Images of the Mediterranean in Late 20th Century German Quality Press

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The article focuses on the analysis of the media coverage of the Mediterranean region in the late 20th century. German print media have been chosen as examples due to Germany's role as a founding member of the European Economic Community, and core state of the successor organizations European Community and European Union. Discursive and visual representations of the Mediterranean in the quality weekly *Die Zeit* and the quality magazine *Der Spiegel* are analysed, while main emphasis is put on supra-national and geo-political references. Discursive patterns, textual and visual metaphors as well as selected images are examined using a range of qualitative methods as analytical tools. This contribution attempts to throw somewhat light on the symbolic level of politics, which provides a frame for the perception of political issues and decision making processes.

EEC/EC – Mediterranean relations in the late 20th century: a brief history

As early as in 1969, almost four decades before the Union for the Mediterranean (UfM) was launched at the 2008 EU summit in Paris, preferential accords were signed between the European Economic Community and the Maghreb countries Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia.[1] Three years later the Global Mediterranean Policy (GMP, 1972–1992) was established, which concentrated on bilateral trade and co-operation agreements with third countries from the Mediterranean region (TMCs). These agree-

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1. The UfM is the continuation of the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership (Euro-Med, cf. F. ATTINA, *The Euro-Mediterranean Partnership Assessed: The Realist and Liberal Views*, in: *European Foreign Affairs Review*, 2(2003), pp.181-200). The UfM is also known as the Barcelona Process and refers to the 1995 approval of the creation of a Euro-Mediterranean free-trade zone. It provides a multi-faceted framework for relations between the European Union and the Southern and Eastern Mediterranean countries. The UfM comprises 28 EU members and 15 Mediterranean partner countries from Southeast Europe, North Africa, and the Middle East. It is aimed at creating and maintaining stability, peace, security, economic prosperity, environmental protection, and improving infrastructure, on the one hand, supporting democracy, civil society, human rights and fundamental freedoms, as well as intercultural dialog and regional co-operation, on the other. As the Southern counterpart of the Eastern Partnership, the UfM works in parallel to the European Neighborhood Policy (ENP). Cf. European Commission, Wider Europe – neighbourhood: a new framework for relations with our eastern and southern neighbours, COM (2003) 104 final, 11.03.2003. http://ec.europa.eu/world/enp/pdf/com03_104_en.pdf (January 2015); European Commission, European Neighbourhood Policy. Strategy Paper, Brussels, 12.05.2004; European Commission, A new response to a changing Neighbourhood, Brussel, 2011. See http://ec.europa.eu/world/enp/pdf/com_11_303_en.pdf; http://ufmsecretariat.org/history and http://www.medea.be/en/themes/euro-mediterranean-cooperation/euro-mediterranean-cooperation-historical/ (January 2015).

ments comprised primarily commercial co-operation (in terms of preferential tariffs for certain agricultural products as well as exemptions from custom duties for some industrial products), financial support for the TMCs, and social co-operation in order to advance living standards and social rights of immigrant workers from North Africa and Turkey. Libya and Albania were not included in the co-operations, due to political concerns. Agreements with Greece, Turkey, Malta and Cyprus (all of them were considered potential candidates for future membership) also involved plans for a customs union. GMP agreements with the Eastern Mediterranean countries were soon to follow (Israel 1975, Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia 1976, Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon and Syria 1977).[2] The innovative potential of the GMP was its regional approach and the focus on already existing linkages between the Mediterranean countries. While "approaching the Mediterranean as a *de facto* region or a region-to-be" the EEC created the Mediterranean as a political region.[3] At least the economic impact was remarkable: within 15 years (from 1979 to 1994) the overall share of total Mediterranean exports of manufactured products doubled from 28% to 56%.[4]

Propelled by the entry of the Southern European countries Greece (1981), Spain and Portugal (1986) into the European Economic Community, the first half of the 1980s saw the intensification of the EEC-TMC co-operation.[5] The three countries that became EEC members in the run of the Southern or Mediterranean enlargement challenged the EEC due to both, political as well as economic features. Firstly, the three countries were new democracies at that time; all of them shared a dictatorial past, which had only very recently been overcome. The political systems of Greece, Spain and Portugal had emerged from dictatorship and faced the need to consolidate their newly established democratic political systems. Membership in the EEC was, thus, also seen as a means to support the consolidation of democratic institutions and relating attitudes of the citizens in those countries.[6] Naturally, the EEC was interested in democratic stability in the relevant countries along its Southern borders, a fact that made membership of these Southern European countries very likely. However, more than a few representatives of the then EEC member states doubted that Spain, Portugal and Greece were yet ready to join. The scepticism corresponded to both, political maturity and economic capability. Nevertheless, the three countries were finally accepted as new members of the EEC.

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2. Cf. http://www.medea.be/en/themes/euro-mediterranean-cooperation/euro-mediterranean-cooperation-historical/ (January 2015).
3. Http://ies.berkeley.edu/research/bicchiconvergenceofciv.doc; cf. also http://www.analyticalmk.com/files/2012/01/02.pdf (January 2015).
4. Http://www.euromed-seminars.org.mt/seminar02/papers/vanhaeverbeke.htm; cf. also http://www.analyticalmk.com/files/2012/01/02.pdf (February 2015).
5. Cf., amongst others, R. GUNTHER, P.N. DIAMANDOUROS, J. PUHLE, *The Politics of Democratic Consolidation: Southern Europe in Comparative Perspective*, John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1995; E. KARAMOUZI, *Greece, the EEC and the Cold War 1974-1979: The Second Enlargement (Security, Conflict and Cooperation in the Contemporary World)*, Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2014; L. MORLINO, *Democracy Between Consolidation and Crisis: Parties, Groups, and Citizens in Southern Europe*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1998.
6. Cf. *Der Spiegel*, 14.07.1980, 22.06.1981 and 07.06.1982.

In the run of the Southern enlargement the Commission elaborated a plan in 1982 which aimed at furthering the development of Europe's Mediterranean countries and regions.[7] The so-called Renovated Mediterranean Policy (1992–1995), eventually formulated in 1990, disposed of an increased budget and more focused objectives as well as strategies. It comprised incentives such as softening social effects of International Monetary Fund and World Bank Programs, supporting Small and Medium Enterprises (SMUs), encouraging regional co-operation, protecting human rights, and fostering environmental protection. In addition, structural funds were available from 1988 onwards. The European Commission adopted a comprehensive approach to the Mediterranean region, which not only supported political and economic development in its new South European member states, but in the whole Mediterranean area. The EEC also assisted the establishment of the Arab-Maghreb Union, and generally improved bilateral dialogues and co-operations in the region.[8]

Eventually, the EEC (and later the EC/EU)-Mediterranean relationship further intensified in the wake of 1989 and the system change in the former single-party-states of East and Southeast Europe. Changes in the geo-political landscape that related to the end of the bipolar bloc system also affected Europe's international role and finally led to a new conception of European foreign policy.[9] These developments, in turn, impacted the perception of the Mediterranean region in terms of its political, strategic, and economic importance.

The above mentioned initiatives of the 1970s and 1980s, as well as later ones, such as the Barcelona Process, the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership, and, more recently, the Union for the Mediterranean, have, in addition to the economic focus and attempts to facilitate political stability and the rule of law, essentially been based on security concerns. Due to the particular approach of the EC/EU to a Common Foreign and Security Policy, relevant attempts relied mainly on soft power "economic instruments to defuse security challenges".[10] However, the Mediterranean region, this regard, has been a region of interest for the European Community, its members, and membership candidates from the late 1960s onwards.[11]

Against this background, the following chapters by way of example zoom in on the media portrayal of that particular region and related political issues in quality press products in Germany. The latter was selected because it was one of the founding states of the EEC and subsequently became a predominant EC and EU member.

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7. Among the main goals was the diversification of the agricultural production to avoid over-production of goods such as wine, olive oil and citrus fruits. Cf. http://www.medea.be/en/themes/euro-mediterranean-cooperation/euro-mediterranean-cooperation-historical/ (January 2015).

8. Cf. http://www.medea.be/en/themes/euro-mediterranean-cooperation/euro-mediterranean-cooperation-historical/ (January 2015).

9. Http://sam.gov.tr/wp-content/uploads/2012/02/AsliSuel.pdf (February 2015).

10. Http://ies.berkeley.edu/research/bicchiconvergenceofciv.doc (January 2015).

11. Cf. H. GHESQUIERE, *Impact of European Union Association Agreements on Mediterranean Countries*, IMF Working Paper, August 1998, pp.1-26; S.M. NSOULI, O. KANAAN, A. BISAT, *The European Union's new Mediterranean strategy*, in: *Finance and Development*, 3(1996), pp. 18-22; M. ORTEGA, *Some Comments on the European Union's Mediterranean Policy*, Chaillot Paper, No.64, EU Institute for Security Studies, Paris, 2003; European Commission, Joint Communication: *A Partnership for Democracy and Shared Prosperity with the Southern Mediterranean*, Brussels, 08.03.2011. See http://eeas.europa.eu/euromed/docs/com2011_200_en.pdf/ (January 2015).

Corpus and methodological approach

The corpus comprises all articles alluding to the Mediterranean region or referring to core Mediterranean countries, respectively, which were published in the magazine *Der Spiegel* (1293 documents) and the weekly *Die Zeit* (2849 documents) from 1966 until 1999. The time period covers the last third of the 20th century. The search key applied was "Mittelmeer".[12]

The media products chosen belong to a rather small group of German high-quality media. The weekly newspaper *Die Zeit*, first edited in 1946, is widely recognized for its journalistic quality. *Der Spiegel*, a weekly news magazine, was founded shortly after in 1947, and is seen by the *Economist* as one of Europe's most influential magazines.[13]

In order to identify the particularly relevant topics, discursive patterns and textual as well as visual representations, in a first step a quantitative approach was applied. For this purpose, the computer aided analytical tools Atlas.ti and IMatch were used to facilitate the process of organizing and structuring the collected material. In a second step, the pre-structured research material was explored using qualitative content analysis, discourse analysis, the analysis of textual and visual metaphors and – as regards selected images and graphic illustrations – also political iconography as methodological tools. These methods belong to the reconstructive and interpretative field of the methodological canon. According to the principle of methodological triangulation these qualitative approaches were combined in order to transcend shortcomings of a single method approach.[14]

Qualitative content analysis is a procedure for stepwise and often circular systematic text analysis including a lot of feedback loops. It aims at an in-depth understanding of textual material, while going beyond the analysis of the manifest content instead on latent structures of sense as well as context information. Key words, key

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12. Relevant articles are available via the online archives of both selected media. Cf. http://www.spiegel.de (October 2013); http://www.zeit.de (October 2013). Though, at the first glance, *Die Zeit* provides more than twice as much text documents than *Der Spiegel*, the number comes down when eliminating all cases not relevant to the research focus.
13. Cf. P. HUMPHREYS, *Mass Media and Media Policy in Western Europe*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1996. Cf. also *Der Spiegel and Germany's press: His country's mirror*, in: *The Economist*, 16.11.2002.
14. The methodological concept draws on previous research experiences of the author. Cf. P. BERNHARDT, L. HADJ-ABDOU, K. LIEBHART, A. PRIBERSKY, *Europäische Bildpolitiken. Politische Bildanalyse an Beispielen der EU-Politik*, WUV, Vienna, 2009; K. LIEBHART, *The CEE and SEE Expansion of Austrian Banks. A Showcase Analysis of Relating Media Coverage*, in: A. AGH et al. (eds), *The ECE Region in the EU28*, Together for Europe Series, Budapest, 2013, pp.365-379; K. LIEBHART, *Discursive and Visual Representations of EU Presidencies: Austria, Slovenia, Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland in Comparison*, in: O. GYARFASOVA, K. LIEBHART, (eds), *Cultural Patterns of Politics*, LIT, Berlin-Münster-Vienna, pp.53-79; K. LIEBHART, P. MAYRHOFER, *Visual Narratives of Political Change in European History Textbooks*, in: ibid., pp.215-231; R. WODAK, R. DE CILLIA, M. REISIGL, K. LIEBHART, *The Discursive Construction of National Identity*, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, 2009.

themes, and units of meaning are of particular interest in this regard. Relations and links between themes are a further concern.[15]

The interdisciplinary, constructivist approach of critical discourse analysis attempts to analyse "language-in-use", be it written or spoken. Language is understood as a kind of social practice through which meaning is constructed. Thus, discourse analysis aims at understanding and revealing those social and cultural patterns that underlie a text, respectively a statement, an argument, or an expression of believe. Special emphasis is also put on values and motivations involved in the use of language, on the one side, linguistic realizations and discursive strategies, on the other. The latter comprise, amongst others, the strategy of nomination (how are persons, objects, phenomena, events, processes and actions referred to?), the strategy of pre- dication (what features are attributed to actors, objects, phenomena and processes?), the strategy of argumentation (what arguments are employed?), and the strategy of framing (from what perspective are these nominations, attributions and arguments expressed?).[16]

The analysis of metaphors focuses on figures of speech and relating visual representations, which use concrete images to represent more complex political phenomena, to facilitate understanding of intricate issues with the help of concepts with which one is more familiar and which are therefore more easily imaginable. Thus, textual and visual metaphors (so to say visual representations of metaphorical concepts) as means of linguistic realization are of particular importance in the field of political rhetoric.[17]

Political iconography aims at the interpretation of visual content. It implies a critical "reading" of imagery to avoid rash and solely subjective interpretations. Political images which are communicated to the public always feature historical and actual linkages. This calls for an approach that focuses on the specific systems of reference

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15. Cf. N.K. DENZIN, Y.S. LINCOLN, *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research*, SAGE Thousand Oaks, California, 2005; U. FLICK, *An Introduction to Qualitative Research*, SAGE Thousand Oaks, California, 2009; J. RITCHIE, J. LEWIS, *Qualitative Research Practice: A Guide for Social Science Students and Researchers*, SAGE Thousand Oaks, California, 2003. Inductive and open coding was used to develop categories, and codes were derived bottom-up from the reading of the textual material.

16. N. FAIRCLOUGH, *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language*, Harlow, Essex, 2010; T.A. VAN DIJK (ed.), *Discourse Studies: A Multidisciplinary Introduction*, SAGE Thousand Oaks, California, 2000; R. WODAK, M. KRZYZANOWSKI, *Qualitative Discourse Analysis in the Social Sciences*, Palgrave Macmillan, Houndmills-Basingstoke, 2008; R. WODAK, M. MEYER, *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis. Introducing Qualitative Methods Series*, SAGE Thousand Oaks, California, 2009; R. WOKAK, M. REISIGL, *Discourse and Discrimination: Rhetorics of Racism and Antisemitism*, Routledge, London, 2001.

17. E. EL REFAIE, *Understanding visual metaphor: the example of newspaper cartoons*, in: *Visual Communication*, 2 (2003), http://vcj.sagepub.com (September 2013); H. MÜNKLER, *Politische Bilder – Politik der Metaphern*, C.H. Beck, Munich, 1994; R. SCHMITT, *Methode und Subjektivität in der Systematischen Metaphernanalyse*, in: *FQS*, 2(2003), http://www.qualitative-research.net/fgs/ (November 2013); R. WESEL, *Metapher als sprach- und bildtheoretisches Konzept zur Analyse symbolischer Politik?*, in: W. HOFMAN (ed.), *Bildpolitik-Sprachpolitik*, LIT, Berlin, 2006, pp. 197-216.

addressed in each case.[18] Types of representation and motifs used are of special interest in this regard.[19]

Depicting the Mediterranean region in *Der Spiegel* and *Die Zeit* from 1966 to 1999

The striking result of the analysis of the articles referring to the Mediterranean in both print media is the significance of two topics: security concerns in the wider sense and ecological as well as environmental issues. In terms of security articles published until the end of the bipolar system mainly allude to the Cold War and the bloc confrontation, on the one hand, to the role of Mediterranean NATO members (France, Spain, Italy and Turkey) within this context, on the other. Especially the French president Charles De Gaulle's controversial approach to NATO-led security policy is frequently discussed.[20] Regional conflicts, amongst them first and foremost the tensions and wars in the Middle East, but also the Cyprus secession conflict or, more recently, the wars that accompanied the process of the dissolution of Yugoslavia are also prominently covered – until the very beginning of the 1990s mainly with reference to the East-West-divide.[21] The North African countries on the Southern shore of the Mediterranean, such as Egypt, Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco, the Lebanon, or

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18. H. DIEKMANNSHENKE, M. KLEMM, H. STÖCKL, *Bildlinguistik. Theorien-Methoden-Fallbeispiele*, Springer, Neuburg, 2011; M. DIERS, *Schlagbilder. Zur politischen Ikonographie der Gegenwart*, Fischer, Frankfurt/M, 1997; J. ELKINS, *Visual Studies: A Skeptical Introduction*, Routledge, London, 2003; M.G. MÜLLER, *Iconography and Iconology as a Visual Method and Approach*, in: E. MARGOLIES, L. PAUWELS, *The SAGE Handbook of Visual Research Methods*, SAGE Thousand Oaks, California, 2011, pp.283-297; E. PANOFSKY (ed.), *Meaning in the Visual Arts*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1982; G. PAUL, *Das Jahrhundert der Bilder*, Vandenhoek & Ruprecht, Göttingen, 2008; T. VAN LEEUWEN, C. JEWITT, *Handbook of Visual Analysis*, SAGE Thousand Oaks, California, 2001.

19. This methodological approach was developed at the beginning of the 20th century by art historians as a means of identification and classification of motifs and visual content of paintings. In *Studies in Iconology* Erwin Panofsky elaborated on the concept of three levels of art-historical understanding ("three strata of subject matter or meaning", as there are, firstly, the natural subject matter or the depiction of the elements that the painting, the photograph, the poster, the leaflet, etc. consists of; and secondly, the conventional subject matter introducing cultural knowledge. The final and third question is "What does it all mean?"). Panofsky's approach has been further developed for utilization also in social sciences (e.g., for the analysis of mass mediated images) by Marion G. Müller. She especially underscores the importance of context and frame. M.G. MÜLLER, *Iconography and Iconology ...*, op.cit., pp.283-297; M.G. MÜLLER, *What is visual communication? Past and future of an emerging field of communication research*, in: *Studies in Communication Sciences*, 2(2007), pp.7-34; M.G. MÜLLER, *Grundlagen der visuellen Kommunikation. Theorieansätze und Analysemethoden*, UTB, Konstanz, 2003.

20. For example, *Der Spiegel*, 11.12.1967, 27.05.1968, 25.01.1972, 27.11.1972, 22.04.1974 and 26.08.1974; *Die Zeit*, 01.11.1968, 07.02.1970.

21. For example *Die Kriege um Israel*, in: *Der Spiegel*, 15.02.1999, *Das Jahrhundert der Kriege 5*, or *Das Gespenst von Vietnam*, in: *Der Spiegel*, 05.04.1999. Cf. also numerous other issues of *Der Spiegel* between 1967 and 1997.

Libya are mostly depicted as critical issues.[22] Until the fall of the Iron Curtain those issues are again usually framed with references to the confrontation of the two ideological and military blocs.[23]

However, there is a difference between the two media *Die Zeit* and *Der Spiegel*: While both print products all in all provide a rather multifaceted portrayal of the Mediterranean region in the last third of the 20th century, *Der Spiegel* stresses even more the NATO-Warsaw Pact confrontation, which provides the overall frame for the discussion of the strategic importance of the Mediterranean Sea.[24] This applies to both, the textual and the visual level. The focus on security issues first and foremost emphasises the West-East divide, the Cold War, diverse military threat scenarios and the particular significance of the Mediterranean Sea in this context. Finally, after the end of the bi-polar bloc system, new challenges to security, such as terrorism, come to the fore in the 1990s.[25]

The presence of both, the US led NATO fleet and the Warsaw Pact fleet in the Mediterranean Sea, and resultant occurrences were a major concern throughout the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s. A lot of articles deal with these issues, and are frequently illustrated with images of military vessels and other military facilities.[26] The prevalent use of such images sets up an iconographic frame for the messages conveyed and puts them into the context of a potentially violent and minatory atmosphere.

Especially the expansion of the Soviet fleet serves as a symbol for the menace raised by the face-off between the two ideological and military opponents. After years of control of the Mediterranean Sea by the US fleet and only marginal presence of Soviet merchant-ships and fishing boats, more and more USSR warships appeared in the Mediterranean towards the end of the 1960s, especially in the wake of the Middle East War. *Der Spiegel* reported in September 1967:

> „Jahrelang hatte Amerikas Sechste Flotte das Mittelmeer beherrscht. Ihre Ausguckposten machten die roten Fahnen mit Hammer und Sichel lediglich am Heck von Handelsschiffen – und zuweilen von spionierenden Fischerbooten – aus. Seit dem Nahostkrieg aber wurden insgesamt 40 sowjetische Kriegsschiffe in mediterranen Gewässern gesichtet".[27]

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22. For example, *Zeitbombe vor Europas Toren*, in: *Die Zeit*, 12.10.1990. Cf. also among others: *Die Zeit*, 22.12.1972, 13.02.1976, 05.10.1984 and 02.10.1987, *Der Spiegel* 12.11.1973, 05.12.1983, 23.01.1984, 09.01.1984, 09.12.1987, 21.08.1989, 19.08.1991, 17.08.1992 and 31.05.1993.

23. For example, *Moskau rüstet Syrien auf*, in: *Der Spiegel* 31.10.1983. Cf. also *Atomwaffenfreie Zone in Nahost*, in: *Der Spiegel*, 03.08.1987; *Kriegsgeheul in der Ägäis*, in: *Die Zeit*, 07.06.1996. See also *Die Zeit*, several other issues between 1968 and 1995.

24. For example, references are also made to the history of the Mediterranean Sea and the Mediterranean region.

25. *Der Spiegel*, 18.09.1967, 13.05.1968, 27.08.1968, 23.06.1969, 21.07.1980, 22.11.1982, 05.10.1987, 10.11.1987, 01.01.1988, 20.11.1990, 18.11.1996 and 21.05.1998.

26. *Wacht vor Suez*, in: *Der Spiegel*, 18.09.1967; *Wird das Mittelmeer ein Sowjet-Meer?*, in: *Der Spiegel*, 13.05.1968; *Sowiets auf Syros*, in: *Der Spiegel*, 21.07.1980; *Tritt für Uncle Sam*, in: *Der Spiegel*, 16.11.1987.

27. *Der Spiegel*, 18.09.1967.

Nine month later, the magazine featured an interview with the commander of the NATO Armed Forces South, under the title „Is the Mediterranean Sea to become a Soviet Sea?".[28]

Alluding to the same circumstances, *Die Zeit* informed their readers that „the Red Fleet anchors in the West", and the Soviet warships in the Mediterranean cannot longer be ignored.[29] The weekly, using a metaphor taken from chess, called this a stalemate situation in the Mediterranean, which the two giant powers face.[30] What is more, *Die Zeit* underscored that not only the US was on alert because of the Soviet „invasion" – as the presence of the Red Fleet was called –, but also the NATO members France and Britain: The high profile of the Soviet fleet in the Mediterranean had undoubtedly introduced a new factor to the game.[31]

> „Die Präsenz starker sowjetischer Flotteneinheiten im Mittelmeer hat einen alten Russen-Traum verwirklicht und im Süden Europas eine neue strategische Lage geschaffen. Die europäische Nato-Führung erwägt zur Zeit, den Schwerpunkt ihrer Verteidigungsanstren-gungen in den Mittelmeerraum zu verlagern […]. Noch stellt die russische ‚Eskadra', deren Stärke von Woche zu Woche variiert, keine militärische Bedrohung der Nato-Mächte dar, doch vermutet die US-Zeitschrift ‚U.S. News & World Report', daß die sowjetische See-macht im Mittelmeer schon Ende dieses Sommers stärker als die Sechste US-Flotte sein wird. […] Die levantinische und nordafrikanische Küste, früher unter europäischer Kon-trolle, gehört nun selbständigen Staaten, die teilweise (Syrien, Ägypten, Algerien) mit der sowjetischen Politik sympathisieren. In ihren Häfen ankern sowjetische Kriegsschiffe, den Seestreitkräften der Nato-Staaten sind sie verschlossen".[32]

Against such threat scenarios wavering confederates in the Mediterranean region are presented as a particular concern by both print media throughout the 1970s and 1980s. The question is asked whether the Southern edge of NATO would falter and even-tually even burst?[33] *Der Spiegel* also blames the South European EEC member states Greece and Spain for being unconfident allies. Greece is, for example, mentioned because the Greek government and the Soviet government had previously agreed upon a deal which enabled USSR vessels to call at the port of the Greek island Syros to get the ships overhauled and purchase service quantities, fuel, water, and foods:

> "Was die Nato-Vormacht USA dermaßen aufgeschreckt hatte, war ein Geschäft der Grie-chen mit Moskau, das sowjetischen Schiffen Reparaturrechte auf der Griecheninsel Syros einräumt […]. Im Klartext: Die Griechen haben sich verpflichtet, die Versorgungsschiffe der 3. Sowjetischen Eskadra im Mittelmeer, dem östlichen Gegenstück zur 6. US-Flotte,

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28. *Wird das Mittelmeer ein Sowjet-Meer?*, op.cit.
29. *Die Rote Flotte ankert im Westen*, in: *Die Zeit*, 02.08.1967. *Politik der kleinen Stiche*, in: *Die Zeit*, 22.11.1968. Cf. also *Der Spiegel*, 22.04.1974 and 21.03.1977.
30. *Patt der Giganten*, in: *Die Zeit*, 08.12.1967.
31. *Sind wir bedroht? Folgen der sowjetischen Invasion*, in: *Die Zeit*, 06.09.1968; *Der General blickt nach Amerika. Frankreich verfolgt die sowjetische Flottenpräsenz im Mittelmeer und die sich da-raus ergebende strategische Veränderung an Europas Südflanke mit wachsender Aufmerksamkeit*, in: *Die Zeit*, 08.11.1968; *Politik der kleinen Stiche*, op.cit.: see also *Der Spiegel*, 28.07.1969.
32. *Der Spiegel*, 12.05.1968.
33. *Wenn die Flanke der Nato wankt*, in: *Die Zeit*, 26.07.1974; *Birst der Südost-Pfeiler?*, in: *Die Zeit*, 23.08.1974.

mit Treibstoff, Wasser, Lebensmitteln und sogar Ersatzteilen zu versorgen. Früher mußten die Sowjet-Schiffe dazu meist ihre fast 1000 Seemeilen entfernten Häfen am Schwarzen Meer anlaufen".[34]

A couple of years prior to this event Greece, which was then a military dictatorship, was seen as a stable partner for NATO and the United States. According to Prime Minister Georgios Papadopoulos, Greece was considered a protector of West European civilization in that particular European edge.[35] On these grounds, the dictatorial regime in Greece was supported by the US and other NATO members, because it was seen as a firm ally.[36]

When Spain in 1987 signalled that it would probably not renew the treaty that enabled the US military base on Spanish territory, *Der Spiegel* reported that the country was kicking „Uncle Sam" and that „Washington is afraid of a domino effect". This metaphor was frequently used in regard to US international affairs during the Cold War, with reference to the so-called „domino theory".[37] The latter suggested that if the political system of one country changes to Communism this would impact other countries in that region as well and they would eventually be more likely to come under communist rule.

In view of this background the electoral successes of several South European Communist parties in the early 1970s seemed especially critical. „Communists ante portas" was the title of a story published in *Die Zeit* in 1974 which referred to the fact that some of these parties were involved in negotiations about coalition governments in the relevant countries.[38] Italy was mentioned as an example for a reliable NATO partner in principle, but, however, a bit instable due to the threat of a potential coalition government that would include the Communist Party. Against the backdrop of such scenario, NATO was said to discuss a transfer of its Southern headquarter from Italy to Greece.[39] As early as in 1975 *Die Zeit* had already asked whether Spain would be on the way to become a nightmare after the death of the dictator Francisco Franco and the end of his fascist regime. The term nightmare referred to the likely unpredictability of the new democratic regime compared to its predecessor.[40] Five months earlier the weekly had as well adverted to Spain but also to Portugal and Cyprus, which were all considered problematic cases. Portugal was mentioned to show that the country compared to Spain due to the system change, which could result in unpredictability in terms of foreign policy interests and decisions. Cyprus was referred

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34. *Der Spiegel*, 21.07.1980.
35. *Der Spiegel*, 27.05.1968.
36. The EEC criticised the dictatorial regime in Greece, while the NATO supported it. Cf. *Der Spiegel*, 06.12.1966, 04.11.1968, 23.12.1968, 26.07.1971, 22.11.1971 and 18.12.1972.
37. *Tritt für Uncle Sam*, op.cit.
38. *Die Kommunisten vor der Tür. Die Kommunisten stehen vor den Türen Südeuropas. Sie steigen nicht auf revolutionäre Barrikaden, sondern sind auf dem Weg in die Regierungskoalitionen*, in: *Die Zeit*, 27.09.1974.
39. *Der Spiegel*, 31.05.1976.
40. *Wird Spanien zum Alptraum? Gefahren und Hoffnungen für Europa nach Franco*, in: *Die Zeit*, 31.10.1975.

to because of the secession conflict and relating issues.[41] "The US is looking at Spain", reported *Die Zeit*. Moreover, the entire Southern flank of NATO, which had become "the fracture of the Atlantic Alliance", was a matter of concern.[42]

The role of some Mediterranean NATO states and (potentially) future EEC/EC members such as the above mentioned ones, but particularly the variable position of France had been covered by the relevant media throughout the last 20 years of the Cold War.[43] However, also after the end of the bipolar bloc system and the NATO-Warsaw Pact confrontation the strategic meaning of the Mediterranean Sea remained essential. The two analysed print products unanimously communicated the persisting importance of the region in terms of geo-political issues. "The Cold War is by no means over" asserted *Die Zeit* seven years after 1989.[44] Some strange stories that refer to a supposed ongoing confrontation between the West and Russia as the successor state of the Soviet Union were also reported: the encounter between a Russian submarine and Spanish fishermen who randomly "caught" that nuclear submarine in their trawl nets was covered by *Der Spiegel* in October 1999, which in turn referred to the Spanish newspaper *El Pais*.[45]

Beyond these main topics, new issues were added to the traditional scenario after the end of the Cold War. Others – such as the cold and hot wars in the Arab region – had already been emphasized during the Cold War. The depiction of the conflict in the Middle East not only alluded to the role of Israel, the problem of the Palestine territories, and the PLO as the representative of the Palestinians, but also to other states involved in the wars and ongoing conflicts, such as Jordan, Lebanon, Egypt and Syria.[46] The "pirate state" Libya and dictator Muammar Gaddafi were portrayed as a particular threat to international security and vantage point for terrorist attacks.[47]

Especially the wars on the Balkans during the 1990s were intensively covered. In the wake of the dissolution of Yugoslavia and the resulting wars, the Balkan region generally was perceived as a crisis region, particularly in regard to war crimes against civilians and ethnic cleansing.[48]

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41. Cf. also *Mauer auf Dauer*, in: *Die Zeit*, 25.11.1983, 18.07.1994, 03.01.1997 and *Der Spiegel*, 16.02.1998.
42. *USA schauen auf Spanien. Die Südflanke Westeuropas …*, in: *Die Zeit*, 16.05.1975. Cf. also *Die Zeit*, 26.07.1974 and *Der Spiegel*, 18.10.1974.
43. *Giscards zaghafte Offensive. Befehdete Annäherung an die Nato*, in: *Die Zeit*, 18.02.1977; *Mitterrand sucht den Weg zurück*, in: *Die Zeit*, 11.03.1988.
44. *Der Kalte Krieg ist noch lange nicht vorbei*, in: *Die Zeit*, 01.03.1996. Cf. also *Der Spiegel*, 14.10.1999.
45. *Spanische Fischer: Russisches Atom-U-Boot gefangen*, in: *Der Spiegel*, 14.10.1999.
46. *Der Spiegel*, several issues between 1966 and 1998.
47. For example, *Der Spiegel*, 28.10.1974, 16.12.1974, 14.12.1981, 05.08.1983, 06.01.1986, 03.02.1986, etc.
48. For example, *Die Zeit*, 17.07.1992, 08.04.1994, 17.06.1994, 26.05.1995; *Der Spiegel*, 17.07.1989, 13.07.1992, 10.08.1992, 20.03.1995, 12.06.1995, 16.12.1996 and 15.06.1998.

The second big theme covered by both media, *Der Spiegel* and *Die Zeit*, throughout the more than three decades relates to environmental issues, ecology, and towards the end of the 20th century from 1966 to 1999, more and more to climate change.[49] The severe pollution of the Mediterranean Sea, environmental problems of its neighbouring countries, but also national and supra-national attempts and strategies to fight (in most cases manmade) ecological disasters and protect the sea as well as its shores, were prominently featured topics over decades.[50] It has to be highlighted that in terms of severe ecological problems and resulting issues that impact the tourism industry, Italy was represented as the probably most intensively concerned Mediterranean state. This message was strongly supported by the selection of illustrations. The huge majority of images used to visualize the pollution of the Mediterranean featured manky Italian beaches throughout the country. Though it was also mentioned that countries such as Spain and Yugoslavia (respectively its successor states) were highly affected by those ecological problems and disasters, the reader gets the impression, that the situation in Italy is even worse.

The entire Mediterranean Sea was depicted in relevant articles as a fragile and endangered ecosystem, exposed to environmental pollution through industrial waste and effluent, oil from big tank ships, chemical products such as fertilizers and other toxic substances like phosphates, not filtered waste water containing bacteria, viruses, and excrements, radioactive material, and last but not least the negative impact of mass tourism. To express the poignancy of the problem, the media under scrutiny used dramatic wording and drastic imagery:

> „Das von drei Kontinenten eingerahmte Binnengewässer gilt, so die Naturschutzorganisation Greenpeace, als Meer mit den meisten Umweltproblemen der Welt. […] 430 000 Tonnen giftige Abwässer, 360 000 Tonnen Phosphate, 65 000 Tonnen Schwermetalle muß die Badewanne Europas aufnehmen, dazu die meist ungeklärten Abwässer von 120 Großstädten und die ganze Chemikalienpalette moderner Hochleistungs-Landwirtschaft".[51]

Frequently applied nominations and attributions were stinking cloaca, brown puddle or contaminated bathtub, or the play on words *mare monstrum* instead of *mare nostrum*.[52] Relating images depicted masses of tourists on over-crowded beaches, polluted, dirty, devastated landscapes, signs that prohibit bathing and swimming, perished sea dwellers, barrels containing toxic substances, and piles of rubbish:

> "Die Algenplage des vergangenen Sommers an der italienischen und jugoslawischen Adria-Küste war ein Warnzeichen, daß die Existenzgrundlage von Millionen Menschen

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49. For example, *Der Spiegel*, 17.07.1989, 20.02.1995, 17.08.1998 and 13.12.1999.
50. For example *Der Spiegel*, 21.08.1972, 06.08.1979, 17.10.1983, 14.08.1989, 16.10.1989, 12.07.1990, 16.10.1990, 12.06.1991, 01.11.1998, 20.09.1999, 06.12.1999 and *Der Spiegel Special*, 11/1998. *Der Dreck der EWG*, in: *Die Zeit*, 23.07.1971. Cf. also various articles in *Die Zeit* between 1971 and 1998.
51. *Der Spiegel*, 02.07.1990.
52. *Die Zeit*, 28.09.1990. Cf. also: *Bad in der Brühe*, in: *Der Spiegel*, 17.08.1970; *Zu schmutzig und zu teuer*, in: *Die Zeit* 02.10.1970. *Italiens braunes Meer im Sonnenschein*, in: *Die Zeit*, 16.07.1971, *Warnung vor Mittelmeerfischen*, in: *Der Spiegel*, 31.03.1975, *Europas sonnigste Kloake*, in: *Der Spiegel*, 25.07.1977, *Italiens Meer gleicht einer Kloake*, in: *Der Spiegel*, 16.06.1995.

gefährdet ist […]. Fast die gesamte Mittelmeerküste leidet bereits unter Umweltschäden: Ganze Strandzonen gelten als verseucht; natürliche Biotope wurden weitgehend zerstört, die maritimen Tier- und Pflanzenarten sind stark dezimiert".[53]

"The region is committing suicide" stated the caption of a respective image. The article referred to the popular holiday destinations Italy and Yugoslavia and warned that within the next 50 years, or even earlier, only viruses and bacteria would remain at the touristic venues:

> „Ströme wie Nil, Po, Ebro oder Rhone transportieren gewaltige Mengen von Industriemüll, Fäkalien, Düngemitteln und Pestiziden zur Kloake Mittelmeer […]: ‚Wer das Mittelmeer retten will, der muß damit in den Fabriken von Lyon, in der Kanalisation von Mailand und auf den Feldern des Sudan anfangen'".[54]

The role of tourism had already been critically assessed by the magazine *Der Spiegel* six years before. Each summer the excrements of 100 million sun worshipping tourists had added to those of 100 million residents, mostly raw sewage, reported *Der Spiegel* in 1983.[55] Another four years earlier the magazine dedicated a cover story to the pollution and damage of the Mediterranean Sea. The title page depicted a pretty young lady swimming in the sea like a mermaid. Below her, on the sandy bottom of the sea the reader could see all kind of waste and rubbish which the smiling girl apparently did not recognize. The hidden waste at the bottom of the sea not visible at the first glance, was used as a symbol for the bad quality of the seawater. The caption was „garbage dump Mediterranean".[56] The article alerts the reader to the risks of bathing and swimming in the polluted water such as acromycosis and hepatitis, while the visual representation suggested a metaphorical chain. In addition, detailed maps showed the polluted sites and indicated the contaminators.[57]

Although the responsible governments as well as supranational and international organizations eventually implemented effective measures to save the Mediterranean Sea, the problem is not solved to date. A special issue of *Der Spiegel* which was published in November 1998 focused on the pollution of all oceans and often mentioned the Mediterranean Sea. The message was unmistakable: There is "no reason to give the all-clear for Europe's coasts and seas".[58] The climate change, the numerous negative effects of mass tourism, such as piles of garbage and shortage of drinking water, and still the pollution of the sea water through chemicals and not filtered waste

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53. *Kaum noch Chancen für das größte Binnenmeer der Welt*, in: *Der Spiegel*, 16.10.1989.
54. *Der Spiegel*, 17.10.1983, 06.09.1971, 14.08.1972, 21.08.1972 and 06.08.1979. Cf. also *Die Zeit*, 22.06.1984.
55. *Stinkende Pfütze. Die Uno-Umweltschutzbehörde will helfen, das ökologisch verseuchte Mittelmeer zu retten – Erfolg frühestens in 15 Jahren*, in: *Der Spiegel*, 17.10.1983. Cf. also *Der Spiegel*, 07.06.1976, 13.09.1976, 04.04.1977, 28.08.1978, 23.11.1978, 19.02.1979, 29.10.1979, 17.08.1987, 15.05.1989, 01.02.1994, 27.06.1994, 20.09.1994, 11.08.1997 and 26.07.1999, and *Der Spiegel Special "Meer und Mehr"*, (November 1998).
56. *Müllkippe Mittelmeer. Geht bloß nicht ins Wasser*, in: *Der Spiegel*, 06.08.1979.
57. *Der Spiegel*, 06.08.1979 and 17.10.1983.
58. See in *Not. Kein Grund zur Entwarnung für Europas Küsten und Meere. Ein Öko-Kataster von Susanne Liedtke*, in: *Spiegel Special*, November 1998.

water persisted continuous matters of concern.[59] An article published in November 1999 accents the role of big rivers in this regard and introduces the Nile as a bad example. The world's longest waterway carries primarily agricultural and industrial effluents as well as dirty waters from the sewage system to the sea.[60]

Conclusion

The above presented discursive and visual representations were analysed to shed light on the representation of the Mediterranean Sea in the last third of the 20th century. Those representations – and also previous ones – are still stored in the European collective memory and iconic archive. That is to say they yet impact on the public perception of political issues, political debates, agenda setting and decision making relating to the Mediterranean region. At least to some extent they still function as frames of reference.

The overall image suggests that the Mediterranean region, also called "The European South" remains a crisis region, or, at least a potential crisis region. This is especially true when it comes to the depiction of countries located on the Southern shore of the Mediterranean Sea. Beyond the involvement of some of these countries in the lasting Middle East conflict, the struggle with the rise of groups of fundamentalist Muslims, can also be mentioned in this case.

A corner-stone of all these discourses is the construction of the Mediterranean as a field of conflict between the West and a relevant antithetic power – formerly the Soviet Union, respectively Russia, currently first and foremost the "Islamic threat". The latter, however, already appeared in the media in the mid-1980s.[61] After the end of the Cold War it obviously also replaced the former main enemy USSR. *Die Zeit*, in an article published in 1993, quoted the outgoing commander-in-chief of NATO, John Galvin who characterized the Cold War, which the West had indeed won, as a 70-years-old aberrancy. He went on with stating that now "we" get back to the actual centre of conflict of the last 1,300 years, which for him was the big quarrel with Islam.[62]

Within all these threat scenarios also the question is raised whether the Mediterranean confederates are truly reliable NATO partners or not. As has already been mentioned, relating debates mainly focused on Greece, Spain and Portugal after they had overcome the dictatorships which for their part had been considered stable allies

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59. *Der Spiegel*, 26.07.1999.
60. *Höchste Alarmstufe für große Flüsse*, in: *Der Spiegel*, 30.11.1999.
61. *„Steppenbrand" im Mittelmeer. Auch Italien richtet sich auf eine neue Terrorwelle Libyens ein*, in: *Die Zeit*, 04.04.1986.
62. *Der Islam – Gefahr für die Welt?*, in: *Die Zeit*, 02.04.1993. See also *Der Spiegel*, 11.06.1990, 19.08.1991 and 01.02.1993.

of the West. Italy, in contrast, was generally seen as a true ally to NATO, probably relating to the establishment of the NATO Headquarter South in Naples.

Also the second headstone, the fight against the menace of ecological disasters in the Mediterranean region is still on the political agenda. Among the six concrete projects the Ministers of Foreign Affairs who gathered in Marseilles in 2008 discussed in order to advance the Euro-Mediterranean partnership and its successor the Union for the Mediterranean, the de-pollution of the Mediterranean Sea played an important role. Corresponding measures the Ministers agreed on comprised a lot of initiatives and strategies such as good environmental governance, access to drinkable water for the general public, sustainable water management, the reduction of pollution and the protection of the Mediterranean biodiversity.[63]

Although the political terrain of the Mediterranean region has fundamentally changed in the wake of the years 1889-1991 some of the issues already discussed decades ago are yet of importance in both European and nation state politics. However, they appear in variegated form. The probably most serious problem currently related to the Mediterranean region, the humanitarian catastrophe of the boat people who desperately try to reach the Northern shore of the Mediterranean Sea and die in large numbers at the attempt, did not yet play a major role in the space of time covered in this article. [64]

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63. Http://ufmsecretariat.org (January 2015).
64. *Der Spiegel*, 03.02.1997. *EU verdreifacht Mittel für Seenotrettung*, in: *Die Zeit*, 23.04.2015; *Die EU in Halbherzigkeit vereint*, in: *Die Zeit* 24.04.2015.