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**THE PERMANENT CRISIS: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF NATIONAL
EXPERIENCES WITH POLITICAL TERRORISM AND THE MEDIA IN 1990s**

*Where is the wisdom we have lost in knowledge?
Where is the knowledge we have lost in information?*

(T.S. Elliot. "The Rock")

Terrorism has, among other things, become part of the arsenal of international warfare, recognized as a useful tool of low-intensity conflict. As a surrogate means of warfare, terrorism also becomes a tool of strategic importance. We must recognize the promotion of such violence from the level of a criminal act or political nuisance to a matter deserving serious attention.

The dramatic rise of international terrorism during the past decade and its concomitant political and psychological impact have produced a contemporary crisis of near global proportions. The terrorist phenomenon, as reflected almost daily in the news media, is worldwide, and its innocent victims can be found among every class and nationality. It is sufficient to mention recent event at the World Trade Center, and that Muslim militants planned to explode bombs in the Holland and Lincoln Tunnels, the UN and the Federal Building in New York City.

THE DIMENSIONS OF PROBLEM.

"Peace is war."

(George Orwell. "1984")

The fruits of the information age - computers, satellites, printing technology, and everything else that is blurring the old distinctions among media as quickly as it is creating new media - will spill over into world in 1990s despite anyone's efforts to prevent or to promote it.

As the world is shrinking through this revolution in communications, terrorists are assured extensive publicity for their wanton acts and enunciated causes. Because terrorism is essentially violence for effect and is targeted not only against immediate victims but is directed at a wide audience as well, terrorists are making a conscious and deliberate effort to use the media for intimidation and blackmail. The immediacy and diffusion of acts of terror through the electronic media - so called "terrovision" - have consequently produced great psychological effects far beyond the area of terrorism.

Many researchers demonstrate that such "showification" of terroristic acts along with the successful use of the media by terrorists, the simultaneous reporting of ongoing terrorist events, influences their outcome in at least two predictable ways: to make a short, violent "solution" more likely; and to increase the likelihood of copycat repetitions and imitations of violence regardless of whether this violence is employed by terrorists or the representatives of law or order.

However, when one tries systematically to categorize and survey the academic literature on terrorism and media it becomes clear that the researchers tend to think of this problem in bipolar terms, either as the media are manipulated by terrorists in their fight against authorities or as media reinforcing authorities' perceptions of the terrorist problems. This phenomena are so different in their etiologies that attempting to amalgamate them leads simply to utter confusion.

There is value in foundational works of political terrorism and of mass communications theories, yes, but there is also a body of theory which I, at least, need in my scientific work and do not find.

The theory I lack is in the question of connections between such phenomena in the global political arena, question of the material conditions for counteraction by the authorities and mass media. These questions remain unanswered.

A reduction in terrorism and the number of "hot spots" in the world will depend on how we learn to manage and eventually resolve this type of conflict. The management and eventual resolution of conflicts that are motivated cultural, religious, political and economic considerations is very difficult. Until mechanisms that will resolve such problems are devised, conflicts will proliferate throughout the world, endangering everyone.

We will have to make a conscious purposeful effort to foresee as far as possible the international future and to prepare itself for it.

THE RESEARCH GOALS AND OBJECTIVES.

"Terrorism is an act of the theater, the media is its stage."

First of all, this study has a personal intellectual origin. My project is inspired by following questions:

Why violence and hatred receive so much attention of mass media worldwide while nonviolence, peace and love receive so little?

Would terrorism decline if the media ignored or downplayed it?

What is the appropriate limit of the news coverage of a terrorist action?

Who has control the authorities or media in a case of terrorist conflict?

Does media reporting on political terrorism increase of terroristic activities?

This project - to my knowledge - the first extended study treating the relationship between political terrorism, the world news media, and authority holders in a comparative way, including content-analysis of Western, Russian and Third World countries' media coverage of terrorism issue. There have been a few studies that deal with political violence and media but no attempt has so far been made to link the changes of modern political terrorism to the changes of the world information order as the present work attempts to do. In this study author has confined herself mainly to political terrorism excluding other forms of it. So the suggested model which will be discussed further on does not encompass such problems as turmoils, coups d'etat, revolutions, civil wars etc.

This author aims to challenge certain standard assumptions about the picture of

mass media-authorities-terrorists interaction as applied to the multinational world. It is a gap between theories of terrorism bequeathed from the West and the extremely varied facts of Third World terrorism. Our intention is to review some factual conditions under which problem of political terrorism can arise.

The need for more research in the field of terrorism, of both qualitative and quantitative nature, is evidenced by the numerous predictions of increased terrorist activity in the future. The intrinsically complicated threats arising from any sort of chemical, biological, and nuclear terrorism may become an ominous future reality. Emergency preparedness countermeasures must necessarily include contingency planning and sound crisis management policies at various governmental, intergovernmental, and nongovernmental levels.

In this up-to-date analysis of current trend of terrorism author assesses the scale and significance of terrorism as a problem in the international system and attempts to offer firm proposals for some measures to counter this growing menace. Project will explore in depth the symbiotic relationship between the media and the terrorists. Because of inherent danger that too little or too much coverage could act as a catalyst in escalating the number and seriousness of the terrorist actions we have to find a balance between keeping people informed, panic publicity, and real questions of public security.

Analytical attempts to study this problem suffer for the lack of hard data. This project is also an attempt at a quantitative analysis of terrorism-media-authorities interactions (TMA-model). The different kinds of data will be investigated in this study.

1. We will collect and evaluate most of existing and available literature on terrorism and to a lesser extent on the mass media as far as a works dealing with both areas.
2. We will create second data base - mainly newspapers and magazines, but also TV-news scripts where it will be available (f.e. *Vanderbilt Television News Archive*).
3. We will use the written questionnaires to journalists and editors and also written and taped sources which were produced by political terrorists themselves.
4. We will study different types of governmental documents concerning the problems of terrorism and mass media.

Comparative content analysis of coverage in different types of states throughout the world supported by the second data base would be especially revealing about media processes and imperatives as well as about terrorist activity, and about governments' influence. It is essential to understand more of the dynamics of authority holders' purposes, terrorists' intentions, journalists' motives, and public's reaction to the coverage.

Our aim is to discover the "big picture" of modern relations between terrorism, media and authorities. Since that project is covering new ground we found it more important to act as pathfinders than as topographers.

TMA-MODEL

A new conceptual approach or model (TMA) will be introduced for innovatively describing and analyzing not only aspects of "political terrorism" but also aspects of closely related phenomena like media revolution, new world order, public diplomacy. The minimum goal of the TMA- model is to serve as a conceptual framework within

scholars. Nevertheless, the media, government analysts, and businessmen might comfortably and productively converse about a common area of concern. TMA-model attempts to synthesize the realist and structuralist paradigms into a pluralist framework.

The model is designed to be applicable in conflicts involving terrorists, media and authorities as participants and counterparts. Our approach has been comparative. By putting terrorist, media and authority holders' practices from various time and place settings in comparative perspective we have attempted to gain an insight into their common properties.

Systematic cross-national research on the characteristics of nations, comparing them on national wealth, political and media institutions and using TMA-model as a partial index of levels of political terrorism may aid us in answering some urgent questions, and developing preventive measures.

TMA can serve as a tool for policy analysis. By comparing its files of cases, cross-tabulation of the data we can note systematic similarities and differences and make a better decisions - our inclination is to solve social problems by conflict resolution rather than by conflict repression. Therefore, TMA data pool may also prove useful in suggesting how talks with terrorists (through or without mass media) should be conducted during the incident. It may be aid in determining negotiation tactics during a current conflict.

This model may also help to plan for kinds of incidents which have not occurred. Terrorists may be able to steal nuclear materials, make bomb or somehow disperse

the radioactive, chemical or bacteriological substances into a populated area. What are the characteristics of such terrorist group? By comparing historical incidents we may come to understand future terrorist behavior and plan ahead.

Such work could serve the very useful purposes of organizing much of the existing, fragmented case study literature on terrorism-media-government relations along with data collection, and with free- form gaming scenarios and could provide much more understanding terrorism's multifaced forms and processes so that preventive and ameliorative policies might be developed. An alternative decision-making scenarios could be created too.

Free- form games based on TMA-model can be accomplished manually, can be computer-assisted, or can be wholly computerized (designed to simulate the logic of actions or interactions and provide the results to player personnel for analysis). Computer in this case can be used too as a bookkeeper or data source.

THE WORKING HYPOTHESIS.

1. Terrorists who obtained coverage on the media and used it well are treated differently than those in similar situation who do not.
2. Media increase the visibility of terrorists and their power to invoke government responses.
3. Nations differ in their susceptibility to terrorists and media influence.
4. Poor use of media by terrorists has little likelihood of impacting governmental policy, skillful use of media has a higher likelihood of impacting policy.

5. Media provide terrorists with a global stage to publicize their demands what is a byproduct of the terrorism itself.
6. Media irresponsibly report on government's actions and consequently limit the government's options.
7. TV, by its very nature, escalates a terrorist crisis far beyond its actual importance.
8. Media becomes a pivotal actor in terrorist crisis because its self-declared air of neutrality is vulnerable to exploitation by terrorists.
9. Only problem-solving conflict resolutions in media-terrorist-authorities relationships lead to significant policy changes.

METHODS AND PROCEDURES.

How can be these hypothesizes proved?

The TMA -model and definitions and perspectives inherent in it are purposely designed to maximize objectivity and avoid generalizations and categorizations based on subjective positions.

Several approaches have been made to empirically investigating TMA-model relating conflict. We could review the literature both of media and terrorism, including books by those whom we can consider practitioners. We could ask terrorists about their behavior, interviewing those imprisoned as far as we could interview journalists specialized in terrorist issues.

This project's goal is not only to reanalyze of previously analyzed data-set but to monitor, code , and summarize ongoing events and activity in a centrally-available

data pool , based on content analysis of multinational mass media coverage of terrorist events. Samples of media materials will represent Western, East European and Third World countries. In our selection West will be represented by *The New York Times* (USA), East by *Izvestia* (Russia), Africa by *The Daily Times* (Nigeria), Asia by *The Times of India* (India), Middle East by *The Turkish Daily News* (Turkey), and South America by *O Globo* (Brazil).

The time-span covered by this study is the contemporary period of 1990-1993, although there are some references to earlier occurrences of political terrorist conflicts.

Next step in content analysis will include the definitions of categories to be applied. Terms used to describe conflicts verbally will be coded into machine-readable form. Coding sheets will be elaborated and all data will be quickly summarized in data-pool.

After monitoring and coding all events data and special content analysis measurement procedures the variance-reduction forecasting can be undertaken to discover the most likely set of future outcomes.

Special worksheet will be developed to assist in organizing data and in ultimately extracting conclusions and research questions. Using this worksheet the analyst can record all of the data concerning each conflict.

These and other chronologies will be included into computer files. Textual description of each conflict will be also create. An appreciation TMA-model data pool

as a source of research will be afforded by its uses in summarizing trends, comparing TMA-model conflicts cross-nationally and over time and evaluating policy prescriptions for conflict management.

It is significant that, in line with symmetrical nature of TMA-model, the perspectives of participants of conflict are to be employed in reflecting data and conclusions questions.

CONCLUSION.

TMA-model will have interesting possibilities when used by capable analysts. Both the terrorists and the media, as far as authorities, are “managing” the conflict and performing various functions. This various functions each of which is associated with factors of description and analysis in TMA-model will help to determine the overall conclusions and research questions about the conflict. Author hopes to increase scientific knowledge of this issue and open new opportunities for investigation by exploring the theoretical and practical aspects of following questions:

What is the general situation involving a particular terrorists?

Who are the actors in terrorist conflict?

What are the environments and linkages of conflict?

Where does conflict exist or have relevance?

Why does conflict exist?

How do the terrorists, media and authorities operate in the conflict?

What is the significance of this conflict?

By exploring the theoretical and practical aspects of these questions the author hopes to increase the knowledge of this issue, open new opportunities for investigations.

The interdependent mutually exploitative terrorists-mass media-authorities relationships reflected in TMA-model are a continuing dynamic that does not end with suggested model. Nevertheless, the description of the model offers a different way of explaining phenomena which have been called *political terrorism* or *international terrorism*.

If terrorism is a form of warfare then new counterstrategies will be needed to effectively meet this threat. The TMA-model may be effective in understanding and defusing terrorists' activity to disrupt our life. It is this author's view that terrorism will be defeated not by ignoring it but by challenging it with an understanding of its causes and objectives.