

subjects related to media, peace and security.

The University for Peace was established as a Treaty Organization with its own Charter in an International Agreement, adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in Resolution 35/55 of 5 December 1980 with the mission “to provide humanity with an international institution of higher education for peace and with the aim of promoting among all human beings the spirit of understanding, tolerance and peaceful coexistence, to stimulate cooperation among peoples and to help lessen obstacles and threats to world peace and progress, in keeping with the noble aspirations proclaimed in the Charter of the United Nations.”

The University for Peace, by publishing this kind of books, hopes to contribute to the noble endeavor of educating for peace. The institutional aspiration is that this textbook can inspire scholars and practitioners to organize intensive courses on the mentioned subjects.



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THE ROLE OF THE MEDIA IN CONFLICT PREVENTION AND PEACE BUILDING



The University for Peace is proud to publish, *The Role of the Media in Conflict Prevention and Peace Building*, a course description that includes syllabus, teacher's manual, detailed structure and suggested readings.

The course described in this book is rich in ideas, theories, examples and case studies, and analyzes the crucial issue of the media's role in conflict and peace. It neither blames the media for starting and fueling wars nor promotes them as potential peace-makers. It simply sees the press as a uniquely powerful echo chamber of competing realities.

The Institute for Media, Peace and Security, established by the University for Peace, has produced this book, which has two authors: Clyde Sanger, Ottawa correspondent of the *Economist*, and Alvaro Sierra, deputy editor of the Colombian newspaper *El Tiempo*. Both of them are Visiting Professors in the University for Peace in

INSTITUTE FOR MEDIA, PEACE AND SECURITY



INSTITUTE FOR MEDIA, PEACE AND SECURITY





THE ROLE OF THE MEDIA  
IN CONFLICT PREVENTION  
AND PEACE BUILDING





UNIVERSITY FOR PEACE



# THE ROLE OF THE MEDIA IN CONFLICT PREVENTION AND PEACE BUILDING

INSTITUTE FOR MEDIA, PEACE AND SECURITY

UNIVERSITY FOR PEACE

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## FOREWORD

Efforts to study how the media affect conflict and peace gathered momentum only after the tragic Balkan and Rwanda blood-lettings of the 1990s. Until then, the world paid far too little attention to these famous and seminal words of the UNESCO Constitution: "...since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed." From 1991 when, the University for Peace began its expansion programme, it recognized this bedrock truth. In April 2001, it established its Institute for Media, Peace and Security (IMPS). The Institute's primary aim: to study and teach the many roles, positive and negative, that media can play before, during and after conflict.

The University for Peace is proud to publish the present textbook, the first of a series, which covers the Institute's challenging introductory course: *The Media in Conflict Prevention and Peace Building*. This course, rich in ideas, theories, examples and case-studies, analyzes the crucial issues of the media in relation to conflict and peace. It neither blames the media for starting wars nor promotes them as potential peace-makers.

The media can exert a decisive influence —constructive or polarizing— in any given situation. Ambitious politicians, whether dictators or not, try to tame the media (sometimes violently) and

to make journalists into sycophants. Enlightened ones try to tell their peoples, through the media, what their goals are, and to solicit their support. There is no democracy without free, responsible media.

And there is no peace. Bernard Kouchner, an experienced, multi-mission humanitarian, reflecting on his role as United Nations High Representative in Kosovo emphasized that: “In situations of conflict, without the media you can do nothing.”

The University for Peace, in establishing its Institute for Media, Peace and Security, has been a pioneer in stimulating interest in this dynamic new field. I expect that the early popularity among our students of this introductory media-peace-and-conflict course will continue and grow. I warmly congratulate the course’s two remarkable authors: Clyde Sanger, Ottawa correspondent of *The Economist*, and Alvaro Sierra, deputy editor of the distinguished Colombian newspaper *El Tiempo*. Each teacher of this course, and each participant, will bring to this learning experience new and unique perspectives.

I hope that your study of the ideas and lessons presented in this course, will enable you to make positive contributions to peace in the future and I wish you all most stimulating, thought-provoking exchanges.

R.M. LEES  
Rector  
University for Peace

*April 2005*

# COURSE SYLLABUS

## *1. Specific course title*

The Role of the Media in Conflict Prevention and Peace Building

## *2. UPEACE code / credits: IPS-6093/3*

Face-to-face learning: 40 hours

## *3. Prerequisites*

The course is intended to fit in the International Peace Studies MA and to be taught at UPEACE campus in San José, Costa Rica, for standard students. So, the same requirements demanded for the International Peace Studies Master's p will apply.

For the intensive training version, intended to be taught off-campus in different parts of the world, the single requirement will be that the student should be either a journalist, an NGO staff member, a government or an international agency officer with experience and/or interest in conflict situations, in peacekeeping and peace building, in humanitarian work and in the role the media play in those situations.

#### *4. Course description*

The course discusses the complex role played by the media —and the problems they face— in conflict situations, whether before, during and after the actual conflict. It also addresses the clashing relationships that often occur among media and governments, the military, other armed players and NGOs, international agencies and humanitarian organizations in these circumstances. The course provides a broad understanding of the modern history of media in conflict and war situations, and draws the distinction between information and propaganda, while explaining the ways in which media work and produce information and discusses the different roles they actually play —and the possible ones they could play. The course is intended as a general introduction on these topics. It analyses dozens of examples and draws lessons from contemporary experience.

Can the media be a tool for peace in a broad sense? What kind of role can media play in an escalating conflict, in preventing any greater explosion, in helping in peacekeeping or peace building situations? Should media and journalists have a ‘peace agenda’ and try to save lives, or should they stick to the business of informing and doing it accurately and independently? What are the differences between covering a war in which their own country is involved and covering “other’s wars”, i.e., wars where media are just observers?

#### *5. Course length*

4 hours. For the IPS MA it is intended to follow a standard semester. For intensive training it is intended to be taught in a two-week period that can be adjusted to fit particular conditions in target countries or specific target audiences.

The course is expandable upon UPEACE IPS MA request to 60 hours or 4 credits.

## 6. *Instructors*

Proposed visiting professors:

Keith Spicer. Director, Institute for Media, Peace and Security. Paris. kspicer@wanadoo.fr

Clyde Sanger. Correspondent, *The Economist*. Ottawa. 1-613 233 7133. clydesanger@sympatico.ca

Álvaro Sierra. Deputy Editor, *El Tiempo*; president, Medios para la Paz. Bogota. 57-1 243 2355. sierra@etb.net.co

## 7. *Course meeting times and place*

Times: as defined by UPEACE.

Place: UPEACE campus and other designated places.

## 8. *Course overview*

The course is divided into 16 modules or sections, each one addressing a specific topic. Eight country case-studies explore in depth particular situations before, during and after conflict where the media have played significant roles. Refer to point 12 and to teacher's manual for a detailed overview.

### 8.1 *Intended participants*

The course is intended for graduate students with an interest and/or background in humanitarian work or conflict and peace building situations, for journalists covering conflict and war and for NGO staff, government officials and staff of international agencies.

### 8.2 *Minimum and maximum number of students envisaged*

Between 15 and 20 students.

### *8.3 Prerequisite knowledge, skills, or sensitivities*

For the students at UPEACE campus, prerequisites are the same demanded for the IPS MA.

Students in other places should have a good knowledge either of conflict and peace building and peacekeeping situations or of media coverage in those situations. A background in humanitarian work, previous experience in managing media as a press or PR officer or an insider's understanding of the media would be an asset.

### *8.4 Type of issues addressed*

This course addresses the full range of issues encompassing media involvement in situations preceding, during and following conflicts:

- a history of war coverage and the evolution of media;
- how media work and produce information;
- the relationship between media and the military, NGOs, politicians, governments;
- propaganda and spin;
- censorship;
- media and peacekeeping;
- media and peace building;
- women war correspondents;
- media and security;
- how much influence the media has in forming foreign policy.

The course also deals with issues relating to the media's great influence in modern society, the concept of the 'information society' and the key role communication and information play in it; how media gather and collate information; media needs, their interests and agenda vis à vis the agenda

of NGOs, states and governments, armed forces or politicians. Ethics, and some particular moral implications for people working in conflict situations, will also be addressed.

### *8.5 Relations to larger issues of peace and conflict*

The course is intended to explore, through examples and conceptual analysis, the role that media has played during the escalation, management and resolution of conflicts. At the same time, it discusses the possible roles media could play to prevent conflict or to help in its resolution, and the different schools of thought in this relatively new field of studies. Media and foreign policy, media and terrorism, media and security, ethical implications for people working in a conflict environment are key topics in this course.

### *8.6 Where the course fits within the general programme of study*

As the media play a monumental role in modern society and because during the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century it became the main channel for people to gain information about war and peace, about the world and about distant countries, this course is an indispensable part of any programme that deals with peace issues, and specifically for UPEACE MA on international peace studies.

### *8.7 Degree to which this course is oriented toward academic vis-à-vis professional education.*

The course is essentially an academic one, an introduction to the relatively new field of studies in peace, media and security. In its intensive training format, the course will help the participants to enhance their professional skills.

## *9. Course purpose, goals, and objectives*

### General objectives:

The student should acquire a good understanding about how media work, their various agenda and the inner mechanisms of the modern systems of information production.

The student will understand the complexity of media involvement in different conflict situations and the different ways in which it takes place: the situation of local media in a country in conflict; external media intervention through foreign-funded media projects, etc.

The student will during the course analyse the clashes and confrontations that arise in conflict situations between the media and such other players as governments, NGOs, humanitarian and PR officers.

### Specific objectives:

The students will come to understand the basic debates about how media play a role in conflict and peace building. He or she will gain a fair understanding of the answer to such questions as: are media able to influence foreign policy?, are media able to help peace?, if so, how?

The student will learn about, and be able to discuss, several specific cases that illustrate the outcomes of media intervention in a given situation.

The student will understand the difference between propaganda (and the part played by state-controlled media) and information (and the so-called 'free media'), and the role both have played in conflict.

### Outcomes:

Following the course, the student should be able to understand the various prospects for media involvement in situations before during and after conflicts.

He or she should have the basic tools for planning a media intervention, to work with local media or to advise people working with them in these situations.

As well, the student should have the tools to assess the possible outcome of a given intervention.

Finally, the student should have the analytical tools for understanding the different role media have played in a number of contemporary conflicts, through case studies and examples, and for the ethical implications involved.

#### *10. Teaching method/Class format*

The course involves different pedagogical methods. Lectures will be employed for several modules, while a Q&A system will be used for others. Group discussion will be a very important element in the course. Some lessons will be devoted to the case studies, which will be researched, prepared and presented to the class by groups of two or three students, as indicated in the teacher's manual and these will be related to specific topics. The teacher will also create scenarios or recreate actual historical ones, and distribute roles to the students to act in them. Press clippings, audio and videotape material will be employed in several lessons.

As almost anyone in modern society has their own ideas about the media and every student is a media consumer, the best method for a course of this kind is to try to put on the table people's beliefs and preconceptions, prejudices and analysis about the role of the media, and then to discuss them, while providing some conceptual tools. The analysis of examples will be an extremely important part of the teaching.

## 11. Learning resources

### 11.1 Required texts

Cantigny Conference series, published by the Robert R. McCormick Tribune Foundation, Chicago: *The Military and the Media: Facing the Future* (1998).

Castells, M. (1996-8). *The Information Age: Economy, Society, and Culture* (3 vols.) Oxford and Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers. Vol. 1 (1996). *The Rise of the Network Society*.

Gilboa, E. (ed.) (2002), *Media and Conflict: Framing Issues, Making Policy, Shaping Opinions*. Transnational Publishers.

Hess, S. and M. Kalb. (2003). *The Media and the War on Terrorism*. Washington: Brookings Institution Press, and Harvard University: Joan Shorenstein Center on the Press, Politics and Public Policy.

Ignatieff, Michael. (1994). *Blood and Belonging: Journeys into the New Nationalism*. Toronto: Penguin Books.

Knightley, P. (2002). *The First Casualty: The War Correspondent as Hero and Myth-Maker from the Crimea to Kosovo*. Johns Hopkins University Press.

Luhmann, N. (ed.) (2000). *The Reality of the Mass Media*. Kathleen Cross (trans.), Stanford University Press.

Off, Carol (2000). *The Lion, the Fox and the Eagle*. Toronto: Random House Canada.

Seib, P. (2002). *The Global Journalist: News and Conscience in a World of Conflict*. New York and Boulder: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers Ltd.

## *11.2 Supplemental or recommended readings*

- Adie, Kate (2002). *The Kindness of Strangers*. London: Headline Book Publishing.
- Alterman, E. (2003). *What Liberal Media? The Truth about Bias and the News*. New York: Basic Books.
- Arquilla, John and Ronfeldt, David (1997). *In Athena's Camp: Preparing for Conflict in the Information Age*. Washington and Santa Monica: Rand Publishers.
- Balnaves, Mark. (2001). *The Penguin Atlas of Media and Information: Key Issues and Global Trends*. New York: Penguin.
- Cantigny Conference series, published by the Robert R. McCormick Tribune Foundation, Chicago.  
*Reporting the Next War* (1992). *The Media and the Military in Peace and Humanitarian Operations* (2000). *Catastrophic Terrorism: Imminent Threat, Uncertain Response* (2001).  
*Terrorism: Informing the Public* (2002).  
*Narrowing the Gap: Military, Media and the Iraq War* (2004).
- Cahill, Kevin (ed.) (1996). *Preventive Diplomacy: Stopping Wars before they Start*. New York: Basic Books (Harper Collins Publishers).
- Carruthers, Susan L. (2000). *The Media at War: Communication and Conflict in the Twentieth Century*, Palgrave Macmillan.
- Castells, M. (2003) *The Information Age: Economy, Society and Culture* (3 vols.) Oxford and Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers. Vol. 2 (1997). *The Power of Identity*. Vol. 3 (1998). *End of Millenium*.

- Castells, M. (2003). *The Internet Galaxy: Reflections on Internet, Business and Society*. Oxford University Press.
- Chomsky, N. (2002). *Media Control: The Spectacular Achievements of Propaganda*. New York: Seven Stories Press.
- Coulon, Jocelyn (1998). *Soldiers of Diplomacy: The United Nations, Peacekeeping, and the New World Order*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Crook, Tim (1998). *International Radio Journalism: History, Theory and Practice*, Communication and Society, Routledge.
- Cull, J., D. Culbert and D. Welch. (2003). *Propaganda and Mass Persuasion: An Historical Encyclopedia, 1500 to the Present*, -----, -----.
- Davis, A. (ed). (2000). *Regional Media in Conflict. Case Studies in Local War Reporting*. London: Institute for War and Peace Reporting,
- Desmond, Robert W. History of International News Reporting. University of Iowa Press. *Tides of War: World News Reporting 1931-1945*. (1984).
- Desmond, Robert W. (1937). *The Press and World Affairs*, Doctoral Dissertation, London School of Economics and Political Science.
- Desmond, Robert W. History of International News Reporting (4 vols.) University of Iowa Press: *The Information Process: World News Reporting to the Twentieth Century*. (1978). *Windows on the World: World News Reporting 1900-1920*. (1981). *Crisis and Conflict* (1983).

- Downie, L. and R. Kaiser. (2002). *The News About the News: American Journalism in Peril*. Toronto: Vintage Books.
- Emery, E. (1972). *The Press and America: An Interpretative History of the Mass Media*. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.
- Galama, Aneke and Paul Van Tongeren (eds.) (2002) *Toward Better Peace-building Practice: Lessons Learned, Evaluation Practices and Aid and Conflict*. European Centre for Conflict Prevention.
- Giles, B. (2001). *Coverage of Terrorism*. Niemann Reports, Vol. 55, N° 4. The Niemann Foundation at Harvard University.
- Gorman, L. and D. McLean. (2003). *Media and Society in the Twentieth Century: An Historical Introduction*. Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishing.
- Gowing, N. (1994). *Real Time Television Coverage of Armed Conflicts and Diplomatic Crises: Does it Pressure or Distort Foreign Policy Decisions?* Paper, Joan Sorenstein Barone Center on the Press, Politics and Public Policy, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University.
- Gowing, N. (1997). *Media Convergence: Help or Hindrance in Conflict Prevention?* New York: Carnegie Corporation on Preventing Deadly Conflict.
- Hallin, D. (1989). The “*Uncensored War*”, *The Media and Vietnam*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Hemingway, Ernest. (ed.) (1942). *Men at War: The Best War Stories of All Time*. New York: Wings Books.
- Hobsbawn, E. (1995). *Age of Extremes: The Short Twentieth Century, 1914-1991*. London: Abacus.

- Howard, R. et al. (eds.). (2003). *The Power of the Media: A Handbook for Peacebuilders*. Utrecht: European Centre for Conflict Prevention.
- Ignatieff, M. (2001). *Virtual War: Kosovo and Beyond*. Toronto: Penguin Books.
- Ignatieff, M. (May 2004). *The Lesser Evil: Political Ethics in an Age of Terror*. Gifford Lectures, Princeton University Press.
- Kapuscinski, Ryszard. *The Shadow of the Sun*. Toronto: Vintage Canada Books.
- Keegan, J. (1994). *A History of Warfare*. New York and Toronto: Vintage Books.
- Keegan, J. (2000). *The Book of War: 25 Centuries of Great War Writing*. New York: Penguin Books.
- Kurspahic, K. (2003). *Prime Time Crime: Balkan Media in War and Peace*. Washington: United States Institute of Peace.
- Lacqueur, W. (2001). *A History of Terrorism*. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction Publishers.
- Lebens, Nacos (2002). *Mass-Mediated Terrorism: The Central Role of the Media in Terrorism and Counter Terrorism*. New York and Boulder, Colorado: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers Inc.
- Lehman, Ingrid (1999). *Peacekeeping and Public Information: Caught in the Crossfire*. Cass Series on Peacekeeping, N° 5.
- Ludtke, M., (ed.) (2001), *Coverage of Terrorism, Niemann Reports, Vol. 55, N° 4*. Cambridge Massachusetts: The Niemann Foundation for Journalism at Harvard University

- Lynch, J. (2002). *Reporting the World 1*. Taplow Court: Conflict and Peace Forums.
- Marlin, Randal (2003). *Propaganda and the Ethics of Persuasion*. Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview Press.
- Miller, D. (ed.) (2004). *Tell me Lies: Propaganda and Media Distortion in the Attack on Iraq*. London: Pluto Press.
- Minear L., S. Colin, S. and T. Weiss. *The News Media, Civil War, and Humanitarian Action*.
- Parenti, M. *Inventing Reality: The Politics of News Media*.
- Price, M., Verhulst, S. and Rozumilowicz, B. (eds.), (2001). *Media Reform: Democratizing Media, Democratizing the State*. London” Routledge.
- Price, M and Thompson, M. (2002). *Forging Peace: Intervnetion, Human Rights and the Management of Media Space*. (Programme in Comparative Media Law and Policy at Wolfson College, Oxford University), Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Said, Edward. (1997). *Covering Islam*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Smith, Anthony (1979). *The Newspaper: an International History*. London: Thames and Hudson.
- Smith, D. (2003). *Atlas of War and Peace*. London: Earthscan and the Institute of War and Peace Reporting.
- Solomon, N., and R. Erlich (2003). *Target Iraq: What the News Media Didn't Tell You*, New York: Context Books.
- Sweeney, Michael (2002). *From the Front: The Story of War through Correspondents*, National Geographic Society.

- Taylor, P. (1992). *War and the Media: Propaganda and Persuasion in the Gulf War*. Manchester University Press.
- Thompson, M. (1999). *Forging War: the Media in Serbia, Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina*. Bedfordshire: University of Luton Press and London: Article 19.
- Wilkinson, P. (1997). The Media and Terrorism: a Reassessment, in *Terrorism and Political Violence, Vol. 9, N° 2*. London: Frank Cass.
- Williams, Raymond (1981). *Contact: Human Communication and its History*. London: Thames and Hudson.
- Williams, Raymond (2003). *Television*. London: Routledge Classics, Taylor & Francis.
- Wolfsfeld, Gadi (2004). *Media and the Path to Peace*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Wolfsfeld, Gadi (1997). *Media and Political Conflict: News from the Middle East*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

### 11.3 Audio-visual resources

From the archives of British Movietone News, one of five cinema newsreels operating from 1929, we have acquired footage to illustrate events in which media played an important if sometimes questionable or equivocal role. The videotape footage includes scenes during the Spanish civil war; Chamberlain's flight to Munich in October 1938, his 'Peace in our Time' speech on his return and protesting London crowds; the firebombing of Dresden in February 1945; and the first footage taken inside the Belsen concentration camp in April 1945, part of which was used as evidence in the Nuremberg tri-

als. These will be used to stimulate discussion on several topics: for example, the decision not to comment on the merits of the Munich Accord giving Sudetenland to the Nazis, and the decision to delay showing Belsen footage.

Footage is the following:

BMN56 5026. Spanish Civil War and It's Complications  
BMN61 31195. Massed Troop Formations Before Hitler  
BMN70 34500. Crowds at Trafalgar Square Support Czechs  
BMN117 45531. Elimination of Dresden  
BMN118 45699. 'Atrocities – The Evidence'  
CUTS27 45720. Belsen Concentration Camp

Among audio resources illustrating the use of the media to broadcast propaganda we have tapes of Churchill's own voice declaring "We shall fight on the beaches" and two subsequent speeches, and in contrast the final broadcast from Germany in May 1945 of the Nazi propagandist 'Lord Haw Haw' (William Joyce) together with clips of some of his earlier broadcasts.

Other audio resource is the recording of Rwanda's Radio et Télévision Mille Collines inciting hatred and calling to ethnic cleansing.

A further form of visual resource is a set of 21 postcards produced in Belgium and Italy in 1915 depicting Nurse Edith Cavell's arrest, trial and execution by German firing squad for having sheltered fugitive soldiers at her Brussels institute and helped them escape to neutral Holland. These illustrate both propaganda uses of 'atrocities stories' as well as governments' need to create media heroes. Another example of the latter is the British generals' acceptance of dubious claims by the Canadian WW1 pilot Billy Bishop that won him the Victoria Cross.

## *11.4 Web-based resources*

11.5 [www.mediapeace.org](http://www.mediapeace.org) Institute of Media, Peace and Security, University of Peace. Resource Center with over 2.100 annotated sites, books and articles.

[www.journalism.org/](http://www.journalism.org/) Project for Excellence in Journalism.

[www.i-m-s.dk/](http://www.i-m-s.dk/) International Media Support.

[www.nyu.edu/cwpm/](http://www.nyu.edu/cwpm/) New York University Center for War, Peace and the News Media.

[www.poesis.org](http://www.poesis.org) The Peace Journalism Option.

[www.jrn.columbia.edu](http://www.jrn.columbia.edu) Columbia University School of Journalism.

[www.icfj.org](http://www.icfj.org) International Centre for Journalists.

[www.uta.fi-ethicnet-ifj.html](http://www.uta.fi-ethicnet-ifj.html) International Federation of Journalists, Declaration of Principles of Conduct for Journalists.

<http://knightcenter.utexas.edu/> Knight Centre for Journalism in the Americas, University of Texas in Austin.

[www.cpj.org](http://www.cpj.org) Committee to Protect Journalists

[www.osce.org/kosovo/bodies/tmc/](http://www.osce.org/kosovo/bodies/tmc/) Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe's Temporary Media Commissioner in Kosovo.

[www.impacs.org/](http://www.impacs.org/) Institute for Media, Policy and Civil Society. Canada.

[www.ifex.org](http://www.ifex.org) International Freedom of Expression Exchange.

[www.freemedia.at](http://www.freemedia.at) International Press Institute.

[www.soros.org/initiatives/media](http://www.soros.org/initiatives/media) Open Society Foundation-  
Network Media Programme.

[www.rsf.fr/](http://www.rsf.fr/) Reporters without Borders.

[www.sfcg.org](http://www.sfcg.org) Search for Common Ground.

[www.wan-press.org/index.php3](http://www.wan-press.org/index.php3) World Association of  
Newspapers.

[www.poynter.org/research/me.htm](http://www.poynter.org/research/me.htm) The Poynter Institute.

[www.wilsoncenter.org/subsites/ccpdc/events/journ/jofr.htm](http://www.wilsoncenter.org/subsites/ccpdc/events/journ/jofr.htm)  
Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict. Journal-  
ists Covering Conflict: Norms of Conduct

[http://wwics.si.edu/index.cfm?fuseaction=topics.home&topic\\_id=1411](http://wwics.si.edu/index.cfm?fuseaction=topics.home&topic_id=1411) Woodrow Wilson Center for Scholars' Conflict  
Prevention Project.

## *12. Detailed outline of instructional sessions/units*

For a detailed in-point sketch of each session see teacher's manual.

<b>Session</b>	<b>Time</b>	<b>Topic</b>	<b>Assigned readings</b>	<b>Assignments</b>
1	1 hour	General Introduction	Dizdarevic (1994)	
2	2 hours	History of the evolution of media, technology and war coverage part 1.	Castells (1996), Gorman, L. and McLean D. (2003), Hobsbawn, E. (1995), McLaughlin, G. (2002).	
3	2 hours	History of the evolution media,	Castells (1996), Gorman, L. and	

Session	Time	Topic	Assigned readings	Assignments
		technology and war coverage part 2	McLean D. (2003), Hobsbawn, E. (1995), McLaughlin, G. (2002).	
4	2 hours	Media influence in modern societies: differing agenda and agenda setting theory	Cunningham, B. (2003), Kennedy, G. (2002), Luhmann, N. (2000), Downie, L. and Kaiser, R. (2002) Williams, R (2003), Ignatieff, M. (2003)	
5	2 hours	Differences between radio, TV, newspapers and magazines	Downie, L. and Kaiser, R. (2002), Project of Excellence in Journalism (2004)	
6	1 hour	Case study: Anti-Globalization Movements	See Case Studies	Group presentation
7	2 hours	Media and conflict: how conflict influences media; can media influence conflict?	Howard, R. et al. (eds.). (2003), Hess, S. and Kalb, M. (2003).	
8	1 hour	Case Study: Colombia	See Case Studies	Group presentation
9	2 hours	Women journalists and conflict: advantages, assets, and drawbacks in their war coverage	Nieman Reports (2001), Higonet, M., editor (1999), Hollingworth, C. (1990).	
10	1:30 hours	Media and politicians: the growing 'spectacularization' of politics	Alterman, E. (2003), Castells, M. (1996-8), Povich, S. (1996)	Research paper 1
11	2 hours	Propaganda, censorship and spin: a	Auleta, K. (2004), Fitzgerald N. (2003),	

Session	Time	Topic	Assigned readings	Assignments
		history of propaganda and modern ways of manipulating information	Preston, P. (2003), Topping, S. (2003), Marlin, R. (2002), Keegan, J. (2000), Rich, F. (2004)	
12	1 hour	Case study: Rwanda	See Case Studies	Group presentation
13	2 hours	Media, security and the military: the 'information war' and the clashing interests of the media and the military at war	Adie, K. (2002), Nieman Reports (2001), Cantigny Conference series (1993-2004), Knightley, P. (2000), Miller, D. (2004), Mitchell, G. (February 14 2003), Thompson, M. (2002)	
14	1 hour	Case study: Vietnam	See Case Studies	Group presentation
15	2 hours	Media and terrorism: a symbiotic relationship	BBC (2004), Cantigny Conference series (2002) 193. Wilkinson, P. (1997).	
16	1 hour	Case study: Persian Gulf and Iraq wars	See Case Studies	Group presentation
17	2 hours	Ethical dilemmas: choices faced and options taken	BBC (2003), Ignatieff, M. (1998), McGuire T. and Lundy W. (2003), Steele, B. (2004), Steele, B. and Black, J (2004)	
18	1 hour	Case study: Bosnia	See Case Studies	Group presentation
19	2 hours	Media and conflict prevention	Galtung, J. (1998), Gowing, N. (1997), Robinson, P. (2000), Said. E. (1997)	Research paper 2
20	1 hour	Case study: Northern Ireland	See Case Studies	Group presentation

Session	Time	Topic	Assigned readings	Assignments
21	2 hours	Ideas for responsible coverage of conflicts	UNESCO, SIDA (2004) Baxter, J. and Downing M., editors. (2002), Manoff, R. (1998), McLaughlin, G. (2002)	
22	2 hours	Media and peacekeeping	UNESCO (2000)	
23	2 hours	Media and peacekeeping	Etter, J. M. (2004), White, A. (2004), Blondel, Y. (2004)	
24	1 hour	Case study: South Africa	See Case Studies	Group presentation
25	2 hours	A critical stance: towards a critical media consumer		Final essay
26	30 min.			Individual oral final examination

Total allotted course time: 41 hours.

### *13. Special requirements*

For examination there are no specific requirements, as there is only one oral 30-minute individual exam at the end of the course.  
Computers and Internet connection.

Video beam.

TV and videocassette player.

Cost: UPEACE defined for photocopies and other resources.

### *14. Assignments, exercises, projects*

Research papers: Two.

Essays: One, final.

Case studies: the course includes eight case studies (see case studies), that will be researched, prepared and presented in class by the students, plus one more, depending on who the teacher will be and to be prepared by him.

Group projects: case study preparation and in-class presentation. The course will have two research papers, one group presentation on a case study, a final written essay and a final oral individual 30-minute examination.

### *15. Assessment*

Research papers are 10% each, case study presentation 15%, essay 30% and final exam 20%. Class participation will be 15%.

Grading: UPEACE standard 10 point scale.

Dates for mid term examination: No mid-term examination.

Date for final examination: At the end of the course.

Criteria for assessment: beside proper work on research papers and essay, class participation will be highly praised. Final exam is oral and will involve the key questions of the course. There won't be any examinations on required readings but questions on them can be asked in class; for research papers, essay and final exam they are a must. Independent research for case studies presentation will be taken into account.

### *16. Instructor's biographical data*

Proposed visiting professors:

CLYDE SANGER.

Born 1928 in London. Adjunct professor, Carleton School of Journalism, Ottawa, Canada. Formerly visiting lecturer at the school. Visiting lecturer at Zimbabwe Institute of Mass Communication, 1982-3. M.A. Modern History and Political Science, Oxford University 1954. Journalist for 52 years on *Daily*

*Mail* (London), *Louisville Courier-Journal* (Kentucky), *Central African Examiner* (Rhodesia), *Manchester Guardian* (Nairobi and New York 1959-67). Canada correspondent for *The Economist* in Ottawa since 1967. Worked in several development agencies (CIDA, IDRC, North-South Institute and Commonwealth Secretariat) and author of nine books on international affairs. Home: Ottawa.

KEITH SPICER.

Director, Institute for Media, Peace and Security, University for Peace. Former chairman (1989-96) of Canada's broadcasting and telecommunications regulatory body (the CRTC, informally known as the "Canadian FCC"). Former editor-in-chief, *The Ottawa Citizen*, television public affairs host, syndicated columnist, editorial-writer at the *Toronto Globe and Mail*, and professor of political and international relations at several Canadian and U.S. universities (University of Ottawa, University of Toronto, Dartmouth College (New Hampshire), York University, University of British Columbia, Simon Fraser University, and the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA). In 1990-91, chairman of a government-appointed constitutional enquiry commission called the Citizens' Forum on Canada's Future. Between 1970 and 1977 he was Canada's first Commissioner of Official Languages, a national ombudsman post for English and French language rights. He has written four books—two on political and international issues, two on communications theory. Visiting lecturer (seminar on national Internet strategies) at the Sorbonne, University of Paris. Member of the editorial board of *Ilissos: Lettre de la liberté en action*. Member of the Haut Conseil de la Francophonie. Degrees: Honours B.A. in modern languages and literatures (French and Spanish, University of Toronto); the Diplôme de l'Institut d'Études Politiques de Paris; and a Ph.D. in political science (University of Toronto; thesis on Canada's development aid program overseas).

ALVARO SIERRA.

Born 1958, Bogota. Deputy editor, editorial adviser, *El Tiempo* (Bogota). President, Media for Peace, an organization designing and teaching high journalistic standards to Colombian journalists. Journalist for 25 years: free lance in Colombia and Latin America (1980-1989); in Nicaragua (1989-1990); correspondent for *El Tiempo* and *Grupo Diarios America* (an association of the ten leading Latin American newspapers) in Moscow (1990-1997) and Beijing (1998-2000). Fluent in Spanish, English, French and Russian; rudimentary Chinese.



# TEACHER'S MANUAL

## INTRODUCTION

This course is intended as a general introduction to a relatively new field in conflict studies. This is the study of the somewhat complex relationship between media, conflict and peace; and of the role media has played or may play in preventing (or, conversely, escalating) conflict, and in post-conflict situations. It explores, generally, the effects of conflict coverage. Its target audience are graduate students in the fields of journalism, peace studies and conflict management. As well, it should attract interest from people with experience and background in humanitarian work, public relations and peacekeeping; also government officials and staff of NGOs and international organizations who have experience in, or are dealing with, conflict or peace building situations.

The teacher has to keep in mind that this is a field with many more questions than clear-cut answers. Therefore, the course relies heavily on practical examples and case-studies from which to draw lessons and conceptual conclusions. It is aimed at provoking students themselves to ask —and look for answers to— the main questions that arise from past and modern media intervention in war and conflict.

Among key questions posed in this course are the ethical implications of one's own actions in conflict, whether one is a journalist or some other player; a serious consideration of the role, place and influence of the media in modern society; and the need to look critically not just at the media but at the perspectives of individual consumers —TV viewers, radio listeners, and readers of newspapers and books.

It demands a fair amount of knowledge about the variations of media, the differences among television, radio, newspapers and cinema, and it touches on a range of topics: journalism, war, history, technology, current affairs, ethics and communications theory. Consequently, the course is supported by a broad bibliography of books, articles and web-sites. The teacher is strongly advised to pay close attention to this bibliography and other resources provided.

As almost everyone has an opinion (and quite often a strong one) on the media, the teaching methodology is based on two approaches:

The first approach, recommended for all classes, is to question student beliefs, opinions and ideas about media and their role in conflict. This can best be done through class discussions, a flow of questions from the teacher to prompt in-class participation by students, the use of play scenarios and other mechanisms that bring debate, rather than lectures, to the fore.

The second approach is to use practical examples and the case-studies provided to develop the broader conceptual assessments that are needed to understand the role media has played (and can play) in situations preceding, during and following conflicts. The analysis of these case-studies and examples should be done in class, and students themselves should draw out the main concepts, ideas and general conclusions that emerge, with the teacher's guidance.

Finally, because the field as an academic discipline is new and open-sided, the teacher should keep in mind that, more important than offering the students clear-cut conclusions or commonly accepted theories, the main goal of the course is to provide the students with the tools to understand how media and journalists act and work in conflict situations, and how other actors (governments, the military, staff of NGOs and international organizations) interact with the media. Most of all, the aim is to give them the tools to sort their way through the different debates, theories and schools of thought that suggest explanations and ways of acting for media in those situations.

As it is stated in the syllabus, there are several key outcomes of the course. The student should

- be able to assess the varying possibilities for media involvement in situations before, during and after conflicts, and to work with local media or to advise people working with them in these situations;
- have the basic tools for planning a media intervention;
- have the tools to assess the possible outcome of a given intervention;
- have the analytical tools for understanding the different role media have played in a number of contemporary conflicts, through case studies and examples;
- learn to appraise the ethical implications involved.

## STRUCTURE

The course is divided into 16 separate modules, each one with an allotted time of between one and four hours. Each module is

presented below to the teacher in point form, in order to show the main ideas and topics that should be clear at the end of each class either by lecture, discussion or question-and-answer sessions.

Eight case-studies are provided, each with a thorough bibliography for research and a broad understanding. They cover cases of the media acting before conflict explodes, during actual war and in post-conflict situations of peacekeeping and peace building. They are designed for the students to prepare a presentation in class.

Each case-study is related, in one way or another, to the general topics. Students will be asked to prepare and present them after specific modules (see syllabus and below). A suggested order is included in the syllabus, and a short explanation why a case should be related to a specific module is given below. Cases are explained in a separate module. Enough bibliography to prepare them and some teaching resources are included.

A 250-page collection of selected readings from books, articles and the Internet will be given to each student at the beginning of the course. In addition to the bibliography, supplementary reading material for the teacher is also provided, dealing mainly with practical examples that would be useful during the course.

At the end of each module the teacher will find several questions that students might be asked in class to promote debate, or to begin or wrap up a session. Alternatively, they can be used to set papers, essays or the final examination.

## GENERAL

There is no in-class written examination in this course. Instead, students are asked to write two research papers, one at the end of the first third of the course that deals mainly with historical and

general matters about media, war and society, the other one after the second third that explores such questions as propaganda and information, ethics and the relationship between media and security. Students should be asked to make sure their research papers deal with the general questions and topics studied during the course, and not with concrete cases.

One final essay is proposed. Students might be allowed to choose to develop one topic from the course, or to elaborate on a specific case-study, relating it to key questions from the course.

Finally, a 30-minute oral examination is planned to close the course. The teacher is advised to ask just one ‘tricky’ question that would make the student face a concrete situation—either a real one or a scenario designed by the teacher—and to provide a feasible way out of it, together with serious analysis justifying the proposed solution. A set of suggestions for such questions is provided at the end of this manual.

Ideas for research papers, essays and possible questions for final examination are provided below as well as questions to discuss with students in each module.

## TRAINING

Although this manual is intended mainly for an instructor teaching the course in a standard semester at UPEACE campus, most of its recommendations can be applied to the intensive training format in which the course may be taught at locations other than UPEACE and in different countries.

In the latter case the teacher should pay attention to two elements:

First, the audience. It could happen, for example, that the training course students could all be journalists or else only NGO or United

Nations staff. An audience like this, more homogenous than standard MA students, would change in some respects the course's emphasis on certain matters. With a group predominantly of journalists, for example, practical coverage matters, ethical implications, relationship with sources and other topics will have to be considered more fully; while, if the students are mainly NGO staff, there could be more focus on questions of responsibility in the management of media relations vis à vis information in a given situation of conflict, or on balancing one's own objectives and the concerns of donors.

Secondly, timing. This is key, as a training course has to be compressed into a short period. For this particular course a two-week training period with in-class sessions of four hours a day is advised. That means that, while more than one module will have to be worked through in a teaching day, the case-studies should be spread between different days. It is also strongly advised to use an active pedagogical method that lays importance on class participation and discussion. The teacher should pay special attention to making appropriate connections between modules that can go together on the same day, perhaps shortening or enlarging parts of them to accommodate a case-study in a particular day.

A proposed structure for this two-week training course is set out below. In at least some modules it could be more convenient for students to present the case-studies *before* the topic of the day, because that could enable the teacher to go more deeply into each case, and to take ideas presented by the students in the case up for discussion or in application to the topic involved.

## WEEK ONE

Day 1  
Introduction  
History

Day 2  
Media influence  
in modern societies  
Different media: different  
outcomes  
Case study: anti-globalization

Day 3  
Media and conflict  
Women war correspondents  
Case study: Colombia

Day 4  
Propaganda, censorship  
and spin  
Media and politicians  
Case study: Rwanda

Day 5  
Media, security  
and the military  
Case study: Vietnam

Day 6, day 7  
No classes

## WEEK TWO

Day 8  
Media and terrorism  
Case study: Persian Gulf  
and Iraq War

Day 9  
Ethical dilemmas  
Case study: Bosnia

Day 10  
Media and conflict prevention  
Ideas for a responsible  
coverage  
Case study: Northern Ireland

Day 11  
Media and peacekeeping  
Media and peace building  
Case study: South Africa

Day 12  
A critical stance  
Examination  
Diploma ceremony  
(if needed)

## DETAILED STRUCTURE

The teacher will find below a point-by-point sketch of each session or module of the course detailing the key ideas, concepts and examples that are to be addressed along the classes. Advice is also provided on how to conduct each class, either by lecturing, Q&A, discussion, scenario plays, etc. Some sessions involve audio, video or computer resources that are clearly stated and provided in a separate kit, as are the bibliography and materials needed by students to prepare and present the case studies.

### MODULE I. INTRODUCTION

Overall view of the topic and statement of the main questions and issues.

Length: 1 hour

Teaching method: lecture. The teacher will give the students an overview of the whole course.

Observations: This is an introduction to the topics that will be addressed with an emphasis on the questions that the course will deal with and intend to answer to or, at least, state clearly. At the end, the teacher will explain the course structure with some detail, the case studies and the grading and examination system as well as the importance attached to student participation in class.

This section is intended as an introduction to the subject matter of the course and sketches for the student its complexities. Although almost everybody has an idea about the media, few really know the inner subtleties and complications of media mechanisms. As well, the questions about the influence the media may have on the

development of a conflict, the influence of news about conflict, and the potential of the media to help bring peace do not have clear and categorical answers.

Clyde Sanger's Zanzibar adventure (January 1964), as an illustration of the difficulties under which the news are often gathered under conflict.

An anecdote that illustrates the contrary: an example of a serious mistake or of news that a newspaper refrained from publishing (it could be the inside *New York Times* story on Tad Szulc's account on the impending U.S. organised invasion of the Bay of Pigs in 1961, as told by Schlesinger in his book).

These two anecdotes illustrate the need to address the question of the role of the media in conflict with a balanced approach between the *sceptical* idea that media are biased and defend the interests of government, and the *apologetic* one that the media are completely independent and objective.

What the media are is itself a complex question, and their role in escalating or preventing and solving conflicts is even more complicated. Media have not been the same creations down the decades: they evolved from being the instruments of politicians, to becoming tools for propaganda and even terror in some countries, and elsewhere into the modern corporate structure. From Joseph Goebbels who developed a crucial role of media as a mind control tool to former UN Secretary General, Boutros Boutros Ghali, who considered CNN "the sixteenth member of the Security Council", to sceptics who deplore media influence on foreign policy —there are many approaches to defining the media.

The relationship between media and conflict is a new field of studies. Many questions lie ahead. Here are some that will be addressed in the course:

- What is the role of the media in situations preceding, during and post conflict?
- Can the media play a role in preventing or limiting conflict, in peacekeeping operations, and in peace building situations? What kind of role? Should they play any role at all?
- Are the media an instrument for promoting peace and should journalists have a peace agenda or simply inform in a fair and rounded way? In sum: should journalists tell the bare truth, or go beyond that stage in an effort to promote peace and save lives?
- Are there situations in which it is justifiable to suppress the news?
- What should come first, a concern for truth or for national security?
- What are the differences between covering a war when your own country is involved versus covering “others’ wars”?
- Is there a difference between a free press and an independent press?
- Which is the relationship between power-holders and the media: complicity or total independence?
- Do media have an influence on policy-making, and on foreign policy in particular? If they do, what sort of influence?

The course is a broad introduction to the main debates and ideas in this field. So, to address such questions, several things are necessary:

- An historical overview of how media have covered conflict, especially during the 20<sup>th</sup> century, together with how technology has evolved from the first dailies to the modern global media.
- A fair understanding of how the media work, how news is made and the differences between the different media.
- A look at the relationship between the media and propaganda and how the techniques of propaganda and manipulation have evolved into sophisticated tools of ‘spinning’.
- A broad discussion of the relationship between media and security interests, the armed forces and terrorism.
- A consideration of the ethical problems the media face in conflict situations.
- A study of how conflict is, and should be, covered in its different phases (before conflict, during overt conflict and post conflict).
- Acknowledgement of the media as a key player in conflict situations, but only one of the players: the often abrasive relationship with governments, international agencies and NGOs, their roles in these situations and the problems that arise from their interaction with the media.

A summary of the course structure, its methodology and the examination procedures, as explained in the teacher’s manual.

## MODULE II. MEDIA AND CONFLICT IN THE 20<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY: HISTORICAL MOMENTS

Ten moments in the history of conflict, media and technology, from the Crimean War and its newspaper correspondents to the anti-globalisation movements and the Internet.

Length: 4 hours (to be divided by the teacher in class sessions according to UPEACE schedule, hopefully in two two-hour sessions).

Teaching method: a good amount of lecture will be involved to tell students the history. Questions to produce debate can be asked after each sub topic in order to strain the *evolution* of war coverage, to point to its relationship with the evolution of warfare and technology, and to topics that will be developed further along the course, as propaganda, censorship, the military, the role of media on escalating conflict or preventing it.

Observations: this section is intended to show the student how the media evolved along with technology from the dailies in the mid-19th century all the way to the Internet, digital TV and video-phones. [Note: This is, of course, not the historic start of daily newspapers, which date back to 1702. This is simply the start of this particular survey.] It deals with the history of war coverage, war correspondents and the relationship between the press and the governments in war times. As with the rest of the course, it relies on many historical examples and anecdotes.

### *The Crimean War*

William Howard Russell and Thomas Chenery (both of *The Times*). Russell is widely considered as the first war correspondent. The Crimean War is a good example of early reporting on war victims and the suffering that war brings. Chenery, the paper's Istanbul correspondent, wrote about the hospital conditions in Scutari, while Russell wrote of the soldiers' sufferings in the field.

It is also an earlier example of the conflicts that arise between the press and the government in war-time, that led Queen Victoria's husband, Prince Albert, to utter his famous sentence about Russell's articles on the bad sanitary conditions for British troops in Crimea: "The pen and ink of one miserable scribbler is despoiling the country".

### *The American Civil War*

Besides being a good example of massive war coverage (the 'penny press' was already fully consolidated) and the first time war was systematically photographed by men like Matthew Brady, one of the first war photographers, the Civil War can be used in the course to state one fundamental question: How can you be fair? How can you cover both sides?

Abraham Lincoln's Second Inaugural address (February 1865) makes a fine case for the particular horror of civil war ("Both read the same Bible and pray to the same God; and each invokes His aid against the other".)

The invention of the telegraph, the war, the changes in education and income, the fierce concurrence introduced by the 'penny press' lead to serious changes on the way the news were presented: the lead summary and the inverted pyramid came to stay.

### *The US-Spanish War over Cuba*

The fierce competition between Joseph Pulitzer's *New York World* and William R. Hearst's *New York Journal* led to new ways of presenting the news, introduced sensationalism and new topics in the fight to reach growing audiences. Advertising, illustrations and cartoons, sex and crime stories and huge amounts of money became part of the news making process.

The explosion of the *USS Maine* and the short war that followed it were the final stage of a confrontation that the media—especially Hearst's media—played upon in launching the war. The Evangelina Cisneros story, created by Hearst's correspondent in Cuba, dramatically illustrates this.

## *First World War*

Strictly enforced censorship and dissemination of 'atrocious propaganda' dominated press coverage of this, the first war fought on a huge scale in the trenches, with hundreds of thousands of victims. Clemenceau's closure of *L'Homme Libre*, the fact that few if any correspondents got to the trenches in the first years of the war illustrate the forms of censorship; the exaggerated stream of stories printed in Britain on the atrocities inflicted on Belgian refugees is an example of the latter.

The anti-Bolshevik campaign in the West: 'The remedy for Bolshevism is bullets' (an editorial headline in *The Times*) illustrates the spirit of the period.

The press continues to be the dominant media, its circulation growing amid a population that was daily more educated and with its incomes rising steadily.

Wilson's first press conference.

## *Spanish Civil War*

This war will be included to show the students the role played by correspondents (many of whom became famous writers) that were openly committed to the republican or nationalist cause: George Orwell, who went to fight alongside the POUM militia, Ernest Hemingway and his future wife, Martha Gellhorn; Kim Philby later a Soviet spy but decorated by Franco, and others like John Dos Passos and Erik Maria Remarque.

The question of reporters taking sides while covering a conflict. Radio makes one of its first direct broadcasts. The BBC begins to broadcast its own news in 1938 (instead of relaying agency copy). Concurrence between radio and newspapers.

Roosevelt's 'Fireside Chats'. Hoover's Tuesday and Thursday press conferences and exclusive interviews.

*Time*, *Newsweek* and *Life*, the first great magazines and journals.

## *Second World War*

The prominent role of cinema newsreels: Gerald Sanger's diary chronicles the work of the five British newsreels and the role of the amateurish Ministry of Information. The Belsen concentration camp and images that were never broadcast but used for the Nuremberg trials. Radio as the other main channel of information.

Edward R. Murrow broadcasts from London to America.

The four models of radio: public in Britain, private in the United States, the public/private model in Australia and Canada, and the totalitarian one in Germany and Soviet Union.

The key role of the BBC, widely trusted in all sides. Its use of different resources (news, humour, entertainment).

How the war was covered by embedded journalists with officer rank. 'The Trio' of British newspapermen (Moorehead, Clifford, Buckley) and CBC radio's Matthew Halton.

The dilemmas facing the media during an all-out (and just) war: telling the truth versus the need for misinformation and disinformation.

A mention of the formidable propaganda machines of Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy [to be developed in the propaganda module later]. For the first time, information can reach enemy audiences: Lord Haw Haw, Tokyo Rose.

## *Cold War*

TV becomes the mass media in the late 1950s. Cinema entertains, while radio, press and TV inform. NBC and CBS introduce in the 1960s the 30-minute news. Investigative journalism consolidates. The role of ideology in daily information work.

Churchill's Fulton Speech on the 'Iron Curtain'. Did Radio Free Europe encourage the Budapest uprising (1956)?

The Chinese Revolution, the Korean War, some African conflicts and the independence struggles in that continent as reported in the western media.

## *Vietnam*

Television the now dominant medium.

Its role in the war. Covering the military in the field right into American living rooms.

How American media began by backing the war (the Tonkin Gulf incident, and how it was covered in the *New York Times*) and changed after the Tet Offensive in 1968 towards opposition (Walter Cronkite's prime-time TV statement: it's "impossible" to win). Embedded journalists, free to move about [to be developed in the military and the media module].

Other media. The role of the Associated Press news agency.

The first great debate about media responsibility for losing (or winning) a war.

## *From the Persian Gulf War (1991) to the invasion of Iraq (2002)*

Global television as the dominant medium. The role played by new technologies such as videophones.

The astronomical costs of covering a war.

The new wars: smart-guided bombs, short, 'clean' campaigns.

From the 'CNN Effect' to global concurrence (CNN, Fox, Al Jazeera).

Double standards in the coverage of victims: from 9/11 to the Iraq invasion.

The 24-hour cycle: from 30 seconds to 3 seconds.

The abuse of Iraqi prisoners by the US troops at the Abu Ghraib prison in Baghdad.

## *Internet and the anti-globalizers*

The changes introduced by the Internet on the transmitter-receiver relationship.

The role of the 'new media' as an alternative against the dominant press and TV.

The case of the Zapatistas in Mexico, the first guerrilla to fight a virtual war.

Seattle 1999 and the street opposition against the WTO.

Blogs, a new way of communicating and informing.

### *Conclusions*

The accelerating pace of change: comparing the speed of technological/media innovation through different periods of history: from the invention of the alphabet to the printing press; from the first dailies to the rotary press; from radio to 'classic' TV; from global TV to the Internet and the new technologies.

New ways of waging war: war has also changed in its socio-economical shape (from the classical first and second world wars, to ethnic and religious internal conflicts) and in its techniques that have become almost unimaginably sophisticated.

The long road of media: from political tracts, to newspaper barons, to corporate property. The place and roles of journalism in modern society.

The correspondents: from Russell to John Reed to Ammampour and Rivera, to show how war coverage has evolved.

How information became separated from propaganda and linked to entertainment and business.

The concept of the Information Age: Manuel Castell's view that a new society is taking shape at an astoundingly fast pace, with the media and information playing a central role on it.

### *Questions to ask*

Which are the main differences between the first war correspondents and modern ones?

Which are the differences between 'penny newspapers' and the Internet?

In which ways war has changed since the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century?

Has information on war changed since the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century? How?

### III. MAKING THE NEWS: MEDIA INFLUENCE IN MODERN SOCIETY

This section is intended to give students an understanding about the newsgathering process and to discuss some theories about media influence in modern society.

Length: 2 hours.

Teaching method: This lesson can combine both questions and lecture. Teacher can begin by asking which are the founding values of the western free press and by building definitions of each through Q&A. The same can be done with objectivity to promote a debate on it. Luhman's and Hallin's theories can be explained by the teacher (or, as readings on both are included in the resource book, asked to the students). Anyway, most of the topics of this lesson can be developed through questions and debate by the students themselves with the teacher summing up and pointing to conclusions and concepts.

Observations: This module is intended to discuss the real dimension of media influence in modern society and to show students that it is a very much debated matter. Students should have an overview of classical communication theories that stated the overwhelming influence of television over audiences believed to be passive consumers to the modern ideas on audience fragmentation, zapping and the web unending interactive possibilities. Media agenda and other involved players' agenda, a critical view on the media as the 'Fourth State', credibility and the decline of newspaper reading and television audiences will also be important topics.

The founding values of the free press: fairness, accuracy, impartiality, neutrality.

The debate on objectivity.

Can anyone be really objective? Is it desirable?

What is news?

Media as 'reality builders'. Luhman's theory about how the media work as a system to build reality through 10 'selectors'.

Other ideas about the process by which media select what is information from what is not information.

Facts, events and news. The concept of 'news'.

Media agenda

The media and their agenda: what is considered (or not) information.

The theory of agenda setting and its key role on media influence: how media elaborate their agenda and the idea that media can influence what people think *about*, but not *what* people think.

Producing, circulating and consuming the news.

Other agendas

Everyone who is involved in conflict, as in society, has an agenda. Power-holders: from total control through censorship or propaganda to spin doctors.

Armed players: manipulation and threats

NGOs and humanitarian workers: a complex relationship with the media

International organizations and peacekeeping personnel: acting as local administrations and managing the local and foreign media.

The complexity of the so-called 'public opinion'.

Audience studies and audience fragmentation.

Opinion polls.

Media influence

A long academic debate: from classical ideas on the overwhelming influence of the mass-media to the more balanced modern

approach of the fragmentation of audiences and a receiver that is not 'passive' as was widely believed until the seventies.

How much do the media influence 'public opinion'?

The role of the media in society

Liberal and conservative perceptions about the press: watchdog and mirror, or opposition and 'saboteur'?

Being official; being independent.

The three spheres within (and between) which the media move: from consensus, to legitimate controversy to deviation (Hallin).

Media as the 'Fourth Estate'?

The importance of editors and 'gatekeepers' in defining what will be finally on air or in print. The faceless (i.e., without by-lines) gatekeepers —are they the really influential people in the media?

How can they be kept *au fait* with attitudes and events?

The headline.

Fairness, accuracy, impartiality, neutrality: the debate on objectivity. Is it possible?

Herd journalism.

The decline of international news coverage.

The cost of maintaining foreign correspondents.

The decline in TV audiences and in newspaper readers.

The main media commodity: credibility.

Scandals at the *New York Times* and *USA Today*.

### *Questions to ask*

Who decides what is news: politicians, journalists or editors?

In a war situation who sets the agenda: government, warlords or media?

Would it be possible to change the way modern news are made?  
How? Can the media influence government decisions?  
Given that modern technology is helping reporters, but sharper  
deadlines are making it more difficult, are the media today better  
able to correct bias and be more balanced?

#### IV. DIFFERENT MEDIA, DIFFERENT OUTCOMES

This module discusses the differences between the different media —radio, TV, the press, magazines, the Internet and the New Media—. What each one is good (and also bad) at doing, and the implications of the difference in ‘messages’ for the audience.

Length: 2 hours.

Teaching method: A Q&A system will be very useful to develop this module and to point students to the main conclusions.

Observations: While making clear the huge differences between the existing modern media in terms of messages, audiences and interaction, it is important to direct the debate to the key question of how different is the *influence* of media as different as television and newspapers. Also, it is important to make clear to student how relative it is the question of influence: how many people in Africa have a TV set or read a newspaper?

The power of real-time television: ‘seeing is believing’; what is not instant and immediate is not newsworthy.

News and entertainment.

Big papers versus community newspapers.

The Sunday newspaper. Analysis, not only news.

Features in the press versus documentaries on TV.

The particularities of radio.

Radio audiences.

The specifics of magazines.

Different contents and focuses.

The Internet: a new relationship between transmitter and receiver.

Multimedia and interactivity.

Blogs. Internet's democracy and lack of 'accountability'.

Specifics of each media

Technology and content.

How time zones influence the agenda.

Different media, different audiences?

Breaking, real-time news vis à vis other information genres.

### *Questions to ask*

Which is the main difference between television and newspapers?

Which form of media do you think has most influence? Why?

What media will be more important in the next decades: television or the Internet?

Is Marshall McLuhan's statement that 'the media is the message' still a valid idea?

*Case study: Antiglobalization Movements.* This case is a good way of summing up the history of media, technology and war coverage (the Internet as a tool for people protesting against the globalization trend), media influence (the new media as tools against the mainstream media) and the differences between media (differences that, in some way, can be reduced to the changing relationship between media and the use audiences make of them). These are the conclusions the teacher has to point out. Students should be asked to make a precise presentation on how the use of new media became a sort of 'weapon' in the hands of people contesting the established order.

## V. MEDIA AND CONFLICT

This module discusses the basic problems that media and other actors face in conflict situations.

Length: 2 hours.

Teaching method: This lesson can be taught with short teacher's presentation on each subtopic followed by intense questioning of the students and, finally, short conclusions precisely pointed out by the teacher.

Observations: Two sets of ideas shall be discussed here. The first is how conflict influences the media versus how media can influence conflict; the second is how different is to cover a war being a foreigner or being a local (same for NGOs, governments, etc). Besides that, the teacher should bring student's attention to some already acquired concepts: Luhman's and Hallin's abstract ideas on how news are made have a practical translation on how conflicts are covered by media; for example, the classical journalistic idea that 'peace is no news'.

Conflict as a critical situation.

The agenda of different actors clash and result in the often diverging focus and interests of media vis à vis the agenda of governments, NGOs and international organisations.

Conflict as a very complex environment where all these interests and agenda interact.

Media as a 'disturbing' element versus media as an indispensable information tool for telling what is happening.

Examples: the press attack on government in Britain and France during the Suez invasion (1956); the role media have played in disrupting negotiations (or in helping them).

How conflict influences the media.

- The pressure that crisis situations put on media standards and on newsmen.  
Confusion over Dag Hammarskjöld's death. A young Swedish journalist's shaking microphone during a first interview with Jomo Kenyatta.
- The three-level difference between the foreign correspondent, the local reporter based in the capital who travels to the regions, and the provincial foot-soldier stringer.
- Covering others' wars versus ones 'own war'.
- A foreign reporter's hazards: the danger of cultural bias; explicit or implicit sharing of government foreign policies; taking sides (Bosnia); ideological consensus.
- The local reporter's problems: being threatened or killed; exile; bad pay, poor education, lack of adequate professional training; working 'on the side'.
- The question of access.

How can the media influence conflict?

Media focus: how they understand conflict, how they cover it.

How the rules of agenda setting make the news applicable to conflict coverage: affirmative discourse; simplifying to winners and losers; accent on conflict and violence; violence becomes routine for the public; facts versus process, data versus context; executioners versus victims; the pressure of the 24-hour news cycle.

Forgotten wars and countries, rarely included in the agenda.

The new corporate media and herd journalism (Monica Lewinsky scandal versus Sudan and other conflicts that rarely made it to the news pages).

Why violence and conflict are news, and peace is not.

The role of editors and 'gatekeepers' in the newsroom.

The role of people thousands of kilometres away from the news source in defining the final shape of the news.

How media present a sort of virtual history (selected pieces of a complex and changing world) instead of the real history (the complex and changing world itself) [Kapuscinski].

Links between power-holders and media.

How do they affect coverage of a conflict and its outcome?

### *Questions to ask*

Is it possible to be fair and independent covering your 'own' conflict? (Remember Lincoln).

Can media accent on conflict (not peace), violence (not calm) be changed?

Shall media coverage and journalists inform or promote peace?

Does this last question have different answers depending on *who* answers: a local journalist/ NGO staffer or a foreign one?

If you were the foreign correspondent, would you work alongside the local reporter, and defer to his/her special knowledge?

*Case study: Colombia.* For about 40 years Colombia has gone through an armed conflict that seriously escalated in the past decade. This case discusses several investigations on the flaws and the dangers of Colombian media and journalists for covering their own conflict and the lively debate going on among local them on how to do it in a professional, independent way.

## VI. WOMEN JOURNALISTS IN CONFLICT

This module is intended to discuss the growing role of women in journalism and in particular in war coverage.

Length: 2 hours.

Teaching method: As with the history sessions, some initial lecture will be needed to tell students about women war correspondents. The

question about women's role in covering war and their special perspective on conflict and its human impact will undoubtedly prompt serious debate, which should be conducted through the Q&A system.

Observations: The module traces the convergence of two trends: the change in warfare from a battlefield confrontation of two (or more) armies to total war with civilians the majority of casualties, and the emancipation and acceptance of women into untraditional occupations, such as journalism. One result was the emergence of women as war correspondents.

Do women tell and write of war in a different way from men, through a particular 'look'?

A characteristic repugnance to violence, and compassion for the suffering of women and children, suggest they do have a generally different perspective. Or do some women journalists copy men, dress in men's clothes and assume tough male attitudes in order to fit in? Have they focused on different stories, such as exploitation of women in war factories? Do some of them resort to novel-like writing, as Colette appeared to do in *Les heures longues*?

A short history of some women war correspondents:

Americans Corra Harris and Mary Roberts Rinehart for *Saturday Evening Post* and Bessie Beatty for *Los Angeles Herald* in World War 1. Women writing accounts of atrocities: Zabel Bournazian on the 1915 Armenian repression. Martha Gellhorn's coverage of the Spanish Civil War and World War 2.

Kate Adie in Northern Ireland and Bosnia.

Advantages and drawbacks of being a woman reporter in conflict situations. How such disadvantages were overcome by some women like Lotta Hitschmanova (adopting own uniform) and Gellhorn (hiding among nurses on D-Day hospital ship).

Problems of women journalists operating in regions where culturally negative attitudes persist. Examples are of Clare Hollingworth

in Algeria, and Kate Adie in Saudi Arabia during the 1991 Gulf War.

How and why women have come to the fore as TV reporters in conflict situations. (Less likely to be attacked? Useful symbolically to point up the contrasts, the senselessness of much conflict and to draw out the suffering? Or simply better at compressing a story, and in holding viewer attention?) CNN's Christiane Ammampour.

Somewhat similar ideas about women as radio reporters and interviewers, in news programs and phone-out talk shows. Are they more direct than men in questioning, and able to get away with pertinent points?

### *Questions to ask*

How prominent are women reports today in war coverage? As prominent as men?

Are there differences between women like Clare Hollingworth and Christiane Ammampour or Kate Adie?

Can we talk about a 'woman's look' at war in journalism?

If you were a woman report sent to Iraq or Afghanistan, how would you dress? Assuming you had a choice, would you choose to travel with male reporters for protection, or would you see an advantage in going alone?

## VII. MEDIA AND POLITICIANS

This module is intended to present the complex relationship between two main players in modern politics and in any conflict situation: the politician and the journalist.

Length: 2 hours.

Teaching method: Teacher must contribute here with the anecdotes and trough questions to bring the students to the concepts.

Observations: A key concept to be developed here is that in mutual mistrust and need politicians and journalists come to a sort of permanent 'information contract' that brings to the fore the question, to be developed later on the course of journalist's relationship with sources and the conflicting but complementing agendas of both.

The politician's agenda and the journalist's agenda: both want to make it to the front page. A two-way relationship: why and how politicians and journalists 'manage' (manipulate) each other.

Winston Churchill, Joseph McCarthy: different characters, with different ways of dealing with media in various situations.

The relationship with sources: a two-way picture.  
Trust, manipulation, leaking stories.

How modern politics would be inconceivable without the media.  
The growing trend to 'spectacularize' politics: if you're not mentioned in the media, you don't exist.  
Media can make or destroy reputations.  
The need of 'stars', both in the media and among politicians.

Do the media have influence on foreign policy?  
The cases of Somalia, and (in Bosnia) of little Irma airlifted to London are among several useful examples in discussing this point.

The real influence of media, in people's minds for policy and election matters.  
Agenda setting and audience studies applied to politics.  
Opinion polls.

### *Questions to ask*

Who plays the main role in the news that is finally printed or broadcast: the politician or the journalist (or his/her editor)?  
How large is media influence in shaping policies?

Whom do you trust more: a politician or a journalist?  
How close should a parliamentary reporter get to senior politicians? Where else should he/she look for reliable sources?

## VIII. PROPAGANDA, CENSORSHIP AND SPIN

This module traces a history of propaganda, how it is separated from information in the media and the role that censorship and spin play in conflict situations.

Length: 2 hours.

Teaching method: For the history of propaganda and censorship a lecture is advised. Rules for both can be defined through Q&A. Short teacher's presentations can be used for introducing spinning and the role of information in war. A thorough discussion on each example will help to bring out the main concepts behind the management of information in wartime.

Observations: The concept to be developed in this module is how media moved from propaganda to information in wartime, and how propagandist (whether spun or otherwise) modern information may be.

A brief history of propaganda

Some first 'propagandists': Julius Caesar, Napoleon.

Soviet propaganda: Lenin's ideas on the radio, 'the newspaper without paper and without limits'.

Fascist propaganda: Germany and Italy.

Allied propaganda in First and Second World Wars. From 'atrocities propaganda' to white propaganda. Black propaganda. Churchill and his memorable phrases (e.g., "We will fight on the beaches").

Some examples:

Spreading rumours of British strength in Cairo's bazaar (Eve Smith),

Lord Haw Haw and Tokyo Rose,  
The sinking of the Lusitania,  
The Zimmerman telegram.

Dissemination of hatred in contemporary times:  
Serbian TV in Bosnia and Radio Mille Collines in Rwanda as  
examples of the media used as weapons for brainwashing, ethnic  
cleansing and killing.  
Chinese state-controlled media.

The rules of propaganda.

A brief history of censorship.  
From Napoleon's *Le Moniteur* to censorship mechanisms in First  
and Second World Wars.

The rules of censorship.

Self Censorship.

Holding back information.

Withholding information for political or other purposes: abdica-  
tion of King Edward VIII on his wish to marry Mrs Simpson. (Bri-  
tish papers did not cover until American papers broke the story).  
*The New York Times's* Tad Szulc story on the impending US inva-  
sion at the Bay of Pigs (Cuba) that was not published because  
president Kennedy asked the editor to stop it.

Spinning in modern democracies

Leaking: the Pentagon Papers.

Jessica Lynch.

The misinformation about weapons of mass destruction in the  
run-up to the Iraq invasion.

The modern White House management of the press.

War and information

The role of propaganda in war and peace.

From classical propaganda to modern forms of information control.

How war is waged on the information front.

The case of torture of Iraqi prisoners in the Abu Ghraib prison in Bagdad.

Russian media in the two Chechen wars: from independence to compliance.

The media in conflict situations: between information and propaganda.

State and military pressures on local media.

Foreign media and foreign interests.

### *Questions to ask*

What are the main differences between propaganda and information?

Is there any substantial difference between propaganda and modern spinning?

Are there any 'high interests' that would justify making propaganda?

How best to give a fair account of the views of someone interviewed, even when you know his/her remarks are pure spin? How to indicate to readers that it is propaganda?

*Case study: Rwanda and Radio et Télévision Libre Mille Collines.* This is a modern case of a tragically efficient employ of media, through open propaganda methods, to promote hatred and ethnic cleansing.

## IX. MEDIA, SECURITY AND THE ARMED FORCES

The objective of this module is to explore the ever present conflict of interests that exists between the media and the military in

wartime, and to discuss the growing State demands on media responsibility in security.

Length: 2 hours.

Teaching method: A good amount of lecture on almost every topic. will be needed for this module

Observations: tracing the relationship between media and the military (remember Module II, on history) the teacher has to lead the students to the main questions: has this relationship really changed since Russell's times?

The military stance: modern information warfare.

At war: the information front.

Modern U.S. Information Operations Doctrine.

Psychological Operations and Public Affairs.

Intelligence and information.

Information and manipulation.

'Feed the beast': Press centers for the 24-hour news cycle.

The media stance.

To be or not to be independent. Truth-seeker or outright patriot.

What the public needs to know versus what the government doesn't want to tell.

CNN, the BBC and Fox during the Iraq war.

Media's role.

The cases of Nurse Cavell and Billy Bishop: media making of heroes.

The Kosovo bombing campaign.

Huge coverage operations.

Media-military complicity: First World media covering foreign conflicts; local media covering their 'own' conflicts.

The clash between the Pentagon and the American media about photographs of coffins and dead soldiers coming from Iraq in the last week of April 2004.

The abuse of Iraqi prisoners by the US troops at the Abu Ghraib prison in Baghdad.

A short history of embedding.

Some embedded journalists: George Wilkins Kendall in the US-Mexican war; the “Bohemian Brigade” in US Civil War and some other little known cases.

How military set ground rules have evolved: from Vietnam to Iraq.

A survey of pools since World War Two: from the first pools for British newsreels to the formal deal of the National Defense Pool in the war against Iraq.

From ‘embedded’ to ‘unilaterals’ (CNN’s Ammampour’s complaints in Iraq).

Evolution of the relationship between the media and the military in the 20<sup>th</sup> century: from total censorship and control in World War One, to a broad common ground in World War Two, to the Vietnam ‘crisis’, to information control and spinning since the 1980s.

Security and the media

A discussion on the role of the media on security and national security matters. Government demands of media responsibility and intentions to control.

The UK case: the Official Secrets Act and the Defence Advisory Notices.

The media response: self-regulation.

Summing up

In conflicts, the military want to win and the media primarily want to inform.

The dilemma: ‘Joining the team’ or seeking the truth.

Security: who is responsible, the State or the media? How and to which extent?

The role of information in war times.

### *Questions to ask*

Have the military won the upper hand (Knightley)?

How 'patriotic' should media be in wartime?

Are there wars that demand reporters 'join the team' and others that don't?

Would you have chosen to be "embedded" or "unilateral" in Iraq?

*Case study: Vietnam.* This case is intended to take the students to three main ideas. The first one is the debate on whether media win or lose a war. The second one is to show, following Hallin, how media coverage of the Vietnam war was not, as is widely believed, critical from the beginning. The third one is to point out that the relative freedom journalists enjoyed during this war is a special case, not the rule in war situations.

## X. MEDIA AND TERRORISM

This module discusses a special case of the relationship between media and security: the symbiotic relationship between media and terrorism.

Length: 2 hours.

Teaching method: History of terrorism demands some lecturing. Through questions, the teacher can take the students toward a definition of terrorism.

Observations: for this module the objective is to show the students the symbiotic character of the relationship between media and terrorists (Wilkinson). Also, it is important to point out the difficulty in reaching a definition of terrorism and how political an act it is to put the label 'terrorist' on any given organization.

Is “publicity the oxygen of terrorism”, as Margaret Thatcher and Felipe Gonzalez used to say?

Terrorism is older than media: an historical overview.

From *sicarii* in 1<sup>st</sup> century Jerusalem to the 19<sup>th</sup> century to modern terrorism.

The changing character of terrorist groups.

A definition of terrorism.

A method: propaganda by action.

Elements for a definition (Wilkinson).

The problems: an eminently political definition.

The case of the FARC in Colombia.

A three-way relationship:

In a terrorist crisis what are the interests of the State, of the media, and of the terrorists?

What do terrorists want from the media?

What does the State want from the media?

What do the media want?

The complex and often mystifying relationship between media and terrorists.

Do they need the media?

Do media serve the interests of terrorists?

How terrorists can ‘profit’ from media.

Between the ‘copy-cat’ effect and denial.

Government reactions:

Control and censorship.

Impact on the rule of law and free speech in extreme situations.

Media self-regulation and responsibility.

Rules and ideas for a responsible coverage of terrorist situations.

The case of the Spanish media and ETA.

Some cases in which there is a clear responsibility (accepted or otherwise) on the part of the media. Hostage situations. Lebanon in the 1970s and almost free access to hostages; The Iranian hostage crisis; Libya; Canada's FLQ crisis (1970) and the abduction of the British Trade Commissioner and Pierre Laporte; Madrid's 3/11.

A polemical case

Northern Ireland, government ban on publishing interviews with IRA/ Sinn Fein representatives; the British media (Kate Adie in *The Kindness of Strangers*).

Coverage of 9/11 and its aftermath: the differences between CNN, Al-Jazeera and Fox news coverage on Al Qaida.

### *Questions to ask*

What makes terrorism different from other forms of violence?  
What can media and journalists do to avoid playing the terrorists game?  
Should governments enforce policies on media, or should the media freely decide how to cover terrorist actions?  
What amount of collaboration between media and police and military is advisable in terrorist situations? In what areas?  
Can current issues portrayed on TV drama increase fear?  
How to alert people without prompting excessive alarm?

*Case study: Persian Gulf and Iraq Wars.* The analysis of the coverage offered by global television in both wars (CNN alone in 1991, and sharing the scene and the ratings in 2003 with other competing networks) should be drawn to illustrate several points. Among them are the role media plays in foreign policy; the cultural perceptions of a war (Western coverage unfair in Arab eyes?); radically different approaches to what is terrorism, depending on who defines it; what kind of role media actually plays

alongside governments; and the huge impact in public minds of global television.

## XI. ETHICAL DILEMMAS

This module develops a crucial debate on the ethical dilemmas and choices faced by all actors in conflict and peace building situations, and especially by the media.

Length: 2 hours.

Teaching method: The whole module can be fully developed through Q&A.

Observations: This is one of the core modules of the course. The student should be led to understand that ethical questions underlie almost every one of the previous or following topics of this course. It is important to point out how different ethical choices look depending on the person's standpoint —journalist, NGO staff, government, whoever— but how sharp and important these choices are for anyone acting in a conflict situation, and dealing with people's lives.

Moral and ethical stances of the different players in war situations and peacekeeping operations.

### Media and journalists

The professional-ethical dilemma: seek the truth or seek to save lives; inform or promote peace.

A debate about information, conflict and peace from the ethical point of view.

Other actors, other ethical choices: for governments, NGO and humanitarian staff the issues and choices are different.

### Government

To win at all costs?

Selling a war, a negotiating process, a humanitarian operation.  
To lie or not to lie.

NGOs and international officials.  
Own goals versus the donors' objectives.  
Playing another's game  
Interacting with the media.  
Rwanda aid relief campaign.

Being a source: how to manage and provide information.  
The ethics and responsibility of sources.

Media dilemmas:  
Corporate interests, government and politics.  
Concurrence and corporate interests versus credibility.  
Critics and mechanisms to listen to readers or viewers. Ombudsmen and 'public editors'.

Impartiality, neutrality and objectivity.  
Different ethical dilemmas when covering ones own or others' conflict situations.

Ethics of responsible action: the individual responsibility in the midst of conflict, either covering it or intervening in it.

### *Questions to ask*

Show Nick Ut's photograph of Phan Thi Kim Phuc, the Vietnamese girl naked and burnt by napalm, and tell her story. Then ask: can a single photograph change the outcome of a war? Would you take the picture or help the girl?

Should a journalist inform or save lives?

Should an NGO staffer or a government officer lie in order to save lives?

Should you as a journalist (or a source) keep quiet about a planned attack you have heard about, e.g., Suez in 1956? Or a

hostage rescue attempt, e.g. Iran in 1980? Think of examples to argue for both sides—for keeping and for not keeping quiet.

*Case study: Bosnia.* The case is intended to show contrasting ways for media and journalists to act and work during a war. The ethical implications of each course should be to the fore in a debate.

## XII. MEDIA AND CONFLICT PREVENTION

This module discusses the capacity and capabilities of the media for preventing conflict (admittedly rather limited due to the modern way of covering the news). Are the media a tool for preventing conflict, and not just for covering it?

Length: 2 hours.

Teaching method: Lecturing with examples and questions and debate on the conclusions can be combined in this module.

Observations: The main discussion here is to ponder whether media should have an agenda, as the ‘Peace Journalism’ option predicates, or whether their duty and work is to inform in an independent and accurate way. An important point will be also to consider how influential the media can be in preventing conflict—and to acknowledge that this seems quite difficult.

### Media focus

A tendency to focus on current conflict or violence, not on a likely conflict or violence arising.

The role of global TV and herd journalism: virtual history versus real history (Kapuscinski).

The selection process by which news is made.

Forgotten conflicts, ignored countries.

Other sources of information: cinema and books.

*Bowling for Columbine.*

Michael Ondaatje's *Anil's Ghost* (set in Sri Lanka).

The 'Peace Journalism' option (Galtung, McGoldrick and Lynch).

An overview of the main ideas.

Should journalists or media have a 'peace agenda'?

Can this agenda prevent conflict?

Are other agenda possible?

The difficulties for the media in trying to 'prevent' conflict.

Educating about conflict prevention through the media.

Media and foreign policy

*Questions to ask*

Which is the main difficulty for modern media in helping prevent conflict?

Are there ways of employing media to prevent the explosion of conflict?

*Case study: Northern Ireland.* This is a good example of two media combining to play —through journalistic means— a positive role, in the middle of a serious conflict, to prevent its escalation and to help sustain an agreement already reached, such as the Good Friday accord.

### XIII. IDEAS FOR RESPONSIBLE CONFLICT COVERAGE

Through the analysis of different experiences and examples, this module argues that informing well, with a balanced, accurate and independent approach and with a close focus on victims and on people's suffering, is the best the media can do to play a 'positive' role in conflict situations and for 'helping peace'.

Length: 2 hours.

Teaching method: As with the following modules, the teacher should lecture in order to explain the examples and then conduct the session through questions, pointing each time to the concepts and conclusions or, even better, to the open debates.

Observations: the objective in this module is to bring to students' attention the different ideas on positive conflict coverage and therefore on media's role in the middle of a war. It is also important to come to an understanding of the different possibilities that different media have to perform responsibly. Last but not least it is important that students debate if media should have or not an agenda (i.e. a 'peace agenda').

The role of the media during a continuing conflict.  
Different situations and the debates on how to cover the conflict.

Responsible coverage.  
The huge difference between being foreign and being local.

Public Journalism in North America and Latin America.  
The *Ottawa Citizen's* monthly invitation for a citizen to sit in on the editorial board and publish comments on the editorial process.

Media debates its role in Colombia.  
How the local media cover a current conflict: big problems and big issues.

The Institute for War and Peace Reporting (in London).

The Media and Conflict Program on media and conflict prevention of the New York University Centre for War, Peace and the News Media.

International Media Support.

The International Crisis Group: target audiences.

The role of the Internet.

Indymedia as an alternative source of information; blogs in 9/11 coverage and comment.

Common Dreams website and news service.

Conclusions

The positive role of high quality information.

The difficulties and risks involved.

The different challenges foreign and local journalists and press face.

The difference between various media and journalists in conflict situations.

*Questions to ask*

What is more efficient in conflict coverage: basic classical journalism or producing information to influence target audiences that are key players (as does for example the International Crisis Group)?

Who can be more influential in the midst of a conflict: community media, national media or foreign media?

Can you think of examples where one precise media (TV, the Internet, newspapers) could be more 'useful' to cover a given conflict? Why?

Do you as a reporter (or reader) relate events primarily to your own country's interests, or more broadly and to the interests of the country in conflict?

#### XIV. MEDIA AND PEACEKEEPING

This module studies some practical cases of circumstances in which an external intervening force has moved to control local media during peacekeeping operations, and of problems arising from the presence of an intervening foreign force.

Length: 2 hours.

Teaching method: Same than module XIII.

Observations: Peacekeeping is a special situation that brings together, often in a non-voluntary form, an external actor (UN, OSCE) and local ones. The particular difficulties of enforcing media regulations in places just coming out of war, the use of censorship 'on behalf of peace' involve practical and ethical choices that the teacher should clearly state for the students.

The role of media during peacekeeping operations and in post-conflict situations.

The differences between covering an actual conflict and post-conflict (peacekeeping) situations.

Possible media influence on those situations.

The United Nations peacekeeping role and the media.

UNPROFOR in Bosnia.

The Kosovo operation.

The United States in Somalia.

Other peacekeeping operations.

The closure of Iraq's *Al Hawza* in February 2004 by the American forces: peacekeeping or invasion?

Some conclusions.

The role of external forces in a post-conflict situation and the tensions it creates.

Local feelings and foreign intentions: the problems facing local media.

Foreign media: a quick loss of interest once the open conflict is over.

The complex relationship between peacekeepers and media.

### *Questions to ask*

Are there any differences between the closures of *Dina* in Kosovo and *Al Hawza* in Iraq? Which ones?

What are the main sources of conflict between local media and the foreign authority in a typical peacekeeping situation?

Where do you trace the line between a peacekeeping force and an invading army?

Since news focuses on upsets, if not total disasters, would you as a gatekeeper look for setbacks rather than for acts of reconciliation? Take Cyprus for example: why doesn't incremental progress make news?

## XV. MEDIA AND PEACE BUILDING

This module discusses some media experiences that, from a broad point of view are not just part of a specific peacekeeping operation but part of a so-called nation-building effort.

Length: 2 hours.

Teaching method: Same than the former two modules.

Observations: Beside pointing out, if necessary, the difference between a peacekeeping and a peace-building situation, the teacher should introduce the concept of external media intervention and discuss the possibilities of non-traditional media (soap operas, music, cinema, etc) playing a role in helping a country out of conflict.

The relatively new concept of external media intervention.

Different possibilities: training journalists in countries in conflict or coming out of it; investment; media law and regulations;

foreign ‘commissioners’ and authorities; enforcing rules on media, working with media or adapting an external formula to local media; external fact-finding missions and assessment of the media situation in given countries.

Possibilities other than just providing news: the vast experience with education and entertainment in radio and TV as conflict management or peace/nation building tool.

Issues, ways out, practices and lessons learned: an enduring debate.

Report of the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty, “*The Responsibility to Protect*”.

Some cases of media intervention:

The United States in post-war Italy and *La Stampa* and *Il Corriere della Sera*

The Search for Common Ground experiences in Africa.

The multi-ethnic operation of Open Broadcast Network in Bosnia.

The OSCE’s Transitional Media Commissioner in Kosovo and the closure of *Dita*.

International Media Assistance and its projects.

A case of the use of entertainment: BBC’s *New Home, New Life* in Afghanistan, following the model of *The Archers* soap opera.

The renaissance of the Iraq media and the role of the American occupying forces.

Gender and ethnic questions.

Women and radio in Africa.

The multicultural newsroom in the United States after the civil rights campaign.

The role of Internet as an alternative media.

Other continuing projects.

The Search for Common Ground.  
Media for Peace in Colombia.  
Conciliation Resources (based in London and Sierra Leone)

Some conclusions

A promising and rich field of media intervention in post conflict situations.

The problems and difficulties of an 'external' approach.

The difficulties for local media.

The disinterest (or only temporary interest) of foreign media.

The possibilities of documentary TV or radio as a follow-up.

*Questions to ask*

Is external intervention the only possible way for media to play a role?

How far can external media help, beyond offering training and sharing 'best practices'?

What can local media do in nation-building?

*Case study: South Africa.* South African media played an important role in the post-Apartheid regime 'just' by informing thoroughly about the proceedings of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and are an important source for studying the role media can play in post-conflict situations.

XVI. A Critical Stance

Length: 2 hours.

Teaching method: Same as the former, with a closing lecture.

Observations: This is the final module. It is important not only to cover the specific concepts of this module but also those of the whole course, as this last module wraps up the course. It should

be used for underlining the main findings and conclusions as well as major questions that may be clearly stated, but remain open and subject to debate, in this relatively new field of studies on the role of media in conflict prevention and peace-building.

The character of the media.

How information is produced.

What is important for media is not always important for peace.

The focus of media on open conflict and on some specific conflicts and the modern factor of global herd journalism.

The role of money and market forces in shaping contemporary journalism.

The need for a broader understanding of media possibilities in conflict and peace building: education and entertainment through the media can have important results.

The necessity of balance: media is not monolithic.

Different issues, different problems:

Media and prevention of deadly conflict.

The difficulties for media playing any part in conflict prevention.

Media and conflict coverage.

The debate between 'agenda journalism' and 'just' journalism.

The practical implications of a responsible coverage.

Media during peacekeeping.

Possible roles for the media.

The dangers and possibilities of 'collaboration' between local media and peacekeepers.

Media and peace building.

Once a conflict is over, the possibilities for media intervention are wider.

A new field of studies.

Many questions, not so many answers.

The importance of stating the right questions.

Main ethical and professional questions: a wrap up.  
Some answers.

Last but not least: the role of the receiver.

The need for readers, viewers and listeners to think independently and to be critical (Bettetini).

The balance between a fair amount of scepticism and to take a critical (while positive) stance towards the media.

The importance of media in modern society.

## SUGGESTED QUESTIONS FOR FINAL EXAMINATION

Since they are being asked precise questions, all students are requested to take into account the practical and political effects of the choices they will make. They should also address and evaluate the possible media impact and any ethical considerations.

1. You are the Temporary Media Commissioner in a country that is divided by ethnic lines and is just coming out of a civil war. The country is under a UN administration backed by an international force. One newspaper prints a report, without making clear its sources, about one of your local employees, accusing him of being a cover agent for the other side and accusing you of protecting him. By the same time, you get an intelligence report indicating that your employee seems to be a cover agent. What would you do with the newspaper, the employee and the problem? Why?

2. You are in Rwanda in September 1993. Radio Télévision Libre Mille Collines has just secured its license and is beginning to broadcast hatred. You know the country well and are perfectly aware of the likelihood of imminent catastrophe. You have a

US\$1 million funding that you have to commit to some concrete program in any field before December. What program would you propose?

3. Select two big issues of media coverage that were ignored in the world and by American TV but which, if properly addressed, could in your opinion have influenced the decision of the United States to launch the war against Iraq. Argue how, if properly covered, these two big issues could (or maybe couldn't) have had enough influence to change the US decision to attack Iraq.

4. You are an NGO official in an African country where people are starving to death in thousands. You desperately need outside need and attention, and you manage to convince a foreign TV crew to go to a little village to film starving children. Once there, you take the journalists to the house of a family with whom you have close personal links, to show them one of their children. Seeing the child, the journalists ask you to bring another child arguing that this one is not 'dramatic enough'. Will you change the child for them? Why?

5. You are the key adviser to the Bosnian government in the middle of the war. The only media left to inform people, a local TV station, gets the news that a Serbian death squad with overwhelming manpower and fire-power may shortly overcome your town's lines of defense. Do you advise the station manager to broadcast this information to people or not? Make the case for both courses of action and then choose one.

6. Would you back the decision of the United Kingdom and Northern Ireland government to forbid the broadcast of the voices of IRA and Sinn Fein representatives any time they are interviewed? Why?

7. You are a local correspondent in a war-torn country, say, Colombia. What would be the difference for you between being *neutral* and being *independent*? Pick an example to explain it.

8. The British Government puts you in charge of having the final say on the BBC Board of Governors' decision on the Allsopp-Cullingworth case. Would you uphold the decision it took or not? Why?

9. Amid the bombing campaign of Afghanistan, and one week before the arrival of US ground troops in Kabul, you are the one and only foreign correspondent the Taliban régime allows to come into the city. Would you accept? If so, what would be the first story you file from there?

10. You are the correspondent to whom the Serbian government decides to show, for the first time, one of its concentration camps where Bosnian people are held in horrific conditions. Once there, the Serbian escorting official tells you that you have only two options: take one single picture and leave, or take one prisoner with you and save his life, but not take any pictures. What would you do? Why?

## CASE STUDIES

<b>Case 1: Rwanda</b>				
<i>Radio and the Genocide: Media Promotes Conflict</i>				
<p>The radio station Radio et Télévision Libre Mille Collines, which began broadcasting at the end of 1993, is a prime example of how the media can be easily turned into a weapon to promote and escalate conflict. The station attracted its audience with music, and was used to spread hatred and to call for ethnic cleansing against the Tutsi during the Rwandan genocide, between April and July 1994.</p>				
Session	Hours	Topic	Assigned Readings	Assignments
1	30 min	The conflict: history, socio-political, cultural and economic context. Major players, interests at stake and characteristics.	See required bibliography below.	Students should prepare the case presentation
	30 min	The role of Radio Télévision Libre Mille Collines.	See required bibliography below.	

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- International Monitor Institute (2003). *Kantano Habimana and Humor as a Weapon*. in: <http://www.imisite.org/rwanda.php>.
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- Nolen, S. 'Don't talk to me about Justice'. In *The Globe and Mail*, April 3, Toronto.

*Dallaire Takes the Stand in Rwanda. In The Globe and Mail, January 20, Toronto, p. A11.*

*Angry Dallaire Defends Actions Before Citizens. In The Globe and Mail, April 7, Toronto.*

*UN's Inaction Almost Led Tutsis to Capture Dallaire's Weapons. In The Globe and Mail, April 5, Toronto.*

The Economist. *The Road Out of Hell. 27 March, 2004, pp. 25-27, Rwanda, Remembered.*

Cohen, G. *A Morgue for Reconciliation. In Ottawa Citizen. April 20, 2004.*

Grainger, B. *The General's War. In Elm Street. November 2003, pp.78, 80.*

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CD. Radio Télévision Libre Mille Collines broadcasts. Transcripts.

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## Case 2: Bosnia

### *Media in War and Peace: Good Journalism and Propaganda*

This case will contrast the role of Milosevic's state-controlled Radio Television Serbia, which promoted ethnic hatred and prompted war in the former Yugoslavia, with that of the independent Sarajevo newspaper *Oslobodenje*, with its multiethnic newsroom, whose staff worked from start to finish of the war without changing its editorial line and which became a symbol of independence and serious journalism in the midst of a terrible war.

Session	Hours	Topic	Assigned Readings	Assignments
1	30 min	The Bosnian conflict: history, socio-political, cultural and economic context. Major players, interests at stake and characteristics.	Fogelquist, A., (1995); Kurspahic, K. (2003); United Nations (1993)	Students should prepare the case presentation
	30 min	The role of Serbian TV and <i>Oslobodenje</i> .	Davis, A. Ed. (2000); Thompson, M. (1999); Kurspahic, K. (2003); Dizdarevic, Z. (1993).	

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Fogelquist, A. (1995). *How the war started*. Foreword by Nalini Lasiewick. <http://www.cco.caltech.edu/~bosnia/doc/start.html>

Kurspahic, K. (2003). *Prime Time Crime, The Media and the Balkans War*. New York: U.S. Institute for Peace, 87-127.

United Nations, 39th Session, Defense Committee (1993). *The Yugoslav Conflict: Chronology of events, May 30, 1991 - November 8, 1993*. Paris.  
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Thompson, M. (1999) *Forging War: The Media in Serbia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina*. Bedfordshire: University of Luton Press, 76–100, 209–222, 241-4.

## RESOURCES

CD. *Oslobodenje* front pages in the first half of the 1990s.  
Video. Zlatko Dizdarevic's video conference *Journalism in wartime*.

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Adie, Kate. (2002) *The Kindness of Strangers*. London: Headline Books Publishing . 290-325.

De La Brosse, (2003). *Political Propaganda and the Plan to Create 'A State For All Serbs': Consequences of using media for Ultra-nationalist Ends*, ICTY expert reports.

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Udovicki, Y. and J. Ridgeway.(1997). *Burn this House: The Making and Unmaking of Yugoslavia*. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press.

### Case 3: Persian Gulf and Iraq

#### *Global Television at War*

These two wars show how global television through its huge influence becomes an actor in a conflict, shaping people's comprehension in backing or opposing government's policies. A comparative analysis of the role of television in the two wars. From the 'CNN format' in the Gulf War to the impact of global concurrence between CNN, Fox and Al-Jazeera in the invasion of Iraq in 2003

Session	Hours	Topic	Assigned Readings	Assignments
1	30 min	The two wars against Iraq: history, socio-political, cultural and economical context. Major players, interests at stake and characteristics.	See required bibliography below.	Students should prepare the case presentation
	30 min	The role of CNN in both wars; the roles of Fox and Al Jazeera in the second one. Impact and influence of each media and of their convergence.	See required bibliography below.	

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Zednik, R., (2002), *Perspectives on War: Inside Al Jazeera*. New York: *Columbia Journalism Review*, Issue 2: March-April.

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Video 9/11; Ossama ben Laden.

## RECOMMENDED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Hess, S. and Martin Kalb (eds.) (2003). *The Media and the War on Terrorism*. Washington: Brookings Institution Press.

Livingston, S. (1997). *Clarifying the CNN Effect: An Examination of Media Effects according to Type of Military Intervention*. The Joan Shorenstein Center, Press Politics. Harvard University, John F. Kennedy School of Government.

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Kristof, Nicholas D., Missing in Action: Truth. *The New York Times*. May 6, 2003.

International Press Institute, (2004), *Caught in the Crossfire: The Iraq War and the Media, a Diary of Claims and Counterclaims*.

<http://www.english.aljazeera.net>

<http://www.cnn.com>

### Case 4: Northern Ireland

#### *Managing Conflict*

Although the media in Great Britain and Northern Ireland have been strongly questioned for their role in the coverage of this conflict, an agreement signed by two of the most important local media—and two who were most opposed in their editorial positions— became “a relative success”. Shortly before the signing of the “Good Friday Agreement” in 1998, the News Letter and the Irish News signed an agreement on ways to cover the conflict that showed how, even in such difficult circumstances, some kind of consensus is possible.

Session	Hours	Topic	Assigned Readings	Assignments
1	30 min	The conflict: history, socio-political, cultural and economical context. Major players, interests at stake and characteristics.	Miller, D. (2002); Barton, B. (1996); Cottle, S. (1997).	Students should prepare the case presentation
	30 min	Characteristics of both newspapers and their roles in Northern Ireland. An assessment of the agreement and its results.	Cottle, S. (1997); Miller, D. (2002). Bairner, A. ( 1 9 8 6 ) ; Curtis, L. (1984); Miller, D. (2002);	

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History of the *News Letter*, [http://www.newsletter.co.uk/about\\_us/](http://www.newsletter.co.uk/about_us/)

Information on and history of the *Irish News*, <http://www.irishnews.com>.

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Rolston, B. (1991). *The Media and Northern Ireland, Covering the Troubles*. Basingstoke, England: Macmillan.

## Case 5: Vietnam

### *Can Media End a War?*

Two photographic images taken during the Vietnam War and awarded the Pulitzer (1973 and 1967) and the Associated Press prizes went round the world, showing the horror of war and creating a commonly shared memory among American citizens. This case discusses the role played by the media in the Vietnam War and its final outcome and depicts how media coverage, far from being ‘critical’ from the very beginning, evolved in the same way as public opinion did back home. Was the Vietnam War, as Marshall McLuhan said in 1975 and the military believe, “lost in the living rooms of American houses and not on the battlefield”? How did media — and cinema— influence the final outcome?

<b>Session</b>	<b>Hours</b>	<b>Topic</b>	<b>Assigned Readings</b>	<b>Assignments</b>
1	30 min	The conflict: history, socio-political, cultural and economical context. Major players, interests at stake and characteristics.	See required bibliography below.	Students should prepare the case presentation
	30 min	Analysis of the photographs and its influence. Cinema and common-shared memories. The role of the press.	See required bibliography below.	

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*Three Images: The Effects of Photojournalism on the Protest Movement during the Vietnam War*, <http://www.wellesley.edu/Polisci/wj/Vietnam/ThreeImages/brady.html> or from: <http://newsvote.bbc.co.uk/mpapps/pagetools/print/news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/americas/3708047>

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CD. Photograph of Phan Thi Kim Phuc by Nick Ut (AP).  
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- Keith, B. (1998) *The Scar that Binds: American Culture and the Vietnam War*. New York: New York University Press.
- Michael, B. (ed). (2000) *The Vietnam War and Postmodernity*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press.
- Milton J. B. (1996). *The Wars We Took to Vietnam: Cultural Conflict and Storytelling*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Robert, B. (1999). *Vietnam and the Transformation of American Life*. Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell.
- Richard J.M., and C.P. Ehrenhaus (eds). (1990) *Cultural Legacies of Vietnam: Uses of the Past in the Present*. Norwood, New Jersey: Ablex.

## Case 6: Anti-globalization Movements

### *New Media, New Tools*

“Barricades set up with E-mail”: From the Mexican Zapatista Movement in 1996 to the protests against the World Trade Organization, and the World Bank between 1999 and 2003, one of the main products of the new global economy and of technological innovation – the Internet – has become, paradoxically, the main tool for the anti-globalization movement. The web and its possibilities; new kinds of interaction with an audience more active and fragmented; blogs, alternative news sites and many other new ways of transmitting information have allowed communications different from and often competing with the ‘traditional’ media.

Session	Hours	Topic	Assigned Readings	Assignments
1	30 min	Globalization and the ‘Information Society’. New versus old media.	See required bibliography below.	Students should prepare the case presentation
	30 min	The Zapatista movement in Mexico. Seattle 1999. Internet as a global vehicle for alternative agendas and the anti-globalization movement.	See required bibliography below.	

## REQUIRED BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Beckerman, G., (2003). Emerging Alternatives: Edging Away from Anarchy, Inside the Indymedia Collective, Passion vs. Pragmatism. New York: *Columbia Journalism Review*, Issue 5: September-October.
- Castells, M. (2000). *The Information Society*, Vol 2: The Power of Identity. Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers (Chapter 2: The Other Face of the Earth: Social Movements against the New Global Order).
- Hochman, D. (2004). *In Searching We Trust*. The New York Times, 14 March, 2004, Section 9, 1, 2.
- Welch, M. (2003). Emerging Alternatives: Blogworld, The New Amateur Journalist Weighs In. New York: *Columbia Journalism Review*, Issue 5: September-October, from:  
<http://www.cjr.org/issues/2003/5/blog-welch.asp>
- Welch, M. (2003). Emerging Alternatives: The Media Go Blogging. In. New York: *Columbia Journalism Review*, Issue 5: September-October, from:  
<http://www.cjr.org/issues/2003/5/blogsidebar-welch.asp>
- Jensen, M. (2003). Emerging Alternatives: A brief History of Weblogs. In: New York: *Columbia Journalism Review*, Issue 5: September-October, from:  
<http://www.cjr.org/issues/2003/5/anarchy-beckerman.asp>
- Beckerman, G. (2003). Emerging Alternatives: Edging Away from Anarchy. In: New York: *Columbia Journalism Review*, Issue 5: September-October, from:  
<http://www.cjr.org/issues/2003/5/anarchy-beckerman.asp>

## RECOMMENDED BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Bakal, Joel. (2004). *The Corporation: The Pathological Pursuit of Profit and Power*. Free Press.
- Barlow, Maude and Tony Clarke. (2002). *Global Showdown: How the New Activists are Fighting Global Corporate Rule*. Toronto: Stoddart Publishing.
- Cockburn, Alexander and Jeffrey St. Clair. (2000). *Five Days that Shook the World: The Battle for Seattle and Beyond*. London and New York: Verso Press.
- Huntington, S.P. (1997). *The Clash of Civilizations and the Re-making of World Order*. New York: Touchstone Editions, 21-35.
- Klein, Naomi. (2002). *Fences and Windows: Dispatches from the Front Lines of the Globalization Debate*. Toronto: Vintage Canada.
- McQuaig, Linda. (1998). *The Cult of Impotence: Selling the Myth of Powerlessness in the Global Economy*. Toronto and London: Penguin Group.
- Negri, Antonio and Michael Hardt. (2002). *Empire*. Harvard University Press.
- Stiglitz, Joseph E. (2002). *Globalization and its Discontents*. New York: W.W.Norton and Company Inc.
- Wainwright, Hilary. (2003). *Reclaim the State: Experiments in Popular Democracy*. London: Verso Press.

## Case 7: South Africa

### *Can Media be a Tool for Reconciliation?*

For two years radio, press and TV communicated to South Africans the horrors that had been committed during the apartheid regime. By making the whole process of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission—and many individual stories from witnesses—known to the country, the media played a huge role in the consolidation of the post-apartheid society. How balanced and thorough was the coverage? What kind of role did the media play? These are two of the fundamental questions that this case study intends to answer.

Session	Hours	Topic	Assigned Readings	Assignments
1	30 min	The conflict: history, socio-political, cultural and economical context. Major players, interests at stake and characteristics.	International Idea (2001); Ki-Zerbo, (1980); Dunn, Tomaselli, (2002)	Students should prepare the case presentation
	30 min	Media situation and role in South Africa during apartheid. Their coverage of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC).	Rhodes Journalism Review; Garman (1997); Hieber, (1997)	

## REQUIRED BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Tomaselli, K & Dunn, H. (eds.) (2002). *Media, Democracy and Renewal in Southern Africa*. Boulder, Colorado: International Academic Publisher Ltd, 123-208.
- Garman, A. (1997). *Media Creation. How the TRC and the Media have Impacted on Each Other*. from: [http://ccrweb.ccr.uct.ac.za/archive/two/6\\_34/p36\\_garman.html](http://ccrweb.ccr.uct.ac.za/archive/two/6_34/p36_garman.html). (Centre for Conflict Resolution in South Africa).
- Hieber, L. (December 1998). *Media as Intervention*, from: [http://ccrweb.ccr.uct.ac.za/archive/two/7\\_4/p16\\_intervention.html](http://ccrweb.ccr.uct.ac.za/archive/two/7_4/p16_intervention.html) (Centre for Conflict Resolution in South Africa).
- International IDEA. (2003). *Reconciliation after Violent Conflict: A Handbook*. International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, Stockholm: Bulls Tryckeri AB Halmstad, 19–39, 122-144, from: [http://www.idea.int/conflict/reconciliation/reconciliation\\_full.pdf](http://www.idea.int/conflict/reconciliation/reconciliation_full.pdf)
- The Media and the TRC: Is the truth in the telling or in the tale? *Rhodes University Journalism Review* N° 14. from: <http://journ.ru.ac.za/review/14/>
- Lewin, Hugh, (1998), The Never Ending Story: How the TRC Changed the Nature of Story-Telling in South Africa, in *Track Two*, Vol. 7, N° 4, December, from: [http://ccrweb.ccr.uct.ac.za/archive/two/7\\_4/p41\\_neverending\\_story.html](http://ccrweb.ccr.uct.ac.za/archive/two/7_4/p41_neverending_story.html)
- Nolen, S. (2004). An Enduring Legacy of South African Apartheid. *The Globe and Mail*, 10 April, 2004.
- Nolen, S. (2004). South African's 'Born-Frees' Eye the Future, not the Past. *The Globe and Mail*, 12 April, 2004.

## RECOMMENDED BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Asmal, Kadar, Louise Asmal and Ronald Suresh Roberts. (1996). *Reconciliation through Truth: A Reckoning of Apartheid's Criminal Governance*. Cape Town and Johannesburg: David Philip Publishers and Mayibuye Books, University of the Western Cape, Bellville.
- Boraine, Alex, Janet Levy and Ronel Scheffer (eds.) (1997). *Dealing with the Past: Truth and Reconciliation in South Africa*. Cape Town: Institute for Democracy in South Africa.
- Cochrane, James., John de Gruchy and Stephen Martin (eds.) (1999). *Facing the Truth: South African Faith Communities and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission*. Cape Town: David Philips Publishers and Athens: Ohio University Press.
- James, Wilmot., and Linda Van der Vijer (eds.) (2002). *After the TRC: Reflections on Truth and Reconciliation in South Africa*. Athens: Ohio University Press and Cape Town: David Philip Publishers.
- Krog, Antjie. (1998). *Country of my Skull*. Johannesburg: Random House South Africa.
- Nuttall, Sarah and Carli Coatzee (eds.) (1998). *Negotiating the Past: The Making of Memory in South Africa*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press.
- Tutu, Desmond. (2000). *No Future without Forgiveness*. London: Random House.

## Case 8: Colombia

### *The difficulties of covering its own war*

For about 40 years Colombia has gone through an armed conflict between the state and leftist guerrilla movements, the FARC and the ELN. Since the end of the 1980s the war has seen another illegal player, the right wing AUC squads. This case presents the results of several investigations in the country on the flaws of Colombian media for covering the conflict and the lively debate going on among Colombian journalists on how to do it in a professional, independent way.

<b>Session</b>	<b>Hours</b>	<b>Topic</b>	<b>Assigned Readings</b>	<b>Assignments</b>
1	30 min	The conflict: history, socio-political, cultural and economical context. Major players, interests at stake and characteristics.		Teacher should present this case (Spanish language needed).
	30 min	Media situation and role in Colombia during the past years. The debate among journalists and editors.		

## REQUIRED BIBLIOGRAPHY

National Human Development Report, UNDP, Bogota, 2003.  
Chapter 18, Changing the Images: Education and the Communication Media, from: <http://www.pnud.org.co/indh2003/>

Forero, J. (2004). From Whimsy to War. *The Globe and Mail*, 4 May, p. R4.

Garcia-Duran, M., editor. (2003). *Alternatives to War: Colombia's Peace Process*. Conciliation Resources, Accord, from: <http://www.c-r.org/accord/col/accord14/>.

Kirk, R. (2004). *Colombia and the 'War' on Terror: Rhetoric and Reality*. Human Rights Watch. From: [www.hrw.org/english/docs/2004/03/04/colomb7932\\_txt.htm](http://www.hrw.org/english/docs/2004/03/04/colomb7932_txt.htm).

Rey, G., Project director. (2004). *Calidad informativa y cubrimiento del conflicto*. Bogota: Proyecto Antonio Narino.

## RECOMMENDED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Fundacion para la Libertad de Prensa. (2004). *Los corruptos, principales agresores de periodistas colombianos*. Bogota: Fundacion para la Libertad de Prensa, National Endowment for Democracy.

Gomez, P., Project director. (2003). *La guerra: una amenaza para la prensa*. Bogota: Medios para la Paz.

*El Tiempo*. (2003). *Conflicto armado y terrorismo: Manual de cubrimiento*. Bogota: Casa Editorial El Tiempo.

Restrepo, J. and Spagat, M. (2004). *The Colombian Conflict: Uribe's First 17 Months'*. Department of Economics, Royal Holloway College, University of London, unpublished.

Pizarro, E. (2004). *Una democracia asediada*. Bogota: Grupo Editorial Norma.

Richani, N. (2002). *Systems of Violence The Political Economy of War and Peace in Colombia*. New York: State University of New York.

Romero, M. (2003). *Paramilitares y Autodefensas 1982-2003*. Bogota: Instituto de Estudios Políticos y Relaciones Internacionales, Universidad Nacional.



# RESOURCE BOOK

## ASSIGNED READING FOR STUDENTS

This resource book compiles book extracts, articles, web pages and other written resources that are intended to be given to students at the beginning of the course as assigned reading. Most of the texts are permanent for reading in any course, any time; some others deal with concrete news coverage examples (i. e. the closure of *Al Hawza* newspaper in Baghdad by US troops, the front page treatment given to the death of American contractors in Fallujah, the abuses by US forces in Abu Ghraib prison, etc). For those, the teacher is advised to change them periodically, just to accommodate teaching to the changing character of the news and to keep up with important, actual stories. Also, he may select the material here included to give only part of it to students, depending on the specific audience needs.

Readings are listed here module by module.

### MODULE I. INTRODUCTION

Dizdarevic, Z. (1994). *Portraits of Sarajevo*. New York: Fromm International, pp. 2-3.

## MODULE II. MEDIA AND CONFLICT IN THE 20<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY: HISTORICAL MOMENTS

Castells, M. (1996-8). *The Information Age: Economy, Society, and Culture*. Oxford and Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers, Vol. 1 (1996). *The Rise of the Network Society*, Introduction: the Net and the Self, pp. 1-28.

The Historical Sequence of the IT Revolution, pp. 40-47.

Chapter 5, The Culture of Real Virtuality: The Integration of Electronic Communication, the End of the Mass Audience and the Rise of Interactive Networks, pp. 327-342.

The Internet Constellation, pp. 345-372.

Gorman, L. and McLean D. (2003). *Media and Society in the Twentieth Century: a Historical Introduction*. Marlen, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, pp. 170-184: Media, War and International Relations.

Hobsbawn, E. (1995). *Age of Extremes: The Short Twentieth Century, 1914-1991*. London: Abacus, pp. 1-17: The Century: a Bird's Eye View, pp. 558-585: Towards the Millenium.

McLaughlin, G. (2002). *The War Correspondent*. London, Sterling, Virginia: Pluto Press, pp. 24-44: From Telegraph to Satellite: the Impact of Media Technology on War Reporting.

## MODULE III. MAKING THE NEWS: MEDIA INFLUENCE IN MODERN SOCIETY

Cunningham, B. (2003). *Rethinking Objectivity*, in Columbia Journalism Review, Issue 4: July/August.

Kennedy, G. (2002). *Perspectives on War: The British See Things Differently*, in Columbia Journalism Review, Issue 2: March/April.

Luhmann, N. (ed.) (2000). *The Reality of the Mass Media*. Kathleen Cross (trans.), Stanford University Press.<sup>1</sup>

Chapter 1: Differentiation as Duplication of Reality, pp 1-13; chapter 3: Codification; chapter 4: Specific Universalism of the System; chapter 5: News and Features, pp. 22-62.

Downie, L. and Kaiser, R. (2002). *The News about the News: American Journalism in Peril*. New York and Toronto: Vintage Books, pp. 3-13.

Williams, R (2003). *Television: Technology and Cultural Form*. London and New York: Routledge Classics, pp. 1-25, 121-155.

Ignatieff, M. (2003). *Empire Lite: Nation Building in Bosnia, Kosovo and Afghanistan*. Toronto: Penguin Books, pp. 45-75: The Humanitarian as Imperialist.

#### MODULE IV. DIFFERENT MEDIA, DIFFERENT OUTCOMES

*The State of the News Media 2004, An Annual Report on American Journalism*, Project for Excellence in Journalism, pp. 4-32: Overview, from: [www.journalism.org](http://www.journalism.org).

Downie, L. and Kaiser, R. (2002). *The News about the News: American Journalism in Peril*. New York and Toronto: Vintage Books, pp. 63-156, 195-218.

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1 All page numbers from the Spanish edition: Luhman, N. (200). *La realidad de los medios de masas*. Anthropos Editorial, Rubí, Barcelona.

## MODULE V. MEDIA AND CONFLICT

Howard, R. et al. (eds.). (2003). *The Power of the Media: A Handbook for Peacebuilders*. Utrecht: European Centre for Conflict Prevention, Part I. Reflections on Media and Peacebuilding, pp 21-29.

Hess, S. and Kalb, M. (2003). *The Media and the War on Terrorism*. Washington: Shorenstein Center on the Press, Politics and Public Policy, Harvard University, Brookings Institution Press, pp. 1-12: Introduction, pp. 63-81: The CNN Effect, pp. 223-236: Public Diplomacy or Propaganda?, pp. 250-252: Public Opinion.

## MODULE VI. WOMEN JOURNALISTS IN CONFLICT

Nieman Reports, The Nieman Foundation for Journalism at Harvard University, Vol. 55, N° 4, Winter 2001, *Women and Journalism*, pp. 62-65: Gallagher M. Reporting on Gender and Journalism, pp. 78, 79: Hermano T. and Turley A. Who Makes the News?, pp. 82-85: Hardjono R. Reporting on War, Listening to Women, pp. 97-102: Peters, R. The Varied Pace of Women Progress, pp. 105-107: Caballero, M. Machismo is Only One Obstacle Women Face.

Higonet, M., editor. (1999). *Lines of Fire: Women Writers of World War I*. Toronto: Penguin (Plume Books), pp. 30-31: Nelly Roussel, pp. 132-136: Colette, pp. 137-139: Mary Roberts Rinehart, pp. 140-141: Magdeleine ver Mehr, pp. 142-145: Bessie Beatty.

Hollingworth, C. (1990). *Front Line*. London: Jonathan Cape, pp. 153-173: The Algerian War.

Moorehead, C. (2003). *Martha Gellhorn: A Life*. London: Chatto and Windus, pp. 240-291.

## MODULE VII. MEDIA AND POLITICIANS

Alterman, E. (2003). *What Liberal Media? The Truth about Bias and the News*. New York: Basic Books, pp. 192-219: W's World.

Castells, M. (1996-8). *The Information Age: Economy, Society, and Culture*. Oxford and Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers. Vol. 2 (1997). *The Power of Identity*, Chapter 6: Informational Policy and the Crisis of Democracy, pp. 340-356.

Povich, S. (1996). *Partners & Adversaries: The Contentious Connection between Congress and the Media*. Arlington: The Freedom Forum, pp. 7-15, 27-51, 67-90.

## MODULE VIII. PROPAGANDA, CENSORSHIP AND SPIN

Auleta, K. (2004). *Fortress Bush*. In *The New Yorker*, January 19, pp. 53-63.

IPI Global Journalist, second quarter 2003:

Fitzgerald N. *Shooting the Messenger: Battle Lines Blurred*

Preston, P. *Questions of War Coverage*

Topping, S. *Rules of Engagement*

Marlin, R. (2002). *Propaganda and the Ethics of Persuasion*. Toronto: Broadview Press, pp. 43-94: History of Propaganda, pp. 251-281: Government controls on the Press.

Keegan, J. (2000). *The Book of War*. New York: Penguin Books, pp. 349-353, Winston Churchill. BBC Broadcast, London, May 19, 1940.

Frank Rich: *The Unraveling of US Propaganda*, Frank Rich, *International Herald Tribune*, Friday, May 14, 2004.

## MODULE IX. MEDIA, SECURITY AND THE ARMED FORCES

Adie, K. (2002). *The Kindness of Strangers*. London: Headline Book Publishing, pp. 356-369: A Chinese Square.

Nieman Reports, The Nieman Foundation for Journalism at Harvard University, Vol. 55, N° 4, Winter 2001, *Coverage of Terrorism*.

Beelman, M. *The Dangers of Disinformation in the War on Terrorism*.

Gup, T. *Secrecy and the Press in a Time of War*.

Cloud, S. *The Pentagon and the Press*.

Cantigny Conference series, published by the Robert R. McCormick Tribune Foundation, Chicago:  
*The Military and the Media: the Continuing Dialogue* (1993), Appendix, pp. 55-56.  
*Narrowing the Gap: Military, Media and the Iraq War* (2004), Chapter 2: The History of Embedding, pp. 17-21; Chapter 7: Conclusion, pp 82-85.

Knightley, P. *Fighting Dirty*, in *The Guardian*, March 30, 2000.

Miller, D. *The Domination Effect*, in *The Guardian*, January 8, 2004.

Mitchell, G. (February 14 2003). *Exclusive: U.S. Military Document Outlines War Coverage*, Editor&Publisher, from: [http://editorandpublisher.com/editorandpublisher/headlines/article\\_display.jsp?vnu\\_content\\_id=1817934](http://editorandpublisher.com/editorandpublisher/headlines/article_display.jsp?vnu_content_id=1817934)

Thompson, M. (2002). *The Brief, Ineffective Life of the Pentagon's Media Pool*. *Columbia Journalism Review*, Issue 2, March/April.

## MODULE X. MEDIA AND TERRORISM

British Broadcasting Corporation, *Producer's Guidelines*, pp. 172-75: Chapter 18, *Terrorism and National Security*, pp. 180-183: *Northern Ireland*, from: <http://www.bbc.co.uk>

Cantigny Conference series, published by the Robert R. McCormick Tribune Foundation, Chicago, *Terrorism: Informing the Public* (2002), Chapter 7: *Recommendations*, pp. 173-193.

Wilkinson, P. (1997). *The Media and Terrorism: a Reassessment, in Terrorism and Political Violence*, Vol. O, N° 2 (Summer), London: Frank Cass.

## MODULE XI. ETHICAL DILEMMAS

British Broadcast Corporation, (2003). *Finding by The Governor's Programme Complaints Committee*, from: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/info/policies/programmcomplaints/> (not available anymore on the site).

Ignatieff, M. (1998). *The Warrior's Honor: Ethnic War and Modern Conscience*. Toronto> Penguin Books, pp. 9-33: Is nothing sacred? The Ethics of Television.

McGuire T. and Lundy W. (2003), *Ethics in Journalism*, Hodges L. (editor), Washington and Lee University.

Steele, B. (2004). *Ask These 10 Questions to Make Good Ethical Choices*, from: <http://www.poynter.org/column.asp?id=36&aid=4346>

Steele, B. and Black, J. *Codes of Ethics and Beyond*, from: [http://www.poynter.org/content/content\\_view.asp?id=5522](http://www.poynter.org/content/content_view.asp?id=5522)

## MODULE XII. MEDIA AND CONFLICT PREVENTION

Galtung, J. (1998). *High Road, Low Road. In Track Two*, Vol 7, N° 4,

Gowing, N. (1997). *Media Coverage: Help or Hindrance in Conflict Prevention?* New York: Carnegie Commission on the Prevention of Deadly Conflict, pp. 1-4.

Robinson, P. (2000). *The Policy-Media Interaction Model: Measuring Media Power during Humanitarian Crisis*, in *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 37, N° 5, pp. 613-633, London: Sage Publications.

Said, E. (1997). *Covering Islam: How the Media and the Experts Determine How We See the Rest of The World*. New York: Vintage Books, pp. xi-lxx: Introduction.

## MODULE XIII. IDEAS FOR RESPONSIBLE COVERAGE

*Assistance to Media in Tension Areas and Violent Conflict*, International Seminar in Stockholm, 25-27 May 2003, UNESCO, SIDA (2004), pp. 5-21, from: [http://portal.unesco.org/ci/en/ev.php-URL\\_ID=14988&URL\\_DO=DO\\_TOPIC&URL\\_SECTION=201.html](http://portal.unesco.org/ci/en/ev.php-URL_ID=14988&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html)

Baxter, J. and Downing M., editors. (2002). *The BBC Reports on America, its Allies and Enemies, and the Counterattack on Terrorism*. Woodstock and New York: The Overlook Press, pp. 13-34.

Manoff, R. (1998), *Telling the Truth to Peoples at Risk: Some Introductory Thoughts on Media & Conflict*, in 'The Legitimacy of Intervention for Peace by Foreign Media in a Country in Conflict', conference sponsored by Fondation Hironnelle, from: [www.nyu.edu/globalbeat/pubs/manoff798.html](http://www.nyu.edu/globalbeat/pubs/manoff798.html).

McLaughlin, G. (2002). *The War Correspondent*. London, Sterling, Virginia: Pluto Press, pp. 153-181: War, Objectivity and the Journalism of Attachment.

## MODULE XIV. MEDIA AND PEACEKEEPING

*Minutes of the Round Table on Media in Conflict and Post Conflict Areas*, 4-5 May, 2000, UNESCO, from: [http://portal.unesco.org/ci/en/ev.php-URL\\_ID=14501&URL\\_DO=DO\\_TOPIC&URL\\_SECTION=201.html](http://portal.unesco.org/ci/en/ev.php-URL_ID=14501&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html).

## MODULE XV. MEDIA AND PEACE BUILDING

Etter, J. M. (2004), *Information in Crises Zones: Building Credibility*, from: [http://portal.unesco.org/ci/en/ev.php-URL\\_](http://portal.unesco.org/ci/en/ev.php-URL_)

ID=14727&URL\_DO=DO\_TOPIC&URL\_SECTION=201.html

White, A. (2004). *Media Assistance: The Journalist's Perspective*, from: [http://portal.unesco.org/ci/en/ev.php-URL\\_ID=14731&URL\\_DO=DO\\_TOPIC&URL\\_SECTION=201.html](http://portal.unesco.org/ci/en/ev.php-URL_ID=14731&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html)

Blondel, Y. (2004). *Violent Conflict and the Roles of the Media*. Uppsala University, Department of Peace & Conflict Research, SIDA, from: [http://portal.unesco.org/ci/en/ev.php-URL\\_ID=14726&URL\\_DO=DO\\_TOPIC&URL\\_SECTION=201.html](http://portal.unesco.org/ci/en/ev.php-URL_ID=14726&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html)

## MODULE XVI. A CRITICAL STANCE

Dizdarevic, Z. (1994). *Portraits of Sarajevo*. New York: Fromm International, pp. 2-3.

# RESOURCE BOOK

## SUGGESTED READING FOR TEACHERS

This resource book compiles book extracts, articles, web pages and other written resources that are intended to help the teacher of this course. They are composed mostly of examples and cases useful to teaching some of its topics. Some texts deal with concrete historical examples of news coverage (as the Zimmerman Telegram or *The New York Times* refraining on publishing the CIA plan to invade Cuba in 1961) and are intended as permanent texts. Some other (i. e. the abuses by US forces in Abu Ghraib prison, the closure of *Al Hawza* newspaper in Baghdad, the front page treatment given to the death of American contractors in Fallujah, etc) are actual news coverage examples. Therefore, it is advised to change them periodically, just to accommodate the factual part of the course to the changing character of the news and to keep up with important, actual stories. Also, the teacher can give the students selected texts from this book.

Readings are listed here module by module.

### MODULE I. INTRODUCTION

MODULE II. MEDIA AND CONFLICT  
IN THE 20<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY: HISTORICAL MOMENTS

Moorehead, A. (1990). *Alan Moorehead*. Bodley Head, Pimlico edition, London, pp. 74-115.

Cameron, E. (1968). *Point of Departure*. Autobiography, pp. 91-103, 134-140 (UN counter attack in Korean War).

Castells, M. (1996-8). *The Information Age: Economy, Society, and Culture*. Oxford and Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers, Vol. 2 (1998). The Power of Identity, pp. 94-106: Mexico's Zapatistas, the First Informational 'Guerilla'<sup>1</sup>.

Emery, E. (1972). *The Press and America: an Interpretative History of the Mass Media*. New Jersey: Prentice Hall Inc., pp. 507-551: The Press in Modern War.

Fielding, R. (1972). *The American Newsreel 1911-1967*. University of Oklahoma Press, pp. 109-126, 289-307.

Keegan, J. (1990). *Second World War*. New York: Viking/Penguin Books, pp. 415-433: Strategic Bombing (Hamburg and Dresden).

Knightley, P. (1975). *The First Casualty*. New York: Harcourt, Brace, pp. 4-13 (on Crimea, the charge of the Light Brigade and Thomas Chenery).

Sandburg, C. (1954). *Abraham Lincoln: The Prairie Years and the War Years*. New York.

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1 Page numbers are from the Spanish edition: and have to be translated to the English edition, not available at the time of composing this resource book.

Sanger, G. (1999). *The Svenghonger Diary 1938-1939-1940*, pp. 25-33 (on newsreels and the Munich Pact, 1938-1939).

Sanger, G. (2002). *The Svenghonger Diary 1944-1945-1946*, pp. 135-138 (on newsreels and Belsen concentration camp, April 1945).

Salisbury, H. (1980). *Without Fear or Favor: The New York Times and its Times*. New York: Times Books. pp. 127-133, 148-164, 352-377, 452-465, 477-483.

World War Two, Audio: Churchill and Word War Two, from:  
[www.bbc.co.uk/history/war/wwtwo/churchill\\_audio.shtml](http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/war/wwtwo/churchill_audio.shtml)

Tuchman, B. (1965). *The Zimmerman Telegram*. New York: Dell Publishing, pp. 34-39, 62-63, 76-79, 80-83.

Howard, P. (1985). *We Thundered Out: Two Hundred Years of The Times 1785-1985*. Times Books, London. Old Crabby: First Foreign Correspondent; 'By Jove, I am Editor of The Times'; Lord Palmerston; William Howard Russell in the Crimea; The Indian Mutiny; The American Civil War; With Gordon in Khartoum; Flora Shaw and the Jameson Raid; The First World War; Some of Our Correspondents.

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