

Mass media and terrorism: instruments and strategies

Irina Raluca Ionita

Abstract: *the analysis conducted in this article is meant to raise the issue of mass media as both a counterterrorist and a terrorist instrument. lately, there have been significant terrorist attacks and incidents in Europe and the U.S. where the media played a vital role in the apprehension of suspects and reducing the number of possible casualties. In this sense, the media is a useful instrument for fighting against militant groups. On the other hand, we will mention the importance of media coverage for terrorists and how they pick their targets to gain maximum public attention in order to reach their political objectives. Another important issue that we have analyzed is the rapid expansion of ISIS's media means, and how they managed to build a large production and distribution chain for their propaganda materials, comparable with media trusts in the West. Also, we have researched the importance of trending media elements used for recruitment and radicalization. In the final part of this article we will research possible solutions for this type of media war.*

Keywords: *terrorism, mass-media, media instruments, terrorist media, the Islamic state, Da'iq.*

I. Introduction

Today's society faces two contrasting phenomena, on the one hand, the political and diplomatic progress towards creating a global economic and social space with a high level of security, that will provide citizens the conditions needed to grow and develop. On the other hand, terrorism has become a symbol of an ideological battle, waged by means of terror, in order to maintain the Middle East as a tribal and archaic culture. This situation is especially problematic if we would analyze the effect of the bombings and terrorist attacks that occurred in the past two years.¹ It's becoming increasingly obvious that although the N.A.T.O. states have the largest military and security force in the history of the world, they have become vulnerable to such attacks.

Other equally alarming situations are the reactions of the world leaders presiding over the countries affected by terrorism, that are unable to act or to adopt effective measures and strategies to prevent other terrorist acts. Today, the majority of these leaders have publicly shown their concern for the future of the European Union. For example, in a recent official statement, President Francois Hollande said that eventually "Europe must defend itself"² and that the terrorist attacks in France are a result of US actions, and that France is the "victim of the chaos generated by the US response to the September 11 attacks."³

The media, in any democratic society, should have a vital role in presenting realistic and objective information and analysis that affect the lives of people, uninfluenced by political interest. There are now terrorist organizations that have unfettered access to media, through which they promote their propaganda, either physically or online, and sadly, the majority of European and American editorial trusts are more reserved to consider or talk about counter-terrorism measures in this regard. From another point of view, the right to free speech of a French publication was used as a pretext for one of the bloodiest terrorist attacks in France, which took place on January 7th, 2015, at Charlie Hebdo's editorial, which led to a number of 12 dead and 11 wounded.⁴

1. Development of terrorist organizations media instruments

The media is a very powerful instrument in any country and it has often been considered the fourth branch of power. Over time, the media has unearthed significant acts of corruption by the most powerful people (eg: Watergate- Richard Nixon) leading to the development of democracy and capitalism in the world. Understanding this fact, all authoritarian leaders attempted to limit the freedom of speech and tried to control the media in order to hide the corruption and terror waged against their own people. Two clear examples of this are: The President of Turkey, Recep Erdogan, that closed more than 130 media outlets after an unsuccessful coup

¹ Paris (13.11.2016), Bruxelles (22.03.2016) și Nice (14.07.2016).

² Carmen Vintilă, „Mesajul lui Hollande pentru americani, transmis de la București: Europa trebuie să fie pregătită să se apere singură”, EVZ, accessed in 15.09.2016, <http://www.evz.ro/mesajul-lui-hollande-pentru-americani-transmis-de-la-bucuresti-europa-trebuie-sa-fie-pregatita-sa-se-apere-singura.html>

³ Olimpia Nicolae, „Hollande acuză SUA: Franța a fost victima haosului generat de răspunsul SUA la atentatele din 11 septembrie”, Gândul, accessed 16.09.2016, <http://www.gandul.info/international/hollande-acuza-sua-franta-a-fost-victima-haosului-generat-de-raspunsul-sua-la-atentatele-din-11-septembrie-15693988>

⁴ BBC News, „Charlie Hebdo attack: Three days of terror”, BBC News, accessed in 18.09.2016, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-30708237>

attempt⁵, and secondly and secondly The President of the Russian Federation that through various means has deconstructed most independent media sources.⁶We, therefore, consider that the media is a vital tool in promoting political and social ideas, and it often has been used as a weapon of manipulation, persuasion, and to influence public opinion.

Most media outlets, in the case of terrorist attacks, were vital in delivering accurate information to citizens about places to avoid, what actions they should perform, and the number and the identity of the victims. Also, the media played a vital role in identifying and catching the bombers by publishing their images and know information and provided support for the families of the victims of these attacks. Certainly, there were some errors, but the ability to bring people together when these tragic events takes place is one of the most important roles that the media plays..

On the other hand, terrorist organizations have also understood the utility of using media instruments for both the radicalization of individuals and to promote religious and political ideologies. Until recently, there was not a significant presence of terrorist propaganda in the public media specter, but in the last decade, things have changed. A prime example of this is the al-Qaeda attempt to express their terrorist ideology primarily through books. The current leader, Ayman al-Zawahiri, publishing in 2001 the book "Knights under the Prophet's Banner," that explained the ideology of this militant group and how sharia law should become state policy in the Arab world.⁷However, his book was not well received by the Arab population of North Africa for which it was intended, so it was brought to the Middle East years later. At a basic level, al-Qaeda tried to promote themselves through online media using sites and social networking, but the lack of expertise in this area made the effort useless.

One branch of al-Qaeda, after the Syrian Civil War, broke away from the core organization and became known today as the Islamic State of Iraq and Levant. They quickly understood the advantages of using media instruments and in this regard they have invested a lot of resources into developing whole media trusts in order to promote their doctrine of the so-called new caliphate. Shortly after the military victories in Iraq, and the declaration of their own caliphate in 2014, ISIL started a fight on several fronts, starting with worldwide terrorism, then followed by global extension and the strengthening of the caliphate in Syria and of course the creation of an extensive media operation. We must emphasize that until this point, no terrorist group in history has ever reached a multidimensional development of this magnitude in the area of public interaction. Unlike other terrorist organizations such as al-Qaeda, who promoted themselves either through books or through rudimentary video recorded messages from their leaders, ISIL understood the usefulness of the Internet and in this regard much of their propaganda campaign or the recruitment and radicalization process of individuals occurs through specialized websites, Facebook pages, Twitter and Youtube accounts that target locals and foreigners in both Arabic and English.⁸Although numerous operations, committees, and partnerships between these corporations and the State Department of the U.S. Have been created in order to destroy ISIL's presence in social media and online, there is no real progress. Before the expansion of ISIL, jihadists had some encrypted forums where they would discuss and share propaganda materials, now Twitter has become the primary mean to distribute their messages. It is paradoxical that the same social networks that were used as an instrument for promoting democracy during the "Arab spring" are used by ISIL to promote terrorism. On this platform, there have been published, time and time again, horrifying films depicting the decapitation of British, Japanese and Jordanian, prisoners. ISIL gained support from the local population, employing individuals to distribute free DVDs and USB sticks in certain key points of most cities, media that contain propaganda messages targeting children.⁹

ISIL's media machine has a number of divisions in order to disseminate information to the media and target specific sites. The four major divisions are.

1. The Al-Furqan Institute for Media Production

The actual name of this institute as derived from Arabic would translate as "standard or criterion for judging the difference between truth and lie", and secondly it is also one of the names given to the Qur'an. This institute was the first production source and means of delivery for ISIL's video propaganda. The Al-Furqan Institute was established in 2006 and commenced functioning once the Islamic State of Iraq (ISI) was founded,

⁵Sam Adams, „Turkey shuts down 130 media outlets as President Erdogan's purge of 'dissidents' accelerates”, The Mirror, accessed 17.09.2016, <http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/world-news/turkey-shuts-down-130-media-8507156>

⁶Konstantin Benyumov, „How Russia's independent media was dismantled piece by piece”, The Guardian, accessed 18.09.2016, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/may/25/how-russia-independent-media-was-dismantled-piece-by-piece>

⁷Nicu Parlog, „Ce mai face Al-Qaeda?”, Descoperã.ro, accessed 17.09.2016, <http://m.descopera.ro/cultura/5387032-ce-mai-face-al-qaeda>

⁸Andrew Griffin, „Facebook, Twitter and Google are ‘the lifeblood of Daesh’, according to major new report into Isis use of social media”, The Independent, accessed 18.09.2016, <http://www.independent.co.uk/life-style/gadgets-and-tech/news/facebook-twitter-google-isis-daesh-internet-youtube-social-media-home-affairs-a7208131.html>

⁹Aaron Y. Zelin, „Picture Or It Didn't Happen: A Snapshot of the Islamic State's Official Media Output”, Perspective on terrorism, accessed 18.09.2016, <http://www.terrorismanalysts.com/pt/index.php/pot/article/view/445/html>

and at that point, it had a crucial role in the consolidation of what would be the most extensive terrorist network. Today it is ISIL's official press office, receiving video materials directly from the organization's leadership. For example, the institute uploaded a video on Youtube where the Islamic State leader, Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, gave a sermon in a Mosul mosque.

2. The Al-I'tisam Media Foundation

In Arabic, the name of this foundation would translate as "help from Allah" and is the main organization that distributed and produced ISIL's propaganda materials in the last two years

3. The Alhayat Media Center

This is a relatively new media organization and its target audience consists primarily of westerners. The center produces and distributes a large quantity of propaganda material, mostly videos. One of its objectives is to recruit new members from the Western World by distributing various materials in several languages. In this regard, the propaganda media gets translated from older materials (articles, reports, news, etc.) to create new videos designed to target specific sites.

4. The Ajnad Media Foundation

Launched in 2014, this is a media platform that promotes vocal Islamic and jihadist messages through music.¹⁰ Another source of media propaganda used by ISIL in promoting their terrorist ideology and for recruitment is the Dabiq magazine. This magazine is published in several languages, including English and according to their own definition the magazine calls for Unitarianism, migration, and holy war. From a technical point of view, this magazine could be considered a sophisticated publication with a similar image quality and format as the magazines in the US. In essence, the ideas presented in this publication reinforce the known terrorist beliefs and presents ISIL and the Islamic State's fighters as heroes, fighting for a holy cause, reinforcing the romantic idea of "reconstructing the Islamic golden age." The 15th edition of this publication urges militants to fight Christians and argues why it is important to convert them to their own version of Islam. The previous issue calls to martyrdom and killing members of the Muslim Brotherhood (moderate Islam), and in older issues, they list the terrorists of Paris, Nice, and Brussels as heroes. We can see therefore, that this publication is a form of terrorist propaganda created with modern means.¹¹

From the statistical point of view, beyond the level of sophistication of the means of media propaganda, the Islamic State publishes around 18 press releases per day in 33 locations considered by ISIS as provinces of the caliphate: Iraq (10), Syria (7), Iraq / Syria (2), Yemen (5), Libya (3), Saudi Arabia (2), Algeria (1), Egypt (1), Afghanistan / Pakistan (1), and Nigeria (1). Recently, in the past couple of years, the number of materials and press releases of ISIL increased significantly.¹²

Media can also be a powerful tool for radicalization and recruitment of foreign fighters. According to recent estimates, over 27,000 combatants from around the world, including the Western countries, have joined the Islamic State's forces.¹³ The President of the United States of America, Barack Obama, said that they have a certain target group, deliberately indoctrinating young disillusioned Muslims.¹⁴ As stated previously, ISIL was able to adapt to the modern world, taking advantage of the latest technologies, and producing high-quality graphic content, delivering complex propaganda in both social media and public interaction sites. According to the CIA director, John Brennan, "New technologies can help groups like ISIL coordinate operations, attract new recruits, disseminate propaganda and inspire sympathizers across the globe to act in their name".¹⁵ According to a comprehensive report published by the Brookings Institute on the social media habits of ISIL, between September and December 2014, at least 46,000 Twitter accounts were used by supporters of this militant group. This is alarming not only because it shows the capacity of the Islamic State to expand its use of social networks but also shows a large number of supporters from Western countries.¹⁶

Unlike the actions that are described by the Western press showing terrible acts of violence, ISIL's media strategy focuses significantly more on promoting their ideology for propaganda and recruitment. Elliot

¹⁰ITIC, „ISIS's Propaganda Machine", Crethiplethi, accessed 18.09.2016, <http://www.crethiplethi.com/isis-s-propaganda-machine/islamic-countries/syria-islamic-countries/2015/>

¹¹Clarionproject, „The Islamic State's (ISIS, ISIL) Magazine", Clarionproject, accessed 17.09.2016, <http://www.clarionproject.org/news/islamic-state-isis-isil-propaganda-magazine-dabiq#>

¹² Ibidem 9

¹³Ashley Kirk, „Iraq and Syria: How many foreign fighters are fighting for Isil?", The Telegraph, accessed 15.09.2016, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/03/29/iraq-and-syria-how-many-foreign-fighters-are-fighting-for-isil/>

¹⁴ Holly Yan, „Why is ISIS so successful at luring Westerners?", CNN, accessed 18.09.2016, <http://edition.cnn.com/2014/10/07/world/isis-western-draw/>

¹⁵RT News, „CIA director blames social media for strength of ISIS", RT News, accessed 19.09.2016, <https://www.rt.com/usa/240597-cia-director-brennan-isis/>

¹⁶Jonathon Morgan, J.M. Berger, „The ISIS Twitter census: Defining and describing the population of ISIS supporters on Twitter", Brookings, accessed 18.09.2016, <https://www.brookings.edu/research/the-isis-twitter-census-defining-and-describing-the-population-of-isis-supporters-on-twitter/>

Zweig, deputy director of the Middle East Media Research Institute (MEMRI), has conducted a meta-analysis of the online media activity spectrum of the Islamic state. Thus, the research has shown that ISIL's core message does not focus on violent issues like destruction or murders, but rather on the idea of brotherhood, belonging and friendship. Representatives of the Islamic State use one of the most basic manipulation techniques- the plural, in convincing messages like: "come join us" or "we will fight together." Most of these messages do not show or mention violence or terror acts, but on the contrary, they try to motivate fighters through the use of intrinsic motivation. Shahed Amanullah's (former senior adviser to the US State Department) opinion is that the recruitment strategy is effective because it targets psychological vulnerabilities of young people, understanding their frustrations, fascination with violence and the need for belonging and importance. There are many young Westerners who achieved celebrity status within the jihadist community.¹⁷

This media strategy proved to be effective since it is estimated that currently, more than 3,000 young people from well-developed Western countries are now fighting for the Islamic State. This reality would have been impossible without social networking that allowed the interaction between both individuals and militant jihadist groups that disseminated propaganda. Although this number is smaller compared to the number of foreign fighters from the Arab and African countries that joined ISIL, these western fighters are more dangerous because they can travel more easily between Syria, Iraq, and their home countries increasing the risk of passing unnoticed and carrying out attacks.

Clearly, no one can really estimate how many young people were recruited through social media, but according to Frank Cilluffo, director of the Center for Cyber and Homeland Security, ISIL doesn't need a large number of recruits, because terrorist action only requires, a small, radicalized and determined number of people.¹⁸ We can, therefore, consider, that a continuation of this strategy of recruiting through social media will cause a problematic spread of a culture of terror and jihadist ideology. In this regard, US Defense Secretary Martin Dempsey told the US Congress that "We can harden the region against it militarily, but the ideology has to be defeated by those in the region".¹⁹

5. The free press as an instrument for terrorist objectives

Terrorist organizations, since the attacks of September 11, 2001, understood the importance of battles fought on several fronts, both physical and through Western media coverage. There is a problematic, interdependent relationship between media and terrorism that apparently cannot be easily understood. Certainly, information and coverage including news and reports showing a terrorist attack, the modus operandi of the bombers, the casualties and tragedy in itself are useful factors in regard to human security. The population of a state affected by a terrorist attack, through media, can understand better the scale of the act of aggression and the personal and state measures that should be implemented to increase security and prevent future attacks.

On the other hand, if there was no media coverage, the impact of a terrorist attack would be significantly lower, affecting only the immediate victims, without causing emotional distress to the general public. One of the aims of any terrorist attacks is to spread a state of fear and panic to a large audience and in the long-term, these militant organizations want to create a political and economic context in which they could reach their goals. The targets that are usually chosen by terrorists, when planning a terror attack, due to the high level of security are often impossible to reach, as seen from the numerous attacks that have been stopped by the intelligence services. In this regard, terrorists will always balance the chances of carrying out a successful attack on a key target and its symbolic value in order to receive the best media coverage. An obvious example of this were the 9/11 attacks on the World Trade Center, and the attacks in Paris, that got far more coverage from the media because of the greater visual and psychological impact they had compared to other terror plots. Also, the attacks at Charlie Hebdo's editorial had a similar purpose, beyond killing the staff, the militant group wanted the world to debate the idea of media vs. terrorism.

We can thus infer that terrorism is itself a "theatrical act" and that the attacks are planned and executed in order to attract international media attention.²⁰ The relationship between media and terrorism is problematic precisely because the acts of this nature cannot be ignored because ignoring them would be a sign of vulnerability and hence a victory for militant organizations, and presenting them in detail also creates a state of general panic. This point of view was analyzed and reinforced over time, for example, Michael Stohl believes that the main interest of terrorism is getting to an audience and media coverage, casualties being second to this. In this regard, the public's reaction in the long term is more important than the tragic act itself.²¹ It is obvious that the media coverage and exposure is a public relations gesture that can increase the influence of a terrorist

¹⁷Shahed Amanullah, „How radicalization can be prevented”, accessed 18.09.2016, <http://blog.shahed.com/post/141558785296/we-have-to-create-a-situation-where-young-people>

¹⁸Lauren Isaac, „Isis Recruitment in the Cyber World”, Social Justice Solutions, accessed 17.09.2016, <http://www.socialjusticesolutions.org/2016/05/04/isis-recruitment-cyber-world/>

¹⁹ Ibidem 15

²⁰ Jenkins, Brian M, International Terrorism: A new kind of warfare, 1974. pag. 4, <http://www.rand.org/pubs/papers/P5261.html>

²¹ Stohl, Michael, The Politics of Terrorism, (3rd edition), New York, Marcel Decker, 1985, pag 3-4

organization in the world and at the regional level. Most militant organizations need support from the local community where they operate and also compete with other terrorist organizations. It should be emphasized, as I explained in my previous chapter, that a greater share of attention in the media leads to a better level of recruitment. For example, the images of Westerners beheading hostages, as seen in the case of Jihad John²², circulated widely in the British press. On the one hand, this video credited ISIS as a big threat in the eyes of the public and secondly it brought forth the vulnerabilities of British contemporary society. Up to this point, there had been numerous videos of executions of prisoners by other terrorist organizations, but the Islamic State has created and directed those sequences as a Hollywood action movie in order to target a Western public, using elements with which they are familiar and to which they respond psychologically. Indeed, it would be an error to believe that the sole objective of terrorists is to get media coverage, certainly, there are more complex factors at play, but in terms of media interest, there is a need for this militant groups to recruit and promote their ideologies.

Through media, terrorist organizations make public their political causes and present their ideology in an attempt to justify acts of violence to the public hoping to receive support and funding. It is essential for these individuals to gain recognition and legitimacy through media. For terrorists, the media is a tool which reduces the asymmetry of power between the West and terrorists. Media attention creates the illusion of a struggle between ideologies as equals, giving the impression of a war in which terrorists are a proportional enemy.

II. Conclusion

Although terrorism may seem as a simplistic phenomenon, with understandable mechanisms and forms, today it tends to grow, reaching a higher degree of complexity. In a general sense, terrorist actions could be regarded as rudimentary acts of aggression of high intensity, such as suicide bombings or car bomb attacks, considered from a strategic standpoint as asymmetric military action. Today, in addition to this, terrorist organizations such as the Islamic State struggle to win public opinion.

The fact that militant groups want to promote their ideology on all fronts is not new, these organizations have, over time, published books and materials in an attempt to gain the local and international support in order to achieve their objectives. Most often, these efforts have been failures, as shown in the first part of this paper, because the rigid beliefs of the terrorist leaders did not allow for the ideological message to be delivered through public friendly means and channels. Unfortunately, the Islamic State understood this aspect very well and developed a complex media operation. Firstly, ISIL created a complex media trust, even having multiple distribution networks, and secondly they have recruited experts in this area to create graphic materials comparable to those used in the West for action films, advertising, and election campaigns. This new development, according to security experts, has produced more results than previously anticipated, ISIL has managed to recruit more than 3,000 people from the US and the developed EU states. On the other hand, Western society is also facing the problem of the media/terrorist debate in trying to decide if extensive coverage of terrorist acts, which paradoxically is a vital tool in increasing security, won't lead to terrorists achieving their goals to create a state panic.

In conclusion, it is obvious that the relationship between media and terrorism is a problem for the whole society that has been touched by this phenomenon. In my view, one of the best solutions for creating a state of equilibrium in the public media is the correct and objective informing of the people. This will lead to the creation of resources and instruments for training the population in having a real understanding of this phenomenon, beyond the strong emotions that are bound to arise and that terrorists want to instill in them. It is vital that the public understands that they are not helpless and that the only power these militant organizations have is panic and propaganda. In their absence terrorists would be powerless.

References

- [1]. Aaron Y. Zelin, „Picture Or It Didn't Happen: A Snapshot of the Islamic State's Official Media Output”, *Perspective on terrorism*, accessed 18.09.2016, <http://www.terrorismanalysts.com/pt/index.php/pot/article/view/445/html>
- [2]. Andrew Griffin, „Facebook, Twitter and Google are 'the lifeblood of Daesh', according to major new report into Isis use of social media”, *The Independent*, accessed 18.09.2016, <http://www.independent.co.uk/life-style/gadgets-and-tech/news/facebook-twitter-google-isis-daesh-internet-youtube-social-media-home-affairs-a7208131.html>
- [3]. Ashley Kirk, „Iraq and Syria: How many foreign fighters are fighting for Isis?”, *The Telegraph*, accessed 15.09.2016, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/03/29/iraq-and-syria-how-many-foreign-fighters-are-fighting-for-isis/>
- [4]. BBC News, „Charlie Hebdo attack: Three days of terror”, *BBC News*, accessed 18.09.2016, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-30708237>
- [5]. Bruce Hoffman, „A Form of Psychological Warfare: Terrorism intends psychological effects beyond the immediate victims”, *IIP Digital*, accessed 09.09.2016, <http://iipdigital.usembassy.gov/st/english/publication/2008/05/20080522172318srenod0.7353784.html#axzz4KadzEwPi>

²² Dominic Casciani, „Islamic State: Profile of Mohammed Emwazi aka 'Jihadi John'”, accessed 19.09.2016, <http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-31641569>

- [6]. Carmen Vintilă, „Mesajul lui Hollande pentru americani, transmis de la București: Europa trebuie să fie pregătită să se apere singură”, EVZ, accessed 15.09.2016, <http://www.evz.ro/mesajul-lui-hollande-pentru-americani-transmis-de-la-bucuresti-europa-trebuie-sa-fie-pregatita-sa-se-apere-singura.html>
- [7]. CBS, „ISIS recruits fighters through powerful online campaign”, CBS News, accessed 18.09.2016, <http://www.cbsnews.com/news/isis-uses-social-media-to-recruit-western-allies/>
- [8]. Clarionproject, „The Islamic State's (ISIS, ISIL) Magazine”, Clarionproject, accessed 17.09.2016, <http://www.clarionproject.org/news/islamic-state-isis-isil-propaganda-magazine-dabiq#>
- [9]. Dominic Casciani, „Islamic State: Profile of Mohammed Emwazi aka 'Jihadi John'”, accessed 19.09.2016, <http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-31641569>
- [10]. Holly Yan, „Why is ISIS so successful at luring Westerners?”, CNN, accessed 18.09.2016, <http://edition.cnn.com/2014/10/07/world/isis-western-draw/>
- [11]. ITIC, „ISIS's Propaganda Machine”, Crethiplethi, accessed 18.09.2016, <http://www.crethiplethi.com/isis-s-propaganda-machine/islamic-countries/syria-islamic-countries/2015/>
- [12]. Jenkins, Brian M, *International Terrorism: A new kind of warfare*, 1974. pag. 4, <http://www.rand.org/pubs/papers/P5261.html>
- [13]. Jonathon Morgan, J.M. Berger, „The ISIS Twitter census: Defining and describing the population of ISIS supporters on Twitter”, Brookings, accessed 18.09.2016, <https://www.brookings.edu/research/the-isis-twitter-census-defining-and-describing-the-population-of-isis-supporters-on-twitter/>
- [14]. Konstantin Benyumov, „How Russia's independent media was dismantled piece by piece”, The Guardian, accessed 18.09.2016, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/may/25/how-russia-independent-media-was-dismantled-piece-by-piece>
- [15]. Lauren Isaac, „Isis Recruitment in the Cyber World”, Social Justice Solutions, accessed 17.09.2016, <http://www.socialjusticesolutions.org/2016/05/04/isis-recruitment-cyber-world/>
- [16]. Nicu Parlog, „Ce mai face Al-Qaeda?”, Descoperă.ro, accessed 17.09.2016, <http://m.descopera.ro/cultura/5387032-ce-mai-face-al-qaeda>
- [17]. Olimpia Nicolae, „Hollande acuză SUA: Franța a fost victima haosului generat de răspunsul SUA la atentatele din 11 septembrie”, Gândul, accessed 16.09.2016, <http://www.gandul.info/international/hollande-acuza-sua-franta-a-fost-victima-haosului-generat-de-raspunsul-sua-la-atentatele-din-11-septembrie-15693988>
- [18]. RT News, „CIA director blames social media for strength of ISIS”, RT News, accessed 19.09.2016, <https://www.rt.com/usa/240597-ciai-director-brennan-isis/>
- [19]. Sam Adams, „Turkey shuts down 130 media outlets as President Erdogan's purge of 'dissidents' accelerates”, The Mirror, accessed 17.09.2016, <http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/world-news/turkey-shuts-down-130-media-8507156>
- [20]. Shahed Amanullah, „How radicalization can be prevented”, accessed 18.09.2016, <http://blog.shahed.com/post/141558785296/we-have-to-create-a-situation-where-young-people>
- [21]. Stohl, Michael, *The Politics of Terrorism*, (3rd edition), New York, Marcel Decker, 1985, pag 3-4