

AL AKHAWAYN UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
COMMUNICATIONS STUDIES

International Images, Conflict and Foreign Policy

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Structure of the Lecture

- 1. International Images
 - 2. Images and Conflict
 - 3. Foreign Policy
- ✓ *Case: Jyllands-Posten Cartoons*

The Psychology of Messages

“There are but two powers in the world, the sword and the mind. In the long run the sword will always be beaten by the mind”

Napoleon

14/11/2006



The Psychology of Images



International Images

- In this age image means television and digital media
- A picture paints a thousand words
- Hegel said:
- Many journalists observe that in the age of video, if there is no picture, there is no story
- Situations which cannot be captured on film, or to which photographer cannot get access, tend to be under-reported

International Images

- Visually dramatic, acute events (such as battles or bombings) receive more coverage, while
- Longer-term, wide-spread situations (such as famine or poverty) get less

Media Can Contribute to Conflict

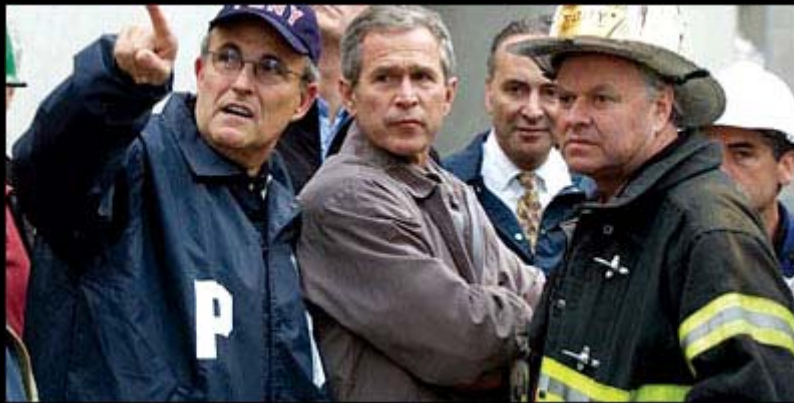
- The media can contribute to conflict escalation, either directly or indirectly
- Media became the mouthpiece for the government
- It gave up its privilege of free criticism/watchdog
- It reinforced the us- versus-them syndrome

Media Can Contribute to Conflict

- Military management of the media
- From the pools to the embedded journalists
- An embedded journalist is a news reporter who is attached to a military unit involved in an armed conflict

Images as Instruments of International Power

- Terrorist attacks may be calculated to draw media attention, and so draw attention to their cause
- In the absence of media coverage, many types of terrorism would be useless



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Discourses of Globalization

- Arjun Appadurai specifies five “spaces”:
 - Ethnospaces
 - Technospaces
 - Finanspaces
 - **Mediaspaces**
 - Ideospaces

Discourses of Globalization

- Mediaspaces:
- refers to global media, especially its electronic version both its hardware and the **images** that it produces

Media War is a *mediated* event

- Media War is a *mediated* event, second-hand, even remote, safe, viewed from a distance
- The planned use of images has become crucial to target specific audiences using any media available to achieve desired outcomes
- The success of military operations relies on the media as a target in information warfare

The Importance of Images to the Military

Images In Warfare

Intelligence

Surveillance

Weather

Geographic

Images Warfare

Misinform

Influence Attitudes

Crystallize

The Psychology of Images

- Christopher Lanz, managing director of *Deutsche Welle TV* said
- "*We are finding ourselves in a kind of media arms race,*"

REUTERS FACTORS

- The relationship between capital and communication was an aspect of what has been called the **REUTERS FACTORS**, which functions like a multiplier that turns an increase in the supply of information into an increase in businesses

What does the 'CNN Effect' mean?

- The phrase 'CNN effect' encapsulated the idea that real-time communications technology could provoke major responses from domestic audiences and political elites to global events
- In recent years, observers of international affairs have raised the concern that media have expanded their ability to affect the conduct of U.S. diplomacy and foreign policy
- Dubbed the "CNN effect" (or "CNN curve" or "CNN factor")
- the impact of these new global, real-time media is typically regarded as substantial, if not profound

What does the 'CNN Effect' mean?

- We may speak of the CNN effect as a *policy agenda-setting agent*
- The new technologies appeared to reduce the scope for calm deliberation over policy, forcing policy-makers to respond to whatever issue journalists focused on
- Instantaneous reporting of events and media pervasiveness have impacted upon government – particularly the process of foreign policy making

***Jyllands-Posten* Cartoons**

This analytical unit focuses on *Jyllands-Posten* Cartoons (2006) as a case study

This case study presupposes some knowledge and understanding of the material covered in the preceding lecture

This case study develop frameworks that may be useful in examining future conflicts

The reasons for selecting the *Jyllands-Posten* Cartoons are several:

***Jyllands-Posten* Cartoons**

***Jyllands-Posten* Cartoons**

1. An adequate base of information and opinion already has been published
2. Because of its recent occurrence, students may have some general familiarity with the events connected with the conflict
3. It is an excellent example to examine the role of images in international conflicts
4. The conflicts that caused the *Jyllands-Posten* Cartoons have not been resolved

***Jyllands-Posten* Cartoons**

Jyllands-Posten Cartoons

- The Abu Ghraib Prison Photos could also be an other example to examine the complex relation between international images and foreign policy

Jyllands-Posten Cartoons

- *Jyllands-Posten* Cartoons controversy began after twelve editorial cartoons, most of which depicted what the paper claimed to be the prophet Mohammad, were published in the Danish newspaper *Jyllands-Posten* on 30.09.2005
- The newspaper explained/framed that this publication was a contribution to the debate regarding criticism of Islam and self-censorship

Jyllands-Posten Cartoons

- In response, Danish Muslim organizations held public protests and spread knowledge of *Jyllands-Posten's* publication
- As the controversy grew, examples of the cartoons were reprinted in newspapers in more than fifty other countries, which led to violent as well as peaceful protests, including rioting particularly in the Islamic world

Jyllands-Posten Cartoons

- Critics of the cartoons describe them as Islamophobic and/or argue that they are blasphemous to people of the Muslim faith, intended to humiliate a marginalized Danish minority
- They are a manifestation of ignorance about the history of Western imperialism, from colonialism to the current conflicts in the Arab world

Jyllands-Posten Cartoons

- Supporters of the cartoons claim they illustrate an important issue in a period of Islamic extremism
- Their publication is a legitimate exercise of the right of free speech
- They also claim that similar cartoons about other religions are frequently printed
- The followers of Islam were not targeted in a discriminatory way

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Jyllands-Posten Cartoons

- Seven publications in France, Germany, the Netherlands, Italy and Spain all carried some of the drawings
- The cartoons have sparked diplomatic sanctions and death threats in some Arab nations, while media watchdogs have defended publication of the images in the name of press freedom

Reporters Without Borders and *Jyllands-Posten* Cartoons

- Reporters Without Borders said the reaction in the Arab world "betrays a lack of understanding" of press freedom as "an essential accomplishment of democracy."



BBC and the *Jyllands-Posten* Cartoons

- **“I believe we provided sufficient context for our users to be able to understand the story clearly”**
- Steve Herrmann
Editor, BBC News Interactive



BBC and the *Jyllands-Posten* Cartoons

- What about these pictures?



- How much can be shown vs. how much should be shown?

BBC and the *Jyllands-Posten* Cartoons

- “We've used moving pictures of the newspapers where they've appeared to show people the context in which they've appeared and to give them some flavor of the type of imagery but without focusing closely on them.”



- Peter Horrocks, the editor of TV News, said it had been a difficult dilemma

Popular Response



Popular Response



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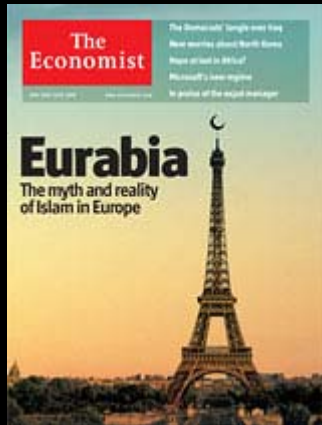
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Popular Response



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Popular Response



Dialogue: Will it work?



Images and Foreign Policy

- What does foreign policy mean?
 - ✓ Policies of a government directed to **matters** beyond national borders, especially relations with other countries

Images and Foreign Policy

- The key variable to media's effect on foreign policy is not the presence or absence of diplomats but the presence of cameras
- Emotional, compelling coverage of atrocities or humanitarian crises reorder foreign policy priorities

Images and Foreign Policy

- One of the potential effects of global, real-time media is the shortening of response time for decision-making
- Decisions are made in haste, sometimes dangerously so
- Policymakers decry the absence of quiet time to deliberate choices, reach private agreements, and mold the public's understanding

Images and Foreign Policy

- For many journalists, policy-makers, and scholars, there really is little doubt that media profoundly affect the foreign policy process
- Policies seem increasingly subject, especially in democracies, to the images flickering across the television screen
- Syria and Saudi Arabia have recalled their ambassadors to Denmark
- Libya said it was closing its embassy in Copenhagen and Iraq summoned the Danish envoy to condemn the cartoons