

SUZBIJANJE KRIMINALA U OKVIRU MEĐUNARODNE POLICIJSKE SARADNJE
Zbornik radova sa naučno-stručnog skupa sa međunarodnim učešćem

**SUZBIJANJE KRIMINALA U OKVIRU
MEĐUNARODNE POLICIJSKE SARADNJE**

Zbornik radova

sa naučno-stručnog skupa sa međunarodnim učešćem
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Izdavači
Kriminalističko-policijska akademija, Cara Dušana 196, Beograd
Fundacija Hans Zajdel, Jove Ilića 50, Beograd

Za izdavača
prof. dr GORAN MILOŠEVIĆ, dekan
LUTZ KOBER, rukovodilac Fondacije Hans Zajdel za Srbiju i za Crnu Goru

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prof. dr GORAN MILOŠEVIĆ, dekan *Kriminalističko-policijske akademije, Beograd*

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PREDGOVOR

Poštovani, pred Vama je Zbornik radova učesnika naučno-stručnog skupa sa međunarodnim učešćem "Suzbijanje kriminala u okviru međunarodne policijske saradnje", koji je u organizaciji Kriminalističko-policijske akademije i Hans Zajdel Fondacije, a uz pomoć Ministarstva unutrašnjih poslova Republike Srbije i Ministarstva prosvete i nauke Republike Srbije, održan od 28. do 30. juna 2011. godine na Tari.

Tematski zbornik sadrži 47 radova nastavnika i saradnika Kriminalističko-policijske akademije iz Zemuna, Fakulteta bezbednosti iz Skoplja i Beograda, Visoke škole unutrašnjih poslova u Banjaluci, Pravnog fakulteta Univerziteta u Prištini i Nišu, Filozofskog fakulteta u Nišu, Departmana za pravne nauke Državnog univerziteta u Novom Pazaru, Fakulteta političkih nauka u Beogradu, Instituta za međunarodnu politiku i privredu iz Beograda, Instituta za političke studije iz Beograda, Instituta za uporedno pravo iz Beograda, kao i predstavnika Ministarstva unutrašnjih poslova Republike Srbije, Republike Srpske i Oružanih snaga BiH. Autori radova su eminentni stručnjaci iz oblasti prava, bezbednosti, kriminalistike, pripadnici nacionalnog sistema bezbednosti ili učestvuju u edukaciji pripadnika policije.

Radovi su recenzirani od strane kompetentnih recenzenata i sadrže prikaz savremenih tendencija u razvoju sistema policijskog obrazovanja, razvoja policije i savremenih koncepata bezbednosti i kriminalistike. Dalje sledi analiza aktivnosti pravne države u suzbijanju kriminala, stanja i kretanja u ovim oblastima, kao i predlozi za njihovo sistemsko prevazilaženje u okviru međunarodne policijske saradnje. Zbornik predstavlja značajan doprinos postojećem fondu naučnog i stručnog znanja iz oblasti kriminalističke, bezbednosti, pravne teorije i prakse. Publikovanje Zbornika radova predstavlja značajan podsticaj uspostavljanju šire regionalne i međunarodne policijske saradnje, kao i unapređivanju međusobne saradnje obrazovnih, naučnih i stručnih institucija na nacionalnom, regionalnom i međunarodnom nivou.

Na kraju, izražavamo veliku zahvalnost svim autorima i učesnicima skupa, kao i recenzentima. Takođe, zahvaljujemo se i Fondaciji Hans Zajdel, koja je finansijski pomogla i učestvovala u organizaciji ovog skupa.

Beograd, oktobar 2011. godine

Programski i Organizacioni odbor

TERRORISM THROUGH THE SCOPE OF GLOBAL MEDIA

Srđan Milašinović, PhD

Academy of Criminalistic and Police Studies, Belgrade

Oliver Bakreski, PhD

Faculty of Philosophy, Institute of Security, Defense and Peace Studies, Skopje

Zoran Jovanovski, MA

Ministry of Internal Affairs, Republic of Macedonia

Abstract: Most citizens attain contact with and perception of terrorism and its implications on the security mostly through media. Therefore, it is important to disclose what kind of messages the media create for this phenomenon, how they report on the terrorist activities, which events they treat as terrorism, and which ones they neglect. Having in mind the whole complexity of this problem and the role of media in creating the existing picture of terrorism, the public should endorse research in these areas. That would ensure that the citizens are aware of all conditions that occur in the contemporary society and enable them to build appropriate opinions including all the aspects of the way of living. Few aspects for the media are included in the focus of the elaboration. The accent is put on terrorism as a separate media spectacle, and also on the forms of communication of media with the public on issues regarding terrorism. Hence, ideally, the role of the media in a democracy is to be the intermediary between the civil society and security sensitive issues.

Keywords: media, functions, democracy, information, terrorism.

Introduction

In modern days the media are everywhere. Maybe that is why people expect the media to be allmighty. Day by day we acknowledge the so called 'credible news' and all of us try to learn more about the credibility of the source because transmission of news and the messages they convey are considered to be of primary interest.

Broadly, the media help the public and the political representatives in their task to make decisions based on information. Also, the media contribute in the supervision of the work of legislative, executive and judicial authorities and can influence the content and quality of the questions in the public debates, which on the other hand influence the government, the business sector, academic surrounding and civil society. That is how the free media represent the key component of democracy. The media are capable to canalize, to direct and instrument the shaping of public attitudes. On one hand, the same media can be used to canalize the basic models of behavior of the recipients, but on the other hand, all that makes their objectivity questionable.

In democratic societies the media are more and more a mirror that reflects the general orientation of political life and a microscope that allows the citizens to pay attention to different social activities and, with the expression of their opinion, to contribute in the progress of the nation. It is the way in which a contemporary state secures its permanence, only through constant communication amongst its citizens and different 'wheels' of power.

The participation of citizens through the media is crucial for conducting a coherent economic and cultural development of a society. Although the communication cannot jeopardize the development itself, inadequate communication slows down the development of the state and makes it more difficult. This function of communication comes from the fact that it exemplifies an instrument for change of the collective psychology of the society, and its life conditions, and additionally to the fundamental element for development (Raboy & Dagenais, 1996, p. 34-36).

By default, the role of mass media is to evaluate, to interpret and to transfer news produced in other social systems. Some news are, in fact, created in mass media themselves. To some level, at least mass media are organizations that produce news.

A question is often raised: «What kind of information the media select and how is this information presented?» The analysis of 'values of news' shows that the selected information is not just random pick of events. There is a clear mould that prescribes a hierarchy of apparently important events and people. Elites, nations and individuals, and also dramatic events dominate the news. And so, the value of news and the judgements in the news which determine the content of the media, not only focus our thoughts on special areas which the media determine as 'important', but they also distract our thinking away from other 'unimportant' events. In this way they contribute to our mental world maps (Negrin, 1996, p. 4).

The chosen topics usually have a great meaning in the framework of a specific cultural context. Hence, in the framework of a specific cultural context, the mass media are capable of involving the existing cultural references because it is comprehensible for everybody. In that way, there is a reciprocity between the mass media and society/culture. They appeal to the past and the present political/social references, but at the same time, they also contribute to them. This accounts for a cultural continuity and for a cultural change.

Media in contemporary plural and democratic societies

Expectations that the media would have a leading role in creating a democratic infrastructure in post communist societies, turned out unreal in the beginning. An indispensable need for such position of the media is 'breaking' the relations of media with state structures and liberating the media from the status of a mechanism in service of the parties, classes or other groups, which is a long and slow process in itself. In most of the post communist countries, the most conservative factor of mass communication that obstructed this process was shown to be the political power. Still, in most of the countries the reconstruction of the media system exceeded the phase of establishing legal guarantees for the autonomy of the media (Matic, 2003).

Bigger freedom of press was the first visible change after the fall of the old regime. In fact, in the first years after the collapse of the one-party system, the media were in chaos, the state remained without adequate structure. In the middle of the nineteen nineties efforts were made to regulate the media (Fluri & Hadžić, 2004, p. 223).

The media have for years been patiently building the democratic order based on respecting values, and also the people that represent and defend this order, the alert observation of the change of public opinion and respecting minorities. With that, the media have had one of the key roles and positions in the social-political system. Therefore, the state and the party in power, with various formal and informal mechanisms attempts to put under control, at least the leading persons and the organisers of the work in the media houses. On the other hand, the media,

accomplishing the goals for conducting a public service, satisfying the demands of the auditorium and the profit, put the full effort to impose their own behavior models that don't stand the censorship and orders 'from above'. In this never ending battle between the media and the position of pluralistic and democratic societies, there are no winners and no losers. In a certain society and a certain period of time, paramounts either the first or the second model of informing ('the controlled' and 'uncontrolled'). As a result of this, certain consequences of the activities of mass-media are evident in pluralistic and democratic societies. First of all, mass-media affect the emergence of new social activities, such as advertising; surveys of the audience and the market; who 'sells' the mass-media; public relations and public opinion, which is of great significance. The second consequence the mass-media actions is seen in the fact that the mass communication tools are under direct influence and control (and even censorship) by the state and the current political authorities, but still, in pluralistic and democratic societies this intention changes. In the field of politics, economy and religion, mass-media publishes more and more messages, information, analysis and comments without institutional control and censure (Matevski, 2000, p. 31-33).

Terrorism as a media spectacle

Contemporary global terrorism as a form of political violence is a challenge for modern civilization. Paul Wilkinson states that when someone says 'terrorism' in a democratic society, he says «media» at the same time, because, by its nature, terrorism is a psychological weapon that depends on the communication of the threat and the broader society. Terrorists draw the attention of the media. Timothy Mcveigh who was convicted for the terrorist assault in Oklahoma City in the USA in which 168 people were killed, said that he chose a building that was the property of the federal authorities because there was a lot of open space around it, so it could be easily photographed and recorded with cameras. Italian left-wingers, the «Red Brigade» attacked on Saturday so their actions would be broadcast in the Sunday news which have more viewers. Palestinian «Black September» kidnapped the Israeli sportsmen at the Olympic Games in Munich in 1972 because all the televisions had started broadcasting the games and because the reporters from all over the world were there. Some terrorist groups carefully studied the media, while others have their media operations. The planetary publicity of the terrorist actions intermediated by the media which become an important lever in the propaganda of the terrorist ideas shows the increased vulnerability of the global community; the ones who control the global electronic crossroads give the green light to the information which they estimate has a "liberation" character. Even the most spectacular terrorist action seems like it did not happen if the mass media do not register it. This is how, thanks to their capacity to project an action with certain restraints, the strategy of attracting the public attention can be planned. The phenomenon of fascination is accomplished only with maximum motivation of the auditorium, in which the lightheadedness and the ignorance of the reporters, who keep running for the sensation and competition neglect the basic ethic principles, are frequently prominent. Blood and death raise the circulation and rating, which can easily be verified by simply reviewing the contents of the news placed by the various mass media that impose the current social discourse.

Insensibly, terrorism becomes a mass media spectacle that with its cruelty and uncertain outcome attracts you to the screens, radio-transmitters, pages of the press or the Internet. It is no longer a problem of the wealthy, "democratic" states, but a global

concern and its solution is important for the survival of the civilization. “*Our people are eager to die just as Americans are eager to live*”, quotes the French post-modernist Baudrillard the motto of the Islamic militarists, emphasizing that now it is all about death – real, symbolic and ritual-sacrificial. (Baudrillard, 2008: 87). The symbolic power *a priori* gains a media character because, being represented by speech and image, it imposes an artificial reality that brings a political and economical benefit to privileged elites. It is a difficult question how to report about terrorist actions and not succumb to the fascination and propagation of visible ideas and invisible goals of the terrorists.

In theory, a frequently given example is that of hijacking the TWA 847 airplane, flying from Rome to Cairo, on 14th June, 1985, by three members of Hezbollah, with a request for releasing 776 Shiites from an Israeli prison. During the seventeen days of uncertainty the airplane flew between Beirut and Algeria several times, releasing women and children every time, and in the end the rest of the passengers, until there were only American citizens on board, held as hostages (39 of them). In the meanwhile, American public was closely watching the destiny of the kidnapped; therefore there were specialized teams on the place of the event, with about a hundred reporters, producers, recorders and analysts. Three leading American TV networks (ABC, NBC and CBS) interrupted the regular program schedule with special broadcasts from reporters on the scene, while in the standard informational broadcasts during the crisis there were 514 news and reports, which means more than 20 per day on average. The public was literary drugged with the imposed topic, so almost every hour it discussed the problem, causing the “domino effect” that requests a hyper-production chain of fresh information all the time. The hunger of the audience was fed with the production of unselected contents, so the mass media corporations could justify the costs and reporters, burdened with the competition had to “dig out” new messages, conversations with the relatives of the kidnapped passengers, released hostages, reactions of the citizens and politicians, which resulted in strengthening the cumulative pressure of the political decision-making center. The propaganda questions for the family members like “Should the American administration put pressure on Israel for releasing the Shiite prisoners?” indicated foregoing answers, so by creating an irrational atmosphere of fear and anxiousness, the possibility for rational decisions was excluded in advance. Because of the increased dissatisfaction of the public opinion, Reagan’s administration yielded, fulfilling the requests of the terrorists, so it all seemed idyllic. In practice, it was a defeat of a policy that kneeled in front of the requirements of the terrorists, caused by the mistakes of the media, which instead of registering the events took an active role as a participant that determined the course of decisions. Unconsciously, they fell into a trap which was set by media experts consulted from the other side, and that was well observed by the British journalist John Bulloch: “The skillful manipulation of the American TV networks was made on purpose. Graduate professionals for media who gained their education on American colleges were present at the meetings in the house of Nabih Berri (one of the leaders of the action – *objection by the author*) in West Beirut, while the strategy was worked out”. The terrorists cunningly observed the media’s hunger for shocking, unusual news, offering them dosed and always exclusive information, which were chalked like in the low budget Hollywood movies. Using ably the market contest of the big media empires, they prevented the creation of informational silence, which is the best solution in situations like these. That way, the control of content is eliminated, so the domination was theirs, and not of the power that owned the journalist centers.

In some dramatic situations the actors seem to wait for the arrival of the cameras and their switching on, making a show for remote, interested auditoriums, which with

awakened feelings become a side that cheers, and sometimes decides.¹ It is obvious that the terrorism and the mass media are in a dialectical reversible relation, that they are mutually complementary, dependent and amending. In other words, they are like water and fire, action and reaction, a director and a movie.

When in mid-May 2004 six Israeli soldiers were killed by a bomb planted on the road to Gaza, the TV screens were dominated by pictures of Palestinian extremists who paraded on the streets of the city carrying body parts of the killed as trophies. In the history of "Hamas" for the first time there was an organized kind of terrorist press conference, on which a masked combatant showed dismembered parts of the Israeli soldiers - casualties to the representatives of the media. The shock is not just in the function of the spectacle, but in the good knowledge of traditional customs and the fact that the funeral has a special significance for the Jewish people. It is believed that the deceased whose bodies are not buried whole, cannot expect the arrival of the Almighty and their souls are condemned to eternally ramble in the dark, so the Kuwait's "Al Jazeera" television accidentally showed the same footage for days. The game was cruel and ruthless, in front of the eyes of the public and the blinding media reflectors, so there was no time for mistakes – they were quickly punished. For example, for the Shiites the cities of Karbala and Najaf represent sacred places, so the arrival of the armed American troops on their territory practically provided the support of the religious leaders to call for general resistance to the occupation forces. Pentagon banned the funeral showing scenes of young men killed in Iraq, but the boomerang effects were surprising: instead of public honor that belonged to them, funerals only within the family resulted in astonishing rumble of mass dissatisfaction and rumors which no one could withhold. The truth, no matter what it is, should be close-up. The excessive media attention pointed to the American successes, high financial awards, along with organizing few meetings and conferences with the main purpose to create the world antiterrorist movement, as an echo produced the cult of Bin Laden, whose ideas live in the hearts of a huge part of the members of the Islam. Repression creates resistance, aggressive propaganda – counterpropaganda.

Experts dealing with the Islamic terrorism state that, with the creation of the Internet, one of the most important goals of the Islam has been achieved – a certain *umma* has been created, which means a worldwide community of believers. Postmodern terrorists use the benefits of the globalization and modern technology to plan, coordinate and conduct their lethal plans. They are no longer geographically limited in a framework of a certain territory, politically or financially dependent on a certain country, yet they rely of the contemporary communication capacities, including the Internet.

Main advantages of the Internet that makes week strong (power of the week) are cited:

- easy access,
- availability (every language, any time, e-mail, chat, discussion groups, blogs, sound, image, open or encrypted communication),
- lack of regulation, absence of censure and government control,
- potentially great number of audience all over the world,
- anonymous communication and decentralization,
- fast flow of information,
- low costs for web presentation,

¹ A reporter from a Canadian television remembers the demonstrations in front of the American Embassy in Teheran when the seemingly peaceful mass exploded: "Death to Carter", raised their fists, acted madly and burned American flags. Two minutes after, there was a signal given that it is enough for this cadre. Then the same scene was repeated for the French speaking Canadian audience, whereby the crowd shouted "La mort a Carter".

- continuous moving and evasion (creating and deleting addresses),
- wide range of weapons (viruses, worms, backdoor bombs),
- critical infrastructure as potential targets.

Most important areas on the Internet used by the terrorists are: planning and coordination, managing operations (a physical contact is practically no longer required by those who manage the operations and those who directly perform the action), propaganda, gathering resources, publicity, psychological warfare, gathering data, recruiting and mobilization, networking, sharing information, money laundering, cyber war, fake purchase of sophisticated equipment, bioterrorism (for example advertising forged and fake medicine etc.).

The fact that shows how the terrorist organizations understood this very quickly is that in 1998, less than half of the organizations that named themselves foreign terrorist organizations in the USA had their own web sites, and at the end of 1999, almost every group became present on the Internet, and today – all active terrorist groups have at least one form of presence on the Internet. The results of the surveys from 1998 to 2007 show over 5 000 terrorist web sites, online forums and chat rooms. Some groups have more than one Internet web site. Namely, there is one main (the Home page) and numerous informal ones. The equipment, the technical skills and the support are provided by the sympathizers of the terrorist groups while the content is provided by the terrorist operatives from the crime scene.

The principle of presentation is the same on almost every terrorist web site.

- Main goals and mission;
- History of the organization. Rarely there are some horrific photos that testify of their “feats”. Often there are widely stated arguments with a purpose of moral justifying of their actions which should provide sympathy and support in some part of the Western public’;
- Part designed for domestic sympathizers containing topics of political prisoners and political corruption which leads to the question of the legitimacy of their own government.

Presentations mainly include audio and video elements. Special attention is paid to logos and emblems, while the more sophisticated ones include speeches, poetry and music. Some have forged fact contents and less of them contain online gift shops. Certain Internet sites² include even computer games for children with an idelogocial content and in accordance with the goals of the terrorist organization, or as a preparation for future recruitment of new members. For the youth there are music contents with hip hop and rap musicians whose attractive melodies, or melodic messages filled with call of violence like the songs of the rapper Sheikh Terra who sings with a gun in one hand, and the Kuran in his other hand.

The use of the Internet for terrorist causes is mainly associated with extremist Arab islamistic groups, and that fact is not justified. Namely, the Internet is also used by Chechnian terrorists, PKK (Kurdistan workers’ party) and numerous other terrorist organizations and groups.

Abdul Bakier (2006) talks about electronic jihad as a form of cyber war in which the anti-islamistic web sites are attacked. In that notion especially interesting are the efforts for gaining new ideological followers with the help of as-Sahab, al-Qaeda’s wings in charge of media production, primarily video materials:

- video-instructions training for bomb and explosives preparation,

² For example, <http://www.awladna.net/>

- operative videos showing how vulnerable the enemy is,
- full duration speeches, sometimes encrypted in order to confuse the opponent,
- photographs – often forged, showing the victims killed by the enemies or with a message (black turban/white turban).

Communication of the terrorists over the Internet can be opened, but cryptography can be also used (encoded information that is visible, but cannot be understood unless the code is decrypted), and shorthand (covered information; with a most common example - a picture in a PP presentation)³ where the message is not visible at all, and also their combination.

Today there are more than 2000 sites of terrorist organizations on the Internet, which are hard to track because of their short and fast creation. By using undisturbed spaces of the global network the terrorists propagate their ideas, publish handbooks for acting and instructions for action, gather resources for further activities, publish announcements for the public and communicate with the public. «*Internet has become a virtual camp for training terrorists*» stated Gabriel Weimann, a contributor to the Institute of Peace in Washington, warning that the propaganda is more subtly focused on the video games and cartoons, and in that way recruits the youngest generation. Al Qaida publishes new contents in the manual of Al Batal twice a month, and every edition has a developed theme from a different field in terrorism practice. A few weeks before a series of civilian kidnapping and decapitating, on the network in edition No.10 it was explained in details how to choose a victim, how to kidnap, how to negotiate, how to conduct the execution, how to record it all and deliver it to the media, on which address to send the warning videos. It is the reason why more and more countries establish special units of 'virtual antiterrorists' whose mission is to destroy the opponents' web sites, and to provide analysis of the contents which will lead to their trail. Information warfare becomes a polygon of new antagonisms, wherein powerful states are more vulnerable than ever! The U.S. Defense Information System Agency DISA estimated that during «*1995 information pirates tried to reach protected data even 250 000 times, through an open part of the information system in the Department of Defense, and even 160 000 of the cases were successful*»! (Alexander, 1999, p. 104).

The most important aggravating factors in the fight against the use of the Internet by terrorists are lack (delay) of legislature, or its ambiguity and imprecision regarding very important issues: what are the new crimes, how to prove them, process them and punish them. Also there are serious legal and moral dilemmas present: can the state use the Internet to launch misinformation, propaganda, destroy terrorist sites, etc. It is often not clear who the enemy is and there is a risk of misidentification. A question is raised how should the state respond (reason for war?). Also, there is no international consent, since there are different approaches regarding the freedom of information spreading. Thus, for example, the legislation in the United Kingdom is very rigid, so in certain cases it can penalise even downloading terrorist material from the Internet, or possessing it in a personal computer, while in the U.S., due to the First Amendment censorship on the contents of the Internet must not be done. National subjects of the security system are not ready to open to the necessary extent for an effective international cooperation in this area. Finally, it is clear that the radicalization of individuals and groups is a process, but the options of deradicalization are not quite clear and explored. The issues of using the Internet for counterpropaganda are also very sensitive: if it is too moderate it has no effect, and if it is too aggressive, it can have counter-effects (Milašinović & Kešetović, 2008).

³ There are very sophisticated ways of shorthand for which purpose some special software applications are used.

The Internet as a new global media is not the only weapon of terrorists. It is a simple technical tool in the hands of people and as such it is neither good nor evil. It is up to people how they will use it and for what purposes. In that notion it is a new instrument that is in use for services responsible for suppression and control of terrorism. Over the Internet, the security forces can learn a lot about beliefs, values, plans, activities and behavior of the terrorist organizations. This information can be used in preventing terrorist attacks. As signs of early warning, suspicious activities and signals can be useful:

- Increased message frequency – (the first message of Al Qaeda in May, and the last on 9/9, while the highest frequency was in August).
- Increased network traffic on fraternal sites – logistics information and other data are set in an encrypted form on sites of ideologically close organizations.
- In the planning of 9/11 the members of Al Qaeda mutually exchanged thousands of messages on an Islamic web site protected by a password.
- In the war against Israel, Hamas has received money collected over the web site of the Holy Land Foundation for relief and development, stationed in the U.S.
- On the web site of the TV station Al Manar, Hezbollah spread out anti-Jew rumor that on 9/11 about 4 000 Jews did not come to work in the WTC because they were warned for the upcoming attack.

As a forefront of the terrorist activities the usage of the Internet is important in the notion that it contributes to spreading the universal human values and overcoming the ethnic, religious and ideological prejudices and stereotypes, encouraging and promoting tolerance in the communities from where the terrorist are recruited and to some kind of deradicalization.⁴

In an operational notion, among the opportunities that the network provides is good to mention the possibility for tracking the terrorist activities, infiltration in forums, creating false web sites to deceive and lure the terrorists and the supporters, international collaboration of security organs and services in transfer of technology, knowledge and information, that is a mobilization of as wide circle of subjects to fight against terrorism.⁵

Concluding observations

Modern terrorism is tailored so it would be adapted to the media and contemporary communication resources. The terrorists want to rule and they want public to pay attention to their actions, but in such a way that the media will secure the leading of the propaganda campaign. It is often stated that the terrorism is calculated violence, usually focused on a symbolic target, designed to transmit a political or a religious message. In addition, the target of the terrorists can also gain a wider support from the public, a provocation to which the targeted country would respond hastily, and thus wrongly, or will trigger recruitment of new members into the organization, polarization of the public opinion, demonstration of the ability to hurt somebody, or a proof that the government of the target country can be endangered.

If we ask the question: do the media 'help' the terrorists, the answer could be different. It is simplest to say that every publicity is good publicity. That maxim could also refer to terrorism, and even if a planted bomb does not explode, the terrorist

⁴ For example, <http://www.islamnet.eu/>

⁵ For example, <http://www.antiteror.ru/>

act itself will serve for talking and writing about that terrorist group. Terrorism has a disproportionately big space in the media, in the news programs, but it can also emphasize neglected political issues like the wave of Palestinian terrorism, which drew the attention of the worldwide public to what was happening on the territory on which the Palestinians had lived even before that. Terrorism can also raise a public debate about certain issues, stressing the media of both sides; radical terrorist attitudes on one side, and the casualties of the terrorist attack on the other.

Meanwhile, there is at the same time doubt as to whether the media really help the terrorists. Attacks can get out of control or can have unforeseen consequences. Too big a slaughter can banish the potential supporters and sympathizers, terrorist actions have different significance for different audiences; even if the plan of the terrorists is fulfilled completely they don't necessarily control the way the media will report and cover their story. Finally, when the term terrorist is used, it draws the attention of the audience to the methods of a certain group, but not the message of that group. That often denies the legitimacy of the targets of that group in the eyes of the public.

Then why do the media follow the terrorist attacks; isn't it much more simple not to report and deny them the publicity which is one of the fundamental goals of terrorism? Every reporter will tell you that terrorist acts are news. There is a symbolic connection between the terrorists who want the attention of the media and the media that seek dramatic stories which will increase the circulation or the ratings. Most of the media organizations, although aware that the terrorist groups manipulate the media, want to report about important events, but in a way that they don't become an open stage for terrorists. But meanwhile, TV news especially, became a reluctant partner in the theatre of terrorism (Milašinović & Kešetović, 2010).

The way in which the media report can affect the outcome of the terrorist incident. A devised campaign in reporting an abduction can sometimes protect the lives of the hostages, above all by gaining the support of the international public opinion demanding to release the abducted. On the other hand, the reporting of the media can prolong the abduction period because the terrorists can postpone the solution of the crisis until the publicity, and so the attention of the public itself, decreases. When there are news on TV about an attack in progress, the time-delay in broadcasting what is happening, can for the viewer seem like the government does not respond fast enough to the situation, and therefore the tension on the officials increases, to solve it in a rush, with dangerous consequences. The reports from the media can also endanger or interrupt an antiterroristic operation. Media can lead to arresting the terrorists. The decision of one of the biggest American news houses to publish the manifest of the 'Unibomber', a lonely terrorist that sent letters with explosive charges to different addresses and remained intangible for the FBI for 17 years, led to his identification and arrest.

It should not be forgotten that often the media themselves are the targets of the terrorists. The attacks on the media can help draw attention or influence the way they will report. Several American editorial boards received letters with antrax dust; Islamic militants from Pakistan, connected with Al Qaida enticed a Wallstreet Journal reporter, Daniel Pearl on an interview and then kidnapped and killed him. Intelligence reports released in America tell that Al Qaida reconnoitered the headquarters of Radio Free Europe in Prague, in charge of the propaganda for the Eastern European countries, seriously considering the possibility to attack it. A few decades earlier, the terrorists in Beirut were killing and kidnaping foreign reporters that they considered hostile. The AP reporter Terry Anderson spent almost seven years as a hostage in Lebanon, and the Basque separatist organisation ETA killed the Spanish newspaper editor, because the newspaper published an antiterrorist manifest.

It is obvious that some countries try to control the media reports on terrorism. In the eighties Britain banned broadcasting statements of members of terrorist organizations and their sympathizers, embracing the demand of the then Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. She claimed that the fastest way to suffocate terrorism is *interruption of the oxygen flow, or publicity*. The states that do not regulate the ways the media report about terrorism demand from them voluntary restraint from covering that kind of events, quoting as a reason jeopardizing the national security or preventing the terrorists to present their political views. After the attacks in America on September 11th, 2001 President Bush's Administration demanded from the national TV networks not to broadcast video-recordings from Osama bin Laden because they might have had encrypted messages with instructions for future attacks. Other American officials talked about the reportings on the weak spots of the US territory defense that may help the terrorists to plan their future attacks (Milašinović, Jevtović & Milošević, 2011).

The terrorists also adapt their own methods and messages in accordance with the changing media. A hijack of a passenger plane became a terrorist practice only after the first communication satellite appeared that enabled transmission of the images in the whole world. That way the hijacking could be viewed as a direct broadcast from the event. The Al Qaida strategy not to take the responsibility for the attacks it executes, unlike the previous terrorist organisations, leads to a bigger uncertainty in the attacked country and to greater representation in the media. The increasing number of satellites, global networks, and the increasing opportunities through the Internet enabled the terrorists to make their own videos, like those with the murder of the already mentioned Daniel Pearl, or foreigners that work for American companies in Iraq or Saudi Arabia. Those videos could have been seen even on CNN. British BBC decided not to broadcast them. That is how the terrorists learned to use the Internet and create their own propaganda production, and also to secretly communicate, plan the attacks, promote themselves or collect money for their organization. The flow of information on the network is hard to predict or control. For now it is still impossible to get to the whole targeted audience at the same time, but it is possible if the spectacular terrorist attack is broadcast on the television. Still, the rumors that are spread on the Internet are often transferred in other media.

Therefore, we have found that the media play a key role when the consequences of some disasters incurred by terrorist attacks are in question. Media provide the necessary information, give announcements and instructions which refer to the services that are supposed to help the victims and their families. The media can also represent a source of hope for directly and indirectly vulnerable. Yet, in most cases, watching a television programme regarding any kind of disaster, especially one caused by terrorism, has a negative effect. Although this field was little investigated so far, or the investigations remained out of reach for the broader audience, here are some symptoms you should consider should you continue watching a television programme on a certain station: if you feel anxious, if you cannot stop looking at the screen even if you want to do that or if you have trouble sleeping after watching that programme. It is just the advice that was sent to many Americans after the terrorist attacks on New York and Washington. According to the surveys of DeFleur and Dennis, released in 2002, the American family on average watched TV programmes for over seven hours a day. Unfortunately, most of the news on television are bad, so gloomy moods and increasingly frequent adolescent suicides represent a pale reflection of the media influences.

Essentially, the question is: what role can the media play in general in anticipating the future terrorist attacks? Probably none. Each of today's televisions would love if just their camera is the one that broadcasts the Armageddon live. The one thing they can do

is to transmit the opinions of those more responsible and in that way inform the less responsible, or at least be able to oppose them.

At the very end it is useful to remind again that mass media as such are neither good nor evil. They just represent a technical tool in the hands of people that have their goals, interests and values. The problem is that the interests, goals and values of the masters of global and national media have few mutual points with the universal human values and goals.

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