

Terrorism/Counterterrorism and Media in the Age of Global Communication

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In the age of global communication and international media the messengers of hate and terror are no longer impeded by national borders or regions; they can easily spread powerful words and images around the globe and condition impressionable men and women to be recruited into terrorist cells and networks. International and domestic terrorists exploit the traditional and the new communication means to achieve a host of crucial objectives--most of all the media-dependent dissemination of their “propaganda of the deed” among friends and foes. Whether in the United States, Europe, the Middle East, the Far East, or any other region, the architects of terrorism exploit the mass-media—including the Internet for the benefit of their operational efficiency, information gathering, recruitment, fund raising, and propaganda schemes. But governments in countries whose populations are intimidated by terrorist attacks and threats thereof utilize the mass media as well to enlist public support for actual and alleged counterterrorist measures. This lecture, then, will explain how media and communication figure prominently, indeed indispensably, into both terrorism and counterterrorism.

Terrorists and their Need for Publicity

Each major act of terrorism (and of minor terrorist incidents as well) results inevitably in news coverage. While I do not suggest that the news media favor this sort of political violence, it is nevertheless true that terrorist strikes provide what the contemporary media crave most—drama, shock, tragedy, and grief, the ideal ingredients of human interest stories. As a result, terrorists get precisely what they need: massive publicity and the opportunity to showcase their ability to strike against even the strongest nation states. And the media are rewarded as well in that they energize their competition for audience size and circulation—and thus for all-important advertising revenues. In this respect, the two sides enjoy a symbiotic relationship—they feed off each other.

Political extremists understood all along that their violent deeds were a sure means to publicize their existence and their causes. For this reason 19th century anarchists explained their violence as “propaganda of the deed.” Long before Gutenberg invented the printing press, terrorists assured themselves the greatest amount of publicity by striking in crowded places so that a large number of eyewitnesses spread the news among their families, friends, and acquaintances. But each new communication technology, each new medium of communication increased terrorists’ ability to exploit the expanding news industry for their purposes. However, terrorists have not relied solely on the gatekeepers of the traditional media (newspapers, newsmagazines, radio and television) but tried to circumvent them. For example, the Brazilian revolutionary Carlos Marighela wrote in the Minimanual of the Urban Guerrilla that the modern mass media were important instruments of propaganda but that this opportunity should not prevent his comrades from utilizing

their own presses and copying machines. In addition to their own printing presses and copying machines, more recent terrorists have used on- and off-shore radio transmitters, satellite telephones, and, their own television channels.

The Lebanese Hezbollah expanded its originally modest local Beirut TV-station into a regional player and eventually into a powerful global satellite TV-network. Today, Hezbollah's Al Manar is the preferred TV-network of millions of Muslims around the world and especially in the Muslim diaspora in the West. In early 2006, the Palestinian Hamas added own television station Al Aksa TV to its radio station "Voice of Al Aksa." Both are located at secret locations in the Gaza strip.

Since terrorists have always embraced the newest information and communication technologies, it was hardly surprising that they recognized the utility of the Internet and other means of communication early on. Therefore, In order to understand the interplay between terrorism and media fully, we must not only examine the various forms of news media but other media forms and technologies as well—video and audio cassettes, DVDs, video games, popular music, and novels.

Video tapes, audio cassettes and DVDs have been used by Al Qaeda and like-minded groups in the Middle East, Europe, and elsewhere to spread propaganda and condition teens and young adults for recruitment. Hamdi Issac, who was one of the participants in the failed London bombing attacks on July 21, 2005 told Italian interrogators after he was arrested in Rome that he had been recruited by another would-be bomber, Said Ibrahim. According to Isaac, "We met each other at a muscle-building class in Notting Hill and Muktar (Said Ibrahim) showed us some DVDs with images of the war in Iraq, especially women and children killed by American and British soldiers. During our meetings we analyzed the political situation and the fact that everywhere in the West Muslims are humiliated and that we must react."¹

Video games, such as Ummah Defense I and Ummah Defense II are advertised and sold on the Internet. The description of the scenario for Ummah Defense I begins with the sentence, "It is the year 2114 and the Earth is finally united under the Banner of Islam." Some of these video games are made in U.S.A. and sold mostly to customers abroad. There is also a lucrative international music scene that produces and distributes White supremacy songs advocating hate and violence against those who are not white and not Christians. While Islamic fundamentalists condemn Western popular culture as decadent, "radical Islamic groups have harnessed the influence of Hip Hop in American and Western culture by producing their own [Hip Hop} bands" that try to indoctrinate young listeners.² According to Madeleine Gruen, "The most extreme militant Islamic Hip Hop is known as 'Terror Rap.' The video 'Dirty Kuffar' by the British Hip Hop group Soul Salah Crew features a masked 'Sheik Terra' dancing in front of the camera with the Quran in one hand and a gun in

¹ "Italy arrests another brother of London bomb suspect." Agence France Presse, July 31, 2005. Retrieved from Yahoo ! News, July 31, 2005, at <http://news.yahoo.com/afp/20050731/wl-uk-afp/britainattacksitaly-050731153552&prin...>

² Madeleine Gruen, "Innovative Recruitment and Indoctrination Tactics by Extremists: Video Games, Hip Hop, and the World Wide Web." In James Forest, ed. , The Making of a Terrorist, Volume I (Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, forthcoming fall 2005).

the other.”³ The lyrics leave no doubt that the message is in favor of terrorist violence as the following verse attests to:

Peace to Hamas and the Hizbollah.
OBL [Ossama bin Laden] pulled me like a shiny star
Like the way we destroyed them two towers, ha-ha
The minister Tony Blair, there my dirty Kuffar
The one Mr. Bush, there my dirty Kuffar.
Throw them on the fire.

It seems that this pop music follows the example of the hateful white power rock labels which are popular among young white supremacists and neo-Nazis in Europe and the United States.

Finally, books—even when veiled as fiction—can serve as powerful propaganda tools and how-to-commit-terrorism guides. For example, using the pseudonym Andrew MacDonald, the late founder of the neo-Nazi/White supremacy organization National Alliance, William Pierce, provided blue prints for big style terrorism in The Turner Diaries and Hunter. As he planned the Oklahoma City bombing of 1995, Timothy McVeigh followed the prescriptions in The Turner Diaries. A copy of Hunter was found in the possessions of McVeigh’s accomplice, Terry Nichols. Headquartered in the United States, the Pierce and his National Alliance still have followers in North America and abroad.

While one needs to be aware of the importance of all kinds of media in the terrorist propaganda efforts, entertainment media included, the main focus here is on the news media and the utility of the Internet.

The Triangles of Political Communication and the Internet

In liberal democracies and their mass societies, modern-day politics comes mostly down to mass-mediated communication because personal encounters between citizens and elected and appointed government officials are the exception, not the rule. Thus, political communication occurs mostly within what I call the triangle of political communication in which the mass media, the public, and governmental decision-makers form the three corners. The media gate-keepers do not only control access to the news, but access to the general public and to government officials as well. Unless they are well funded and well connected peaceful groups with extremist agendas rarely get access to the mainstream media. However, when extremists resort to political violence—terrorism in other words—, the media gates open for the “propaganda of the deed” and spread the terrorist messages to the general public and government officials.

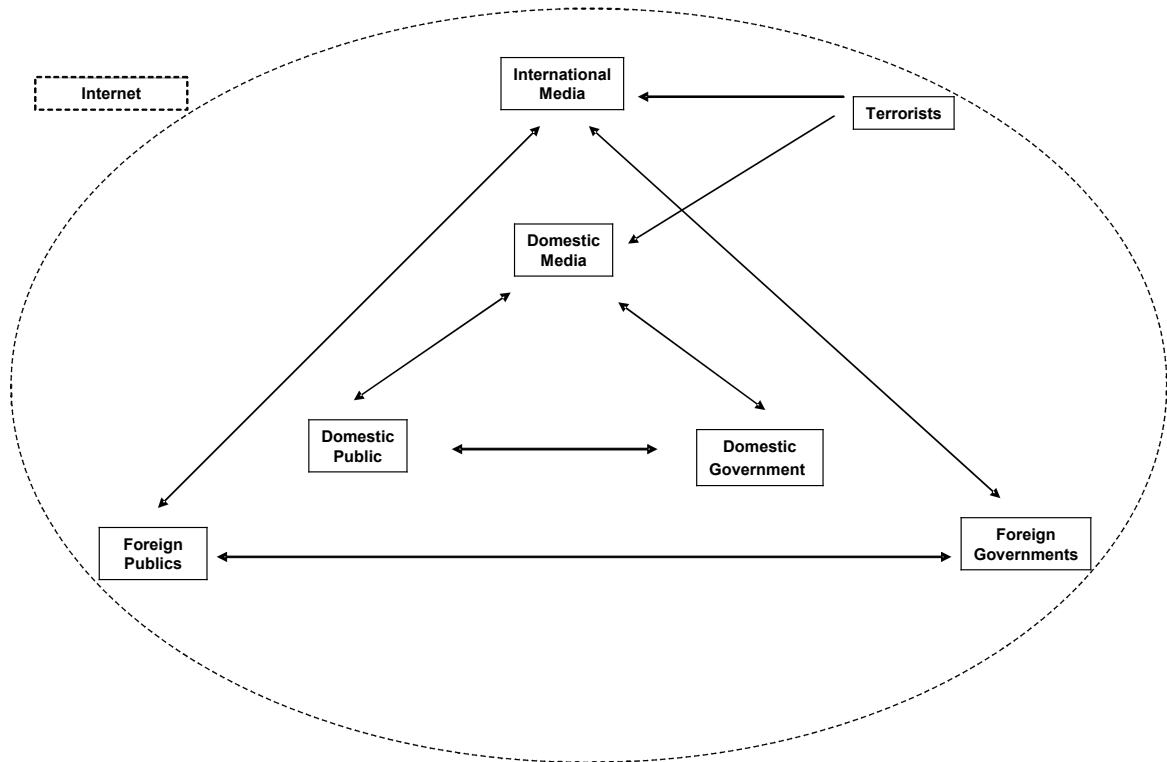
Apart from working in the domestic setting, there is a global or international triangle of political communication that works along the lines of the domestic triangular links: Continents, countries, policies, movements, religions, and so on, that often get at best spotty international news coverage, will instantly receive a great deal of attention by the news media around the world, whenever terrorists stage a major act of political violence. Moreover, people around the world can receive and watch global television networks’ the news and entertainment offerings that used to be accessible to domestic broadcast audiences only.

³ Ibid.

And then there is the Internet. Besides providing access to news organizations around the world the Internet also allow terrorists to circumvent the gatekeepers of the traditional media and communicate with each other as well as with individuals and groups around the globe.

Figure 1

Terrorism, the Triangles of Political Communication, and the Internet



Terrorists and their Media-Centered Objectives

Terrorists' ultimate objectives are political, even if promoted as religiously motivated. Some want national independence, others vie for regime change, still others demand the withdrawal of foreign powers from countries or regions. Whatever their ultimate goals may be, terrorists know that publicity and propaganda are necessary means to their larger ends. Without making friends and foes aware of their existence, of their motivations, and their objectives, terrorists would not see a chance to further their political agenda.

Thus, when terrorists strike or threaten to commit violence, they have the following media-dependent objectives in mind:

- **First, terrorists want the awareness of various audiences inside and outside their target societies and thereby condition their targets for intimidation.**
- **Second, terrorists want the recognition of their causes, they want people to ask, Why do hate us? Why do they attack innocent civilians?**

- **Third, terrorists want the respect and sympathy of those in whose interest they claim to act.**
- **Four, terrorists want a quasi-legitimate status and the same or similar media treatment that legitimate political actors receive.**

In view of these objectives, one wonders whether and to what extent news coverage furthers one, several, or all of these terrorist imperatives.

The Awareness and Intimidation Goals

New York Times columnist Thomas Friedman has suggested that Osama bin Laden “is not a mere terrorist” but a “super-empowered” man with geopolitical aspirations who does not seek news coverage but wants to kill as many Americans as possible.⁴ This idea that in the age of catastrophic terrorism—there is no longer the need for publicity on the part of terrorists is shared by others who argue that the new “terrorism of expression” speaks for itself, does not need to be explained—not even by claims of responsibility. I disagree with this assessment. Just think of Al Qaeda’s media-savvy operations, which included an information and media arm and a video production team for propaganda purposes. Moreover, a training manual that was used in al-Qaeda’s training camps in Afghanistan advised recruits to target “sentimental landmarks” such as the Statue of Liberty in New York, the Big Ben clock tower in London, and the Eiffel Tower in Paris, because their destruction would “generate intense publicity.”⁵

In terms of getting the attention of friends and foes, the strikes of 9/11 in the United States, 3/11 in Spain, and 7/7 in the United Kingdom were more successful than any previous terrorist deed—including the brutal attack on Israeli athletes at the Munich Olympic Games in 1972 by “Black September” terrorists. In 1972, the Palestinian terrorists calculated correctly that they would get world-wide attention because they struck at a place, where the international media had gathered to cover the premier sporting event. As for the attacks on the London’s transit system, while certainly well planned in advance, the architects of the quadruple bombing picked a date that coincided with an important G-8 summit in Scotland. By striking at the outset of that meeting, the terrorists hijacked the news and swept the leaders of the eight most powerful countries off the television screens and front pages. Just take the New York Times the day after the London bombings as a typical example: The front page was mostly devoted to the 7/7 attack and the execution of the Egyptian ambassador to Iraq by a bunch of terrorists made page one as well, but the G-8 summit did not. What a publicity success for the perpetrators of terror! In the weeks thereafter, refueled by the failed follow-up attack in London, the terrorist threat continued to dominate the news as did counterterrorist measures in the U.K., U.S., and elsewhere. Moreover, in the United States there were alarming reports about expert warnings, how easily a number of identified sites could be attacked by terrorists. It is known that terrorists are well informed about a variety of targets, but is it necessary for the media to provide them with what adds up to laundry lists of vulnerable sites?

⁴ Thomas L. Friedman, “No Mere Terrorist,” New York Times, 24 March 2002, sect. 4, p. 15.

⁵ Hamza Hendawi, ‘Terror Manual Advises on Targets.’

http://story.news.yahoo.com/news?tmpl=story&u+ap/20.../afghan_spreading_terror
retrieved February 11, 2002.

Closely tied to the terrorist goal of dominating (and even dictating) the content of breaking news is the desire to intimidate a targeted population, to spread fear, and undermine the declared values of the targeted political system by pushing a frightened society and government into overreaction. The propaganda of fear has proven to be quite successful. In the days and weeks after 9/11 public opinion polls revealed that many Americans were traumatized: they suffered from sleeplessness, felt depressed, and feared that they or their loved-ones could become the victims of future terrorism. While these feelings subsided, many people—especially in New York and Washington, as well as other places considered to be likely targets—retained a great deal of anxieties. Heavy news consumers were more plagued by fear of terrorism than those who did not follow the news very closely.⁶

This is precisely the reaction that terrorists desire. Certainly bin Laden and his associates aimed for such effects. Speaking about the impact of 9/11 on the American people, bin Laden remarked with obvious satisfaction, “There is America, full of fear from north to south, from west to east. Thank God for that.”⁷

Given the magnitude of 9/11, the mere threat of new terrorism resulted in substantial news coverage and reawakened feelings of anxiety in the American public in the years following the attacks. It did not matter whether Osama bin Laden threatened Americans with new violence or whether administration officials in Washington raised the color-coded threat alerts, the effects were the same in every instance: the news media reported extensively, even excessively, and the public took notice. When the threat alerts were decreased, there was far less prominent reporting.

Further, it does not require spectacular acts of deadly political violence to trigger massive news coverage that results in the attention that terrorists aim for. For example, consider the small group of self-proclaimed anarchists that dominated the news of a summit meeting of the 1999 World Trade Organization (WTO) in Seattle, Washington, after they used hammers, baseball bats, and spray paint to damage store fronts, and clashed with police. While the media all but ignored some 50,000 peaceful anti-globalization demonstrators and the summit proceedings, relatively minor acts of political violence took center stage in television and print news. Indeed, so carefully had the media-savvy anarchists prepared this stage media event that they referred reporters’ requests for interviews to their own “publicist.” After everything was said and done, the anarchist gang was utterly happy with the results of the media event they staged. Although chiding the “corporate media” for biased reporting, the anarchists recognized the value of nonstop media attention. “The WTO protests are a watershed,” they proclaimed on one website and predicted that “after [what the media dubbed as] the Battle of Seattle, the anarchists will no longer be ignored.”⁸ If this seemed an overly optimistic assessment, it was not. The anarchists’ publicity success in Seattle ignited a chain reaction, in that subsequent international meetings of the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, and other international organizations

⁶ For example, see Andrew Kohut, “Washington 2002: Attitude Adjustment - The 9/11 Effect is Starting to Fade,” *Columbia Journalism Review* no. 5 (September-October, 2002). Online at: <http://www.cjr.org/issues/2002/5/wash-kohut.asp>

⁷ Text: Bin Laden statement. <http://www.guardian.co.uk/waronterror/story/0,1361,565069,00html> retrieved April 7, 2002.

⁸ The statement was posted at http://www.chumba.com/_gospel.htm.

attracted more (and a greater variety) of extremist groups and individuals, set on political violence for the sake of “selling” their propaganda via the media.

The Recognition Goal

For terrorists, winning the attention of the news media, the public, and government officials and intimidating their declared enemies is not enough. They typically want to publicize their political causes and depend on the mass media to explain and discuss their rationale for resorting to violence. This exercise in strategic communication or public diplomacy is designed to inform and educate both friends and foes about the motives for terrorist deeds. For this to happen the perpetrators of terrorism do not necessarily have to do the explaining themselves, the media do it for them.

On this count, too, bin Laden and his comrades in arms were quite successful. Before September 11, 2001 the American news media did not report a great deal about the growing anti-American sentiments among Arabs and Muslims in the Middle East and in other parts of the world. This changed after 9/11 in that the news media expanded their reporting from these regions. Instead of sticking to their typical episodic coverage of foreign news (e.g., events within the Israeli-Palestinian conflict), there was suddenly far more contextual reporting that provided viewers, listeners, and readers with a better understanding of the Middle East and its peoples.

Suddenly, there were many stories that pondered the question that President George W. Bush had posed shortly after the events of 9/11: Why do they hate us? The focus of this sort of reporting was not simply on the motives of the terrorists themselves, but, more importantly, on the many non-violent Arabs and Muslims who resented the United States as well. More than ever before, the American and western media carried stories on Islam, a religion most members of their audiences were not at all familiar with.

Contextual or thematic reporting is far more informative than narrow, episodic coverage and thus certainly more desirable. The problem in this case was, however, that the reporting patterns of the American media in particular changed for the better as a direct result of horrific terrorist strikes.

Or take the 7/7 bombings in London that resulted in an avalanche of reports on the sentiments and grievances of Muslims in the United Kingdom and elsewhere in Europe and on the role of the Iraq war in the recruitment of home-grown British subjects. The U.S. news media did carry stories on the radicalization of young Muslims in the European diaspora before 7/7, but this coverage paled in comparison to far more in-depth reporting on the predicament of Muslims in Western Europe. Once again, horrific acts of terrorism triggered news coverage that informed the public in the United Kingdom and all over the globe about situations and development that should have been part and parcel of news reports all along.

The Respect and Sympathy Goals

Osama Bin Laden and like-minded terrorists did not win the respect of the American people by committing anti-American terrorism on U.S. soil and abroad nor did the Madrid and London bombers endear themselves to the Spanish and British people. On the contrary, for many Americans, Spaniards, and the British the architects and actual perpetrators of terrorist spectacular became the personification of evil with bin Laden

seen as the villain-in-chief. This reaction did not come as a surprise to bin Laden and his kind. After all, when international terrorists strike abroad, they do not strive to be loved by their target audiences; they want to be feared. But at the same time, they hope for increased respectability and sympathy in those people in certain societies on whose behalf they claim to act. This is precisely what bin Laden, his closest aides, and the Al Qaeda organization achieved in the aftermath of 9/11: He and his associates won the respect and sympathy of many people in Arab and Muslim countries and in the Western diaspora as reflected in transnational public opinion surveys. In the spring of 2005, for example, the majority of Jordanians (60%) and Pakistanis (51%) had a lot or some confidence in Osama bin Laden “to do the right thing in world affairs,” and this confidence was higher than two years earlier, when 55% of Jordanians and 45% of the Pakistani public had such trust in the Al Qaeda leader. While the respect for bin Laden as doing the right thing in world affairs declined during the same period in Indonesia and Morocco, there was still significant support in both Indonesia (35%) and Morocco (25%). In Turkey and Lebanon, the confidence in bin Laden as a good figure on the stage of world politics was modest to begin with in 2003 (15% in Turkey and 14% in Lebanon) and declined by 2005 to 7% in Turkey and 2% in Lebanon.⁹ Although in hiding since the fall of 2001, nearly four years after 9/11, bin Laden continued to have the respect of many million of admirers.⁹

The Quasi-Legitimate Status Goal

In April 2004, about five weeks after the train bombings in Madrid sent a shock wave through Western Europe, Osama bin Laden offered to halt terrorism in European countries that withdrew their military from Muslim lands. In an audio taped message that was first aired on the Arab television network Al Arabiya, bin Laden said, “The door to a truce is open for three months. The truce will begin when the last soldier leaves our countries.”¹⁰ Like all of his and his lieutenants’ previous communications, this particular bin Laden message was prominently reported and commented on by the news media in the West. Within hours, high ranking officials in several western European countries went public with responses from their respective governments. Although all of these governments rejected the truce offer categorically, the immediate reaction to the uttering of the world’s most notorious terrorist leader was a testament to bin Laden’s quasi-legitimate status. In other words, high government officials of leading Western nations responded to bin Laden’s much publicized communication as if he were a legitimate world leader. Government officials were probably prompted to respond immediate by the high degree of attention the media paid to bin Laden’s tape, if only for the sake of assuring their respective publics that they were not giving in to terrorist demands. But as German TV commentator Elmar Thevessen noted:

“I think it would be better not to react to the tape in the way many governments did today. Of course, one [presumably the media] shouldn’t keep quiet about it, but by talking about bin Laden’s message all the time, we are upgrading him to a global player.”¹¹

If there were doubts that bin Laden himself longed for the status that is reserved for world-class leaders and statesmen, they were laid to rest when the Al

⁹ Surveys were conducted for The Pew Global Attitudes Project of the Pew Research Center for the People and the Press in 2003 and 2005. See, <http://www.people-press.org>, retrieved August 2, 2005.

¹⁰ Richard Bernstein, “Tape, Probably Bin Laden’s, Offers Truce to Europe,” *New York Times*, April 16, 2004, p. 3.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

Qaeda leader released a videotape five days before the 2004 U.S. presidential elections. Instead of wearing his familiar military attire, holding a weapon, and using threatening language, bin Laden was dressed in a softly flowing robe and spoke in the measured tone of a statesman. This change in style was not lost on experts who concluded that this particular speech was “carefully staged and worded to present him as a polished statesman and the voice of a broad movement, instead of a terrorism-obsessed religious fanatic.”¹² While his seemingly new persona hardly attested to a change in bin Laden’s attitude toward the United States, the West, and foes elsewhere, the news media nevertheless offered extraordinary air time and column inches to a “news” event that was staged by the Al Qaeda leader and his media-savvy staff. And again this media attention was not lost on political leaders. While the two major presidential candidates refused to comment on Laden’s pre-election day message, sources in their respective camps span their takes on the Al Qaeda leader’s rationale for addressing the American electorate.

In the summer of 2005, President George W. Bush responded to a videotaped message by Al Qaeda’s Ayman al-Zawahri shortly after it was aired by Al Jazeera and reported by U.S. media organizations. The second in command in the Al Qaeda leadership, al-Zawahri threatened the United Kingdom and the United States with more terrorism. But the President would have been well advised to follow the example of Prime Minister Tony Blair who, this time around, refused to comment. Instead, the American President’s widely reported response proved once again that when leading terrorists speak, the news media report, and even the most influential leaders listen—and respond.¹³

Wittingly or not, the news media bestow a certain status upon terrorist leaders. The mere practice of media representatives interviewing leading terrorists and treating them like legitimate political actors elevates the status of terrorists. For example, during the build-up phase to the first Persian Gulf War, Ted Koppel—of ABC-TV’s “Nightline” program—interviewed Dr. George Habash of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP). Habash repeated and expanded on his threats of violence against Americans in case of military actions against Iraq and its occupation of Kuwait, and spoke about Arab grievances against the United States. Saudi Arabia’s ambassador to the U.S. was a guest on the same program and topic. More recently, Koppel devoted a full “Nightline” program to an interview with the Chechen “rebel leader” Shamil Basayev who claimed responsibility for two most deadly terrorist incidents in Russia: the take-over of a Moscow theater in the fall of 2002 and the Beslan school siege in September 2004 that resulted in the death of at least 330 persons, most of them children.¹⁴ While the interview was conducted by a Russian reporter, Ted Koppel nevertheless provided a publicity stage to an unapologetic terrorist leader who used the opportunity to explain Chechen grievances against Russia. In this setting, the terrorist was treated like a legitimate political actor. While this did not justify a move by the Russian government to deny ABC News access to its Defense Ministry or other official sources, Russian officials were not the first to

¹² Craig Whitlock, “From Bin Laden, Different Style, Same Message,” *New York Times*, November 25, 2004, p. A20.

¹³ Al-Zawahri’s video message was aired and reported on July 4, 2005 and within hours President Bush responded during a meeting at his ranch at Crawford, Texas, with Colombian President Alvaro Uribe.

¹⁴ The Nightline program was aired on July 28, 2005. The Russian Foreign Ministry tried to convince ABC News not to broadcast the interview and protested against the program after it had been aired.

protest the glorification and legitimization of terrorists by offering them access to major media. Twenty years earlier, when appalled by American and western journalists' presence at a press conference held by the Lebanese hijackers of a TWA airliner who had killed an American passenger, then Secretary of State Alexander Haig warned that "when TV reporters interview kidnappers, it risks making international outlaws seem like responsible personalities. Television should avoid being used that way."¹⁵

All of this is not to say that the news media are alone in unwittingly bestowing quasi legitimate standing to terrorist leaders. Take the post-9/11 cross national surveys, commissioned by an organization in the United States that asked respondents in several countries about their degree of confidence in world figures to do the right thing regarding world affairs. Bin Laden was included in the list that otherwise contained heads of governments, states, and international organizations, such as U.S. President George W. Bush, British Prime Minister Tony Blair, French President Jacques Chirac, United Nations Secretary General Kofi Annan.¹⁶

Teaching Terror through Showcasing Violence in the Media

One consequence of the opportunity to showcase their "propaganda of the deed" on a global scale is undoubtedly that terrorists in different parts of the world learn about and embrace the most successful methods of mass-mediated terrorism. Thus, the 9/11 attacks by hijackers willing to die in order to kill innocent civilians highlighted the effectiveness (from the terrorist perspective) of suicide terrorism. Yes—there was suicide terrorism before—most of all perpetrated by the Tamil Tigers and Middle Eastern groups, such as Hezbollah, Hamas, and Islamic Jihad. But 9/11 provided a most attractive model and enhanced the attractiveness of this terrorist method. In the fall of 2002, when Chechen separatists seized a Moscow theater and threatened to kill themselves and hundreds of Russians, Anne Nivat—a reporter and expert on Chechnya—suggested that "there is definitely a 9/11 element in this new way of acting. They [the Chechen hostage holders] saw that it was really possible to have a huge impact by being ready to lose their lives."¹⁷

After terrorists in the Middle East beheaded a number of their kidnap-victims in 2004, there were several copycat killings (or threats thereof) outside the Middle East. In Haiti, for example, the bodies of three headless policemen were found; they were victims of terrorists who explained their action as "Operation Baghdad"—a label that had no meaning in Haiti's civil strife, except for the cruel method of murder in Iraq. And then there was the beheading of a Buddhist official in a village in Thailand which was described as an act of revenge for violence against Muslim rioters. After the shooting of Dutch filmmaker Theo van Gogh (his killer tried to cut his throat as well), self-proclaimed *jihadis* in the Netherlands threatened to decapitate other critics of Muslim extremists. All of these perpetrators had recognized the shock-value and media attractiveness of a news terrorist method.

¹⁵ Haig was quoted by Brigitte L. Nacos, *Terrorism and the Media* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), p. 67.

¹⁶ "Views of a Changing World 2003," <http://www.people-press.org/reports/display.php3?ReportID=185>, retrieved August 2, 2005.

¹⁷ Nivat is the author of a book titled *Chiennes de Guerre: A Woman Reporter Behind the Lines of the War in Chechnya*. She was quoted in Serge Schmemmann, "The Chechens' Holy War: How Global is it?" *New York Times*, 27 October 2002, Section 4, p. 3.

However, terrorists can also overplay their hands in displaying unspeakable cruelty as they did during a wave of video-taped decapitations that were displayed on Internet sites and with the seizure of a school in Southern Russia by Chechen separatists. Eventually voices in the Muslim world spoke out against the perpetrators of these savage deeds and the fact that they claimed to act in the name and defense of Islam.

Similarly, the news media's attention to the Aum Shinrykio's lethal sarin attack on the Tokyo subway system in 1995 on the heels of other acts of terrorism contributed to swift government actions that brought the responsible Aum leaders to justice.

Terrorist Propaganda and the Contemporary Media

While the press has always been interested in reporting violence, the proliferation of television and radio channels and the emergence of mega-media organizations has resulted in greater competition and insatiable appetites for shocking, sensational infotainment that is believed to keep audiences captivated and boost ratings, circulation, and, most importantly, increase profits. Few, perhaps no other events fulfill the requirements of gripping infotainment more than acts of terrorism and the plight of terrorist victims. To be sure, the most fundamental function of the free press is its responsibility to fully inform the public. Thus, terrorism must be reported; the question is, how and how much to report on this sort of political violence.

Is it in the public interest to play every act of terrorism as the day's leading news? In questioning the news judgment of editors, critics complain that the threats against and the murder of hostages are presented as lead stories in TV and page one stories in newspapers. As Mark Bowden put it, "What disturbs me is the way terrorists use sensationalism to vastly amplify their message. They know that horror and drama capture the media's attention so they manufacture them. This is why instead of merely executing their victims, they cut off their heads on camera and broadcast videos. When that gets old, which it will, they will come up with something even more awful."¹⁸

Bowden is not the only one who fears that terrorists will think of and commit ever more outlandish acts of violence precisely because they know that the news media will cover "never before" horror news most prominently.

Regardless of the media's preferences, one must ask, whether it in the public interest to replay the shocking images of deadly attacks over and over again? Or whether it is responsible journalism to show the victims of terrorism regardless of the horror of such images? Should the news media display visual images of victims regardless of his or her condition?

In the case of 9/11, the published images of people jumping to their death from the highest floors of the World Trade Center's come to mind. Equally unsettling were the emotionally wrenching videotapes that depicted hostages begging for their lives in Iraq and Saudi Arabia. And even without publishing the visuals of actual beheadings,

¹⁸ Mark Bowden, "News Judgment and Jihad." The Atlantic Monthly, December 2004, p.41.

detailed textual accounts of the victim's predicament can cross the line of what is ethical. Consider, for example, the following description of an American civilian's decapitation by his terrorist kidnappers as published in a leading U.S. newspaper:

As the insurgent speaks, the gray-bearded man identified as Mr. Armstrong appears to be sobbing, a white blindfold wrapped around his eyes. He is wearing an orange jumpsuit. The masked man then pulls a knife, grabs his head and begins slicing through the neck. The killer places the head atop the body before the video cuts to a shot of him holding up the head and a third, more grainy shot showed the body from a different angle.¹⁹

There is no need to provide such graphic details without violating the free media's responsibility to inform the public. Nor is there a need for critiquing the videotape scenes of hostage ordeals and executions as if they were parts of Hollywood movies. One such newspaper account first described a video released by a militant group in Iraq that showed "insurgents slicing off the head of a man identified as Kenneth Bigley, the British engineer who was kidnapped here last month."²⁰ Then, mentioning an earlier video by the same group that showed the same hostage in distress, the reporter wrote:

The captors have shown a cold cinematic flair. At the end of the 11-minute video, they showed a series of title cards in Arabic and English on a black screen in which they asked whether a British civilian was worth anything to Blair. The last screen read, "Do leaders really care about their people?"²¹

By referring to the "cold cinematic flair" of these terrorist productions, this description read more like the review of a well done motion picture than the report of a cold-blooded, real-life murder.

Domestic versus International media

Not so long ago, the news media operated mostly within national borders, despite foreign correspondents, international wire services and broadcast networks that reached beyond the domestic spheres. The international media and communication nets of the past pale in comparison to today's global communication systems. Moreover, satellite television networks like Al Jazeera, Al Arabiya, or Al Manar challenge the international dominance of the American and western media. Add to this the reach of the Internet! In short, today's global communication and media networks overshadow the domain of national media. This point was driven home in the fall of 2002, when Chechen terrorists seized a theater crowded with Russians. As soon as the Chechens controlled the hostage situation, their comrades outside delivered to the Moscow bureau of Al-Jazeera—not Russian TV—a pre-produced videotape on which the terrorists articulated their demands and their willingness to die for their cause. Within hours, the clip was aired by television networks around the world. It did not matter that the Russian government censored their own broadcast stations' reporting on the hostage situation, because interested Russians were able to get information on the video tape and the hostage drama via CNN and other global TV-networks. This case demonstrated the limits of domestic media censorship by

¹⁹ Neil MacFarquhar, "Acting on Threat, Saudi Group Kills Captive American." *New York Times*, 19 June 2004, p. 1.

²⁰ Edward Wong, "Video Shows Beheading of Kidnapped British Engineer." *New York Times*, October 9, 2004, p.6.

²¹ Ibid.

governments—which is, of course, incompatible with the values of liberal democracies. But the incident illustrated also the limitations of sensible self-restraint on the part of domestic news media with respect to covering terrorism. Even if national media organizations would agree to follow a set of guidelines, this would not prevent the public from accessing foreign media without such self-imposed reporting limits.

But most of all, the Internet circumvents the traditional media—national and global-- and allows terrorists to communicate with each other and with audiences around.

Terrorists and the Internet

Contemporary terrorist groups have communication experts among their members and work with sophisticated computers and video recording and editing equipment; they also hire media experts. In October 2005, for example, the pan-Arab daily newspaper *Asharq al-Awsat* reported that Al Qaeda placed a “help wanted” ad on an Internet site that described job openings in the communication field. Al Qaeda looked for a person to compile material on Iraq, including audio and video clips, and an editor with excellent English and Arabic grammar skills.²² Around the same time, the “Global Islamic Media Front,” an Al Qaeda mouthpiece, inaugurated “The Voice of the Caliphate,” a weekly television broadcast on the Internet. The first newscasts featured an anchor and propaganda reports from various countries and regions, among them Iraq, Afghanistan, Gaza and Sudan.

Today’s terrorists perpetrate violence and, if they choose, report on their own deeds themselves. This was certainly practiced in Pakistan, Iraq, and Saudi Arabia, when terrorists beheaded their victims and posted video tapes of their murderous actions on Internet sites. Here the terrorists were the sources and the reporters of terrifying news. The traditional media were left to report on terrorists’ news productions.

Referring to the news media’s massive coverage of suicide bombings in Iraq, *New York Times* columnist John Tierney wrote in the spring of 2005, “I am still puzzled by our zeal in frantically competing to get the gruesome pictures and details for broadcasts and front pages.”²³ And he concluded, “For some reason, their [suicide terrorists’] media strategy still works.”²⁴ Tierney was certainly right. Yet, the communication scheme behind suicide bombings and other terrorist deeds would continue to work for the architects and perpetrators of such violence, if the traditional media would not report them at all--simply because terrorist groups use their own web sites or those of sympathizers to report their brutal deeds.

The Internet has many qualities that serve terrorists well: It is a global means of communication and an unprecedented source of information; it is easily accessible, inexpensive, and mostly unregulated; it allows users to remain anonymous, gives them access to potentially huge audiences and the ability to target specific groups. These characteristics are utilized by terrorists and those who encourage terrorism in several respects:

²² “Al Qaeda posts ‘help wanted’ ad on website: report.” *Khaleej Times* (online), October 3, 2005.

²³ John Tierney, “Bombs Bursting On Air.” *New York Times*, May 10, 2005, p. 17.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

- As a carrier of propaganda, psychological warfare, and hero worship that allows terrorists to circumvent the traditional media's gatekeepers and pursue the publicity goals described above.
- As a means of planning and coordinating terrorist operations. Thus, the 9/11 terrorists and Al Qaeda's operational boss Khalid Shaikh Mohammed communicated via the Internet during the months preceding their strikes.
- As a source for the retrieval of valuable information. Computers left behind in Afghanistan by Al Qaeda revealed that they were extensively used to access open sources for all kinds of information--site maps, anti-surveillance methods, etc. Whether international or domestic terrorists--they get a great deal of info--including on terrorist methods, weapons, explosives, bomb making, etc. from the Internet.
- As a virtual classroom for teaching terrorists how to carry out violence, how to acquire explosives, and how to build their own bombs.
- As a tool for the recruitment of new members. While personal contacts were traditionally most successful in efforts to win new recruits, the Internet has proved more recently instrumental in this respect. Internet chat-rooms have become meeting places of all kinds of extremists.
- As a vehicle for fundraising—often in concert with selling merchandise. Both domestic and international organizations make efforts to raise funds via the Internet.

In conclusion, then, terrorists are very successful in utilizing the traditional and the new media, especially the Internet, for their propaganda or publicity goals as well as other media-centered objectives.

The Media and Counterterrorism

Just as terrorists utilize and exploit the domestic and international triangles of political communication, government officials as well take advantage of this form of mass communication while displaying less expertise than terrorist groups in using the Internet for their purposes. Indeed, whereas terrorists must resort to violence or make credible threats to be admitted to the triangle of political communication by the gatekeepers of the traditional media, highly placed public officials do not have to unleash violence to gain such access because they form one corner of the domestic communication triangle and are part of the international triangular communication linkages as well. From this position of strength governmental sources tend to dominate reporting on foreign and security policy—especially when this involves military conflict or the likelihood of military deployment. In the United States, for example, these dominant news sources are typically situated in the White House, the State Department, and the Pentagon.

Freedom of the press is a fundamental right in liberal democracies because only a media free from governmental control can function as a check on governments in the interest of citizens. However, just as during war time and other serious international crises the press may be caught up in a public outburst of patriotism in reaction to terrorism at the expense of its watchdog responsibilities. Whether this change from watchdog to lapdog is the result of self-censorship or of intimidation by governments and their supporters, or both, the result is the same: Docile media organizations allow presidents and other governmental leaders far more latitude to enact emergency policies and enlist support for extreme military actions in response to terrorist strikes and threats than they would in times of normalcy. Thus, when

societies suffer major terrorist blows, citizens tend to rally around their government leaders and thereby strengthen their presidents' or prime ministers' hands to effectively respond to such attacks. While this rally-'round-the-flag' phenomenon has been well researched in the context of international crises involving state actors (and is not, as many people assume, automatic), it can be observed in the wake of act of international terrorism as well.²⁵ Thus, the Iranian Hostage Crisis (1979-1981) during the presidency of Jimmy Carter, the TWA Hijacking/Hostage Crisis (1985) and the Bombing of Pan Am Flight 103 (1988) during President Ronald Reagan's White House years, the Oklahoma City Bombing (1995) and the USS Cole Bombing (2000) during Bill Clinton's presidency resulted in significant gains in these presidents' public approvals that qualified as strong rallies 'round the flag.'²⁶

But none of these previous gains in public approval came close to the jumps in favor of President George W. Bush immediately following the attacks of 9/11, when his approval increased from 51% in the last pre-9/11 poll to 86% in the first post-9/11 survey and an additional 4% to a 90% approval in the following poll. To put it differently, within a few days the President's approval rating increased by 39 percentage points!²⁷ While this record approval declined gradually, it was not a short-term expression of support in that it took two years before the presidential approval rating returned to the pre-9/11 level. And even when President Bush's general approval ratings fell under the pre-9/11 marks, majorities or pluralities of Americans continued to approve of his handling of the terrorist threat and the "war on terrorism" for years.

Since leaders with solid public approvals are in excellent positions to lead public opinion to begin with, they are likely to succeed to enlist their compatriots' support for their counterterrorist policies in the aftermath of major terrorist attacks. One reason for this advantage is the press's tendencies to pay extraordinary attention to the uttering of heads of governments and states during crisis situations. As a result, presidents and prime ministers are in excellent positions to affect and even set the media agenda with respect to a perceived crisis. Thus, in the immediate post-9/11 months, when the U.S. president and members of his administration were most vocal about their efforts to hunt down Osama bin Laden as the head of Al Qaeda, this emphasis was reflected in the news as

²⁵ For the rallying phenomenon in the face of foreign policy crises as well as international terrorism see Richard A. Brody, *Assessing the President: The Media, Elite Opinion, and Public Support* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1991); John E. Mueller, *War, Presidents and Public Opinion* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1985); and Brigitte L. Nacos, *Terrorism and the Media: From the Iran Crises to the Oklahoma City Bombing* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996).

²⁶ Brigitte L. Nacos, *Mass-Mediated Terrorism* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2002).

²⁷ The record approval ratings cited were taken from surveys conducted by the Gallup organization for CNN/USA TODAY on September 7-10, 2001; September 14-15, 2001, and September 21-22, 2001.

Table 1**News Stories Mentioning bin Laden and/or Saddam Hussein**

	Period I		Period II	
	Saddam Hussein (N)	Bin Laden (N)	Saddam Hussein (N)	<i>Bin Laden</i> (N)
ABC News	83	372	791	311
CBS News	115	438	595	298
NBC News	123	293	581	220
NPR	93	260	604	212

N= Number of Stories

Period I=January 1, 2002 – June 30, 2002; Period II=July 1, 2002 – December 31, 2002

reported by the U.S. media. But when efforts to catch the number one on the FBI’s list of most-wanted persons proved unsuccessful and President Bush and other administration officials focused on what they deemed as major threat posed by Iraq’s President Saddam Hussein, this shift was clearly reflected in the media’s agenda. Table II demonstrates that bin Laden was mentioned far more often in the news coverage of major American news organizations than Saddam Hussein in the first half of 2002, and that there was far more media attention to Saddam Hussein in the second half of 2002, when the Bush administration’s public statements singled out Iraq and the Iraqi leader as most dangerous terrorist threat. To be sure, the news media in democratic and non-democratic settings are expected to report extensively on politics, policymaking, and thus on their government leaders’ views and actions. But in democratic settings one would equally expect that the media do not simply reflect their governments’ agenda but report independently as well.

Given the contemporary news media’s insatiable appetite for what Sissela Bok has called “violence as public entertainment” and “media violence,”²⁸ the press tends to pay far more attention to military responses and the preparations for military actions than to non-violent counterterrorist measures to prevent terrorist attacks and to prepare for adequate responses in case of future terror strikes.

Thus, while paying little attention to the comprehensive and far reaching anti-terrorism legislation proposed by the Bush administration shortly after 9/11 and adopted by the U.S. Congress in record time as the U.S.A. PATRIOT Act, the American media was far more interested in the first military phase of President Bush’s declared “war on terrorism” in Afghanistan. And although the new law expanded the federal government’s surveillance and intelligence gathering powers, the news media failed to inform the public fully about the hastily written and adopted legislation’s potential impact on civil liberties. Except for mentioning in passing the adoption of the legislation by the U.S. House of Representatives and the U.S. Senate or the President’s signing of the bill, the major television networks (ABC News, CBS News, and NBC News) completely ignored the far-reaching legislation. CNN, National Public Radio, and the print media did not much better in this respect. In the face of

²⁸ Sissela Bok, *Mayhem: Violence as Public Entertainment* (Reading, MA: Perseus Books, 1998).

strong support for the antiterrorism measures in the Congress and elsewhere, news organizations were neither informing the public nor questioning the wisdom of some of the antiterrorism measures.

It was a very different story several years later, when a number of important provisions in the Patriot Act were set to expire unless reauthorized by the Congress. This time around, there was strong opposition against renewing certain provisions in its original form on both sides of the aisles in both legislative chambers. Moreover, many news organizations were less inclined to forfeit their watchdog role than they had been in the months and indeed years immediately following the 9/11 attacks. In a far cry from the non-coverage or spotty coverage of the original Patriot Act, each of the three major television networks carried more than 70 segments, National Public Radio and the New York Times close to or more than 200 items, CNN more than 400 stories that were about the renewal process or mentioned it at least.²⁹ Whereas the media did not inform the public about the trade-offs between security and civil liberty in the original PATRIOT Act, they provided ample information about the pro and con arguments in the reauthorization debate. It is noteworthy that this change occurred several years after 9/11 during or after periods, in which investigative reporters and their news organizations revealed human rights violations and the curtailment of civil liberties—from the first shocking reports about the Abu Ghraib torture horrors by The New Yorker's Seymour Hersh and CBS-TV's "60 Minutes" program to the Washington Post's Dana Priest's reporting on terrorist suspects held in secret prisons abroad and James Risen of the New York Times article on domestic spying activities by the National Security Agency in the name of counterterrorism. But good investigative reporting occurred only after these and other news organizations covered the pre-Iraq War period one-sidedly in favor of pro-war sources and pro-war arguments at the expense of voices that raised important and probing questions. Pointing to news organizations' belated criticism of the Bush administration's pre-war disinformation campaign, media critic Michael Massing wrote:

Watching and reading all this, one is tempted to ask, where were you [people in the media] all before the war? Why didn't we learn more about these deceptions and concealments in the months when the administration was pressing its case for regime change—when, in short, it might have made a difference? Some maintain that the many analysts who've spoken out since the end of the war were mute before it. But that's not true. Beginning in the summer of 2002, the "intelligence community was rent by bitter disputes over how Bush officials were using the data on Iraq. Many journalists knew about this, yet few chose to write about it."³⁰

The New York Times in an editorial and the Washington Post in an investigative report admitted flaws in their respective pre-war reporting.³¹ As the Post's executive editor Leonard Downie Jr. put it,

²⁹ From July 2005, when the reauthorization process began in the U.S. Congress to mid-March 2006, when President Bush signed the revised Patriot Act, ABC News and CBS News carried 71 pertinent items each, NBC 76, CNN 457, National Public Radio 175, and the New York Times 201. These were the results of a search of the Lexis/Nexis data base covering the period from July 1, 2005 to March 15, 2006 and using the search word "Patriot Act."

³⁰ Michael Massing, Now They Tell Us: The American Press and Iraq (New York: New York Review Book, 2004), pp. 25,26.

³¹ "From the Editors: The Times and Iraq." New York Times, May 26, 2004, p. 10; Howard Kurtz, "The Post on WMDs: An Inside Story," Washington Post, August 12, 2004, p. A1.

we were so focused on trying to figure out what the administration was doing that we were not giving the same play to people who said it wouldn't be a good idea to go to war and were questioning the administration's rationale. Not enough of those stories were put on the front page. That was a mistake on my part.³²

For Orville Schell “[i]t is understandable that governments would want to limit dissent within their own ranks and to avoid embarrassing disclosures. Less understandable, however, is that an independent press in a ‘free’ country should allow itself to become so paralyzed that it not only failed to investigate thoroughly the rationales for war, but also took so little account of the myriad other cautionary voices in the on-line, alternative, and world press.”³³

Why was the British fourth estate less compliant than the American press although the Blair government, too, engaged in a questionable pro-war propaganda campaign to justify the deployment of British troops in the U.S.-led Iraqi invasion? The difference was probably that members of the American press, unlike their British counterparts, were deeply affected by the events of 9/11—the most lethal terrorist attack in the West. While the bombing raids on London during World War II are part of the collective memory in Great Britain, the attack on Pearl Harbor was less traumatic in the minds of mainland Americans. For precisely that reason, Americans were far more traumatized by the events of September 11, 2001 than were the British by the quadruple suicide attacks on their London transit system on July 7, 2005. And people in the media seemed to be no exceptions.

In the American setting, most news media became the carriers of the pro-war propaganda campaign by the Bush administration and its supporters in the Congress and elsewhere that directly or indirectly linked Iraq's ruler to Al Qaeda and the 9/11 attacks while ignoring completely or mostly that there was no credible evidence for such claims. Moreover, while it was widely believed in the United States and elsewhere that Iraq possessed weapons of mass destruction (WMD), there were also credible voices that questioned the so-called WMD evidence. Since the media reflected overwhelmingly or exclusively the arguments of the pro-war side, the vast majority of the American public believed before, during, and after the invasion of Iraq that there were links between Saddam Hussein, Al Qaeda, and 9/11, and that Iraq possessed the most lethal weapons. Indeed, these attitudes were so deeply seated that a vast majority of the public stuck to these views even when information to the contrary was widely disseminated in the media.

Thus, as late as February 2005 a clear majority of Americans (64%) still believed that there had been strong ties between Saddam Hussein and Al Qaeda according to a Harris poll. Similarly, in June 2004, an NBC News/Wall Street Journal poll revealed that 47% of the public disagreed and only 42% agreed with the 9/11 Commission's finding that there was no evidence for Saddam Hussein's and the Iraqi government's involvement in the attacks of 9/11.³⁴ In March 2006, three years after the Iraq war began, 23% of Americans still believed that before the war, Iraq actually had weapons of mass destruction and 18% that the country had had a major WMD

³² Kurtz.

³³ Massing, p. iv.

³⁴ The Harris poll was conducted February 8-13, 2005; The ABC News/Wall Street Journal poll June 25-28, 2004.

program at the time whereas 42% thought that Iraq had only limited WMD activities and only 12% that there had not been WMD activities at all.³⁵ On the other hand, a clear majority of Americans (57%) believed by March 2006 that the United Nations and its weapons inspectors “have been vindicated in their prewar insistence that there was no clear evidence that Iraq had a WMD program.” Yet, although no WMD were found in Iraq to this day, 40% of Americans insisted three years after the invasion of Iraq that the UN and its agencies had been proven wrong on this point.³⁶

In its “Statement of Principles,” the American Society of Newspaper Editors (ASNE), a pioneer in the establishment of journalistic ethic rules, offers an excellent explanation of the news media’s responsibilities in the service of the public good. Of particular importance here is the following sentence in ASNE’s ethics rules:

The American press was made free not just to inform or just to serve as a forum for debate but also to bring an independent scrutiny to bear on the forces of power in the society, including the conduct of official power at all levels of government.³⁷

These are universal journalistic values that express what a free press everywhere should be about, not only in the American context. But as for the print and electronic media in the post-9/11 United States, they did not fully inform the public about anti- and counterterrorism politics and policies; they did not provide a forum for public debate in which all views were adequately presented in terms of frequency, length, and placement; and they certainly did not scrutinize the administration’s arguments and actions during the build-up campaign to the invasion of Iraq. This was a crucial failure of the news media regardless of whether one was in support of or against the Iraq war, whether one was in support of or against the original USA PATRIOT Act, or whether one was undecided on both counts. The argument here is not that the American news media should have taken stands against the war but rather that all Americans would have benefited from comprehensive, balanced, probing reporting and editorializing so that individuals would have had the chance to make well informed decisions--for or against the Iraq war, for or against the PATRIOT Act, for or against other issues arising from terrorism and counterterrorism, such as the question of whether or not to torture known and suspected terrorists.

Conclusion

Given the centrality of media and communication technology in most and indeed the most important aspects of contemporary terrorism and counterterrorism, the traditional gatekeepers of the “old” media have a particular responsibility to exercise their considerable influence carefully and guided by the highest journalistic standards—at least in free societies. But even when this is achieved, or at least strived for, in the aftermath of major terrorist strikes, as it was to a considerable extent in the United Kingdom after the 2005 bombings of the London transit system, terrorists have proven very savvy in circumventing the old media by exploiting a variety of new or relatively new entertainment media and communication vehicles for their purposes—from DVDs to the Internet.

³⁵ According to surveys conducted by WorldPublicOpinion.org and Knowledge Networks March 1-6, 2006.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ ASNE Statement of Principles are published on the organizations web site

<http://www.asne.org/kiosk/archive/principl.htm>