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Media's Influence on Diplomacy: A Comparison of Past and Present Technologies

Azmat Rasul

Introduction

The mass media have been playing an active role in cultivating relationship among various nation-states. They have been an actor of tremendous importance and have been influencing all key areas. There exists a close association between diplomatic practices and media. This paper is an endeavour to understand the impact of media on diplomacy in the past and present times. The major functions of diplomacy have been to establish and maintain communication and to negotiate and bargain for tolerable agreements and other arrangements between sovereign centers of decision-making in the international system. With the technological advancements in the media industry, it has become easier for the diplomats to maintain communication in a more effective fashion. After September 11, the world has witnessed diplomatic activity of gigantic magnitude in order to foster and perpetuate an alliance against terrorist networks to avoid a future catastrophe. The media, no doubt, has played a pivotal role, but it is different from the role played by it during World Wars.

In foreign policy circles these days, one often hears that the advent of instantaneous and global technology has given the news media far greater influence in international relations than ever before, robbing diplomacy of its rightful place at the helm in the process. Observers of international affairs call it the CNN curve, and the term is not a compliment. It suggests that when CNN floods the

airwaves with news of a foreign crisis, it evokes an emotional outcry from the public to "do something." Under the spell of the CNN curve, goes this refrain, policymakers have no choice but to redirect their attention to the crisis at hand or risk unpopularity, whether or not such revision is merited by policy considerations.

This paper argues, in contrast, that satellite television, and the coming clashes in cyberspace, are but the latest intrusions of media technology on the body politic. Throughout history, whenever the political world has intersected with a new media technology, the resulting clash has provoked a test of leadership before the lessons learned were absorbed into the mainstream of politics. Eventually, the turmoil caused by a new media technology's impact on diplomacy is absorbed and forgotten, until the next media invention begins the process anew. The marvel of real-time television is that it allows constituencies to watch history being made at the same time as their leaders. Yet the enormous power of images broadcast in real time—students rebelling in Beijing, bombs falling in Baghdad a0nd Afghanistan, Marines landing on the beaches of Mogadishu, a Russian parliament being shelled by troops loyal to President Yeltsin, paratroopers descending on Haiti—is only novel to a generation raised on television. To a generation accustomed to receiving news at the speed of a steam train or sailing ship, the telegraph conferred similar wonder. Similarly, to a generation experiencing the avalanche of information available on the Internet, watching the war in Iraq via satellite television may soon seem a quaint throwback to a more innocent age—before cyberspace allowed the public to experience battle in virtual reality.

A pattern has emerged from the past clashes between new media technology and the political world, one that mitigates the power of the CNN curve. History shows that technology

revolutionizes the way in which nations and peoples interact but without impacting the core of their relations. It is almost as if the media influence diplomacy and war at the margins while keeping intact the principles that guide both. The media, empowered with a new technology, can force the agenda but do not dictate the outcome. From the printing press to the photograph, from radio to cyberspace, media technology has challenged political leaders to rise above the immediate "do something" clamor of public opinion. The changes unleashed by satellite television are no different. With nearly every new invention, diplomats complained that they no longer had time to make rational decisions, while journalists boasted of new-found power to influence public opinion. The closest mirror to the upheaval felt by diplomats amid the CNN curve is that seen more than a century earlier with the invention of the telegraph. There was a revolution.

The Past Experience

The telegraph was the first invention of communication technology in history to travel faster than the fastest form of transportation then available. Carried over electronic wires, the telegraph traveled at the speed of light, 186,000 miles per second, [1] while all the railroad train could muster was half a mile per minute, and pigeon carriers were clocked at around 35 miles per hour. The telegraph's impact was as revolutionary in the Industrial Age as that of satellite television or the computer in the Information Age. Even now, it is hard to comprehend the magnitude of the transition. In a world where communication had depended on the speed of a horse or a sailing ship or a train, messages could suddenly be received and answered almost instantly. This transition, from a leisurely pace of communication to almost instantaneous contact, most closely mirrors the changes in information technology that we are experiencing today. Looking at the telegraph as a

later generation would view the computer, one early witness said, quite simply, "Time and space are now annihilated."[2]

No other phrase appears so frequently in the literature on the history of technology. It is as if conquering time and space is a human instinct as basic as hunger or thought. "Man may instantly converse with his fellow man in any part of the world," proclaimed one of the telegraph's devotees.[3] "Is it not a feat sublime? Intellect hath conquered time," trumpeted the masthead of the Telegrapher, the official publication of the National Telegraphic Union. One Rochester newspaper wrote: "The actual realization of the astonishing fact that instantaneous personal conversation can be held between persons hundreds of miles apart can only be fully attained by witnessing the wonderful fact itself."[4] Even a congressional committee, investigating the telegraph in 1838, concluded that it meant "almost instantaneous communication of intelligence between the most distant points of the country, and simultaneously. Space will be, to all practical purposes of information, completely annihilated."[5] It is fashionable in the early years of the twenty-first century to talk about "The Information Superhighway" and its promise for global interaction. But long before satellites circled the globe, the telegraph was proclaimed, "The Great Highway of Thought,"[6] its wires "slender bridges."[7]

To nineteenth century sensibilities, there could be nothing more instantaneous, nothing more immediate, and nothing with more promise of the global village. "The chilling influences of time and distance are all gone," said Dr. George Loring, former congressman and chairman of the Massachusetts Republican Party, at a reception in inventor Samuel Morse's honor in 1871. "All mystery and doubt with regard to passing events and their influences are ended. The events occur, are received, weighed, set down in a

moment, and in a moment we pass on to the next."[8] Even before Congress approved $30,000 to test the efficacy of the telegraph, Samuel Morse's brother Sidney hailed the invention. "Your invention, measuring it by the power which it will give to man to accomplish his plans, is not only the greatest invention of this age, but the greatest invention of any age," Sidney Morse wrote to his brother in 1838. "The surface of the earth will be networked with wire, and every wire will be a nerve. The earth will become a huge animal with 10 million hands, and in every hand a pen to record whatever the directing soul may dictate! No limit can be assigned to the value of the invention."[9] What is remarkable is that these claims to greatness were heard again in 1994; more than 150 years after Sidney praised his brother's invention. "Time in this age has been collapsed, there is no time any longer," said Marvin Kalb, director of the Joan Shorenstein Barone Center on the Press, Politics and Public Policy at Harvard University. "Another concept that has been collapsed is distance. Both are gone."[10] From the beginning, the telegraph worried some intellectuals, who fretted that the faster dissemination of information by cable would somehow dilute the quality of public discourse, to say nothing of their own influence. Henry David Thoreau, in Walden, set the tone. "We are in great haste to construct a magnetic telegraph from Maine to Texas," he wrote, "but Maine and Texas, it may be, have nothing important to communicate." It is, he added, "as if the main object were to talk fast and not to talk sensibly. We are eager to tunnel under the Atlantic and bring the Old World some weeks nearer to the New; but perchance the first news that will leak through into the broad, flapping American ear will be that the Princess Adelaide has the whooping cough."[11]

Advances in communication technology inspired fears among nineteenth century leaders that they could no longer control public opinion. Even before Morse perfected the

electric telegraph, France banned the visual telegraph, or Chappe system, based on flag signals. "Just imagine what could have happened if the passing success of the Lyons silk workers' insurrection had been known in all corners of the nation at once!" argued a horrified member of King Louis-Philippe's court. It is not surprising, therefore, that in 1837, a French law was enacted imposing jail sentences and stiff fines (up to 10,000 francs) on "anyone transmitting unauthorized signals from one place to another by means of the (Chappe) telegraph machine."[12]

Russian Czar Nicholas I was likewise terrified by the telegraph's potential to spread information. Fearing that the broad use of the telegraph would prove "subversive,"[13] Nicholas turned down a contract with Morse, even though the details had already been worked out.[14] It was a strategic blunder that cost Russia dearly.[15] On the eve of World War I, Russian telegraph lines were still so rudimentary that Russian officers were forced to transmit marching orders by radio. As a result, during one of the first battles of the war, Germany learned from un-coded Russian radio broadcasts the exact location of two key Russian units. The information proved decisive in the German victory at Tannenberg.[16] Nicholas I feared the democratizing potential of information so much that he was willing to risk victory in order to keep the new technology at bay. Years later, his Communist successors would act in a similar manner while trying to outlaw the telephone.

Even as Nicholas I saw in the new technology a recipe for war, others saw the prospect of peace. "Ambassadors can utter each day the voice of the government to which they belong, and communicate the reply from that to which they are sent," Loring said. "The boundaries of states and empires may remain the same, their tongues may differ, their social and civil conditions vary, but united as they are into an international community, intimate with each other's

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wants and necessities and interests, how can they long remain antagonistic?" Such optimism about the fruits of technology attests to a naive but endearing view that the knowledge relayed by the telegraph would make nations so conversant with the national interests of their one-time enemies that war would come no more. Sadly, that has been the case neither then nor now.

History provides other examples of new communications technologies influencing public opinion. Seventy years after the invention of the printing press, Martin Luther, the founder of the German Protestant tradition and the herald of the Reformation, challenged the papal authorities with a flood of pamphlets that exploited both a new technology and a growing role for public opinion. Luther, who described printing as "God's highest and extremist act of grace, whereby the business of the Gospel is driven forward," published 30 pamphlets between 1517 and 1520 that sold over 300,000 copies.[17]

Photography made a similar entry into the political scene. Mathew Brady's photographs of the bloodshed at Antietam appeared at his gallery in October 1862, only weeks after the smoke had cleared from the bloodiest battlefield in American military history. The exhibit was a sensation. "Mr. Brady has done something to bring home to us the terrible reality and earnestness of war," wrote a New York Times correspondent on October 20, 1862. "If he has not brought bodies and laid them in our dooryards and along the streets, he has done something very like it."[18] Vicki Goldberg, author of The Power of Photography: How Photographs Change Our Lives summed up the photograph's impact this way. "The first living-room war was not Vietnam but the American Civil War. It came into the front parlor in word and picture, even in photographs, as no war had before."[19] To those who had only imagined the horrors of war, the photographs of corpses lining the

battlefield at Antietam were a shock. Every new medium has this intoxicating effect. To those listening to Edward R. Murrow describe German bombing attacks on London; the radio was as instantaneous as any CNN broadcast. None of these innovations, however, changed the essentials of politics; power remained with political leaders who demonstrated both popular appeal and strong convictions.

Role of the Political Leadership

Policymakers feel rushed to comment by the immediacy of a crisis and the mess of microphones and cameras stuck in their faces by reporters who now tread on a 24-hour-a-day news cycle. Although aided by the improved speed of communications, diplomats despair over the shift away from substance that satellite television has produced. Henry Kissinger remarked recently that diplomats seeking his advice used to ask him what they should do. "Now," he droned, "they ask me what they should say."[20] As former CIA Director Robert Gates puts it, "The aggressiveness of moment-by-moment commentary gets policy-makers in the frame of mind to answer an ambushing reporter, more than figuring out what to do."[21] Any diplomat who resists the temptation, who declines the honor of rushing to judgment by issuing a "No comment," or a "We're studying the problem," risks an avalanche to mean-spirited editorial opinion that the government in question is inept.

The truth is that diplomacy—the formal conversation between sovereign nations—has not so much been eliminated as driven underground. The meetings between the Israelis and the Palestine Liberation Organization in Norway, the visits of British government officials to Northern Ireland, the Mexican government's negotiations with Zapatista rebels from Chiapas, were all forced into seclusion by the glare of international media attention. Even the diplomatic missions of Robert Oakley to Somalia

and Jimmy Carter to North Korea and Haiti, though widely covered, were largely conducted in private. When it is important, when it is necessary, trained diplomats and even political figures can still keep secrets. In fact, the posturing required in front of the cameras after private talks can actually benefit the negotiations inside by forcing diplomats to think about public implications as they negotiate. This has long been the role of the media: to convert private musings into public policy debates.

It is simply untrue that foreign relations have been replaced by public relations. Contrary to Marshall McLuhan's edict that the medium is the message, the message always mattered more than the medium: The Ayatollah Khomeini, living in exile in Paris, used audio cassettes to spread the message of his sermons back home to Iran. East Europeans, eager for the riches and freedom of capitalism, used radio to communicate their revolution. Corazon Aquino offered videotaped messages to anyone who contributed a blank cassette to her 1986 campaign. Students in China used the fax machine to relay information about their pro-democracy movement. With Red Army tanks poised to topple a nascent democracy, St. Petersburg Mayor Anatoly Sobchak called out the faithful by computer to surround Boris Yeltsin's White House in a sea of human guards. Subdominant Marcos, leader of the Zapatistas guerrilla group challenging Mexican rule in the Chiapas region, is said to write his communiqués on a laptop computer plugged into the lighter socket of an old pickup truck.[22] Political leaders are responsible to both the professional diplomats and the public at large. History teaches that there are risks to ignoring either audience, or that these risks are exacerbated by the glare of media attention. In the face of new technology that speeds information and a sensationalist press that tries to sell it, leaders would be best served by ignoring their own press clippings. No one understood this better than Abraham

Lincoln, who did not have to contend with television cameras, radio broadcasts, cellular telephones, or even home movies. Lincoln's only burdens were the telegraph and the photograph, and a mischievous, partisan press.

Upon being elected president in 1860 with 40 percent of the vote, most of it from the North and West, Lincoln was assailed with death threats from the South. Detective Allan Pinkerton insisted that on his way to Washington from Springfield, Illinois, Lincoln should avoid Baltimore, where an assassination plot was thought to be brewing. So Lincoln, against his instincts and initial wishes, was huddled onto a less prominent train and sneaked into Washington in the middle of the night. This concession to security was mocked mightily by the Northern papers, which published scathing articles and cartoons about "the flight of Abraham." Lincoln told friends that he was embarrassed by the manner of his arrival, that he regretted not making an entrance into the divided Capitol with head held tall, in broad daylight. But neither did he wallow in pity over the incident. The cloistered arrival in Washington "was the beginning of a relentless smear campaign against 'this backward president' and his 'boorish' wife, particularly on the part of Democratic papers," writes historian Stephen Oates. "Their taunts about his crudities and illiterate manner wounded Lincoln to the core, but he never replied to such journalistic abuse, rather he tried to accept it as one of the hazards of his job."[23] That is the forbearance required of political leaders amid a media onslaught.

If history brings a conviction about the primacy of leadership, so too does it leave a certainty that technology is often feared or praised beyond its deserved legacy. To this end, mastering a new technology is a fundamental prerequisite of strong leadership. For all the thresholds crossed by new technologies, individual skills of leadership in the selling of public policy matter most.

New Trends in the Age of Satellite Television

In spite of these historic echoes, or perhaps because of them, some maintain that the current explosion of media technology is exponentially more of a burden than past inventions. The war in Afghanistan and the relief effort in post-war Iraq are widely claimed as proof that media technology is driving world events. In assessing the impact of real-time television, it is important to separate impressions from realities.

For three years, a media drumbeat from Bosnia to "do something"—to stop the bloodshed and butchery—did not compel NATO to intervene. Horrific images of bread line massacres and concentration camp victims produced a response more like a palliative than retaliation. The Serbs massacred, the West sent food to the Muslims. This pattern persisted for three years, despite the tug of heart-wrenching pictures. No better example exists of the inability of pictures to sway policy than the city of Gorazde. This Muslim town came under siege after a Serbian attack in April of 1994, and faced another devastating attack in September of 1994. In between, NATO threatened, the United Nations patrolled, the United States air-lifted food, peacekeepers abandoned their posts. If the media had dictated the outcome, Gorazde would have endured one massacre, not two. In 1995, a Serb assault on the marketplace in Sarajevo that killed 37 people, finally prompted NATO to pound Serb targets with air strikes. It is problematic to argue that television pictures produced this result, as they had not had that effect in all the bloodshed that came before. What is more likely is that it took years to build the political will to use muscle in the Balkans, despite the emotional pull of the pictures. Here again is confirmation that leadership is more telling than television.

In Somalia, too, the oft-heard chorus is that "pictures got us in, and pictures got us out." Those who hold this view argue that the vivid and wrenching images of starving Somali children forced President Bush to act, and that the equally horrible pictures of an American soldier's corpse being dragged through the streets of Mogadishu compelled President Clinton to announce a departure date for U.S. troops. The truth is more textured. If TV pictures alone compelled Bush to intervene in Somalia, then they should have had a similar impact in the Sudan, where the starvation was equally devastating, the pictures equally horrific, and, at first, equally in evidence on CNN.[24] If Clinton had wanted to use political capital to explain to the American public why the United States was in Somalia, if he had used the bully pulpit of high office to make a case that the United States had an obligation to stay, he could have countered the weight of those pictures from Mogadishu. By choosing not to expend his political capital for a cause leftover from an earlier administration, Clinton allowed the pictures to dominate. It is not inevitable, or even desirable, that leaders cede this power to television. It is also not the fault of television.

George Kennan, the esteemed diplomat who was one of the key proponents of the containment policy of the Cold War, criticized U.S. intervention in Somalia because he believed emotions evoked by television pictures were driving American diplomacy. "If American policy from here on out, particularly policy involving the uses of our armed forces abroad, is to be controlled by popular emotional impulses, and particularly ones provoked by the commercial television industry, then there is no place—not only for myself, but for what have traditionally been regarded as the responsible deliberative" voices in government, he wrote in an article written just before U.S. Marines landed on the beaches of Mogadishu. It is a fitting coda to Kennan's laments that when the Marines landed,

they encountered only one hostile group—a pack of journalists whose bright camera lights mitigated the strategic effect of the soldiers' night-vision goggles.[25] To Kennan, these cameras looked like the enemy.

The old warrior of diplomacy, who had been so prescient in predicting Moscow's aggressions during the period of superpower rivalry, was trying to warn a new generation of the dangers of television and its impact on diplomacy. But Kennan's real quarrel is not with television pictures that hit viewers in the gut but with leaders who too easily yielded to their pull. Scolding the emotionalism of the 1990s, this grand man of foreign policy may have forgotten that he was equally incensed by Franklin Delano Roosevelt's decision in the 1930s to grant concessions to the Soviet Union during negotiations over diplomatic recognition. Chiding FDR in his Memoirs for "showmanship and prestidigitation," Kennan attributes the move to "neurotic self-consciousness and introversion, the tendency to make statements and take actions with regard not to their effect on the international scene...but rather to their effect on...American opinion."[26] Then and now, politicians tend to make decisions for political reasons, with public opinion and emotion much on their radar.

Each generation is mesmerized by the innovations of its times, sure that no other generation has experienced the emotional upheaval that comes of technological change. We are in the throes of such self-indulgence now. In the most extreme example, a diplomat at the United Nations recently quipped that CNN had become "the sixth vote on the Security Council."[27] Similarly, there are already predictions that the World Wide Web will erase national borders, making governments impotent and sovereignty just a memory. What history shows, instead, is that despite the vanity of each age, journalists have always had the power to sway public opinion, and politicians have always

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blamed the news media for souring public opinion when they failed to win favor. What changes as one invention gives way to the next is the way in which the message hits home.

Conclusion

As traumatic as satellite television has been for world events, cyberspace could be even more tumultuous. Those who fear the impact on international affairs of Ted Turner's CNN might have more to worry about from Bill Gates' Microsoft. H.L. Mencken once said that the power of the press belongs to the person who owns one. In the coming era of cyberspace, everyone is a publisher, everyone is a journalist, a possibility that blurs the line of professional status.[28] If information is the currency of the Internet, then newspapers will have to compete with government offices, business interests, humanitarian groups, and outraged citizens for the public's attention. Readers who prefer to get their information from specialists will have little need for general news, or much appetite for reporters who pretend to be objective while pushing a deliberate if subtle ideological line. Eventually, the audience may be able to ignore the "professional" journalists completely. Online chat rooms already form at the drop of a crisis, as readers reach out to one another for information instead of the traditional sources of news.

For diplomacy and international relations, the medium of cyberspace, like journalism, is a mixed blessing. With this new technology, the potential is enormous for global interaction, and with it common understanding—or at least more information. Already, sophisticated governments and savvy political figures are making use of the Internet's global component, the World Wide Web, to reach former adversaries and attract new investors. Quick to seize the

new medium's advantages, the Israeli Foreign Ministry is one of the many political agencies around the world to have set up an Internet address. Computer users can call up a news service that includes selected newspaper articles translated from Hebrew to English, speeches by Israeli politicians, and reports on the Tel Aviv Stock Exchange. "It's a very large discussion group in the global village," said Martin Peled-Flax, a ministry official, who estimated that 700 people browse through the service daily. "In the new realities of this world, information travels at the speed of light. And it doesn't need a passport."[29]

Soon governments will no longer have the stage to them but will be competing against interest groups and non-governmental organizations, against newspapers, local cultural groups and corporate advertisers. One potential pitfall for leaders dealing with cyberspace, a place that does not exist except for the lines of communication between people, is that this type of communication makes unified national experiences rare occurrences. An assassination, a famine, an earthquake, or a terrorist attack may bring people to their screens to peruse the latest news, but marshaling public opinion for national purposes like war or economic sacrifice will likely be even more difficult than it is now. Already television networks are ignoring requests for air time and newspapers relegate the comments of top leaders to their back pages. These are tacit acknowledgments that information is decentralizing, that national governments are less relevant, that we are, as Walt Wriston, the former chairman of Citicorp, puts it, in "the twilight of sovereignty."

Perhaps that is why the O.J. Simpson trial riveted national and even international attention, becoming one of the few unifying experiences of 1995. Or perhaps the murder trial of an ex-football star accused of slaying his ex-wife and her friend was the ultimate paean to cultural icons made in

America. The Americanization of international culture began long before the O.J. Simpson trial: blue jeans and rock music were in some sense at the heart of Eastern Europe's revolution in 1989, a flight from the rigid bore of communism to the liberation of travel and dance. Madonna and Big Mac are to this day the best-known exports of American culture. O.J. Simpson was only the latest. The problem with real-time television is not that it Americanizes the international agenda or makes celebrities of questionable characters, but that it encourages no feeling for context or for background; in a word, for history.

It is this legacy of a historicism, this depicting of a double-murder case in a rich neighborhood in California as "the trial of the century"—as if Nuremberg were just a city in southeast Germany rather than the site of court proceedings against Nazi war criminals—that poses the greatest danger for policymakers, in the field of international as well as domestic affairs. Whether broadcast on real-time television or discussed in virtually real chat rooms, events without history are merely "photo shops." The antidote to mindless or sensational journalism is not to blame the messenger but to influence the message. Whether the subject is ethnic rivalry in Bosnia or murder trials in Los Angeles, satellite television requires a voice of authority to set the record straight. Communication has long been at the heart of leadership. Nothing in technology's charter changes that equation.

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Historical Perspective of New World Order in Twentieth Century

Iqtidar Karamat Cheema

Twentieth century has been described as a century of conflicts. The master minds at the helms of affairs in Europe repeatedly painted the World Canvas with gruesome wars costing millions of lives. The first quarter of 20th Century is characterized by conflicting theories on the impact upon international power play, of sea power, land power and air power. The second quarter witnessed Hitler putting some of these theories in practice with the results that destabilized the world for decades. The third quarter witnessed the world peace held to ransom by two rival philosophies – Capitalism and Communism – ideologies which superceded nationalism at the apex of the their clash. The last decade of the Century is witnessing a phenomenon in the shape of 'New World order' emerging from the debris of the erstwhile bipolar world, following the demise of communism and breakup of former Soviet Union.

The US approach on world affairs is essentially governed by her geo-strategic compulsions. Two mighty oceans protect America's eastern and western shores. Canada in her north and the countries in South America do not pose a danger to her security.

The ideas which influenced directly or indirectly the American politicians and strategists to formulate its policy towards the world are taken from geo-political philosophers like Mahan, Mackinder and Spykman.

In the clutter of 20th Century intellectuals two names stand out : Mahan and Mackinder. Both belonged to the determinist School and appeared at the turn of the century.

Mahan was lauded for his famous treatise titled "The influence of sea power upon History" published in 1890. Barely had united states started building herself the world's largest navy when, in 1940, Mackinder, a British geographer negated Mahan's navalist philosophy and consolidated land oriented strategies prevalent in continental nations. Other theories, such as Spykman's Rimland theory emerged in the United States which determined the American strategic pattern of encirclement of former Soviet Union. The ideas of these philosophers influenced major political actors of this Century directly of indirectly shaping the destiny of the world.

The colonial epoch was already coming to an end when Mahan, an officer of the United States Navy, stated the significance of overseas trade, the importance of Naval and commercial fleets and the value of protected Naval and commercial harbors form where these fleets could operate. Mahan emphasized the role that a power full Navy could play in securing colonies, in protecting commercial trade and in winning wars. **(1)**

The strategical and political implications and impression gained from MAHAN's writings was that, large battle fleets, and a concentration of force, decided control of the oceans, that guerre de course (the strategy of commerce raiding) was always ineffectual; that the blockade was a very effective course which sooner or later brings an enemy to his knees; that the select bases on Islands or continental peripheries was more valuable than control of large land masses.

Mahan's philosophy of sea power had won instant recognition and acceptance in professional Naval and diplomatic circles. His views on the value of overseas bases did influence strategic decisions. For instance, in the Island hopping strategy in the South pacific in World War II,

deprived the Japanese of operating bases in the far East and brought victory to Mac Arthur. (2) Strategic might of the great powers does not reside entirely in its maritime power. Had it ever resulted in a show down, the geographic location of former Soviet Union would have made it impossible for the allies to defeat the Union from the Sea alone.

Sir Halford John Mackinder, a British geographer was the person who first invited attention to the fact that the Columbian epoch, the period of four centuries of overseas exploration through sea power was corning to an end. That sea power was now becoming irrelevant in case of a conflict with a power which resides deep in a continental heartland. He announced that in the past Columbian era efficiency and internal development would replace expansionism as the main of modern states. Studying the pre-requisites of a stable peace, he argued that the great pivotal area of the world – Central Russia, had great potential for economic and industrial development. This area, once the source of many invading armies, was thus likely to become the strategic center of the world. He prophesied:

> "The successful powers will be those who have the greatest industrial base. It will not matter whether they are in the center of a continent or on an Island ......"(3)

Nicholas J. Spykman (1893 – 1943), was critical of the potentialities of Mackinder's heart lands and regarded much of the Eurasian heart lands and Mongolia, as wastelands. He emphasized the role of the tier states surrounding this heartland which were fertile, full of resources, more populated and ready to absorb industrialization. To this tier, he gave the name 'Rimland' and concluded that whosoever controls the Rimland rules

Eurasia; and who rules Eurasia controls the destinies of the world.

His ideas gained popularity in Post World War II era. After World War II, Americans faced the menace of Communist expansion following the events of 1946 – 47, which may be regarded as the watershed years in the relations between the two rival philosophies.

Spykman's Rimland Theory, came to serve as the underlying principle of the US strategy of encirclement of Russia in the years following the official declaration of the "Truman Doctrine' in March, 1947. **(4)**

The 19th Century international order primarily revolved around the attempts at forging a confederation of Europe by continental powers viz Russia, Austria and Prussia. While being an ally, British diplomacy stood in sharp contrast as it aimed at maintenance of balance of power in Europe to prevent the rise of a Super-power which could threaten peace. In this era Britain played an important role, as it had large and efficient Navy. But in the second quarter of 20th Century America, took over from Britain. Washington Naval Treaty, 1925, allowed America to maintain a battleship fleet larger than all Europe combined. It was a major early success of US diplomacy. It clearly indicated that the US has taken over from Britain's role of an arbiter in world affairs. **(5)**

In the 19th Century the European confederacy, which called itself 'Holy Alliance' had ultimately assumed the self proclaimed right of armed intervention in the affairs of weaker sovereign states viz Spain and Naples. There flagrant violations of international norms were done in the name of reconciling a system of paternal supervision over a some what unruly family of nations. **(6)** While Germany led European alliance, only United States can and does

unilaterally embark upon armed intervention in small but sovereign nations, such as seen in Panama and Haiti, in the name of global peace.

Mahan and Mackinder undoubtedly had influenced the first quarter of the 20th Century on determination of force structures, military equipping and ship building programmes. Both developed their separate and conflicting sets of theories on power. Mahan's ideas form the basic tenets of pre – 1914, navalist philosophy. Mahan's world of the late colonial era with plenty of far flung lands available for acquisition has given way to a community of independent Sovereign nation states, members of United Nations, with a vote and a voice. By the same token there are no states even in the Russian heart land to be absorbed by great powers any more. Which makes Mackinder's proposals equally anachronistic.

The World has, at the end of the twentieth Century again caught up with Woodrow Wilson's idealism of peace and security. In 1950s, John Morton Blum wrote that:

> "Wilon's was a nineteenth century
> intelligence, obsolescing at a rapid rate" (7)

At the end of World War I, the World had moved beyond the familiar and optimistic world of the 19th Century, but Wilson had not. He had clung instead to the regnant liberal beliefs in man's essential reasonableness; in the power of public opinion; in the inevitably of progress as mediated through the working of liberal, political and economic institutions. These beliefs had been challenged and very nearly discredited by the war and post-war years Wilson's world of peace and prosperity had vanished. Yet in the last decade of the twentieth century that world appears to have been resurrected. The conviction increasingly grows today.

That history is going to resume the course it was pursuing before 1914.

The collapse of liberal internationalism inevitably affected the standing of the statesman who was considered to be its spiritual father. On the left a revisionist historiography arose in which Wilson was seen as the prime architect in this century of an expansionist strategy to create a liberal capitalist world order. At the time this estimate was partly shared by the right. Although there was little doubt among conservatives about American power, there was a pervasive doubt about the attraction that American ideals of freedom held for most of the world. Self determination, the achievement of political independence, had not been followed by the triumph of free institutions.

Wilson believed that peace is indivisible, just as he believed that only a democratic world is a truly peaceful world.

In the Wilsonian vision, an international order, based on the principles of the consent of the governed, equality of right and freedom from aggression is joined by the idea of American leadership. It was Wilson who made this leadership an essential condition of American participation in the international system. America was elevated to become the leader of the nations. Wilson believed not simply because of its material power, not even because it was freedom's exemplar, but because it was the nation of idealists. **(8)**

Wilson appeared to believe, that war, and the necessities regularly alleged to attend war's conduct, held out the greatest threat to the very institutions and values in defence of which it might be waged. As nothing else did, war introduced in to democratic societies the elements of their corruption. Wilson's defence of collective security did

not contradict his view of war. He did not believe that force was a critical element of a system of collective security. Indeed, the concert of power that such a system represented was in his view an alternative to war. By joining the league of Nations, he insisted,

> "we would take the one path affording an
> escape from the threat of recurrent wars". (9)

In his attempt to fashion a lasting peace, Wilson failed. The vision he set forth for transforming the world went unrealized. The old politics returned with a vengeance in the years between the two world wars. He sought nothing less than a transformation of the international system. In place of politics characterized by inequality and sanctioned by force, he strove, to substitute a politics based on the principles of freedom and equality. He had vainly sought to establish an international order that would prevent the recurrence of the catastrophe of world war I. He repeatedly, warned that if the American nation did not play a role – leading role – in this new order, if it did not accept the responsibility, an even more terrible war would occur. It all came to pass just as he had prophesized, it would. In this view, Wilson represented a ' higher realism'.

Wilson was the supreme realist because he saw more clearly than any one in his time, that the old politics with its parochial interests, its inequalities, its obsession with balancing power, and its reliance on force would have to give way to a new politics of inter dependence, greater equality, less concern with power equilibrium and a reliance on peaceful means to settle disputes. Then, and subsequently, Wilson's critics persisted in labeling his vision as lacking in realism. For realists thought 'mainly in strategic and material terms' President Wilson was a realist of a different sort, because his realism was more perceptive and more in accord with ultimate reality.

29

Wilson's failures were failures only of the moment, for in them were laid the foundations of future achievements, that had a transforming effect on history.

Wilson saw the league as the most significant achievement of his life. It formed the constitution of the New World Order. It expressed his hopes for the world and for America's relationship with it. The league was the most important expression of Wilson's realism in state craft.

In submitting the Versailles treaty to the Senate, Wilson declared:

> "A war in which (the people) had been bled white to beat the terror that lay cancelled in every balance of power must not end in a mere victory of arms and a new balance. The monster that had resorted to arms must be put in chains that could not be broken" (10)

The peace treaty, above all the provisions containing the league of Nations, formed those chains.

America's relationship with the world was made to depend upon how the world was organized. America would abandon its historic position and policy; but it would do so only through membership in the league of Nations. It was only through the league, Wilson insisted, that the American might take up a new role in the world.

League's convenant laid out a procedure for the peaceful settlement of disputes. It obligated the members to take non-military sanctions of a comprehensive sort – the severance of all trade and financial relations and the prohibition of all inter course – against a member resorting to war in violation of this procedure. And in Article X, the members under took to protect each other against armed

aggression. Wilson's major contribution to the covenant was this provision which obligated the members;

> "to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and political independence of all members".

Wilson declared of League's Article X that,

> "All the wrongs of the world, have their roots in the seizure of territory or the control of the political independence of other peoples". (11)

The league council was to advise members on the means of fulfilling the commitment that Wilson believed "cut at the very heart of the old system'.

This was Wilson's blue print for transforming the old system and substituting a community of power in place of a balance of power. The league would put an end to militarism and imperialism. It would provide the means not only for achieving a lasting peace. The America's post-war role certainly bore little resemblance to Wilson's vision. In rejecting the Versailles treaty, America rejected and refused to take any responsibility for upholding the post-war territorial settlement in Europe.

There is little evidence that the public was disposed to back the kind of commitment that was only made thirty years later in the wake of world war II, when a direct threat was posed to Europe by a victorious and hostile Soviet Union. Only in creating the Western Alliance in 1949, did the United States make the sort of commitment in time of peace. If this commitment had been made after world war I, it would have changed the course of history.

America committed itself in a manner which was opposed by Wilson. America's post-world war II policy embraced the means of the old diplomacy. Containment had, as its essential feature, the organization of power to counter power. In the pursuit of a stable balance of power, an alliance system was created and sustained over a period of four decades. All this can be seen as a vindication of Wilson's realism. In terms of means employed, America's cold war policy was a rejection of Wilson's vision. Bush's vision of a New World Order gives a role to force that is very for removed from the vision that Wilson entertained.

In George Bush's vision of a 'New World Order' we appear to have a reply of sorts of Woodrow Wilson's vision of a World Order.

Originally Bush administration adopted 'beyond containment' as its foreign policy watch word in 1989. According to Don oberdorfer, the concept of a 'New World Order' was originally conceived by the president George Bush and his national security advisor, Brent Scowcroft during the President's vacation at Kennebunk port on August 23, 1990. Just after the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait. (12)

The idea behind this concept was to assess the US Options to deal with the Gulf Crisis.

> 'the broader ramifications of what we were doing and what it might mean, (13)

In reference to the historical context of the US foreign policy, the concept of a New World Order is comparable to the 'Concept of Containment'; more so on account of the perceived US global roles and responsibilities with the rise and fall of the communist world.

Like Wilson's vision, Bush's world order vision also emphasise the guarantee of sovereignty and territorial integrity, of small and great states, of the world. The peace of the world is to be maintained and democratic societies are to be made safe against the threat of arbitrary power, by a universal system of collective security that substitutes a community of power for a balance of power.

More over, the circumstances attending the present vision appear far more favorable than those that marked the past vision. It is not only that democratic ideals have triumphed today to a degree far beyond an earlier period, equally important, the position of American leadership that Wilson's vision of world order assumed has also been realized. After America's dominance in the world in the wake of disappearance of Soviet power, a conception of international order with which this century has dealt harshly was revived in the gulf war in 1991.

It was revived by the war not because a true community of power suddenly materialized where none had existed before, but because a hegemonic power emerged, where before there had been balance of power. The 'New World Order' proclaimed by Bush was not an order of collective security in the sense that champion's of that system had always imagined. Even so, were it to persist and to develop, it would be an order that might achieve the purpose that collective security is designed to achieve.

The Truman Doctrine, in holding out the prospect of the world in which free people's might work out their own destinies in their own way, a world that would make possible the lasting freedom and independence of all nations was vintage Wilson. The same may be said about Bush's declaration at the outlet of the Gulf crisis that:

> "Every act of Aggression unpunished ....
> strengthens the forces of chaos and
> lawlessness that, ultimately threatens us all".
> (14)

According to the US official thinking, the principles that underlie the idea of a New World Order, are the same principles contained in the charter of the U.N. Us president George Bush, told an audience on April 13, 1991 that:

> "a new world order really describes, in
> regards to us, new international
> responsibilities imposed by our successes. It
> refers to new ways of working with other
> nations, to deter aggression, and achieve
> stability, prosperity, and above all, peace".
> (15)

> "The cold war's end has not, unfortunately,
> delivered us into an era of perpetual peace.
> As old threats recede, new threats emerge.
> The quest for a New World Order is, in part, a
> challenge to U.S. and the International
> Community, to find ways of keeping the
> dangers of disorder at Bay". (16)

For more than four decades, America's energies were focused on containing the threat to the free World from the forces of communism. That war is over. Soviet Union has vanished from the map and in its place new and free nations are erected. The Warsaw pact has passed in to the pages of history. Twice this century, a dream borne on the battle fields of Europe died after the shooting stopped. The dream of a world in which powers worked together to ensure peace; to settle their disputes through co-operation, not confrontation.

For Americans, the Great War was a moral crusade to establish a New World Order in which democracy would finally be safe. Even before the US entered the war, Woodrow Wilson called for a peace without victory. In a speech delivered in January, 1917 he proposed for the first time a league of peace to check aggression collectively:

> "I am proposing, as it were, that the nations should with one accord adopt the doctrine of president Monroe, as the doctrine of the world: that no nation should seek to extend its polity over any other nation or people, but that every person should be left free to determine its own polity, its own way of development, unhindered, unthreatened, unafraid, the little along with the great and powerful". (17)

New World Order as perceived by the US, includes certain concrete issues under pinning the US foreign policy in the new global structure. In President Bush's words:

> "……….where diverse nations are drawn together in a common cause, to achieve the universal aspirations of man kind; peace and security, freedom and the rule of law". (18)

Though primarily aimed at the future formulation of Us policies, the concept bore an objective, internationalistic content; the future shape of the world as Us saw it; or the sum of structural features of the post-cold war era politics with special reference to the Us approach and response towards them. At its core, the concept connoted three different but chained processes interplaying simultaneously in the new world; the shape of things after the demise of Soviet Union; the structural changes emanating from this transitional phase which led to the changed world; U.S. approach and role during this period and after.

The end of cold war meant that the East-West tussle for influence was gone, the reunification of Germany meant to reshaping the structure of security in Europe. With the process of the falling of communist regimes in Eastern Europe, an era of transitions began which took the European continent to an internal strife as in case of Yugoslavia, peaceful parting of the ways as in Czchekoslovakia, reunification of Germany or replacement of communist oriented authoritarianism by political experimentation with other forms of government. The demise of the Soviet Union led to the emergence of new realities, obsolete security arrangements, disengagement from the regional disputes like Afghanistan, Cambodia, Angola, Cuba, Nicaragua etc. The Gulf war of 1991, manifested in its after math the redundancy of the traditional balance of power in the region on one hand, and need for a new security arrangements among regional countries on the other.

In these circumstances, Bush emphasized the need for;

> "the UN to become a forum for achieving international consensus and maintain effective influence as an instrument for international peace keeping". (19)

This leads to the inference that the US sees UN to be a vehicle for promotion of her interests in the execution of the foreign policy objectives. New World Order is basically an international system in which the United States and its like mined friends, act together under the aegis of the United Nations, to preserve or establish peace by holding international law and order against aggressoes, law breakers and oppressors. Such a world order was

championed by Bush and James Baker since the collapse of Soviet Union and political changes in Eastern Europe.

Robert Oakley, in his speech had said that:

> "A new world order does not mean that nations must surrender national sovereignty or forfeit national interests. But the notion of what such an order could be, springs from hopes for a world based on shared commitment, among nations large and small, to a set of principles: peaceful settlement of international disputes, solidarity against aggression, reduced and controlled arsenals, and just treatment of all peoples". (20)

This order, this ability to work together, got its first real test in Gulf war of 1991. One of the most acute dangers posed to international peace and stability is the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, and the attention of the international community was greatly accelerated by the Gulf war, in which, it was feared that Iraq might use chemical or biological weapons delivered by missiles or other means.

The months after Iraq's invasion of Kuwait on 2nd August, 1990 President Bush spoke of a New World Order. Persian Gulf war was a test of whether the possibilities for peace and justice in international relations, that had been created by the end of cold war could be realized and even institutionalized. After the war it seemed feasible to establish a global security system, based on norms, administered by international institutions, and resting on the commitment of leading states to the maintenance of peaceful international relations. What seemed to make such a project plausible was the absence of ideological rivalry among states i.e. United States and Soviet Union.

In retro aspect, the Gulf war was an ambiguous interlude in a wider process of restructuring that had been going on since the cold war's end. The military operation organized in Washington, code-named Desert Storm, demonstrated that American defence technology was capable of defeating any formidable third world enemy within a short period. Further, the one sided out come of that Gulf War was thought to teach Islamic world perceived by many Americans as the new focus of evil in the after math of the collapse of communism – a vital lesson, that the Christian West was in control, and thus its economic and strategic interests could not be threatened by Islamic forces without dire and humiliating consequences. The results of the war also reshaped the debate over power relations after the cold war, and also with the abdication of Soviet Russia from the Super Power status, the world is understood to have come under a unipolar system of influence. There is no competition, any more between the bipolar forces in maintaining or extending their respective spheres of influences. The war also exposed the abject surrender of the UN to before the US policy requirements but also underlined the ineffectiveness of other major powers of the world in finding and asserting any alternative course of action.

As President Bush had said: Peace, security, freedom and the rule of law, like wise the New World Order had two pillars: a pillar of Democracy and a pillar of freedom from aggression. On his visit to Ukraine, Bush said that:

> "United States stands committed to a New World Order based upon what Shevchenko (21) called a new and righteous law' ---- the rule of law and the guarantee of real economic freedom, political freedom, religious freedom" (22)

"In the Gulf, we seek to demonstrate the idea that we have truly turned a age in the history of relations among nations and that the World Community, acting collectively will no longer tolerate the terror and intimidation which have blighted the International System since the time immemorial". (23)

"At the same time in Central and Eastern Europe we are seeking to demonstrate in practice the idea that free government can mean good and stable government, and that free enterprise can mean economic opportunities for all" (24)

The excitement and hopefulness of 1989, seem part of a distant past. At the time, the collapse of Berlin wall and the process of German unification were unexpected developments. These unexpected development continued and the Eastern Europe countries recovered their political independence after decades of bureaucratic grayness and cruel domestic repression. The old Soviet internal empire was superceded by fifteen independent states. These new political entities were all committed at achieving a western-style political order and market based economy. But as the bipolarity collapsed, the discipline of the bloc system also was lost. The lack of correspondence between the territorial boundaries of states and the ethnic identification of people gave rise to intense new political and ethnic conflicts. The situation in Yugoslavia was heading towards the disaster of unbound ethnic violence, given a criminal edge by genocidal Serbian actions. The New World Order did not basically arise from successful compliances and deterrence.

The New World Order as it emerged after World War II, was principally the product of a durable consensus among a sizeable number of major and smaller states. They formed various consensus, designed both to deter external actions and to promote a different kind of International conduct among themselves, i.e. to encourage political and economic co-operation and integration, expand trade and communications, resolve conflicts peacefully etc. The various associations and institutions created for these purposes like NATO, Western European Union, European community etc. proved overtime not only durable, able to withstand external challenges and internal disintegration, but also successful in promoting prosperity, political stability, and democratic freedom among the members themselves. **(25)**

These European alliances and associations in European International history are not new. In 17th and 18th Century, all alliances worked almost purely as instruments of power politics, i.e. self-defence, war and territorial expansion. These associations lasted only as long as they served the special interests of the contracting parties. The 19th and 20th Century alliances were more durable, but still normally served the power – political ends of defence against and acquisition of special advantages. Because they primarily served the special interests, their very durability and reliability, and the resultant rigidity of alliance systems, became a prime cause of war, especially World War I. **(26)**

The late 20th Century has seen durable international alliances and associations of a new kind, directed not simply against common dangers, but also for constructive purposes. They were more durable and reliable. It is this startling change in the structure, purposes and uses of international alliances and associations that makes the New World Order new.

The collective action that gave birth to New World Order, the Persian Gulf War, was not at all new. Compliance and deterrence were not absent from the emergence and the operation of the New World Order. The creative power behind building of New World Order, was a broad process of political and cultural learning. This process of collective learning shows most clearly in the defeated enemies of World War II. The process involved absorbing and internalizing few lessons, that old power politics would not work and that new and different means of achieving objects would be needed. This formula, fits all the major post-world war II achievements, those changes that are now permanent and irreversible (in Germany, Japan, Britain, France, other former colonial powers, Western Europe), those changes that under went in Eastern Europe, and those apparently starting in Middle East, Africa, China, India and Pakistan, and Central and South America.

Perhaps, no requiem for the cold war was more poignant, therefore, than the embrace of neo-Wilsonian constructs by the last Soviet President, Mikhail Gorbachev. Speaking at Stanford University in May, 1990 he seemed to paraphrase Wilson's 'Peace with out victory' speech to the US Senate in January, 1917:

> "I am convinced that we stand on the threshold of reviving the concept of alliance building until now, alliances have been built on a selective, and infact discriminatory, basis. They wee based on setting countries against each other ----- But we are approaching a time when the very principle of alliance – building should become different. It should mean unity to create conditions for a life worthy of human being". (27)

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The Neutral Journalist Theory- Does It Work?
A Study of Journalists' Perceptions
about Influences on Media Content

Saqib Riaz

Introduction

A journalist is required to be neutral. Thousands of books on mass media have elaborated the qualities and duties of reporters and sub editors. Almost all the authors of these books are agreed that the journalist should be neutral and the news should be objective and accurate. For example, according to Earl English and Clarence Hach, "News is the factual report of an event, not the event as a prejudiced person might see it or as the reporter or sponsor might wish it to have been. A reporter should report news impartially and honestly."[i]

News is the factual report of an event. What the reporter sees it supposed to be report. Objectivity means to report the facts exactly the same way as they occurred. It goes against objectivity if the reporter adds something from his own imagination. It will not be an objective reporting if the reporter wants to angle, slant or shade the news.[ii]

"We don't make the news, we report it", said Richard Salant of C.B.S. News. He further said, "Our reporters don't cover stories from their point of view. They are presenting them from nobody's point of view.[iii]

Hence almost each and every expert of the field of journalism and mass communication is of the view that the journalist should be neutral, the news should be objective and the media content should be free of all types of

influences. But whether it is possible or not; whether the neutral journalist theory works or not, is the basic theme of this research. The present research "The Neutral Journalist Theory-Does it work"? is an attempt to study whether it is possible for a journalist to remain neutral and impartial during his duties or not. This study is based on the opinions of the journalists working in different media organizations in Rawalpindi and Islamabad. This study would help to understand the journalists' own perception about the nature of their job and whether they are agreed that they should be neutral or not. The study would also find out the reasons that have become hurdles in the way of the neutral journalist theory. The idea behind the selection of the journalists for survey is that they are the only people who themselves can tell better about their nature of job. No one can tell better than working journalists about the validity of the Neutral Journalist theory.

Literature Review

There is deficiency of the relevant literature on the topic of the research. Thousands of the authors has elaborated the qualities of a journalist by saying that he or she should be neutral during his job but very few has raised the question whether it is practically possible for a journalist to be neutral or not. The most important and the globally recognized research work in this regard is that of Pamela J. Shoemaker and Stephen D. Reese. Their work has been published in the shape of a popular book, "Mediating The Message." The authors presented and discussed different theories of influences on mass media content. They concluded on the basis of their research that the media content is influenced by a number of factors including personal attitudes and orientations of media workers; professionalism; corporate policies; corporate ownership patterns; the economic environment; advertisers and ideological influences.[iv]

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This theory is supported by the "Null Effects model" by Young (1981). According to this theory media content is free of distortion. The Null Effects model claims that mass media provide a fair representation of reality with little or no distortion.[viii]

In contrast to the passive role, the active role of media, as mentioned by Shoemaker and Reese, describes, "media content may be based on what happens in the physical world but it singles out and highlights certain elements over others. Reality is necessarily manipulated when events and people are relocated into news or prime- time stories. People can be portrayed with different labels (the same person as freedom fighter or terrorist). One of the most obvious ways media content structures a symbolic environment is simply by giving greater attention (in the form of more time, greater prominence, and so on) to certain events, people, groups and places than others. Pictures can also be distorted, by cropping, angles and shot selection. Camera perspectives can also manipulate perception. It was possible to depict a subject favorably or unfavorably by choosing different camera perspectives.[ix] In the neutral image, news are seen to emerge naturally from the events and occurrences from the real world with the journalist as a spectator, faithfully and accurately reporting what he or she observes. The journalist's relationship to the information is thus one of detachment and neutrality.[x]

Research Questions

To study and evaluate "The Neutral Journalist Theory- Does it work?" following research questions are addressed.

1- Is it possible for a journalist to remain neutral during the production of news content?

2- If not, then what are the major hurdles in the way of the Neutral Journalist theory?

Hypotheses

The following hypotheses have been made to study this research.

1- This is not possible for a journalist to remain neutral during the production of news content.
2- A number of factors like government, advertisers, owners, media routines are big hurdle in the way of the Neutral Journalist theory.

Methodology

The employed methodology of the study is survey research.[xi] The universe of the study are the journalists (both reporters and sub-editors) working in the newspapers and the news agencies in the federal capital of the country Islamabad and its adjunctant city of Rawalpindi. Due to the limitations of time and resources, the journalists of the other cities are not included in this research. Hundreds of newspapers and magazines are being published from Rawalpindi and Islamabad but the most prominent and widely circulated English newspapers are daily Dawn, The News, and The Nation while the widely circulated Urdu newspapers are daily Jang, Nawa-I-Waqt, Khabrain, Ousaf, Pakistan, Al-Akhbar, Asas and Din.[xii] We have selected a sample of 60 journalists from these newspapers and from three of the well reputed news agencies A.P.P., SANA News and N.N.I. A comprehensive questionnaire was prepared and circulated amongst the sample universe of these sixty journalists.

Findings

Following are the results of the survey research.

1- Respondents were asked, do you think Journalists are neutral? 88% of the respondents answered "No" while 12 percent said that they were not clear about the answer. Even not a single person said, "Yes."

2- The respondents were asked, Is it possible for a journalist to remain neutral during his duties of reporting/editing? Again 82% of the respondents replied "No." They were of the view that this is not possible for a journalist to remain neutral during his duties of reporting or editing. However12% respondents replied that this was possible while six percent respondents told that they were not clear about the answer.

3- In third question, respondents were asked, "In your opinion, what are the most important factors that influence media content?" There accumulative answer was that the owners of the media organizations, government, advertisers and personal interests and attitudes of the journalists were the biggest factors that influenced media content.

4- In fourth question, it was asked, "To what extent, media content is influenced by the government?" 67% said, very greatly, 14% said, greatly, 11% replied, to some extent, four percent said, not at all while the remaining four percent said, they don't know.

5- The fifth question was, "To what extent, in your view, media content is influenced by the owners. 52% responded, very greatly, 23% greatly, 10% to some extent, nine percent not at all and six percent don't know.

6- It was the sixth question, "To what extent, in your opinion, media content is influenced by advertisers?"

66% responded, very greatly, 22% greatly, 5 percent to some extent, four percent not at all and four percent don't know.

7- In seventh question, it was asked, "To what extent, in your opinion, media content is influenced by media routines (like reliance on news sources, deadlines etc.)?

8- 49% replied, very greatly, 27 % greatly, 12% to some extent, eight percent not at all and four percent don't know.

9- In the eighth question it was asked, "To what extent, in your opinion, media content is influenced by the personal attitudes and interests of journalists themselves. The response was: 42% very greatly, 21% greatly, 19% to some extent, 15% not at all and 3% don't know.

Conclusion

Keeping in view all the discussion about the research study, the researcher is now able to test the hypotheses of the study. First hypothesis seems to be proved because the 90% of the respondents replied that the journalists are not neutral. Even not a single person responded its against. Hence the first hypothesis is proved that the journalists are not neutral and this is not possible for a journalist to remain neutral during the performance of his professional duties. Hence we can say on the basis of the findings of our research that the neutral journalist theory does not work.

Second hypothesis also seems to be proved because the respondents were of the view that a number of factors like the government, advertisers, owners and media routines influence media content

and hence these are a big hurdle in the way of the neutral journalist theory.

On the basis of the research findings we can say that the media content is not actual and accurate picture of the real world rather this content is influenced by a number of factors. This is a matter of great concern for the society, in general, and for the media industry, in particular. The notion of Shoemaker and Reese has been proved that reality is necessarily manipulated when events and personalities are relocated in news. The recommendation on the basis of this research is that every possible effort should be done to minimize the influences on media content and the journalists should be facilitated to work in an independent and neutral atmosphere. The government and the media organizations should take some positive steps in this regard.

Table
Journalists' perceptions about influences on media content

Influencing Factors	Very greatly	Greatly	To some Extent	Not at all	Don't know
Government	67%	14%	11%	4%	4%
Advertisers	66%	22%	5%	4%	4%
Media Owners	52%	23%	10%	9%	6%
Media Routines	49%	27%	12%	8%	4%
Personal attitudes & Interests of Journalists	42%	21%	19%	15%	3%

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DE-INSTITUTIONALIZING PSYCHIATRIC PATIENTS

Zahid Javed

This paper attempts to study the transition that has taken place in the system of care for the mentally ill persons from institutional to community care. It focuses mainly on the process of deinstitutionalization with particular reference to the implications of this process for the care of psychiatric patients. The purpose is to draw lessons from the situation of the west so as to help avoid some of the pitfalls involved in the transition taking place in the field of psychiatric care in our country.

In the recent times there has been a growing interest in community based services as alternatives to institutional care of psychiatric patients. The new approach which involves the movement of hospitalized patients to the community is replacing the concept of Institutionalization. It includes:

- The preventing of inappropriate mental hospital admissions by providing community alternatives for treatment

- The discharge to the community of all institutional patients who have been provided adequate preparation for such a change.

- The establishing and maintaining community support systems for non institutionalized persons receiving mental health services in the community.

"Deinstitutionalization is the process by which large numbers of patients are discharged from public psychiatric hospitals back into the community to receive out patient care"[1]. It required attitudinal changes, new legal and administrative measures, new public policy, funding and personnel for executing the new programmes in the community. It demanded the discovery of new means for providing shelter and treatment to the psychiatric patients that met the contemporary requirements. However, a large number of patients had to be readmitted within a short period of discharge.

In the developed countries mental health services are moving from the mental hospitals to the community. Community care centres, rehabilitation centres, day and night hospitals, halfway houses, foster family care, transitional employment under supervision after discharge from mental hospitals are the new dimensions of mental health services. Psychiatric facilities in Mental Hospitals are basically treatment oriented and still at primary level. But research studies have demonstrated that patients can not sustain or improve through Mental Hospital without substantial help from outside.[2]

The shift is a post world War II phenomenon. The effects of World War II created a traumatic situation for the Western World. Mental health problems posed by separation, bereavement and destruction of homes as a result of the war stimulated interest in mental health and its influence on society. The conditions created by the war and the fact that soldiers of all social classes were receiving mental health care helped remove psychiatry from its relative isolation and brought about increased respect and public recognition for mental health professionals and services. The psychiatric problems that occurred during the war emphasized the role of social and physical environment in

the onset, process, treatment and care of psychiatric disabilities.[3]

The shift to community care is based on the premise that psychiatric patients are entitled to reside in an environment which is least-restrictive and conducive to as much independent living as possible.

In USA in the late 1950s "Many patients were released into various aftercare clinics, where they continued to receive psychiatric treatment and rehabilitative services. Others were placed in new types of institutions, such as halfway houses, board and care facilities, and public housing units".[4] However, Political battles developed between those who wished to strengthen mental health programs according to a traditional medical model and those favoring new approaches based on the public health point of view.[5] Those espousing the latter, more radical approach based on prevention and community care prevailed. This resulted in a proposal called for the creation of comprehensive community mental health centers that would make it possible for most of the mentally ill to be successfully and quickly treated in their own communities and to return to a useful place in society. The approval of committee's recommendations paved the way to the enactment of Community Mental Health Centers Act 1963 which became the basis for a major part of the government's involvement in deinstitutionalization.

Care of the psychiatric patients in Pakistan.

Pakistan having remained a part of the sub continent of India and ruled by the British, for over a hundred years, development in every field of life including public system and Medical services were required to support

the British army and civilian personnel residing in the sub-continent. It was in 1858, that the Royal Commission on

Health conditions of the Army in India decided to extend the medical services to the civilian population. Which opened the western medical services but only to a fraction of the population i.e., the affluent and the politically influential. This was also true of the services in the mental health field. Large custodial type of mental asylums were built in Lahore, Baraily, Patna, Madras and Bombay. At the time of independence, there was one mental hospital in Lahore which was built in 1940.[6]

These institutions were over crowded and under staffed particularly in specialists of mental illness. There were no professionals other than medical personnel on the staff of the mental hospitals. Psychologists and Social workers were unknown commodities. Even the physical structure of the institutions characterized by high prison like walls and barracks suggested their custodial character. This however, was in consonance with the social context.[7]

The services for the rehabilitation and community care of the mentally ill have been very slow to evolve in this country.[8] The facilities for the treatment of the mentally ill had not yet emerged from its dark ages, when mental illness was considered not only beyond cure but often attributed to possession of the patients by demons.[9] There is still immeasurable exploitation going on in this medical field on the pretext of possession by "Jins" and "Sayas" etc. Cruel methods are employed by ignorant men to expel sprits from mentally insane.[10]

"Psychiatric sections/units in Government hospitals/clinics came up after the availability of major tranquilizers from fifties onwards. Recent years have seen proliferation of these in the cities of the country with some initiatives in towns but not at the rural level. The major part of country side, therefore remained without proper psychiatric cover and an easy prey to practices such as bleeding, chained

and roped at shrines and at best at the disposal of "hakeems", "sanyasis" or religious and quasi-medical practitioners".[11]

During the late 1950s and early 1960s some major changes took place in medical field. Pilot medical social projects were established in some of the government hospitals. In the first five years (1955-60) plan medical social projects were instituted in some of the bigger mental hospitals including the government mental hospital at Lahore. Which necessitated the revision of our conception of roles both of the mental hospital and psychiatric team to include psychiatrists, psychologist and psychiatric social workers. [12]

In 1962 a group of motivated citizens and professionals formed Lahore Mental Health Association to solve the problems faced by former psychiatric patients after discharge from the hospital. The association aimed at advocating the cause of community mental health research and rehabilitation of the psychiatric patients. "It has long been recognized that discharged patients from mental hospitals find great difficulty in rehabilitating themselves in the community and to their work. The problem can be visualized through the increasing rate of re-admissions to the mental hospital and prolonged institutionalization of the mentally ill in Pakistan.[13] A survey of five years admission (1960-65) to Government Mental Hospital, Lahore was undertaken. It revealed that out of the total 8528 patients admitted during this period more than 12% were re-admission cases, who after returning to the community from the hospital were re-hospitalized within a short period of time.[14] It was therefore, decided to establish on experimental basis a community based rehabilitation service to bridge the gap between the hospital and the community. Many different kinds of facilities for community care of the mentally ill such as ex-patients club, the halfway

house, family care, sheltered workshop, day and night hospital had mushroomed in the West. The experts of the Lahore Mental Health Association selected a model and it was termed as " The halfway House and Day and Night Hospital" and it was established in December 1971 and named Fountain House after the name of a similar facility in New York.[15]

"Fountain House, Lahore is a unique experiment in the field of transcultural psychiatry because of the collaborative links between Fountain House, New York and Fountain House, Lahore established through Social and Rehabilitation Services, Department of Health Education and welfare U.S.A.[16]

The main objectives of the project were, to reduce the frequency of re-admissions to mental hospitals and vocational and social adjustment of the mentally ill.[17] The underlying philosophy for the "House" is that "the mentally ill must be helped to regain their self esteem and to become contributory member of the society by providing them with an understanding environment.[18] To meet these objectives the "House" is providing various services to its subjects, such as boarding and lodging, vocational training, treatment, family counseling, group therapy and individual care, re-creational activities like music sessions, games and social evening, job placement, public education and follow up.[19]

Fountain House is a research cum demonstration project initiated to meet the rigorous demands of a scientific investigation "and during its first two years of existence functioned as a halfway house for the improved mental patients, discharged from the Government Mental Hospital, Lahore. They were called "Members" and the programme was organized on the pattern of a Club House. The stages of its development, however, followed a different pattern

than Fountain House, New York, because of a variety of socio-economic and cultural differences.[20] Inspite of the experimental nature, the results obtained in this period were encouraging not only in terms of statistics but also in terms of human happiness and dramatic changes in some individual cases.

The first comprehensive follow up of the ex-inmates undertaken in 1974 showed that at the time of their acquiring membership in Fountain House only 25% of them were employed. At the time of their follow up, 50% of them were found to be in gainful employment.[21] Besides employment they adjusted themselves in the community. More than 2000 members have been successfully rehabilitated over the past 20 years.[22]

The findings of the study showed that the services of the House helped the patients in its programme in obtaining and retaining jobs. Their social adjustment as reflected in personal relationship also registered some healthy trends. The rehospitlaization or relapse rates, however, do not seem to be greatly affected. These findings confirm the results of the long-term studies of hospitalization rates conducted at Fountain House New York, which showed that attendance at the House delayed but did not prevent hospitalization.[23]

The Fountain House model is a pioneering effort in the filed of community care of psychiatric patients and it has demonstrated effectively that with the help of community and appropriate service patients can be de-institutionalized and cared for in the community. The Fountain House Model is being replicated in other parts of the country.

An other rehabilitation facility in Karachi at the Jinnah Post Graduate Medical Centre was instituted in 1960s. This too was supported by the social and Rehabilitation service U.S.A. It consisted of a workshop where schizophrenics

were provided with opportunities to improve their capacities in a sympathetic environment.

The community mental health programme launched in 1985 by Professor Malik Mubbashir in Rawalpindi is another significant development in community rehabilitation of psychiatric patients." It is community based where the existing infrastructure of health service is utilized to help identify and manage high priority mental health problems, which include psychotic states, depression, epilepsy and mental retardation".[24] Training is imparted to the family, community groups and teachers for creating awareness of the illness and its recognition and sympathetic care of the patient.

A Club House for persons with Mental illness has been established in Islamabad by the name of friendship house. Effort is being made to combine the positive elements of Fountain House in Lahore & New York, two culturally diverse settings with the same objectives.[25] The main elements of Friendship house programme are:

1) The membership concept is based on the policy "No payment to members for performing duties in the clubhouse".

2) Keeping the character of the clubhouse as an agenda of involving members in meaningful productive activities.

3) Shaping the programme to the individual rehabilitation needs of the members with the objective of making them productive members of the society.

Thus we find that in Pakistan too there has in the recent years been a perceptible trend in limiting patients stay in hospital: for shorter durations. The reasons have probably

more to do with the large number of the mentally ill over burdening a limited number of institutions and a high rate of readmissions. The readmissions probably indicate lack or inadequacy of post discharge rehabilitation services + social support system in the community or both. The joint family providing the necessary bullwork against contingencies of life is proving to be a myth. The system has grown much too weak under the socio economic pressures of modern day living. The psychiatric social workers bear a testimony to the fact that the families refuse to accept their ill members after discharge from the mental hospitals.

The problem of taking care of the mentally ill in the community is further compounded by our attitude towards mental illness and the mentally ill which are characterized by superstitious beliefs and practices.

On the other hand the efforts made so far constitute only a drop in the ocean as the problems of the people in need of community care are gigantic in magnitude. All the same these services must be considered as forerunners of a much more comprehensive system of services that hopefully will be evolved in times to come. A lesson that can be learned from the experiences of the west is that the process of transition from institutionalization to community care must be a gradual one and accompanied with careful planning and study of the implications for both the patients, their families and the communities. It must also take into consideration the socio-economic and cultural constraints involved in the process which is fraught with dangers.

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MYTHS & REALITIES OF SEPTEMBER 11

Iram Khalid & Nazia Hussain

'The world becomes stranger, the pattern more complicated of dead and living. Not the intense moment. Isolated, with no before and after ....

Burnt Norton by T.S.Eliot.

This paper aims at best to search for alternatives against the conventional morality and perceptions. With the basic premise of Sept. 11 being a turning point in human history for demystifying inherent shortcomings and failings in hyper power perceive the emergent contours of dialectics of self appraisal, introspection and dissociation from the preconceived and the predetermined. The attack on the huge twin towers at World Trade Centre in New York and the Pentagon near Washington D.C. slicked at the symbols of American dream - urbanism, modernism, affluence and invulnerability. More Americans died on September 11, than died in any single battle in US history.[1] It was the first time in the modern history since that US becomes the target of a foreign attack on home soil. The weapons used in the attack was unconventional and menacing - passenger aircraft manned by suicide bombers. The victims were of different nationalities and thus not all of them were American.

The shock and grief of American echoed throughout the world due to the sheer magnitude of the happening. The world expressed solidarity and condolence to the government and people of United States. In the United, President's wartime strategy of waging a War against Terrorism" was fully supported within twenty four hours of

terrorist attacks. The UN General Assembly and Security Council adopted two resolutions unanimously condemning the barbaric act, and voting to support the actions that would bring them to justice.[2] The international conception of terror attacks initially echoed State Departments stance that terrorist activities were carried out by those who hated American because they hated 'freedom of religion, speech, popularly elected democracies and right to dissent.[3] This view interestingly mirrors the traditional concept of terrorist before Sept. 11, which believed that terrorism occurs "at most exclusively in democratic or relatively democratic societies in an attempt to destabilize them"[4] contradictions persisted. While initial reaction of the world was of grief and sympathy, voices of dissent expressed misgivings about 'War against Terror'. A Nigerian columnist captured the essence when he work, "For the citizens of much of Africa, Asia the Middle East and Latin America, Sept. 11 represented pretty little change in their lives. (They remain) nasty, brutish and short..... Thanks in no small measure .... to US government's record of commitment and support to military and economic terrorism ... and unimaginable genocide".[5]

Interestingly, the people of United States also expressed concern about the beating drums of war[6], thus ironically echoing the feelings of people all over the world. The decision between the world opinion and the official policies of United States was further highlighted by the coming in action of Bush doctrine of 'pre-emption'. The pre emptive war[7] against Afghanistan and Iraq further polarized the world and triggered a debate on terrorism and the means to fight it. The debate in a post Sept 11. world seemed to be influenced by the dynamics of the contrapuntal, the ideological balkanization - East vs. West, Islam vs. Christianity, West vs. the rest, Unilateralism vs. multilateralism, conformism vs. dissent, good vs. bad, freedom vs. fear - list could go for eternity. Yet, despite the

feeling of inhabiting a flophouse of postdated ideas (that sadly persist since times immemorial), Sept. 11 managed to leave a tender after glow of skepticism and remorse. In the wake of unimaginable terror of 9-11 and post 9-11 events, the cost of human suffering on both sides evoked the question of ideological pre conceptions and policy imperatives superior than human life - while the need of the world is a candid reappraisal of the justification of a blind terror attach and the myopic and jingoistic reaction of the world's sole hyper power, the unfolding events seem beyond our grasp. The stakes are high the events spinning out of control, yet it is imperative to not let the debate flounder is the quick sands of time.

The crux of the discussion revolves around the conclusion that while there appear to be no change in the conception of terrorism before and after Sept. 11, the war tones like almost tunes playing with persistence after Sept. 11 too in US policy imperatives, the world has matured precocioudy after Sept. 11. The foot fall of Sept. 11 will be heard for a long time especially in United States and the Muslims world, notably Pakistan. While United States reeled from the inexplicable brutality of Sept. 11, Pakistan had to strike a precarious balance between providing assistance in bombing a Muslim country while pursuing its defense imperatives and national interest. Pakistanis also had to make peace with the realities of aberrant patterns made prominent by the links of extremist jihadis in Pakistan to Al-Qaeda and other organizations.

In this frame of reference the writers aim at presenting an analysis on the implications of Sept. 11 for United States and Pakistan.

PRE AND POST SEPTEMBER 11 - SHATTERING OF OLD PERCEPTIONS

The concept of terrorism has been synonymous with civilization. As early as the First Century the Jewish Sicaii and Zealot movements employed it against Romans. The Assasi in sect of 11th and 12th centuries is another example. Later examples include 19th century European Anarchy and Revolutionaries, Ku Klux Klan in US, terrorist activity in Latina America following Cuban Revolution and Palestinian movements in middle-east.

Yet endless debate over terrorism and its dynamics has failed to reach a consensus on definition of terrorism, not even in the United Nations.[9]

However common ground has been reach as a consequence of research on terrorism the phenomena, motivations and modus operandi. The emergent contours of the phenomena are as follows:

1. The problem of value-neutrality in defining terrorism as terrorism by one group may be variously regarded as heroism, foreign policy or justice by other. Hence the term cannot be used as a behavioral description.[10]

2. Systematic use of murder and destruction and threat of murder and destruction in order to terrorize individuals, groups, communities or governments into conceding to terrorists' political demands.[11]

3. The impact of terrorism is more psychological than physical. The psychological impact of terrorism with its unpredictability and violation of civilized norms, on general public and through it on government leaders has been strong enough to initiate policy approaches to solve it.[12]

Cast in another light, terrorist can be the 'unwitting agents[13] providing justification and opportunity for increased sphere of influence of governments and security forces.

4.   Terrorists seek publicity in order to provide exposure to their acts as well as a desire to be heard. The impact of terrorism thus "extends for beyond the immediate victims and the moment"[14].

5.   Terrorist violence has following characteristics.[15]
   a. It is inherently indiscriminate in its efforts.
   b. It is essentially arbitrary and unpredictable both in minds of victims and audiences and thus upon individuals and society.
   c. Terrorism exhibits denial of all rules and conventions of war.

6.   Terrorism produces chaos, is feared and hated. So while to some it may appear as objective driven or a reaction to repression and marginalization, it has a limited following.

A deeper probe in the history of terrorism and the perpetual debate about the phenomena helps deconstruct the puzzle. Two schools thought with diametrically opposed views have always existed. One school of thought presents terrorism as a tight construct of "mutually exclusive and jointly exhaustive characteristics"[16] and can be termed as the Traditional school of thought. The other school of thought dissenting in nature essentially views Terrorism as a backlash, the voice yearning to be heard.[17]

The Traditionalists essentially treat Terrorism as phenomena in itself lacking any serious motivations, be they political religious or social. So in essence, Terrorism represents aberrance that must be curbed, but not probed into. A leading intellectual, Eqbal Ahmad called it "suspension of any inquiry into causation"[18]. Even the

proponents of this paradigm accept the fact that most definitions of Terrorism tend to be generic, "mutually exclusive and jointly exhaustive characteristics."[19]. The dissidents challenge the view of restricting the concept of terrorism on ideological grounds to "retail violence of those who oppose established order"[20] and confining it to being "just a bad crime[21].

Traditionalists portray Terrorism as a threat mainly to democracies of Western Europe where both formal recognition and implementation of human rights are inherent features[22]. USA, the symbol of capitalist imperialism, freedom and democracy is a target of terrorist while terrorist activities occur" almost exclusively in democratic or relatively democratic societies[23].

The dissidents poke holes in the theory by citing support of one or the other super-powers (during Cold War) to repressive regions in Indonesia, Zaire, Iran, South Korea and elsewhere that committed terrorist violence on large scale[24]. To the argument that US and other countries have sought to expand both domestic and international legal sanctions against terrorist acts[25], dissidents quote US policies in Vietnam, Nicaragua, Latin America and Middle East[26]. The main contention is that while one school of the thought portrays US as a victim, the other holds US responsible for repressive measures and manipulation for protection of its agenda of world supremacy.

Another interesting fact of the debate is the conflict over the psychology of Terror. Traditionalists represent terrorists ad mad man, driven by pathological aberrations[27], traditionally belonging to "strong quasi-religious, fanatical elements" that provide justification for tacking lives[28]. The views of dissidents are best illustrated in the words of Friedrich Hacker who wrote

"...this psychologizing of the problem produces an immunization strategy. By making the accusation of mental illness stick, everyone else is acquitted of quilt or participation. The social, legal economic and other bases of all these movements need no longer be considered"[29]. This debate between these two schools of thought culminated into balkanization of a deeper kind, with ramifications of inter-social and intercultural dialectics after the events of Sept. 11, 2001.

PATTERNS OF CONTRADICTION - SEPTEMBER 11, THE TRAGEDY

'As the smoke was swallowing Manhattan and the buildings fell and the terror spread into the further estrecesses of you land and your hearts, my hopes for you America. A chance to grow America that was my hope.

Dust and Ashes and the memory of the twin towers were all that remained after the tragic events of Sept. 11, 2001. The world's hyper power had been challenged on home soil by an act that defied imagination of the real - more that 6000 lost their lives, not all of them American.

The symbol of the American dream was replaced by the fear of the unknown. Yet Sept. 11, would remain as one of those rare moments in history that challenged established norms and order while un-advertently helping the states to enlarge their sphere of influence.

In its aftermath, Sept. 11, has left us to introspect deeply and attain self-knowledge even it means breaking away from traditional morality.

The quintessential response to Sept. 11, echoed perceptions regarding the attack on World Trade Centre as being the ultimate fight of good and evil, "backwardness vs.

Modernity"[30] and an attack on "freedom itself"[31]. However, it prodded Americans to analyze the root cause of anger of rest of the world against America which is a resultant of "policies of successive US governments that are so hated"[32] of US obstructing freedom and democracy [33] by supporting despotic regimes for its own interests. Some have pointed to the "rage at the persistent asymmetry of suffering"[34] of guns now being pointed the other way[35].

Yet paradoxes remain the leading attribute of the post 9-11 world. Official versions have swung from "Terror attack" to "America Fights Back" to "Operation Enduring Freedom", from "Crusade" to "Counter-terrorism". The chief aim appears to be anticipation of enemy punishing the terrorists but strangely not bringing them to trial to probe into the justification of acts of terrorism.

The differing views persisted in claiming veracity of their perceptions regarding the causes of Sept. 11 acts of terror, attributing it to US policies and interventions in other countries. Thus an emergent polarization of views inhabited the fabric of a post Sept. 1 world.

Strangely enough, the even evocative of globalize terror and sufferance quintessentially provoked a reappraisal of two concepts that formed the backdrop of Sept 11, itself: Islam versus the west and unilateralism and self-appraisal has led to insight by examining the concepts on subterranean levels too, the general trend has restricted to polemical beliefs, sweeping generalizations turning the tables on the people while enhancing states spheres of influence at the same time.

ISLAM VS THE WEST

The debate of Islam versus the West in not new and the misconceptions prejudices and polemical arguments have

been a recurrent pattern in both sides' perceptions. While the west often perceived Islam as a threat or equaled Islamic world with "Catchwords the 'militant Islam", "Islamic fundamentalism" and "terrorism"[36], the Muslim world also identified the west with the Western threat of "Political and religiocultural imperialism, a political occupation accompanied by cultural invasion"[37].

Yet, these are tunnel visions of superficial nature and fallacious errors of treating Islam and West as monolithic forces bereft of rich cultural traditions and history. Interestingly, the specter of Islamic revivalism and extremism in Middle Eastern countries and notably in Pakistan and Afghanistan in South Asia have been fuelled by neo-imperialist policies of the west, particularly United States. Much to the discomfort of the general public in these Muslim countries, the clergy has emerged as a force, either as a reaction or consequence of opportunistic policies wielded by the free world.

This conflictual stake of Islam and West that was a murmurous turn in a pre 9-11 world took an ugly turn after 9-11. Francis Fukayama expressed a myopic vision of the threat of Islamic radicalism and its "hate" for the West's dedication to "religious tolerance and pluralism"[38] to forming the backdrop of grievances of Muslims in general and the struggle between west and the rest. However moderates also persisted by presenting alternatives of dissociating the religions from terrorism that represented forces of "dis-integral tribalism and reactionary fundamentalism[39].

Yet while Huntington's overrated thesis of clash of civilizations was proved wrong by the support of Muslim countries of the 'War against Terror' against fellow brethren of Afghanistan – a direct refutation of 'kin country syndrome[40], Muslims all over the world were haunted by

the unspoken world.

American Muslims faced direct insults, ostracism and implicit jibes about fanaticism, extremism and religious bigotry. Muslim all over felt the need to exonerate their faith from stereotyping of religious fundamentalism. The basic paradigm of West versus the Rest persisted often insidiously and implicitly in discussion since September11.[41]

The state of affairs had been muddled further by the chaotic rush of media in void crated by the fall of twin towers. There was no "detached point of observations"[42], no serious attempt to "transform these images of honor into responsible discourses of reflection and action"[43]. The American society's myth of invulnerability was not only broken, the blame game kicked in by perpetually senseless stream of images and commentary of the media "immersing the views in a 24/7 cycle of tragic ionages of destructions and lass"[44] provide the enemy - Muslims.

While the American society convalesced to normally after 9-11, the conflict of Islam versus the West had been given new lease of life. The recourse to deeper analysis in causes and motivations of alienation, anti-American (not the way of life, but certain American policies) and a general feeling of discontent of not being understood - was again trivialized into pointless subtities of intellectual debate on Islam opposed to West.

THE REALIST APPROACH:
MULTILATERALISM VS UNILATERALISM

Idealism is dead. The dynamics of International Relations exhibit cold pragmatism - norms, beliefs, cultural heritage and values are treated in a parcelized manner. Ethics are

drawn in sands of time by those powers that wiled supremacy, or so it seems. What may be right today may be fallacious tomorrow.

The bearded men from Afghanistan were "moral equivalents of America's founding fathers[45] for Reager administration. In the wake of Sept 11, they turned into deranged terrorists representing the forces of darks, perpetrating an act incomprehensibly gruesome and blind. Now the terrorists had to be brought to justice, in essence retributive in nature, thus violating norms of putting them to trial.

It could be argued that the nature of the atrocity had motivated a retributive response instead of distributive justice. Yet, it provides only that United States had acted in the light of its norm of practicing exclusive multilateralism or unilateralism, as was necessitated.

Yet the case for unilateralism was weak in a pre 9-11 world. Ambitions of changing the world and redrawing boundaries[46] were reined and displayed caution. There was also mounting pressure on American government to condude the ABM Treaty and the growing domestic criticism on Missile Defence System kept the government cautious. Come Sept. 11 and American Foreign Policy had to be redrawn in the light of realities of vulnerability and the scourge of terrorism. It would have been understandable if the American ambitions remained in check. Yet, there was a "planed 40% real increase in US defense spending 1998-2007"[47]. The ABM Treaty was sidelined and Missile Defense System was reconsidered.

The attacks of Sept. 11 deepened the realization that America needed ally states to help in its 'War against Terror". There was a buoyant sense of facing the dangers together in a world bereft of predictability and

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invulnerability. The world community drew closer and Multilateralism seemed to dominate the pattern of relations between the countries.

However, unrolling events displayed the unilateralist approach of US for while it mobilized significant support, the campaign itself remained unilateralist in character with Washington being the "Chief Artchitect"[48].

Thus the concern that United States seeks to remain unfettered of multilateral constraints was vindicated as a result of post Sept 11 US moves. Some critics go to the extreme of terming the UN as the "legitimating institution for an essentially unilateral effort by the US"[49].

The unilateralist debate has been reinforced by the much troubled 'preemption' theory a bleak reminder of the Munore Doctrine. The National Security Strategy of United States of America Sep. 2002 boldly declares the free will of US to strike at any and every adversary, assuring the reasons of actions to be clear "the force measured and the cause just"[50].

Conversely, it could be argued that the bias of favor went to government's essentially right wing, and against the people. The anti-war movement, even if feeble could not obstruct the cold bureaucratic and elitist analysis.

A big casualty of a post Sept 11 world was the freedom to dissent for anti-Americanism became equivalent of militism pro-terrorism or disloyalty.

PAKISTAN - AWAKENING TO REALITY - POST SEP. 11

By a devious twist of circumstances, Pakistan a moderately Islamic underdeveloped country in South Asia became embroiled in the post 9-11 situation. Not given much of

choice, Pakistan became a frontline ally of US in its "War against Terror". According to US Departments of State and Defense, Pakistan afforded the United States "unprecedented levels of cooperation"[51] by allowing use of bases, identifying extremists, tightening border between India and Afghanistan and doing joint operations with US Intelligence to arrest terrorists.

However despite Pakistan's collaboration with US in cracking down on militants[52], Pakistanis found themselves accused of breeding radical Isamists. Although even in the past, Pakistan had come under world criticism for tacitly supporting Jihadi outfits in Kashmir, the dynamics of post Sept 11 world jogged Pakistani and world community to the grave threats of pockets of extremism operating in Pakistan. As early as 2000 US State Department reported that South Asia had replaced Middle East as the leading locus of terrorism in the world[53].

Pakistan, as a nation has been facing rise of religious militism, sectarianism and an effective pressure group in the form of religious parties and their militant wings. In the 1980s, the United States fought a proxy war with the Soviets with the help of Muslims mercenaries from the world over, trained by CIA and Pakistani Intelligence Agencies. Trained by the Pakistan agencies and CIA while given generous U.S military assistance, the mujahideens (holy warriors) waged a jihad (holy war) against the government in Kabul and its Soviet allies.

After the war in Afghanistan and with the US assistance gone, the religious extremists entrenched in Pakistani policies (sustained by the Zia regime for his domestic agenda of Islamization and marginalizing serious political opposition and international agenda of helping US in the Proxy war in Afghanistan) represented schisms in the political culture and society. Sectarianism, intolerance and

a parallel madrassa culture that sprung as a viable alternative for a huge layer of urban and rural poor represented the religious make up of Pakistani society. Religious extremism has always benefited from the state's political expediency to invoke religious and promise promulgation of Sharia. While this has strengthened the religious forces by serving their class interests it has instilled a sense of security and invulnerability due to the state-religion bind. Paradoxically, the status of religious forces has remained as an underclass, for it seeks donations from public money and is the last rogue of a huge section of urban and rural poor for free education and basic amenities.

Among the many divides of post-colonial Pakistan, the aberrant state-society pattern exemplified by the growth of the underclass the imbroglio of vague, controversial interpretations of religion, seminaries thriving on the state support, foreign patronage and growing strata of poverty, stricken masses - came to the forefront in the aftermath of Sep. 11. The former minister fore religious affairs put the figure at 10,000 for madrassas, though he acknowledged it could be higher, with as many as 1 million to 1.7 million students attending them[55].

US - the avowed seeker of truth and justice garbing, retributive justice in 'War Against Terror' helped create a "Jihad Culture"[56] by helping Afghan mujahideens during the war in Afghanistan in 1980s, ignoring mujahideens production and sale of opium and heroin to finance anti-soviet operations[57]. The successive Pakistani government with exception of democratic governments of Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif who tried to curb religious extremism58 incurred backlash from religious parties. Thus, a hitherto moderate country like Pakistan today presents a contemporary facade of secular moderate forces against religious parties.

The post Sept 11 world posed a dilemma to Pakistani government to curb religious extremism while complying with President Bush's vociferous demand of being with United State or against it. It helped the Musharraf government to attain much needed legitimacy and badly needed American foreign aid[59]. Thus democracy was sacrificed at the alter of US opportunism and ironically the beacon of democracy joined forces with a non-democratic government for an agenda of preserving freedoms, democracy and justice[60]. While democracy in Pakistan became a casually, so did the moral authority of US in promoting and nurturing democratic forces.

Despite being a frontline state in 'War against Terror', Pakistanis could not clear the tag of being a state that breeded terror by tacitly supporting it. This was exemplified by the newly-instituted US policy of finger printing and photography all Pakistani men who enter the Unites States.

Thus the implications of Sep. 11 have been as grave for Pakistan as the United States. Pakistan has had to forego democracy in the name of circumstantial compulsions. The state-society dynamics face a threat from militant religious extremists and foreign mercenaries that cannot be as effectively reined in as the local outfits. The raison d-etre of Pakistan - Islam and its role in Pakistani policies remain an issue generating controversy. The political debate of moderate secular forces claiming to uphold Jinnah's concept of secularist Pakistan (expressed in his first speech to Constituent Assembly) versus the religious extremism and a permanent constituency in the form of madrasa culture.

Contradictions remain the only permanent feature of a post Sept 11 world.

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The Parallelism between the Poetry of Sultan Bahu and John Donne

Shahid Abrar Awan

Introduction

Metaphysics remained a dominant feature of classical Punjabi and Metaphysical English poetry. Sultan Bahu and John Donne were creating religious and metaphysical verse in the seventeenth century in the Orient and Occident. John Donne, the first of the seventeenth century English Metaphysicals, attempted to grasp the enormity of the universe and the underlying realities of human existence. A bevy of poets was influenced by the Donnean tradition. The most interesting followers of John Donne were religious poets forming the Metaphysical school (Evans 48). These Metaphysicals were Christian mystics having some affinity with the saints of the Middle Ages and Renaissance.

Critics have highlighted the characteristics of Metaphysical poetry comprehensively. Professor H J C Grierson briefly elaborates: "Metaphysical poetry in the full sense of the term is a poetry which, like that of the Divina Comedia, the De Natura Rerum, perhaps Goethe's Faust, has been inspired by a philosophical conception of the universe and of the role assigned to human spirit in the great drama of existence" (115).

It was this subject, that the Metaphysical poets versified and remained occupied with. This definition, in particular, brings out that the fundamental concerns of classical Punjabi poetry were strongly metaphysical in nature. It further brings to light that Metaphysical poetry does not

remain an isolated phenomenon peculiar to the seventeenth century English literature, rather it seems to be the universal trait of poetic tradition in various civilizations. In Punjabi classical poetry, Sultan Bahu, though not labeled traditionally as metaphysical, also encompassed the phenomenon of existence. Bahu belonged to the philosophic school of the Sufis (Krishna 11). According to Schimmel, Sufism is the generally accepted term for Islamic mysticism. It is the love of the Absolute that enables the seeker to bear as well as enjoy all the pains and sufferings showered by God. Reality is the goal of the mystic that cannot be understood by usual perception. Neither philosophy nor reason can explain it. The mystic ultimately yearns for reunion with God (3-4). In fact Punjabi classical poetry is Sufi poetry. It is the manifestation of mysticism (Quddus 154).

These poets, metaphysical in essence, contributed splendid mystical poetry to literature. The verse of both Donne and Bahu is je ne sais quoi artistically. It is primarily an expression of their particular vision of life. Moreover the poetry of Donne and Bahu has vivid attributes including original images and conceits, colloquial speech as well as complex themes involving the trans-physical being.

Themes

There is a broad spectrum of themes in the poetry of both Donne and Bahu. Metaphysicals, au fond, were saints. Their verse was an excursion in the spiritual world in theme and facade.

Like mystics of all ages, Donne upheld that the difficulty of the knowledge of God or ultimate reality couldn't be resolved through the precepts of reason, intellect, and philosophy. In the early years, Donne in a letter to the

Countesse of Bedford, traced the path to reach divinity (Grierson 1971: 167):

> Reason is Soules left hand, faith her right,
> By these wee reach divinity, ...

Sultan Bahu treads a similar path in the pursuit of nirvana. He discards the notions based on traditional icons, rather he believes in complete submission to the Murshid; a spiritual guide and facilitator. Reason and knowledge cannot step beyond physical limitations.

> The Lord on throne is never found, nor in the Ka'ba[2]
> And in the books is hardly found, nor in the mosque
> Bathing in Ganges[3] He is not found, I traveled a lot
> Since I entered Murshid's[4] fold, I have
>   been rescued from around.
>
>   *(Abyat-e-Bahu)*

Bahu expressed passionate love for his Beloved. His sentiments were kneaded with philosophical vision. Although his philosophy was rooted in orthodoxy, he created a practical balance between the two worlds. Perhaps it also ensured his safety and peace (Krishna 11). His sainthood did not let him become a recluse nor indulge in worldly pleasures. Both John Donne and Sultan Bahu, in fact, established a mystical and philosophical tradition of poetry in the literature of their lands.

Donne's poetry was charged with the strength of his beliefs. He did not merely speculate about the nature of things. He rather firmly held the strings of new philosophy. "An Anatomie of the World" represented the theme 'the frailty and the decay of this whole world'.

> And new Philosophy calls all in doubt,
> The Element of fire is quite put out;

> The Sun is lost, and th'earth, and no mans wit
> Can well direct him where to look for it.

Bahu was a man of great learning. He received the best possible education of his times (Kalim 41). He was a scholar of Islam and had great perception of the philosophy of Islam. Bahu interpreted Islam through the canons of a mystic. Schimmel mentions that though the verses of Sultan Bahu, the first great Punjabi mystical poet, developed ideas known to earlier Sufis but it was his approach that spread the ideas of Sufism (385). His philosophy hinged on faith and truth.

> Other profession for heart is not efficient, the Kalma[5]
>   of heart is efficient
> The Kalma takes the rust away and the Kalma
>   scrapes off the dirt
> The Kalma is diamond, ruby, and gems, the Kalma
>   has extended its shop
> Bahu, here and there in both worlds, the Kalma is all
>   the wealth.
>
> *(Abyat-e-Bahu)*

Bahu was fully cognizant of the transient nature of this world. He believed that his real profession is the Kalma of love. He further maintained the supremacy of love as even devotion could not reach where love would carry in a short span of time (Narang 145). In fact Punjabi sufi poets including Sultan Bahu produced memorable mystic verse. It was an expression for 'the longings of the soul in its effort to transcend reality' (Maini 4-5).

The poetry of Bahu and Donne touched upon a variety of themes. But they remained more concerned with themes like the conception of love, religion, eternal bliss, and the littleness of man. Thematically, these poets in terms of time

discussed eternity and in terms of space examined the universe.

Diction

The religious mystics and the mystic poets in their search for reality communicated the richness of their experience through artistic and highly imaginative language (Husain 26). T S Eliot in "Donne in Our Time" (16-17) mentioned that the sharpness and precision of the working of Donne's mind and imagination were reflected in the "felicity of his diction". Donne had mastery over a large vocabulary. It was enriched and wide enough to express the subtleties of his thought and philosophy. Also T S Eliot found that Donne followed the movement of conversation most of the time. He conversed with death in one of the most famous Holy Sonnet:

> Death be not proud, though some have called thee
> Mighty and dreadful, for, thou art not soe,

Donne did not pronounce the victory of death rather he shattered the illusion of death's might. As Nutt says: "His method here, as elsewhere, is to establish an argument or conceit which challenges our thinking, and then explain and elucidate it. What Donne seeks to undermine in this opening is not, as we might initially think, that death is 'proud', but that he is 'Mighty and dreadful'" (161). He then concludes the sonnet with:

> One short sleepe past, wee wake eternally,
> And death shall be no more; death, thou shalt die.
> (Holy Sonnet X)

Donne had an unshakable belief in God as the embodiment of mercy. For him Christ was a symbol of pardon and divine love. He expressed his conviction in simplified diction:

> What if this present were the worlds last night?
> Marke in my heart, O Soule, where thou dost dwell,
> The picture of Christ crucified, and tell
> Whether that countenance can thee affright,
> Tears in his eyes quench the amasing light,
> <div align="right">(Holy Sonnet XIII)</div>

Bahu's language was Punjabi as spoken in the Jhang district of central Punjab. It had sweetness and simplicity but was not rustic. (Krishna 12). Bahu opted for simple language to express his complex ideas for the sake of clarity. His message reached the majority of people. It was moving and persuasive. His poetry primarily was the expression of attaining the Divine grace. His knowledge got dissolved in his heart. The poetry of Bahu influenced a large number of people (Kalim 41). He depicted the state of those blessed with supreme love:

> In whose veins if love has pierced, they wander
> silently in the world
> His every hair with thousand tongues, praises the
> beauty to whom he clings;
> With Greatest name perform ablution, and bathe too
> deep in unity-ocean,
> Bahu! acceptable is prayer, when Loved
> recognizes lover.

> <div align="right">*(Abyat-e-Bahu)*</div>

Bahu's verse remained without any artificiality. His diction, was usual, simple, and local. Another relevant attribute of his verse was the avoidance of alien expressions and display of verbosity. His poetry in all times remained successful to realize greater realities and complex thought while using commonplace expressions and symbols. Maini, highlighting the contribution of Sufis, mentions: "All these

poets used the Punjabi vernacular, and lifted it to new levels of expression and significance" (5). Bahu confined his experiences and learning in four to five line verse form (called "*Beit*" in Punjabi). In fact, Bahu was an introvert and had no linkage with extroversion. It was one of the reasons for employing this form. This becomes obvious while he portrays the vastness of the innerself:

> Heart is deeper than the river and ocean, who
>> can dare know heart's condition?
> The storms in it, the ships, the boats, and sailors
>> with oars propel their boats,
> Fourteen Heavens[6] in it are found, while canopy-
>> like, above and around,
> Whose is well aware of heart, Bahu! he knows
>> the Heaven's chart.
>
> *(Abyat-e-Bahu)*

The metaphysical poetry of Bahu and Donne was an interpretation of the cosmos. The elevated subjects, they addressed in their poetry, were transcribed in simple diction. Although in Donne's poetry critics have found an expression of scholarship, it essentially lacked obscurity and skepticism. As a matter of general evaluation, both poets succeeded in creating lasting impressions through a particular choice of diction.

Imagery

The metaphysicals painted their verse with original images and conceits. Donne followed, rather established, this style. His poetry was marked with an extraordinary range of conflicting images and ideas.

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He did not contend with the traditional variety of imagery rather "he sought out the strangest images" (Evans 47). He was skilful in this ingenuity and created greater meanings.

> Goe, and catche a falling starre,
> Get with child a mandrake roote,
> Tell me, where all past years are,
>   Or who cleft the Devils foot,
> Teach me to heare Mermaides singing,
>   Or to keep off envies stinging,
>   And finde
>   What winde
> Serves to advance on honest minde.
>
>   (Song)

It is a fact that Donne had a different conception of the function of imagery than other poets. His use of imagery revealed the parameters of his intellectual and superb mystic explorations. The primary purpose of imagery in Donne's poetry was to elaborate and sketch emotional experience with the help of an intellectual parallel.

> When goodly, like a ship in her full trim,
> A swan, so white that you may unto him
> Compare al whitenesse but himselfe to none,
> Glided along, and as he glided watch'd,
> And with his arched necke this poor fish catch'd.
>   (The Progresse of the Soule, XXIV)

The poetry of Bahu is marked with the symbolic description of spiritual experiences. The artistic use of images and symbols is to simplify and explicate

complexities of thought with its depth as well as enormity (Kalim 46). He revealed the image of life:

> O Moon! spread out your light, stars speak of
> you
> Diamond sellers (fakirs) wander, helplessly in
> the streets
> O God! no traveler be troubled, they are so
> helpless
> Bahu! don't compel them to fly away, they are
> destined to leave.
>
> (*Abyat-e-Bahu*)

Sultan Bahu brought out greater meanings from these customary images. Riches and misery are with reference to the shadow of Divine patronage. Bahu employed symbols to suggest the hidden reality (Narang 146). He took the readers from unreal to real and from transience to permanence. As Quddus brings out: "His use of metaphor is singularly inventive and a strong aesthetic sense serves as a cement of observation" (174). He attained nirvana and expressed it with the imagery that was comprehensible to people. In his first verse (dated 1691 AD), Bahu mentioned his experience:

> My guide has planted the jasmine plant in
> my heart O God!
> Watered with 'No God except God' in every vein
> of mine O God!
> The plant has blossomed inside me, with
> fragrant flowers O God!
> May my perfect master live long who planted
> this in my heart O God!
>
> (*Abyat-e-Bahu*)

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This verse is a fine example of the kind of Punjabi imagery that is easily understandable to rural masses (Schimmel 386).

Grierson while comparing Donne with Browning declared that Donne's poetry did display usual images but quickened 'the intellect to intense and rapid trains of thought' (Hammond 26). He further asserted that Donne's imagery remained erudite and simple (Grierson Xliii). Donne was innovative to a great extent in all dimensions of his verse.

> At the round earths imagin'd corners, blow
> Your trumpets, Angells, and arise, arise
> From death, your numberlesse infinities
> Of soules, ...
> (Holy Sonnet VII)

Here by these images, Donne did not discuss whether the world was round or flat, rather he was projecting his sentiments. The themes of death, judgments, and eternity were treated in the sonnet. According to Joan Bennett, "Donne's technique was in many ways a new thing in English poetry and his most important innovations, although they found imitations among his immediate successors, afterwards remained in abeyance for two centuries" (30). Donne's innovative art, thus, had lasting influence on English verse.

Intricacies of spiritual experience are demanding for the poet to express in prose or verse. Such expression flows through images and symbols (Kalim 19). Kalim further reveals that the mystical experience is "not very

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tangible and it requires a great mastery over the poetic medium to make it concrete" (24). Bahu's symbols are, to great extent, a deviation from the traditional or popular symbols in classical poetry. Although his images and symbols originate from the socio-cultural setting of the area. Black and white colour imagery in this 'beit' conveys the contrast between the illusion and reality.

> Than a black heart a black face is better, each
> one is aware of that
> If face is black and heart is white, the beloved
> recognizes that
> Such heart should ever follow the beloved, might
> be that He recognizes him
> Bahu! hundred of scholars left the mosques running
> when their heart attained its mark
>
> (*Abyat-e-Bahu*)

Imagery in the poetry of Donne and Bahu portrays complex but profound subjects. Their art enabled readers to have considerable understanding of their vision. Their poetry had two distinguishable features: the intellectual richness (intellectualism) and compositeness of imagery. They have an unassailable place in classical poetry.

Conclusion

Bahu and Donne lived in an age that witnessed developed civilizations both in India and Britain. Husain points out, "It is a significant fact in the history of mysticism, that great epochs of mystical activity have followed the great periods of artistic and

intellectual civilization" (20). John Donne experienced the ongoing Renaissance with its diverse manifestations. Sultan Bahu found socio-cultural development and economic prosperity during the great Mughal period. It was the time when art, literature, and philosophy burgeoned in India. Moreover both poets belonged to prosperous families but relinquished comforts in the pursuit of Divine love. Perhaps they were able to perceive the realities of spiritual world.

Metaphysical poetry is a universal tradition in the literature of past and present. Bahu and Donne were esteemed religious mystics. In Islam and Christianity the great poets had also been great mystics. Bahu and Donne were continuation of this tradition in the seventeenth century. Bahu was believed as a saint. Similarly Donne was a Catholic saint. The verse of Bahu and Donne treated universal subjects and it was an artistic overflow of their intoxication with Divine love. This transient and morbid, world was not of much concern to them. They languished for eternal reunion. That is why, they opted out of traditional themes in their verse. However they differed in the form. Bahu mostly employed the form of "*beit*" (quatrain) in his Punjabi poetry. Donne's poetical works include a variety of genres like songs, sonnets, epigrams, elegies, poems, epitaphs, and even marriage songs. He also wrote in prose. The use of imagery by Bahu and Donne had great similarity. Both employed visual and abstract imagery. Furthermore in his verse, Bahu presented the essence of his numerous experiences and diverse observations. He was not a poet of elaborate and minute details. Donne, on the contrary

adopted a different pattern of poetic expression. His poetry varied in form and style.

Bahu and Donne were metaphysical poets in essence although the term refers to Donne's school. Their art too had many common strings. It was innovative and unconventional. Perhaps it was befitting to their subject. Their message influenced a large number of people and their poetry is a valuable part of classical literature. Punjabi and English literature in the seventeenth century were geographically far apart. There was no interface of both poetic traditions. Nevertheless a juxtaposition will bring out commonalities of their art. It supports their vision and art. It provides evidence of the universality of Bahu and Donne's verse.

Notes

English translations of Sultan Bahu's original Punjabi poetry, quoted in this paper, are by Prof Siddiq Kalim, Dr CL Narang, Dr Lajwanti Rama Krishna, and the writer.

(1)   - Sultan Bahu (1629 – 1691 AD): A Sufi poet writing in Arabic, Persian, and Punjabi. His major work is in Punjabi and collection of his verse "*Abyat–e–Bahu*" first appeared in 1972. He wrote "*beit*" (quatrain).

       - John Donne (1572 – 1631 AD):   A Catholic mystic poet, born in London. He wrote in various genres of poetry in addition to prose. He was the progenitor of the Metaphysical school of poets in English literature.

(2) Ka'ba: For Muslims, Ka'ba is house of Allah in Makkah (Saudi Arabia).

(3) Bathing in Ganges: Ganges is holy river for Hindus. Bathing in Ganges is believed to wash away all sins.

(4) Murshid: A spiritual guide for devotees.

(5) Kalma: A statement fundamental to Islam, negating existence of any other God but Allah and belief in the prophithood of Muhammad (SAW).

(6) Fourteen Heavens: Muslims believe in seven earths and seven skies.

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Self Conscious Surveillance Strategies in Derek Walcott's Poetry (1948-1984)

"Derek Walcott's Gaze"

Amra Raza

> It lieth, gazing on the midnight sky,
> Upon the cloudy mountain peak supine,
> Below, far lands are seen tremblingly,
> Its horror and its beauty are divine.
>   Percy Bysshe Shelley "On the Medusa
>   of Leonardo de Vinci."

We must take literally what vision teaches us: namely that through it we come into contact with the sun and the stars, that we are everywhere all at once.   Merleau - Ponty.

This is the first research paper in a series on Self Conscious Surveillance Strategies in Derek Walcott's Poetry (1948-1984)

'SURVEILLANCE' or observation is the power to process and comprehend that which is observed. 'Sight' therefore confers power upon the surveyor, and establishes identity through an interactive relation between the observer and the observed.

The papers in this series contend that Caribbean Nobel Laureate, Derek Walcott, uses surveillance in his poems (1948-84) as a self conscious strategy drawing attention to the poet's 'gaze' as a creative and reactive process instead of a mere passive and receptive by–product. Thus Walcott in fact extends the notion of surveillance from an act of 'gazing' to a strategic restructuring process of 'returning the gaze' by which the poet reassimilates and redefines the notion of identity at three different levels: the psychological, the historical and the artistic. These research papers will

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undertake to identify, explore, and trace the inter and intra-relatedness of these aspects of Walcott's gaze.

The scope of the study will extend to the selection and development of metaphoric images generated via various strategies of self conscious surveillance involving the recurring use of expressions such as "I watched", "I see/saw", "I stared" ,"I looked", etc in his poems (1948-84).

The first paper will examine the centrality of vision and the physiognomy, as well as the mechanism of the eye in Walcott's poetry (1948-84). Key forms of the Gaze and its interpretations will be identified in various disciplines such as mysticism, architecture, sculpture, film theory and painting. These will prove useful in characterizing features of Walcott's surveillance strategies.

In the second research paper in this series, the study will analyze how Walcott's 'gaze' draws upon the painting techniques of Cezanne, Braque and others to restructure landscape in his poetry (1948-84). Similarities will be traced in areas such as the use of 'faceting' to create volume and make space tangible, and the introduction of a series of planes tilted at varying angles to generate a space between things rather than around things.

In the third paper to account for the self conscious aspect of Walcott's gaze, my third source of field work will be psychological theory. In particular, I will draw upon Jacques Lacan's theory of the Mirror Stage as a formative function of identity.

In the post colonial context, surveillance represented by the Imperial gaze becomes a means of establishing and maintaining power. Thus in the last research paper of this series on Derek Walcott's gaze I will explore the strategic use of three types of metaphoric images by Walcott to

'return the gaze' of the Empire: the panopotical (an all observing position of visual command), the palimpsest (the ability to image surroundings in historical / cultural layers), and the panoramic (comprising of mental visions in which a series of images pass before the mind's eye). An application of Spivak's account of the way in which 'othering' in colonial discourse produces its subjects may prove useful.

The act of surveillance, observation or gazing is not a passive act of looking but a dynamic process of reconstructing, reordering and negotiating meaning. Vision, by connecting the eye to the mind, is a form of knowledge and thus power. It figures predominantly in Walcott's poetry. "The Prelude", which is the first poem in his collection (1948-84), begins with the centrality of vision:

> I, with legs crossed along the daylight, watch
> The variegated fists of clouds that gather over
> The uncouth features of this, my prone island.
>
> . . .
> I go, of course, . . .
> And note the living images
> Of flesh that saunter through the eye. (3-4)

and in "A Tropical Bestiary" he says, "In that blue wildfire somewhere is an Eye / That weighs this world exactly as it pleases" (20).

Numerous references to seeing, gazing, watching, looking and staring (the mechanics of which will be discussed during the course of this thesis), indicate that through the act of gazing or looking Derek Walcott extends the meaning of vision beyond simple perception to a complex process of creation.

On closer examination we find that Walcott's Poems (1948-84) are peopled with eyes described in cognitive, affective and psychological terms. Sometimes the eye is "glacial" (26), "balsam" (35), or "fevered" (36). At other times it is "starved" (57), "derisive and avuncular at once" (64). There are also "pinched eyes" (100), "dark" (151), even "clouded" (413) and "malarial" (286), or "twitching" (264) and "singed eyes" (277).

In fact of all parts of the human anatomy it seems that it is the eyeball which holds the greatest fascination for Walcott. There are numerous references to this effect as in, "the sea washed eyes / of our choleric, ginger haired headmaster" (212), the "black sapodilla-seed eyes" (172) of the captain's wife, "the traveller's eye" (457), and the Gentiles " scared eyes" (173). It is the eyes which characterise the person in "my young poet's eyes" (314), "his sister's young eyes" (266), a "cyclop's eye" (357) and "the lexicographer's lizard eyes" (118). His interest in animal eyes is as acute as in the human for he mentions, "the mesmerized dogfishes stared through phosphorus" (250), "ant's eyes" (115), and "the tarpon / gaped with a gold eye" (61). There are also, "lights coming on in the eyes / of panthers "(302), and a glowworm army which "haunts / with haunted eyes" (215). These descriptions of animal eyes bring the landscape alive. The idea conveyed is that of the poet gazing at a landscape, which gazes back at him through the eyes of various creatures ranging from vertebrates to invertebrates.

The reader finds that inanimate objects are also endowed with a peculiar type of vision as in, "the self delighting, self transfiguring stone / stare of the demigod" (236), or "the enormous lidless eyeball of the moon" (264), and "that yellow paper flower with the eyes of a cat" (156). The "candle's eye" (6) tempts the reader to look through it, but the "shut eyes of windows" (156) lock the gaze within. The gaze of these objects has a very wide range as they reach

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beyond the page to the reader. Walcott's constant reference to a landscape in which subjects and objects are condensed to the instrument of vision is perhaps aptly summarized by another Caribbean poet Philip Sherlock in "The Land of Look Behind", "Where moving feet no imprint make/ a breathless place of watching eyes / and ears that measure every sound" (8).

A physiological account of eye-gaze tracking, as well as an historical overview of the concept of the gaze as it figures in various disciplines of knowledge, would be a pre-requisite to an evaluation of Derek Walcott's surveillance strategies. Such a comprehensive background would help to explore how the gaze operates in Walcott's poems; to isolate characteristic features; and to identify the diverse techniques he draws upon to survey geographical, topographical and historical space.

Scientific data provides evidence that rays of light from an object are focused and converged by the lens of the eye onto an internal light sensitive layer of the eyeball called the 'retina'. This is situated at the back of the eye chamber (see Appendix A). The retina of the eye is comprised of approximately 127 million light sensitive cells. These can be classified into two basic types: rods and cones. The rods (about 94%) are highly light sensitive but do not respond to colour. The cones (about 6%), on the other hand, are less sensitive to light but capable of capturing various colours. The cones, though fewer in number, are structurally concentrated in the center of the retina. In fact, within this center is a depression comprised only of cones. This is called the 'fovea'. It is the area of the sharpest colour image formation. This area extends over a visual angle of 20 thus enabling us to make observations of our surroundings. Glenstrup and Engell-Nielson in Psychological and Physiological Eye Gaze Tracking write that since a visual angle of 20 is very small, a detailed

survey of space requires moving the eyeball to focus different parts of light sensitive cells on the fovea to achieve a sharper image. This is called 'foveating' (1). The cones play a significant part in enabling us to perceive the shape of objects in the outer world. Thus the sense of form or shape is the most acute in the fovea. Stephan J. H. Miller in Parson's Diseases of the Eye clarifies that the ability to distinguish shapes of objects is called 'visual acuity'(18) and applies to central vision (i.e. the vision of objects the images of which are formed on the fovea). The cones are also responsible for our appreciation of colour. Interestingly, the rods are sensitive to less light, so that for example at dusk we see with our rods. This is called 'Scotopic Vision'. In bright light, it is the cones which become functional. This is called 'Photopic Vision' (Miller 18). The rest of the retina offers peripheral vision which is sensitive to sudden movement.

A knowledge of these basic physiological elements leads to a greater appreciation of the numerous examples that provide evidence of Walcott's consciousness of the physiognomy of the eye. Such structural components of the eye as the biconvex lens and the coloured iris are examined acutely as functional tools in his poems. Walcott writes of the tarpon and, "its bulk / screwed to the eye's lens, slowly / sought design" (61). The analysis continues with, "near the lagoon, / dark water's lens had made the trees one wood" (235) and " Where they now stood, others before had stood / the same lens held them, the repeated wood" (236). Sometimes within one poem such as "The Schooner Flight" we find as many as three colours of eyes for e.g. Shabine has sea-green eyes (346), Maria Conception has round brown eyes (347), and the cook has "wash-out blue eyes" (354). Walcott characterises the vacant gaze in ,"irises will open to a white sky with bird and woman gone" (122), and " from which irisless, we stare / wishing the sea were stone" (230). The dilation of the pupil

to enable clearer vision in dim light is also mentioned in "Guyana" as, "a shape dilates towards him through the haze" (116). In fact so surprisingly comprehensive is Walcott's awareness of the physiology of vision that his poems encompass elements ranging from foveating to central and peripheral vision. This is illustrated in "Tales of the Islands" Chapter X, "Adieu Foulard", where he writes:

> I watched the island narrowing the fine
> Writing of foam around the precipices, then
> The roads as small and casual as twine
> Thrown on its mountains; I watched till the
> > plane
> Turned to the final north and turned above
> The open channel with the gray sea between
> The fishermen's islets until all that I love
> Folded in cloud; I watched the shallow green
> That broke in places where there would be
> > reef,
>
> . . .
> Dividing us . . .
> Till space would snap it. (27)

The bifocal ability of the lens of the eye, enabling it to adjust to near and distant objects, is also mentioned in "A Village Life" Section 3 at Queens, where Walcott talks of, "I stare through glass / my own reflection there, at / empty avenues, lawns, spires, quiet / stones, where the curb's rim / wheels westward" (81).

Research indicates that the human eyeball is equipped with three sets of muscles which correspond to three types of eye movement; the horizontal, the vertical and the circular or rotational movement (Glenstrup and Engell-Nielson 2). All three movements are also characteristic of Walcott's gaze. The horizontal movement is evident in the "Prelude", where the gaze follows a linear direction as

in,"Meanwhile the steamers which divide horizons prove / Us lost, " (3) or as in "The Castaway" where, "The starved eye devours the seascape for the morsel / Of a sail. / The horizon threads it infinitely" (57).Thus the linearity of the gaze initiates the search for identity. Lawrence A. Breiner in An Introduction to West Indian Poetry states:

> The presence of a sail is important in "The Castaway" because it could confirm the presence of the poet who looks for it. It would function like Friday's footprint - the trace of the other against which identity can be defined. Without that trace the poet remains attentive but immobilized. The elemental landscape reveals the unmediated nature of the place, but by inviting mythopoesis it also provides a setting which the castaway can make his own, and in which therefore he can see himself reflected. (208-9)

Thus Walcott's horizontal gaze has a dual function. It establishes physical perspective through distance and length. And at the same time expresses a desire for self identification in external objects. The horizontal gives way to the vertical movement of the eyeball generated in, ". . . I stand out on a balcony / and watch the sun pave its flat, golden path / across the roofs, the aerials, cranes, the tops / of fruit trees crawling downward to the city" (88). The gaze follows a rotational movement in "Origins", Section 4, "Here, in the rattle of receding shoal, / Among these shallows I seek my own name and a man" (14), or as in, "I bring it close, and stare / in slow vertiginous darkness (133).

In addition to these three basic movements of the eyeball, Jacob, Bruce and Green state that the same set of muscles can in fact generate as many as seven additional voluntary

and involuntary movements classified as: Convergence, rolling, saccades, pursuit motion, nystagmus, drift and micro saccades, and physiological nystagmus (qtd in Glenstrup and Engell-Nielson 3-5), (For details see Appendix B).

A milestone in scientific research has been the discovery of a population of visual neurons with a retinoptic receptive field whose excitability is modulated by the direction of the gaze, known as 'gaze dependent visual neurons'("Neurophysiology of Vision"1). These special neurons have been discovered in many cerebral regions. These gaze sensitive visual neurons may be responsible for coding visual space dynamically.This would occur by updating an internal representation of visual space at every change in the direction of the gaze, which would be considerably acute in a poet painter of Walcott's calibre.

Besides the physiological aspects of vision, it is an established fact that both the direction and the duration of the gaze are socially regulated. Argyle, quoted in Chandler, states that there social codes of looking which vary according to different cultural contexts (4). For example in Luo, Kenya it is disrespectful to look at a mother-in-law, whereas in Nigeria one should not look at a person belonging to a high status. In Japan one must look at the neck but not at the face when talking to another person, whereas among some South American Indians, during conversation, one should not look at the speaker.

Argyle's work quoted in Chandler also discusses that on the basis of the duration of the gaze, cultures can be divided into two different types: Contact and Non-Contact cultures (5). In Contact cultures such as those of the Arabs, Latin Americans and Southern Europeans, people are more comfortable with looking for a longer time. In such cultures too little gazing is considered insincere, dishonest

or disrespectful. Perhaps the Caribbean culture can also be classified as a contact culture because Walcott seems very comfortable with gazing as he says,"so, watching the tacit/ ministering herons ,each at its/ work among the dead, the stone church, the stones, I made this in your honour"(242).In fact looking becomes as essential as speech in, "I watched the vowels curl from the tongue of the carpenter's plane,/ resinous, fragrant/ labials of our forests," (216).However, in non contact cultures, such as among the British, and white or black Americans, too much gazing or staring is seen as threatening, disrespectful and insulting.

Kleinke,Greenbaum and Rosenfeld have conducted intensive studies into the gender and social relationships of staring ("Exploring Psychology" 1).Their research shows that people are more likely to look at other people whom they like and thus when the level of eye contact is high it is interpreted positively.Also when a male and female interact, each one would judge low levels of gazing to be a sign of inattentiveness, and high gazing as sincerity. However, he noted that the males considered low-gazing females to be less attractive, whereas females rated low-gazing males to be more attractive. Another interesting study by Greenbaum and Rosenfeld concluded that when people stared at drivers who stopped at red lights the drivers felt uncomfortable and drove off very quickly when the lights changed ("Exploring Psychology"1). Thus staring often makes people feel uncomfortable although we do generally enjoy eye contact.

The concept of the gaze has also been the subject of mysticism and is equated to the beauty of space which develops mystical faculties and leads to spiritual awakening. Graham Ledgerwood in <u>The Mystic Gaze</u> states:

> The Mystic Gaze calms the nervous system,
> the mind and the emotions . . . . An intuitive
> sense of unity and harmony gradually fills
> your awareness. The mind becomes more
> and more clear and at peace. (1)

Interestingly in Walcott's gaze we find that often, as he watches objects or subjects and landscape, his mind does in fact clear, but at the same time he becomes more disturbed and tense instead of becoming tranquil. He writes, "In their black sockets, the pebbles of your eyes/ rattled like dice in the tin cup of the blind Fates. /On the black wings of your screams I watched the vultures rise,/ the laser-lances of pain splinter on the gods' breastplates"(448).

Several key forms of the gaze which may prove useful in analysing Derek Walcott's surveillance strategies can also be identified in architecture, sculpture, film theory and painting. In architecture, vision refers to a particular type of perception linked to monocular perspectival vision which facilitates the projections of space on a single planimetric surface. Therefore perspective becomes the medium through which we can reproduce the perception of depth on a two-dimensional surface. Thus, ". . . despite repeated changes in style from the Renaissance through post modernism. . . the seeing human subject, monocular and anthropocentric - remains the primary discursive term in architecture"("The Gaze in terms of Science"2).

Another example of the diverse concept of the gaze in various disciplines, can be illustrated by drawing on the subject of sculpture. The gigantic effigies of four North American Presidents on top of Mount Rushmore in Keystone, South Dakota, United States, namely George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Abraham Lincoln and Theodore Roosevelt, gaze at the western horizon. Itzel

Roderiguez Mortellaro in <u>The Expansionist Gaze</u> writes that, "Their gazes symbolise the expansionism that took place during the century that consolidated the continental dominion of the United States . . . Mount Rushmore is an example taken to gigantic proportions, of what other cultural expressions showed in the nineteenth century"(2-3).And although the gaze of sculpture is not expansionist in Walcott,yet it is very intense as in , "From This Far" Section 1, "The white almonds of a statue stare / at almond branches wrestling off their shade / like a girl from her dress - a gesture rarely made / by abstract stone" (414).In "Early Pompeian",Walcott gives the gaze of a picture made of stone life through a comparison with human eyes in, "you resembled those mosaics/ whose round eyes / keep their immortal pin points /. . . black olives on a saucer" (446).

'The gaze' is also a formal term used in film theory, in particular feminist film theory in the 1970's . However, nowadays the term is used by media theorists and refers more broadly to the ways in which viewers look at images of people (in a visual medium) and to the gaze of those people depicted in visual texts. The walk described in "A Simple Flame" Chapter XIV, "Anna Awakening", seems to draw on film making exposures as the poet says, "Stunned by their images they strolled on, content / that the black film of water kept the print / of their locked images when they passed on" (236).

Daniel Chandler in <u>Notes on the Gaze</u> identifies four different classifications and sub classifications of the gaze in filmic, photographic and graphic art (1-3) (See Appendix C). These may, in the course of the analysis, prove analytically useful in describing various aspects of Walcott's plays. His article quotes film theorists such as Evans, Gamman, Ellis and Jenks who differentiate between the 'gaze' and 'the look'(3). They believe that 'the look' is a

perceptual mode open to all whereas the gaze' is a mode of viewing, reflecting a gendered code of desire. They agree that the term 'male gaze 'has become something of a cliche for the voyeuristic way in which men look at women. Ellis and Jenks take the difference further by relating 'the gaze' to cinema and 'the glance' to television based upon connotations of active and male for film, and passive female for television (qtd in Chandler 3).

Thus the Gaze, according to feminist film critics such as Laura Mulvey, Stephan Heath and Christian Metz is about how power relationships are defined in Hollywood film ("Gaze in Politics" 1). They see an imbalance of gendering of the gaze and propose that the construction of looking establishes limitations on women's agency. Paul Messaris in Forms of the Gaze observes that female models in advertisements addressed to women treat the lens as a substitute for the eye of an imaginary 'male onlooker ', and thus when women look at the ads, they actually see themselves as men would see them (4).

Painting is another discipline in which the gaze figures prominently. James Elkins quoted in Chandler, offers 10 different ways of looking at figurative painting in a gallery in general (2), (See Appendix D). The fascination that the gaze has held and still holds for painters can be illustrated specifically from the works of two painters: Picasso and McCauley. An analysis of some of their paintings would prove valuable in analysing Walcott's poetry. In Picasso's painting "Frugal Repast: 1904" (see Appendix E) the gaze of the woman seems unfocused. She looks at the viewer whereas the man's gaze is directed outwards at nothing in particular. Bernice Rose in her catalogue essay dedicated to the exhibition of Picasso at Palazzo Reale (Milan) from 15 September 2001 to 27 January 2002 writes that:

> Picasso's eyes look back at us through the woman, she is his surrogate in the picture. The artist through his other invites our complicity in the act of his self creation . . . Through the power of the line, the gaze - the act of looking itself - is transformed into an act of creation, an act of distancing, of doubling. (Rose 5)

A similar process of rebirth or recreation takes place in Walcott's poem "November Sun" when he says:

> In my son's
> restless gaze
> I am time ridden,
> The sedentary dial of his days.
>
> . . .
>
> I am pierced with this. I cannot look away
> Ah Christ, how cruelly the needles race!(46)

or as in "Homage to Gregorias", Chapter XII , Section 4, he writes, "We saw, within their eyes / we thought, an artist's ghost, / but dignified, dignified/ through days eaten with shame" (221).

Eva McCauley (a figurative painter and printmaker) held a solo exhibition of new paintings titled "The Gaze" in the Bau Xi Gallery in Toronto (November 3-20, 2001). The portraits depicted ranged from the 'Veiled Gaze', 'Dissolving Gaze', 'Oblique gaze' and 'Returning the Gaze' to 'Transparent gaze', and 'Glass eyed Doll' (See Appendix F). She specifically explored the reciprocal relationship between the viewer and the portrait faces, analysing the effect that visual mass media has had on the genre of painted female faces. McCauley distinguishes between 'looking' which she views as a perceptual mode of seeing, and 'gazing' which is a mode of looking reflecting a code of desire. She states that:

> The painted portrait is evolving into a mutual relationship . . . The more direct the gaze, the more strongly the viewer is confronted and reminded of their position as spectator. Even when the gaze is averted, the consciousness of the presence of the viewer still lingers. (1)

Walcott records a similar experience in the lingering presence of a woman after she has gone in Section 11 of "The Schooner Flight", as "I saw the veiled face of Maria Concepcion / marrying the ocean, then drifting away / in the widening lace of her bridal train / with white gulls her bride maids, / till she was gone" (360).

From the discussion so far it is evident that Derek Walcott's poems are a reservoir of infinite possibilities for the exploration of the concept of the gaze as it figures variously in data collected from sources of science and art.

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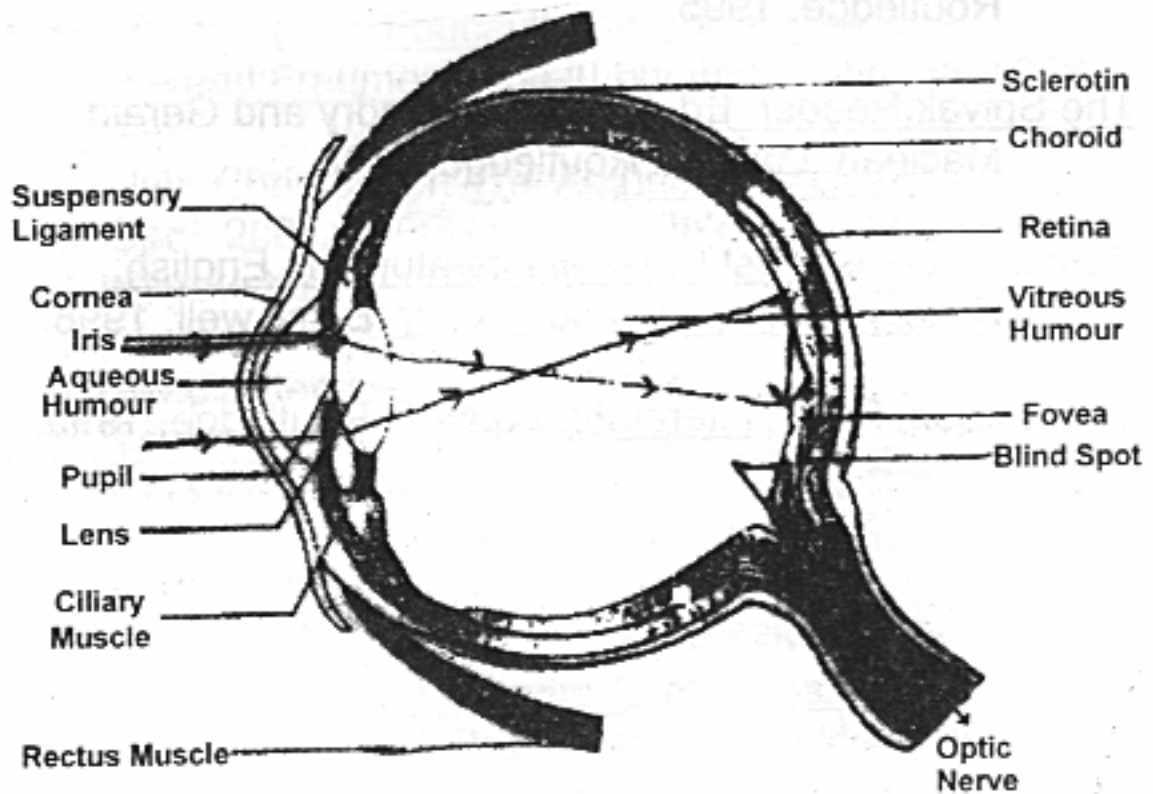   London: 1996.

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Appendix A

Sclerotin

Choroid

Retina

Suspensory Ligament

Vitreous Humour

Cornea

Iris

Aqueous Humour

Fovea

Blind Spot

Pupil

Lens

Ciliary Muscle

Rectus Muscle

Optic Nerve

Eye Movements

Research literature (e.g. Jacob 1995, Bruce & Green 1990) classifies seven different eye movements:

Convergence
> is a motion of both eyes relative to each other that ensures that an object is still foveated by both eyes when its distance from the observer is changed; the closer the object is, the more the eyes point towards each other. This movement can be voluntarily controlled, but is normally the result of a moving stimulus.

Rolling
> of the eyes is a rotational motion around an axis passing through the fovea and pupil. It is involuntary, and is influenced by, among other things the angle of the neck.

Saccades
> are the principal method for moving the eyes to a different part of the visual scene, and are sudden, rapid movements of the eyes. It takes about 100-300ms to initiate a saccade, i.e. from the time a stimulus is presented till the eye starts moving, and another 30-120ms to complete the saccade, depending on- among other things – the visual angle traversed. Saccades can be initiated voluntarily, but are ballistic: that is, once they are initiated, their path of motion and destination cannot be changed – which must be taken as an indication that visual attention

in the peripheral area selects the next location for the eyes to move to.

Pursuit motion

is a much smoother, slower movement than a saccade; it acts to keep a moving object foveated. It cannot be induced voluntarily, but requires a moving object in the visual field.

Nystagmus

is a pattern of eye movement that occurs as a response to the turning of the head (acceleration detected by the inner ear) or the viewing of a moving, repetitive pattern (the train window phenomenon). It consists of a smooth 'pursuit' motion in one direction to follow a position in the scene, followed by a fast motion in the opposite direction to select a new position.

Drift and microsaccades

occur during fixations and consist of slow drifts followed by very small saccades (microsaccades) that apparently have a drift-correcting function. These movements are involuntary.

Physiological nystagmus

is a high − frequency oscillation of the eye (tremor) that serves to continuously shift the image on the retina, thus calling fresh retinal receptors into operation. If an image is artificially fixed on the retina it disappears, but physiological nystagmus causes every point of the retinal image to move approximately the distance between two adjacent foveal cones in 0.1 seconds. Physiological

nystagmus actually occurs during a fixation period, is involuntary and generally moves the eye less than 1^0.

Daniel Chandler: Notes on the Gaze

Several key forms of gaze can be identified in photographic, filmic or televisual texts, or in figurative graphic art. The most obvious typology is based on *who is doing the looking*, of which the following are the most commonly cited:

- the *Spectators Gaze*: refers to the gaze of the viewer at an image of a personal object in the text.
- the *Intra-diegetic Gaze:* which is the gaze of one depicted person at another person/ object which the world of the text.
- the *Direct (Extra-diegetic) Gaze*: which is the gaze addressed to the viewer. This is the gaze of a person depicted in the text looking out of the frame as if at the viewer.
- *The Look of the Camera*: which is the way the Camera itself appears to look at the people/objects, and also the gaze of the film maker / photographer.

Three sub-classifications are also given by Chandler. These are:

- the *gaze of the bystander*: outside the world of the text, the gaze of another individual in the viewers social world catching the latter in the act of viewing.
- the *averted gaze*: which is a person's noticeable avoidance of the gaze of another person or of the camera lens or artist.
- the *gaze of the audience within the text*: in which certain kinds of popular televisual texts often include shots of an audience watching those performing (text within a text).

the *editorial gaze*: 'the whole institutional process by which some portion of the photographer's gaze is chosen for use and emphasis.

James Elkins offers ten different ways of looking at a figurative painting in a gallery:

1. You, looking at the paintings.
2. Figures in the paintings that look out at you.
3. Figures in the paintings that look at one another.
4. Figures in the paintings that look at objects or stare off into space or have their eyes closed.
5. There is often the museum guard, who may be looking at the back of your head.
6. The other people in the gallery, who may be looking at you or at the painting. There are imaginary observers, too.
7. The artist, who was once looking at this painting.
8. The models for the figures in the painting, which may once have seen themselves there.
9. The other people who have seen the painting – the buyers, the museum officials, and so forth.
10. People who have never seen the painting: they may know it only from the reproductions or from descriptions.

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Frugal Repast by Picasso

Transparent Gaze
2001
Monoprint/beeswax/oil
33.5 x 27.5 inches
available at Bau-XI. Toronto

Veiled Gaze
2001
Monoprint/beeswax/oil
33.5 x 27.5 inches
available at Bau-XI. Toronto

Oblique Gaze
2001
Monoprint/beeswax/oil
33.5 x 27.5 inches
available at Bau-XI. Toronto

Returning the Gaze II
2001
Monoprint/beeswax/oil
33.5 x 27.5 inches
available at Bau-XI. Toronto

Dissolving Gaze
2001
Monoprint/beeswax/oil
33.5 x 27.5 inches
available at Bau-Xl. Toronto

Returning the Gaze
2001
Monoprint/beeswax/oil
33.5 x 27.5 inches
available at Bau-Xl. Toronto

Edification
2001
Monoprint/beeswax/oil
33.5 x 27.5 inches
available at Bau-XI. Toronto

Moongazer
2001
Monoprint/beeswax/oil
33.5 x 27.5 inches
available at Bau-XI. Toronto

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