PROTECTION OF JOURNALISTS IN ARMED CONFLICTS: CIVIL WAR IN SYRIA

Defrim Shabanaj[1]

ABSTRACT

War journalists are known to be prone and vulnerable to the violence. They are usually on the middle of conflicts and by doing this they seek to cover the events of the conflict, by doing this knowingly are risking injury or death. Protection of Journalist is covered by the Geneva Conventions and Additional Protocol I, both of which regulate international armed conflicts offer some protections for journalists during times of international armed conflict. The case of Syria it is a special case where the war has started and has yet to be finished. Civilians have paid a very high price. On the other hand since the conflict began in 2011 Syria with no doubt it is the most dangerous place for the journalists. Many journalists have died and many of them are just forced to flee the conflict area as the see their colleagues die and fear their selves. In this situation, it seems that international law the Geneva Conventions and Additional Protocol I seem not to be adequate to help save the journalist in war torn town. This article will analyze the current legal protections for journalists under the international law, protections for media personnel who operate in conflict zones seems to be vanish under the civil war of Syria. This article will also examine the internationally agreed convention for the protection of journalists and analyze whether such a convention is a necessary and useful addition to the law of armed conflict.

Key Words: Conflict journalist, protection, international law, war, Geneva Conventions, Syria.

[1] International Islamic University Malaysia (IIUM)

1. Introduction

2. The protection of journalist in international humanitarian law

2.1. War correspondents

2.2. Protection of media equipment as civilian objects

3. Brief on Civil War in Syria

3.1. International Humanitarian laws

4. Suspension of protection

5. New type of journalism citizen journalism

6. Conclusion

Introduction

It is fully agreed that the main international legal protection governing the protection of journalists in wartime is the same that governs the law of armed conflict in general, international humanitarian law (IHL). Although international humanitarian law provides a clear instruction on the consideration for the protection of journalists, if we look at the recent attacks on reporters in the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, this have open discussions on whether this dangerous profession should be afforded special protection. The situation seriously escalated in Syria, where because of the civil war many journalists have lost their lives or have been wounded.

Another international organization that works for the protection journalist is the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), this organization works on the provisions of international humanitarian law, it maintains that journalists are sufficiently protected by the Geneva Conventions (GC) and its Additional Protocols (AP). They are joined by international journalist non-governmental organizations (NGO) including: the CPJ, the International Federation of Journalists (IFJ), Reporters Without Borders (RSF)[2]. All the said organizations work to enhance the protection of the journalists in armed conflicts. Even all these legal protections and the NGOs working to protect the reporters in the armed conflicts are seem to be insufficient in protecting the civilians in the Syrian Civil War.

This article's aim is to examine why the current (legal) protection of journalists in armed conflict in particular the Syrian case have failed. At first will be provided a short background of war reporting and analyze the current protection under international law to look at whether the measures taken to protect journalists in armed conflict are sufficient. In this regard, the article will argue that the ***de jure*** protections are in fact not sufficient and in the latest cases of Iraq, Afghanistan and particularly the civil war in Syrian it has drastically failed to protect journalist covering the civil war. Hence, a more practical

[2] Lisosky and Henrichsen, *War on Words* (n 9). Note that as many as over 50 stakeholders and journalists support the improvement and/or clarification of current protections for journalists.

approach to enhanced implementation must be the focus of future actions to commonly engage governments, militaries, journalists, NGOs and societies worldwide.

> *War reporting is inherently dangerous. Indeed, it could arguably be one of the most dangerous occupations in the world. Still, out of sense of professional duty, many journalists and media professional[s] make the courageous choice to go to conflict zones, so as to tell the world about the stories of armed conflicts and the human cost they entail. Amidst the so-called 'fog of war', they play a vital role in keeping the world informed and ensuring that our responses are based on the facts and truths unfolding on the ground* [3].

In the modern history Syria's conflict has been the most socially mediated civil conflict if it is compared with others before it, it is well known that the bulk of what the outside world knows or thinks it knows about Syria in the nearly 7 years old conflict has come from videos, analysis, and commentary circulated through social media networks. Given the few journalists or international observers on the ground to offer external validity checks of claimed protests or massacres, the international audience needed to assess instead a torrential flow of online information. These materials have informed international relief efforts, assessments of the identity and character of the rebel fighting groups, and debates about international intervention. But how credible was such information delivered to the international public? How was the information produced? Why did some gain attention and others, equally intriguing, fade into obscurity? And how did such information actually flow through the rapidly changing online social media? Most importantly were there impartial factors that added a positive contribution to the information produced? Lastly, the citizen journalism is there a need to be covered under International Humanitarian law?

---

[3] K Kang, 'Opening Remarks by Ms. Kyung-wha Kang Deputy High Commissioner for Human Rights at the panel discussion on the protection of journalists in armed conflict' (14th session of the Human Rights Council, Geneva) (OHCHR, 4 June 2010) <http://www.ohchr.org/en/NewsEvents/Pages/DisplayNews.aspx?NewsID=10108&LangID=e> [retrieved on 23 May 2017].

Did the Syrian set a new precedent to recognize the citizen journalist under International Humanitarian law?

1. The protection of journalist in international humanitarian law

The protection of journalist in the armed conflicts is the concern of International humanitarian law which does not particularly distinguishes the different categories of journalist such as journalists working in war zones: war correspondents accredited to the armed forces and "independent" journalists[4]. In order to understand the current situation of the war journalists, one shall go back on time and look at its historical developments. It is considered as one of the first documented regulation that serves as a document to the parties engaged in armed conflict - the document of ***1863 Lieber Code*** regulations drawn up on the international law of armed conflict for use by the Union Armies in the American Civil War. Article 50 of the Lieber Code provided that:

> *"Citizens who accompany an army for whatever purpose, such as sutlers, editors, or reporters of journals, or contractors, if captured, may be made prisoners of war, and be detained as such".*[5]

The same provision was included in the 1907 Hague Regulations pertaining to the Laws and Custom of War on Land. The article 13 provided that;

[4] Balguy-Gallois, A. (2004). The protection of journalists and news media personnel in armed conflict. *International Review of the Red Cross*, *86*(853), 37-67.

[5] Lieber, F. (1863). *Instructions for the Government of Armies of the United States, in the Field* (No. 100). D. van Nostrand.

> *"Individuals who follow an army without directly belonging to it, such as newspaper correspondents and reporters" are entitled, in case of capture, to treatment on par with that extended to prisoners-of-war, on the condition that they are in possession of suitable accreditation – a certificate "from the military authorities of the army which they were accompanying."*[6]

The similar provision was included in 1929 on the Geneva Convention to the Treatment of Prisoners of War. The Geneva conventions were later updated following the World War II, regulations pertaining the correspondents of war were expanded. Geneva Convention III relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War, Article 4A provides that:

> *Prisoners of war, in the sense of the present Convention, are persons belonging to one of the following categories, who have fallen into the power of the enemy…*
>
> *(4) Persons who accompany the armed forces without actually being members thereof, such as civilian members of military aircraft crews, war correspondents, supply contractors, members of labour units or of services responsible for the welfare of the armed forces, provided that they have received authorization from the armed forces which they accompany, who shall provide them for that purpose with an identity card similar to the annexed model*[7]

[6] International Convention Respecting the Law and Customs of War on Land, art. 13, Oct. 18, 1907, 205 Stat. 277

[7] Geneva Convention Relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War of August 12 1949, 75 *UNTS* 135

The current status of the protection of journalists as civilians it was examined with the laws in 1970s, the re-examination on the status of the journalists in the armed conflicts was confirmed to be in the similar position as the civilians. The article 79 in itself does not create any legal status; in its own nature it confirms the status of journalists as `civilians` under the Conventions and Protocol I, therefore entitled to all the protections afforded by the civilians applies to the journalists that covers armed conflicts. Based on the above stated internationally recognized laws on protection of journalists, in case a journalists or media personnel is attacked and intentionally targeted, this constitutes a grave breach of international humanitarian law.

1.1. War correspondents

The war correspondent, it is a term used for the journalists that are working for one of the sides of the army or accompanies a military unit. This is in accordance with the to Art. 79. Prot. Add. I, *"embedded journalists"* lose their status as civilians in an armed conflict by joining military units of a conflict party. They are embedded into the military but not members of the forces. If an "*embedded journalist*" is wounded or killed during combat action, it does not constitute a direct attack against civilians as would be the case with an *"independent" journalist*".[8]

The idea and the practice that a journalist accompanies the military of one side day and night run the risk of giving up his impartiality as a journalist of an armed conflict. In the case of war correspondent the journalist of this case is covered by the Geneva Convention III, on the Article 13 on prisoners of war may not be subjected to the reprisals. The embedded journalist in case of Iraq, international journalists were under the protection of the American and British military units. Embedded journalists are

[8] Farthofer, Mag Hilde. "Journalists in armed conflicts–Protection measures in the International Humanitarian Law." *Paper presented at the SGIR 7th Pan-European International Relations Conference*. Vol. 9. 2010.

considered to be protected by the international Humanitarian law, this is the extension of protection by the Geneva Conventions.

In line with the previous argument and in addition thereto, it appears that the distinction between war correspondents and independent journalists on the basis of their proximity to the conflict is outdated. It may well be true that war correspondents accompanying the military are, in general, more likely to be arrested by the opposing forces due to their proximity to the war effort[9]. On the other side the independent journalists, that reach the conflict either by the help of escorts from private security firms or local fixers or sometimes the local translators, are the means of risky maneuvers increasingly capable of monitoring conflicts from less distance, even without similar protective resources.125 This is motivated by the increasing wants of audiences to be provided with unique, inside and round-the-clock news stories. Furthermore, the trend of not only fighting wars on battlefields or locations far away from civilisation, but in or around civilized areas, exposes independent journalists to constant threats of being attacked or arrested[10]. This results in an existing need for special protection of independent journalists similar to that of war correspondents.

1.2. Protection of media equipment as civilian objects

The attack on the media equipment is rendered as an attack on civilian objects and it is firmly established under the international humanitarian laws in the early 20th century. The similar principle was reaffirmed in the 1977 protocols and in the Rome Statute of International Criminal Court. In particular, there is a dual obligation that is stipulated in

[9] Düsterhöft, I. (2013). The protection of journalists in armed conflicts: how can they be better safeguarded?.

[10] Grossman, L. R. (2017). All the News That's Worth the Risk: Improving Protection for Freelance Journalists in War Zones. *BC Int'l & Comp. L. Rev.*, *40*, 141.

Article 48 of Protocol I – it exists to distinguish at all times between civilian objects and military objectives and accordingly to direct operations only against the latter – entails that civilian objects, like the civilian population, benefit from general protection, the terms of which are set down in Article 52. Article 85 of Protocol I provides that attacks on the civilian population or civilians shall be considered war crimes; there is no similar provision on civilian objects in general.[11].

The attack on the independent journalist is a serious breach of IHL and it constitutes war crimes, if the violation is perpetrated against journalist or an attack on any media equipment will also be considered to be civilian objects, and is therefore not to be made the object of attack. *''Non-embedded journalists are covered by all the protections extended to civilians.''*[12]

2. Brief on Civil War in Syria

In 2011, Syria experienced once of its fierce protests which turns to a civil war which later became a human tragedy which still continues to take many lives. There were many steps to make the intervention in Syria a reality, but these steps has to be taken in accordance with the international law. This article discusses the legality of a possible intervention in Syria, and the instruments of international law that would allow an intervention of a state or states over another sovereign state. The extent of Syrian humanitarian crisis, on the same course the creation of ISIS and other terrorist organizations led to total chaos on Syria[13]. During the first stages of the Syrian Civil War

[11] Arts 23 (g), 25 and 27 of the 1907 Hague Regulations; Arts 1 and 5 of the 1907 Hague Convention (IX) concerning Bombardment by Naval Forces in Time of War; GC IV, Arts 33 (2, 3 and 5) and 147; the 1954 Hague Convention on the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict

[12] See generally Geneva Convention IV, supra note 6; see generally also Additional Protocol, supra note 7 (regarding the protection of the civilian population during war).

[13] Carpenter, T. G. (2013). Tangled web: The Syrian civil war and its implications. *Mediterranean Quarterly*, *24*(1), 1-11.

there was a serious coverage from the international media outlets, including the well-known ones such as, Reuters, CNN. BBC and regional players like Aljazeera.

This continued not for a long time, by time started to fade as the international journalist were caught on the middle of conflict, where in one side the brutal butchering of Assad military and the other side a more blatant terrorist organizations such as ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq and Syria) and others, which proved that they can literally slaughter their colleagues in the middle of deserts of Iraq and Syria. The news of an online video circulation claiming to the one of the first US journalist to be killed by the ISIS[14], proved that James Foley was the victim of an act that he was trying to prove to the world that he could act as journalist and not give up even it was going to cause his death which in some point was seen as inevitable.

This was the peak of the international journalist were hunted for ransom or as leverage between the fighting parties. In this situation, social media and the internet proved to the essential tools to cover the Syrian conflict for the international viewers. Looking at the ways how hostile the war in Syria became, it was the nature of it where only a very few journalist were able to have direct access to the battlefields. Thus the Syrian conflict have emerged to an extent that even independent coverage of the journalist it is not guaranteed. None of the parties is willing to cover or compromise in holding themselves on the killing of the internationally recognized unbiased media coverages.

2.1. International Humanitarian laws

The Second World War it has opened a new gate into humanitarian protection of the civilian population. Since 1945 there were many states to have ratified the International Military Tribunal which was to focus on the jurisdiction of the war crimes against civilians and crimes against humanity which it also covers the protection of journalists that are categorized as civilians and their equipment are similarly categorized as civilian's

[14] Perino, D. (2014). Reaction to savage murder of American journalist James Foley. In *The Five*.

objects[15]. There is a clear distinction on the 1977 Additional Protocol I to the Geneva Convention (Additional Protocol I) illustrates the principle of distinction:

> *"[A] technical term in the laws of armed conflict intended to protect civilian persons and objects. Under this principle, parties to an armed conflict must always distinguish between civilians and civilian objects on the one hand, and combatants and military targets on the other."*[16]

The international Humanitarian law strictly prohibits any military unit to attack civilians and civilians object. This fall under the Additional Protocol I, that set a clear distinction between the combats and the civilians and civilians objects. In accordance with the treaty anything that is indispensable to the survival of the civilian populations things like food stocks, corps, water supplies and installations and irrigation works strictly fall under the protection of IHL[17]. On the other hand it is crucially important to mention that the main reason behind the ban on usage of weapon of mass destruction such as chemical weapons or nuclear weapons is that it takes away the distinction of civilians from the combats. The treaty it gives the military operations a clear duty to minimize the harms and loss of civilian lives and civilian object; *"Must consequently never use weapons that are incapable of distinguishing between civilian and military targets."*[18]

[15] NUREMBERG, M. T. A. Charter of the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg.

[16] Kelsey, J. T. (2008). Hacking into international humanitarian law: The principles of distinction and neutrality in the age of cyber warfare. *Michigan Law Review*, 1427-1451.

[17] Law, R. (1993). International humanitarian law. *International Criminal Law and Public International Law*.

[18] Bello, J. H., & Bekker, P. H. (1997). Legality of the Threat or Use of Nuclear Weapons. *American Journal of International Law*, 126-133.

As it is mentioned above the journalist that are not embedded journalist or in other words the `*independent*` journalist have been covered by the IHL, which considers them as civilians and provide a similar legal protection for them. This gives the power to the media personnel and objects to be considered as civilians.

The general rule is that Non-embedded journalists as civilians, and war correspondents - embedded journalists - as POWs, are currently protected persons under international humanitarian law; serious violations of the laws of armed conflict constitute war crimes if perpetrated against protected persons or property.[19]

3. Suspension of protection

The war journalist are not protected indefinitely, there are limits put forward in which the protection of journalist ceases to exist at this stage that would render the journalist as unprotected. In this stage the conditions that would render a journalist as not protected are stipulated in Article 79 (2) of Protocol I, which shall be read together with Article 51 (3), which grants journalists the needed legal protection conferred by IHL, unless they participate directly in the hostilities of the conflict and for as long as they so participate the protections ceases to exist. In the the Protocol I term *"participation"* does not apply to the routine activities, like traveling to the spot, conducting interviews, taking notes and pictures, shooting films, making audio recordings, etc., and transmitting back to their paper or agency but to any uncustomary act that makes a direct and effective contribution to the military action[20]. In this context the term *"direct"* it complicates the situation by making it harder to withdraw protection by requiring that there be a close link between the journalist's conduct and its effects on the conduct of hostilities[21].

[19] Additional Protocol I, supra note 7, at Art. 52.

[20] Saul, B. (2009). The international protection of journalists in armed conflict and other violent situations.

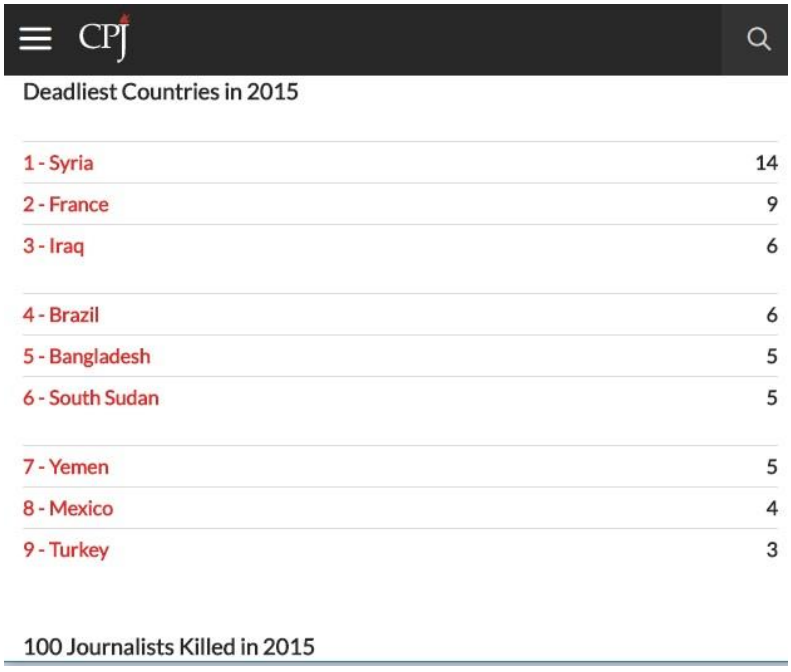
[21] Farthofer, M. H. (2010, September). Journalists in armed conflicts–Protection measures in the International Humanitarian Law. In *Paper presented at the SGIR 7th Pan-European International Relations Conference* (Vol. 9, p. 11).

On the draft ICRC Commentary of Article 51 section 3, the term: "*Hostile acts …mean acts of war that by their nature or purpose struck at the personnel and materiel of enemy armed forces."*

The legal requirement is that, as long as the journalist is not participating directly in the hostilities the journalist does not lose his immunity and cannot be a legitimate target. In our context of the Syrian war, one it can say that the journalist of international media that are seem and deemed to be the less bias and more impartial almost ceases to be present in the Syrian case. This happened because it seemed that there was no suspension of the protection of war journalist but it was a direct attack on the journalist that was carried out not by the Assad regime but also by the opposition groups.

4.1. Most Deadly Countries

It is alarming that the death of journalist it is not declining but it is increasing. Even in the modern times the death of journalist it is unfortunate that it is still increasing. Non-governmental organizations and government have not succeeded in putting an end to the death of journalists[22]. In the light of journalist



[22] Fisk, Robert (2006) *The Great War for Civilisation: The Conquest of the Middle*

organizations such as the International Press Institute (IPI) in Vienna and the Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ), The CPJ includes figures for 20 countries but for sake of comparison with the IPI, its ten most deadly countries for journalists and media workers in the period journalists have lost their lives in the year 2015 – 2016 were led by Syria:

Figure 1. Deadliest Countries for journalist for year 2015, by the Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ)[23].



Figure 2. Deadliest Countries for journalist for year 2016, by the Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ) [24].

East (London: Harper Perennial).

[23] The date is retrieved from https://cpj.org/killed/2015/ on 10th June 2017.

[24] The date is retrieved from https://cpj.org/killed/2016/ on 10th June 2017

The figures are a strong indication that the Syrian conflict it has escalated the number of journalists killed in the region. This might be one of the reasons why most of the journalist left the country without risking their lives. The big question mark is that can the international community and international humanitarian law provide enough protection for the independent journalist in the war torn Syria. In this study the 2017

4. New type of journalism citizen journalism

This is a new type of journalism that played a vital role in the Syrian conflict that has drastically changed the page of history on how a civil war can be covered. The first is to define this concept; the concept of citizen journalism (it is known as "*public*" or "*street"* journalism) is based upon public citizens playing an active role in the process of collecting, reporting, analyzing, and disseminating news and information. The said Citizen journalism it can be a simple put as reporting of facts and news that is largely ignored by large media corporations[25]. The citizen journalism it is simple and is easily spread through personal websites, blogs, microblogs, and social media and so on. Some types of citizen journalism also act as a check on the reporting of larger news outlets by providing alternative analysis[26]

Worldwide news outlets and most television stations, including the pan-Arab stations, relied heavily on citizen journalists and online YouTube videos for footage to accompany their stories. Many no doubt believed that the video evidence in these social media could offer the opportunity to discover a ground truth that would have never been possible in the past. Many networks developed elaborate in-house shops to locate, authenticate, and curate video evidence, some (e.g: Al-Jazeera) going further and actively

[25] Bowman, S., & Willis, C. (2003). We media. *How audiences are shaping the future of news and information*.

[26] Boyd-Barrett, O., & Rantanen, T. (Eds.). (1998). *The globalization of news*. Sage.

soliciting submissions. Many journalists and Syrian activists believed that the Internet had radically changed the ability of the regime to carry out monstrous acts of violence[27].

If we go and analyze the latest siege on Aleppo[28] there were left no journalist that could be neutral not embedded. Nor there were journalists that could cover the ongoing siege of one of the biggest cities of Syria nor that there was any safe place for independent journalist that could cover the siege[29]. It was a total disaster, with no safe place for the journalist or for civilians living under the siege.

The journalists on the Assad regime side are caught in a dilemma between the journalistic ethics and the need to make a living for themselves and their families. This situation becomes further complicated by fear of retaliation; professional Syrian journalists had very few options: Either keep working in Syria for the state propaganda outlets, or leave the country. That is, if they had managed to survive detention and persecution by the Syrian regime in the first place. Consequently, many fled the country or moved from regime-controlled areas to the "liberated" areas in Syria[30].

The situation remains chaotic and still unclear, that how the citizen journalists in Syria are trained and supported through the network journalism model. A model that was not seen before in any civil war, where both parties are fierce and sworn enemies, it seems even the journalists are sworn to ally with one of the sides in Syria, or the risk very high and the cost is the journalist`s life. The civil in Syria have proved that IHL it is insufficient to provide protection for war journalist therefore new forms of journalism emerged. The new forms of journalism have come out of normal citizens who were there just because only way to deliver news was from the unprotected civilians.

---

[27] Lynch, M., Freelon, D., & Aday, S. (2014). Syria's socially mediated civil war. United States Institute Of Peace, 91(1), 1-35.

[28] Aleppo is a city in Syria, serving as the capital of the Aleppo Governorate, the most populous Syrian governorate, also was the main business hub for the whole Syria.

[29] Holmes, O. (2013). Running Toward Danger, Syria's Citizens Become Journalists. *Committee to Protect Journalists, February*.

[30] Yousuf, M., & Taylor, M. (2017). Helping Syrians Tell Their Story to The World: Training Syrian citizen journalists through connective journalism. *Journalism Practice*, *11*(2-3), 302-318.

5. Conclusion

In Conclusion, the protection of war journalist is recognized under International Humanitarian Law. This article has looked at the historical backgrounds that brought the war journalist to be put in the status of civilians. Under the IHL coverage of protection for journalist, IHL provides a clear instruction on the consideration for protection of journalists during the war times. The recent attacks on reporters in the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, the situation seriously escalated in Syria, where because of the civil war many journalists have lost their lives or have been wounded.

The current crisis in Syria has shown that under the International Humanitarian Law, the protection of journalist is not particularly effective. The main reasons are that because of the life safety on the ground of battlefields, it is why news outlets and most television stations relied heavily on citizen journalists and online YouTube videos for footage to accompany their stories. In short the Syrian civil war it has demonstrated how new circulating on social media can be extremely useful for public enlarge and this information is gained through the citizen journalist, whom unfortunately are not protected by the brutal killing machines of the Assad or opposition groups.

In times where the information can be obtain from a newspaper, television, the internet, Twitter or Facebook or whether that information is gathered by a professional journalist. It is important to note that the journalist serve an important function, this important function always put them in danger and the cost of it is the life of the journalist. In this article we looked at the figures and for the latest 2 years Syria is leading the list of the deadliest journalists. The shift from professional journalism to citizen journalism proves that the protection of war journalists are not sufficient to save the lives of journalist that have to pay a very high cost to deliver independent news.

References

Lisosky and Henrichsen, *War on Words* (n 9). Note that as many as over 50 stakeholders and journalists support the improvement and/or clarification of current protections for journalists.

K Kang, 'Opening Remarks by Ms. Kyung-wha Kang Deputy High Commissioner for Human Rights at the panel discussion on the protection of journalists in armed conflict' (14th session of the Human Rights Council, Geneva) (OHCHR, 4 June 2010)

Balguy-Gallois, A. (2004). The protection of journalists and news media personnel in armed conflict. *International Review of the Red Cross*, *86*(853), 37-67.

Lieber, F. (1863). *Instructions for the Government of Armies of the United States, in the Field* (No. 100). D. van Nostrand.

Braestrup, Peter (1985) *Battle Lines: Report of the Twentieth Century Fund TaskForce on the Military and the Media* (New York, NY: Priority Press).

International Convention Respecting the Law and Customs of War on Land, art. 13, Oct. 18, 1907, 205 Stat. 277

Farthofer, Mag Hilde. "Journalists in armed conflicts–Protection measures in the International Humanitarian Law." *Paper presented at the SGIR 7th Pan-European International Relations Conference*. Vol. 9. 2010.

Ahmad, E., & Barsamian, D. (2000). *Eqbal Ahmad, confronting empire: interviews with David Barsamian*. South End Press.

Düsterhöft, I. (2013). The protection of journalists in armed conflicts: how can they be better safeguarded?.

Grossman, L. R. (2017). All the News That's Worth the Risk: Improving Protection for Freelance Journalists in War Zones. *BC Int'l & Comp. L. Rev.*, *40*, 141.

Carpenter, T. G. (2013). Tangled web: The Syrian civil war and its implications. *Mediterranean Quarterly*, *24*(1), 1-11.

Perino, D. (2014). Reaction to savage murder of American journalist James Foley. In *The Five*.

NUREMBERG, M. T. A. Charter of the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg.

Kelsey, J. T. (2008). Hacking into international humanitarian law: The principles of distinction and neutrality in the age of cyber warfare. *Michigan Law Review*, 1427-1451.

Law, R. (1993). International humanitarian law. *International Criminal Law and Public International Law*.

Bello, J. H., & Bekker, P. H. (1997). Legality of the Threat or Use of Nuclear Weapons. *American Journal of International Law*, 126-133.

Saul, B. (2009). The international protection of journalists in armed conflict and other violent situations.

Farthofer, M. H. (2010, September). Journalists in armed conflicts–Protection measures in the International Humanitarian Law. In *Paper presented at the SGIR 7th Pan-European International Relations Conference* (Vol. 9, p. 11).

Fisk, Robert (2006) *The Great War for Civilisation: The Conquest of the Middle*

East (London: Harper Perennial).

Bowman, S., & Willis, C. (2003). We media. *How audiences are shaping the future of news and information*.

Boyd-Barrett, O., & Rantanen, T. (Eds.). (1998). *The globalization of news*. Sage.

Lynch, M., Freelon, D., & Aday, S. (2014). Syria's socially mediated civil war. United States Institute Of Peace, 91(1), 1-35.

Holmes, O. (2013). Running Toward Danger, Syria's Citizens Become Journalists. *Committee to Protect Journalists, February*.

Yousuf, M., & Taylor, M. (2017). Helping Syrians Tell Their Story to The World: Training Syrian citizen journalists through connective journalism. *Journalism Practice*, *11*(2-3), 302-318

Internet Sources

The date is retrieved from https://cpj.org/killed/2015/ on 10th June 2017.
The date is retrieved from https://cpj.org/killed/2016/ on 10th June 2017

Jabeen Bhati and Portia Walker, "Activists Ensure World Sees Syria's Bloodbath," USA Today, http://usatoday

30.usatoday.com/news/world/story/2012-02-22/syria-bloodbath-video-journalists/53213498/1.
Holmes, “Running Toward Danger.”

Abdul Raziq, “Syrian Citizen Journalists Risk All to Bring Stories from the Frontlines,” Common Dreams, May 29, 2012, www.commondreams.org/headline/2012/05/29-2.