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## **Representing Imaginary Enemy: A Geopolitical Discourse**

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### **Abstract**

This research aims to study the role of linguistic and media representation in the formation of geopolitical discourse on imaginary enemy. The current research has been accomplished on the basis of descriptive methodology, linguistic viewpoints and Foucauldian discourse. As Foucault believes that nothing significant exists outside the discourse, the imaginary enemy is also on world's cultural and political structures existing under the framework of discourse and power relationship in order to political and cultural hegemony against "other" culture, creed and sect etc.

The results of this study shows that political actors and media institutions have used different methods such as inhuman representation of rivals, excessive prevalence, selectivity, transition, releasing part of truth, projection, identicalization, resorting to war, labeling, distinguishing, retroversion, projection, negativity and positivity, discursive closures, selecting bad from worse, using two factual news to legitimize a false one, using signs and symbols, media credibility, humiliating and ridiculing, creating fear and terror, disinformation, delusive generalization, color politics, using false cartographic technique, geopolitical metaphors, message repetition so that they could they could produce and fix the idea and image of imaginary enemy on general public opinion.

**Keywords:** System of discourse, Geopolitical depiction, Imaginary enemy.

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## **Introduction**

“My linguistic boundaries are indicators of my world boundaries” (Miguel, 2002:24). There existed considerable distinctions between nations and cultures from the time immemorial among different rulers, citizens and countries and this distinction and their feeling often employed as the basis of different national identities. For instance, Owen Latimur pointing to the Great Wall of China has indirectly referred to the same definition. He believes that this wall was built more for giving identity to the Chinese nation.

The actual question of the current study is how enemy is appeared in the discourse of geopolitical imagination or in other words identity and personality building of human groups and geographical spaces?

Discussion on the discourse of geopolitical imagination is a kind of psychological-propaganda strategy that is employed by political actors through media tools and technology of media as well as psychological knowledge against rivals/competitors. From scientific point of view too this discussion is placed under the framework of geopolitical information.

In the past, due to dispute over boundaries and territories, “neighbor” in most of the cases was introduced as a probable enemy. It is in this way that today due to extra-territorial military expansion, and over all, folding together of geographical boundaries with information-communication revolution, dimension of span is not counted as a preemptive factor for producing an enemy. As Jefferson believes: For creating an enemy, essentially there is no need of a manifested aggression rather we feel threatening a thing related to our own desirable condition (Chalet, 1994:132), feeling that is produced through linguistic and media representations.

Imaginary enemy discourse (country, government, nation, human groups etc) focuses on to the topic as how media utilize existing differences between discourses and exhibits “selflessness” as “unselflessness”. This article, in order to focus on methods depicting “enemy” through representation systems, it would also refer implicitly to

other geopolitical discourses including geopolitical cliché, geopolitical metaphor, geopolitical imagination, geopolitical terrorism, geopolitical ethnicity, and geopolitical hegemony.

## **2. Research Methodology**

The process of discourse, apart from the fact that how it focuses on production of meaning through language and representation, the study also focuses on knowledge or a wisdom that produces a particular type of discourse, relation of discourse with power, systematization of process or behavior through discourse, forming identities or mentalities (through discourse) etc.

With a hermeneutic process as well as analyzing documentary resources, the present paper tries to focus on imaginary enemy discourse. By this way, it critically analyzes the linguistic and media representations in producing an imaginary enemy.

## **3. Theoretical Basis**

The discourse is a kind of language and a “system of representation” that from socio-political point of views is prolonged so that it is brought into existence and distributes a comprehensive collection of meaning about an important domain. These meanings profit that part of a society from where the discourse originates and ideologically tries to transform those meanings into right reasoning. The discourse is a concept that is explained using networks like characters, anecdotes, and tales, fairytales that are distributed and perpetuated through fixed beliefs or a collection of ideas about a particular topic. By this way, tales and fairytales are made natural and obvious and are introduced as right reasoning or acceptable ideas.

One of the strategies of political representation is the geopolitical stereotyping and depiction. The geopolitical imagination is a kind of understanding or mentality that possessed by persons, political institutions and actors from geographical circumstances, features and

contents e (i.e: micro or macro).

The world has entered to a stage where geopolitical imagination has much importance. Today, mass media use to communicate the metal and imaginary world and plays important role in modern news services under the framework of modeling and molding. On the basis of news images of principal world news services, the third world is often illogically highlight as confusion and chaos whereas the West is being sketched as adherent to logic and human rights (Molana, 1992:47).

In 1946, George Orwell in his article entitled “Politics and the English Language” insisted that language must be expresser thoughts not their hider. Similarly, he said “in our age [unfortunately] political speeches and writings are principally defense from undefended problems. Political language has been innovated for the correct manifestation of lies and manslaughters as well to strengthen political places” (Snow, 2007:40) because; one of the most acceptable fundamental ideas of critical studies of media is that media cannot offer a simple reflection from the real world (Mahdizadeh, 2008:55). The Secretary General of UNESCO too supports this viewpoint:

“Collective media that have emerged as one of the fundamental elements of cultural expansion, broadcast messages that are not neutral culturally ....” (Heydari, 2004:107)

Stuart Hall describes media as part of “political semanticism” and believes that media signify incidents occurring around the world. He says that media account truths and instead of transferring existing semantics alone, it creates meaning through selection, distribution and reproduction. Since every truth/fact has diverse meaning, media on the basis of its authority decide which meaning it should award to an event (Mahdizadeh, 2008:56). In other words, a media representation is based on existing cultural and political structures of the world under the framework of discourse and power relationship for political and cultural hegemony against “other” culture, creed and sect.

Cliché also expresses human decline to a collection of exaggerated and usually negative personal features. As a result, stereotyping

personality means diminishing, personalizing, familiarizing stability and distinction and distinguishing boundaries between ‘appropriate’ and ‘inappropriate’, ‘black’ and ‘white’, ‘we’ and ‘they’. Stereotyping, in a way, determines a kind of symbolic boundary between ‘normal’ and ‘divert’, ‘acceptable’ and unacceptable’ and ‘we’ and ‘others’. Stereotyping provides an imaginary collectivism by connecting or uniting ‘all of us’ who are normal and ‘all of them’—i.e. others--- that are different. Mary Douglas argues that every thing out of the limit/reach are considered as polluted, dangerous and taboo (Hall, 2003), therefore; representation system in a culture has constructive role and not merely reflection of events. Therefore, topic related to center and periphery (self and other) must be taken into account as issues related to “representation politics”. As Barrah says:

... Must be clarified that what is introduced as “periphery” [or other], in reality, is not periphery rather a constructive effects of self-representation (Mahdizadeh, 2008:56).

Lacust and Jeblin (1999:33-34) believe:

“Today, when geopolitics is being discussed, in most of the cases, it means reciprocal powers about a territory and people who live there. The most deliberative point is that to understand a geopolitical competition, it is not enough only to focus on drawing profits and assertions, rather we must endeavor to understand complex roots, real praiseworthy reasons and thoughts (all governments, regional resistance leaders, autonomy and freedom). Each of these elements is interpreter of spirits and effective on that part of public thought that these people are representing for. Role of thoughts (purports) is key in geopolitics because they explain aims in the same way as the materialist data determine in selecting suitable way. These geopolitical thoughts we name as representation.

Dadez has emphasized that representation of places and people has much importance in executing foreign policies. Foreign policy experts consider media as country’s special story-teller that brings up and reviews particular film script. These film scripts (each of which is a collection of representations, descriptions, essential features and

scenarios for defying a place) simplify the world in flexible forms. These storytellers are in the process of legitimizing foreign policies. Their views about “self” and “other” or “stranger” impact policies as well as viewpoints (Moir, 2000:316).

#### **4. Research Findings**

Some of the methods of media and lingual representations that play significant role in creating geopolitical imagination and idea of imaginary enemy are as follows:

##### **1. Inhuman representation of rivals (Dehumanization)**

Based on this, each of the rivals, in the system of geopolitical representation, tries to present inhuman image of others. The process of demonization manifested by representing enemies in the forms of animal, beast, enemy of God, threat to culture or a symbol of separation. According to Braden and Celli (2004:156):

“Inhuman representation of rival means not only considering the enemy as stranger compare to own national identity rather expelling him from the domain of humanity and deserving him to die utmost”.

The remarkable point is that presenting inhuman image of enemy leads to facilitate and continue zealousness process. Just imagine, when one watches Jewish film “Following Giant Shadow”, what idea would incur in his mind about Arabs (others). This film portrays Arabs as people who laugh and enjoy while shooting an Israeli woman dead (Mahpishanian, 2007:121). Actually, discourses with presenting inhuman image from “other” provide in the minds of audience a ground for prescription “avoidance from other” and then emphasize that as high as the society creates a wall between “self” and “other”, it will reach to more sublime height.

##### **2. Excessive prevalence**

In excessive prevalence, principally, terminologies and phrases are employed

that sentimentally and metaphorically associate to valuable meaning and straight tenets that don't need particular information and rationalism in order to prove them. Although, such terminologies and phrases have different imaginations in the minds of different people, however, their implicit reasoning is often effective and desirable (Najm, 2005:50).

Undoubtedly, judgments that are based on molded and superficial imaginations and beliefs possibly could be linked with realities but these relations are hasty and incorrect. A person who sketches, in his mind, about the image of a nation and consider all as truth, becomes captive of superficial belief and complete and hasty judgments. Opposition of some of the white-skinned American to blacks and their absence in schools are indications of racist judgment that had taken shape among whites from previous centuries. E.L. Horvitz showed an image to white children and then asked to describe the image. When they were shown house and garden and asked what the black woman is doing there? Most of the kids replied that the woman is busy cleaning the house and the garden. In other words, since children had preconceived notion about the black as servant, for them, it was impossible to imagine that in such a beautiful house, a black has nothing to do except cleaning (Satudeh, 1994:175-76)

Canda (2005:388) believes that the mere observation of faces of Afro-Americans is enough for whites to give negative stereotyping image. A research has found that exhibition of lower threshold images of Afro-Americans would cause rudeness in the minds of other Americans and as a result they would behave roughly.

Likewise, one of the manifested distortions of Islam in the West is that despite the internal diversity in this religion, Islam has been sketched as a cohesive religion and reciprocal to the western culture so that opposition to it is justified. Fear from Islam that aggravated by ancient myths and legends in the West, from 1980s onward; have been revived intensely with a series of transformation. In this process, Islam has transformed into a system of integrated belief and internal diversity or different textures that perform in it are invisible. With respect to double and multiple interpretations it has settle not against a kind of opposite

religious belief rather against the western civilization that sarcastically has been introduced for savagery, subduing and about face toward dark medieval ages. (Mahdizadeh, 2008:94-95).

Excessive prevalence was a newspaper column written by the US Ambassador to Jordan. He said:

“I have been disturbed over a constant shaft of American media of using simple equivalents of Muslims—terrorist, Arab. About 200 million Arabs and close to one billion Muslims exist across the world. If it is suitable and impartial to consider all as terrorists without distinction simply by applying adjective “Muslim” or “Arab” in the media coverage from the terrorist activities in the Middle East. Media personalities who boast themselves for identical journalism, never point Baderminhout as Christian terrorist. Units of Red Army in Japan never remembered as Shin Tou terrorists. Demolition of refugee camps and cities in Lebanon did not name as “Zionist terrorism”. Publications do not intend to write “black thief” or “criminal Christian” then how adjectives denoting race or religion are employed when “Arab” or “Muslims” is under consideration (Soren and Tankard, 2009:129).

McColaf too writes about the application procedure of excessive prevalence:

“If America can convince the world public opinion that Muslims are savage and rude then their killings and destruction of their properties would seem more accepted. These propagandas are broadcast usually through a collective media in a way that they publish a few images of warring Muslims as representatives of Islam (Mahpishasnian, 2007:69-70).

### **3. Selectivity**

Harveld Detez has applied the dictum “orientation” for media representation and he says a media automatically has orientation. Similarly, Neil Postman (1996) describing this condition of media says:

“Media value the actual frameworks at the time of transition hence; with this, some of the more important phenomenon is highlighted”

In reality, there is no doubt that we do not access to all information

and news. As Leo Roustan in 1937 remembers, a newspaper is not a diary, calendar or yearbook, rather; a complete process of journalism has been summarized in “selection”. More than a decade later in 1949, Wilber Sharam writes:

“None of communicative aspects is more effective than the number of selection or lack of selection in forming thoughts” (Gholizadeh, 2009).

With this procedure, media can present a positive image of “self” and the negative image of one who is deemed to be explained as “other”. For instance, the US ambassador to Jordan in continuation of his discussion on excessive prevalence writes:

“Besides, American media have easily ignored the ratification of the Organization of Islamic Conferences (OIC) which has already denounced terrorism in any form as against the principles of Islamic teachings. This negligence is yet another form of prejudice that I have exposed here”.

#### **4. Transition**

Social psychologists believe that if two phenomena or imaginations are presented to audience with close interval or simultaneously, they probably give prevalence one over another. Therefore, it is attempted in this method, two names, two phenomena or conditions are put together and characteristic of one to transform to unimagined form of other (Asef, 2005:139).

For example, Leventhal in his research entitled ‘Who is terrorist in American media discourse?’ has attempted content analysis of more than 100 articles published in principal American media (including prime television networks and dailies) during 2001-2003. In his study, Leventhal has selected only the articles that have focused evidently or implicitly on the issues of terrorism and the events of September 11, 2001. Leventhal’s findings indicate:

In more than 80% of the articles, wherever terrorism is being discussed, immediately there comes Islam or Muslims as these distinct terminologies are for one purport or purpose. “Islamic radicalism”, ‘savagery’ and pertification are employed together. Likewise, wherever there is September 11, it is immediately linked to the Islamic

fundamentalism or Muslim terrorism.

Leventhal thus concludes:

“From the point of views of most of writers and analysts of principal American media, terrorism is the same Islam and Muslims who are real supporters, agents and propagators of the world terrorism (Leventhal, 2004).

Certainly, presenting such image of Islam and Muslims in the West, they have been transformed as dangerous and irreconcilable enemy in the eyes of westerners.

### **5. Releasing Part of Truth**

From the point of view of representation politics, a news and message is complete when news element is propounded completely. News is defective when one of its components like when, where, who, why, whom and what is not discussed, hence; is considered as an event releasing part of truth (Lasswell, 2004:57-58). For example, after subduing spy network in Tehran, American media did not focus on the Iranian intentions. In other words, the element “why” was randomly omitted from the news. Consequently, omitting the element “why” permitted Americans that they could condemn Iran.

Edward Said (1999:35) writes about western representation of Iran under Lincoln Doctrine after subduing America’s spy network:

“Lincoln doctrine is that other than what is happening, there often exists an inclination to Iranian insurgency for resisting ‘a real purport of rational and logical discourse (although from western viewpoint). We (westerners) can be rational but those Iranians cannot, why? Because, according to Lincoln, they dominantly are self-centered and self-proclaimed, for them, the reality is a sort of bad aspirant “having confused and disorder mind” they prefer urgent over long-term profits.

Said (2000:181) writes about this kind of representation from Iranians:

“During the occupation of American embassy in Tehran, most of the writers, media analysts were happy with their flattery and they commonly opined that Iranians have proclaimed war by occupying the American embassy. However, they never accepted that the fact that what America

did for the downfall of Mosaddiq government in 1953, in fact, was a proclamation of US war with Iran. Said (1999:30) referring to Bourget, a French lawyer, who played mediating role between Iran as the US, writes: Bourget: in a moment (Carter) told me about hostages and said if I know they are Americans and innocent people. I replied: yes Mr. President, I understand that you call them innocent but I believe that you also must understand that they are not innocent in the eyes of Iranians. If they personally could not have commit any crime, even then, they are not impeccable because they are diplomats of a country which had done a lot of works (including 28th Mordad coup d'état) in Iran".

## **6. Projection**

Projection means negative effort, a negative or hostile feeling about oneself, attributing it to others (Asa Berger, 2008:118). This technique is employed principally for dismissing faults from one to other side of dispute. Inciting the reaction of the targeted population, this technique could corroborate with official positions (Najm, 2004:50) and consequently increases the rate of hatred toward imaginary enemy significantly. For instance, Jamison, a social analyst in an article entitled "Islam and Terrorism" has acknowledged:

"With the occurrence of the incidents on September 11, 200, a group of western radicals (especially Americans) who was looking for an opportunity to relieve their frustration against the Islamic world, carried out a wider propaganda against Muslims and Islamic countries, even those that often considered being in the category of constant friendship. As, if they could not found Muslims other than terrorizing, opposing to freedom and democracy and fundamentalists" (Dastnaei, 2007:123)

At the end, Jamison presents his psychological conclusion:

"Placing radical writers, politicians and even dominant western group against Islamic world can be interpreted as a kind of defensive mechanism (in the manner of projection) because they project their disappointment/frustration and the feeling of helplessness to the world outside the West (Ibid, 123).

## **7. Identicalization**

With this, researchers of representation politics expel or marginalize an outlook, a person or a country by analogizing with other outlook, person or country. For example, a little before the beginning of the Persian Gulf War on October 15, 1990, George Bush who was trying to legitimize the American attack on Iraq, expressed:

“Everyday, there comes fresh news about the terrifying mischief (from Kuwait) of Saddam’s forces.....from a regular attack on the spirit of a nation, willful executions, and constant persecutions.....newborn babies are thrown out of their cradles....dialysis patients are separated from their apparatus....a kind of Hitler has emerged” (Pratkantis & Aaronson, 2000:74).

## **8. Contenting**

When a message is considered as a real agent in determining and distinguishing communicative events then the whole principle of communication for a particular cultural system must be listed on the basis of reciprocal relation of messaging and one or few other agents. The proposed plan of Hymes, for discourse study, believes in explicit differences between the type of message and its contents. No matter how these two relationships are reciprocal and close but in a particular communication system, these are distinct with regard to each other (Beeman, 2002:46).

Jerry Mander (2005) in a television discussion at Belkmissa—holy land of indigenous Hopis--- recounts the entanglement of native Red Indians with the juridical system of Whites and Red-skinned Americans on the mineral extraction in this region that according to Hopis was insult to their religious belief and thus showed how media tried to transform a complex, elegant, strange and ancient culture of Hopis without taking into account their messages and interpretations.

In the process of transfers of messages related to entanglement, he writes that, news producers added to their films parts of the holy dances of Hopis and an image of Kiva, the most spiritual place of Hopis. Their

leaders did not permit journalists could cover their religion to that extent. For example, in Hopis' religion, photography and filming of religious festivities and "powerful administrative figures" are unauthorized. Hopis fear that photography of these things would steal their "existing halo" (a topic not at all irrational). Likewise, they felt that conducting religious festivities before a lay or untrained audience would bring the value and meaning of festivities down. Hopis, themselves, spent few years to know those festivities. A week later, I saw a related news report on television....the first and perhaps the only occasion when 40 million Americans saw Hopis with images of crane along side the red skinned people in coat and pant (Americanized red-skinned), government officials worried and anxious about job creation, complete red-skinned elder apparently uncultured and wearing strange dresses. These strange people were talking about a religion according to which, digging land is dangerous to the survival of all beings on earth....immediately after this program, an advertisement of Pacific Oil & Gas Co. war aired that told about emerging crisis to the energy and the need of exploitation of all sources of energy (Ibid, 46-7).

Once, it takes years for new Hopi learners to understand the contents and reasons of religious festivities, it is certain that understanding culture and tradition as well as communicative messages of Hopis would be much imperfect for television viewers who watch apparent face of a reality through metaphorical/false image and wrong ideas of Hopi culture imprint on their mind such as backwardness, savage, petrified etc.

## **9. Resorting to War**

If we accept the famous phrase of Clausewitz that "war is continuation of politics but with another tool", then the war can be presented as a kind of linguistic and media representation. Sociologists in their accomplished studies on primitive societies have pointed that social expostulation, aggression, pillaging and common massacre of human groups were formed under the effect of cultural behavior patterns; ecstatic ceremonies, festivities, dance and choreography before dispatching or facing enemy are

in fact cultural traces and mental and spiritual preparation (effective in forming self group against other) (Adibi Sadeh, 2008:115).

### **10. Labeling**

While describing reasons of linguistic dangerous, Heidegger says: language is the most dangerous because it is the creator of a potential danger; a danger threatening the human existence through whatever exists". This danger could lead to disappearance of beings' how... through deceit and disillusion. These deceit and disillusion would be possible through adjective 'labeling' because "language with this could manifest the self-existence or dissuade from their existence" (Khaleghi, 2003:122-201).

One of the discourse maneuvers is omitting and rejecting "other" i.e. polarizing, depicting and assessing "we" with positive features and depicting and assessing "they" with negative values and characteristics (Mahdizadeh, 2008:56).

Propagandists often manifest their desirable topics as harmonious, good and holy and undesirable topics as inharmonious, ugly and devilish. During World War II, British and American governments, in order to intensify public opinion against Adolf Hitler, called the German government and territory as 'wild' (Lavimi, 2007:99). Western media too apply against Iran contexts like 'center of wickedness, commanded election, religious reaction, Islamic fundamentalism, repressive system, totalitarian regime, religious apartheid (Elyasi, 2005:18), war criminal, mother of terrorism, defective human rights etc. (Juneidi, 2010).

In geopolitical discourse of contemporary era, terrorism with labeling has been transformed as the most prevalent methods of making an enemy because there doesn't exist a distinguished definition of terrorism. For instance, the western discourse system names the freedom movements of Palestinians as terrorism although based on Iranian discourse, such a step, is represented as freedom-seeking and valuable. Meanwhile, according to Jacob Notre (2005:163), only a few terrorists are being caught and there are native terrorist/militant movements in most of the

countries” therefore, it is a suitable chapter/way for castigating enemy.

The significant point is that there are people in every system of discourse who try to wipe out the idea of the imaginary enemy from peoples’ mind through illustrating and revealing the hidden hands. However, they transform themselves ostracize and some time as un-selfless with different labeling that are affixed to them by representation system, what according to Johnson internal strength of national government makes other internal supposition more complex than the supposition of government of a rival nation (Yorqasan & Huang Chen, 2008). For example, we can point to labeling “spy of western imperialism” that were affixed to thinkers opposed to the Soviet system (Atotyle et al., 2001:127).

### **11. Distinguishing**

Based on this, discourses tell people that they should not think only like enemy rather even they must not use any institution or symbol related to enemy; must not walk like enemy, must not use a particular means used by enemy, must abstain from wearing dresses similar to enemy etc. Taking into account the same, some of the seven-folded rules have been compiled in the *Animal Farm* (Orwell, 1945):

- a) Enemy is that has two feet;
- b) None of the animals wear dress;
- c) None of the animals sleep on bed;
- d) None of the animals booze.

### **12. Retroversion**

Only few of minor repairs and messages are impudent to tactically turning upside down to this limit (Fallahi, 2006:79). Experts on representation politics, simply by manifesting the reality in reversed way near audience popularize unreal, altered and wrong information among them hence; imprint wrong and unreal image on their minds. According to Peterson, media through screening, distortion and retouching, paint white information into black, ugly into beautiful, occupation into liberty,

freedom movements into terrorism etc (Suri, 2006:77). More than that media transform our understanding from the reality. Mental operators, with the application of excitements and sentimental atmosphere governing over the audience, attract their attention to the propose context and information. It must be noted that these false and deceitful information on one side are convincing and apparently substantiated and on the other side are presented in a way that the audience hardly be able to distinguish the truths (Akhbari, 2003:36).

Film '300' is an evident example of West's efforts in manifesting inverted truths of the Iranian nation. Despite being imaginary and fictional, this film, explicitly with inverted tradition and unilaterally follows a framework in forming a new tradition and historical reality for present generation and with the application of audio-visual attraction try to sketch inverted reality from the Iranian historical identity (and implicitly present Iranians) that through the application of two elements of fantasy and attraction becomes difficult to identify the real and imaginary boundaries. One of the most projected and unfair judgments of this film are that it sketches civilized Iranians as demons and devil. In this film, the army of the Iranian empire under the leadership of Khashayar, has been exhibited as the army of Satan and the faces of some of the personalities have been shown as cruel just like scientific-fictional films (Juneidi, 2007:3).

This film, though highlights Iranians as savage, ignorant, cruel and uncivilized, it introduces Spartans as powerful, zealous and brave people who fight for freedom and despite the fact that they are certain they will die, they resist until the last drop of their bold hence; they provide ground for the defeat of Iranian army and the establishment of democracy.

### **13. Projection**

Soren and Tankard, two theorists of communication science with a review of media literature and especially radio showed that projection is the most prevalent methods used in media. They, referring to Court Ling and Glares, pioneers of media projection hypothesis, write:

“Collective media impel attention to particular topics. They sketch public image out of political faces. They often propound a topic that public opinion must inevitably think about it. Roger and Dearing consider projection as a process that through public medium is transferred its diverse lateral effects to audience (Ardestani, 2005:26).

Kanvershi believes that nations can be defined to the extent on the basis of “supposition”. By this, faults and mistakes of adjacent nations, in a way, are manifested bigger and emphasized that the strength and values of the evident nation are consolidated (Jones et al, 2004). For instance, the West, with projecting the context like backwardness and petrification, prejudice and rudeness, wickedness and war mongering, madness and extremism, supporter of terrorism and suppressor of women in the framework of eastern representation try to project itself as center of development and innovation, facilitation and patience, peace loving, rational and responsible, victim of terrorism, freedom of women etc.

#### **14. Negativity and positivity**

In this method, media try to paint all messages from rival in negative and their own desirable messages in positive. For instance, racists try to prove the superiority of their race by giving negative values and authenticity to other races. With this method, fascism has profited making it basis of propaganda. In fascism, being stranger and rival are automatically counted indecent and the same indecency of each rival message becomes fertile ground for propaganda of fascism (Zureq, 1947:126). In this connection, Gavels writes:

“As long as, we ---national socialists-- are convinced that we are right, it is impossible we would allow anyone except ourselves to assert rationalism. If other is legitimate, inevitably, he is a national socialist. But if he is not a national socialist, it is impossible he will be right (Nasr, 2006:129).

America, especially in the last half a century, has evidently applied this method to impose its dominance upon the world. Even, one of the most important geopolitical reasoning-American expansion must be affected by this method, a reason that believes the aim and objective of

America on a big scale is “the desire of all humanity”. For example, President Truman, like imperialistic geo-politicians of pre-cold war era had self-deduction of the world and using abbreviated cliché “free world” and “world comes out of servitude” was trying to create the context of “black” and “white” in the international politics. According to Truman Doctrine (that was submitted to Congress in March 1947), the world in the aftermath of the war could be considered global that from political and geographical point of views has been divided into a free world (West), slave world (Communist block) and the world attached to the governmental systems that are compelled to join either of these two worlds (Moir, 2000:325). Truman, by this way, was trying to legitimize American imposed democracy. The climax of his opinion was:

“in the current circumstances, almost every nation has to choose from the way of life of one...that selection however is not free. The effort is to select among two ways of life i.e. freedom against dictatorship (Atotyle et al. 2001:199).

The climax of the representation of black and white can be observed from the expressions of George W. Bush after the incidents of September 11, 2001: “Whomsoever not with us, they are against us’ (Kirsten and Sidki, 2005).

According to Semir Amin (2005:111): North Americans have reached to the point that they consider themselves as chosen ones. In practice, this is the same as Nazis called themselves “nation of lord”. There is a danger that we are encountering today and with the same reason, American imperialism (not empire) is much harsher...”

## **15. Discursive Closures**

Being historic is the evident feature and indicator of Foucault’s discourse. Consequently, historical condition plays fundamental role in the existence of a discourse. In other words, it may be impossible to know the nature of a discourse except in the shadow of outside element and its historical course and condition. By this way, Foucault manifests phenomenon and affair that are interpreted of lacking history and shows

that knowledge is related to time and space (Tajik, 2000:11).

But, some of the discourses, without taking into account of historical circumstances of the formation of other discourses, put to comparison with own. On that basis, they use to judge people and then propound that the discourse cannot be made at all with such an enemy hence; block all types of exchanges between discourses.

They emphasize on the point that a man has constant in statement. They believe that change of faith that has incompatibility with the intention of earthly god must be reprimanded, neglected and destroyed like breaking tradition and desiring review in the official and traditional revealed religion. Here, the firm belief means firmness in obedience and continuance of dominance. Interestingly, with the blessing of obedience, thousands of wickedness are cleansed and without it thousands of goodness. It is not suitable if a writer intends to wind up imaginary boundaries between 'we' and 'they' and the label of writer encounter 'bad' hence, not only his present and later writings become bad rather whatever has been written and said before too will be spoiled. Therefore, theoretical views like Giddens (1994) consider the efforts of cultural principalists and fundamentalists dangerous for representing closed cultural spaces and abstaining from entering to harmonious and conversant public space.

## **16. Selecting Bad from Worse**

Some times, designers of rational propagation assert that the chosen procedure though is undesirable but other probable option gradually ends to a worse conclusion. This technique is usually employed to explain the need of sacrifice and self-disposition or legitimizing rude and hated steps, that has caused annoyance and dissatisfaction of the targeted population (Najm, 2005:50-51). For instance, in the *Animal Farm*, it has been pointed that although there is problem in administering the farm but still better than the time when the farm was under Mr. Jones. And, the most important than others was that the return of human being will be prevented. In the meantime, famine, problems related to windmill,

slaughtering and internal cleaning of animals to forged labeling of collaboration with snowball (internal opposition leader) had no importance. Suggesting such a belief in the minds of self-audience makes the dominance process easy in the form of representation. The most evident point that such a method has much efficiency in the integrity of the system.

### **17. Using Signs and Symbols**

American defense statute no. 3-05/301 on tactics, techniques and methods of psychological operation explains symbol as audio and visual tool that is applied for transfer, verification or evolution of exhortation. The conditions to make each symbol effective are 1) distinguishable, 2) meaningful, and 3) transferable. In this regard, message to the targeted audience in essence itself is a hidden symbol. One of the samples of evident common symbol is the flag of Palestine. Flag's red color symbolizes the blood of martyrs, green symbolizes the fertile Palestinian soil, white is a symbol of peace and the black is symbol of occupation of the Palestinian territories. Hiro (1999:187) about the use of symbols by the Palestinians from the symbols in their own slogans [in the process of enemy discourse], writes:

“Map and flag of Palestine and a piece of arm are always seen in their slogans. Likewise, image of an eagle is another aspect there. Caricatures of Shamir as donkey, Rabin as monkey and Ariel Sharon in the form of elephant were sketched on dustbin buckets. Other anti-Zionist images included: a machine gun that opens fire toward the Israeli flag and a sword that cuts the David Star into two halves”

Symbols play important role in the process of enmity and hate towards the imaginary enemy, especially those who always encounter with their rivals.

### **18. Media Credibility**

When public media reflect a particular subject or topic, in reality, they transfer part of their credibility with that subject and the audience too

take in a way that the propounded subject possibly was of much importance that the proposed media had reflected and if it had no importance or credibility, it could not have included by the media. To this process, Morton and La Zaresfeld call them “bestowing social credibility of media to the topic” or “granting social status” (Mehrdad, 2001:82). “Their” enmity (false enemy) with “we” is a topic that often published in media as enemy discourse. For instance, Noam Chomsky believes that one should not surprise as why the article of Samuel Huntington is center of attraction in parties and hundreds of books and articles have been written about it in almost all living and semi-living languages in the world. According to him, there is a problem [like producing assumed enemy] that must be part of the mentality of Americans and imprints on their mental crusts like loose stone. There is another problem too that is published amidst the pages of certain newspapers but there isn’t necessity to project them because it should not occur to peoples’ mind or if published following to the principles of democracy and freedom of expression then it must not temper on peoples’ mind (Jazayeri, 2003:470).

### **19. Humiliating and Ridiculing**

Humiliation and ridiculing “others” by using satirical stories, funny caricatures etc are considered the most understandable tools as well as meaningful and targeted for different strata of society. Meantime, with sarcasm and ridiculing, possibly the targeted audience could lose their mental balance and would recourse to sensational and irrational steps (Joneidi, 2010) that facilitate the process of enmity. For instance, one can point to publications of insulting caricatures and screening humiliating films in the West like “sedition” angered part of Muslims and forced to set flags and other symbols of western countries ablaze. This is an aspect which is not understandable by a large number of people in the west and as a result helps in boosting enmity process.

## **20. Creating Fear and Terror**

This is an old saying that fear is brother of death. Considering this famous phrase, one can say that the fear is a war tool that targets the mind (Husseini, 2004:33). A method resorting to fear (geopolitical discourse of imaginary danger), is often used against an imaginary enemy by internal mob. Gobles often uses phrases from Theodore Kaufman who had said: Germany must be destroyed. Gobles therefore stressed that the rivals are after the destruction of Germans. Today, the American authorities, with the repeated exhibition of films and symbols of 9/11, try to inflict in the mind of Americans fear and terror and similarly hate toward other (Islam). For instance, 1976 film “network” that bagged four Oscars, remembered Arab news anchors as old extremists that gradually take control of America (Juneidi, 2010).

## **21. Disinformation**

Under this method, the truth is intertwined with lie and deceit and the propaganda aspect is manifested in the minds of audience. Jacob Notre (2005) explains disinformation as the utilization of wrong information for bad manifestation of enemy. For example, on June 25, 1950 i.e. the day of the Korean War, a top American defense official declared: an interesting incident has occurred, North Korea has attacked the South”. Immediately after the publication of this news and the same day, the American jets dropped 300 bombs on the North Korean capital, Pyongyang. Since this step was taken without direct and official decree and only due to the single axial place of American media, an unprecedented psychological war of America began against the North Korean government. Hollywood films, too, after two days of war, reproduced and distributed three thousand copies of the Korean engagement. For a period, it was misconceived that the war was initiated by the North Korea, although it was not the reality and America used the absence of Soviet Union and China so that it could get a UN Security Council resolution approved against the so-called North Korean offense

against the South (Moradi, 2003:103). It is certain that the aggressive manifestation of North was to imprint anti-North sentiments on the mind of peoples of South Korea and the West. However, the impartial representation of Pyongyang as an initiator of the war intensified the hate and anger of North Koreans against South Korea and the West.

## **22. Delusive Generalization**

Generalization means building a particular belief or policy so that an audience can accept the proposed belief or policy without going through witness or reasons (Lavimi, 2007:103). For example, in the initial reports on the incident of 9/11, the most important aspect that remained absent in other print and electronic media, was the real motives behind the enmity with America. Although, a famous article entitled “why they hate us?” was published with response to these aspects: America is wealthy and “they” don’t like it; America is advanced and “they” don’t like it; America is democratic and “they” don’t like it. None of the articles, however, could point out towards more deep intentions behind the enmity with American policies and it was not explained that all opponents of American policies identically were not the planners and attackers of the Twin Towers. Every walnut is round but not everything that is round is a walnut. Likewise, attackers were anti-Americans but every anti-American is not sympathetic to attackers (Balazadeh, 2008:111-12). The White House propaganda planners often utilize the delusive generalization in order to produce “other” discourse. For instance, during his speech to the US Congress in January 2002, George W. Bush declared Iran, Iraq and North Korea as an “Axis of Evils”---a phrase that lacks distinguished definition. However, the aim of Bush from affixing this phrase to these three nations was that he could redefine America’s anti-terrorism arena in a way that the so-called war on terror of America not only limited to Taliban and al-Qaeda rather other countries too have been taken into account as targets in America’s foreign policies (Benes, 2003:179).

### **23. Color Politics**

Color, as an important element, has always effective on social understanding. According to Kate Smith, using colors, one can transfer feelings like anger, hate, love, happiness and even belief to audience. Cool colors, as a whole, are soothing or tranquilizing and are more preferred among people (Zamani & Alimohammadi, 2006:21).

Researchers of representation politics and political geographers, in preparing maps, use cool and warm colors to show weakness and despicableness or strength and greatness of countries. For instance, a country, in order to humiliate its neighbor, can depict it with pink color. Yellow color is difficult to be analyzed easily and is a sentimental one. Despite being considered warm, the yellow color often causes anger and in a map, it can be used to point a rival country and it automatically inspires the mind of the proposed audience toward an imagined enemy (Juniedi, 2010).

### **24. Using False Cartographic Technique**

Sversky was not the first person who gave importance to the geopolitical map rather German geo-politicians, prior to him, could use the false cartography with elegant difference as a propaganda tool whereas Pole Jane Kowalewski who worked with British intelligence and was much afraid of the Soviet expansion described as how different outlooks in the form of diverse cartographic images could impact an strategic image with much intensity.

Moir (2000), referring from Anderson in describing “map-as-log” emphasizes on the role of cartography in creating “we” and “they” thoughts:

“Maps of British Empire usually depict the British colonies with red slanting to pink color, the French colonies with purple blue, and the Dutch colonies with yellow slanting to brown color. With such coloring, each of the colonies seemed like a separable piece of a puzzle chart. With normalizing of deduction from map-as-log, it came possible so that each piece of it could be separated completely from its geographical text. By

this way, map became reproducible and was transferred to posters, official stamps, front pages of books and journal, hotel walls etc.

## **25. Geopolitical Metaphors**

In the system of discourse what usually link topics, subjects, articles and the real discourses, metaphor is one of the important among them. It has been distinguished now that metaphors often consider parts of ultra principles. Since, language is bearer of culture, bespeaks of cultural contexts and attachments. Likewise it has symbolic strength and cultural potential (Rasool, 1998:89).

George Leecauff and Mark Johnson in their book remember metaphors to which we live with. Metaphors play important role in formation, expansion and continuation of the imaginary enemy discourse. Gambino (1973), in analyzing from irresponsible language, counts different types of pure words—relief explanations is one of them, description that are much used for transferring blameworthy behavior to acceptable behavior. Using purifying word powers even can present the most hateful man slaughtering (Safier, 1979). When workers talk about action on agreement, the offence is changed in the form of admirable words to respectable dutiful. For example, terrorists consider themselves as freedom fighters and interpret bombing operations as a sharp operative knife that must cut part of body of patient. Likewise, civilians who are killed during such bombings are called as collateral damage. In another example, in the metaphor “war as treatment” in the second Persian Gulf War, the enemy was compared as cancer in advancing stage and that American attack must stop it through a type of operation. In this war, Bush principally was using two metaphors “savage” that reflected Iraq as a threat for neighbors and “globalization” that called for the need of the support of America by other countries in forming anti-Saddam coalition (Zang, 2006:32).

## **26. Message Repetition**

From psychological point of view, repetition is very effective in

expanding propaganda and making the imaginary enemy firm in the minds of audience. The propaganda minister of Hitler tells about this as:

“Its evidence that square exists in a circle, such that along with essential repetition and mental identification of audience, these are not impossible. Apart from all, what are square and circle? They are not mere words rather they could adjust them in a way that they disguise beliefs” (Pratkanis & Aaronson, 2000:63-64).

Repetition of a subject hence; creating memory also has unseen application and a large number of people are unaware of. In other words, the created memory causes audience in analyzing incidents and choosing news in a desirable way of researchers and enforcers of representation politics. An audience, who is under the influence of repeated news, has much inclination to other news in this field and how often analyzes news related to other issue in relation to this issue. The power of enmity of the United States during cold war era with the application of continuous repetition of preventive slogans against communism was to the extent that years before the disintegration of Soviet Union, a large number of Americans considered communism and Soviet Union as their enemies and imagined that American is passing through a big crisis (Hamdi-ul-Hajjar, 2003:64).

Sir Jgacotin in his famous work entitled “Political Propagation, a Means for Aggression to People” writes:

Using means of communication, through repetition of symbols and slogans, a big mass of human being can be constructed, a fresh behavior could be manifested among them and they could be moved to a desirable direction (Juneidi, 2007:15).

On this basis, we witness a remarkable increase of newspaper coverage on Islam and Muslims in the post 9/11 incidents. Research of Whitaker (2002) has indicated unusual growth of articles containing the term Muslims (before and after 9/11). These findings have been gathered by the Islamic Rights Commission which is also indicated in Table1:

Table 1: Articles containing the term “Muslims”

Newspapers	2000-2001	2001-2002	Growth percentage
Guardian	817	2043	250
Independent	681	1556	228
Times	535	1486	278
Daily Telegraph	417	1176	282
Daily Mail	202	350	322
Daily Mirror	164	920	561
Daily Express	139	305	219
Sun	80	526	658
Daily Star	40	144	360

Undoubtedly, in the newspaper especially Guardian and Independent, a remarkable growth of the terms like Islam and Muslims have been seen in both pre and post-9/11, however, the above terms have been increasingly used in a large number of dailies (Saeed, 2007).

### 5. Analysis & Conclusion

Results of the proposed research indicate that:

1. Acknowledging that the representation is meaning production under a contextual and discourse framework thus; the discourse chain lead us to the fact that we know all kinds of representation delivering a discourse list that constructs a particular meaning from “other” so that they produce and organize that relation afresh.
2. Our language could use signs and symbols that point to things, people and incidents in the real world and imply on them. Between language and the real world, there exist no simple, reflective, imitative relations. Language doesn't perform as a mirror. Optional ideal subjects between symbol and meaning are comprehensive for representative theory and the cultural identification. If relation between symbol and meaning is a kind

of a particular social agreement of historical society and moments, then it can be said that the imaginary enemy is produced from history and culture.

3. Discourse is not adorned on firm shape and essence hence, boundaries between “we” and “they” are often shaky and ranks and positions based on self and selflessness are in the process of downfall like the absence of partisan thought between Americans and Russians after the disintegration of Soviet Union. In other words, rivalry is an unstable and enduring process where kind and name of enemies are constantly changed.

4. Discourses with the application of lingual and media representation are in the process to produce desirable geopolitical tale and imagination in the minds of people. They try that with applying lingual power we could look at the world merely as black (other) and white (self). Today, messages that reach us through media, they form our knowledge and mental images from the outskirts world. No one can claim that this image is an exact, complete and lucid. News and events that reach us, passes through filter and one doesn't know what they do with the contents. Leaving some news unsaid, giving part of truth or its distortion, making event bigger or smaller, time selection and the manner of arranging or polishing a subject or even the type of media carrying those messages encounter news with different action and reaction circles. In this way, it can be said that an altered image from the outskirts world is being sketched for us. Sensor, self-sensor, pressure groups, personal inclinations, individual tastes, group profit, spatial and temporal limitations, limitation on decision-making opportunity, particular techniques of geographical, political, economic journalism are some of the elements that have much influence on reporting and communication by news networks in a way that barbed wires between mentalities “we” and “imaginary enemy” are more elevated than before.

5. One of the pre-assumptions and hypotheses of Foucault's discourse analysis is that there is a hidden reality in each discourse but none of the discourse has a complete truth. Therefore, a discourse cannot be sketched as an absolute reality or absolute evil. However, paramount discourse always claims that the cruelty and ruthlessness never initiated from “we”

rather accomplished by “they”.

6. Results of this research showed that political actors and media institutions have used different related methods including: inhuman representation of rivals, excessive prevalence, selectivity, transition, releasing part of truth, projection, identicalization, resorting to war, labeling, distinguishing, retroversion, projection, negativity and positivity, discursive closures, selecting bad from worse, using two factual news to legitimize a false one, using signs and symbols, media credibility, humiliating and ridiculing, creating fear and terror, disinformation, delusive generalization, color politics, using false cartographic technique, geopolitical metaphors, message repetition so that they could produce and fix the idea and imagination of imaginary enemy on general public opinion.

7. In sum, against the claim of Albert Einstein (1933) based on that each effort for suppression of war has led to a regretful defeat... and man itself has inclination to enmity and destruction (Johnson, 2005:45-6), authors try to emphasize that if man interpret each other as enemy it leads to representation of person or group that through the system of discourse is introduced as “other” and to paraphrasing “anti-self”. In other words, the existing enemy is not before the creation rather is constructed in the reciprocal process of discourse system that in most of the cases emerges as targeted and reciprocal. It is strange that initially the role and identity of media defined as valuable, accepted and pious among public opinion i.e. “enlightening” but in reality media have been played as tools in the hands of political actors (self or selfless) and are busy in constructing or building public opinion so that it could clear the ways for political actors to acquire power and dominance upon their rivals under the framework of democratic discourse, international human rights. In reality, they have become pervasive rather enlighten!!!! It seems the reasons of deceitful presence and role of media itself has political philosophy.

Thus, men should not be reprimand just addressing each other as enemy. Contrarily, geopolitical critics must search that with analysis and assessment of temporal power of human customs and with a discourse that is adorned with the light of truth they overthrow the imaginary

enemy discourse and restore the sharp edge and two dimensional representation politics towards the system of discourse.

However, in today's media-centric world, merely having knowledge is not enough rather men must equip with the analytical knowledge of information contents and message ..... the aspect which Mac Lohan names as media literacy. By this way, the foremost and the fundamental step for stoppage or minimizing the rate of strength of "new robber kings" who target human minds is to identify immoral and inhuman methods of representation politics and geopolitical imaginations. Authors believe that as human being embrace these methods, their minds to some extent are immunized against mental assaults and as result they would not be easily played in the hands of opportunists, profiteers and self-centered people. On the other side, employing moral and humane methods of representation politics, they can be hopeful to the expansion of truth in the present ambiguous world space---the space that due to abundance of media outlets with contradictory ideologies and aims have caused general public opinion tangled or mixed up.

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