document on the procedure governing the release of information. This document shows in detail why journalists should largely refer to the most censored. Few journalists will be able to argue anything, but the document indicates 32 object under illumination of which information should not be born without prior consultation.

In particular, the document states: «It would be desirable to give as much information as the situation permits, as soon as possible to stop the rumors and speculation that can imagine a situation much worse than it really is ..». At the same time, it proposed to use extreme caution about data loss, dislocation, names of units, and so on.

While the British authorities seem eager to be helpful, the US military introduced new restrictions on journalists. For example, they need to provide reports for military censors to view. These rules are much stricter ones than the ones operated during the Vietnam War.

Some restrictions, such as US reports on the Gulf War, were lifted after the protests of journalists. The unprepared interview with the military is banned, for example, a few images of the wounded soldiers are required and the requirement that all interviews should recorded by all means, because this condition could prevent the soldiers from speaking honestly.

The new rules set by the Pentagon about the images usage is much stricter than the UK. Thus, newspapers are allowed to interview or photograph of wounded soldiers only in the presence of a military escort or medical personnel. Other rules impose a ban on video and audio images of agony, shock, the patient's suffering, become disabled or waiting for plastic surgery.

Russian television showed Russian guy, who fought against the Wahhabis in Dagestan. He made a heroic act saved eight soldiers, it was worthy in the hands of a lost battle. Severe pain, which was rolled on him during the interview, made him a shock and tears that the operator carefully enlarged in the frame. They say that these pictures have even become the subject of considerable discussion in the Russian government. Perhaps in ORT are no rules that govern conditions show human feelings affected during hostilities.

France introduced limits for their correspondents. For example, they will have to wear a military uniform, going to the area of hostilities, must sign an agreement obliging to provide information to censorship. Although the rules defined by the Geneva Conventions equate, wearing military camouflage uniforms with journalists combatants.

All reporters stationed in Baghdad on the eve of the war, were volunteers, and there was a whole queue of those wishing to join them in each company or amended. All the reporters had to evacuate for personal safety instructions. In general, the military command is not too eager to journalists’ watched military action.

The work of the journalist in the conflict zone is always accompanied by dangers. The headlines of many newspapers often report the death or disappearance of missing journalist caught in a zone of armed conflict. The journalist, who is sent into the danger zone, should be aware that it is intended for public international law, which, in turn, facilitates professional work.

At the same time it is important to remember that any published material can cause damage to one of the conflicting sides, so journalists must be responsible to the public and the state. Maybe some kind of censorship rules, pursue primarily security issues such as war and the journalist. As a journalist may be at risk to become a victim of the bombing, shooting and suffer from a shotgun, be held hostage to one of the conflicting parties. It can be arrested or rough to handle, etc. An example would be the case with a radio correspondent of «Freedom» by A. Babitsky.

What should be done to a certain extent prevent these complications? After World War II, the four Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949 were adopted. For the first time in the documents journalist (were earlier mentioned Convention of 1929 called «war correspondent»), in the best case, they were guaranteed the status of prisoner of war. The issue of improving the protection of journalists always stood sharply on international journalist organizations, until the UN took the initiative to develop the draft Convention, which provides security to journalists who are in the zone of military conflict. Thus, there were the Additional Protocols to the Geneva Conventions, the first of which related to armed conflict, including Chapter III, article 79 – «Measures for the protection of journalists». Censorship. «How to choose the right course between censorship, misinformation, hysteria and other obstacles».

His thoughts on this subject are divided into «Telerame» Uider Allen, a former reporter for Europe 1 and the PMC, is now an employee at A-2. He expressed concern about the excessive role of CNN en and military censorship in connection with the conflict in the Persian Gulf, and calls for journalists to be responsible.

*«In the current global crisis in the Persian Gulf only vector information in the world was from the American CNN en.* *Thus the air campaign monopolized the country, which is more than the others got involved in this conflict and is the most significant military presence in the Middle East region.* *Personally me it's shocking.* *Of course it is best to have informed the US and frankly, not the Romanian TV.* *But whatever the objective of this campaign, the lack   
of choice itself poses a serious problem.* *After all, freedom of   
information begins with the freedom of choice of information sources.* *That is why urgent is the problem of creating in Europe   
an information channel that would compete with CNN en – says Uider.*

It also notes the important point, as the guardianship of journalists by the military, try to avoid the «Vietnam syndrome» (the show while mutilated corpses sowed panic among the US population). «*I agree that it is necessary to take some precautions.* *However, the military set the professional rules for journalists, which themselves need to understand that the war – this craft rather than outing, and therefore aware of their responsibility.* *Information at this time should be carefully reconciled, based only on facts and not on hysteria. «* *Noting that due to lack of journalists* *on the front lines, the information is not supplied complete and there is a danger of censorship, Uider urges journalists primarily to do self-censorship.* «*If there is no information, for example, during a recent meeting with Baker Aziz in Geneva, journalists often start fantasizing.* *In such cases and possible misinformation. «* *The task of journalists, in his opinion, is not only in the fact that they should convey the message as soon as possible, but also to give the audience the key to his understanding, the analysis covers the events».*

**Sources of Information.**

For an objective and fair coverage of the conflict must be kept informed from reliable sources.

Laven’s source on the course of military actions is the press center of the Army, which provides pressing releases and visual materials. Another way to obtain information is a press conference or briefing that conduct senior military leaders. Often difficult to get information, because the military motivated by the interests of security and privacy.

What are the possibilities to circumvent the higher military structure? It is possible to establish personal contacts with soldiers and others military to get timely information. Another source may be the doctors of the military hospital and other staff. However, they do not have reliable information. The difficult situation, for example, the American journalists who were reporting from Baghdad, hiding in a hotel. Without a piece of a broken glow bombs, What can be seen from the window? But it is necessary to do stories !? Is that accurate information?

Confirmation of the revelations of journalists was an article published in the French magazine «Telerama». 1 «Sunday Times», 13 January 1991. Section 3, p. 9. Here is a brief excerpt from it.

«The announcer CNN En Bernard Shaw and two reporter John Holliman and Peter Arnet spent whole night on the phone in his hotel room in Baghdad» Richard «giving the world directly listen to bomb from the Iraqi capital. In the United States the company Hey BBC, C-CBS and CNN, BBC, broadcasting all over the country have made changes to their programs: priority information. At a moment the bombing of Baghdad, it is difficult to broadcast «The Cosby Show» and «The Simpsons» – says one director.

In New York, the headquarters of the C-CBS, Dan Rather coordinated messages from the correspondent channel to the Middle East and different parts of America. C-PBS is no longer a leader in the field of information. In the Persian Gulf area it has only 40 full-time employees, while CNN en – 200. Hey BBC and CNN, BBC presented there are also quite modest.

At one time there were more newsmen than television journalists in the Falklands. However, now the television reporters in places intended action greater than newspaper. This shows that the military understand the possibilities of television in shaping public opinion.

It is not always possible to get a journalist to the place of fighting. In this case, what are the opportunities for the transfer of inform action?

French commentator Michel Chevalier, King audiovisual equipment found a solution. He used a layout on which the future theater of military operations was depicted. And we became the teachers stick to show tanks, planes, missiles, and a small video camera which enabled the shooting inside the layout actually simulate the presence of the reporter at the scene. Demonstration was everything except aircraft carriers, boost border bombardment missile batteries. The war in front of hundreds of spectators turned into a video game and vice versa.

When the reporter started to think about the war related to fictitious visuals it changed, because the talk was not easy, but very serious. « Then it show that it is not a toy, but a real war. And what do we know about it, through our television screens? Firstly, it is a war, a fighting which directly translated, impressed and commented on armada special correspondents and experts in various fields. The war has its real time, and therefore it is necessary to hurry and cover information about it, which is a stream, no special checks and reconciliations, not filtered and not delayed. And that is exactly what we wanted, the viewers are urgent to know everything, to feel and to empathize, to know about all events, even if it squeezes our throat and heart. When you switch programs, accidentally bumps into conventional transmission – games, Japanese cartoons, entertainment, which are translated as if nothing is happening in the world , there is a feeling. What he saw something indecent, and I want to pull out of these «sweets» that feeds the already overfed viewers. We want, we demand that the TV was going up the main events of our lives, because only this justifies the great place that it occupies in our minds, our lives, that a considerable number of hours that we lose, in spite of it».

**Television of the Persian Gulf War.**

The Gulf War was exactly worked out by the Pentagon – said G.G.Pocheptsov (PR, 131 S. ibid.) We are like all received only image CNN en who showed us to achieve a technical point had been a shock, and we have never seen human victims. Such experienced and French journalists. They write, was the feeling of playing in the war. On the TF-1 appeared saver – calligraphy was written «The Gulf War», something like a blockbuster title. Journalists appeared then with CNN en, comes in ecstasy at the sight of the shooting in Baghdad: «It's so beautiful, like fireworks!». It was felt fascinating by all appliances. War personnel, in the truest sense of the word. And it has become a symbol of American General, demonstrated the film, filmed with the bombers are in combat. «Look, here's a bomb, it is now fall into the center of the column, and explode». And the announcer enthusiastically commented: «This is great stuff! Delicious!» But there is a war. And at stake is the future of the world, the whole life of the planet as a whole and such a short life of the individual, in particular. On the screen, the war appears as a continuation of TV novel advertising the force of arms and glorifying the ubiquitous media. What kind of world in which we live? What kind of invention – the television that played out for months in front of us television series «The crisis in the Gulf», assuring us that our case – only to watch TV. Today played another show «Gulf War», which also wants to eliminate the reality: suffering, death, broken lives, and the future of colored blood. Arabs, Israelis, Westerners – the whole world have to live together, to love, to be happy, which is now immersed in hatred and blood. And we are asked to applaud a successful hit missiles, for which we are watching on their television screens indignant French journalist A. Remond «Telerama»[[75]](#footnote-75).

Do not set the military professional rules for journalists. Everyone understands that the information should be carefully checked, based only on the facts. Otherwise, the journalist begins to fantasize. In such cases it is possible misinformation. The task of the journalist is not only, as soon as possible to convey the message, but also to give the audience the key to his understanding, illuminated by analysis of conflict or military events. Unfortunately, journalists who were on the front line, often begin to enthusiastically describe military equipment, happy to contemplate the military picture. It is disturbing desire reporters to turn it into a spectacle. Therefore, studying the course «Regional conflicts and mass media» also includes lectures on the ethics of a journalist during the war. Indeed the moral responsibility that lies on a war reporter is very high.

New technology gives us the opportunity to be in different parts of the world at the same time. The camera, exploring the world, it shows us so quickly that policy, rulers and ordinary people have no time to it quickly «digest». Life therefore requires swift and decisive action, which is not always justified, especially by military action.

The French writer Paul Virilio speculates that «this change and acceleration of change brought in the conduct of the war. In the past, the core of the war was a soldier-citizen. Then military power was given to headquarters, after that the automation of the destruction and the invention of nuclear weapons, to substantially reduce the period for acceptance of the main solutions, the entire chain of the war has become isolated on one person – the head of state, which, in turn, hands the fate of the car world. Soon the war will be carried out with machine guns, new weapons will destroy targets with lightning speed, in thousandths of a second. A person cannot see or react with the speed of light[[76]](#footnote-76).

Technique «real-time», which is used modern means of transmission of information – TV, internet – so fast that there is no time to prepare for the event, it has already taken place. Journalist carries a personal human responsibility for what it carries in this world, which must be preserved.

At the beginning of 1991 State – the main participants in the Gulf War were subjected to strict censorship the media, arguing that the unwillingness to risk the success of military operations and endanger the lives of people from a dictator such as Saddam Hussein, Iranian, and no one expected anything else. However, the fact that the military and the democratic Western countries have resorted to this means disappointing the public. The protest was directed primarily against the United States. The so-called «Rooіz» were established, limiting information. On the front line journalists admitted only from certain countries under military escort. Verified censor messages are then made available to all who own investigations into the war zone were not allowed.

Despite the fact that the media every now and then pointed out this state of affairs («censorship checked», «sleared by») the result of this is that: the war has been presented in a distorted manner (primarily, almost without victims; what is happening there is depicted almost like a sporting event), – Public Figures in the hands of the military[[77]](#footnote-77).

**Ethics Image of Humanitarian Action.**

Actual is the theme of ethics and methods of work of TV journalists who largely form video. If we look at the image in the context of the overall flow of information, especially in its relationship with the written words, you can get an idea about what kind of role it plays. This topic raises a peculiar Senior Consultant ICRC guidance on research and development in the field of communications Gilbert Hollefer. He's writing:

«Our vision of a world increasingly shaped television and photographic images that dominate the public space. The impact of the image has reached unprecedented power, and this allows us to say, with many analysts that it gradually replaces a reality ,today there is only what is certified, witnessed and appreciated by a camera or a video camera. All of that are not removed in the whirlwind of events displayed on video, nor photographed images,are not become the object of attention of the media, immediately disappears from life ceases to exist in society. What is the secret of force majeure image? Zh.Hollefer identifies three main features:

*Image creates value.* It generates affection or dislike. It appeals to the imagination, appeals to the sense, excites the mind. In short, it mobilizes consciousness, boasting that shows without any tricks of the bare facts about the undeniable truth of the experience. That this is the main aspiration of television, in that it sees its mission, that's what made Regis Debrey’s declare that «television feeds a special arrangement for humanitarian action, as it fills edifying each scene snatched from life».

With years of humanitarian work public imagination truly conquered space fine a number of media . It is offered in each TV newscast menu, for some time now it has always in high demand in the world of photographic reporting. Without a doubt, humanitarian action is an area that allows combining the best aspects of the two that make up the power of images – the real facts and moral overtones, tragedy and kindness, good and evil.

But because of the close relationship between the facts and morality suppliers of humanitarian action , the face images are heavy moral responsibility – the responsibility carried by both the media and humanitarian organizations. For when it comes to the point, is it possible to morally justify the nightly show on TV reports, which appear in the eyes of the crowd hungry people, corpses and repetitive day-to-day scenes of horror?

Why all this show? Why this and not that? And how adequately explained by what we show? It seems that these legitimate morally questions that should arise from any viewer or reader to learn about the human misery, all too often remain without a satisfactory answer. Media are increasingly limited by shallow coverage of humanitarian crises and armed conflicts: aiming mainly to shock the viewer, they just glide over the surface of the events depicted. As for charities, the competition that prevails «humanitarian market», promotes the development of an unfortunate trend towards speculation in the good feelings, to ensure the advantage of the support from the public through promotional campaigns. In this sense, the image of the victims and the atrocities are seen as a means to create «image» of humanitarian organizations. Finally, in the unrestrained pursuit of the satisfaction of their own interests ,they forget the fact that we are talking about the image of real people that building a pictorial series, it is necessary to respect the dignity of the «object», which is available to the viewer.

Thus, it is possible to distinguish three variations that reflect from general to particular. The importance of the ethical problems associated with the use of the image of humanitarian activities in the world of information.

*Selectivity information.* Why focus on this particular situation rather than the other? Why the focus is constantly Bosnia rather than the conflicts in Angola, Afghanistan or Cambodia? Why start news agencies, who are constantly complaining about the lack of means to display all events in the world, who have invested huge sums in some cases, and who put all the money in only one lighting the Gulf War? Here's the manifest and the harmful effects of competition in the world media, which determine the choice of the most powerful of all the others.

*Accelerate the flow of information.* The tyranny of real time, technological advances in the field of live leads to acceleration, the result of which becomes what we call an excess of information: the number of images falling on the TV screen of the live broadcast that they are supersaturated people's minds and in the end produce indifference. In fact, in real time, there is something perverse, something that excludes any possibility of interpretation; themselves about the events we know in any case – sometimes are too fast, sometimes are too late – and their analysis, critical distance towards them completely lose their significance at this. How to make yourself in such circumstances, in a rational understanding of the state of affairs? As a policy, which should make the decision to follow everything that is happening in the world at the same time?

Time for reflection is abolished increasing image live, once and for all preemptive commentary investigation that journalists acquire glory «Watergate»; what benefits have learned by the millions who watched CNN, NBC. Watching experiences in real time, Peter Arnett, filmed and commented on what he saw from the window of his hotel room in Baghdad during the Gulf War? Live one image! Well, where is the information? Perhaps, as some believe, it all really «too difficult for the audience?» It turns out that the main thing – is to show, to make visible, to depict and explain. The means becomes the goals. This lack of interpretation, transfer nuances will lead ultimately to the fact that it becomes a natural stunning stereotype by fate of humanity is divided into two halves – to those who are suffering, who are destined to become a victim of «savages», and those who are spared from this. Last time that they feel safe when they see evil, from which other, and providential escape suffering, and not they themselves of which is humanitarian aid, it satisfies the requirements of a quiet conscience.

This is the vision of the world, which is dominated by fatalism and stereotyping of Humanitarian Affairs, the vision of generating all kinds of excuses: how many times have heard about Somalia or Yugoslavia, «peoples who still are always fighting each other and will fight in the future?

*Information voyeurism.* Whether to show image , and can you show them all through the picture? Condemnation shows scenes   
of shocking the audience – not a new phenomenon. Concern peaked in 1985, when shown as a little girl named Omayra Sanchez in   
agony in the mud – it remembers each. Post facts in television and photo reports, spurred by the logic of real time and the desire for spectacular effects, too easily gives way to a stronger impact on   
the audience scenes of the atrocities suffered by the people   
become.

Is it possible to talk about respect for the human person, when the show suffering of the victims and do not explain the reasons for their suffering? Or when in the form of some kind of ghosts, stupefied and doomed to live in the mud, initially were gone, completely depended on humanitarian aid while depict people who bravely fight for their lives in a complex and intricate crises? Yes, and is used with the entire arsenal of photographic techniques and tools for aesthetization their suffering, to elaborate filing of suffering by means of «composite» effects.

Recently, a New York-based editor praised us to the photographer whose image aesthetics events in Rwanda were based on the ratio of death, suffering and dirt. On the horizon of these clichés, the cult of purely visual perception sinister acts obscenity, which is not considered to be more to human dignity?

All of these phenomena require to it very seriously. Three deviations above the danger involve organized opposition ethically.

Selectivity information should oppose ethics vision: refers to the ratio, based on a global analysis of the situation in the humanitarian sphere, which will identify priorities in accordance with the criteria that are independent from the desire to collect the greatest audience, political interests and traditional promotional purposes. The ratio, which is to redefine the problem of image providers ,who are not satisfied with the display of fragments of reality, but in this age of global communication, testifying about the events that will try to keep his balance. Bosnia – of course! But also, and Kurdistan, Sudan, Sierra Leone, Afghanistan and Angola!

Real-time Tyranny must be countered by slowing ethic issues, which returns time for reflection: it is necessary to find the time for explanations, rather than bombard images. We need to find the time to through image can be balanced to present different points of view; we must strive to return full information to citizens, not to save money, seeing it as the main purpose of the production of images.

In deviation to the side reaching the image obscenity crisis victims need to answer the ethics of human dignity. Prisoners’ difficult and cruel situation, the victims are the people: to portray their suffering, of course, possible, but in compliance with the standards, treated with respect for the person and his private life.

These men and women are not «icon of pain», they have their own thoughts, feelings, hopes, life experience, and often they are the main partners in the humanitarian operations. We must give them a call, tell about the efforts, sometimes desperate, accompanying victims to ensure that their own to cope with the disaster, to show them the joy of feeling of life in a moment of respite, their courage and generosity in the face of suffering and dangers that threaten them.

This program is huge in scale, and its implementation requires primarily in-depth dialogue between the media and humanitarian organizations. Recent pay more attention to the development of the rules relating to images and information; being based on experience, these rules are very important for the decision we face ethical problems. In the face of violence, arbitrariness and excesses there is nothing worse than the lack of investigation, and evidence of having a mobilizing force of the image, said Zhilber Hollefer.

In summary, we can conclude that the audience still more confidence portrayed that is television information. Show all successively or selectively objectively relate the word and the image to give reasonable and truthful information – the right of a journalist and his ethical readiness.

**Control questions and tasks:**

1. What should be done for the journalist, in order to prevent the danger of military missions?

2. What are the sources of information in a context of armed conflict?

3. Does censorship in situations of armed conflict? Give examples.

4. What are the characteristics of the media coverage of the war in the Persian Gulf?

5. Carefully read Gilbert Hollefer’s the article «Ethics and the image of humanitarian action» and answer the following questions:

6. What is the meaning of his expression, that «image creates value»?

7. Explain the three deviations Hollefer’s that are associated with the use of images humanitarian activities:

8. Selectivity information

9. Accelerate the flow of information. Information voyeurism.

10. Do you think the human suffering close-up?

11. How do you explain why the Central Asian region has become so attractive for journalists?

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«Do not cry, do not laugh,

but to understand».

***Spinoza***

***Lecture 7***

**THE WORK OF JOURNALISTS**

**IN ARMED CONFLICT ZONE**

**Risk of work in the area of armed conflict. Preparation of journalist to travel to the zone of armed conflict.** **Equipment.** **Accreditation in the area of armed conflict.** **The question of determining the status of the Journalist, who is in a Conflict zone.** **The problem of access to Information Sources. Press card.** **Symbols markings.** **Types of protection afforded by IHL to journalists.** **The Media and International Humanitarian Law.** **Bosnian conflict. Danger operation in a Conflict Zone for Journalists.**

Subject of this chapter is a journalist in covering armed conflicts, and his rights and obligations during military operations rises rarely. In the latest edition of the annual output of the «On the Attak Rress in 2017»[[78]](#footnote-78) book provides data on deaths of 42 journalists only in 2017. Journalists were asked to prepare the material from the armed conflict zone, the reporter understands that risk. Information about military conflicts, both of international and domestic scale has always attracted the attention of the public and thus contributes to the circulation of newspapers, attracted the TV series, and thus provides a great income.

The most dangerous thing for journalists of the Republic of Tajikistan has appeared. In 1994, five journalists were killed in Tajikistan. During the post-Soviet period ,about 50 journalists were killed. Many journalists have been arrested or simply disappeared, while others have lost their jobs. None of the killings were investigated. The profession of journalist in the country has become the most risky. Journalistic organizations and human rights organizations (Committee to Protect Journalists, Reporters without Borders and others). Repeatedly urged the international community to pay attention to what is happening in the country. July 2001, 68 journalists were killed.

The operator of the crew of the Russian NTV television in Tajikistan Bobojan Tuganov suffered during the trip in the Tavildara area for shooting reportage on the war between government troops and opposition forces. According to the Ministry of Defense of Tajikistan, he and several BoE officials came under attack opposition fighters, bringing Bobojan Tuganov was injured: the operator itself, according to Bliss agency denies shelling that a military vehicle at speeds slid into a ditch because of wrong actions the driver, it is now pursuing.

March 28, 1996 the correspondent of the Russian public TV channel «ORT» Viktor Nikulin was killed in his office in Dushanbe, sources say that after he opened the door he was shot twice. Nikulin – the 29th journalist to be killed in Tajikistan since 1992. But neither the Interior Ministry nor the General Prosecutor's Office had failed to conduct serious investigations that could lead to the arrest of criminals. On June 8, 1996 on the outskirts of the village in Jorf Darvoz area special correspondent in Kazakhstan State Agency «Khabar» Gregory Bedenko was severely wounded. However, armored personnel carrier, which transported the journalist went over, as the Kazakh Commander Bulat Zakiev didn’t supported the fact of shelling and undermine the APC! At the military hospital of Dushanbe journalist’s tibia of the right leg was amputated. Gregory Bedenko was in Tajikistan for lighting replacement process mechanized infantry company, which is part of the Integrated peacekeeping forces. All videos and video camera of the journalist were destroyed in the incident.

GDF reported about 50 cases of harassment of journalists in Azerbaijan – beatings, arrests, seizures of premises, editorial. During clashes in Baku, Azerbaijan where military forces stormed the location of the special police detachment, killed the correspondent of the agency «Turan» agency, videographer Adil Buniyakov. O. Panfilov, A. Simonov[[79]](#footnote-79).

Five years ago, on February 25, 1995 journalist Maxim Shabalin and photographer Felix Titov from St. Petersburg newspaper «Neva time» went to the war. This was not the first trip for the children in Chechnya, but it was the last. Over the next two years the newspaper «Neva time» together with colleagues from other publications has organized 9 expeditions in Chechnya, trying to shed any light on the fate of Max and Felix. Some of these trips lasted one and a half or two months, but every time they come to Grozny, had to start from scratch, neither Russian nor Chechen side has not done anything to alleviate these searches. On countless requests in the most different institutions, journalists were empty unsubscribe and finally realized that no one in the state, as well as friends and relatives, are interested in the fate of the children. The only version with was proposed by the Federal Security Service within a month after their disappearance that Max and Felix were shot near the village of Orekhovo, nobody could neither confirm nor deny[[80]](#footnote-80). Five years of the newspaper «Neva time» in which to work Max and Felix go out without them.

Five years is still worth the name Maxim Shabalin in the newspaper output as department policy editor. Max and Felix were the first journalists missing in the Chechen war. Alas, not the last. Still nothing is known about the fate of the Kharkov TV journalist Elena Petrova and Andrei Bezavluk who disappeared in 1996, the summer of 1999 from a business trip did not come back, Viktor Petrov, the correspondent TV program «Operational Chronicles» in Chechnya (Samara), is still in captivity photojournalist «ITAR-TASS» Vladimir Yatsin. In 1997, on the territory of Chechnya has not been a single case of murder. In 1997, all cases of criminal attacks have been linked with the new vector forces homegrown Chechen entrepreneurs – trade «human beings».

It was in 1997, and it is in connection with the events occurred in the Chechen Republic, firmly established in the turnover of the phrase «a journalist – a hostage». In 1996, there were two A-already in 1997 14. January 19 ORT correspondent and cameraman Roman Perevesentsev, Vyacheslav Tibelius disappeared near the village of Samashki and Achkhoy – Martan, about 30 kilometers from the Chechen – Ingush border, when sent from Grozny to Nazran for distillation reporting from Moscow. On March 4 the «ITAR-TASS» journalist agency Nikolai Zagnoyko, correspondents of «Radio Russia» Yuri Arkhipov, Nikolai Mamuloshvili and satellite communications operator Leo Zelyder were abducted in the evening on the territory of the Oktyabrsky district of Grozny after they interviewed the Minister of Internal Affairs of the Chechen Kazbek Makhashev. The car «Moskvich» in which journalists went stopped by armed people. Lumbago three shots the wheel of the car, they transplanted journalists to another car and drove away in an unknown direction, leaving the driver's freedom of Chechen, who reported the incident to the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Chechnya.

Photojournalist newspaper «Chelyabinsk worker» and «operating Satkinsky» Alexander Utrobin correspondent «Satkinsky metallurgist» newspaper Olga Bagautdinova engaged in the search for the missing in Chechnya during the fighting soldiers of the cages. March 15 journalists went to the mountain village and disappeared. First there was the version says that Utrobin and Bagautdinova just got lost in the mountains, and they had not been abducted, but on April 4 Mayor Satka Vladimir Sadyrin anonymous caller, reported that he recieved a call from Moscow, and represent the interests of the group that kidnapped the journalists. For their release callers demanded a ransom. Similar calls have been in the newspaper «Satkinsky working». The fact of the disappearance of two journalists confirmed by representatives of the joint investigative commission in Grozny. On May 10, the district of the Chechen village of Samashki unknown gunmen seized the television film crew, «NTV» Elena Masuk, Dmitry Olga and Ilya Mordyukov. Returning to Nazran with the material filmed at a rally with supporters Raduev their car in which they were traveling caught and blocked two cars. Of these, four men jumped in masks, armed with machine guns and pistols, have replaced the driver in one of the cars, and drive a car with a group of «NTV» sat down one of the attackers. All three cars headed towards Samashki. According to the driver group, the kidnappers again soon transplanted it into the car, «NTV», cut fuel hoses and left alone. Two machines criminals fled with the kidnapping of the journalist. June 11 correspondent Ilyas and operator Vladislav Bogatyrev Chernyaev from the TV show «The View from the Alexander Lyubimov» independent television «View» were kidnapped by unknown assailants in Grozny[[81]](#footnote-81).

Often, journalists are victims of kidnappings, which are not associated with the ransom, and with the professional activity of the victims. The special situation of journalists on dangerous missions given attention to in the documents on the law of armed conflict. Yet article 13 of the Hague Regulations concerning the Laws and Customs of voyny1 Hague Conventions (1894-1907yy.) – The ICRC, -. Moscow, 1995. Article 13 (annexed to the Hague Conventions of 1899-1907yy.), As well as the Geneva Convention on July 27, 1929 relative to the treatment of Prisoners of War, referred to the «newspaper correspondent». Article 81 of the Convention in 1829, stipulates that «persons who accompany the armed forces without actually being members with their staff, such as correspondents, newspaper reporters, settlers and suppliers fall into enemies hands, which considers it necessary to their detention shall be entitled to be treated as prisoners of war under the condition of their existing legal authorization of the military authorities of the armed forces, for which they follow[[82]](#footnote-82).

In these documents, the journalists are ill-defined category of persons who accompany the armed forces without entering at the same time in their staff. As representatives of this group of persons, journalists have the right in case of capturing as prisoners of war, although they retain the status of a civilian, but it must respect the most important condition: they must have a license issued for them by the military authorities of their country.

During a radical revision of international humanitarian law, which resulted in the adoption of the Geneva Conventions of   
12 August 1949 on the protection of victims of war, for the first time in the documents mentioned journalist called «war correspondent», in the best case, he was guaranteed the status of «prisoner of war». The issue of improving the protection of journalists always stood sharply to international journalist organizations, until the UN took the initiative to develop the draft Convention, which provides security to journalists who are in the zone of military conflict.

In 1977, as a result of the Diplomatic Conference on the revision and extension of the action of the Geneva Conventions of 1949 there was an additional protocol. And Article 79 was included in the first one – «Measures for the protection of journalists». This article describes the following:

– journalists engaged in dangerous missions in areas of armed conflict, as a civilian, enjoys the full protection of international humanitarian law , with the mustache, they make any action incompatible with their status as civilians.

– for war correspondents accredited to the armed forces retained their special status, which is recognized in Article 4, paragraph A, III of the Geneva Conventions.

– ID card, according to the sample, which is contained in the annex to the Protocol, is proof that the holder of such a certificate really a journalist[[83]](#footnote-83).

The first and second paragraphs of this article, which is said to provide protection to journalists like civilians. After the Second World War, the UN proposes to establish specific provisions on the protection of journalists. In particular, the UN offered to make special markings for journalists to enter a specific account of the journalists, create a database, and create an international organization that would regulate journalists' direction in various «hot spots».

There have been proposals to carry journalist decals – an armband with a large black letter «P». Against the background of the golden circle. However, the use of this mark is caused objections, since the multiplication of signs and emblems leads to confusion, which is particularly dangerous in war. In addition, the appearance of the journalist in search of news, can cause active hostilities, and threaten attacks on the civilian population.

Of course, all of these laws are not always fulfilled in reality, does not always guarantee full safety of journalists. In addition, countries can limit the dissemination of information and freedom of speech. Thus, the protection of which is trying to create a legal way international organizations are not always reliable.

Take Chechnya, for example, the journalist's activity is regulated during the armed conflict? On the territory of Chechnya has not been announced either military or emergency, meaning that the full act provisions of the Constitution on the rights and freedoms such as the right to life, liberty, personal integrity and the inviolability of property and the right to freely seek, receive , transmit, produce and disseminate information by any legal means. The practice of expelling journalists from Chechnya and contrary to international law. Second Additional Protocol says that civilians (including journalists) cannot be forcibly removed from the territory on which there is armed conflict, unless required by military necessity. Takes place on the territory of Chechnya, should be considered as an armed conflict of an international character. On this he indicated not only the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe in its resolution 1055 (1955) on February 2, 1995, but the Constitutional Court in claim 5. It’s decision on the case on the constitutionality of Presidential Decree «On measures to restore law and order in the Chechen Republic», «On measures to curb the activities of illegal armed groups in Chechnya and in the zone of the Ossetia-Ingush conflict»[[84]](#footnote-84).

With regard to armed conflicts no international character data of the Convention are fully implemented, which to some extent reduces the level of protection of journalists. Subject to the application of only Article 3 common to the four Geneva Conventions and their Additional Protocols of 1977, concerning the protection of victims of armed conflicts not of an international character (the Second Additional Protocol), which develops the provisions of Article 3 of the Geneva Conventions. Neither the Geneva Conventions nor Additional Protocol II contains no provisions dealing with the professional activity of journalists in armed conflict. Their task is to protect the journalists working in «hot spots» and prevent possible attacks on their lives, freedom and dignity of the side involved in the conflict parties. At the same time they provide a minimum level of protection, leaving the provision of greater protection in the competence of the domestic law of the States – parties to the armed conflict.

The defining moment of the journalist status of being in a war zone, is his attitude to civilians. Unlike the First Additional Protocol of 1977, devoted to the armed conflict of an international character (including national – liberation wars) that contains a special article. (Article 79), dedicated to the journalists working in the war zone, the Second Protocol does not mention journalists as a special category of protected persons.

However, the analysis of the Second Protocol allows you to make an unambiguous conclusion that journalists are «not taking direct part in hostilities». Status of civilians extends to war correspondents accredited to the armed forces (first protocol in contrast to the second, gives the military correspondents, captured by the enemy, more preferred in comparison with the status of a civilian prisoner of war status). Thus, journalists are protected in times of armed conflict at least on a par with the civilian population.

For a long time, in conditions of rampant terrorism, the work of journalists has been associated with greater risk, because they found themselves, as it were between two fires – the rebels and punitive units. On the other hand, journalists were not properly protected: No extra bonus for high risk and overtime. The groups sought to get the press to act in their interests, graciously illuminate their terrorist activities[[85]](#footnote-85).

Despite the measures proposed by the UN and other organization. For the protection of reporters organizations in armed conflict, journalists themselves, many international media organizations have opposed the initiatives. One of the reasons why the journalists were opposed that such protection should be concerned, because that protection actually will be a certain instrument of pressure on journalists, will hinder their professional work in the conflict zone. we must recognize that these concerns were not unfounded, because a lot of examples was confirmed related by armed conflict on the international, the attempts to prevent journalists to cover those or other problems

For warlord groups that are involved in the conflict. The main purpose is to prevent journalists from entering the places which military operations conducted. Why? Journalists can see that the military does not just want to show the international community – namely, the indiscriminate nature of the fighting, the violation of IHL, the destruction of the civilian population and other related to military activities. In principle, it is necessary to bear legal responsibility. Therefore, military commander which is involved in an armed conflict, will aims to prevent the journalists. However, the journalists insisted that these special methods for the protection of journalists have not been accepted.

Journalists also decided that special markings will on the contrary by the proposed UN, to attract the attention of snipers or attention of certain forces that try to destroy in the first place journalists. And this was a specific reason. Under the influence of a number of international journalists' organizations such provisions of special protection have not been accepted for journalists. The only thing today really provides protection to journalists in the zone of armed conflict; IHL statement before that the journalist is protection as any civilian. Thus, the journalist applies all the rules of IHL and also would apply to every civilian. So if any journalist is captured in captivity, he must be granted protection and judicial guarantees at the first opportunity, he must be given to the State to which it belongs, and many other provisions.

*Outfit journalist.* British journalists issued a special booklet, which forms the methods of protection in the event of a military attack were detailed. Also issued body armor, which put under civilian clothes. Unfortunately, some journalists sometimes forget about the position of the IHP, which indicates that the journalist loses the right to protection as a civilian, if he becomes a combatant that is beginning to take part in hostilities or located near military installations. Combatants may find it only on equipment, because in this case it loses all the benefits that give him his profession.

During the Vietnam War the US military command has offered reporters transport for going to the scene, but guaranteed to be safe. The same happened in Chechnya. The military command of the Russian army also offered assistance to journalists, provided an armored personnel carrier. But if an armored personnel carrier fell into an ambush, the situation is unlikely to contribute to security of journalist, as the attack was subjected to anyone who was in the armored personnel carrier. Most likely, the journalist will be destroyed along with the other combatants.

Young journalists always want to show off in a military uniform. However, this desire to use military uniforms, camouflage to save the civil suit gives another reason to take a journalist for the ordinary soldier with the consequences.

*Journalist and weapons.* The main tool of the journalist is his professional video camera, pen voice recorder, etc. but not weapons. The journalist was not allowed to carry arms, even if he intends to defend himself or members of his group. According to international humanitarian law, in that situation is a no longer a journalist, its a soldier, which in this case occur without his direct responsibility, and they will becomes a party to an armed conflict.

*Accreditation of journalists and freedom of movement.* This is a topical issue – Journalists' freedom of movement in armed conflict areas. For example, the journalist simply come to a war zone, where they act freely and gather information? On the one hand, no one can guarantee this action cannot be done. On the other – each command is trying to establish some kind of limit, either curfews or special passes all of the stranger was not present there, what he can saw and what he does not want to show to the public . It also makes some difficulties in the work of journalists in the conflict zone, in the application of IHL provisions on the protection of journalists as civilians.

Many of the armed forces, such as, require a journalist to apply for accreditation that is accredited to a particular headquarters, when one or another political group, or at a particular army. For what? Again, in order to monitor the journalist.

*The prosecution of the journalist of spying.* Another very important issue – a charge the journalists of spying. For example, the Chechen conflict has left a huge amount of evidence for us when the most frequent accusation that was made against journalists – accused of espionage, intelligence activities. There is a so-called certificate of journalists engaged in dangerous missions. This certificate is considered to be a recognized international instrument and allows the identity of the journalist in a conflict zone. International humanitarian organizations recommend to journalists before going to the conflict zone, to issue the permit. It is available in a variety of journalistic organizations and international humanitarian organizations in order to make it easier to understand that it is a journalist, not a spy, scout, which deals not its direct responsibilities.

*The certificate for a journalist.* Rules of the United Nations Convention provides special protection for journalists' use of a special identity card issued by the authorities of the country. On the reverse side of the certificate must be recorded as follows: «The owner of the certificate is obliged to behave during a business trip in accordance with the highest standards of professional ethics and not to interfere in the internal affairs of States, the territory of which he is leaving, and not participate in any political and military activities, or any other activity that could lead to direct or indirect participation in the fighting in the areas where it is in a dangerous mission».

*How to make journalist behave, if there is a real danger of his life during the fighting?* Journalist should carry out their professional work during the fighting: take pictures, make movies, tape recordings or make handwritten notes. In many circumstances, the journalist does so at their own risk. Direct his participation in hostilities deprive him of immunity (because he has no right to even have weapons even for self-defense), which it has as a civilian. If a journalist comes out of the frames, which he prescribed, he runs the risk of being accused of spying.

*The position of the journalist, who is at the mercy of the enemy.* The purpose of this chapter is to analyze the rules of international law, according to which the journalist was in the hands of one of the parties to the conflict as a result of his capture or detention, protection is provided.

It is clear that the armed forces have the right to detain anyone who «walks» in a war zone, at least in order to ensure its safety. The fate of the detained journalist will depend on many factors, in particular of his nationality or citizenship.

In relation to the journalist, who was detained by the authorities of his own country, there are rules of domestic law. He will be kept in prison, if the country is allowed by the legislation. The authorities, of course, should provide judicial guarantees and the rules of detention under their own law, subject to the provisions of international human rights instruments signed by the State. It can be argued that the fundamental guarantees of Article 75 of Protocol I are applicable in the case of the detention of the journalist in connection with the armed conflict, if the domestic law less favorable in relation to the detainee. Bothe, Partsch, Solf, ad art. 75, par. 2.6.

As for the journalists belonging to one of the parties to the conflict and have fallen into the hands of the other side, there is a difference between an accredited war correspondent, who becomes a prisoner of war (Art. 4. A.4 III of the Geneva Convention), and «free» as a journalist. If the latter is apprehended in the territory of their own country, that is, in this case, in the territory occupied by the enemy, it must be held in the occupied territory, and cannot be moved on the national territory of the Occupying Power.

*How to be a journalist when he was captured?* What are the rules of international law? If a journalist, detained on the territory of their own country, then there are rules of domestic law. If a journalist has got to one of the conflicting parties, it must be kept in the occupied enemy territory. Against him may start a criminal case, or intern. (Article 76 of the Geneva Convention IV). If there is evidence that a journalist should not be convicted or interned, he should be released». (Article 78 ibid).

If the journalist belongs to a third State, is not involved in the conflict, in the case of seizure of the opposing party are norms of peacetime law. They are usually free. In any case, the holding party should ensure humane treatment of journalists. They have the right to receive representatives of the ICRC, to keep in touch with their loved ones. In addition, journalists have the support of diplomatic and consular missions of their country, or the country accepting the responsibility to protect the interest of the State in the holding country.

Of course, all of these laws are not always fulfilled in reality and do not always guarantee full security to journalists. Further countries may limit the dissemination of information and freedom of speech. Thus, the protection of which is trying to create a legal way international organizations are not always reliable. April 1[[86]](#footnote-86).

**Information transmission methods**

This is the use of new and modern technology for the collection and transmission of information. I must say that the next century, probably, will be the century of information and psychological warfare. As an example , an incident occurred just two days ago in one of the South Asian countries, where the inhabitants of its capital went to Christmas in other cities. At this time, in the radio someone reported that one of the commercial firms’ release of radioactive waste in one of the city's landfill, which is located in a busy area of ​​the highway. At the same moment the panic has begun, the result of which was the large number of traffic accidents that resulted in a significant number of deaths.

One message can lead to heavy casualties, to create an atmosphere of panic. The same can be achieved with the help of more sophisticated means of collecting and transmitting information, which by their force of impact can cause a big impact, than, say, the direct application of conventional arms. All of this is a significant issue in many ways, it will cause that the Geneva Conventions and the Hague Conventions are likely at the beginning of the next century, revised and supplemented by special provisions which will govern the use of information and it is psychological warfare.

As an example, you can tell us about a technical invention, which is applied in practice, in particularly, television reporters, «BBC» is one of the leading global information services, which covers events in various «hot spots».

It is a portable television camera, combined with a portable satellite dish. In this case, the camera together with the antenna allows the cameraman to conduct live TV directly from the combat zone. Portable satellite dish allows you to install it (hide) of any natural shelter, and the cameraman to broadcast live directly from the front lines. One can only imagine what psychological effect it is able to provide, how to bring consequences!

Many experts now seriously exploring this phenomenon, as the effect of «CNN». What does it mean? Live broadcasts, organized by the company from the combat zone, have an impact on policy makers, those who make decisions. And sometimes the nature of these decisions is not always correct, hasty decisions are made under the influence of the television image. Thus, the policy is very limited today, adequate time to make decisions, to ensure that the right to respond to a particular situation. And sometimes politicians or those who are responsible for those or other decisions may prevent serious mistakes, and therefore there is a question how important this effect may have on the future not only of any particular country, but also on the future of the planet and the nature of armed conflict?

It can be used in addition to today's portable television cameras with portable satellite dishes, modern computers that allow you to change the TV picture in real time. Simply put, some interested person (entity) can perform various manipulations – or add to the image, which comes from the conflict zone, some additional items, or remove something presenting viewers have modified the image, which may also have a completely different the impact of decisions on the nature of the formation of public opinion.

Mechanisms for the implementation of IHL, in principle, are developed; they are already beginning to be used. While on the other hand, many countries today, despite the fact that have signed and ratified the Geneva Conventions, and seems to be officially declare that perform IHL provisions, in fact, of course, are trying in every way to avoid it. Perhaps this is due to the fact that journalists are at this stage still not actively analyze the consequences of non-use of IHL, perhaps not sufficiently promote its application in life.

**The Media Draw Public Attention to Violations of IHL.**

**Bosnian Conflict.**

This material is offered to students on the basis of the article by American journalist and Pulitzer Prize winner Roy U.Gutman’s «To draw attention to violations of IHL» [[87]](#footnote-87). We present an abstract of the article.

«Despite the lofty goals of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights proclaimed by the United Nations, there is a lot of evidence that the international community's commitment to this document, to put it mildly, not too strong. A good example of this was the failure of the UN to put an end to the genocide in Bosnia and Herzegovina and in Rwanda, compounded by the fact that the United Nations failed to conduct a thorough analysis of their activities in order to retrieve the correct lesson from the Bosnian catastrophe.

But we should not forget that the UN is not a monolithic form and that it is impossible to equate the concepts of «UN» and the «international community». Evidence of change is the establishment of the Security Council ad hoc international tribunals for genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes committed during the conflicts in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Rwanda. It may be created by another tribunal bore massive crimes against humanity which were committed in Cambodia in the 70s. Finally, the government has recently identified the scope of powers of a permanent criminal court. One sign of progress in this area was The Hague court, which attracted to justice as a war criminal Milosevic, accused of atrocities committed in the territory of Bosnia. Reporters’ media also do critical thinking of their activities. Human rights violations, war crimes and impunity of journalist’s ongoing coverage for the simple reason that the offenses are the subject of the news. The traditional role of the media – to fight against negative phenomena – forcing journalists to talk about when trampled law, especially when the perpetrator – State or an institution of living on taxpayers' money.

However, international or internal conflicts are rarely reported in the media in terms of violations of the laws of war. International humanitarian law is a plexus of presumptions, principles, motivations and reservations; it is incomprehensible to the uninitiated.

Do the knowledge of human rights and the Geneva Conventions will help improve the quality of reports?

Roy W. Gutman ‘s answer to this question must be “yes”. Here are some of his thoughts on the matter.

«Many journalists coverage of the armed conflict that occurred in the last ten years, has left a feeling of disappointment and discouragement.

Reporters were among those who first discovered that the governments of powerful states, rather than to promote respect for humanitarian law, quietly turn away from it, if it does not apply to their life or business interests, or if it is not located in the center of media attention. In early August 1992, after my own stories, exposing the systematic killings in the camps in northern Bosnia, and exciting television frames transmitted by television-information Agency «Independent Television News» (Great-Britain), and reports from the place of Ed Woolley events (newspaper «the Guardian»), US President George W. Bush made a very strict, but evasive statement does reflect a clear understanding of the fact that international humanitarian law has been violated. He did not condemn the crimes against humanity; it is not required to close the camps, release prisoners and to conduct an investigation in order to establish the fact of committing crimes. The only thing he demanded – to give the ICRC access to the Omarsk and other camps. The reaction of the governments of other major powers followed later.

France waited more than a week before commented on the exis­tence of the camps, and the UK, has organized some time later in the same month a major diplomatic conference, refused to pay the ticket, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, former Prime Minister of Poland, which the UN to appoint a Special Rapporteur on Human Rights, giving his job is to consider allegations of crimes that took place in the territory of Bosnia. Many European governments and the US is not learned nothing from the way infancy Nazi genocide. They did not hesitate to repeat the mistake made by them in the 30-ies., Almost completely closing their borders to refugees whose lives are in jeopardy. French and British troops began to arrive in Bosnia since mid-1992, but their tasks were strictly limited to the protection of food supplies and humanitarian goods, and sometimes they were not allowed to do even this, not to mention the protection of innocent suffering of civilians.

After placement of the United Nations Protection Force   
(UNPROFOR) to deal with the denunciation of violations of the Geneva Conventions has gone from bad to worse. These Conventions provide little enforcement mechanisms – the parties only undertake to respect and to ensure respect for them. Prolonged investigations undertaken by me in 1993, convinced me that the international community evading responsibility at the time of the publication of the reports from Omarsk was not accidental, but the result of the mindset that has developed over decades. The personnel of UNPROFOR, which was supposed to monitor the compliance with the Convention, did not do it. In many cases, the members were present at the scene of the crime, but did not carry out an investigation and did not report them.

The idea that the «blue helmets» – soldiers, which are no better, able to turn a blind eye to the crimes committed in their presence might strike the naive observer as a failure to fulfill obligations is much more important than any UN mandate. Even if someone does not know the content of the Geneva Conventions and other basic treaties of international humanitarian law, common sense dictates that a citizen of the modern world cannot contemplate the grave human rights violations, without conducting the investigation and without having to put an end to this. However, the UN shows formalism and argues that the «blue helmets» the Geneva Conventions do not apply. This I learned when I was doing reports on events in Bihac. In November 1994, located in the north of Bihac in Bosnia that the UN declared «safe area», was under the threat of attack. To enter the city, the Bosnian Serb forces were to attack the municipal hospital. Foreseeing the disastrous UN Liaison Officer with the Civil Affairs addressed to the local military commander with the request to protect the hospital, citing the Geneva Conventions. This officer, an American, claimed that the United Nations must ensure the forces hospital in Bihac, the high level of protection that is provided for hospitals IV Geneva Convention. He agreed on this with the Russian head of the department of Staff for Civil Affairs and the population in Sarajevo. The commander of the Canadian posted his staff – they were Bangladeshis – in the hospital and successfully stopped the attack. However, two weeks later the officer legal service issued an opinion that the UN is not obliged to comply with the Geneva Conventions, as this world organization is not a party to the Conventions of 1949 and binding on the commander have only mandates given by the Security Council.

If someone thought that UNPROFOR considered themselves obliged to prevent genocide, crimes against humanity and serious violations enumerated in the Convention, or at least mark them, the fall of Srebrenica in July 1995 was the signal for them to the final awakening. Before the Dutch troops were evacuated to a safe place, they saw Bosnian Serb forces separated men and boys from the women, children and old people, were loaded last on buses and trucks, and men and boys were sent, later identified as the place of mass executions. 54 First Dutch «peacekeepers», which Serb forces captured at observation posts, took their weapons and equipment and held hostage in violation of international law, were released and ta­ken from Bosnia on July 15 buses.

Along the way, going to a safe place, but remaining still on the territory controlled by the Bosnian Serbs, the Dutch have seen very strong evidence occurred here massacres – shoes and backpacks over a hundred people, exhibited in a row on the side of the road, a cart laden with dozens of corpses, dead bodies along the road. Witnesses from Srebrenica say that most of the killings took place on the eve of July 14. It would be natural to assume that people who have seen such evidence of executions without trial, is a war crime under the Geneva Conventions, say so immediately.

These took place in the Omarsk, Vogosts, Bihac and Srebrenica events that I investigated, and about which he wrote at the time, were, as I realized later, elements of a single alarm circuit. I asked for clarification of the ICRC. I was told that since the UN is neither a party to the Convention nor any party to the conflict, it does not require the «blue helmets» compliance with the Geneva Conventions. Instead, in most cases, before their deployment, UN Secretary-General to issue general guidance on compliance with the Convention principles. In Bosnia, such instructions were not given. This raises another question: Who in the international community is responsible for compliance with the Convention? The ICRC, in accordance with the Convention is contradictory dual mandate: to achieve compliance with these documents and provide all possible protection to prisoners of war and other protected persons. If the Committee will publicly denounce the perpetrators, this could put him to gain access to such persons. It is quite clear that the ICRC, as a rule, turns to prevent a violation of the confidentially. Unfortunately, for this reason that violations are rarely made public. Foreign troops when they wear blue helmets might argue that part of the forces that are not parties to the Geneva Conventions. They cannot ignore violations and do not notice them. Thus, there remain parties to the conflict, those who violate the law and will be unlikely to confess, and victims whose applications are rarely taken at face value. It turns out that on the battlefield, not next to it there is no one who could at the same time to inform the public of violations of international humanitarian law. And the perpetrators can count on impunity»[[88]](#footnote-88).

**What is the role of the media?**

As a result of numerous discussions, it emerged the idea that the media can play a role in addressing this issue. How many times reporters have seen flagrant violation of the right not to designate it as a war crime? But if the reporter can determine whether what is happening in front of him, a war crime?

Next continues Roy W. Gutman: «I remember some of the events I witnessed was, but that is not properly. In October 1991, at the height of the Serbo-Croat war, I went to the hospital, located on the front line in the Croatian town of Vinkovci. All chambers are above the ground level, have been destroyed, all the signs of the Red Cross on the building and cars were turned into hospitals and destroyed the target. Croatian doctors treated their patients, mostly wounded in the hostilities, including Serbs, in the basement. Central to my reportage took place a thrilling story about being in the same room with the soldiers – a multinational crew of the Yugoslav and Croatian tank gunners, who knocked out the tank. About what fate befell the building of the hospital, I mentioned only in passing, and then only as yet another episode of «tragedy» of Eastern Slavonia. Tragedy? Having analyzed the situation more closely, it would be possible to establish that it is also a serious violation of international law. Years later, I learned that one ICRC delegate acknowledged while the situation with the hospital in Vinkovci as a «perfect» example of the violation of the Geneva Conventions. Moreover, it was only one of the hospitals, subjected to constant attacks. ICRC noted that the same thing happened in hospitals in Karlovac and Osijek. The ICRC, of ​​course, could not provide exhaustive information about the attack on the hospital in Vukovar, on which, according to the Croatian side were fired hundreds of shells and dropped two bombs of free fall, weighing 500 pounds. The hospital was not destroyed, but after the Serbs took the city, they carried away all the survivors and shot. Thus, the hospital in Vinkovci was not an isolated example, hospitals have been attacked systematically. This is quite good for the texture of the material. Of course, a bona fide journalist would have to go to the other side, to find out her version of events, and then return to the Croatian side, maybe to go there several times, and there is evidence would not have developed into a coherent picture. Hundreds of reporters from dozens of countries covered the course of this war, but as far as I know, none of them gave documentary evidence of the crime – the destruction of the hospital in Vinkovci. It follows from this lesson.

No matter what the UN require will bring in the future to its peacekeeping forces in regard to the Geneva Conventions, the media can make its own contribution to the control of their observance. Finding good examples, to find out what really happened, and then report this to the almost real-time, journalists can inform the public about the human drama that people in almost every country could be linked to compliance or violation of the universally recognized norms. The potential impact on public opinion is difficult to assess in the abstract, but in certain circumstances it may be significant. If media coverage of violations that took place during the 1991 war in Croatia, more skillfully, their materials would make the world aware of the true nature of the conflict and would be better prepared humanity to a surge in crimes recorded during the Bosnian conflict 1992-1995. And if the reporters have reported the legal criteria for the evaluation of systematic evidence of ill-treatment in the camps, the destruction of cultural monuments and attacks in cities and civilians during the conflict in Bosnia, the public and the most influential governments could on the basis of more precise criteria to determine how all it should respond.

The 1949 Geneva Conventions, which is not outdated and do not lag behind events, could become public regulatory guidance explaining what is important in the context of the conflict. In the end, they are based on the lessons of the terrible conflict of the century, and their content, much of which dates back to more distant time, has a certain internal logic. While the ICRC rightly seeks to encourage compliance, resulting in positive examples, the media could properly draw everyone's attention to war crimes. People will better understand what is at stake in the war, when reporters would imagine, what actions are legal and which are – illegal or criminal, especially now, when you open a new era – an era of international courts, prosecuted for violation of the right. By the end of the period, which may well go down in history as the decade of ethnic cleansing, to the end of the century of total war against the civilian population, at the end of a stormy millennium, maybe it is time to ensure that society has learned to be more aware of these differences».

Roy Gutman proposed a project entitled «**Preventing suffering and crimes: Introduction to media professionals with international humanitarian law».**

«In an effort to improve workers' awareness of the media in the US and abroad on international humanitarian law, a group of reporters, with the support of the Washington College of Law, American University, and the Department of Relations with the college community drafted a» war crime. «Our primary goal is to release with support from the Sandler Family Foundation and the Ford Foundation, a pocket-sized edition, devoted to war crimes. It will include about 60 articles written by reporters it will telling about specific grave breaches of the Geneva Conventions and crimes against humanity. Each article will be presented an example of a crime witnessed by the reporter was he, or for the accuracy of which he can guarantee the industry discussed the applicable law, and also indicates what to look for. In order to facilitate the legal discussion, one of the graduates of the Washington College of Law read legal magazines; I chose one article for each type of serious infringements and have prepared a brief explanatory note.

Every article edits journalists and scientists in the field of law, and provides assistance in the ICRC's lawyers, as well as leading military experts. There are also articles on nine major wars, which are discussed in a new way, from the standpoint of international humanitarian law and, more specifically, war crimes. Every war is a model of a particular type of conflict. Select the next war:

- Arab-Israeli conflict as a typical example of the war, which extended far beyond the limits of all that is provided for by the Geneva Conventions;

– The war in Bosnia, serving as a good example of almost all violations of humanitarian law;

– The conflict in Cambodia, flashing artificial restrictions Genocide Convention;

– Chechen conflict as an example of a violation of the Geneva Conventions by both parties;

– The conflict in Colombia, showing how the paramilitary groups out of control;

– The Gulf War, during which influential powers tried to comply with the Convention;

– The Iran-Iraq war, one of the last major international armed conflicts; the conflict in Liberia as an example of barbarism characteristic of small wars in Africa;

– And Rwanda – the failure of efforts by the international community before, during and at the end of the genocide.

A number of articles on other topics were suggested by leading experts. To enhance the emotional impact of this manual all the most important articles will be accompanied by illustrations. Editor – former scientist press agency «Magnum». An architectural design book creates a group of professionals – Gilles Perez, photographer agency «Magnum» and Jeff Striper, a graphic designer from New York.

Presentation of the book will be accompanied by a number of workshops for media personnel on coverage of wars and war crimes. Planned additional publication was dedicated to professional ethics in the coverage of the war. This was followed by the creation of websites, film, the curriculum for the School of Journalism and a photo exhibition».

The idea expressed by Roy Gutman is very interesting and will help to get a better understanding of international humanitarian law journalists and the public. The publication of this course of lectures is also an attempt to promote IHL ideas in Kazakhstan and Central Asia, primarily among journalists.

**Control questions and tasks:**

1. What are the different types of protection of journalists in armed conflict? Can a journalist wear a military uniform?

2. Who is the combatant? Can a journalist bear arms?

3. Is it necessary to accreditate of journalists? Is there a certificate for a journalist? As the media to draw public attention to violations of IHL? Will a journalist knowledge of human rights and the Geneva Conventions to improve the quality of reports?

4. Is Roy Rutman Rights critically assessing the possibility of IHL in time of armed conflict in Bosnia? Can the media prevent the development of armed conflict? What project did Rutman propose to prevent suffering and crimes?

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«Waging war, we must always

think of the world»

**Grotius**

***Lecture 8***

**THE MEDIA AND HUMANITARIAN**

**ORGANIZATIONS**

**The heart of this lecture, which is held in the form of debates is two articles Urs Begley, who is the head of the Department of Relations. In the past, he worked as a delegate and the head of delegation in various conflict zones.**

Is there a «right to intervene» in the field of information? «Yves Sandoz – Director of the Office of International Law and information sets out his views on the possibility of intervention in the media field. The right to information in the light of international humanitarian law. In addition, students should carefully study the brochure of Hans-Peter Gasser, «The protection of journalists on dangerous missions»[[89]](#footnote-89).

Urs Begley expressed concern that the current conflicts often take place in an atmosphere of an information vacuum. Those who wage war today seems to experience less and less desire to be heard, and in most cases they have every reason for it. In an era change the period of the Cold War, the warring parties are not so concerned about what others think about them. They are not afraid of irritating their patrons or embarrassing them – however, in most cases they do and there are no patrons, so they do not need them. They do not dream about leaders of national liberation movements a few decades ago, that the speeches at the United Nations in New York. Many people simply do not care what any impression on them in the international arena, and the world around them they not interested.

Other «key figures» involved in such crises – active participants in international events: organizations such as the ICRC, representatives of governments and endowed with an international mandate military officials – as well as a rule, prefer to remain silent. They have it too has good reasons. It often happens that one or another idea requires careful preparation for its implementation, and the slightest publicity can completely destroy all the delicate construction. For example, in a situation where the ICRC is organizing the exchange of prisoners between the two warring countries, it is hardly necessary to a journalist trumpet about ten days before the scheduled date. The situation may be so sensitive at this stage, that silence is the only reasonable course of action. But sometimes silence is little than can be justified, for example, when diplomats simply have nothing to say, because – and this is very typical for our time – there is no political will to solve political problems by political means.

Nature abhors a vacuum, and thirst for action of humanitarian organizations seeking to fill a gap is formed, while those who really could play an important role, prefer to stay in the shade. Humanitarian organizations pursue, of course, other goals than diplomats, peacekeepers and others. The first often feel the need to take a stand. Although this desire is often dictated by considerations relating to the pooling of financial resources and, consequently, to the need to loudly declare its position, the opportunity to express their opinion brings to the same moral satisfaction and flatters vanity. In this case, «Announcement» is usually brief and shrill, not only because of his character, but also because the time spent in the frame, which you in fact given, cannot explain what is really going on. The staff of humanitarian organizations, often posing with dying children in their arms, became the main source of information from many conflict zones, but their message is reduced to the number of images and sound bites, wedged in the frame length of two and a half minutes.

As a result, in the recent news, which tells us about the events of the multidimensional nature is dominated by purely humanitarian questions (such as to save the lives of starving). Too many disasters are caused by reasons of a political nature and it can only be resolved by political means, pasted the label of «humanitarian crisis» in our time.

But many conflicts have repeatedly used the term «humanitarian catastrophe», though in reality they are something more. The reaction of the international community, therefore, is directed into a false direction, that is, on a purely humanitarian action where it required to carry out the action of a political nature. In an era where television reports give us the opportunity to immediately see the events, politicians dare not take decisive and indeed the necessary measures, including the direction in some cases troops to restore order in situations fraught with the threat of loss of life, as this may adversely affect their election campaigns. Increasingly, political leaders tend to let things take their course. Humanitarian action is, in contrast to the policy, you can always take, and for a small fee from the perspective of political prestige. They are properly recorded on a tape and show a delighted public. And the reality behind by the «event» is inevitably distorted.

Among the adverse effects, which is a lighting of humanitarian operations in the media, it is necessary to call the effect on the safety of people carrying out these operations and their access to those whom they want to help. Like many other organizations, the ICRC is convinced that impromptu statements can be extremely dangerous. There is something that is one of the leading news programs BBC Nik Gowing has defined as «the tyranny of real time»: the slightest slip of the tongue in an interview can instantly scatter all over the world and cause unpredictable damage to the most stunning nature and in the most unexpected places. The recent experience in the field, the ICRC shows how this is true. Year 1996th became difficult for the Committee. This year it killed nine delegates, six of which – in Chechnya. Just a few days after the assassination of Chechen boy soldiers – one of the African «new warriors» – approached the ICRC delegate, who may have been too pushy, said: «If you are not careful, we will show you the Terrible!» It was creepy. The threat made us to understand how quickly the news spread in these days, and what problems it can create. You meet people who might; somewhere there is a satellite dish. They learn by listening to CNN, CNN and the BBC that happens; they realize how vulnerable humanitarian organizations and they use this knowledge.

This does not mean that the ICRC's response to reality is to lie in the fact that fewer report their activities. On the contrary, one way or another, we have to reach out to those who unleash modern conflicts. Not an easy task, considering that sometimes warring parties – it is armed to the teeth and stoned youngsters. At the same time, we need to better establish contact with such media, which is carried out late in the evening watch a program or an analytical discussion of the plan.

All this brings us to the issue of conviction. During the Second World War, the ICRC extreme caution and restraint, without betraying a certain stage in the publicity information about the concentration camps, fearing the consequences for their activities in favor of prisoners of war that could cause any kind of public statement. Followed by a thorough critical analysis of their own actions, today it is clear that there are times when the moral duty does not allow silent. However, transparency as a way to achieve any real change is extremely overrated. I rely on real experience of them, the experience of the person who gave interviews to the press about General Mladic and ethnic cleansing, and to make submissions on the matter directly to General Mladic. Talking to journalists is much easier, believe me. The fact is that nowadays you can convict anyone – any results it will not. Therefore, humanitarian organizations need to think carefully before you embark on this path. They should be mindful of the moral imperative and, in extreme cases, to act in obedience to his command, but you cannot overdo it, playing this «indictment card» in a situation where the expected result really does not help solve the problem.

The dilemma before which the ICRC was during the Second World War, it is so upsetting that the point of view of today feeling that, in spite of all the terrible facts that were known to the ICRC, the allied powers and some other countries, we have not made all that could be done. It is unlikely that such a situation may rise in these days due to the fact that information is now readily available for those who are able to influence the course of events. The problem is rather the lack of political necessary action.

Finally, speaking of exaggerated media’s attention to humanitarian issues, we need to recognize the complexity, so often inherent in such situations. If we deal with the conflict, and we call it a conflict; if it is based on the political crisis, it is necessary to talk about the political crisis. Any humanitarian action, of course, should be given adequate attention, but the lion's share of it. The public deserves to know about what is really going on, and there is no need to belittle the complexity of the situation. It is necessary to give a more complete picture of what is happening. Unfortunately, the collection and transmission of information on complex emergencies – this is a difficult, difficult process that requires preparation. Journalist or a member of the humanitarian organization – they need time to understand what is happening. Humanitarian organizations must learn to give clear, reliable information about ambiguous situations. In 1984, when the reputation of humanitarian organizations to be better than today, known pillars Germaine Greer wrote about the famine in Ethiopia is something, in my opinion, wrong, unfair and certainly do not apply to my organization. Still, her words stuck in my head. She wrote that humanitarian workers should be encouraged, they need support, but God forbid believing them. Terrible words and I hope that this is wrong. However, be aware of such a harsh assessment and try to refute it.

If you do anything, you do not know, you can always say, «I do not know». Improvisation has no excuses. Perhaps you can say: «No one knows», because it is in many cases actually true. All simplify – not a good idea. I know very few humanitarian workers, who would be satisfied with such impressive statistics, such as the one million people who were killed by the Khmer Rouge (according to a recent revised estimate, perhaps two million), or a message about the number of cases of rape in Bosnia, or the number of innocent civilians that killed in the former Yugoslavia. ICRC encountered this problem when he said that the world is set around 110 million anti-personnel mines – a figure obtained from the United Nations, which we used quite freely. When one of the British companies challenged it, we were quick to reverse. Naturally, your chances to appear on the evening news will increase due to the shocking figures – they are in great demand. But if you do not know who carried out the calculations, first think carefully, otherwise you will only regret about its own indiscretion.

Finally, it should be noted that the humanitarian organizations no longer have the advantage of providing information about developments on the ground. When I began working for the ICRC, reporters lined up in front of our offices on the ground, because we were getting to know more. But since journalism has become a very tough profession. Just imagine the risk that many journalists put themselves in these days, taking it as a matter of course. Some of them know more than the staff of humanitarian organizations, or at least as much. This situation should be used to establish a dialogue.

In conclusion, I must say that, if we stick to the facts, then we will not be afraid to admit that the world is difficult; if we recognize how important it is to try to listen to those who really know the situation; if we exercise caution; if we do not implicitly trust the huge numbers that are so often appear in the messages related to our area of work, then we will at least take a few steps to winning more credibility. And trusting us is vital».

Is there a «right to intervene» in the field of information? Yves Sandoz – Director of the Office of International Law and Information sets forth his views on the possibility of intervention in the media field. The right to information in the light of International Humanitarian Law.

Yves Sandoz raises a new topic and want to discuss it with you, since you already know the content of the Geneva Conventions and their Additional Protocols, particularly the role and safety of journalists. But the question arises: why international humanitarian law does not say directly on the right to information, but it would be interesting to highlight some elements of this law, considering the people's right to get information in times of armed conflict.

*The right to the objects needed for survival.* International humanitarian law provides that in times of conflict the population has the right to objects indispensable to its survival. This means that the parties to the conflict must agree to conduct international operations to supply the population with everything necessary for his survival as in the occupied territory of the enemy, and on its own territory if they are not able to do that. Objective information, of course, is not included in the concept of an object indispensable for the survival of the population; however, certain parallels can be drawn here, especially as the parties to the conflict shall have the right not to consent to its provision.

As for humanitarian aid, the relevant party to the conflict must, firstly recognize that the population really lacks the supplies essential for its survival, and secondly, decide whether the intended relief operation be exclusively humanitarian, neutral and impartial. The main problem in this case is how the objective wills such an assessment. The party, which must agree to carry out such operations, cannot solving this issue is arbitrary, since it must observe the principle, according to which it is obliged to allow such operations if they need them. If this principle is clearly not respected, concerned humanitarian organizations have the right and should insist on carrying out such operations. Here comes the famous discussion about the «right to intervene». As for reasons relating in particular to security, international organizations cannot impose conduct large-scale operations to provide humanitarian assistance in the territory under the control of the parties to the conflict, who do not want it, these organizations have in this case to apply for assistance from the international community. International humanitarian law imposes, however, a collective obligation on States – Parties to the Geneva Conventions and their Additional Protocols to respect this right and ensure its compliance, and this obligation can be invoked in such circumstances.

In practice, it is not a question of «intervention» as such, but a question of how to attract the attention of the international community in an unacceptable state of affairs, which could force the UN Security Council to take the decision to send its troops as a serious violation of human rights. It is regarded as threat to international peace.

The question is crucial, which should be reviewed in the light under international humanitarian law, the right to have access to the facilities necessary for the survival of the population, is how can react to the media and individual journalists that the government of a country abuses in their view, their power or is unable to fulfill its obligations regarding the right to information.

*Promotion of international humanitarian law and its teaching.* The practice of international humanitarian law directly linked with the dissemination of information about it. Article 83 of Protocol I of 1977 contains, inter alia, the obligation of the High Contracting Parties, «both in peacetime and during armed conflicts, spread as widely as possible the content about Conventions and this Protocol in their respective countries and, in particular, which include them in the study program military training and encourage them to study the civilian population, so that those instruments may become known to the armed forces and the civilian population».

To be effective, the educational process should begin in peacetime, without emotion and hate, invariably generated by armed konfliktom4. Then it is easier to talk about the sense of protection afforded by international humanitarian law. The emphasis, especially in the work with young people, should be on preserving their value under any circumstances, the universal nature of the values ​​that form the basis of this law. It is, in particular, about the sympathy for the suffering people, the feeling of solidarity and respect for the dignity of each person, the absence of discrimination.

But what inevitably becomes a war, not to mention the moment when she really unleashed, the less teaching of international law can be abstracted from real life. Methods of interpretation of the facts and their supply often form the basis of the military and political strategies. We know the important role played by Goebbels in the period of preceding the Second World War, and during the war which cannot be denied, and that the enemy intimidation and deprivation of human traits enemy is widely used in the psychological preparation of young people who will kill. Serious researches on the subject have been held in recent years.

Thus, teaching international humanitarian law in time of war – not an easy task, in the performance of which should focus on the fight against the most cruel outrages perpetrated in particular against the civilian population, as well as clarification of the role of humanitarian organizations and the principles on which they built activity. Essential of this context is to provide objective information to the population, but often this problem gives a political coloring, and those who perform it, is at great risk of being rejected, at least one of the parties to the conflict. Let us remember that the war is no longer a legitimate means to obtain what could not be achieved through diplomacy and that in most cases can be justified only by the lies spread by either side.

But despite the fact that efforts to spread knowledge of international humanitarian law must be based on concrete examples and facts, its implementation in times of armed conflict should not be confused with the information activities.

*Establishing the facts and exposing the violations of international humanitarian law. Usually* the principle of neutrality – one of the Fundamental Principles of the Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement – is referred to as the obligation to respect the silence. This is not true. This principle states that: «In order to continue to enjoy the confidence of all, the Movement may not take sides in hostilities or engage in controversies of a political, racial, religious or ideological nature». Such disputes reach maximum severity at a time of armed conflict. But the philosophy of international humanitarian law aims to consider the respect of the law, and hence the value, which it seeks to protect, even in situations of conflict, as the a priori non-political, lie outside these disputes. It is hard to blame the ICRC, the custodian of the law, in that it violates the principle of neutrality, when the advocates of these values and states their trampling. The ICRC is not obliged to remain silent when committed violations of international humanitarian law, and the question of their public exposure must be considered from the point of view of expediency, not principle.

The ICRC has always believed that this method can be used only as a last resort and the first rational to resort dialogue and persuasion techniques. For immediate public disclosure, which would not be preceded by a dialogue of this kind could create serious difficulties for the ICRC delegates in terms of their safety and make a very risky concrete action in favor of victims of the conflict. It can also lead to the expulsion of its representatives. But if the measures taken in   
an atmosphere of privacy, do not produce results, the ICRC may  
remind States of their collective responsibility to ensure respect for international humanitarian law, as well as to resort to expose violations.

However, one of the main challenges that we face today is the politicization of the values ​​that should be out of politics. Conflicts caused by the desire for identity assertion, or ethnic conflicts is based on the establishment of the power of one group of people over another, as well as the rejection of the other groups, do not leave little room for respect the dignity of each person, as well as to distinguish between civilians and combatants . And then it becomes very difficult to expose violations of international humanitarian law, while not exposing the policy, which is contrary to the proclaimed values ​​of this right. With this difficulty also faced in the implementation of the provision of protection and assistance activities, because helping a particular group of people is contrary to this policy.

Under these conditions, the first priority must be to protect these values. But there is an urgent need to find practical solutions for the extent possible, to help the population. And then it is extremely important to achieve a clear division of responsibilities, as well as the fulfillment in good faith of journalists' role is to inform the population .

*The protection offered to journalists under international law.* Article 79 of Protocol I of 1977 provides journalists protections, «engaged in dangerous professional missions». It complements Article 4 (A 4) of the Geneva Convention III, consistent with POW which status as «persons who accompany the armed forces without actually being members thereof immediately». War correspondents are closely related to one or another kind of troops, operating with the permission of the appropriate command, have the support and material resources of the armed forces. Article 79 of Protocol I provides another opportunity. It stresses that independent journalists «engaged in dangerous professional missions in areas of armed conflict shall be considered as civilians». Thus, this article implicitly recognizes the legitimacy of such trips, it aims to reduce the mistrust of journalists in such situations, and even protect them from ill-treatment to which they are sometimes subjected.

Journalists, however, are protected only to the extent that they do not commit «any action incompatible with their status as civilians». This is especially important in an environment where the collection of information can serve as convenient excuse charges of espionage. Moreover, Article 79 does not grant them the right to enter the territory without the authorization of its supervisory powers. The effectiveness of this article, therefore, is limited, despite the fact that it involves the legitimacy of the activities of journalists in conflict zones. It should also be recognized that the provision of additional international guarantees would inevitably lead to the control by the authorities. Often parties to a conflict are willing to provide support to journalists, and although there is a safety problem, it is often used as a pretext in order to monitor their activities. Journalists know this and often would rather take the risk than to allow control over their actions.

By analyzing the problems related to security of the representatives of humanitarian organizations in the hot spots, it should be noted, and the problems caused not only by the nature of the war, but also the confusion arising from the increasing number of humanitarian organizations operating in conflict zones. Humanitarian action in emergency situations is more complicated than it seems; it can have a significant impact on the outcome of the war, or the socio-economic structure of a particular region. It is therefore quite understandable that individual States take restrictive measures to counter this spontaneous influx of humanitarian organizations. To measure aimed at restricting the activities of the overly zealous organizations, not to paralyze the activities of all humanitarian agencies, the International Red Cross and Red Crescent have developed a Code of Conduct. To respect his movement he has asked the largest humanitarian organizations.

Can the principles and content of this Code interests to journalists? Some of its provisions, such as respect for local culture and customs, and especially – the obligation to respect the dignity of the victims of the conflict in the implementation of information , activities are undoubtedly of interest to the profession. Nevertheless, we believe that between the «humanitarian activities of the organization» and «journalistic activities» (in the broadest sense of the word), there is a significant difference.

Humanitarian organizations must pursue selfless purpose to meet the stringent requirements; Journalists do not have to comply with this rule, because they are engaged in an activity that is also commercial. Of course, they are responsible for reporting information that could harm individuals or groups of persons, as defamation, libel, incitement to racism are prohibited by international legal instruments, as well as criminal offenses in national legislations. Perhaps these questions are at the heart of various codes of journalistic ethics. On the other hand, of course, we cannot demand all journalists to have their own political or religious beliefs – but this principle is written in the Code of Conduct for the International Red Cross and Red Crescent. Journalists are also not obliged to observe neutrality.

However, it remains an open question about the rules that would regulate the activities of journalists of international news agencies covering the events in areas of conflict or unrest. Are they willing to create such a code? Whether there is enough broad support for such rules in their colleagues, which would greatly enhance the credibility of journalists and improve the attitude towards them on the part of the warring parties so that they welcomed their presence in the conflict zones?

*Conclusion: is there a «right to intervene» in the field of information?* The simple answer to this question is no. The right to information should be considered from three points of view. This right includes especially the principle of freedom of information. Then it allows you to make exceptions to this principle in certain circumstances, in particular – in order to preserve public order. Finally, this law imposes restrictions on the right to make such derogation. The problem is to know who sits in judgment on these matters, and jud­ges who judge. The international rule of law is not sufficient coherence to provide clear answers to these questions.

In accordance with the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights of 1966 it was created by the Human Rights Committee, but he has very limited powers to actually carry out the world's arbitrator. 1952 Convention on the International Right of Correction contains an article V, which states that «any dispute between any two or more Contracting States concerning the interpretation or application of this Convention which cannot be resolved by negotiation shall be referred to the International Court of Justice unless the Contracting States do not come to a different way of resolving their differences agreement’’. But the significance of this compulsory method of dispute resolution is clearly largely lost, since only a small number of States acceded to this Convention. The real question about what role should civil society played in the protection of human rights, as well as to balance the forces of society, governments and supranational organizations, aimed at strengthening the international legal order.

It is gratifying and logical that everyone in the best of their ability and within their authority feels responsible and ready for action when it is not observed or openly violated human rights. That's how we should understand Dostoevsky's statement: «Everyone to all for all and for all guilty», placed at the entrance to the International Museum of the Red Cross and Red Crescent in Geneva. You can talk about moral duty to be vigilant. But to act in this area, you must also have a sense of responsibility, that is, have an impeccable motivation and know what you're doing. It is said that humanitarian action can kill, and really, a good will is not always enough, especially – in international operations.

It can be said that the Foundation «Hirondelle» carries out its activities, guided by moral duty to remain vigilant and responsibility for performed honestly and with knowledge of the action case. We believe that it is justified by the desire to start an open discussion of these issues in those countries where it is not yet.

In spite of all the comments that can be made with respect to «the effect of the CNN», and the dangers that may come from the information we have, no doubt, we cannot build a future based on obscurantist theories. It is not possible to hope that the world can be saved by keeping peoples in the dark.

However, it is necessary to conduct such operations with great caution, carefully weighing their consequences while respecting the values ​​and feelings of the local population. In particular, one cannot ignore the fact that in some regions of the world, social cohesion is a factor, which is given more importance than individual freedom. Subject to these precautions undertaken steps in this direction appear to be as legitimate, even if they contradict formal legality. Of course, it is better to reach agreement, but should not be totally dependent on the will of tyrants, and it will be legitimate struggle always against any kind of discrimination on the grounds, as enshrined in Article 4 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, «race, color, sex, language, religion or social origin «a provision that non-derogable.

Therefore, we can truly speak of a «right to intervene» in the field of information. However, we must clarify what we mean by this: in conditions that violate fundamental rules justified in some exceptional cases, violation of formal laws, which may act in this or that region. At the same time it is not about to undermine the national sovereignty of a State, and on how to eliminate the consequences of the violations on its behalf.

In practice, the distinction between humanitarian activities and information support activities is that, unlike the provision of humanitarian assistance, information support activity does not necessarily require the physical presence of the persons engaged in it, in a particular place. Therefore, it is to carry out the information activities easier to carry out without the consent of the authorities that control the territory. In fact, in the field of information intervention is increasingly carried out without state control, and the debate about the existence and content of such rights can be completed quickly thanks to the actual state of affairs. Lack of means allows to avoid this reality is to some governments, but their number will inevitably decline.

In our opinion, this reality should strengthen the «right to intervene» on the part of those who wish to use it only as a last resort and in compliance with the restrictions imposed by human rights law. Strike, which can cause a variety of flow unsorted information flow, should it concern each of us, leaving no one indifferent. And confront him you can, obviously, only through education. It will allow each person to develop a critical mind. It is through education that you can try to create not only the right to information, but also a right to be informed. Recognizing this responsibility and contributing to its implementation, we can move towards a world based on personal responsibility.

It should also emphasize on the great importance of this role and great responsibility, conjugating with its implementation. In our view, the goal is to go beyond compliance with international humanitarian law. Public dissemination of information and the establishment of dialogue between the warring communities must pursue ambitious and restoring peace. The goal, therefore, is to have a political sense of the world; so it should be different from the more mundane, but nevertheless a necessary purpose which sets the international humanitarian law, even if the realization of one goal contributes to the other. This conclusion is confirmed by the participants organized by the International Institute of Humanitarian Law (San Remo) «round table» is dedicated to the discussion of the role of humanitarian organizations, delegates and journalists. It was recognized that as the implementation of humanitarian action and information activities are complex tasks that require good training, which level should be even higher when it comes to work in conflict zones. At the meeting, he stressed the importance of better understanding the mechanism of action of humanitarian organizations and the media, as well as the fact that cooperation between them must be carried out within the strict framework and not lead to a confusion of roles. We believe that this conclusion remains valid even if you want to talk about the interaction complementarity of their roles.

In conclusion, I would like to stress once again the importance of the goal, it involves a lot of responsibility. The legality and admissibility of any information activity are dependent in the clarity of its criteria, accuracy and compliance of critical, open and ongoing monitoring of its implementation».

**Questions and tasks:**

1. Carefully read the submitted article and then prepare a debate on the topic: «The journalist and armed conflict». For the debate you could use visual aids, video, photographs, texts.

**Literature:**

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«We must learn to act,

that our differences do not lead to clashes».

***Jimmy Carter***

***Lecture 9***

**THE MEDIA COVERAGE**

**OF ETHNIC MINORITY CONFLICT**

**Journalist work in the area of Internal Conflict.** **Media coverage of Ethnic Minority Conflict.** **How to Avoid Stereotypes in the Media of Ethnic Minority Conflicts.** **Sources of information about Ethnic groups and Conflicts.** **Languages Confrontation, Mediation in Ethnic Conflict and the Media.**

Radio and television are always the first and main source for lighting issues related to inter-ethnic conflicts. Worldwide survey of all the media revealed that the most trusted television are enjoyed among the population. Time spent in front of TV is more than the time taken by any other leisure activities. Television is called a mirror of society – is a reflection of the electoral. In the United States, or CIS, in Sri Lanka, San Marino or in Suriname some community groups rarely or never appear on the screen, or – in the form of negative stereotypes. Unfortunately, such «selective» display, and complete silence can lead to outbreaks of violence or aggravate them. The reason for the unrest in the United States Los Angeles, fighting between different ethnic groups of the CIS countries and Yugoslavia, the clashes between Hindus and Muslims in Bombay temples have a common root – the selectivity of the media.

American scientists D.Braun, Ch.Fayerstoun and E. Mickiewicz, authors of the book «TV radio news and minorities»[[90]](#footnote-90) considered the leading experts in the field of lighting ethnic conflicts in the media. Therefore, this section will be used mainly in their opinions and recommendations, which also correspond to the recommendations of the Centre for Policy television Carter (Atlanta, USA), led E. Mickiewicz.

What are the solutions to the problems of ethnic conflict? When there are conflicts between nations, it is a matter of controversy. There is a desire to keep silent about the conflict or give an objective position with particular TV station information. For example, in the aftermath of the events in December 1986 in Almaty, a group of teenagers organized an European nationality act of vandalism, smashing a number of monuments in the Muslim cemetery. There is a dilemma: if you give the course of this information, not only it will cause a new outbreak of ethnic conflict, but also exacerbate the already fragile relations established after the youth revolt? An investigation by the law enforcement agencies found that adolescents were also children whose parents adhere to Muslim traditions. Since the rumors, wandering around the city, could provoke a new wave of unrest, it was decided on local television report about the incident, clearly emphasizing that banditry and vandalism have no nationality. It is this speech on television that journalists helped to avoid ethnic conflict.

Therefore the reporting on conflicts involving ethnic minorities are always very controversial. A careful analysis of the four approaches to this problem are:

1. The first comes from the fact that if the conflict is not light, it is possible that it will fade away or go out. When he is in power Thatcher often spoken in favor of the need to «cut off the oxygen of publicity» Irish Republican Army is bearing in mind that the representatives of the IRA should not be allowed to air. If the bomb exploded in IRA, kidnapping or other explicit acts of terrorism covered in the media, we cannot allow the IRA representatives publicly justify their actions.

2. The practice of the British media on the coverage of the IRA actions illustrates a second approach to the problem of the conflict, namely, showing the conflict is aimed at mobilizing public opinion against one of the parties involved, as it raises public tolerance (makes public to put up with increased costs and restrictions on personal freedoms). This approach ignores the causes of the conflict itself.

3. The third approach involves the presence in the air of the two (or more) of the conflicting parties. However, the side that has the real power – namely, government, business, and labor, military – is usually portrayed as «the right» or «more right».

4. The fourth approach focuses on the creation of a clear and balanced (at least multi-faceted) picture of the conflict, its origin, nature and possible ways to resolve. Although this approach seems to be the most logical one compared to the previous, one it is incomparably more difficult to implement.

Governments can provide resistance to the attempts of the media to cover the conflict from the standpoint of a multilateral perspective, for they are convinced that only one side is worthy of attention. The autonomy of the media, the greater their chance not to succumb to pressure the government. However, the pressure and possibly the other. The attitude to the conflict the majority culture may coincide with the attitude of the ruling circles, tend to believe that only one point of view can lead to reconciliation. US commercial TV networks were exposed in the late 50's – early 60-ies of intense criticism over a relatively balanced coverage of the movement for civil rights. In the UK, New Zealand and other Western countries with numerous and active ethnic communities show on TV demonstrations and clashes with the participation of representatives of these communities was also criticized. And generally considered inconvenient public (through the media) in Japanese society to discuss the conflict itself. All four approaches can be used simultaneously, depending on the nature of the conflict.

Clearly, scientists believe that one cannot ignore the problems about community conflict and that any approach will inevitably lead to problems. It is not surprising, and criticism in the media address when the latter try to give a balanced picture of events. The reason for this is inevitable in a society a variety of opinions about conflict and its lighting. The public is extremely ambiguous responding to conflicts involving ethnic minorities, as over time the media either ignored minorities or represent them in a distorted manner. It may seem correct conclusion that the conflict cannot be shown at all, so that it is all arranged, and therefore, the media should focus on the most. But the growing availability of audio and video, facsimile, e-mail and the Internet and thus destroyed the «iron» cordons that existed around people. Governments can no longer prevent the minorities to spread their views.

The advent of the Internet, new communication reality as cyberspace becomes particularly important for ethnic minorities, for the different movements and organizations. According to Manuel Castells and the Internet, there will be new forms of social organizations as a response to global processes of transformation. He believes that in a fragmented society in place of traditional patriarchal structures and social institutions come associations of a new type that do not fit into the party and the class system of industrial democracy, ranging from feminists and ending with the Nazis, who use the network as a communication channel[[91]](#footnote-91).

An increasing proportion of the population is able to access alternative points of view. This means that the credibility of the central channels of the media falls directly on the integrity and fairness of coverage of conflict. A striking example of the impact of electronic media on the government's ability to control the flow of information both within the country and outside the national borders, are the events in Tiananmen Square in Beijing in 1989. Previously, the Chinese government would be no big deal to surround the student demonstrations blank wall. In June 1989, part of the Chinese students had access to fax machines and began to transmit their correspondence by fax directly via satellite. In China the information came through the «Voice of America», BBC and other international radio stations, as well as by fax, by which Chinese students abroad sending messages to their compatriots. Some of the messages received by fax included in the program «Voice of America», BBC and other stations broadcasting in China. Video cameras are used and students recorded the horrific pictures of the collision. Some of these tapes were got on TV in many countries. There were so many alternative channels of communication were so numerous that the government was not able to block them. If the opposite to the Government events group, despite the authorities' attempts to ignore the incident or show one-sided, manages to convey its point of view to the national and international audience, there was a strong likelihood that such an «exit on the international stage» inspired a feeling of close opposition victory. Also it can make it less compliant, which will lead to an aggravation of the conflict. Something similar happened in Afghanistan, where numerous ethnic opposition groups were sought to establish contacts with the Western media. They regarded the West's interest, as a moral and financial support to events in the country. This position is not conducive to compromise after the fall of the communist regime.

There are other considerations for early warning of potential conflict. *First.* Would the early coverage of the position of any group, clothed in words or action, the excitation of the whole society? Especially if the group does not have sufficient real funds to carry out their threats? *Second,* early warning will give the public adequate time to resolve the conflict, and therefore will take the threat of large-scale and costly conflict? Or, on the contrary, such an early warning may inspire opposition group on the escalation of the conflict, as it has already attracted the attention of the media? *Third.* What is the impact on the image of the conflict have people covering this conflict? These people can be selected by both the media and to offer them. If the selection of leading media itself, it will not affect whether the here craving for sensationalism and unusual? Does not it prejudice the information disclosing the causes of conflict groups, as well as information containing the evaluation of the possibility of direct conflict with the society of this group?

Assume that the selected candidates are covering the conflict, but how reliable will information be provided about the purpose of this group? Indicative in this respect, support the newspaper «Washington Post» their Watergate reporters Woodward and Berngtayn, which is also a shining example of media independence from the government. Scientists believe that anticipatory coverage of the conflict and the problems of national minorities requires the development of a long-term strategy, although it is possible that the observed early symptoms may be a false alarm. It would therefore be unwise to abandon the early coverage of the conflict.

If the coverage of the conflict is in the hands of experienced and skilled reporters, the number of false alarms raised by the media, would be very few. The absence of early lighting can lead to one of two things:

– *The first option* – most conflicts (all conflicts) will be considered as something very serious, and then the public will begin to treat them without proper attention (remember the legend of the shepherdess, who often cried «wolf too !»);

– *The second option* – the media, at least the main media will generally cease to be serious about conflict. In this case, the public learned about the conflict of gossip and rumors will look for information on the side (in the underground media, transfer of foreign stations).

Perhaps the most important thing to consider by experienced reporters and media management in formulating long-term strategies coverage of any conflict, including those affecting minorities, is the need to avoid stereotypes against ethnic groups and the conflicts themselves.

Stereotypes may be a consequence of the previous coverage of ethnic conflict in the media. Stereotypes also generated a desire for sensationalism. A strong temptation can become a desire to oppose the aspirations of minority aspirations of the majority, ignoring their objective similarity.

**How to Avoid Stereotypes in Covering Ethnic**

**Minority Conflicts?**

Ellen Mickiewicz and her colleagues at the television policy of the Commission proposed to develop a long-term and short-term strategy, to have a material ether always. Reports of ethnic conflicts for a long time were remained in the spotlight. Firstly journalists should create a fairly complete and constantly updated archive of messages about conflicts, as well as individuals and groups from both the minority culture and the culture of the majority related to them. This archive must also be information on the persons who can give an expert assessment of the various conflict situations. Systematized information will allow to monitor the dynamics of the processes and to remedy the lack of historical knowledge and a holistic understanding of the situation. The media often distortions the lack of analytical view on events. Archive provides forecasts and justification: only knowledge of the past opens the picture of the future. For example, the Irish radio «Telefis ayran» has a list of women experts on a wide range of problems, including the conflicts and issues related to ethnic minorities. The list contains phone numbers, addresses, fax numbers, and specific activity of each expert. The list is organized by subject headings, making it easier to search for an expert reporters in a particular situation

Second, conflicts related to national minorities should be illuminated along with leading reporters, editors and managers, representing national minorities. They have a fresh look at the culture of the majority of the lighting and, most importantly, they will be able to see those faces in covering ethnic conflicts, which, may go unnoticed by representatives of the majority because of a cultural experience and perception. Sometimes there is a situation where minority’s views can also be claimed. Such a situation for a number of years was observed in the newsroom of the New Zealand Broadcasting Corporation. Employees who belonged to the Maori people, perceived their pakeha (white) colleagues as «brown pakeha». Many white reporters and editors just did not turn to them for advice about events related to the problems of the Maori life , and the events were often covered by white people. The point here is not that whites are not able to cover such events and that Maori would have coped with it better, but that their cooperation would lead to a more balanced and accurate reporting, a better understanding of the ways of effective interaction with the audience, consisting of representatives of culture of the majority and minority cultures.

There is a possibility that members of the minority have lost connection with their culture and even abandoned their cultural roots. In this case, their views will not be quite different from those of the representatives of the majority culture. It is important to bear in mind that in the event of the ethnic conflict the reporters seemed to have long lost their ethnic or tribal roots but they can revive a sense of their national identity. Either they may be a subject of pressure to their respective groups. This does not undermine the importance of the work they do, but requires certain vigilance on the part of superiors and colleagues. Also if the latter will be able to suppress their own bias, then their advice about the partiality of employees from minority will listen.

*The short-term strategy.* More often there is not a quick and unpredictable conflict, but the media are forced to use short-term strategies. It may also be helpful and archives, and the knowledge of experienced staff from both the culture of the majority and the minority culture. Journalists should treat their comments with a caution: is the conflict is really sudden and unexpected. Initial reports indicate reasonable that much still remains unclear. The journalists should be prepared to search for answers in protracted nature of the conflict. Some newsroom created a group to study the crisis. Employees are able to conduct prompt and thorough investigations, qualified are able to collect material, to identify shortcomings in the reports and comments on the situation and remain calm in the face of danger or in an atmosphere of panic. Smaller versions of news for this kind of work it is advisable to have one or two employees, and not the whole team.

*Group «E» CNN.* Large national broadcasters like CNN provide special group «E» for emergency . First CNN used the group «E» to work informally during the rapidly developing crises. Initially this extraordinary group is not a separate department. When CNN had more resources and expertise, the group became part of a larger organizational structure. However, the idea in the name of which was created by the «E» band has not lost its relevance, as the company's development, the core of this idea lay the understanding that the leading and most experienced professional cannot always be in place at the time of crisis. However if there is an opportunity to combine the experience and the ability to react quickly in order to be able to use them in an emergency, it should be done. This maneuver will greatly reduce the likelihood of incomplete and inaccurate reporting. According to the CNN model , the main producers, facilitators, reporters and technical staff should always be within reach. Group «E» is called during a crisis, whenever it happened, and it immediately responded to the incident. Even without having the funds for the maintenance of these teams, small stations manage to quickly and effectively respond to the crisis. The radio station in Hayward, Wisconsin, received a license for a range of «Lac Cours about Ray» for adzhibva peoples (Native Americans). When Wisconsin adzhibva guaranteed right to fish with a spear in some northern lakes of Wisconsin and adzhibva tried to exercise this right, they met a very strong and sharp protest from the white fishermen, resort owners, etc. Then the radio station aired several special reports and programs, representing a wide range of opinions. This was possible because the station staff had a great asset from which they can quickly select the right people. It is impossible to say whether the transfer contributed to a decrease in the confrontation, but at least they provided a different perspective and motivation of the action of the parties and made it more bigger than the main station – the authors of the «TV radio information and minorities» book write.

*Rules of conduct for journalists.* Summing up the experience of the conflicts and problems of national minorities lighting journalists make up the collections of recommendations that is acceptable and what is unacceptable behavior of the journalist, especially in unpredictable and rapidly developing situations.

Editorial director of the Association of radio news and US television, a professional organization, has developed a set of rules after the riots in major cities in the mid- and late '60s. These recommendations were based on the real experiences of reporters who participated in the coverage of these events, as well as editors, who had to quickly decide on the release or delay of the material, the shape and duration of the show. Reporters, leading a report from the venue of the demonstration, was advised to do this as unobtrusively as possible to provide objective coverage of what is happening, as the front of the camera people cease to behave naturally. This vault also contained recommendations concerning the so-called «false» representatives, namely people who pretend to be, and very convincingly, with the main actors, standing in the midst of events, and which are in fact a minor, if any, have no due to the real leaders.

There is evidence showing that the beating of the driver of white African-Americans on the corner of Florence and Normandy Street in the absence of peace officers caused some desire to follow the example of the attackers. However, after these reports, many African Americans demanded an end to this phenomenon, the researchers note. Reports from the scene have a huge attraction. However, television coverage of conflicts, especially with the participation of national minorities, requires some, albeit minimal, editorial interference. This is necessary to ensure their correctness.

*Place comments.* In continuous stream of scattered reports of any event, broadcast television stations, the audience is difficult to make a complete picture of what happened. A good example may be the explosion lighting of the Municipal Building in Oklahoma City. Reports were an endless stream, but within a certain time to recreate a complete picture of the events was extremely difficult. It was believed that this is the result of inter-ethnic conflict. However, this conclusion was incorrect. The same mistake was the assumption that the supermarket explosion in the New York case of Arab extremists. In either case, the attack could commit citizens.

Scientists have isolated two methods of information transfer, «background» information and commentary.

*Background reports are aimed* to ensure that remind viewers the facts and come to their own conclusions. The viewer is able to imagine a clearer picture of what happened. In these materials, the opinion of the editorial board is absent or expressed by the minimum – this is not an editorial message. Naturally, the background information should be impartial.

*Comments* may also be a review of the events, however, they usually contain the critical evaluation. They presented an interpretation of events of public opinion leaders, government officials, experts and to those whose judgments are listening to the community. Within the comments and opinions expressed edited if its employees have already have significant experience in covering the events involved in the individuals, groups, etc.

The schedule broadcast comments, of course, belongs rightful place. Many commentators skillfully build a logical connection between the seemingly disconnected fragments of events thanks to a highly professional reporter's skills and personal experience of participation in similar events in the past. Conflicts related to national minorities, exacerbating the susceptibility of people and opinions, at times, play the role of a lightning rod. Especially when the conflict transforming into open conflict of the opposing sides. Of course, opinions are important during covering conflicts. However there is always doing the right station, focusing on the different opinions, and especially his own?

There is one real alternative. The BBC (and other companies) for a long time to invite experts from the preparation and submission of comments, the guest does not have to be citizen of the country's broadcasting. Their selection was based on the principle of pluralism, ensuring a diversity of viewpoints on issues of interest. Perhaps the most difficult part of this approach is to have a choice of commentators who can more or less successfully, express their views so as not creating the viewer and listener feeling incompatibility set out opinions. The audience also should not think that one commentator has been put in more favorable conditions.

The selection process is extremely laborious commentators. Clashes between ethnic minorities and law enforcement agencies in Bristol, Brixton, and other cities in the UK commented on the BBC the leading experts on law enforcement matters and national minorities, the official representatives of law enforcement agencies, Religion, and community leaders, government officials and others. Also the BBC was not limited to his own vision of the problem: a conversation held with the representatives of national communities and law enforcement agencies to find out who they trust, to whom they may rely on and contact for advice in similar situations.

Note that the commentators cannot always be ready to perform on radio or television. In the US in 1949, the Federal Communications Commission developed a «doctrine of justice», designed to assist individuals and groups wishing to express their point of view different from the position of radio – and television stations. One item requires stations to provide assistance to those who are going to speak on the air, but does not have the skills. Although the doctrine lasted only until 1987, many broadcasters still continue this practice.

Comments must be clearly separated from other parts of the program. Using audio and visual-graphical tools, it is important to «discourage» comments from the rest of the material, both at the beginning and at the end of the text. For example, it is possible to allocate a comment from the news stream by placing commentators in a studio interior On television.

*Countdown to the conflict.* When considering the strategic approaches to coverage of the conflict, the Commission policy on the radio and television recommended that radio and television stations «detect problems before they escalate into a crisis».

According to US Carter Center Board the Representatives of minorities need to provide direct access to the airwaves, said on television policy . Coverage of the conflict requires the inclusion of information in addition to the reports and documentaries and other programs. Journalists must learn to predict possible conflicts, develop their own strategy in relation to them before the event will become irreversible. It is a daunting task because the groups involved in the conflict, often cannot pinpoint the reasons for their dissatisfaction. Their condition and attitude to what is happening is expressed in the words, «if you cannot understand us, why should we try to explain yourself?» They can try different ways to conceal their purpose: so that, using the element of surprise, to attract more media attention. Of course, the media should strive to identify evidence of potential conflict as soon as possible. If they show a sincere interest in ascertaining the reasons for dissatisfaction with any group, that in it will affect the creation of the necessary climate of trust and help to convince the group to renounce violence. The report calls for stations to develop an early warning system, as described above, and to abandon the highly popular in the media point of view, according to which conflicts are worthy of attention only when they have already burst and steel material sensational stories. In certain types of conflicts moderate public statement point of view, can be paired with the risk to the author, especially if the information given means is identified with the culture of the majority. The risk is especially great on television, speaking easily identified. An even tool such as electronic «mask» and distortion of the voice of the speaker does not guarantee protection. Therefore, employees of mass media should be understood that «experienced speakers» a good idea of ​​the potential danger, but those who rarely gives interviews to the media, may not be aware of the danger. Ensuring the safety of journalists. Journalists must know that interviews with ordinary citizens, televised or radio in situations of armed and ethnic conflicts, are dangerous to the interviewees. The conflict is a threat to life and by journalists. Every year about a hundred journalists are captured, dozens are killed or seriously injured while reporting from conflict zones. Journalists often fall into a situation where they are willing and able to kill, as opposed to the law enforcement officers, journalists are not armed. Moreover, in many countries journalists refuse to seek protection from the police. This is typical of those countries where the government and law enforcement agencies are interested in silence journa­lists.

Journalists have international associations, which sometimes manage to secure the release of their colleagues from prison. A significant role in the liberation of many journalists from prison played a World Press Freedom Committee, various committees for the protection of journalists. International Press Institute, International PEN, the International Committee of the Red Cross, who in 1985 initiated the «hot line» to assist journalists, performing dangerous tasks, and other organizations. However, the activities and efforts of these reputable organizations were successful only partly: with their help, they managed to rescue less than 50 percent of the journalists.

A universal protocol could play a positive role providing measures to protect journalists both at home and abroad. However hopes for it are illusory, because many countries do not have extradition treaties with each other. Also those who signed these contracts, often tighten it. Therefore, it is unlikely for the journalists that the situation will improve. Nevertheless, the conclusion of major powers that such agreements with each other would have a positive impact on the rest of the country.

The UNESCO report «Many Voices and One World» raised the issue of licensing of journalists. According to the report the country should define the criteria that give journalists the right to cover events in these regions. Inter-ethnic conflicts are very painful problem, particularly in the countries where political parties formed along with ethnic lines. Therefore, the party in power cannot but take into account the possible political impact of materials on ethnic conflicts. For example, both domestic and foreign reporters had difficulty in lighting the ethnic conflict in Zimbabwe in the mid-70s, as it was attended by representatives of ethnic Shona. This nation belongs to President Robert Mugabe. The conflict has also participated ndibel nation whose representative is the main opponent of the Mugabe Joe zhua Nkomo.

The means of providing protection to journalists the government could be licensed. However, it is clear that any government can, if desired, to deprive a journalist of such protection without warning only on the basis of the charges sometimes, unfortunately, fair of rigging the material or breaking the law. On the other hand, stimulation of the government can cause and objective reports on the internal conflicts involving national minority. And then the journalist just might be accused of violating the law, which he, of course, did not break. Thus, the license does not guarantee a solution to the problem, the researchers say.

**On the Television Policy, the Commission Carter Center on the Coverage of Ethnic Conflict.**

Studies in various countries have shown that citizens prefer to believe the television version of events, rather than to the report about the same events in other media. Evidence of the high trust of the audience may be the audience assess television coverage in recent years, conflicts involving ethnic minorities in nationally (the civil war in Liberia, the Sudan, Bosnia, clashes between Hindus and Muslims in India), and at the local level (the unrest in Los-Angeles, clashes in the black community in the district of Johannesburg).

Objective coverage also depends on other factors. If the police, military or government officials do not give the right of access to certain areas of conflict, refused to provide the documents or the opportunity to meet with key figures of the conflict, the station employees remains the only state denial of access to information sources.

So it was, when the military restricted freedom of movement and access to information during the Gulf War. At the moment it happens in Bosnia, Liberia, India, Sri Lanka and other parts of the ethnic conflict. Of course, the media should ensure access to information through legal channels.

Extensive discussions on violence against Turks living there, Vietnamese and other immigrant and migrant workers have been shown at two German public channels ARD and ZDF prime time in the early 90-ies in Germany. This practice was picked up by commercial stations, as well as several television stations in Los Angeles during the unrest. This example was followed by Granada Television in the UK in 1988, which showed the «Death on the Rock»documentary about the murder of two «terrorists» suspected by British police of having links with the IRA.

Despite the bright entertainment, all of these programs have been designed correctly, although not in impartial tone, and were devoted to the background and consequences of discussion events and other related, but awkwardly expressed in spectacular against problems.

Modern portable recording and transmission equipment has allowed journalists to create the most incredible stories from the event: but the technique is expensive, therefore there is a tendency to show catchy episodes, rather than reporting, trying to describe what is happening. If reporters and express their views on the show events , they usually do it behind the scenes. The very same visual imagery is so powerful that it completely suppresses a comment. Ability to create reports from the scene is fraught with temptation to make person talk itself displays the event, giving viewers the opportunity to independently assess the situation. Viewers who do not have sufficient experience of interaction with the reportage of such material cannot draw the necessary conclusions. Therefore, coverage of conflicts requires special responsibility of reporters and editors. No matter how convincing and impressive events was ,not painting itself, a «live» material must be accompanied by comments just because a report captures its audience entertainment. If the fore in the report pops Entertainment, part of the audience does not see in this booming action inner significance, simply do not accept the transfer. Others perceive seen as a global picture, rather than as something specific happening at a particular moment and in a particular place. Given that the reports on the analysis of complex ethnic issues are not always easy to fit in a standard format, on radio and television policy, the Commission recommends that the stations «give preference to informative content, but not sensational visuals. In case, if the station wants to transmit any frames dramatic or sensational, you must be accompanied by their respective comments and explanations. In real-life situations it is not always easy to apply the above mentioned proposal, for example, when the two sides declared open war. Typically, the media take the side of their own governments, although they may not agree with their specific solutions. As a rule, in this case, they reject any kind as a critical eye, and sometimes participate in the fabrication of evidence to support the position of his government. During the long civil war in Burma, western reporters have noted the repeated display on Burmese television fabricated materials on violence and atrocities allegedly committed by the opposition to the Government of the ethnic minorities.

Respecting their independence reporters, editors and management stations should make every effort to ensure that through their reports it is possible to suspend the conflict, or «grab» it at the earliest stages. Going to the conflict in an open war automatically destroy their independence, understood as the ability to make unbiased and objective reporting. Even the BBC known for its unbiased news reports, was forced to admit that such a reputation is not easy to maintain during the 1982 Falklands War. Some reporters in the materials indicated that not only the British tend to mourn the loss of loved ones in battle. One of the reporters even managed to interview the Argentine mothers whose sons were killed in the fighting. These materials were subjected to severe criticism by Margaret Thatcher and other members of the Conservative Party and the Labor Party on the part of some local and UK newspapers writes Ellen Mickiewicz and others. The station was accused of violating the rules of team play, of disloyalty and even treason interests of the country.

**Sources of Information about Ethnic Conflicts**

In most countries, the main sources of information about conflicts and ethnic minorities are the government (local, regional or national). An important source of information about the conflict are also military and law enforcement agencies, the latter have information and on minorities.

However, since they are appointed, not elected and are not accountable to the voters, it may refuse to provide information more often than elected officials. Sometimes this information is not systematized.

Sometimes, on the contrary, the information is so «neatly packaged», that it can be put in the finished form in a news program or newspaper material. If the information is expertly prepared (governments often use the services of experienced journalists), reporters and editors can use it without changes. This is convenient for the media, and for the governments, which are thus able to avoid unpleasant questions.

As a rule, government officials do not share all information available to them on issues of ethnic conflict and ethnic minorities, citing various noble causes: security interests, the preservation of order, etc. They may also be interested in a dependent situation of the media, have received strict dosage information. Selection may be directed at pushing stations with each other. In an attempt to protect its senior management, government officials often use the phrase, «for today, and no questions asked».

There are many ways to get around the barriers. For example, by establishing personal contacts with certain government circles or using freedom of information laws to gain access to sensitive information.

Such laws have only a few countries, and information from the government protection – a common phenomenon. Moreover, the use of the Freedom of Information Act requires time and money, since even getting access to materials.

The interaction with the government is required to be on the problems of ethnic minorities in mind that the information provided by them would still be insufficient for the preparation of a balanced, detailed and accurate reporting. When information is received, the reporter should be made to former government officials (military or law enforcement officials), who were involved in this event in the past. Many of them, making the reporter awareness about the subject, with a willingness to share their own «internal» information.

The official representatives of the groups are an important source are . Such representatives are usually a few ethnic groups. Sometimes they are the only channel of communication group with the media, because the other members of the group are strictly forbidden to communicate with the outside world. The media is more convenient to work with those representatives who do go to the contact, able to prepare the information in the right form and sound authoritative. The contact with the leaders of the groups is especially valuable, according to members of the Television Policy Commission.

For example, a number of criminal incidents involving Uighur diaspora have been in Almaty in the last few years. Frequent references to the representatives of Uighurs as a criminal element, caused a negative reaction from the public, representing the nationality of the republic. In this regard, the leaders of the Uyghur community held a press conference with reporters, politely asking them not to focus on nationality, so as not to cause a wave of inter-ethnic hostility and conflicts. It is necessary to develop other sources of information within the group, although it is also difficult and even dangerous.

The contacts with former members of the group may be useful. However, during such contacts the reporter should be able to distinguish between objective information from personal grievances against other members of this group. The reporter has the right to become a pawn in the internal struggle for power. Although the information obtained about the conflict within the group, and useful, it will not always reflect the real state of affairs in the group. The protects with researchers may be useful from the universities of research centers involved in ethnic conflicts and groups. It is important to know what sources they are most often used in the work. If the material is a bit old, and the study is based on a limited number of sources, or, if a scientist feels any personal feelings about the issue being studied, to the information received by him should be treated with caution. Materials research for all their physical accessibility is often difficult for the masses.

Undoubtedly useful information owned by religious leaders – rabbis, priests, imams, monks, and when religious reasons lie in the heart of the conflict, such as in Lebanon, Bosnia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, etc., point of view is extremely clerics. Unlike other sources of religious leaders have a real sense of history. However, careful selection is needed.

*Representatives of business circles* are a good source of information on the economic aspects of conflict and ethnic minorities. They can better explain the difficulties and problems faced by ethnic minorities. They are competent in matters relating to the decrees on hiring, sub contracts, etc., affecting ethnic minorities. From doctors and health care workers can also provide valuable information on the human aspects of the conflict, which involves the national minorities. Their descriptions are overly emotional and dramatic, but at least they do not «adhere to» information. It is worth thinking about some other, sometimes very unusual sources. For example, artists. They can bring a very interesting look into the coverage of the conflict and the lives of the ethnic minorities. All of these sources, as well as many others have potential value, but electronic media refer to them at the time when the situation has reached a crisis point and the conflict erupted. Noting the importance of the autonomy and independence of journalism, the Commission stressed that the main television stations are in the audience. The Commission has recommended «creating advisory councils of ethnic and community leaders, non-government representatives. These groups should meet with the management of the TV station, at least once a quarter to review and assess issues related to the coverage of events».

Such councils operate in the UK, India, and other countries. The council consists of 15-50 members chosen from representatives of TV and radio stations. In Germany, members of the board are taken by different social groups (trade unions, religious leaders, etc.). The Council is meeting three or four times a year. Councils do not have the right of veto, but they can communicate their conclusions to the public through the media. Really do not represent the public councils, although their members may be well enough to know the mood and tastes of society.

Value tips for stations and society lies in the extent of their independence, they have no legal framework, however, the laws on broadcasting in some German states confer powers tips on hiring and firing the station manager, the adoption or rejection of parts of the station's budget. The current practice in Germany, the participation of different groups in society in the appointment of board members and provides them with more independence.

Often, the board consists of prominent public figures (union leaders, well-known religious figures). They may themselves be a source of information as a purely professional.

In some countries there is a general advisory board and several specialized, such as advice on children's and religious programs. Tips for ethnic minorities are extremely rare. The BBC has one piece of advice program, going to the Asian region. The importance of this kind of advice cannot be overestimated. However, it must be ensured that for ethnic minority councils concentrating only on the subject and involved in the broader context of the problems.

Involvement of independent researchers beneficial effect on public opinion and deprive critics grounds to reproach station employees that they conduct research and interpret in their favor. Thoroughness in organizing and conducting research is the best guarantee of objectivity and reliability of the results. And finally, the key to the importance of these studies is that the results will be made by public.

**The Collapse of the Former Soviet Union**

**(conflicts and internal disturbances)**

The collapse of the Soviet Union also entailed ethnic conflicts and problems. One of the most urgent – is the Karabakh conflict. Events in Alma-Ata, Tbilisi, in the Baltic States, Moldova, and later in Russia, Chechnya was a surprise to the public.

We will take a closer look on some of these conflict lectures. Referring to the question of how the media reflected the events of December1986 in Alma-Ata.

December, 1986 events, in Alma-Ata, and the media. There is no doubt that the press of a totalitarian society could not give an objective picture of what happened in Almaty in December, 1986. This was due both to the strict censorship and ideological pressing, under which the whole of society existed. Nevertheless, the experience of that period clearly shows how to use the media to ideological pressure and intentional misrepresentation.

In fact, the media in Moscow, namely the media were given an advantage in the political assessment of the incident, denounced the event as a nationalist, but the label «nationalist»was attached to the whole Kazakh people to in accordance with the decision of the Central Committee of the CPSU «On the work of the Kazakh republican party organization for international and patriotic education of workers»[[92]](#footnote-92), which, incidentally, it was canceled as not corresponding to reality in a few years. I must say that this is the first case of cancellation of the decision of the Politburo of the CPSU in the history of its existence[[93]](#footnote-93).

The Kazakh youth, published on behalf of Brezhnev area, was called the «criminal element», «drunks» and «drug addicts». Feelings true patriots were insulted and humiliated by the appearance of articles in such leading to a communist society of newspaper publications as «The Truth», «News» under titles such as the «Web», which exposed the insidious nature of the Kazakh youth, so long to mask his true nationalist face of certain political figures of Kazakhstan, allegedly committed the offense. The article cited the establishment of the Kazakh kindergarten under the Kazakh name «Er-Tostik» what really was new for the Kazakhs. Exposes the actions of Rectors of «dials» to receive only the Kazakhs. This stigma labels like «nationalism», «protectionism».

Only one issue the «Literaturnaya Gazeta», is one of the brightest democratically minded central print media made a serious and objective analysis of events in the article by the Kazakh writer Anuar Alimzhanov «What happened in Alma-Ata?», In which, he calmly and carefully gave an assess and described the events without hysteria and stereotypes.

Local publishers were suppressed mentally, and psychologically, also were influenced by the central media, for their attempts to organize a presentation with authoritative public figures who have denounced Kazakh youth as the nationalists in the press and radio. At the period of the December events TV programs come out in the form of events diary, the same type of information was conducted relied more on rumors and gave rise to many other rumors on atrocities and excesses of the nationalist youth. The iron rods and sticks were demonstrated in the picture, which allegedly rebels were armed. The building of stone cladding was demonstrated, which also was frustrated demonstrators to attack the army forces. The performances was organized on the TV program by some media managers who talked about the police punishment of the inhabitants of the houses that were in the square, eviction from apartments for trying to help young people to seek asylum from the soldiers, armed with sapper shovels.

At the same time there are people who managed to remove on video and save many of them , which among Kazakhstani TV crews, especially the head of the Republican television writer and journalist Sagatbek Ashimbayev, filmaker Rubikzhan Yachin and other patriots, who managed, now have become historical a video of the event, since even a hint of the existence of these frames could cause imprisonment at that period.

It is a little known fact that many national newspapers editors have put a picture of five convicted of the December-86 events prepared by part of the TASS information agency - KazTAG. The picture was taken under a foreshortening from the bottom up, that is not subjected to flogging looked depressed and guilty, as it were sublime, but they looked proud and independent. How could they put this picture in the paper? No one knew, but as a picture was offered by KazTAG, which was the standard ideological source, so the political reliability of its publications, and pictures were not doubted. Thunder broke out the next day. Almost all the staff of more than a dozen newspapers had related to the number of output connected with the «Dekabrists» image have been dismissed without the right to engage in professional activities regardless of their nationality. In fact, this led newsmen sensationalism rather than ideological conviction. In general, the mass media of Kazakhstan showed their direct dependence on the Centre (Moscow), because they were under it’s influence as the economic, political, ideological center, etc. This led to the concealment of the truth, the interpretation of the facts of pressure on journalists, seeking the opportunities for objective coverage of the events, even the repression against them. Nevertheless, these events actually had a positive impact on the development of journalism in Kazakhstan, which began to actively look for it’s own development path, and to the Kazakhstan the opportunity to do it in coming a few years after the proclamation of the independence state .

**Control questions and tasks:**

Prepare an original «Ethnic conflict» role-playing game , simulating a variety of media reaction to conflict situations and real life behavior in such situations.

«Imagine, for example, that you have received an unconfirmed report that the street gangs in the city of X plan to hold a meeting for the development of its policies and decide on the action against the police. How can I check this post? If the report is true, then how can you figure out the motivation of the group and the reasons behind their decision? Whether the media can help reduce stress or alleviate the contradiction? «This job is a sort of» drill».

The assignment plan:

1. To develop a contingency plan for coverage of ethnic conflict;

2. To prepare the expert performance

3. To prepare an interview with a scientist/scholar

4. Conduct a series of interviews with passers-by on the street

5. Calling on members of ethnic minorities.

6. Explore the archive data

7. Think through the video.

– What are the three important conditions that make war more or less acceptable to the public?

– Discover the evolution of Castells military conflicts ? What is the «instant war»? «What is terrorism?

– When the print media were first used to affect the enemy? Why during the Second World War a means of propaganda radio was used?

– What is the regional conflict? In this connection, were there regional conflicts in the former Soviet Union? How do you assess the role of the media in the December 1986 events in Alma-Ata ?

– Read the article by F. E Khamraeva. Once again the events in Surkhandarya .// g. Continent, №11, 6-19 June 2001, answer the questions.

**Once again the events in Surkhandarya**

In the south of Uzbekistan, Surkhan-Sherabskoya valley located in Surkhandarya region, which in the south bordered in Afghanistan on the Amu Darya River in the North and East – the Republic of Tajikistan, in the south-west – with Turkmenistan and in the northwest of the Kashkadarya region of the country. The territory covers20.1 thousand sq. km, a population of about two million people. Surkhandarya – surprisingly interesting area in all respects. In the past, its territory was part of the vast region Bansgrii.

There are unique archaeological monuments of antiquity; discoveries of silver and copper coins of Greco-Bactrian kings testify to the intensive development of commodity-money relations. In its own unique nature area. Also its inhabitants are different from other citizens of the Republic the wayward and some closed. However this was not the reason that over the last time it was in the area of ​​Uzbekistan attracted the attention of the world community. In early August 2000, several groups of militants, whose number, according to various sources, ranged from a few dozen to a few hundred, passed by the Republic of Tajikistan state border and invaded Saryasiyskiy and Uzun districts of Surkhandarya region. This fact «provoked» virtually all the world's publications to actively write about the threat of Islamic extremism in Central Asia, and drew particular attention to the south of Uzbekistan. It is already written on the subject during this time a lot. Theses writings are very different from each other.

In most cases the information was false, or rather strongly exaggerated. Indicative in this respect was the statement by the representative of the Russian Federation Ministry of Foreign Affairs Alexander Yakovenko, in which he announced the official position of the calling «to be cautious in the approach to information from such sources, « two army divisions «Taliban» of 700 people invaded the 3-5 kilometers into the territory of Uzbekistan and fought with Uzbek border guards. «If the foregoing were true, then today we would have a somewhat different situation in the whole of Central Asia. To help the Uzbek border guards to repel the attacks of militants Uzbek special units of the armed forces were thrown, as well as some units of the Interior Ministry and the Emergencies Ministry. The first few days brought quite large losses (a few dozen) by government forces, which clearly underestimated the firepower and proficiency militants.

Although past suffered losses, were not so significant: on their side was the element of surprise and convenient location of the dislocation. Besides mostly inexperienced soldiers and officers of government troops resisted well equipped and equipped mercenaries who had experience of warfare. Government troops were not sufficiently well armed and equipped. There were no virtually night vision devices, which greatly hampered the fight against militants in the dark. The government forces suffered losses, including from snipers mostly at night. Among them, by the way, they were seen and the fairer sex. On their account, especially in the early days, there were many killed by Uzbek soldiers and officers. Today, over time, you can safely and soberly assess the actions of warring parties, to identify some of the characteristics and laws of armed conflict. If you continue to compare supporters of the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU) with the Chechen rebels, it can be seen a lot in common.

Firstly, both are well armed. Their technical equipment are the envy of any army in the world, not to mention the armies of the Central Asian states. The latest Western and Russian automatic weapons, rifles with telescopic sights, night vision devices – this is only a small part of the arsenal, which they own.

Secondly, the militants beautiful harness. According to the participants of the conflict, the rebels are in the form of Russian-made shoes of the largest Western companies, such as «Adidas». Third, the wars they fight are mostly not for the idea, but for money. Found murdered in a decent dollar amounts indicate that, under the cover of the banner of Islam, the militants earn money elementary . There are, of course, and young people who believe that the fight for justice and faith, but they are a minority, and they are, by and large, – cannon fodder.

Who opposed it? Young and untrained soldiers, as well as urgently mobilized officers who not only had no combat experience, but, although ones who had chosen profession service in the armed forces, did not want to participate in the conflict. The explanation for this is primarily unreasonably large losses on the part of the government forces in the first days of the conflict. In addition, as already noted, the government forces initially did not have enough weapons and supplies. Only when the armed conflict began threatening and can develop into large-scale fighting, the government dramatically improved the logistics of soldiers and officers. All information available to the army of the necessary equipment was transferred to the area of ​​the fighting. However, events in Surkhandarya showed that if the conflict lasts, or a similar situation be repeated in future military equipment from the government will not be enough. Therefore, Tashkent, in accordance with a bilateral agreement on military and military-technical cooperation with the Russian Federation urgently bought equipment worth $ 30 million from Moscow military mainly armored personnel carriers and small arms, night vision devices and ammunition.

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«Stay away from the idea of language,

and reckless idea – from the action».

***Shakespeare's «Hamlet»***

***Lecture 10***

**THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA, NEW ONLINE MEDIA AND ARMED CONFLICT**

**Television in Covering armed conflicts and Humanitarian problems. Karabakh conflict. Analysis of the language and style of English Television Programs on the example of the armed conflict, the United Kingdom and Argentina. Information warfare International Media during the Armed Conflict in the Persian Gulf area. Sirya conflict and new online Media.**

The most effective and influential media during any military incidents always become the electronic media. This is due to the fact that the TV thanks to its entertainment becomes clear and reliable source of information that is trusted. And not only because it is present on-scene reporter, and as people used to believe your own eyes, but the «picture» in his television certifies the authenticity of what is happening. In this case the viewer does not adequately perceive the military's actions as relying on the information given by the commentator. The experience of «Cold War» gives us examples of how propaganda influenced both civilians and military forces.

The experience of countries that participated in the recent armed conflict shows that the military is in need of continued support from the population, the approval of their actions, because they are maintained at the expense of taxpayers. Such support cannot be achieved without mass media. Journalism and war. M., 1996, p. 9. .For example, in the period 1994-1996, the war in Chechnya has not received the support of the Russian population, while the massive psychological treatment of the audience during the election campaign, Vladimir Putin, on the other hand, the people against the Chechen population and practically supported the Russian government in an effort to «kill, the enemy where he was found «These verbal techniques, the use of hard national phraseologies to a certain extent contributed to the fact that the image of the future president was associated with a «boyfriend», who will be able to protect. A series of explosions in a number of Russian cities, including Moscow, contributed to inflame ethnic hysteria, which was actively supported by the media, and especially television. Emotional footage of blown up the house, weeping women, wounded residents – made a strong impression on the unsophisticated audience, especially young people, not having a solid mental attitudes and beliefs.

Information warfare can be aimed at both the civilian population and to the troops. There are several opinions about the information war that the necessary measures to resist the massive information and psychological impacts. The experience of war shows that advocacy orientation on the status and nature of operations and combat operations affect the degree of understanding of the challenges they face. For the composition of the military complex is the organization of the work of war correspondents in covering the military actions in the media. Usually guide military departments’ sets the task to give such information to both the government and ordinary viewers imbued with the importance and necessity of those or other hostilities. At the same time the task to prevent the secret private information that may lead to losses. These forms and methods of work have been adopted by the Russian military during the conduct of hostilities in Chechnya in 1995. It was the first open military conflict in the CIS between the center and subject of the federation. Since the beginning of the military conflict in Dagestan in 1999, given the Chechen experience in newspapers abandoned the practice of calling on the titles and surnames of soldiers and officers, because after the war in Chechnya have been cases where the heroes and the most distinguished killed after the war, finding them by name, are deducted in the newspapers. For the same reason numbers of military equipment was retouched[[94]](#footnote-94).

**Karabakh conflict.**

One of the long – Karabakh conflict continued for more than ten years. Conflicting parties instead of finding a common language, tried to find differences would justify «its civilization» and «savagery» of another nation. On the verbal fight were thrown considerable intellectual force and creating specific media language. Such concepts played a key role in the work of the media as «genocide», «suffering people», «fascism», «barbarian» .etc. Explicitly and implicitly of the media contributed to the formation of images «bloodthirsty enemy», this created real preconditions for decisive actions. «The image of the enemy» was created specifically for «rallying the crowd» in aggressive mode. Soon «rallies War» became the epitome of the particular conflict. Media Moscow, romantic lighting in terms of the behavior of «meetings» provoked their aggression. It got to the ridiculous: special observers of the Central Television program checks how many seconds it lasted for information about Armenia, but about Azerbaijan. Rallies gradually grew into force excesses (riots, sabotage, focal clashes, etc.). Aggressiveness «rallies the crowd to» sign «an animal vocabulary» media. It was in 1988-90. Every excess in the development of the mass media portrayed the conflict in an enlarged scale, deformed, as a confirmation of an animal essence «of the enemy». Media conflicting parties competed demonstration pathology – blood, corpses, etc. All this provoked aggressiveness and brutality to the «enemy». Partially driven by political forces «rallies the crowd» was ready for war. War hysteria and anarchy swept waves and the media. Formed Popular Front Party and the alternative media, policy directives ambitious politicians. Significant changes occurred with the «enemy image». The traditional enemy adds new «internal» and after January 1990, and «external» in the face of Moscow[[95]](#footnote-95).

The situation began to slow down only in the new millennium. In 2001 in the US city of Key West talks between the President of Azerbaijan Heydar Aliyev and Armenian President Robert Kocharian were held. The mediator was gaven to US Secretary of State Colin Powell. The difficult situation prevailing in the economy of both countries forced to negotiate and compromise, said the survey «Continent», Zurab Todua.

*The history of the conflict.* Armenian-Azerbaijani war often referred to as «the Karabakh conflict», and it stretches from 1988. Ethnic conflict was one in a series of ethnic conflicts in the former USSR. Like the events of 1986 in Alma-Ata, and Karabakh armed conflict contributed to the disintegration of the Union. Start of large-scale fighting has coincided with the development of the Union and gaining independence of Azerbaijan (autumn 1991) and continued until May 1994. Conflict with each other and with the power of many parties and the media continued each in its own «style» to fight against the «common» enemy, as against the «internal» and «external». As a result, Azerbaijan, losing war, losing territory and took on refugees in political instability, threat of coups and civil war. This is one of long-standing conflicts, which belongs to the complex and intractable. In practice, negotiations are underway for ten years, but has not yet seen results. The resolution of this conflict, including international organizations like the OSCE and others, including who took part in the settlement of the conflict the president of Kazakhstan Nursultan Nazarbayev. Various solutions of the problem, and, nevertheless, the parties cannot come to any agreement. Russian media contributing to the creation of a positive image of the other side and showing how they aim to resolve the conflict. However while neither side was certain concessions, which complicates the situation. Finally, for the solution of the problem came from the Americans.

*What are the objectives of Armenia, Nagorno Karabakh and Azerbaijan?* Ideally, they want to achieve independence so-called Nagorno-Karabakh Republic through the exchange of occupied land outside the territory of Nagorno-Karabakh. At the same time, controlling the Lachin corridor, to preserve the territorial link Karabakh with Armenia. Thus, the goal is to get the Azerbaijani non-interference in the internal affairs of Nagorno-Karabakh. But to insist on Armenia for a long time cannot be such an embodiment, since the economic situation has become so severe that leads to a backlog from Azerbaijan. In turn, Azerbaijan seek to recover its territory, return of the refugees. The situation has changed in favor of Azerbaijan. There is now political. Stability, signed the «contract of the century» in 1994, positive changes occurred in the economy. Although the country and a loser, she feels like a winner. At the same time, Azerbaijan cannot afford to endlessly delay the negotiations for a long time. Refugees and opposition through the media constantly remind the authorities of the need to address the problem.

One of the main problems, according to the browser, Todua, – preventing the settlement of the conflict is the contradiction between the principles enshrined in the UN and OSCE documents. The Armenian side is based on the right of nations to self-determination. Azerbaijan's actions, it qualifies as an attempt to suppress the national liberation struggle of the Armenians of Nagorno Karabakh. Azerbaijan is based on the principle of territorial integrity. Baku said that Armenian people have long since gained independence and realize their independent state – the Republic of Armenia. And the ethnic Armenians of Nagorno Karabakh are a minority living within Azerbaijan. In addition, in Baku believe that THEIR country became a victim of aggression by Armenia, which gradually promoted irredentist policy towards neighboring countries (Georgia, Turkey, the Armenians live). Therefore, the actions of the Armenians of Nagorno-Karabakh, Baku qualifies as an ethnic separatism.

Background of the negotiation process marred by the fact that the fact that the parties do not trust each other and totally incapable of listening to the arguments the other side. Negotiators persist in wanting to get «all or nothing», constantly afraid of: the first concessions, believing that it will be interpreted as weakness and immediately used a rival for their own benefit. And the US is clearly in a hurry.

*Solution.* Probably, it will be a gradual settlement of the plan. If successful, the talks Armenia will retain control over Nagorno-Karabakh and the Lachin corridor connecting Karabakh with Armenia. Besides. Armenia and NKR will be able to conduct lengthy negotiations on the status of Nagorno-Karabakh, while maintaining its de facto independence and claiming the interpretation of agreements signed as an indirect recognition of the republic de jure. Azerbaijan gets 6 districts, returns of refugees to the liberated territory and will have long-term perspective of Nagorno Karabakh status talks. In addition, Heydar Aliyev enlist finally agreed to the West to the transfer of power to his son in Azerbaijan.

US promise to Yerevan and Baku large investments – at $ 1 billion each state. But Kocharian and Aliyev promised to award the Nobel Peace Prize. Thus, a complex process of negotiation can finally be completed. And peacekeepers laurels will go to the United States. Impact of the Americans in the region will increase even more. At the same time, Russia's position is significantly weakened. And the introduction of international peacekeeping forces in the conflict zone will further displace it from the Caucasus. So it was in the Middle East, where for many years faced the interests of the USSR and the USA.

**Analysis of the language and style of English television programs on the example of the armed conflict,**

**the United Kingdom and Argentina.**

To carry out the necessary government propaganda campaign propaganda support of foreign shares is very important. When affected the interests of financial-industrial group, it unites and acts as a united front, creating a powerful political and psychological support ongoing course. So it was in the British administration, when Falkland armed conflict matured .

What position the country's media take? All the bourgeois newspapers in the days of the Anglo-Argentine conflict conducted a massive ideological-propaganda campaign to shape public opinion in the interests of the ruling class, and control the behavior of people. The most militant position was taken «Times» and «San», which have now become the property of the newspaper magnate Robert Murdoch. Using the method of analysis of materials sociolinguistic awareness campaign, highlighting the ideological aspect as the most important propaganda function – the spread of the ideology. The ruling circles of Great Britain during the Falklands crisis resorted to active ideological pressure for the moral justification of his foreign policy actions. Because of the desire to maximize favorable representation of propaganda material of the actual content was supplied in a veiled form, implicitly. Therefore, in the analyzed materials awareness campaign is necessary to distinguish the ideological content and its propaganda clearance.

Establishing the relationship between the ideological concepts and their linguistic incarnation of propaganda texts can explain the data language forms from the standpoint of the ideology. At the same time the consideration of relations ideology – propaganda – language makes it possible to study the use of language units. The interaction of language and ideology is a dialectical process in which under the influence of ideology in language there are certain ideologically conditioned phenomena, which in turn may have a significant impact on the formation of the ideological representations from native speakers.

This explains the attention of bourgeois ideologists to use the pragmatic aspects of language, careful selection of linguistic means «for the purposes of propaganda influence on the masses in the right direction.

«High-quality» British press carried a veiled militaristic propaganda through the whole system of ideological myths that hide the true meaning of the intentions of the ruling circles, trying to create an image of the UK – a great naval power, a guardian of the struggle for freedom and democracy. A special role in the creation of these myths was assigned to the language that was used as a tool of persuasion and suggestion misconceptions about real events and processes, as the Falklands War was a flagrant of violation of generally accepted norms of international humanitarian law and all propaganda efforts have been made to conceal the true nature of the conflict and legalize the militarist course, which is headed by Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher in the fight for the British colony.

It is known that the perception and understanding of information, expression of feelings as to its content, the formation of opinions, activity and behavior occur according to the consciousness of people available settings. In the course of ideological and propaganda campaign Falkland period to develop and implement people's consciousness social setting, which asserts that the Anglo-Argentine conflict has just war the entire British nation.

A political nomination played an extremely important role in the propaganda campaign, so the choice of words describes an event. An essential element of all the rhetoric associated with the unleashing of the Anglo-Argentine war, was to determine the causes and aims of the United Kingdom's participation in armed conflict. The main component of the construction of the «big lie» resorted to by the ruling circles of Great Britain and propagandists of the ideas were «keywords». They were used by British politicians and «quality» press for the creation of a whole system of arguments aimed at, to hide the real causes of the UK's participation in the Battle of the Falklands, located far from the national borders of the country, analysis showed that the «quality» press relied on condensed, weighed down semantic, emotional, historical and political annotations symbol word aggression, invasion, sovereignty, self-determination, freedom liberty, democracy.

From the very beginning of the conflict served as a justification for aggression word response from the UK, made it possible bourgeois propagandists to make public opinion regarded the British participation in the conflict as a political necessity. Selection of the concept of «aggression» as the core justificatory argument is explained by the very dynamics of propaganda suggestion. Describing the actions of Argentina as «an act of brutal aggression», the bourgeois press advances the slogan of «the need to protect British sovereignty», «protect the Islanders, who are part of the British nation», «protect the British way of life», «save national pride» and forces the reader to perceive selected Tory cabinet policy of the use of armed forces as inevitable.

Out by specially targeted selection means of linguistic expression on emotions for promotional texts during the awareness were campaign carried «quality» press reports observed the abundant use of stylistically colored vocabulary containing connotations and appealing to the highest social values ​​- a sense of patriotism, national pride, honor (such as democracy, freedom, duty, honor and rights of the people responsible), which gave the opportunity to psychologically influence the readers and eventually forced to take the Falklands adventure of his government as «just struggle for freedom and democratic rights of the people» justified from the «higher» morality point of view.

«Quality» seal to use the word-symbol of freedom and democracy as a «key» creating the image of Britain – a fighter for freedom and democracy, declared as a peacemaker in the face of the UK; while the idea of ​​protection of the freedom and security of the British islanders expanded to «the protection of all mankind». I am referring not to mind the audience but to her emotions and feelings.

That is why the psychological impact by creating false stereotypes – the main method of propaganda of «mass» media. The introduction of stereotypes in the minds of the readers 'massive' newspapers based on the opposition of the realities of social reality characterized by bourgeois propaganda as «positive» or «negative». During the promotional campaign period Falkland basic, or «basic», performed two stereotypes: negative (Argentina – «enemy encroached on British territory) and positive (Britain – defender of his country).

In contrast to the «quality» of the press, which began a propaganda campaign to publicize ideological installation Parliament on the use of military force to resolve the conflict, «mass» print made with unique categorical call to «go into battle» to crack down on «Argentine invasion». Using this speculative appeal, the newspaper, at first, did not seek to give readers the opportunity to objectively deal with the situation; secondly, to make them perceive the conflict as just a war, meeting the interests of the whole nation; Third, to maintain its competitiveness.

Propaganda was based on the impact of the existing stereotypes in the minds of masses of aggression, war, and under that were announced Falkland events. Launched there was even a myth of the «Soviet threat», one of the most popular in the propaganda arsenal.

Using the prevailing stereotypes in the minds of the mass made it possible to quickly create the desired setting in relation to the Falkland conflict, which has been summed artificially under the concept of «war». Calculation of promoters was aimed at the use of emotional reaction audience, understanding the true nature of the Anglo-Argentine conflict.

«Mass» media, in contrast to the «quality» of the press in which propaganda was carried out by the impact of beliefs and specific reasoning system led process of social consciousness by means of suggestion as the main socio-psychological method of influence on mass consciousness. The use of this method based on the orientation of the «mass» media audience ready slogans and stereotypes that have a psychological impact on the mind.

The newspaper made great efforts to create the image of «newspaper – the defender of the national interest», because of the degree of credibility of the communicator depends on the efficiency of sales. From the standpoint of «defender of national interests», the newspaper sought to manipulate the consciousness of the masses, creating a false stereotype «one of the British nations». Implementation of this stereotype promoted metaphorical transfer the atmosphere of the Second World War I in the Falkland events. Constant analogy with this war, references to Hitler's Germany, a comparison of the president of Argentina with Hitler caused the nation a sense of false patriotism and inspire the need for unity in the fight against «the enemy aggressor». «Mass» Print openly to escalate war hysteria, created the myth of the invincibility of the British, the revival of the former might of the British Empire. For this purpose, «mass» media constantly published reports of fighting British ships sent to the South Atlantic; while the newspaper is constantly emphasized that «the Navy has never let Britain».

Discharge of war psychosis in the country was accompanied by an unprecedented chauvinistic fervor. With the promotion of chauvinism, bourgeois ideologists, hiding behind phrases about «national» aims and interests, hide the colonial aspirations of the ruling Cabinet. Messages «mass» Print abound stylistically painted vocabulary, which has contributed to the emotional impact on readers and instilling the idea that there was a «the great tragedy, such as was not since the time of the Suez crisis», the British are experiencing «the greatest, the most terrible national humiliation that «Britain was the victim of unprovoked aggression». Such emotional presentation material stoked jingoism from the British and caused hatred of the aggressors. The newspaper urged the British «to deal with the Argentine junta», opposed «the dictator's policy of appeasement» and demanded «decisive action» to «restore British sovereignty», «justice», «protection of the rights of the people». «Mass» media-manipulating words, slogans, appealing to the highest human and social values, sought to convince the public opinion that the expression of «true patriotism» is necessary for the sake of higher ideals of freedom and democracy.

All this testifies to the fact that journalists are actively using the language features of the impact of resources on human consciousness with the aim of ideological pressure on the minds of the processing of the mass consciousness. For the British Tories, their ideologists and propagandists Falklands War was an attempt to return to Britain «grandeur» to fix its tattered reputation in the country. After the victory in the Falklands British Prime Minister delivered a keynote speech, which contained the political program of the ruling cabinet after Falkland period. The study of this question makes it possible to identify the ideological tenets of the British government in after Falkland period reveal processes going on in the lexical-semantic system of language under the influence of a particular political ideology. Public performances of influential political leaders set the tone for the direction in the supply of newspaper reports on various important issues.

Public performances of the leading political figures in the society is one of the most effective forms of propaganda influence. The main purpose of such actions is – the spread and introduction into the mass consciousness of certain plants, ideas and notions about the nature of the processes taking place in domestic and foreign policy. So, in the days of the Falkland crisis installing accept the Anglo-Argentine war as a just war the entire British nation, proclaimed by the Prime Minister and other political leaders of the country, was the signal for the beginning of the massive processing of public opinion in order to implement this facility in the mass consciousness. The need to study the political systems in the text by the fact that «in accordance with the lessons settings people react positively or negatively to anything that somehow touches them or somehow affects their interests, their conscious or unconscious desire value. In accordance with the existing installation in the minds of people put their attention, perceive and understand the information, show their feelings about its content, form and change opinions, base their activities and behavior « To study the role of language as a means of ideological influence in the most effective public speech It seems pragma linguistically approach to linguistic phenomena, which gives an opportunity to reveal a deliberate choice of language means to the speaker side. The most difficult to uncover the implicit assumption speaker, as there is of great importance not only to what is clearly expressed in the language, but also what remains unexpressed in the act of communication. A striking example of how public speaking public and state figures are used to manipulate the public consciousness by means of various linguistic means – speech of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, delivered in Cheltenham 3 July 1982 on the occasion of the end of the Falklands War. This speech is disclosed, allegedly British propaganda, «the spirit of the nation», was the keynote speech, proclaiming a hard political course of the government compared to the «after Falkland period».

In general, it is dedicated to the Prime Minister of Great Britain winning the Falklands, which, according to the speaker, gave «a lesson the entire British nation», «revived the true spirit of the great British Empire». Calling on the nation to learn «a lesson Falklands», save the determination and courage, acquired in time of war, Thatcher was gradually transferred to the description of the internal problems faced by the country in peacetime.

Between performances Thatcher with her keynote address the situation in the country was extremely tense: finished universal rejoicing over the victory in the Falklands and started a regular-sobering; increasingly began to be heard the voices of those who soberly assessed the political situation in the UK and condemned its participation in international armed conflict, which cost a large loss of life and enormous material resources. The country held a strike of railway workers and health care workers, put forward certain economic requirements and above all improve working conditions and higher wages. In an effort to conceal the true purpose of the ruling cabinet committed to strengthening the fight against the trade unions and the working masses, the prime minister building a propaganda impact on the mass consciousness metaphorical air transport, established after World War II, to developments in the UK after winning the Falklands. The metaphorical representation of reality, like other propaganda techniques, makes it possible to simplify, or to disguise the real problems.

She argues on behalf of the whole nation, or society in defense of the nation or the public: «The whole of our country won a great victory, which we can be proud of». Referring to the help of other countries, primarily the United States, France, she makes the point that «the brunt of the» fall of the UK, as she fought for «their own people» (our own people) and for «their sovereign territory» (our sovereign territory), «We needed a lesson, which gave the nation an opportunity to learn a lot about ourselves».

Emotional perception of information contributed to the purposeful use of language means. Constantly repeated emotive adjectives great, right righteous, just fair, Resolute determined, to which the bourgeois press reported during the propaganda campaign Falkland period, playing on the feelings of the false patriotism of his countrymen; deliberately use certain communicative scheme statements, certain stylistic and linguistic tools for creating closer contact with the audience the speaker.

Phrases with our pronoun we contributed to the creation of such contact, more value to the idea of ​​the speaker, enhances their credibility and forced the audience to consider the ideas promoted shared the speaker and the audience. These include the phrase that we find in the speech of the Prime Minister: our great nation, our country, our victory, our resolution, our pride. There are lexical updating itemization reception. Identification reception itemization in oratory due to the fact that the organization and the construction of sentences and texts journalistic style can serve as an objective basis for the study of their linguistic features at the level of pragmatics. The establishment of a special relationship between the language units and those persons who have created these statements and text or for which they are intended. The emotional impact was produced and by repeating the same type of stylistic designs and receive transfers, which is connected with the necessity of specification, repeat the ideas promoted in various forms, clarify thoughts, which certainly contributes to a better perception of the information and its assimilation of the audience.

«The Guardian» newspaper for two weeks before the performance of the Prime Minister, reported that as a result of the negotiations in 1977 between Britain and Argentina over the status of the Falkland Islands, it was decided that «the responsibility for the fate of the islanders left for Britain and for Argentina – the territory of the islands».

Thus, the head of the ruling Tory cabinet is the obvious cheating the audience, fixing her mind the stereotype of Britain – a great power, that «Britain is no longer the nation that created the British Empire and rules a quarter of the globe». She recalls that among the British during the war were staggering and underwear, (waverers and the fainthearts), using the same labels that have been used to cause a negative attitude towards those who do not share the militaristic frenzy. The statement of the Prime Minister reviewed the same stylistic and lexical techniques, which, for example, has used «The San” mass newspaper during the Falklands crisis in his article «The enemies among us», which mercilessly branded all those who dared to doubt the correctness of the governmental action. Thatcher in exactly the same terms accuses those who believed that the decline and the emerging in the country, cannot be eliminated. She states that these people were wrong, and by metamorphic transfer military situation in 1945 on real events in 1982, is trying to prove that the decline eliminated.

Thus, in this example, by the linguistic analysis of the text, you can understand what techniques and methods are used by the authorities to create a positive attitude among the audience to the armed conflicts.

**Information Warfare in the Media Coverage of the**

**Armed Conflict**

Events in the Gulf caused a mixed reaction of the media of various countries. Let’s consider how the coverage of these events by the newspapers and television around the world.

***Egypt****.* News program on Egyptian television, starting at 21.00 requires a lot of patience – it is monotonous and unending. Home News course dedicated to the events to which the President Mubarak. This time, he was a guest of the Islamic Conference 19. Then African diplomat acts in French, TV extensively covers his performance, and the translation is not given. ... In this case, all praise honored those Iraqis who did not support their president (his name is not called). After finishing a very long introduction, come to the events of the day: Saddam's speech (it is called just so familiar) for most of the Egyptian public are moments of great importance. Without batting an eye, leading emphasizes that Saddam lashed out at the «Arab leaders» that it was specifically Mubarak, is not specified. Two speaker – a man and woman alternately, automatically, without emotion read out individual messages, never expressing their own opinion – this «courage» is for «Al-Ahram» (a newspaper close to the government), which through its journalist acting in the transmission of news, at length ridicules Saddam Hussein is behind the excessive length of his speech, and even calling him a «dictator», immediately referring to «German newspaper». Among the stream of words suddenly slips really interesting posts, for example, that the «stock» fell into a location ... Nigerian troops. As for the Egyptian troops, something about them, as always, a word. Then comes the lengthy passage of Kuwait and «outrages perpetrated by Iraqis against the civilian population». All this is accompanied by excerpts from an interview with the president.

Then again return to an Islamic conference held in Cairo, in which the final decision has not yet accepted Morocco. This transfer news, going to 12.00 pm local time in French may be a way of brevity. At this time, the international part of the program, however, «weighted» by reading the message of King Hassan 11 in connection with the establishment of advisory committee on human rights. The announcement of this letter is curious neighbors with a message about the Iraqis refuse to accept any other plan of settlement of the conflict, in addition to the proposed Baghdad, and about reports of reaction to what is happening in the Gulf in different parts of the world. After the frames of the night bombing of Baghdad, about battles and briefing «allies» is a detailed report on what was happening on the battlefield, and what are the losses. This is followed by the transition to the sports news.

***Algeria.***On television Algerians Saddam Hussein on February 21 appears a sort of lion, three interminable passage from his speech occupy the entire first part of the transfer. Speaker, before giving the floor to the political commentator, also makes such remarks, «the treacherous actions of the USA», «maneuvers of some Arab countries», mentioned by Saddam Hussein in his speech. Then the browser is already the third time in laudatory tones speaks about the performance of the dictator, recalling that the economic situation in which there was in Iraq before the invasion of Kuwait, was catastrophic (it excuses the sign). Leading the program – it is not colorless speaker, he appears more in the image of the militant journalist defending righteous actions of Iraqis who were «forced to confront the machinations of the Americans». Allied forces are described as «the enemy». As for the troops of the Arab state, their spare while leading emphasizes that reigns among them regret and sadness about the bombing, which exposed the civilian population of Iraq. I do not have a shadow of confusion that reigned in the Algerian TV in the beginning of the conflict (and which reflects the dual position of president Chadli). Recall that Algeria was the first Arab country, condemned the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. But since then, «he spoke up the street», in all the cities have been mass demonstrations in support of Hussein, and TV over time had acceded to public opinion. The transfer from February 21 again mentioned that in Algeria created a committee in support of the Iraqi people constantly receive donations from the Algerians. In support shown footage of sending to Baghdad of medicines and medical staff. The same day, the union held a manifestation of merchants who are on the streets, chanting «Long live Saddam Hussein». In the passage news program dedicated to the events in the Gulf, the mention of President Chadli missing. Algerian television has found the tone of the toughest times of Boumediene. With its screens continuously distributed criticism of the Americans, with their «imperialist and Zionist politics» and «Zionist» Defense Minister Moshe Arens.

***Syria****.* Event number one in Damascus this evening – welcome Sudanese President al-Assad, so that at the beginning of the transfer of five endless minutes, red carpets, national anthems and handshakes. 25 minutes was devoted to the Gulf War. Speech by Saddam Hussein's Baghdad radio passed over in silence. Not one word was said about the position of the Syrian leadership. Leading cites other Arab countries, swears Saddam. Its very name is not called, because it is a personal enemy of Assad. Only in passing – with reference to the Lebanese press – he referred to the Iraqi leader thanked the Syrians for the mediating role. They have committed themselves in the conflict. This is followed by a transition to internal problems, show enthusiasm enveloped the Syrian population. All together we are going to vote for the candidates of a single party.

***Jordan*.** In neighboring Jordan, the tone was another, although here the news program opened with frames of the visit the head of the Sudan, which climbs into the limo; Bravo on the steering wheel the car sits King Hussein – like frames – classic Jordanian TV that uses every opportunity to remind the king about the ability to control the aircraft. The program then proceeds to the performance of Saddam Hussein's Baghdad radio. It’s citations extensively analyzed. On the screen of the country, his image is affable, smiling, wearing a suit and a gray tie. As the Syrian television, the Jordanian prefers not to speak with their own comments and remarks quoted in this respect the media and political figures from around the world, while clearly focusing on those who are favorably perceived Soviet plan for a peaceful settlement of the crisis. If the Syrians are referred to the Conference of the Arab countries to condemn Saddam Hussein's policy the Jordanians prefer to talk about the length of the Maghreb meeting, taking place in Libya, which has been branded «Israelis desire to use the crisis in the Persian Gulf to strengthen its military potential» ... To summarize events in the Gulf, the Jordanian TV for a long time read the official reports of the Iraqi side, criticized the bombing, which is directed to the civilian population and denying the statement of General Shvatskof a breakthrough allied forces. It credi­ted as Iraqi message in which the events in the Gulf are treated as part of the «psychological warfare» and «conspiracy» of Americans.

***USA.***According to CNN en Dan Rather (the person who is most trusted by the Americans) tells us in the 19-hour newscast in direct transmission from Saudi Arabia about the events of the day, associated with the crisis in the Persian Gulf. Space and except for two plots – visit Tareq Aziz in Moscow, and the Soviet-Iraqi plan and a peaceful settlement was too artistic. As a result, coverage of C-PBS, all the information is true to the presence of its correspondent («The man who is most trusted by the Americans) in Dhahran. Thus, it is interesting that the program does not content an information message and transmission technical side.

***Japan*.** «New Station» on the tenth channel every evening out in 22 hours. This time, Hiroshi Kum is in the studio. He «plays up» Etsuko Komiy. This is one of the most popular leaders in the country, but their transmission that delivers news in the form of play and lasts an hour and 20 minutes; it does not enjoy the same popularity. At this time, the events devoted to 40 minutes in the Gulf. Dark sky, suddenly the noise of the explosion and the screen flashes inscribed in huge letters «on February 22», as if the title of the film «Hussein said». Gradually, rhythmic music in the style of synthetic rock muffles the sounds of explosions, followed by an influx of new audio – this time the voice of the speaker's belongs to Hussein. Then again the music, pictures on the background of the apocalypse, this time the red sky and the slow-motion explosion of white – an impressive sight of the war without any commentary. As has become a tradition since the conflict began, the news of the day appear in the form of a short film, well mounted that directors try to have the audience breathless at the sight of military personnel walking in a beautiful rhythm and reminding militants promotional videos. Only 30 minu­tes later finally you can hear what all this thinking, Japan.

And this time its position fully coincides with the US. Not once since the start of the Gulf War, the Japanese government did not express an original point of view, the constant is a step by the Americans. The main debate unfolded on TV around the issue of the nine billion dollars, Japan has decided to lower the financing of a multinational army allies. According to the Japanese Constitution, Japan has no right to participate in any war. Therefore, there were voices that the allocation of nine billion – anti-constitutional step. However, most Japanese believe that the war in the Gulf does not apply at all, and therefore Japan should not intervene and give money to come from taxes paid by workers ... Next comes a report from Baghdad Kamumor, one of the few Japanese journalists left at the scene. For reasons of censorship, as the leading notes Kamumor leads his report in English. His voice is immediately replicated to the Japanese. Further, advertising and the transition to the latest news story – the municipal elections in Tokyo.

***Israel.***From the beginning, the news presenter sets optimistic tone: «The Iraqis understand that they lost to Kuwait. It seems that the public is ready to Baghdad, to a speedy termination of hostilities. «Ehud Yaar, has become a rising star of the TV from the beginning of the Gulf War, summarizes the performance of Saddam Hussein. This left-wing commentator is considered one of the best experts on the Arab world in Tel Aviv. Everyone knows that his awareness is because it draws its information in the circles of the Israeli secret service TV news (which, of course, have to wet their own correspondents in the Arab countries) compensates for the lack of reports and commentaries Yaar military expert Sholonskiy. They held each evening at the TV screens thousands of viewers who will not change viewing information transmission, built on the Western model, not for anything else. Many cadres of the American and British Chronicle, shocking impression film obtained by intercept a conversation between two Iraqi bunkers. With some difficulty, but you can hear the Iraqi soldiers’ cries as he complains that there is for food. This whole tape is highly questionable, but it is a TV show without any hesitation. It is clear that in a country which is it the same evening can be subjected to bombardment «ramps’’ prefers not to dramatize events. Journalists say about the war dispassionately. What is it – optimistic or Jewish humor? «This war has helped us to raise more money for Israel», – said the representative of the delegation of American Jews, who arrived to Tel Aviv. This report gives the Israeli TV another reason. Again to give praise to the Jews living overseas. The conflict in the Gulf – is a great opportunity to further strengthen the ranks of those who support Israel in different parts of the world.

Then the leader moves to the inside of the subject, a trade unionist discuss the payment issue and requires three days at the beginning of the Gulf War, when people were not working and were paid. Then there is a small report, praising Israeli soldiers serving in the Israeli-occupied part of southern Lebanon. Weather forecast not available, since the beginning of military operations has acquired this information secret. Ends the transmission to surreal shots of flowers and birds. The war is not over yet, but Jerusalem is already dreaming about the world.

***France.***PPDA opens newscast on TV-1 with the statement that Saddam Hussein rejected the Soviet peace plan. There is no hints and nebulae, as at the news of the Arab countries. Although PPDA immediately adds that it is not confirmed officially yet. This is followed by a detailed report on the visit Tareq Aziz in Moscow, by the representative of the Israeli government that «Saddam Hussein was in despair and actually encourages his people to commit suicide» and analysis careiro about inflexible stance taken by the French in this conflict. Further there are reports from different parts of the world. From Moscow we hear that, and so we know – about Aziz trip; From Riyadh to the question, what kind of mood prevails in the field Ferey cannot say anything intelligible; From Washington Demin limited by what follows: «The war goes on», the correspondent in Amman, ironically, that the Jordanian TV prefers secular news of King Hussein to what happens in the hot spots of the bay, and then shows footage captured the Jordanian soldiers, exclusively pro-Iraqi and screaming that they want to cut the throat of Bush. «Then comes a report from the French division, located on the first line. And finally is there some new information? Olivari said that warplanes frequent departures, that the corridor opened, leading to Iraq, and that is about to begin an offensive ground forces. Then the card fighting his analysis is Villeneuve parsing military operations, but Weber indulges in arguments about what it is and how soon it will come to the end.

Such a detailed account of the article, translated from the French magazine specifically needed in order to once again demonstrate how to change the style, shape and political focus at the show of the same TV events in different countries. This is a wonderful   
example how the same is confirmed by at the practice of Russian information war during the 1994-1996 years. War in Chechnya   
2 made it there is clear no military to establish professional rules for journalists.

Everyone understands that the information should be carefully checked, based only on facts. Otherwise, the journalist begins to fantasize. In such cases misinformation is possible. The task of the journalist is not only to convey the message as soon as possible but also to give the audience the key to his understanding, illuminated by analysis of conflict or military events. Unfortunately, journalists who were on the front line, often begin to enthusiastically describe military equipment, happy to contemplate the military picture. It is disturbing desire reporters to turn it into a spectacle. Therefore, studying the «Regional conflicts and mass media» course to the BA students undergraduate students majoring internationalism also includes lectures on the ethics of a journalist during the war. Indeed the moral responsibility that lies on a war reporter is very high. New technology gives us the opportunity to be at the same time in different parts of the world. The camera, exploring the world, it shows us so quickly that policy, rulers and ordinary people have no time to the «digest» quickly. Life, therefore, requires swift and decisive action, which is not always justified, especially military action.

The French writer Paul Virilio speculates that «this change and acceleration of change and brought in the conduct of the war. In the past, the core of the war was a soldier-citizen. Then military power was given to headquarters, then the automation of the destruction and the invention of nuclear weapons, to substantially reduce the period for acceptance of the main solutions, the entire chain of the war has become isolated on one person – the head of the state, which, in turn, hands the fate of the car world. Soon the war will be carried out with machine guns; new weapons will destroy targets with lightning speed, in thousandths of a second. A person cannot see or react to the speed of light. «Real-time» technique, which is used in the modern means of as a transmission of information – TV, internet – so fast that there is no time to prepare for the event, it has already appeared. Journalist carries a personal human responsibility for what they carry in this world, which must be preserved.

**Control questions and tasks:**

1. Whether TV helps in covering armed conflicts or not? What is the essence of the Karabakh conflict?

2. How the Chechen conflict was conducted? Why Udugov called Chechen as Goebbels?

3. Analyze language and style of some of the materials submitted in the application on the instructions of the teacher. Which information is warfare?

4. Describe how and why it was covered this way (of events in the Gulf media of the different countries)? Arts cover the war.

Specialist of the so called «Third World» Shaliand Gerard, author of the «Strategic atlas» analyzes the effects of war propaganda by the example of the war in the Persian Gulf, while stressing that the West underestimates the humiliation to which he exposes the Arab world. Talking to the correspondent of «Teleramy» with him.

**What is the role of psychology in modern warfare?**

We live in an era of democracy (including authoritarian and totalitarian regimes), when none of the rulers cannot publicly state that he despises his people, and therefore must with his subjects. This explains the importance which is now attached to the disinformation and manipulation of the masses by means of communication. We, the people, need to make sure that we are not managed like puppets. People who swallow without blinking, comparing Saddam Hussein to Hitler probably already poisoned by propaganda. Moreover, all this is happening against the background of rapprochement with Assad, who shed so much innocent blood. Giving the opponent satanic traits is – a classic method in psychological warfare.

**What are the main features of psychological warfare?**

Let me illustrate this with an example of lighting the Gulf War by the US media. First, they are more likely rests on the legal argument – the inadmissibility of the annexation of a sovereign state (as if no one had done before Iraq). Further talking about the blackmail with oil. Then the slogan of the threat by the government which probably have nuclear weapons was born, calling into question the established in the region, the status quo. Today, they are already shouting that all you need to bridge the current Iraqi regime because it represents a danger for the whole world. However, since the beginning, they have not said anything of the main – on the economic interests of the West, associated with this region. Saddam Hussein was also the beginning of this conflict, trying to manipulate public opinion, and calling for a holy war, and going to the hostage-taking. Iraq, like most Third World countries, uses its dual language propaganda – one is designed for the outside world, and the other – for its people. West has a very poor knowledge as well as outlook, and psychology and history of the peoples of the Third World.

**Why?**

For a long time, the West dictates the Third World the rules of the game, imposes its values, its way of life, without realizing at the same time that the peoples of the world are humiliated. By the way, how it can be understood, also, for example, do the Americans never no one attacked at anyone, or occupied, and won? The Americans do not see that the Arabs and the Muslims, whom the West suppressed with the H1U in., And since 1918 operates them as the puppets, have every reason to consider themselves humiliated. Thus, it was with Mosadek in Iran, with Nasser in Egypt, now with Hussein. Allies the United States (Turkey, Israel) is allowed to do whatever they want.

**How did Hussein manage to capitalize on this sense of humiliation of the Arabs?**

Undoubtedly. Muslims – both in India as well as in black Africa are very attentive to his propaganda, which is so badly perceived in the Western countries.

**What do you think about the «filtering» of the information and censorship in Western countries participating in the joint action against Iraq?**

I believe that they are justified. While it is recognized that journalists have reason to protest. It is unacceptable to show the war as a purely emotional performance. In this situation, the rears start to play a greater role than the front itself.

**Which conclusion can be made by observing the development of the Gulf War?**

It made clear an important fact: henceforth history is decided not only by the two superpowers. The game entered into the Third World, the world that 30 years ago had nothing and now has turned into the most unstable and explosive place in the planet. The conflict with Iraq is the only prime minister. We still see a lot of other «performances». In the next quarter-century, the population of the Southern Hemisphere will be doubled, and in the cities – five times. It creates instability zone, where people experience profound dissatisfaction. It must be remembered also that the Third World becomes the owner of more and more sophisticated weapons. We are on the threshold of an era when our planet transformed into a powder keg, which can explode at any moment. We are surprised to find how to change the Southern Hemisphere. This especially affects to those who thought that the loss of the main enemy – Russia – the world is entering a period of calm. These expectations were not fulfilled. Political, economic, social, demographic problems foment discontent the Third World countries regarding to their current status quo. This situation can not last long. Therefore, we are on the verge of turning the key in the history of mankind.

**How do you explain theoretical understanding impotence in the war?**

Today, the war is perceived as an absolute evil. Many say: «There is nothing, what radio should be to unleash a war». But what would you say to pacifists, if, for example, their standard of living has decreased twice? Would they remain pacifists? Well, when you are in favor of peace, but at the same time, you should well. And since 1945, the West has created a consumer society, lives well. Intellectuals are no longer interested in the war. After the World War I and the colonial wars, these problems ceased to excite their minds. Prosperity led to the fact that the war began to be viewed as a lesson for the underdeveloped peoples who are constantly fighting among themselves. And in recent months, we have discovered that sometimes there are situations when war becomes necessary, and it is impossible to judge the history and conflicts exclusively by moral rules. «Telerama» 26 January -1 February 1991, 20-21pp.

**Sirya conflict and new online media.**

**New York Times, Nov 18, 2017.**

**Marked for ‘De-escalation,’ Syrian Towns Endure Surge of Attacks**

By Nada Homsi and Anne Barnardnov.

BEIRUT, Lebanon — A resurgence of deadly attacks by pro-government forces in so-called de-escalation zones in Syria, including a triple airstrike on a busy marketplace that killed more than 50 people, is undermining an agreement portrayed by its sponsors as a crucial step toward ending the six-and-a-half-year civil war. The accord — reached this year between Russia and Iran, which are allied with Syria’s government, and Turkey, which backs some rebel groups — established four de-escalation zones where attacks were supposed to decrease and so help pave the way for a peace settlement. The de-escalation zones encompass most of the remaining areas of Syria still held by insurgent groups, not including the Islamic State. Under the agreement, the combatants are to refrain from new attacks, except against hard-line groups that have not signed on to the pact. Longstanding sieges are to be lifted to allow free movement of goods and people.

But siege and bombardment tactics, mostly by the Syrian government against rebel-held areas, have continued despite the Astana accord, named for the Kazakh capital, where it was struck. The recent uptick in attacks — and the lack of any outcry from international sponsors of the Astana deal — has bolstered skepticism from opponents of the Syrian government who doubted the deal’s good faith from the start.This month, after a meeting in Da Nang, Vietnam, President Trump and President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia issued a joint statement affirming the “importance of de-escalation areas as an interim step to reduce violence in Syria.”

But days later, on Monday, airstrikes hit a marketplace in the rebel-held town of Atarib, which is in a de-escalation zone in the northern Syrian province of Aleppo.The marketplace was “completely destroyed,” said Ali Obeid, a witness who broadcast the aftermath on social media. His video and others showed desperation, suffering and bewilderment.

In one, a man paused next to someone he apparently recognized, whose head had been blown off. “God give your soul peace,” the man said. In another scene, a man called for help from the floor of a destroyed shop. He had lost a leg. The attack came on the same day that Amnesty International issued a report documenting what it called the collective punishment of civilian populations in rebel-held areas.

Attacks in Atarib and elsewhere “highlight concerns about these so-called safe zones and whether they are really ever safe,” Rawya Rageh, a senior adviser to Amnesty who was a co-writer of the report, said in an email. “Time and again, civilians in Syria are finding no safe place to take refuge.” With the world’s attention focused on other issues in the Middle East, like the escalating tensions between Saudi Arabia and Iran that have set off a political crisis in Lebanon, there has been little official outcry about violations of the de-escalation zones, where many armed and unarmed opponents of President Bashar al-Assad are concentrated. International leaders consider the de-escalation zones a building block as preparations are being made for a new round of United Nations-backed peace talks in Geneva this month between the Syrian government and the main opposition coalition, and for separate Russian-backed talks between Syrian factions in the Russian town of Sochi.

Countries that are hosting millions of Syrian refugees, including Lebanon, Turkey and Jordan, have cited those talks and the de-escalation agreement as reasons to press for the refugees to return home.Understand the world with sharp insight and commentary on the major news stories of the week. The agreement allows for attacks on a hard-line Islamist insurgent group, the Qaeda-linked Levant Liberation Committee. The group is the most powerful one within the de-escalation zone that includes Atarib and the neighboring province of Idlib, dominating more moderate groups calling themselves the Free Syrian Army.

But Atarib is not under the control of the Levant Liberation Committee. The town is known for its history of civil and armed resistance against both the Syrian government and hard-line Islamist groups. Its residents helped local rebels expel the Islamic State in 2014, and they drove out the Qaeda-linked Nusra Front — a group that later morphed into the Levant Liberation Committee — after it tried to take over in 2015.To Atarib residents, the attack bolstered a sense that the de-escalation agreement is failing to protect them, and highlighted the dissociation between international diplomacy and local reality.“It is a norm now that the civilians are being targeted everywhere,” said Shady al-Mahmoud, an activist from Atarib, “and the international silence that follows such atrocities has become a norm as well.”In recent months, airstrikes by the Syrian government or Russia have hit schools, hospitals and homes in Idlib and in the Damascus suburbs of Eastern Ghouta, another de-escalation zone, where the United Nations says 400,000 residents are trapped and where one in four children are at risk of malnutrition. A World Food Program warehouse in Eastern Ghouta was attacked this month.

The other de-escalation zones encompass an enclave in Homs Province in central Syria and a stretch of southern Syria that borders Jordan.Further complicating the picture is the Syrian government strategy of forcing the surrender of rebel-held areas and offering people there the choice of returning to government control or being bused to rebel-held Idlib; some 20,000 people displaced that way have ended up in nearby Atarib. “Tens of thousands of civilians have been forcibly displaced to opposition-held areas in the north under local deals after enduring years of unlawful siege and bombardment,” Ms. Rageh said. “They are essentially stuck and exposed as easy marks.”In the Atarib attack, witnesses said three airstrikes hit the market, leaving little doubt that it was the target.

Members of a civil police force that patrols the rebel-held area in the absence of government law enforcement were also killed.Last month, Turkey established observation posts around Idlib Province under the de-escalation deal, including one just 15 miles north of Atarib. But Turkey has made no statement about the strike. A local group that tracks warplanes spotted Russian ones nearby at the time of the attack, but Russia has provided no information.Syria’s government has signaled reservations about the premise of the de-escalation deal. Ali Haidar, the minister of reconciliation, said in an interview with Syrian state media that failure of the agreement would put all other options back on the table — including military force.“The Syrian state has one option: to eliminate terrorism and the whole of terrorism and to restore any area of Syria,” he said.Karam Shoumali contributed reporting from Istanbul.

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«When in doubt – freedom, in testing fate – unity,

In the – compassion»

***Augustine Blazhensky***

***Lecture 11***

**JOURNALISM AND ARMED CONFLICT:**

**THE MAIN CHALLENGES OF THE**

**XXI CENTURY**

**Incitement to War William Randolph Hearst** **Newspaper Magnate in the early Twentieth Century.** **Regional conflicts in the CIS.** **The Chechen conflict in the late Twentieth Century and early twenty-first Century Media.** **Information Technology and Media coverage of armed Conflicts and Humanitarian Crises.** M.**Castells about the Information Technology and Geopolitics.** **Information warfare in Cyberspace.**

As the historical facts, journalists always have witnessed all the major conflicts of significant events that took place in different regions of the world. If today's news coverage helped the satellites and the Internet, as messages journalists can send email or talk at the moment of accomplishment events using portable satellite antenna, the experience of organizing and fomenting war in the Persian Gulf, in Bosnia, and so on, they are likely to, learned from their venerable predecessors, the founders of the «yellow» press like Hearst.

One cannot but recall a classic example of how the media is not only involved in the political issues of society, but also organize events and military war. This example is associated with the name of the largest newspaper magnate of the USA William Randolph Hearst, who played an independent role in politics, at certain moments himself against the state machine, taking an active part in solving the problems of war and peace, has successfully helped fuel the international conflict, where it was necessary according to his opinion[[96]](#footnote-96). Kind of famous example of how Hurst proved himself as a playwright and director of «news» was the war against Spain in Cuba. You can see how these amazing events coincide with some of the facts of modern life. Hurst believed ousting the Spaniards from Cuba responds to the US interests and supporting the insurgency. Selfish motives of their interest in the war with Spain – as always, brutal and vulgar pursuit of circulation, which he did not hide. He suffered losses and took the fight of the Cubans against the Spanish rule using it as a source of concern to the news that will help him in the fight against another newspaper magnate Pulitzer. Hearst «Journal» Pulitzer «World», «Chicago Tribune», as well as many other well fed information about events in Cuba, that the atmosphere of war hysteria has been created in the country.

Editions played on sympathy for the Cubans and a sense of social justice. They exaggerated the scale of the event and presented them in a tragic manner. They believed that it was time to try to fight the new American navy, the more that came into disrepair Spain will not be a serious opponent. After the Civil War, interest in international affairs grew up in the country. The Monroe Doctrine has become a tool for the development of the US foreign policy. Hearst Newspapers ate the most incredible rumors. They reported on battles that were not, and ignoring those that do occur. Newspapers accused the Spaniards that they attack the hospital, abused women, poison wells, nuns arrested, «roasted alive 25 Catholic priests», «fed captive sharks».

To learn how to do things happend in Cuba, said in a telegram to Frederic Remington, the artist sent to Hearst. «Everything is quiet. Excitement is not here. War will not be. I want to return». «Please stay. You provide the pictures, and I provide the war, «said Hurst. The reason for the explosion of the American battleship «Maine» in Havana harbor remained unknown. The newspaper «Journal» has begun to heat up the atmosphere. Here are the headlines: «battleship» Maine «is split into two secret infernal machine of the enemy», «The whole country trembles on the war fever», «Man» destroyed treachery», etc.

The US ambassador in Madrid did his best to keep the peace, and the Spanish government was going to meet him. The peace agreement could be signed, but by that time war psychosis in the country has reached such a pitch that President McKinley, no longer dare to insist on knowing that public opinion, misled by the yellow press, leans in favor of the war. Voted for it, more than a half of the Senate and almost unanimously – the House of Representatives.

Hearst got his – the war, do not need anyone but it was declared. «Our war» – so said about her Hurst in his editorial. War Hirst fully justified his hopes. Revenues shot up newspaper. He went to Cuba on a private yacht, which he donated to the Navy, took part in the hostilities, and sent their reports in the newspaper. Even on the terms of a peace treaty «Journal» was able to announce the first, before the official announcement, the Spanish bribing the clerk, and, having presented it as «totally unprecedented achievement in journalism», which «makes the absurd secrecy of the Senate». The war ended, but the war continued to Hearst.

This classic example is described in many textbooks on journalism, but most fully and emotionally E.Andrunas set it out in the «Information elite: corporation and market news book».

We cannot, of course, make a conclusion that all media behave cynically and irresponsibly as in this case of an international conflict. During the World War I Hearst entered into an open confrontation with the power the US financial monopoly groups. He was known for his anti-British and pro-German sentiments. In England, France, his newspapers were banned and sent correspondents. Pro-German policy Hearst was so unpopular that his newspaper was banned in five countries of Atlanta. The investigation of Hearst Communications with the Germans engaged in a special Senate committee. However, on his happiness, the truce came in 1918. His campaign against the Atlanta Hearst began from afar, with the Americans intimidation «yellow peril» if the United States only allow yourself to get you into the war in Europe, claimed Hearst, Japan immediately attack them. «American» start print titled «Japan plans to attack and capture the United States», a series of excerpts from the book «The war between Japan and the United States» that will act as an ally of Japan, Mexico, the newspaper, and they are going to destroy the Panama Canal. As it turned out, «translation» of the book turned out to be fake. In 1917, the US passed a law on espionage directed against all those who showed disloyalty to the United States and the military alliance Atlanta. Many socialist and pacifist newspapers were closed. Supplement to the Law on Trading with the Enemy and sedition has resulted in the closure of several newspapers but did not touch the Hearst publications punishing sword of the law. On the contrary, he published an edition of several million brochures «What did the Hearst newspaper, to help to win the war».

At the end of the twentieth century changed the nature of conflicts. From international, they were transformed into non-international local ones. Consider how the media cover the local conflicts that are taking place in the CIS.

**Regional Conflicts in the CIS**

Modern media of the CIS countries have acquired the unfortunate experience of armed conflict lighting. This is a civil war on the border of Tajikistan, where more than six years Kazakhstan peacekeeping battalion stationed; escalation of tension and confrontation between extremists of the official authorities in Uzbekistan; entry into the territory of the Kyrgyz armed gangs and conduct their military operations; terrorism in Russian cities; Chechen knot tightened, etc.

The worst thing – the boundary between war and peace becomes blurred. A large number of conflicts in the republics are – the successors of the Soviet Union, according to many researchers, is not fully realized, but it is very dangerous for the world. The same is said in the letter to the people of Kazakhstan «The stability and security of the country in the new century». The President of the Republic   
N.A. Nazarbayev, stressing that it was the country's security priority.

Ethnic conflicts in Tajikistan, which cost from 50 to 100 thousand, of lives and hundreds of thousands of refugees, or in Georgia, with its 250 thousand Refugees from the breakaway republics of South Ossetia and Abkhazia. Also, the war in Tajikistan and the war in the former Yugoslavia has forced hundreds of thousands of people to flee their homes. Both the flow of refugees overwhelmed especially neighboring countries. The results of the outbreak of the 1999 war in Tajikistan are: killing an estimated 100 thousand people; 90 thousand became refugees; destroyed more than 150 thousand homes emigrated to the vast majority of the intellectual elite; the total damage caused by the conflict is estimated at 7 billion US dollars.; foreign debt has exceeded 800 million dollars. Continuing the sharp economic downturn, rising unemployment. Tajikistan Development dropped to a decade ago.

Many conflicts of the civil war in Tajikistan and to confrontation in Transnistria and in the Crimea – is not completed yet. Most of the conflicts taking place in the space of the former Soviet Union takes place in the absence of stable, finally formed state borders, in some cases, the borders between member states in the new administrative – territorial units. In some cases, Karabakh, Chechnya – in the heart of the conflict is the desire of certain forces to create their own independent state, followed by the release of the «mother country power» or a new administrative entity within the state (Ingushetia). Finally, the ground of a number of conflicts was an attempt to change their individual autonomies public – political jurisdiction (Abkhazia, South Ossetia, Transnistria), which again – the same problems associated with boundary changes.

Events in the Republic of Dagestan and its further escalation of the entire North – Caucasus region – the first real attempt at forced entry orthodox Islam ideas via Chechnya into Russia. In 1996, the war in Bosnia – Herzegovina, although very bloody, was first limited in scope, and then, at least temporarily stopped. Moreover, other possible violent conflict broke out. Undoubtedly, an important factor here was the negative example in the whole of the former Yugoslavia. Croatia Final victory was achieved by a very high price, and the Serbian elite is not able to achieve its main objectives[[97]](#footnote-97).

In the modern literature on national movements and conflicts happened several points of view on these issues. Huntington offered one of them. (?. Huntington SP The Clash of Civilisations / The International System after the Collapse of the East-West Order 1994.) The gist of it is coming a new civilizational crisis that in the near future will mark itself in an even more dramatic form. It is based on people and cultural incompatibility, primarily the incompatibility of the Euro-Christian and Muslim civilizations of Asia. Indeed, if you look at the list of hot spots on the planet, it is easy to notice that   
the cultural and civilizational component plays an important role in them.

**The Chechen conflict.**

Press Alliance and the government has come under question during the Chechen war. From the Russian press point of view and the «democratic» press, which had previously supported the President of the «democratic» television and commercial media, not to mention the opposition press, the war in Chechnya was completely incompetent and senseless adventure. Whichever mythological system of values was not «democratic press» event from Chechnya cannot be accused of not principled. The ideals of the second republic, journalists believed to be incompatible with the war, especially civil. Actually, the main task of democracy is to overcome through open political process. Chechen adventure, also in his time, the Afghan war, started behind the scenes. Its causes are not explained, and need not prove. The public and the press could only guess that there is oil and agreed personal desire to win to strengthen the power of the President as well as a possible reason for the introduction of a state of emergency and cancel the presidential election.

After jointly occupied by the Russian press and TV position does not lead to any change in the policy of the authorities, the press faced a serious dilemma. It was necessary either to acknowledge the supreme authority of the President, bordering on dictatorship – and thus recognize that this dictatorship was established efforts «democratic press» and TV. Either shows the power, who is the boss, that is, to prove that the «democratic» press still has a real influence on the policy of the authorities, and the dictatorship turned at least enlightened[[98]](#footnote-98). In the scientific literature on the media are two diametrically opposing views on the development of the conflict in Chechnya and its coverage in the media. This is how the events in Chechnya was described by, and the authoritative historian of the Soviet press Raphael Hovsepyan: «The events in Chechnya were not clearly perceived in society. Officials kept silent about the heavy losses, which carried the Russian army and interior troops in fighting with Chechen armed groups. The full force of the right of publicity used the media. They first started talking about what was hidden from the people. In the reports on television and radio, in numerous newspaper articles he tells the truth about heavy fighting, and how to die recently drafted into the army poorly trained soldiers. From the first days of fighting in Chechnya in the Russian journalism at the beginning of a dull, scattered, and then louder and rallied the citizens of Russia have expressed their protest bloodshed in Chechnya. In 1996, this protest has increased significantly. Earlier this year, it published a letter from 100 well-known representatives of the country's scientific intelligentsia, Boris Yeltsin, calling to stop the war. In all the media on a truly mass action held the governor of Nizhny Novgorod region Nemtsov. He presented to the President of Russia Nizhny Novgorod million signatures, demanding to stop the war in Chechnya. The action was supported by many of Nizhny Novgorod regions. The press had every reason to claim that the war in Russia today, more than not popular that the country does not need the bloodshed that Russian citizens do not want to expose the head by a bullet Chechen fighters. And that means it was time to end the war[[99]](#footnote-99).

Another look at the history of coverage of events in Chechnya represented in the book of A.Grabelnikov “Media post-Soviet Russia”[[100]](#footnote-100), in the chapter with the characteristic title «The confrontation of the media». In the paragraph «The destabilizing nature of modern media» Grabelnikov defines this historical episode as «a rare case in the history of journalism, when the national media were on the side of the enemy. Chechen crisis has shown that the fourth power of the executive may be, not to mention the legislative and judicial. Instead of reflecting public opinion, some media took up its formation. A. Grabelnikov justify the war in Chechnya as a means of preserving the Russian state in the face of predatory Western countries. Perhaps it is unpleasant position of national media forced him to list some of the most egregious facts of their destabilizing effects.

Thus, «General Newspaper» published by Yegor Yakovlev published «court» materials of the President and his portrait printed in mourning frame. Television – NTV, «Vesti» – showing increased rallies in support of Chechnya, even if the participants were a few dozen people. Speech at a Novodvorskaja rallies that called Muscovites raise money for Chechen armed militias and argued that desertion – a sacred duty of every self-respecting citizen of Russia, the news program on the channel «2x2» has shown every hour throughout the day. The correspondent of «Rossiyskaya Gazeta» could not hide his indignation, calling the performance Novodvorskaja «treason». Television plays the most holy – on human compassion. Frame maternal tears, their cries for her lost sons in battle – soldiers – crowded television broadcast. Television behaves the same way as the Chechen bandits, coming behind the women and the elderly, firing from behind them by Russian soldiers.

The Chechen conflict has made significant changes in the opposition media. Democratic publications forgetting his recent opponents, such as the newspaper «Tomorrow», «Soviet Russia» have found a new object for the massive «fire» – the government «Rossiyskaya Gazeta». It happened because she, unlike other publications, including patriotic, communist, supported the actions of the President and federal troops sent to crush the militants Dudayev. «Moskovsky Komsomolets», said that the entire nation is unequivocally condemned «the Chechen adventure» alone «Rossiyskaya Gazeta» is opposed to the whole nation. A.N. Yakovlev in an interview with radio «Freedom» qualified «RG» as a pro fascist edition and «the most deceitful newspaper in the country». (Ibid p.56 Grabelnikov.) Genrikh Borovik, international journalist, a stigma in the past in their pamphlets, the US imperialism, now with the same fury lashed out at his own government. Breaking broadcasting network, he went on the air, interrupting children's TV program «Good night, kids!», And in his usual sarcastic manner endorsed the decision of the Russian authorities to bomb gangs in Chechnya and advised to ask the NATO bombed Moscow, as there is also a lot of bandits . The interesting thing is that the recording of this speech after the broadcast at the direction of A.N. Yakovlev was destroyed[[101]](#footnote-101).

According to Grabelnikov materials field of newspaper and television reporters were subjected to a serious revision in Moscow editions.

Massive processing of public opinion the media has become so obvious and intolerable for the army that the soldiers united group of forces in Chechnya, appealed to the President, the Prime Minister, the Chairman of the State Duma, the Minister of Defense and Chief of the General Staff of Russia's statement in which he outlined his difficult situation . They stressed that they essentially operate in the environment. From the front, the gang killer professionals, who were collected from around the world, oppose them and the real impact was the strengthening of the Russian state, entrenched in a number of media, as a part of the individual pseudo-patriotic political movements and public organizations. Under the guise of supporting unscrupulous politicians are actively using the manipulation of the facts, pulling from the speeches of commanders of the army of individual sayings and words, outright falsification of facts and events, many Russian media misinform the population deliberately aggravate the political situation in the country, undermine the authority of Russia in the international arena.

Today, after the acceleration of NTV, the Russian government under the pretext of military actions in Chechnya failed to achieve the absolute secrecy of its information activities, plans – all its realpolitik. Correspondents of TV6, for example, show a peaceful everyday life of soldiers – sports, music. In Russia, no one has repealed the freedom of speech, but the activities of government bodies able to completely withdraw from the scope of publicity, and it is a «black box».

Journalists can only speculate about the true actions of its leadership, about the real causes and results of these actions. The media situation in Russia today is fraught with a real return to the totalitarian management of the country. About methods and techniques in the media during the first Chechen war, more can be read in the article «Russian journalism and the Chechen conflict» in the bulletin «Legislation and Media Practice[[102]](#footnote-102).

*«Second» the Chechen war and the media*. With the disbanding of NTV and TV6 new line-up, it seems that the position of the independent Russian media on the information front considerably shaken. The Russian government has taken into account the lessons learned after the defeat in the first Chechen war, especially in the information field. It helped morale today's Russian society – the fact is the growth of anti-Caucasian sentiments in Russian society. This led to what is now the Russian pro-government journalists have taken an active position. Now dictate the weather information to Russian media generals and representatives of the press centers of the Army. As a result, the information is not so clear and precise. An example is the situation with explosions in the central market of Grozny, sweeps in several regions of Chechnya, looks more like a robbery and loo­ting.

Rejecting the information about missile strike war of various ranks were given many versions, the following seems to be the final scoring of the incident, General Manilov, another general – Shamans – says the missile strikes, information about which was refuted all previous generals. If we recall the recent events in Dagestan, then sounded information that the Russian units «cover» aircraft not worse troops of Basayev, and soldiers and policemen have many victims among. But this all were officially it fell under the Russian units rejected Mr. Kornukov and other generals. Now it turns out that it was true and by helicopter shelling and bombs.

Relationship to the information supplied by the Russian media about the war in Chechnya tried to analyze the Russian TV channel NTV (before the collapse of the period), where after a tough discussion with foreign correspondents conducted a survey among the participants of the program. The majority – 50% – do not believe the fact that the Russian media about the Chechen war. To the question: «What kind of reports about events in Chechnya do you trust?» 50% answered – «independent media», 13% – «foreign media», 6% – «Press – center of Russian government», 2% – «Press – center of the Ministry of Defense», 18% do not trust anyone, 11% were undecided. Probably, the limited audience and its members are not really true picture of attitudes in society.

The press secretary of the State Commission for the settlement of the conflict in Chechnya, Sergei Slipchenko told the ITAR-TASS agency reports that ORT newscasts, VGTRK «Russia» and NTV «biased». However, at a press conference held in Moscow before leaving the commission in Chechnya, Sergei Slipchenko denied reports of his statements about the work of broadcasters, saying: «I did not say these things. Today I am very surprised to read it in the newspaper. There were archival plans that this day really came from Chechnya, and correspondents really filmed as the system works. «This was confirmed by other members of the commission.

However, Sergei Stepashin, said that he «does not like the dosage, placed accents, but this one is creative». On August 2 members of the commission met with the heads of TV companies. Nevertheless, August 2, according to the program «Vesti» of Russian television, the press secretary of the Chechen Republic Ruslan Martagov told the ITAR-TASS news agency that some media in the pursuit of sensation presented separate operations of federal troops against the disparate gangs as large-scale military operations . For this often used archival footage[[103]](#footnote-103).

Shortly before that, June 1, 1996 the Parliament of the Chechen Republic has decided to sue the ORT. This was reported in a press statement, the chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Chechen Amin Osmaev June 3 Minister of Information and Press like «Days» by Alexander Nevzorov «are openly provocative character» and violate the law «On mass media», arousing «feelings of hatred and animosity towards Russian soldiers. « The reason for the incident was the transfer on June 1 when the plot of the Chechen soldiers were shown which demonstrated the militants cut off his ears. Alexander Nevzorov in an interview with radio station «Echo of Moscow» has rejected the charge of inciting ethnic hatred. Russian TV charges of lying and misinformation have quite a large range of time from January to May 1996. For example, in April 1996 in the «Capital Crime» newspaper the word «lie» is accompanied by almost all the information from Chechnya. «Truly, I felt a big lie – says Vladimir Malypakov – when listened to radio interception negotiations PPC checkpoints in Grozny with a central radio station Russian troops 6,7, 8 March of this year». Material is entitled: «Listen, Russia, howling his sons»[[104]](#footnote-104). Conclusion: «And another kind of lie», surfaced «in this unusual war. Lies of silence. Until now, no one supposedly knows whose planes bombed Roshni-Chu in Chechnya and other population centers[[105]](#footnote-105).

Moscow newspapers published materials with a greater pain about Chechnya than Kazakhstan. However, the Russian journalists in their patriotism in relation to the search for truth get letters from readers, from soldiers to Chechnya: «The officers in Grozny told me indignantly: why we, the journalists are silent about what is actually happening in Chechnya? And if we write, it is often lie. Who do you work? – Sought the soldiers. « Curious turnaround. Barmankulov MK Television: power or money? Almaty, 1997, p. 109. The «Izvestia» newspaper wrote about lying in covering the events in Chechnya almost that good number of 19.01.1996 g .: «I will try to hide and the size of the tragedy on the First Channel. Do not get used to lie. The more that the witnesses will not be. Mikhailov, the FSB announced that the hostages on the First anymore. Once he announced, so will not be. Journalists drove «for Mozhaev». About lies and misinformation, many Moscow newspapers write. «Work», uses the word «disinformation»: «From the side of Kizlyar Pershamaiski hastily rushed early in the morning on 16 January. Customized, in particular, and terrible information gathered at dawn in raymilitsii: at the end of the bestial raduevtsy allegedly shot 5 Dagestani elders who came to May Day on the negotiations, and hung at the entrance to the village of Novosibirsk captive policeman. The information was «misinformation». Disinformation could push no less hot than the Dagestani Chechens to the opening of its own sacred and merciless war against Dudayev's Ichkeria.

The «Trud», «News», «Capital Crime» were protesting against lies and «disinformation» – is more than enough range of reputable publications.

In this regard, we must pay the tribute to the President Nursultan Nazarbayev, who in the transfer of «Hero of the Day», May 5, answering the questions of journalists Kiseleva, found it necessary to emphasize that the Chechens have found a second homeland in Kazakhstan, he was against the resolution of the conflict in Chechnya by military means that he is ready to lead the negotiations with them, but at a meeting with Yeltsin, the mission did not take place.

It went not only exposing information disseminated «military-police car», there was a struggle against those stereotypes that have tried to impose on the press. The troops of Dudayev, who tried hard to be called «gang formations», and their members – «terrorists». The well-known politician and Arbatov made against these stereotypes that without any evidence or justification, given certain negative emotions-functional evaluation resisting side. In the article «Chechnya – the rebels», published by the newspaper «Arguments and Facts» (№ 6 for 1996) Arbatov, by the way, a member of the Duma Committee on Defense, an expert on security and disarmament issues, the State Duma deputy, sharply poses a barrier to the usual, seemingly templates: «With all my dislike of Dudayev think it wrong to call them terrorists». As MP offers in return? Such common words as «guerrillas», «rebels», «rebels». Press found another neutral word «militants».

Sociologists «Caravan» conducted a survey among the students: How do you evaluate the events in Chechnya, Kazakhstan press and television?

Unexpected was the fact that students have put Dudayev as a negative person, immediately after Hitler. So, it implicitly reflects the general information policy of our media. Or is it only applies to the readers of «Caravan»[[106]](#footnote-106).

If Kazakhstan Homeland of many Chechens, why in the name of the Baltics called Dudayev Street, Museum dedicated to him. In Belarus, at the meeting dedicated to the tragedy of Chernobyl, commemorated Dudayev. Ukrainian and Belarusian fighters are involved in the battle on the side of Dudayev. In Estonia it decided against the area in front of the Russian Embassy called Chechnya[[107]](#footnote-107).

Information warfare around Chechnya today reminds the events in Kosovo. Only if Russian journalists had the opportunity to be in the Yugoslav cities under rocket and bomb attacks, sending reports, causing outrage the Russians, the western journalists are in Chechen villages and transmit reports, tuning negatively western audiences to Russian policy in Chechnya.

Where is the truth? As a result, no one knows. The situation on the information front does the image of the current leadership in Moscow in many ways similar to his colleagues in Belgrade. Clearly, not the military establishes professional rules for journalists. Everyone understands that the information should be carefully checked, based only on the facts. Otherwise, the journalist begins to fantasize. In such cases it is possible to bring misinformation. The task of journalists is not only, as soon as possible to convey the message, but also to give the audience the key to his understanding, illuminated by analysis of conflict or military events. Unfortunately, journalists who were on the front line, often begin to enthusiastically describe military equipment, happy to contemplate the military picture. It is disturbing desire reporters to turn it into a spectacle. New technologies enable us to be simultaneously in different parts of the world. The camera, exploring the world, it shows us so quickly that politicians, rulers, ordinary people do not manage quickly to «digest», life therefore requires swift and decisive action, which is not always justified, especially military action. The French writer Paul Virilio speculates that «this change and acceleration of change brought in the introduction of the war. In the past, the core of the war was a soldier, a citizen. Then military power was given to headquarters, then the  
automation of destruction, the invention of nuclear weapons, to substantially reduce the period for acceptance of the main solutions.   
The entire chain of the war has become isolated on one person head of the state, which in turn hands the fate of the car world.   
Soon the war will be carried out with machine guns, new weapons will destroy targets with lightning speed, in thousandths of a second. A man cannot see, do not react with the speed of light Telerama, 26.01.1991 s.14-15. Technique «real-time», which use modern communications media – TV, internet – so fast that there is no time to prepare for the event, it has already taken place. Journalist carries a personal human responsibility for what carries this world, which must be preserved.

**Military Conflicts in the New Millennium:**

**Deterrence or Conduct of the War?**

Currently, the doctrine of war has changed significantly. V.Belous -Director of the Center for Strategic and International Studies «RAU-University», Major General Retired, in the article «Control or the conduct of the war? Have the nuclear weapons and the WTO different purpose «, notes an increased interest in forecasting the possible nature of future wars, as well as ways to prevent them in the new geostrategic environment.

The emergence of new high-tech, «smart» means armed struggle requires appropriate forms and methods of warfare in the new environment. This means that currently takes place the next revolution in the military sphere, was a military commander said.

The emergence and spread after the World War II, nuclear weapons are gradually revealed two of its main functions – political and military. The political function – deterrence of the enemy attack, the military – the conduct of war in order to achieve victory.

When the arsenals of nuclear weapons was relatively small, it has prevailed a military function. The United States and the Soviet Union conducted practical training for combat operations with the use of nuclear weapons, stockpiling of strategic and tactical weapons.

This was reflected in the operational and strategic planning, preparation of theaters of military operations, the creation of appropriate infrastructure, the direction of combat training.

As the number of nuclear states («horizontal» distribution), improvement of nuclear weapons and quantitative build arsenals ( «vertical» distribution), became increasingly clear the futility of betting on its military use. It comes the understanding that for the first time in history there was a real threat of destruction of the entire human civilization. This evolution views naturally lead to the fact that gradually came to the fore the political function of nuclear weapons – deterrence.

This political role distinguishes it from all other existing means of armed struggle. It is embodied in the concept of mutual nuclear deterrence leading world powers, especially the Soviet Union and the United States from launching a military conflict.

Dreams of a deterrent role of military force in general and the individual, the most powerful at one time or another weapon system have a long history. At the time, Alfred Nobel believed that they invented dynamite finally create a reliable barrier in the way of war. Later, Hiram Maxim cherished the hope that a machine gun invented them to make war impossible. However, history has shown the illusory nature of such hopes. During the «Cold War» strategic stability is the top-level based on the so-called «central» confrontation, which was based on a rough parity in strategic nuclear weapons between the Soviet Union and the United States. There no be any winner in such a war, «Who shoots the first, dies the second one».

In the last decade as a result of the progressive development of new high technology in the world fundamentally new types of weapons. Among them are the creation of special importance acquired precision weapons (WTO), which is characterized by the widespread use of sixth generation wars.

Immediately there was a natural question: ways and methods of warfare, its impact on the global and regional stability. The first answers to these questions were received during the fighting with the massive use of the WTO in the Persian Gulf, and then in Yugoslavia, where the threat of its using has not stopped the outbreak of war. Currently, the WTO is an expensive weapon: the cost of a single cruise missile type «Tomahawk» reaches a million dollars. Having a solid arsenal of such weapons is available to a very limited number of countries, and the USA can lead only with the help of large-scale military operations in the coming years. A controversial aspect of the WTO is its ability to constrain the role. Thus, proponents of restrictive functions of the WTO suggest: if Yugoslavia had 500 high-precision cruise missiles, NATO countries have decided not to use military force against it to solve any political problems. In turn, their opponents argued that if Yugoslavia were at least 2-3 nuclear charge any power, NATO would not have dared to even consider the possibility of using military force against it. The cost of two or three tactical nuclear warheads will not exceed one million dollars, and 500 cruise missiles – about 500 million dollars. This means that the chosen criterion of deterrence index exceeds 500 times that of the WTO.

In the wars of the XXI century, including for the purposes of deterrence, the massive use of the WTO on the most important military and economic objects capable of paralyzing the vital functions of any state, and in the destruction of fire, explosion, chemical-, radiation and other potentially dangerous objects – call environmental disasters of regional and even global scale. However, relatively little effect on the use of a limited number of WTO cannot solve the problem. This is confirmed, in particular, the experience of coalition military operations against Iraq in 1991. In 1999, unleashing aggression against Yugoslavia, NATO also counted on the fact that the first blows of the WTO on the most important objects immediately lead Belgrade to accept the political demands of the alliance. However, this did not happen. Already in the first period of operations were applied WTO strikes against targets Refining and fuel supplies, troops and police units, the system of radio and television broadcasting (the latter was clearly designed for a direct psychological impact on the population of the country). Despite this, the active phase of the war lasted and lasted 78 days. According to the Ministry of Defense of Yugoslavia, NATO forces (consider, USA) was applied to 2,300 air strikes on 995 objects with more than 1,000 cruise missiles and about 3,000 bombs, mostly controlled. In the case of Yugoslavia, its conception of deterrence by the threat of WTO is clearly not a success. Daylight of NATO to conduct large-scale military action clearly confirmed the position that the WTO is much more a weapon of war, sums up the general Belous.

**Castells the Information Technology and Geopolitics**

The twenty-first century will be marked by the completion of the global information super highways, mobile telecommunication and computing power, decentralize the power of information, carrying the hopes of the media, increasing the fun of interactive communications. This is the full flowering of the age of the genetic revolution. For the first time people will penetrate into the secrets of life and will be able to produce significant manipulation of living matter. Despite the fact that this would entail a fierce debate about the consequences of such an opportunity for the community and the surrounding areas will be extraordinary opportunities for us. Used in a reasonable manner the genetic revolution can heal, fight pollution, improve lives and reduce the time and effort spent on survival, giving us thus the chance to explore almost unknown outside of spirituality.

However, if we make the same mistakes that were made in the twentieth century, using technology and industrialization to destroy each other in a terrible war, with our new technological power we can easily put an end to life on the planet. It was easy enough to prevent a nuclear holocaust by a centralized control of nuclear energy and weapons. However, the new genetic technology pervading their mutagenic effects are not fully controlled, and institutional control over much more decentralized. In order to prevent the negative effects of biological revolution we need not only the responsibility of government, but also a responsible educated society. The way we go depends on social institutions, from the human values ​​of the new awareness of social factors and their determination to shape and control their own destiny.

The global economy is in 21 century will be expanded by using a significant increase in the power of telecommunications and information processing. It will penetrate all countries, all territories, all cultures, all communication flows. However it will do so selectively, linking relevant segments and neglecting the area and the people who have already exhausted their potential.

From the included segments of humanity can expect two different reactions, says Castells. On the one hand, will be a sharp increase in activity, which he called the «perverse connection», i.e. game of global capitalism with different rules. The global criminal economy will be a fundamental feature of the 1 century. Another response to social exclusion and economic insignificance: the exclusion of exceptional excluded.

Castells explains that due to the fact that the whole world according to the logic of the network society is bound in the basic structures of life and in the future will be even more strongly bound, peace will not care choice these people and states. He accepts, and will take the form of fundamentalist assertion of an alternative set of values ​​and principles of existence, in which can be no coexistence with evil system, generating as much damage to people's lives.

Global geopolitics will also be governed by the principle of multilateralism, as the United Nations and regional international institutions ASEAN, OEA, or OAU will play an increasingly important role in the management of international or even national conflicts. To enforce their decisions, they will increasingly use the associations created for the safety of their members, such as NATO.

For example, in the autumn of 1996 the Clinton administration has proposed a number of African States and the Organization of African Unity, the creation of the African rapid reaction force, connected to the UN, armed and trained by the United States and funded by the US, European Union and Japan. This proposal was not implemented, however, it may be a characteristic of a model for future international armies, ready to save the world in global networks and their component parts and / or prevent genocides like the Rwandese.

Among the issues of global security, – the Castells – appear to be dominated by three major problems. The first of them – is the growing tension in the zone of the Pacific, as China asserts its global power, Japan is in the next round of national paranoia, and Korea, Indonesia and India react to it, and more. The second – is a revival of Russian power. The conditions under which post-communist Russia, or will not be included in the multilateral system of global governance, to determine the future geometry of the boundaries of military alliances.

The third problem is probably the most crucial of all, and is likely to determine the safety of the world in general for a long time. It is associated with new forms of warfare, to be used by individuals, organizations and states, strong in their convictions, weak in their military means, but the ability to find access to new technologies of destruction, as well as the vulnerabilities of our societies.

Criminal gangs may also resort to high intensity confrontation when they see no other choice that experienced in Colombia 1990. Global or local terrorism is widely regarded as the main threat of the end of the millennium. (507-511pp.) The fundamental contradiction in geopolitics will increasingly dominate between the multilateralism of decision-making and the unilateralism of military implementation of these decisions. This is because after the Soviet Union collapsed because of the new Russian technological backwardness of the United States and will remain for the near future, the only military superpower. Thus, most of the decisions affecting the security must be carried out or supported by the international community, to be truly effective and credible.

**Control questions and tasks:**

1. On the example of the media moguls Ted Turner, Hurst, Silvio Berlusconi, show how they can influence the policy of the state.

2. What causes of the conflict in Chechnya?

3. What Castells says about the role of new information technologies?

4. Military theorists of the sixth-generation wars. What is the WTO?

5. Prepare a brief overview of the materials from NYTimes.

**Kazakh Capital, a Post-Soviet Creation, Is Growing Real Roots**

**By** [**ANNE BARNARD**](https://www.nytimes.com/by/anne-barnard)

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ASTANA, Kazakhstan — The [Astana Opera](mailto:http://culturemap.kz/en/object/teatr-opery-i-baleta-astana-opera) towers over a windswept plaza in this capital on the Central Asian steppe, a near-copy of Moscow’s neoclassical Bolshoi Theater, right down to the sculpture of galloping horses on the roof. Across a broad avenue stands the tilted, irregular cone of Khan Shatyr, a shopping mall designed as the world’s largest tent. Its roof is supported by a single slanting pole to evoke the nomadic history of the Kazakhs, a Turkic ethnic group slowly reasserting its identity after centuries of Russian rule. In between stands a fanciful construction all Astana’s own: one of the “ice cities” that dot the freezing capital in winter. Children scoot down ice slides, and at night, ice sculptures glow with candy-colored lights.

Since the fall of the Soviet Union made [Kazakhstan](http://topics.nytimes.com/top/news/international/countriesandterritories/kazakhstan/index.html?inline=nyt-geo) an independent state in 1991, it has been cultivating relationships with Russia, its longtime hegemon, and Turkey, which invested early in the new nation and shares some of its cultural roots. It’s easy to see why Astana was Russia’s choice to host [a new track](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/01/23/world/middleeast/syria-astana-talks-russia-turkey.html) of [Syrian peace talks](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/01/24/world/middleeast/syria-war-iran-russia-turkey-cease-fire.html) this year. Convening talks five time zones east of Geneva — where talks have been sputtering along without progress for years — underscored what Russia’s president, Vladimir V. Putin, described recently as a desire for a “post-West” international order.

Astana also represents the success of Kazakhstan’s leader, Nursultan Nazarbayev, in managing Moscow. The country’s only president since independence — elected five times with 97.5 percent of the vote — Mr. Nazarbayev has created a kind of “authoritarian lite” system that has more in common with the strongman rule in Russia, and increasingly in Turkey, than with Europe. He has sought to strike a balance between accommodating Russian power and pushing back, and Kazakhstan has avoided the territorial disputes with Russia and the ethnic and religious conflicts that have plagued other post-Soviet states.

“We don’t have such problems,” said Abzal Abdiev, 25, who gave me and two friends an amateur tour of Astana, pointing out the sights with evident pride. The city’s very existence embodies the anxious, centuries-old dance between Moscow and the mostly Muslim regions that line Russia’s southern periphery, from the states and semiautonomous republics of the Caucasus region north of Turkey all the way to Kazakhstan’s eastern tip, farther east than Kathmandu. When I first visited Kazakhstan in 1993, Astana did not exist. I was sent by my editor at [The Moscow Times](https://themoscowtimes.com/) to buttonhole Mr. Nazarbayev at a ribbon-cutting for a power plant in the country’s remote north, near the Russian border. A Russian nationalist parliamentarian, Vladimir Zhirinovsky, had been calling for Russia to seize back the mostly ethnically Russian area, where he was born.

Mr. Nazarbayev brushed off the threat; Russia was weakened then, and any such move was unlikely. But a few months later, he decreed that the capital would move from Almaty — the country’s largest city, in the more populous, more ethnically Kazakh south — to the northern steppe. The move demonstrated power and ambition, but also placed a marker on the map, shoring up Kazakhstan’s possession of the area.

Astana was built in a hurry, by renaming and augmenting a provincial town called Akmola (in the Soviet era, Tselinograd). Mr. Nazarbayev was turning Kazakhstan into a resource-rich, consequential state, winning vast Caspian Sea gas fields in negotiations with Russia and cultivating global approval by giving up Soviet nuclear weapons left on his territory. He recruited [famous international architects](https://www.nytimes.com/2014/08/22/arts/international/In-Astana-Kazakhstan-a-Shimmering-Skyline-on-the-Steppe.html) like Norman Foster to dot Astana with structures of his own conception, like a tower with a gilded globe evoking a golden egg from Kazakh legend. More than one public building has an imprint of his palm where citizens place their hands for good luck.

Today, Astana is sometimes nicknamed the “Dubai of the North,” bustling with business travelers and [offering tourists](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2017/travel/places-to-visit.html) and residents indoor entertainment in forbidding weather. Its answer to steamy Dubai’s indoor ski slope is a beach club, complete with sand, on the top level of the Khan Shatyr mall.When he dreamed up the city, Mr. Nazarbayev had been dealt a potentially explosive challenge: The population was about evenly divided between ethnic Russians, many unenthusiastic about suddenly being citizens of Kazakhstan, and Kazakhs, estranged by Soviet rule from their language and from an Islamic tradition layered on older shamanism. Astana hints at his approach to the problem. Mr. Nazarbayev has sought to forge a national identity separate from Russia but not too exclusive of Russians, now a large minority. And he has led a restoration of Kazakh and Islamic identity, embedded firmly in state-imposed moderation — with a dose of a personality cult.

The National Museum greets visitors with a two-story portrait of Mr. Nazarbayev decked in medals and flanked with murals from Kazakh history. Exhibits highlight Kazakh crafts and horsemanship, battles with czarist Russia, proud moments in Soviet history (the space program, the World War II victory). But they also document hunger and privation in a prison camp for dissidents’ wives and children where Astana now stands. Mr. Abdiev, our guide, was born a year after independence, but his elders, he said, remember Soviet days as “bad times,” when food was rationed and “you couldn’t get good shoes.” Things are better now, he said, pointing out neon-lit toy stores, affordable Turkish clothing shops, modest but sturdy apartment blocks, glassy luxury towers and a CrossFit Astana. Mr. Abdiev grew up in an agricultural area farther south, training colts and riding bareback; his family, ethnic Kazakhs, raised horses for riding and meat, the national delicacy. His early playmates, he said, were Russian neighbors, and all the children spoke both languages. In the Hazrat Sultan Mosque, the largest in Central Asia, detailed instructions on how to pray are written in Kazakh — though not Russian — for people still learning the religion, pointing them to [Muslim.Kz](http://muslim.kz/kk) for more information. Its soaring dome and intricate decoration are reminiscent of Istanbul’s Blue Mosque, but with lighter blues — recalling the turquoise of the Kazakh flag. Kazakh officials often sound themes of religious coexistence and moderate Islam, which is reassuring to neighboring Russia, home to 20 million Muslims. Mr. Putin recently noted that 4,000 Russian citizens and 5,000 citizens of other post-Soviet states had joined Islamist insurgents in Syria, a concern cited as one reason for Russia’s intervention there.

Mr. Nazarbayev has promised political reforms to bring in a new, less powerful president. Still, Kazakhstan falls short of democracy and good governance, ranking poorly in indexes of corruption and press freedom. In smaller, less favored towns, conditions can be far worse, with rickety infrastructure and coal pollution. For now, Astana, an artificially created city, is growing some roots of a real one. At the Astana Opera one night, the gilded and red velvet hall was packed. Latecomers skittered across the marble floor to avoid missing the curtain. Dancers, mostly Kazakh but also from other former Soviet republics, performed excerpts from [Russian classical ballets](mailto:http://www.globaltimes.cn/content/1031092.shtml). Posters advertised [newer productions](http://astanatimes.com/2017/02/astana-opera-to-premiere-kazakh-masterpiece-kyz-zhibek/) based on Kazakh folk tales.

At intermission, patrons sported clothing as stylish as any in Moscow. Couples posed with mannequins in costumes designed for classic Russian operas and ballets but featuring Central Asian fabrics, hats and jewelry. Little girls twirled like ballerinas. Asked why he was driving a cab in subzero Astana instead of raising horses down south, Mr. Abdiev, the guide, answered like any young fortune seeker. “Well,” he said simply, “it’s the capital.”

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**Conclusion**

In conclusion, it should be noted that the theme of «The coverage of the International Military Conflicts in Mass Media & the International Humanitarian Law» still remains topical as well as. Conflicts in the regions covered by both local and foreign journalists. Journalists may defend the lawfulness of a particular point of view, if you are sure that it is objective. However, one thing is clear: Information – not a unique thing. Also for the dry facts of the chain – the struggle of opinions, political groups and states. On the one hand, lies, censorship «military-political machine», on the other – the truth of the real facts emanating from the universal principles of freedom of expression and pluralism, love of neighbor, the rejection of force and approval of the principles of humanity.

Unfortunately, the state cannot provide safe conditions for journalists working in «hot spots». Journalists are particularly at risk, and the successful execution of their work is threatened. In general, the journalist is in danger of war. It may be a victim of direct military action. All this is the risk associated with being in a combat zone. Also a journalist can become a victim of unlawful actions by the authorities, in particular the armed forces or the police, the country where he or she is either voluntarily or against their will.

The norms of international can guarantee journalists humanitarian law the protection, it is still unreliable. However, in the development of humanitarian law is an important step forward was made: it was confirmed that the journalist who is on a business trip in a war zone is a civilian and must, therefore, under any circumstances, is under the protection provided to any civilian.

Said in time information is important, but it has certain drawbacks, especially for the formation of world opinion. It lacks analysis and full context of the events. However, this operational information is of great importance for society.

People believe in the integrity, objectivity and understanding of their professional duty of journalists working in conflict zones. The dynamics of the conflict depends on their work. Therefore, they should refrain from publishing materials based on untested data and leading eventually to the creation of the enemy in the face of entire nations; to refrain from violence justifications, terror, no matter what goals proclaim the person in them guilty; promptly and fully inform the public about the documents governing the situation in the conflict regions; renounce the use of the materials on conflict, propaganda clichés, reciprocal links on ethnic and professional handicap; refrain from using provocative and offensive terms; facilitate the search for the settlement model to ensure lasting peace and rule out the possibility of military action, as well as to support the efforts aimed at preserving stability in the world.

In spite of everything, the media in conflict situations demonstrates the relevant requirements of the profession – responsibility and qualifications.

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