

# **A Comparative Study of Arabic Media in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and Egypt**

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**Master of Philosophy**

By

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## CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that this dissertation entitled “*A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF ARBIC MEDIA IN THE KINGDOM OF SAUDI ARABIA AND EGYPT*” submitted by me <sup>as an original work and is</sup> in Partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Award of the Degree of Master of Philosophy. To the best of my knowledge the said dissertation has not been previously submitted for the award of same degree to this university or any other university.

Mohammad Mahtab Alam  
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(Supervisor)

*Dedicated to*

*My Father, Mother,  
Brothers and Sister*

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Mohammad Mahtab Alam  
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# Introduction

Now-a-days newspapers, magazines, radio, satellite television channels and internet are increasingly in use for transmitting the information per se.

The news media have gained significant importance everywhere in the world during the past few years, the channels of information and media are multiplying day by day. In deed, it is the communication skill that has brought about dramatic changes around the world. Today inflow and outflow of information is prompt and efficient. Everyone wants to make it reliable, comprehensive and fast. It is because we at present have giant means for disseminating the information and knowledge in various regions of the globe. In return, people are in a position to formulate their own opinion about major international issues depending mainly on the inputs constantly projected by the mass media.

As we all know that media are governed by the people and for the people. They basically provide us information and news about events and incidents related to the people all over the world. They present news and views sometimes in writing and sometimes in the forms of voice and picture. It is worth noting that the media are all the time in action for providing us information.

When the US attacked Iraq and Afghanistan, and Israel battled with Palestinians in the recent past, the role of media emerged very significantly as it played a prominent role in highlighting the destructive aspects of the above noted conflicts. On the same line gulf crisis received extensive media coverage. There is no doubt that in respect of media each gulf state has different set of norms from the other. Some have taken a bigger leap while others are more cautious and unsure of themselves while dealing with information viability.

Kuwait is in relative terms, the most free country, a fact that stems from an elected National Assembly. Among all the gulf countries, it is only the Kuwaiti newspapers which do not hesitate in reporting the hard-hitting speeches of

opposition leaders. Their views on the local issues some time are marred with aggressiveness.

Other Gulf countries also have formulated certain means to liquidate the restrictions imposed by them on the media. For example, In Qatar, a country not so renowned for its free media, the satellite television channel al-Jazeera has symbolized the most free media in the whole Arab world, and brought fame and respect to this tiny gulf state.

In Saudi Arabia, whose restrictive norms are well known, some of their freedom loving journalists have gone to the Western capitals such as London and Paris to be able to report frankly on Arab related issues while observing discretion in relation to events in Saudi Arabia. The popularity of newspapers such as al-Hayat in the Arabic-speaking world is a testimony to readers' endorsement of their form of reporting.

In the United Arab Emirates, we can affirm that a sea-change has taken place in the last few years. In this country the ruling classes' tolerance levels towards dissenting views on certain local and global issues have been framed and well-defined without any ambiguity. Guidelines for local and national coverage have been explained in Advance to the media establishments.

In this regard, what UAE Information Minister has recently suggested about the Press freedom is very significant. He said, "It is difficult to speak about local Press freedom while the media machine is not run by local journalists". These words imply that local involvement in the present media scenario is must. The minister further said, "Media institutions that serve only to offer echoes of self-serving applause are of no value to government or to the people. I freely admit that such an approach requires changes both in government attitudes and in those of the media institutions".

The problem thus lies in bringing out reforms particularly when regional leaders see the need for such reforms. There is also a need that media should express its national identity.

Generally, leaders of the Arab world are mindful of two basic risks with regard to the media. They feel that foreign, especially Western, values could undermine their regional traditions and roots. Second, they would like to sustain their citizens' respectful attitude to their leaders, governed by tribal and religious ethos. Support for freedom of the media is therefore circumscribed by caveats, the traditional one after described as "national interest" having written all this, I should make it clear here that in the present dissertation.

I shall confine myself to Saudi Arabia and Egyptian media because I have chosen only these two countries for a comparative study focusing on the evolution of Arabic media, and will try to highlight its role and freedom that it enjoys in the above mentioned two Arab states.

For this purpose, I have divided my research work into three chapters besides acknowledgement and introduction.

In the following pages, I would like to provide a brief description about all these chapters. The first chapter deals with the development of media and its varied effects on different walks of social life. It carries a detail study on how the Arabic Media started and developed in various Arab countries.

Here it is noteworthy that media has always been popular and well known throughout the Arabs world.

It is because that media represent different shades of art, literature, politics and economy and above all religious education was popularized and disseminated by the media.

In the ancient Egypt: It is said by the archeologists that the ancient Egyptians not only knew the importance of communication. But they utilized it for propagating their religious ideologies. Articles published in the official magazines of the ministry of information suggest that Egyptians in the past were in the habit of writing religious teachings and decrease on the walls of temples and their pillars. These writings were the major source to know the important religious events and any special news about the Egyptian kings and information related to them. At



present *Al-Ahram* is the largest newspaper in circulation in Egypt and is to a large extent government's mouthpiece. In Saudi Arabia, Media is a very vital means of information which play significant role in communication with the people of various countries. Some popular Saudi journals of the current times are: *Ummul qurah*, *Sautul Hejaz*, *Al-Medina Al-Munawwara*, *Al-Yamama* and *Akhbar Al-Zahran*. Among all them the most famous newspapers are : *Al Da'wa*, *Al Yam'ama*, *Al-Jazeera* and *Ash sherq al-Awasat* etc, but in respect of electronic media in Egypt and Saudi Arabia I have discussed importance of the radio, T.V. channels and satellite broadcasting system and their impact on the society. In the first chapter I have also highlighted the role of Media and its characteristics to its level of freedom, works and government's attitude and its pressure on it, and in this context I have also elaborated the satellite broadcasting system prevalent especially in USA.

In second and third chapters I have given a brief history of the concerned countries along with the description of their socio-political, cultural environments in which media establishments, function and play their constructive role. And in the last chapter I have made a comparative study of evolution of Arabic media in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and Egypt. This study includes the role of media, its level of freedom and its past and present status.

For the present form of this dissertation I am greatly thankful to Prof. Mohammad Aslam Islahi who provided me all sorts of help during the course of my research work. Hence I am indebted to his able sympathetic and expert guidance. I am also highly thankful to Prof. S.A. Rahman for his valuable advice and guidance in preparing the synopsis of this research project.

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# **First Chapter**

## **Definition, Scope and process of the development of media and its socio-political and cultural effects**

Ours is a brand –new world of all at oneness “Time” has ceased “Space” has vanished. We now live in a global village a simultaneous happening. We have begun again to structure the primordial feeling, the tribal emotions from which a few centuries of literacy divorced us “. Marshall MC Luhan said this while prophesying that “medium is the message” this medium is provided by the mass media , mass media which fall under the broader concept of communications, have great potentialities in consolidating diversities and bringing about a consensus in the society. Now let us have a deep insight into word “communication”.

### **Communication**

The word “communication” means exchange of information. Animals communicate with each other by special sounds and signs. In olden times, man could communicate by shouting or blowing a horn or beating a drum or flashing a light. Man gradually developed the art of talking and writing and started expressing his complex thoughts and information through language and writing. During the Mughal period, pigeons were used as carriers of messages. In the early 16<sup>th</sup> century the postal system had begun. But the riders were used till 1830 for carrying letters and parcels to distant places.

Communication took a new turn with the development of technology. In 1837 Cooke and Charles of England and Samuel Morse of America developed the electric telegraph. The information was sent in the form of electrical signals or codes through a cable by this instrument. The dots (short clicks) and dashes (long clicks) were used to represent the letters of the alphabets. In 1876, Alexander Graham Bell invented the telegraph by which it became possible to communicate by voice over long distances through cables. In 1894, Guglielmo Marconi of Italy invented the wireless telegraph by which messages could be sent across a long

distance without wire. The efforts of these great scientists made it possible to send or receive messages from any part of the globe within no time.

The electric telegraph led to the development of the telex system while the wireless telegraph gave birth to the radio. Telegraph network have advanced very much. Besides messages, we can also send pictures and documents by fax.

As the Information Age has begun with the invention of the Telegraph, Telephone and telex and so on. These innovations also led directly to the next important technological inventions of Radio and Television.

### **Radio**

Radio waves have played an important role in the communication systems. The radio receives electromagnetic waves from the air that are sent by a radio transmitter. Electromagnetic waves are a combination of electrical and magnetic fields that overlap. The radio converts these electromagnetic waves, called a signal, into sounds that humans can hear.

Radios are a part of everyday's life. Not only they are used to play music or as alarms in the morning, but they are also used in cordless phones, cell phones, baby monitors, garage door openers, toys, satellites, and radar. Radios also play an important role in communications for police, fire, industry, education, invention, awareness and the military. Although there are many types of radio — clock, car, amateur (ham), stereo- all contain the same basic components.

Radios come in all shapes and sizes, from a little AM / FM "Walkman" to a highly sophisticated, multi-mode (transceiver) where both the transmitter and receiver are combined in one unit. The most common modes for a broadcast radio are AM (amplitude modulation) and FM (frequency modulation). Other modes used by ham radio operators.

Guglielmo Marconi successfully sent the first radio message across the Atlantic Ocean in December 1901 from England to Newfoundland. Marconi's radio did not receive voice or music. Rather, it received buzzing sounds created by a spark gap transmitter sending a signal using Morse code.

The radio got its voice on Christmas Eve 1906. As dozens of ship and amateur radio operators listened to the transmitted messages, they were amazed to hear a man's voice, calling C Q. The message was transmitted by Professor Reginald Aubrey Fessenden from a small radio station in Brant Rock, Massachusetts.

### **Television**

Television (often abbreviated to TV. The T.V. is called sometimes Tube and sometimes Telly in the United Kingdom) is a widely used telecommunication system for broadcasting as well as receiving moving pictures and sound from a distance. The term may also be used to refer specifically to a television set, programming or television transmission. The word television is derived from mixed Latin and Greek roots, meaning "far. Sight": Greek "tele", far, and Latin "vision", sight (from *video*, to see).

Since it first became commercially available from the late 1930s, the television set has become a common household communication device in homes and institutions, particularly in the First World War, as a source of entertainment, information and news. Since the 1970s, video recordings on VCR tapes and later, digital playback systems such as DVDs have enabled the television to be used to view recorded movies and other programmes.

But this television set was not invented by a single inventor, instead of many people were working together and alone over the years, contributed to the evolution of television.

Since Marconi's invention of wireless telegraphy in 1897, the imagination of many inventors have been sparked with the notion of sending images as well as sound, wirelessly. The first documented notion of sending components of pictures over a series of multiple circuits is credited to George Carey. Another inventor, W. E. Sawyer, suggested the possibility of sending an image over a single wire by rapidly scanning parts of the picture in succession.

On December 2, 1922, in Sorbonne, France, Edwin Belin, an Englishman, who held the patent for the transmission of photographs by wire as well as fiber optics and radar, demonstrated a mechanical scanning device that was an early precursor

to modern television. Belin's machine took flashes of light and directed them at a selenium element connected to an electronic device that produced sound waves. These sound waves could be received in another location and remodulated into flashes of light on a mirror. Until this point, the concept behind television was established, but it wasn't until electronic scanning of image, (the breaking up of images into tiny points of light for transmission over radio waves), it was invented, then modern television received its start.

The credit as to who was the inventor of modern television really comes down to two different people in two different places both working on the same problem at about the same time: Vladimir Kosma Zworykin, a Russian-born American inventor working for Westinghouse, and Philo Taylor Farnsworth, a privately backed farm boy from the state of Utah.

“Zworykin had a patent, but Farnsworth had a picture”

Zworykin is usually credited as being the father of modern television. This was because the patent for the heart of the TV, the electron scanning tube, was first applied for by Zworykin in 1923, under the name of an iconoscope. The iconoscope was an electronic image scanner - essentially a primitive television camera. Farnsworth was the first of the two inventors to successfully demonstrate the transmission of television signals, which he did on September 7, 1927, using a scanning tube of his own design. Farnsworth received a patent for his electron scanning tube in 1930. Zworykin was not able to duplicate Farnsworth's achievements until 1934 and his patent for a scanning tube was not issued until 1938. The truth of the matter is this, that while Zworykin applied for the patent for his iconoscope in 1923, the invention was not functional until some years later and all earlier efforts were of such poor quality that Westinghouse officials ordered him to work on something “more useful”.

Another player of the times was John Logie Baird, a Scottish engineer and entrepreneur who achieved his first transmissions of simple face shapes in 1924 using mechanical television. On March 25, 1925, Baird held his first public demonstration of ‘television’ in London. In this demonstration, he had not yet

obtained adequate half-tones in the moving pictures, and only silhouettes were visible.

### **Mass Media of Communication**

Mass media of communication are the techniques and institutions through which centralized providers broadcast or distribute information and other forms of symbolic communication to large, heterogeneous and geographically dispersed audiences. The first medium of mass communication arrived with the invention of moveable type of the mid 15<sup>th</sup> century, but costs, government restrictions and low levels of literacy kept readerships both small and relatively specialized until the second half of 19<sup>th</sup> century, when the technologies and organizational forms devised to produce and sell goods were applied to the marketing and distribution of information and entertainment, first, the production of books and newspapers was transformed, and then in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, came, the invention of the Gramophone, Radio, the Cinema and Television and Video.

Today, the mass media are highly important economic, political social institutions, in developed as well as developing societies. They are often large-scale organization whose ownership is concentrated in the hands of the state or in the hands of a relatively small number of proprietors and shareholders, often with financial interests in several media.

They make a significant contribution to the Gross national products and exert a central influence on cultural forms.

### **Parts of Communication**

Communication is any imparting or exchange of information. Communication may be verbal or non-verbal, intended and unintended. Communication can also be defined as the message (s) or unit (s) of information communicated.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> .Gurmeet Singh Mann: The story of Mass Communication, New Delhi, 1987.

The human capacity for communication, especially through language, is far more extensive than that of any other animal. The capacity to communicate across time and space has expanded enormously in modern times with the invention of writing, printing, electronic communications- telegraph, telephone, radio and media of mass communication as well as the mechanization of transportation.

Each level of communication entails a particular set of problems and priorities and has its own body of evidence and theory. At the intra-personal level, attention focuses mainly on the processing (e.g. comprehension, recall, interpretation) of information (e.g. media news) and on exchanges, with environment. Here theory deals with mental states and processes. At the inter personal and intra group level, the main problems claiming attention , concern , forms of discourse , patterns of interaction, question of affiliations attachment ,control and hierarchy , the setting of norms , the marking of boundaries, influence and diffusion . Very similar themes, but under more complex conditions they are treated at higher levels. In formal organizations, there is more attention to control and to the efficiency of information transmission .In groups and associations, question of voluntary attachment, interaction, cooperation and the formation of norms and standards take precedents.

Mass Communication is only one of the processes of communication operating at the society-wide level, readily identified by its institutional characteristics (a mixture of purpose, organization and actual activity). Other processes approaching the same status in terms of ubiquity and scope are ( or have been) those of government education and religion .each has its own institutional network , at times linking large numbers together in the transmission or exchange of information and ideas . Nevertheless, mass communication probably now involves more people for more of the time than any other society wide process, even if with less intensity.

### **Effects of media on the society**

Today, media is considered the fourth pillar of the state all over the world, first and foremost British Member of Parliament Lord Macaulay had given this status



to the media, in any country, the governing body has a significant position, then religious leaders have second position, after that general public has third position and media have fourth position.

In any republican government system, there must be three administrative bodies, 1- Parliament, 2- Administrative department, 3- Judiciary.

In the absence of any of these three bodies, the government can not run systematically, but now it is felt that one body more is necessary to be with them, that is media, this body is considered more important these days, it plays an important role as an informative bridge between governing bodies and general public, in absence of media general public can not know about what kind of bills and acts are passed in the parliament, and what are their positive and negative effects in the society, if media person close their eyes the government officials will do what they want, so media play very important and impartial role between government activities and general public, so much so that it is said that the freedom of media is the guarantee of success of republic government.<sup>2</sup>

Media whether it is print (newspaper, magazines and periodicals), or electronic (serials, radio and films etc), they leave a strong positive and negative effects on the society, in the positive effects we can say that there are a lot of informative programs that are being showed on TV, there are also many kinds of programs such as academic based programs ,

For example UGC (University Grants Commission) especial educational programs that are telecasted on TV in particular time and through internet media you can study many books on different topics and subjects, which are not available in the market or they are not accessible easily. Some serials and film also give a lesson to the people how to live a good life in the society, and a lesson to those who are facing problems to achieve their ambitions and goals in their lives. No doubt this kind of program motivate the people who are in dilemma and do not know how to go ahead to achieve their cherished goals, in such way it plays a good motivative role to come out from the difficulties and problems and

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<sup>2</sup>. Dr. Md. Shahid: Iblaghiyat, Educational Publishing House, New Delhi.

help them to go ahead in the life. And also inform the public about new things that are being launched in the market and aware them of merits and demerits of many things in such way people can avoid the things which are harmful for them. Because of media have an ability to influence the thoughts, ideas and behaviors of consumers, media and entertainment industry is considered a very powerful industry. As well developed countries are becoming the leading destination of global investors in this industry, as India is also becoming the leading destination of global investors in this industry. Various studies and figures reveal that Indian media and entertainment industry has significant potential of growth stored in it. Media and entertainment industry is one of the most flourishing sectors in India. The Indian media and entertainment industry grew from Rs 35,300 crores to Rs 43,700 crores during the year 2005-06. The liberalization of the media sector has opened up the gates of opportunities and growth. India is witnessing a revolution in this sector with the emergence of new technologies. Many companies are taking initiatives to set up digital theatres, multi-plexes, etc. Let us have a look at the history and development of Arabic Media.

#### **History of journalism at a glance**

English Revolution in 1688 resulted in the sovereignty of parliament and above all the right to development. John Locke was inspiring President of the liberal West. As he decided to give some of their fundamental rights in the natural states (natural rights) to the public interest, some of the individual rights developed in the custody of the government. Income and social contract with the people's sovereignty (or in other words the government) included provisions for protection of these individual rights on behalf of the people as John Locke wrote in his book about government conventions. England had a detailed system for granting permission until 1694. It was not possible to publish any publication without license from the government. Fifty years ago, during the civil war, John Milton wrote a pamphlet entitled *Areopagitica*. Milton has been criticized in a booklet that control regime imposed by the government and scoffed at the idea when he wrote about possibility of " the debtors and delinquents to travel outside the

country without a guardian, the books are not offensive if they wanted to walk steps, it could not so without Jailer visible above titles.” Although the article did not have a significant impact in time to stop the practice of granting license to the government publications, but it will be later than the main pillars of the press freedom. Milton has a strong argument in saying that the individual is capable of logical handling and discriminating wrong from the right, and bad from the good. So this logical right should exercise full freedom for the views in the "face of free and open." It emerged from the writings of Milton concept of the "Open market of views": when people argued with one another that the good arguments are prevailing.

Kinds of expression were restricted in England as prohibited by the law of defamation and provocation. It's a crime to criticize the Government Issue by offender; he should be punished by the law. The king was above all the criticism and critical statements of the government banned by the Court Law "Star Chamber" (which is a court of law in the royal palace at Westminster began its first distributed in 1487 ended its work in 1641 when it abolished the Court).The simple truth is not a strong defense to the law of defamation and provocation, because the goal of the law was to prevent and punish any criticism about the government. Abuse Stuart Mill with the problem of authority in the face of liberty stems from the viewpoint of the nineteenth century utilitarian: Any of the individual right to express himself as long as it does not harm others. The good society which enjoys the largest number of members with the greatest happiness through the society application of the principles of individual freedom Stuart Mill wrote that if we did not give an opinion we would be concealing reality. Therefore, the individual's freedom of expression is a healthy spirit in favour of the community. In his writing (on the Freedom), Stuart Mill expressed through the application of the general principles of freedom of expression when he wrote: "If all mankind agree with an specific opinion and there is a single person who has a different view, however, there is no justification for human to silence the opinion of this individual, just as it is not right that the individual has no justification to silence the opinion of the mankind".

## **Historical development of Arabic Media**

### **Media in ancient periods**

Though media did exist in one or the other form in every country and every region from the time immemorial but I shall confine myself to the media developed in the Arab world especially in Egypt and Saudi Arabia through out the ages.

### **Media in ancient Egypt**

It is said by the archeologists that the Egyptian knew the importance of communication resources from the past, and different articles about the discoveries and historical background of Egypt in 1750 before the Christ published in the official magazine by the ministry of information which says that Egyptians were in habit of writing on the walls of temples and their pillars those were the source to know the important incidents and special news about the Egyptian kings of the past and their information .<sup>3</sup>

### **Media in Jaheli period**

We found tow opinions about the people of Jaheli period:

1, people in this period were commonly tribal they were migrating from one place to another place in search of food and water for themselves and their animals as well, they were Ummieen (illiterate) they have no news and information about the outer world .

2, it has been said that the Arabs were not totally illiterate despite of living in tribes, they were in habit of recording some documents and writing news about their travels and wars particularly the important incident of their lives, situations and political activities, and they were conveying the order and message to the head of the tribe and some times information of a danger and big incidents as well as natural phenomena like war, rain grassing field to the people of the tribe.

In Jaheli period Arab used to compose beautiful poetry which were recited in front of gathering, and hanged them in Holy Ka'aba which contained news of

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<sup>3</sup> .Al- Hobab Yusuf Mohammad Sabir: Tatawaur al-Sihafa WA Aj-  
Hezatoha WA Dauro al- Moassasat al- Sohafia fi al-Mamleka al-Arabia  
Al-Saudia, Darul Uloom li-Tabaah WA al-Nashr Jeddah,p, 38, 42,107&121.

their incidents and social status. The basic purpose behind this was that every one who visited Holly Mecca would carry them and convey generation to generation.

### **Media in Islamic period**

When Allah the almighty send his most beloved prophet to show the right path to His all creatures from the ancestor of Ibrahim in Quraish (the real custodian of holly Kaa'ba) e.g. Mohammad bin Abdullah was born on 571, because of his blessing, all of sudden every thing started changing not only in Arab but all the neighboring states , specially political ,social and economical situations of Arab, in past all the tribes were indulged in fighting hatred , enmity, abduction , and tribal polarization, there was no unity and peace in their lives, one tribal was scare monger to others but very soon the birth of prophet Mohammad (PBUH), and revelation of holy Quran played important role in restoration of peace and calm on this land and bringing the divine message for the common folk ,that was also the way of communication.

All these above mentioned got changing gradually and one tribe started to be close to his neighboring tribes and circle of Islam got extending tribe to tribe and town to city within some phases of time along with news, information and knowledge got reciprocating among them and in this period historian found immensely changing in Arab, for the instances people's mentality, thought and their way of life. Socially they become cooperative and closer to one another they started living with great goals to achieve in this mortal world and spending their lives as per the Islamic discipline systematically.

In Islamic period though we found some invasions and crucial fights between right and evil, these wars left pernicious effects on their lives and thoughts, any how their economical system also upgraded, because of the interaction with various kingdoms and emerging different arts and cultures influenced by one another that is why we found every thing developing in terms of economy, trade, knowledge, information, defense, agriculture and so on. Apart from all these

communication and information got chances to flourish rapidly, finally the Media got a golden chance to be developed.

### **Media in the Arabian Peninsula**

Media was popular and well known to the Arabs from the past. Their social, political and religious lives were influenced by embracing Islam, which was a high level blessing to unite Muslim community especially the Arabs in every section of their lives from the period of prophet hood to caliph hood. In this period different kind of art, literature, politics and economy and over all religious education were developed and so did the historical incidents and the Media.

#### **1, Usmani period**

In 1877, publication was introduced in Arab peninsula .It was official publication house in Yemen then another publication was established in Holly Medina in 1882, It was also official , from these publication houses different magazines, and official news papers were issued in order to publish national and international news , some important magazines are:

Jareedatul Hejaz, Shamshul Haqeeqa, Al-Islah Al -Hejazi and Al-Medina Al Monauwara.

#### **2, Hashmi period**

Media in this period was a new art. It comprises all its basic elements. Some prominent magazines of this period are as under;

Al-qibla, Al-falah, Bareedul Hejaz etc.

#### **3, Saudi period**

Saudi Media is considered the informative means which plays important role in communication with the nation of various countries. Some popular journals of this period are: Ummul qurah, Sautul Hejaz, Al-Medina Al-Munauwara, Al-Yamama and Akhbar Al-Zahran etc.

### **Media and Religion in the Arab -Islamic World**

The past few decades have borne out the warning made more than thirty years ago by Jacques Ellul, the French moral philosopher and sociologist, that the

phenomenal development of mass media would revolutionize politics, with the flood of information and discontinuous facts overwhelming any sense of historic context. Now more than ever, with religion and politics often having become overtly intertwined, the lack of historic context is a massive problem.

We have gotten used to this dismal situation where the parade of facts usually lacks the vital context, especially in the context of religion. And if discontinuity in making sense out of the facts that appear in respectable Western media is a problem, in much of the Arab-Islamic-world media, even determining what is a fact is a problem.

As a recent example, when Pope Benedict XVI spoke on September 12 at Regensburg on Faith, Reason and the University, the Western media seized upon one particular paragraph as the breaking story, without regard to how it fit into what the Pope saw as the profound coexistence between Faith and Reason in Christianity, which he did not see in Islam.

Any number of scholars—both non-Muslim and Muslim—have contested that exclusivist point. And this was not the Pope speaking *ex cathedra*, nor was this a new doctrine guiding relations with Islam to replace the Church's standing document *Nostra Aetate*, which affirms the extraordinary commonalities between Islam and Christianity. The *Nostra Aetate* also noted how practicing Muslims "value the moral life and worship God especially through prayer, almsgiving and fasting." The Regensburg paper was an academic paper of debatable quality, by a theologian for theologians, arguing some points that many Muslim theologians would take issue with and advancing an understanding of the militantly secular modern West that many of the same Muslim theologians no doubt share with the Pope.

#### **Fact and Context**

My point, however is that, taken out of context, the quote quickly was construed as some sort of papal insult to Islam. When you combine this with the reluctance of the Arab press, in particular, to gather facts, then you get what you got. The discontinuity in the initial stories that appeared in the Western press was intrinsic: first, in ignoring context, and second, in ignoring not just the official papal

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perspective on Islam and the long collaboration and dialogue between Muslims and Catholics set in motion by John Paul II, but also Pope Benedict's remarks a year ago when meeting with representatives of Muslim communities in Cologne, Germany. In Cologne, the Pope insisted that dialogue was an absolute necessity and that Catholics and Muslims must seek paths of reconciliation.

Even the issue of a relationship between violence and Islam, which was an aside in the academic paper, had as its most direct commentary Pope Benedict's own recent words commemorating the twentieth anniversary of the inter-religious meeting called Prayer for Peace initiated by John Paul II. Those words were: "Demonstrations of violence cannot be attributed to religion as such but to the cultural limitations with which it is lived and develops in time."

This is an observation applicable to the massacres associated with the Crusades; the Almohad persecutions of non-Muslims in Spain; the compulsory conversions of Jews and Muslims that followed the Reconquista of Spain; the Cossack and other pogroms in honor of Easter; the gory passages in the Book of Joshua; or for that matter the exhortations by extremist rabbis quoting those passages to ethnically cleanse Israel, the West Bank, and Gaza of all Arabs—both Muslim and Christian. As for Pope Benedict XVI, he went on to observe: "Attestations of the close bond that exists between the relationship with God and the ethics of love are recorded in all great religious traditions."

But despite our own journalistic attraction to conflict and confrontation and our own immediate discontinuity from the background, and despite its often secularist bias, the Western press has a corrective: the follow-up story that attempts to develop an alternative narrative to the original breaking story and the opted column. So papal clarification as well as intelligent analysis found significant space in the Western media.<sup>4</sup>

In contrast, in the Arab world, with rare exception, once the state speaks there is little turning back? In one of the most recent precedents of a media-driven

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<sup>4</sup>. Also See, S. Abdallah Schleifer's article on religion, media and world affairs.



“Muslims vs. the West” drama turned violent, some Arab and Muslim states played a demagogic role in cynically overreacting to the Danish cartoons last winter. And once populists in the Arab World have spoken, there has been little reevaluation.

There has been little interest in most of the Arab press in gathering more facts to a story than one paragraph taken out of context, and no significant reference to the facts of Catholic-Muslim relations over the past few decades. It is also significant that the two immediate violent episodes centering around that one paragraph following the first press reports—the murder of a nun and the torching of Catholic churches—occurred in two of the three most lawless parts of the Muslim world: Somalia and the West Bank (the other of course now being Iraq).

The most obvious and absurd point about the violence in the Muslim world in response to the Pope’s quotation (and burning the Pope in effigy is metaphorical violence) is that all this violence is to protest against a Pope reportedly saying that Islam is violent.

### **The Selection of Facts**

But let me also point out that selection of what facts do get reported is often curtailed by the confrontation line. In much of the media of the Arab-Islamic world the problem is not simply discontinuity between events and reportage, but the difficulty of getting any facts reported once a confrontational line is drawn, be it with Europe, the Pope, America, or Israel or elements within that state who are then portrayed as the spokesmen for some monolithic Israeli society.

For example, there is the tendency of Yusuf Qaradawi, a popular sheikh who is closely associated with one of the Islamist movements and whose reach in the Arab world has been greatly enhanced by his regular appearances on Al Jazeera satellite news channel, to allude to “the Jews” when discussing some specific issue in the Arab-Israeli or Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Of course, in part this reflects the transformation of a clash that, however much religion may get involved or exploited, is nevertheless basically between two rival nationalisms,

Arab and Israeli, or Palestinian and Israeli, into a total confrontation between two religions, Judaism and Islam, a perspective that has been popularized not just in Palestine but throughout the Arab and Muslim world. As always happens with extremist perspectives, this is absolutely mirrored by the ultra rightwing religious nationalist forces in Israel and their supporters in America.

I pointed out to Sheikh Qaradawi at a conference a few years back that among “the Jews” were a few thousand peace activists who were risking their lives and their reputations as patriotic Israelis for the sake of the West Bank Arab villagers, who were being prevented by force from harvesting their olive crops by the religious nationalist settlers. The activists became human shields, and their nonviolent presence as victims of settler assault, would force the otherwise passive Israeli Defense Force in the neighborhood to intervene and protect both the Israeli peace activists and the Arab villagers. By attempting to frustrate the settlers’ campaign of *stealth ethnic cleansing*, these Israeli peace activists were doing more to preserve a Palestinian presence on Palestinian land than anyone else in the region.

Little or nothing of this story, which has gone on for several years now, has appeared in the Arab press. The Jerusalem Bureau of Al Arabiya did cover the story, and thanks to one of my former journalism students at the American University in Cairo (AUC) who writes for major Arab media, this story has at least appeared in the Cairo press. But this story is not convenient to Arab media, which embraces and at times incites the street’s take on Palestine. Of course, if the issue is domestic—a question that concerns the large Coptic Orthodox Christian community in Egypt and their relations with the Muslims, or even one of the handful of Egyptian Jews remaining—then we will read in Egyptian state media about the heavenly religions (meaning Christianity and Judaism).

There are other no-go topics when media and religion intertwine. I believe Pope Benedict, even more than his successor, wants a frank as well as friendly dialogue with Muslim religious leaders and Arab and other Muslim governments. That dialogue has to do with the issue of reciprocity. European Muslims, backed up by

the Arab and Muslim states, have clamored for and received permission to build large central mosques in Rome, London, and Washington, and these mosques have been generously funded by Saudi Arabia and Qatar, among others. But still today no church may be built in Saudi Arabia, nor until a year ago could one be built in Qatar. This is not an issue that will ever be raised by most Arab media.

The Arab press becomes furious over the slightest discrimination that befalls Muslims in Europe and America, but there is little or no sense of equity, of equivalence, of an elementary quid pro quo as in the case of church building in Arabia and mosque building in Rome. Indeed, often the opposite is the rule.

Not long after 9/11 the Egyptian managing editor of the student newspaper at the AUC flew to New York. This young lady, like most Egyptian women, is a muhgaba: she wears a large scarf over her head and around her neck. For most women who chose to put on the hijab, it is a question of piety or public conformity in the wake of a very broad religious revival underway in Egypt since 1967, and now reaching into the ranks of many highly Westernized upper middle class youth, whose older sisters would not have worn the hijab.

She breezed through customs and security at JFK Airport (John F Kennedy). Just outside the gates she was greeted by a reporter and photographer representing one of the two main Egyptian newspapers. The reporter asked if she had been hassled in any way or inconvenienced by the Homeland Security personnel at Passport Control or at Customs. She said no, not at all. The news team went off in search of another would-be victim.

The mainstream American media is intrinsically decent. When injustices appear to have been done to Muslims solely because they appear to be Muslim—Muslim names, a Middle Eastern look, a beard, a head veil—those stories get reported in the American press. Aside from the Islamophobe margins of our media (and most of that media is online not in print or broadcasting), Muslims get a fair break in these stories. And then there are the positive stories, like the case of the Justice Department intervening as a friend of the court on behalf of a Muslim student who was suing a school district that barred her entry into her classes because she was in hijab. The Justice Department saw the exclusion as a violation of the first

amendment right to practice one's religion. To my knowledge this story never appeared in Arab media, at least not in the Egyptian press.

### **Lack of Accuracy**

This brings me to my next point. Why are such stories so unusual? They are true and deserving of recognition. Accuracy is the very beginning of truth, of getting things right, for it is easier to be accurate than to be able to perceive complex truth. Yet many of the Arab press take a casual attitude towards accuracy.

Sloppiness is a universal credo in much of the Arab media. Indeed, the Mufti of Egypt, one of the highest ranking religious figures in Cairo, is forced to spend considerable time and energy clarifying and correcting the misquotes, invented quotes, and mistranslations that appear whenever he is interviewed by the Egyptian press. Egypt's leading newspaper, *Al Ahrām*, has attributed to me remarks that were not mine when reporting on a talk I gave in public and in English in Cairo. Perhaps the reporter could not afford a translator and had to fabricate. But another time, a reporter interviewed my assistant in Arabic since I was not available. The interview appeared in full in a respectable Arabic newspaper and was attributed entirely to me.

Such disregard for facts and for accuracy is profoundly un-Islamic. In theory, if modern media had arisen organically in the Arab world, deriving its style and values from within traditional Arab-Islamic culture, it would have been perhaps the most obsessively accurate and objective of media that the modern world would have known. That is because in Islam the word is paramount. The Quran is the cosmic equivalent of Christ in traditional Christian understanding, not the Prophet Mohammed, who is the vessel of this revelation and whose life is a commentary on this revelation, but not revelation itself, as in the case of Christ, who is the living revelation.

In Islam, the Quran is the uniquely, perfectly preserved revelation—which would be the textual equivalent of immaculate, existing though eternity, not made or “created” as in the rationalist terminology in the classical period debate as to the nature of the Quran, a debate that the rationalists lost. The Quran is the Word of

God made word as Christ is the Word of God made flesh, which by definition is a pictorial event—we understand the Word made flesh, Christ’s life and Christ’s Passion in visual or pictorial terms.

The Word is as word. It is not so much that Islam is iconoclastic—quite the contrary—but that its icons, its representations of the sacred inner essence of all things are aural rather than visual or pictorial. In Islam, the manuscript or the calligraphied Quran is a rendering of the sound of an original recitation, of a sacred recitation granted to the Prophet by the Angel Gabriel, the same Angel who announced to the Virgin Mary that she was the chosen vessel for the coming of the Word made Flesh.

But how to interpret the Quran? It contains all of the Names or attributes of God, such as Ar Rahman (the Most Merciful), Ar Raheem (the Most Compassionate), Al Haq (the Truth or the Reality), Al Hai (the Ever Living)—Names and attributes as to the nature of God which are at the core of the mystical dimension of Islam known as Sufism. But it is also in its expository form a guide to prayer, to purification of body and soul, and to social relationships. For the Muslims, the Prophet’s life and his sayings, is the sacred commentary, the interpretation of the Word. The Quran tells the Muslim to maintain prayer, the Hadith (the verified sayings of the Prophet).<sup>5</sup> It tells the Muslim that means to perform canonic prayer five times a day, and how to prepare for and perform those prayers.

The time and manner of the prayer and the content of canonic prayer has not varied since the time of the Prophet, and the language of prayer remains in the language of revelation: Arabic, even though the majority of Muslims in the world, all of whom recite their prayers in Arabic, do not understand Arabic. An American Muslim can parachute into the most obscure village in Sumatra and immediately join in and follow or even lead canonic prayer. It is an example of how profoundly “catholic” if I may mix my metaphors, how conservative, and how ritualistic Islam is, revolutionary Muslims, Islamists and modernist Muslims to the contrary.

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<sup>5</sup> . William A.Rugh, Arab mass media: Newspapers, Radio and Television in the Arab politics.

So it became imperative in the earliest years of the Islamic community after the passing of the Prophet and his companions to accurately assemble canonic collections as to every certified statement of the Prophet. The collections of these reports, or news about the prophet's own words, constitute sacred news. The key lay in what modern journalists describe as sourcing, tracing any given hadith back to the Prophet and the persons who actually heard the Prophet speak, through a chain of reputable sources, which meant a reputation for truthfulness and moral rectitude. This was particularly necessary because in an age of faith, such as the earliest centuries after the Prophet, political struggles among the Muslims were inevitably colored by religious justification, and the temptation to forgery, to invent politically useful hadith must have been great.

With all this as background, one might assume that journalism in the Muslim world, and particularly in the Arabic-speaking cultural core of the Muslim world, would be the modicum of soul-searching honesty and painstaking accuracy and sourcing. And there are positive values to be found in Arab journalism—an aversion to blasphemy. Arab journalists do not blaspheme God, or any of His Prophets.

### **Origin of Arabic Journalism**

In the area of accuracy, sourcing, and veracity, the Arab media, however, and in particular the Arabic-language press, can be scandalous. How to understand this dichotomy? How to explain why the Arab media seem adverse not only to the broader canons of journalism but also to the Muslim heritage that insists on the accuracy of the word? When the printing press came, it did not do so within an organic development. It was brought by the sword, specifically by Napoleon's brief but profoundly important defeat of the Mamluk dynasty and conquest of Egypt; profound because this defeat occurred not on the periphery but in the heartland of Islam.

Napoleon retreated, but the printing press remained, along with the idea of France as the gateway to modernity or at least to the technology of survival in the contemporary world. Conceivably an organic development into an authentic

Arab-Islamic journalism honoring accuracy might have arisen in the wake of the late eighteenth-century Hadith Revival that swept the Muslim world, but was particularly noticeable in Egypt given Cairo's prestige as a gathering place for scholars clustered in and about Al Azhar. This Hadith Revival, like the late eighteenth-century Sufi reform movements, was a religious and spiritual response within orthodoxy to the shambles of a religious culture in such a state of protracted, tensionless equilibrium that degeneration was inevitable.

The Hadith Revival asserted the direct and clear speech of the Prophet and his companions to the overly formal, stylistic, and embellished court Arabic. But the Revival had barely begun when the Napoleonic Conquest occurred. Any number of scholars who prior to the conquest would have been drawn into the ranks of the Revival were now trying instead to come to grips with the demoralizing implications of a military defeat in the very heartland of Islam for a religious civilization that had until then known only triumph however qualified — the loss of Spain or of Sicily offset by the Ottoman conquests in the Balkans, the conquests of the Crusaders offset by the Muslim conquest of India and the successful counter-Crusade.

With religious thought in disarray and the technology of the printing press in place, this mid-nineteenth century void was soon to be filled by the more Westernized Arabs from Syria and Lebanon (many of whom were Christian) in contact with modern French culture and influenced by the aggressively laic if not agnostic quality to much of the nineteenth century Parisian press. Instead of hadith, with its insistence on sourcing and accuracy and its quest for objectivity, the secular and often non-Muslim pioneers of Arab journalism were drawn to the belles lettres tradition within Arabic literature — Adab, literature—which had more to do with literary flourish and self-expression, interpretation, opinion, and literary stance than with accuracy and sourcing.

This tendency was reinforced by the French continental perception of news as a vehicle for analysis—often a most partisan or ideological analysis—rather than news as an objective in itself. It contrasts with the ultimate Anglo-American

model, which in its mercantile rather than revolutionary origins sought accuracy and objectivity if only for utilitarian reasons.

The merchant needed fast, accurate information about shifting commodities prices or changing political conditions affecting trade and stability. This utilitarian perspective operated on a far different dimension than the search for veracity for the love of God, but in the end, rigorous sacred journalism and a utilitarian need for accuracy and truth would have married well. But by the late nineteenth century, when the British assumed imperial authority in Egypt, French cultural domination in Egypt was secure and the unique character of the Arabic language press was already defined.

But the French are not entirely to be blamed. There was also the rise of republican nationalist-socialist police states and their Soviet mentors in Egypt, Syria and Iraq—the vital players in the Middle East state system and the nationalization of the press, which was now in the service of the whims of the ruling party rather than the whims of the journalists and former publishers. The printed word became more irresponsible than ever at the same moment it became more servile.

Arab television, which came into being during the high tide of republican police states, did not even attempt journalism. Its photographers covered only occasions of state, and there were no correspondents, since it was “information” not news that was sought. Anchors could do the job of reading state news agency wire copy describing these ceremonial occasions while unedited footage was transmitted. Onto this scene came something new, an odd by product of the first war against Saddam Hussein, and some hope.

### **CNN Effect**

Arab satellite television, inspired by CNN International’s coverage of the 1991 Gulf War changed all that. Suddenly a new cadre of Arab journalists inspired by CNN and trained by the BBC were hosting open-debate talk shows on the Orbit network broadcasting from Rome and field reports for lively news bulletins on the



pioneer channel MBC followed by a short-lived experiment of an all-news BBC Arabic Television service — both broadcasting from London. All of these strands were pulled together with the launch of Al Jazeera from Qatar, at the center of which—setting standards for this 24×7 news channel — were a corps of BBC-trained journalists.

With the arrival of Al Arabiya, the competition between the two Arab all-news channels (Al Jazeera and Al Arabiya) stimulated reform and improvements in state TV news programming, particularly in Egypt , Jordan, and Abu Dhabi, although sometimes only cosmetic. Nevertheless, by 2005, Bernard Lewis could note in *Foreign Affairs* that Arab satellite television “brings to the people of the Middle East a previously unknown spectacle—that of lively and vigorous public disagreement and debate”.

### **Hope for the Future**

There are other interesting countervailing trends. MBC, the satellite network that owns Al Arabiya, has been broadcasting programmes by Hamza Yusuf, a young American Muslim scholar and *dai'ie*, or Islamic preacher. Hamza speaks flawless Arabic, and his perspective has been shaped by years of study in the Arab world with Sufi sheikhs. He speaks against the sort of unthinking rage that characterizes so much of popular protest in the Arab world, a rage he admits he himself sometimes cultivated until 9/11. Hamza has a great following among educated Arab youth. Other private satellite channels have also started to counter-program Al Qaradawi and the hundreds of even more vituperative Salifite sheikhs who justify violence and invoke rage as some sort of valid religious sentiment in mosques across the Arab world and in Europe.

The most popular of the Callers is Amr Khalid, who attracted large followings of educated middle-class and upper-class Egyptians to his talks at mosques and in hotel ballrooms and more recently on his own television show carried by Iqra channel. His message encourages orthodoxy married to compassion, as was

traditionally the case. He is generally indifferent to the sort of political issues on which Islamist preachers thrive. Other young men like the Egyptian Moez Massoud and the Yemeni Habib al Jifri have surfaced in recent years with a similar message of personal piety and the practice of religion for the sake of ethical and spiritual realization rather than as a militant ideology, and they are also broadcast on Iqra and Abu Dhabi satellite channels. A new channel launched by the Saudi master entrepreneur Prince Al Walid Bin Talal to be a voice of religious moderation has become another vehicle for these young dai'ie, whose impact on the young Muslims seems to vindicate the thesis of Marc Gopin, who suggested in a recent article in the *Christian Science Monitor* that the antidote to religious extremism is not the emptiness of secularism, but the viable and proven alternative of religious compassion.

During the Danish cartoon disturbances, these young dai'ie urged dialogue with the Danes rather than confrontation.

Indeed, when two or three thousand Arabs demonstrate hysterically in the streets of any Arab capital, we do wrong to automatically assume they represent the views of the millions more who are not committing acts of violence and demonstrating the rage that the Quran and the Prophet caution Muslims against.

In last let me sum it all up. Until recently, the media in the Arab-Islamic world by and large have tended to aggravate numerous political and religious pathologies through their disregard for truth and accuracy, a habit shaped by their literary and propagandist antecedents. They have been the least faithful to Islam's own standards, leading to dangerous distortions of this religion. Paradoxically, the CNN effect, by magnifying these very tendencies, has led to a counteraction. Such countervailing trends spearheaded by the Arab satellite news channels promise that the media in the Arab-Islamic world will not only adhere more closely to standards of honesty and accuracy, but in doing so will become more faithful to the demands of Islam itself. Perhaps, that's the best news of all.

## **Role of Media and its characteristics**

Journalism is a profession based on collection and analysis of the news and verification of the credibility and present to the public, and often this updates news and events in the political arena or local social or sporting, social and others. Press old ages and time, dating back to the time of Babylon where clerks used to record the most important events of everyday, people know it. As in Rome, the laws and resolutions of the Senate and contracts and judicial rulings and relevant events that occur on the territory of the empire to reach the people to keep them. This was effective after the fall of Rome, and stopped until the 15th century, in the early 16th century after the invention of printing by Gutenberg in the city of Mainz in Germany and generated industry news, which includes information about what is going on in official circles, there was room for even advertisements. In 1465, approximately began distributing the first printed newspapers and when they became news printed on a regular basis, then likely to speak of newspapers real sense and was in the early 16th century. In the seventeenth and eighteenth, periodic press has spread in Europe and America and there was a jack of journalism profession livelihood, the French Revolution was a catalyst for the emergence of modern journalism, as London was the cradle for this.

Among the institutions that contribute to the make-up of a public sphere in society, the media perhaps perform the most critical function. In the transactions in the public sphere, the media are not a neutral participant or an impassioned chronicler. Instead they either legitimize the status fourth or innovator of the existing social equilibrium. The conflict or collaboration of the media with forces that attempt to colonize the public sphere materializes in this context. The mutual relationship between the state and the media, either as oppositional or as complementary, is influenced, among others, by the nature of intervention of the state in the public sphere. The former goes back to the 18th century when the Bengal Gazette trained its guns on the British administration and was mauled in the process. Since then, the endeavor of the press to imbue the public space with a

critical culture has been consistently curtailed by the state, both by legislative interventions and by administrative interference.

For liberal democratic practice such measures of the state have serious implications, as restrictions on the media are bound to affect the ambience of the public sphere. The Indian intelligentsia realized this as early as the beginning of the 19th century when Ram Mohan Roy, acclaimed as the father of modern India, publicly denounced the attempts of the British government to curb the freedom of the press. Following the lead set by Ram Mohan, freedom of expression and civil liberties became two key issues of the anti-colonial struggle. In fact, the history of both the national movement and of the press can be read as the history of the struggle for these two rights. The legacy of this struggle has great contemporary value, as the freedom of the press and civil liberties continue to be under strain due to the restrictions imposed by the state.

### **World press**

World press in 1702 appeared in the London newspaper, The Daily Courant is the first daily newspapers in the world, The Times newspaper was founded in 1788, and in 1805 appeared Courier newspaper, and in 1814 steam printing machines used for printing The London Times newspaper.

### **Target of Media**

The media in India is one of the most powerful tools used by the major powers to control and change the Indian public perception about them selves and about the world. This pattern is also followed in the international scenario with negation of Indic culture and bias against any revival of civilization ethos. The creeping news about any event in the world including jihad /terrorism information is presented in such a way that the process of evolution and force of history is inevitable and forgone conclusion in favor of the Islamic parties. Indian populations are like an experimental subject to be fed with new perception and information away from

reality and in favor of the religion and major powers. Over several decades the general population could be made less hostile and more favorable to the designs of the major power.

Indian population is considered by major powers having very low knowledge about the reality and threats in the world. How long have the west been experimenting with Indian population with news and indoctrination? It could be even before the independence for more than 60 years. Deception and brain washing have been used for a long time by the west and India is one of the largest targets of deception.

The current campaign to demonize the followers of religion is to defame and remove the new indigenous political party, which is not under the control of the major powers and whose ideology is fully rooted in Indic civilization. The attack on the followers of religion (whether Christians, Muslims, Hindus and minorities) are overblown with the logic that the majority of community must be checked with aggressive reporting even to the point of falsehood.

### **Media's Mandate**

The question therefore arises as to what affords the media such a sweeping authority that can override legitimately elected and appointed bodies? What sort of mandate has the media been given to justify its actions? Where the Media is's all Mandates? Clearly the media has never been elected to any political post and does not undergo any scrutiny like that of candidates in an election. It does not represent any appointed post in the government. It has no accountability to any outside agency. The media's authority is largely self-appointed and, not surprisingly, self-serving. Hence media has become a tool of foreign powers who would like a particular outcome of an election or policy making inside India or image creation.

The sources behind the media's operation and where they get their money is also not revealed. We are not informed as to how prominent reporters and editorial writers derive their income, including how much may come from outside sources. But clearly they are getting a lot of money from somewhere that they are not in any hurry to disclose. Although the media are so much part of us that to recognize their impact, we must step back and consciously think about how they shape our lives and what they are saying. The media affect people perspective not only through television, but also through radio and newspaper. In this way, even many messages with which we cannot agree, inevitably coming to us from a diverse constellation of media, will not hurt us. They can even be turned to our benefit by whetting our understanding and articulation of what we believe. The media play an important role in the society. They help us to know current affairs on the spot. They put their lives in danger during a terrorist attack or a natural disaster, just to inform us about it. It is partly because of them that there is awareness spreading in the society. This is how; many countries are able to contribute to the affected areas. Who are the people who tell us about corruption? Who are the people who tell us about the crimes? It is the media who tells us. It is the media who shape our lives. Without media our lives are incomplete. In conclusion I would like to say that the media play a very important role in our lives and in the society.

Now let me have a look at its role and characteristic which it plays in the society by giving information about new necessary and informative things and topics and spreading awareness that is harmful and beneficial for them. According to a study, more than fifty per cent of the people who live in the remote parts of the country do not know anything about the dangerous diseases like that HIV / AIDS, cancer and so on.

And this widespread ignorance is one of the factors behind the multiplication of the disease. In this context, the media can educate and make people aware about the pandemics by breaking the silence about them. It can launch a crusade against the stigma, discrimination and taboos associated with this type of pandemic, the

media should also encourage their reporters for accurate, insightful and sustained coverage of the issues, and respect the rights and sensitivity of vulnerable groups.

Media is really an important object in the society nowadays. Without the media, it would have never been possible for us to become so much advanced and well informed. Though sometimes it becomes too intrusive, but still I think it plays a very important role in our society. It helps us to know about how the poor people are being exploited by the rich ones, how the students are being abused by the teachers, how the brutal fathers are killing their own baby in its mother's womb as it is a girl, in which district, state and country are being ravaged by the massacre and violence.

As Gujarat has been ravaged by unprecedented violence since 27th February 2002, sending shockwaves all over the country. The spell of genocide that followed Godhra, massacre have seen in newspapers, radio and television that have been playing a significant role in the long spiral of violence in both ways negative and positively according to their internal ideologies. As it has presented an important role in tsunami, US attack on Iraq and Afghanistan, Lebanon and Israel battle and Palestine and Israel conflict, and so on. As who can forget the heartrending video clip of young Hadil Ghalia of Palestine running over the Gaza sands, looking for her family? There are many parallels between this and the photos of 12-year-old Mohammad al-Durah also, who was caught between Israeli and Palestinian gunfire, and this video clip has been widely broadcast in the world media. If the media had not been there we would have never been able to know a bit about all these, as I think all these are somehow defining the role of media and its characteristics.

### **Freedom of the press**

Freedom of the press (or a free press) is guaranteed by the government to freedom of expression and according to the Constitution of the country freedom of expression is given to the citizens and associations. It extends to the news

broadcasting organizations and their print reports, In addition to news gathering and processes related to the news information for publishing purpose. The information about government and its governance power to determine what information available to the public and what burning issue is for publish in favour of them and which information to be published and which not based on the information and because of its impact on national security. Many governments drafting law to control the freedom of press which is used to specify the interest of nation.

### **Basic principles and standards of press freedom**

Basic principles and standards of press freedom in many countries is that the right of all individuals is to express themselves in writing or by any other forms of expression of opinion or personal creativity.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights states that: "Everyone has the right to freedom of expression and opinion, this right includes freedom to give opinions without interference and to seek or deliver important information or ideas through any media by any means regardless of any harm." Usually this philosophy is combined with legislation which comprises various degrees of freedom of scientific research; publishing and printing; to embody the depth of these laws in the judicial system from one country to another could set forth in the Constitution. Often the same laws covering the concepts of freedom of speech and freedom of the press meant to be addressed members of the media on an equally. In addition to these legal standards used by some NGOs (Non Government Organizations) criteria for judging the extent of press freedom in the world. The Organization of Reporters Without Borders take into account the number of journalists killed or expelled or threatened by the existence of state monopoly on television and radio along with the presence of censorship and self-censorship in the media, independence of the public media, as well as the difficulties which may be encountered by foreign correspondent. The organization of Freedom House examines the economic and political environment of each country generally for



the purpose of determining the existence of dependency relations challenge at the level of application of the freedom of the press exists in theory or not. Therefore, the concept of the independence of the press is closely linked to the concept of freedom of the press.

### **Press authority**

Press authority uses fourth concept of the press (and the media in general), In Montessori's theory there are three branches of government: the legislative, executive and judicial. Quoting Edmund Brooke in this regard he said: "three authorities are meeting here under the roof of Parliament, but there are reporters sitting in the fourth authority which is the most important for all of you." The evolution of the western media was parallel to the development of liberalism in Europe and the United States. S.Seibert wrote in an article entitled liberal theory of press freedom: "To understand the principles governing the press in democratic government system, one should understand the basic philosophy of liberalism which has evolved throughout the period between the 17th century and the 19th century." Actually freedom of expression not granted by the State, but enjoyed individually, according to the natural law. Therefore freedom of the press was an integral part of the individual rights of the human being supported by liberal ideology. The liberal idea of freedom is negative freedom, in other words, as salvation from persecution, freedom of the individual to evolve without hindrance. This theory is contrary to the idea of some anti philosophies such as socialism philosophy of the press.

### **Status of press freedom in parts of the world**

Status of press freedom in parts of the world is based on the organization of Reporters without Borders each year to publish its reports, which classified the countries of the world according to the terms of freedom of the press. The report is based on the results of questionnaires sent to journalist members of the organizations similar to the "Reporters without Borders" in addition to research

specialists, researchers, jurists, and activists in the area of human rights. The questionnaire includes questions about direct attacks on journalists and the media in addition to other sources of pressure on the freedom of the press, such as the pressure on journalists by non-governmental groups. The Reporters Without Borders took care extremely that the report classification or "manual freedom of the press", press freedom became far from the assessment of the work of the press. In 2003 the countries that enjoy a free press completely are Finland, Iceland, Netherlands, and Norway. In 2004 occupied by the following countries- Denmark, Ireland, Slovakia and Switzerland are on top of the list of countries with a free press, followed by New Zealand and Latvia. As for the least level of press freedom in 2006, North Korea has already advanced to Cuba, followed by Burma, Turkmenistan, Eritrea, China and Vietnam, Nepal, Saudi Arabia and Iran.

### **Press Freedom in the United States**

Just ask about any American about freedom of the press in the United States and stand back! You are likely to get an earful about how "the media" are irresponsible. After all, they invade the privacy of individuals. They report a lots of government secrets. And they do these things to sell more newspapers, or to get higher viewer ratings. Or so the conventional wisdom goes. A survey conducted by the Freedom Forum's First Amendment Center in 2002 reported that 42 percent of those polled thought that the press has "too much" freedom. Whether that's accurate or not, it is a matter of opinion, but it is indisputable that U.S. law is sweeping in its protection of the rights of the news media, making its press, at least on paper, among the freest in the world.

But this type of question also raised where did these rights come from? How have they developed and expanded over the years? What is the future for freedom of the press in the United States? The First Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, quoted above, is justly held to provide the basis for America's tradition of a free press. In drafting the amendment, America's Founding Fathers affirmed the fundamental right of citizens to be informed about all sides of an

issue without governmental interference. Thomas Jefferson even went so far as to write: If it were left to me to decide whether we should have a government without a free press or a free press without a government, I would prefer the latter. Belief in the importance of a press free of governmental control has remained constant throughout American history. It is the reason why, among other things, the United States has no ministry of information to regulate the activities of journalists; no requirement that journalists be registered; and no requirement that they be members of a union. In this issue, we examine the significance of a free press in its broader context. For as noted journalist Marvin Kalb observes in the interview that opens this issue, "a free press must have a legal, constitutional guarantee, but that is not all it needs." Time and again, the American commitment to freedom of the press has been challenged in the courts by individuals and even the government in cases of alleged personal attack or threats to national security. James Goodale, legal adviser to The New York Times during the publication of the Pentagon Papers, cites a number of Supreme Court cases that have addressed such personal and governmental challenges to the First Amendment. He finds that the Court has generally upheld the right of the press to pursue its mission. At the time the First Amendment was written, the printing press was the only means of mass communication. Today, freedom of the press is understood to apply to radio, television and telecommunications as well. The First Amendment retains its pertinence even in a time of proliferating information resources, for the people ultimately decide how their press should act, says George Krimsky, the former head of news of the Associated Press World Services. But how can we be sure that a free press will behave responsibly? Indeed, the American public is increasingly critical of the way its media investigate and present the news, says Bob Caldwell, editor of the daily Oregonian, who cites examples of how the media have tried to address this public concern.

## **Non-democratic**

According to reports of the "Reporters without Borders" that one third of the world's population live in countries lacking freedom of the press. The majority live in states where there are undemocratic system, or where serious flaws in the democratic process. freedom of the press is a very problematic for the majority of systems of non- democratic governance, particularly, control access to information in the modern era is vital for the survival of most non-democratic governments and the accompanying regulations governing and security apparatus. To achieve this objective using most non-democratic societies and the news agencies of the government to provide the necessary publicity to maintain political support and suppress (and often the extreme brutality through the use of the police, army and intelligence agencies), any attempts by the media or individuals to challenge the "party line" right in contentious issues. Reporters working in these countries on verge of acceptable, find themselves often the target of repeated threats by government agents. And this might vary risks between simple threats on their future career (expulsion from work, a journalist on the black list) for death threats, kidnappings, torture and murder. The "Reporters without Borders" declared that 42 journalists were killed in 2003 and in the same year, 130 journalists were locked up because of their professional activities.

## **The function and freedom that enjoy Arabic media in the Arab states**

The spread of communication facilities in the Arab world is remarkable. Every Arab country including even the poorest one has built its own television system. All Arab countries not only publish their own newspapers and periodicals but each one has its own news agency and news channel. But these are challenging times for the Arab media. Modern communication is breaking down old barriers in ways that no one can yet fully predict. So I think that we need better media standards, to lift the level of information sources and communicate the information in different parts of the world.

The basic political conditions inside some Arab countries were stable during the 1980s and into the 1990s, and the media systems also did not change very much during that period. During the past decade, however, significant political changes have taken place in a number of Arab countries, and this had the effect of modifying the media systems in those countries. As a consequence, some media systems shifted in categories.

As, a very significant transformation occurred in the Yemeni political system in the 1990s, involving the emergence of multiple political parties and freer elections effected the media system of the country. And in 2003, when the national political situation in Iraq changed dramatically after the US-led an invasion and occupation of that country, the Iraqi media system as a result also changed dramatically. Because the new Iraqi media system that emerged was quite diverse, in part because of U.S. and British policy.

There are a lot of newspapers, magazines and periodicals in print media .Radio and Television in electronic media in the Arab World, this radio and television are more strong and effective then others .Although there are the rapid growth and spread of newer means of communication such as e-mail, websites, blogs, videocassettes, DVDs, and SMS text messaging in the Arab Country. It is important to note that these media categories are not static, because they are

fundamentally rooted in existing political systems. When a political system changes, a transformation takes place in the media system also.

### **Radio and television**

It should be also noted that the structure and functioning of Arab radio and television has always been somewhat different from print media. Nearly all Arab governments (Lebanon being the most obvious exception), directly controlled all radio and television, with no private broadcasting allowed. There were differences between countries that to some extent mirrored the mobilization, loyalist and diverse breakdown of the print media, but they were not as pronounced because all Arab regimes wanted to control broadcasting directly and not permit private ownership. Broadcasting has changed recently, but fundamentally the state still regards radio and television as more sensitive politically than print media, and therefore tends to give it more attention.

Clearly, the most dramatic changes in broadcasting have occurred during the past decade because of the emergence of Arab satellite television, and also the impact of the Internet.

Several studies have been made of Arab satellite television with particular emphasis on the Al Jazeera effect. There is no question that Al Jazeera has had a major impact on Arab media and on the Arab discourse. Subjects that were once taboo in Arab media are now openly debated not only on Al Jazeera but to some extent on other Arab media. Al Arabiya Television has become a close rival of Al Jazeera. And even the content of Abu Dhabi Television has become more contentious than it once was, in large part as a result of competition from Al Jazeera and the other satellite channels.

Yet the satellite television channels are subject to some constraints imposed by political realities in each country. Even Al Jazeera, the media outlet that tends most to break taboos and to criticize Arab governments, pays attention to the national political environment of its home country, Qatar. A conservative Gulf state, Qatar subsidizes Al Jazeera, although it claims the channel is an independent entity. Qatar has a long “loyalist” media system, and its newspapers

still fall into that general category. Al Jazeera however has taken on a different role that seems revolutionary and not consistent with Qatar's past history. Yet for three reasons, the basic rule, that national political circumstances are very important for the media, also applies to Al Jazeera. First, this channel first emerged as a taboo-breaker after a significant political change took place in Qatar when the ruler was deposed by his son, who was determined to undertake some reforms in the direction of political liberalization. Secondly, Al Jazeera's aggressive political attitude can be seen to some extent as the result of a policy decision by the new ruler to put his country on the map by way of constructing a different international image from his neighbours, and using Al Jazeera to stir up controversy in a controlled way. Third, because of Qatar's small size and the fact that Al Jazeera focuses on regional and international news that is of interest to the Arab world as a whole, there is little of real interest in Qatar for this channel to focus on, and therefore it has few Qatari taboos to challenge. In practice, Al Jazeera tends not to raise controversial issues that directly affect the political status in Qatar. In fact, there are limits to what Al Jazeera does, and after offending most Arab governments by one program or another, it has recently adopted a code of ethics that indicate it is trying to some extent to moderate its tone. But Al Jazeera now has some protection from criticism because other channels are also challenging taboos.

In short, Al Jazeera is on the one hand an example of pushing the boundaries of what is possible politically on Arab television, yet at the same time, its behavior tends to reinforce the basic thesis that domestic political concerns are very important for the media.

On the other hand, the Arab television producers have been careful to adapt and modify Western programmes format ideas to make sure that the content fits within local Arab political and social norms, (The most popular and controversial television programs in the Arab world are "reality" shows like *Super Star* and *Star Academy*). The experience of MBC in trying to replicate *Big Brother* in Bahrain in 2004 was failed, for example, showed that there were clear limits to

the importation of Western ideas into Arab television. Also, when Arab television producers have presented Western material (such as Hollywood films) on Arab television channels as originally prepared for a Western audience, they have carefully reviewed it in advance to be sure it is acceptable within the political and social norms of the Arab country that they are in.

On the regional level, the proliferation of satellite television channels in Arabic, by and for Arabs, has also had a powerful impact on the media scene. Al Jazeera broke taboos, but other Arab channels also brought news and commentary in Arabic into Arab homes in ways that had not happened before. Yet considering the picture as a whole, and looking at the amount of access that various Arab groups have to information and opinion, it is clear that the cultural, economic and especially political conditions that exist in individual countries still influence media behavior in important ways. The trend to greater regionalization and globalization of media has therefore complicated but not completely negated the usefulness of an analysis that focuses on national political systems.

Local political and social realities are still important, despite globalization and regionalization of the media, and they still affect the access to news and information that individual Arabs enjoy. Thus in a country where the diverse system exists, like Lebanon, the citizens of that country still tend to have access to a greater variety of sources of information and opinion than they do in countries where mobilization systems exist as in Syria. It is true that in both Lebanon and Syria people watch satellite television coming from outside their borders, but the media environments, and the political systems in which the media operate, are still different.

#### **Arab press**

Arab press began with the crusade of Napoleon Bonaparte to Egypt in 1798, at that time there were the two newspapers in Cairo in French. In 1828 Muhammad Ali Pasha, issued an official newspaper (Al waqae Al misriya), in 1885 issued



Rizqallah Hassun in Istanbul, a local Arabic newspaper named, the mirror of Arabic situations.<sup>6</sup>

In the beginnings of the twentieth century there were significant number of Arabic newspapers, particularly in Egypt (Al moyyed, Al liwa, As Siyasa, Al Balagh and Jihad, old newspapers are still issued so far (Al Ahram) newspaper published for the first time in 1875 and compete with Al-Akhbar published in 1944, in addition to many literary journals, technical and cultural.

**Algeria** issued its first newspaper in 1847 and the French official gazette, and then issued newspaper Kaukab of Africa in 1907 and was the first Arab newspaper issued by the Algerian.

**Lebanon** published first newspaper the Hadiqa tul Akhbar In 1858. And now it is Followed by many newspapers including Nafir Syria and Bashir, currently the newspaper An Nahar and Al anwar and many other newspapers and magazines.

**Tunisia** issued newspaper Al rayed Al Tunisia in 1860.

**Syria, Damascus** Syria, issued the newspaper in 1865, and then followed by many other newspapers and periodicals.

**Libya** issued its first newspaper “The west Tarabulas” in 1866.

**Iraq** issued its first newspaper in 1869, and followed by several newspapers, including the Journal of Mosil, Basra, Baghdad and Al- Raqeeb.

**Morocco** published first newspaper “the Morocco” in 1889.

**Palestine** issued first newspaper “Al-Nafeer” in 1908.

**Jordan** issued first newspaper from Amman namely “Al-Haq Ya’lu” in 1920.

**Saudi Arabia** issued its first official gazette “Al-Qibla” renamed “Ummul Qura in 1924.

**Yemen** issued first newspaper “Al-Aymaan” in 1926.

**Kuwait** issued first newspaper “Al- Kuwait” in 1928.

**Bahrain** issued first newspaper “Al-Bahrain” in 1936.

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<sup>6</sup> . Arabi Adab ki Tarikh v-4: Prof. Abdul Haleem Nadvi, , Markaze Fikro Fan A\76, Okhla Jamia Nagar, New Delhi.

### **The press in south Arabia**

It was only in 1853 that the first printing machine was brought to Aden. Twenty four years later Cowassjee Dinshaw and Bros, a Parsee firm in Aden imported a printing machine with English Gujarati and Arabic types to print all government stationery locally. In 1889 a Jewish family Howard and Bros established their press with English Arabic and Hebrew types. In 1925 the Roman Catholic Mission in Aden and Pallonjee Dinshaw another Parsee firm in Aden started their printing press.

In the thirties Arabic printing expanded as new printing concern were started to meet the growing demands of Arab merchants and traders. The most important Arabic printing establishment was *Fatat al-Jazirah* opened by the late Muhammad Ali Luqman an Arab advocate in 1940. It was the first Arabic printing press to add publishing to its other activities in south Yemen. A number of dailies and weeklies in Arabic and English for local and overseas markets.

Prior to *Fatat al-Jazirah* local Arabic newspapers were unknown while English weeklies had been published in the area since 1900, when Captain W. Beale the then political resident edited and published the *Aden Weekly Gazette* in eight pages of English. The *Gazette* published news, literary articles and poems. On Beale's transfer from Aden, Murray of the Aden coal company continued to publish the *Gazette* until financial difficulties forced its closure.

Captain Beale returned to Aden as Colonel Beale in 1915 and on 14 April of the same year he published the *Aden Focus* which was printed for him by Howard and Bros Press,

### **Arabic newspapers**

Any reference to newspapers in southern Yemen must be restricted to Aden only as there were no papers published elsewhere in the territory. And only in 1940 did the British government agree to license the publication of an Arabic newspaper. That was *Fatat al-Jazirah* which first appeared as an eight page weekly.

Introducing the first issue of his *Fatat al-Jazirah* the late Muhammad Ali Luqman wrote in January 1940:

“In the name of God the Compassionate the Merciful I decided to publish this newspaper in order to serve this country and its people by disseminating Arabic culture in an attempt

to march with the civilized world in the fields of education, agriculture, industry, trade, science and technology”.

The paper appeared in time of war with Hitler’s victorious armies spreading terror east and west. News had therefore to be carefully sifted and edited to avoid the censor. Apart from news and news stories the paper published feature articles, short stories human interest accounts, interviews, sports, interpretative reporting and the woman’s page. The editors and patrons of the paper were responsible for establishing several cultural social and political associations such as Mukhaiyam Abi al- Taiyib, the Aden cultural council and the poor boy’s Relief fund.

Newspapers work, however proved to be a difficult task in southern Yemen. Between 1940 and 1952, fourteen weeklies and dailies had to close down after a transitory existence. Business although exciting, was not paying. In an environment like that of southern Yemen, conservative and uneventful, a journalist found it difficult to obtain any thing of news value for publication. Men preferred their old way of life and sought no change. Officials capitalized on this passive attitude and the government found it more convenient to keep the public uninformed. The press and registration of Books Ordinance of July 3, 1939, governed all publications. The first Arabic newspaper was also governed by any other law for the time being in force; such was the text of the license granted for the publication of *Fatat al-Jazirah*.

The press ordinance declared:-It shall not be lawful for any person to print publish edit or assist in the printing and editing of any news paper within the colony unless the printing and publication of such news paper or periodical shall be authorized by a licence in writing for the purpose granted by the Governor and signed by the chief secretary, which licence, the Governor may at his discretion, grant, refuse or revoke.

Every such licence shall unless revoked; continue in force for a period of twelve month.

Freedom of the press was also influenced by national traditions and religious customs. It was very difficult for a news paper man to attempt a wholesale reform of time honoured costumes, such as the veil system. To advocate the emancipation of women was to attempt the impossible and subject one's self not only to ridicule but to danger. Amir Ahmad Fadl al -Abdali of Lahej once published a short poem on music. Both he and the publisher earned the people's anger. Some even applied to the government to interfere and stop the publication of the paper.

Political differences, however, brought about libellous and seditious writings. But the court heard only two cases of this sort throughout the history of the press. Few newspapers had their licence withdrawn or suspended for such reasons. In 1948, after the abortive coup in Yemen, when Imam Yahya ibn Muhammad Hamid al-din was assassinated, the first violence against the press was recorded. That was the beginning of a series of violent attacks against the local press by arson, explosive and murder threats. At one time, three dailies and two weeklies were either burnt down or blown up with explosive in 1965 and 1966. Editors' cars were also set on fire.

Type- setting was by hand until two dailies, the *Fatat al-Jazirah* and *al- Aiyam*, introduced lino-type machines in 1965, but no change in the form, size or material of the publications was made. All dailies had a standard form of 16×12 in. four pages with printed size of 14×10 in. with five columns of 11 ems per page.

By 1967 there were twenty four news papers and magazines. Twenty further applications were under consideration. Six were dailies, *al-Akhbar*, *Fatat al-Jazirah*, *al-Aiyam*, *al-Yaqzah*, *al-Ummal* and *al-Tariq*. The rest were weeklies and monthlies.

Southern Yemen had two English weeklies prior to independence, the *Rcorder* and the *Aden Chronicle*. They were owned, edited and published by local Arabs. The *Recorder* however had to close down long before independence for financial reasons. But *Fatat al-Jazirah*'s sister, the *Aden Chronicle* continued to appear

until the withdrawal of its licence in the first week of December, 1967. The *Dhow*, an English news weekly, was published by the forces and the B.P. Refinery have their own house magazine. A weekly Urdu paper was published by an Indian Adeni and a small Gujrati magazine was also in circulation. English papers had a wider circulation than that of the Arabic ones. At one time the *Aden Chronicle* reached the peak of 3,000 copies per week. Advertisers preferred to advertise in the English weeklies besides Reuters, daily news bulletin which is still in circulation.

Of the Arabic weeklies, *Saut al-Janub* was the official mouthpiece of the Federation of South Arabia, published by the Ministry of Information and National Guidance. Articles on the progress and development of the Federation appeared in *Saut al-Janub* constantly. The paper was for distribution throughout the states.

#### **Arab Press Freedom**

Arab Press Freedom Watch (APFW) held its first annual conference in London, to discuss “Arab Media for Democracy; Political and Legal Challenges” on 1-3 may 2002. Leading journalists, lawyers, academics, diplomats and other press freedom activists addressed the conference. The conference was also widely attended by observers from the Arab League, the International Federation of Journalists (IFJ) the National Union of Journalists in the UK (NUJ) the Arab Commission for Human Rights, the National Tunisian Council for Liberties, Reporters sans Frontiers and Al Jazeera satellite TV.

Prominent press freedom activists from 13 Arab states including ; Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Saudi Arabia, Palestine, Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, Sudan, Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco presented papers to the conference.

The conference which was the first meeting of its kind in the Arab World aimed to share ideas with the objective of formulating an action plan to be implemented by APFW and the conference participants.

On the whole the discussion and various papers presented pointed to the perilous condition of journalism in the Arab World due to the various arbitrary restrictions

placed upon it, as well as the dismal situating of Arab journalists and the restrictions they face in undertaking their work.

### **Political issues and press freedom**

The APFW conference affirms that the profession of journalism in the Arab World should be freed from all forms of legal, political and economic so that journalists are able to work unfettered. Also to reinforce the role of journalist in serving and transforming society and bringing about political change and reinforcing political freedoms pluralism and the respect of others ideas and beliefs. Linked to this is the need for journalists to work towards fighting corruption and political monopoly control by the one party system or dictatorial or tribal regimes. This falls within their role as a vehicle of transparent communication of the various events and the opinion in the society. Condemnation of all Israeli attacks against the Palestine press journalists and media institutions as well as those against Arab and foreign correspondents in the west Bank and Gaza. Participants note with deep concern that Israeli transgression against press freedom in the occupied Palestinian territories is part and parcel of a wider genocide that Israel is exercising against the Palestine people. Moreover the APFW conference notes that these transgressions have drawn increasing international concern, especially within international press circles. Nevertheless this concern fall short of an action plan to protect journalists or to end Israeli aggressions or to penalize those responsible for such action.

Now let me have a brief look on status of the print media and electronic media in different Arabic speaking countries.

### **Bahrain**

In Bahrain, television services were initiated by the American company RTV international in 1973 on a commercial basis. Most of its programs were imported from the United States, Bahrain and Egypt. Local production of programs was limited to news and interviews. The Bahraini government took control of the station in 1976. 5

As highlighted it, that the Bahraini government took control of television services in 1976, and continued the commercial orientation that had been introduced by RTV. During this period, 72 hours per week were broadcast from 1.00 pm until midnight, on Thursday from 4.00 pm and Friday from 3.00 pm. 7

Fifty percent of programs screened on Bahraini television were foreign, domestically produced programs made up 15 percent and Arab programs accounted for 35 percent; 30 percent of these programs were miscellaneous , 20 percent covered children's, scientific and cultural programs. Ten percent was allocated to the religious broadcasts.

There are several daily news papers. Among them the most prominent in Arabic are two. They are Al-Ayam (the days) and Akhbar al- khalij(Gulf news) which have a combined circulation in excess of 45,000 and in English is “ The Gulf Daily News” with a circulation of around 11,500. There are about seven weeklies covering various subjects, areas and a number of other periodicals. The government exercises censorship over reports and commentary on domestic affairs. Besides, there a large number of international publications such as Times, News week, The Economist etc. are available in Bahrain, though late by a day or two. Bahrainis generally stay well informed about national and international events through foreign publications and satellite television links. The state radio and television stations broadcast mainly in Arabic. Now almost all channels of the Arab world, Europe, America and Asia are available to the public in Bahrain.

### **Kuwait**

Television transmission was started in Kuwait by a commercial television station at the end of the 1950s. The station was connected to a local RCA agent which promoted the sale of television sets in the state. Transmission did not last for long, as the national Kuwait Television service started in 1961 and switched to the European (PAL) system.

And in November 15, 1961 the state saw the start of television transmission of 24 hours per week. The numbers of weekly hours was increased to 42 at the end of its first year. By 1975, this figure had risen to 58. Using the PA2 system, color transmission was introduced in 1974, and in 1978, a second channel began

broadcasting mainly in English. The new channel operated up to 28 hours per week, 84.4 percent of which was devoted to foreign programmes and the remainder to Arabic productions. Drama and films accounted for 54 percent; children's programs 11 percent; cultural and documentaries 22percent; variety programs 8 percent and news 5 percent.

Kuwait's press is free. Freedom of press and publishing is guaranteed in the constitution. The news papers and periodicals, through owned privately, get financial support from the government. In 2001, there were about 8 dailies. 20 weeklies and 196 periodicals. Among the famous Arabic dailies are Al-Qabas, Al-Anbaa, Arrai-al-Am and Al-watan. Among the famous Arabic weeklies are Al-Balagh, Al-Hadaf, Kuwait-al-Yaum, Al-Nahdah and Al-Yaqlah. Some of the monthlies, the most famous is Al-Arabi. Two prominent English news papers are Arab Times and Kuwait Times. The latter has weekend editions in Malayalam and Urdu as well. All subjects, except the ruling family, are freely discussed without any censorship. Radio and Television News Agency (KUNA) are government controlled. There are six AM, Eleven FM and one SW stations are in Kuwait. There are 13 television channels and a number of foreign channels available for viewers in Kuwait.

### **Oman**

A German company operated and maintained the Omani television services from 1974 after signing a five- year contract with the Omani ministry of information. In 1975, a British company began operating a television station in Salalah. In 1979 the Omani government decided to take control of these two stations with the help of Arab expatriates. 6

As the television broadcasting began in Oman in 1974 with the help of German and British companies, initially from Muscat, and then in 1975 from Salalah in the Dhofar region. The government took control of television services in 1979, and both stations were linked via satellite. Coverage was extended both domestically and internationally by constructing relay stations in Buraimi, Nizwa, and Sur.10



During this phase, daily services were operated from 7.00 pm to midnight, except on Fridays, when programming commenced at 3.00 pm. The bulk of its daily programmes were imported from Arab countries, Britain and the United States.

The Oman has five locally operated radio stations run on AM, FM and short wave both in Arabic and English and some programmes can be heard via the internet. Broadcasts can be heard in the Sultanate of Oman from UAE, Saudi Arabia and Yemen. It has seven television stations with service throughout the country. The only terrestrial TV broadcaster in the Sultanate of Oman in the state owed Oman TV run by the Ministry of Information. Oman TV broadcasts two channels Arabic and English. Programming from both channels is available via satellite. Viewers in Oman can watch *CNN*, *BBC*, *STAR*, *Zee TV*, *Canal France*, *Sun TV* and *MBC* as well as other channels in addition to 24-hour sports and music channels via satellite. Oman TV has a daily news programme in English and shows English language films two or three nights in a week. Oman has 26 publications available to the public, five of which are daily news papers as well as four weekly magazines and seventeen periodicals. News reporting is subject to government censorship. Some of them are Times of Oman, Oman Observer, Oman daily newspaper, Ash-Shab, Al-Akidah and Business today and so on. Foreign newspapers and magazines are also available in the larger hotels in Muscat and are usually about one or two days old. According to statistics. Oman had more than 150,000 internet users provided by Oman's Telecommunication organization.

### **Qatar**

Television services in Qatar began in 1970, but some began transmitting in the 1950s. And unlike other Gulf States, the first television transmissions were operated by the government, with the help of Arabic-speaking expatriates.

Throughout the 1970s, there was a heavy reliance on outside assistance. Programming consisted of imported American and British soap operas and films, some of which were subtitled or dubbed to meet the state of domestic viewers. The major objective was to entertain audience, in particular American expatriates.

The Qatari government had officially lifted censorship of the media in 1995; since then the press has been free from interference of the government. Gulf Daily is the English newspaper in Qatar. Foreign newspapers and magazines usually one or two days old are available in various hotels or large shopping complexes. Major Arabic newspapers include Al Sharq Al-Watan and Al-Raya. Qatar TV is the state owned television network. The second TV channel in Qatar broadcasts in English from late afternoon until midnight. English stations broadcasting from Bahrain the UAE or Saudi Arabia are also available in Qatar. Foreign news channels such as *BBC*, *CNN*, *ZEE* news and *NDTV* are also easily available 24 hours a day in Qatar. Qatar FM broadcasts a mixed selection of music from early morning until late at night. With the launch of Al Jazeera TV channel in 1997 the profile of Qatari television has risen internationally. The station has gained a special reputation due to being boldly outspoken on the issues traditionally considered very sensitive in Arab World. Already popular in the Arab world Al Jazeera TV has become known worldwide after becoming the only TV channel permitted to work from inside Afghanistan.

### **The United Arab Emirates**

In the Arab Emirates, television services were started by the Thompson Company in 1969, in Abu Dhabi, and then its big television services began broadcasting from Abu Dhabi in 1974, transmitting a total of 86 hours per week. Relay stations were located in Dubai Al Ain, Umm Al Quwain, Ras Al Khaimah and Fujairah. A morning transmission ran from 10.00am until 2.00pm and an afternoon /evening session broadcast from 4.00pm until midnight. On Fridays and official holidays, programmes were screened from the morning till midnight without a break in transmission, "Eighty percent of all programmes were produced domestically. News services and official announcements accounted for 45 percent and Arabic miscellaneous programmes total 35 percent.

The Dubai commercial television service was established in 1972 and expanded in 1974. This service was expatriate-oriented and ran from 5.00pm until midnight;

its signals were received by most of the seven emirates. In 1978, a second, heavily-commercial, channel started transmitting programmes in English. 9

UAE has a free press whose guiding principles are Islamic values of tolerance, fraternity and moderation. They adopt themselves to the normal constraints of spiritual, moral and political integrity of the country. The Emirates News Agency started in 1997 serves as a news channel distributing news reports, photos and information to the world media in both English and Arabic. The major dailies are Al-Ittihad, Al-Wahda, Albayan and Akhbarul Arab in Arabic and the khaleej Times, Gulf News and Gulf Today in English. Apart from news the above mentioned dailies also carry special supplementary magazines and tabloids. Today the UAE has more than 60 magazines and periodicals on a wide range of topics. All the seven dailies have a combined daily circulation of 385,000.

Since 1969 the Abu Dhabi Radio Station has been broadcasting a balanced selection of news, music, drama and cultural programs. Emirates FM were introduced in 1996, with a wide range of programs. Today there are many FM and AM channels broadcasting on the UAE airwaves. Every Emirate has its own special channels. The government has allowed operation of private FM channels catering to the expatriate community. UAE TV launched its black and white transmission in 1969 and colour transmission in 1974. The second channel started in 1984 was the first channel in the Arab world to present filmed news reports. It was the first television services to broadcast its programmes in Arabic from London and its satellite channel is considered to be the most successful among the Arab channels now available world-wide.

The UAE television from Sharjah began its transmission in 1989 and introduced a second channel in April 1996 and established its services by the end of the year. It is a very popular channel among the expatriate community from the sub continent. All international programming is available via satellite channels.

### **Iraq**

Print media and electronic media are fully under government's control in Iraq. Two main newspapers in the country are Al Thawra and Al Jumhuriya. Other

weeklies and monthlies are also published. Medium wave and short wave radio from Iraq has been severely curtailed due to fear of air attacks on transmitting stations since and during Gulf War. The official state broadcasting corporation, Republic of Iraq Radio, operates a main domestic service in Arabic, a Kurdish service as well as a Holy Quran service. Other domestic broadcasting stations including, "Voice of Youth" radio and a number of Kurdish radio stations operating from northern Iraq. In 1998, there were 4 short wave, 13 AM and 51 FM stations in the country. Iraq had 13 TV stations in 1997, some or many of which were destroyed during March 2003 US-led war with Iraq. Now satellite channels from the Middle East and the Europe are available.

### **Al Jazeera**

Al Jazeera (meaning 'The Peninsula' or 'island' in Arabic) is the largest and most controversial Arabic News Channel in the Middle East, offering news coverage 24 hours a day from around the world, with a focus on the hottest regions of conflict. The channel that sent shock waves through the entire Arab world from its first day on air has become a global name which people, governments, and decision-makers cannot afford to ignore.

The origins of Al Jazeera dates back to 1995 when the BBC, which had built a strong tradition of objective Arabic-language news coverage through its World Service radio network, signed a deal with the Saudi owned company Orbit Communications to provide Arabic newscasts for Orbit's main Middle East channel. However, the BBC's insistence on editorial independence clashed with the Saudi government's unwillingness to permit reporting on controversial issues, such as a documentary showing graphic executions and the activities of Prominent Saudi dissidents. In April 1996, when the BBC broadcasted a story on human rights in the Saudi Kingdom which showed footage of the beheading of a criminal, Orbit pulled out of the deal throwing the station into dissolution. A few months later, disappointed by the lack of press freedom in the Arab world, Sheik Hamad (who abolished his country's Ministry of Information, the source of censorship in Saudi Arabia and most other Arab nations), pledged to let Al-Jazeera "report the news as they see it". "I believe criticism can be a good thing",

the amir said in a 1997 speech, "and some discomfort for government officials is a small price to pay for this new freedom".

The station has come a long way since it was launched in November 1996. With more than 30 bureaus and dozens of correspondents covering the four corners of the world, Al Jazeera has given millions of people a refreshing new perspective on global events. Free from the shackles of censorship and government control, Al Jazeera has offered its audiences in the Arab world much needed freedom of thought, independence, and room for debate.

Al Jazeera offers their viewers a different and new perspective; it was the first of the Arab TV stations to break the unwritten rule that one does not criticize another Arab regime, the source of its earliest controversy. But regardless of what their rulers think, viewers were delighted to get something other than the usual pro-government propaganda. Al Jazeera has garnered its share of controversy from the West, it has been labeled by some UK newspapers as a "mouthpiece" of Osama Bin Laden and al-Qaeda, and US officials have expressed concern at what it sees as the anti-Western tone of much of its reporting.

Despite the controversy, the station's aim is to raise traditionally sidelined questions and issues. They uphold the station's long term philosophy of maintaining "The right to speak up" by allowing everyone to express their opinion freely, encouraging debates, view points and counter viewpoints. Al Jazeera's ultimate goal is to set up a proactive relationship with their audience, where the audience is not simply a visitor at the other end of the line but an integral part of the news reporting and news making process.

Al Jazeera's team of dedicated journalists with their multi-national education and diversified backgrounds share a common set of attributes: objectivity, accuracy, and a passion for truth. Its correspondents opened a window for the world on the millennium's first two wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. Their expanded coverage competed with and sometimes outperformed their competitors in bringing into the spotlight the war's devastating impact on people's lives. They continue to cover all viewpoints with objectivity integrity and balance.

Today, Al Jazeera aims to break the language barrier by launching an English language Al Jazeera station set to air in March 2006. The station has assembled a team of TV pros from *BBC*, *APTN*, *ITV*, *CNN* and *CNBC*, among others, and will have 40 bureaus worldwide. The station is expanding its goal of bringing “people and continents together” by attempting to win audiences in the Western and Asian worlds.

It is the largest and most controversial Arabic News Channel in the Middle East, offering news coverage 24 hours a day from around the world and focusing on the hottest regions of conflict. Founded in 1996, and based in Qatar, the Al Jazeera news network is the fastest growing network among Arab communities and Arabic speaking people around the world. With programming focusing primarily on news coverage and analysis, the station has earned the loyalty of a large audience. It has also earned the enmity of various critics who argue that Al Jazeera is overly sensational, with a bent on showing bloody footage from war zones as well as giving coverage to violent groups. Criticism from varied governments has helped the channel garner credibility from an audience that is used to government imposed censorship and biased coverage.

### **Al Arabiya**

Al Arabiya News Channel was launched on March 3, 2003 to quench the thirst for credible, timely and relevant news about the Arab world.

Based in Dubai Media City, Al Arabiya is a 24-hour Arabic-language news channel broadcasting across five continents to millions of viewers. With a global network of correspondents and news bureaus in 40 major cities around the world, Al Arabiya has set a new standard for delivering news and become a prime source of Arabic-language news throughout the world.

The channel has won numerous regional and international awards for its coverage, which caters to the interests of Arab audiences in politics, business, current affairs, sports, science and lifestyle with hourly news bulletins, in-depth documentaries, talk-shows, and educational programs.

Al Arabiya employs highly-qualified experts in the television industry to provide viewers with the best in terms of form and content. It also encourages the work of young Arab directors and promotes their documentaries. Its reach extends to all of the Middle East, Asia Pacific, South East Asia, North Africa, Europe, the Americas and Australia through the satellite stations: In the short time since its inception in 2003, Al Arabiya has earned a place of privilege in the hearts and minds of viewers, commanding top ratings in key Middle East markets. Al Arabia's program grid is designed to attract diverse audience segments, making it the perfect channel to target all types of "information seekers", be it young or old, male or female. Its programming includes news coverage of politics, business, current affairs, finance, sports, science, lifestyle, as well as in-depth documentaries, talk shows, and educational programmes. It is part of MBC Group, the largest news and entertainment broadcaster in the Middle East, reaching an estimated 130 million Arabic-speaking people around the world.

Al-Arabiya was launched nine months ago with an investment of \$300m by the Saudi-controlled pan-Arab satellite TV pioneer MBC, Lebanon's Hariri Group, and other investors from Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and the Gulf states. It was set up as an all-news channel to compete directly with Qatar-based al-Jazeera TV.

## **Second Chapter**



## **Brief history of Kingdom of Saudi Arabia**

### **Ancient and Medieval history**

For the most part, Arabian history has been the account of small pockets of settled civilization, subsisting mainly on trade in the midst of nomadic tribes. The earliest urban settlements developed in the South-west, where the flourishing minaeen kingdom is believed to have been established in the 12th century B.C. This was followed by the sabaen and Himyarite kingdoms, which lasted until the sixth century AD. The term 'kingdom' in this connection implies a loose federation of city states rather than a centralized monarchy. As an important trading station between east and west, southern Arabia was brought into early contact with the Persian and Roman empires, and thereby with Judaism, Zoroastrianism, and later Christianity. Politically, however, the south Arabian principalities remained independent.

By the end of the sixth century the centre of power had shifted to the west coast, to the Hejaz cities of at-Taif, Mecca and Medina. While the southern regions fell under the control of the Sasanid rulers of Persia, the independent Hedjaz grew in importance as a trade route between the Byzantine Empire, Egypt, and the east. From the fifth century, Mecca was dominated by the tribe of Quraish. Meanwhile, the central deserts remained nomadic and the inhospitable east coast remained, for the most part under Persian influence.

The flowering and development of Arabism from the seventh century AD, inspired by the prophet Mohammad (the founder of Islam) proceeded for the most part, outside the Arabian Peninsula itself. The Islamic Unification of the near and Middle East reduced the importance of the Hejaz as a trade route. Mecca retained a unique status as a centre of pilgrimage for the whole Islamic world, but Arabia as a whole, temporarily united under Mohammad and his successors, soon drifted back into disunity. Yemen was the first to break away from the weakening Abbasid caliphate in Baghdad, and from the ninth century onwards a variety of

small dynasties established themselves in Sana'a, Zabid and other towns. Mecca also had its semi-independent governors, though their proximity to Egypt made them more cautious in their attitude towards the caliphs and the later rulers of that country, particularly the Fatimids of the 10<sup>th</sup> to 12<sup>th</sup> centuries. In Oman, in the south-east, a line of spiritual Imams arose who before long were exercising temporal power. To the north the Arabian shores of the Persian gulf provided a home for the fanatical carmathian sect, whose influence at times extended as far as Iraq, Syria, Mecca and Yemen.

### **The ottoman Period**

The whole of the Arabian Peninsula became part of Turkey's Ottoman Empire in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Under the nominal suzerainty of the ottoman sultans in Istanbul. Their hold was never very strong, even in the Hejaz, and in Oman and Yemen native lines of Imams were once again exercising unfettered authority before the end of the century. More important for the future of the peninsula was the appearance of European merchant adventurers in the Indian Ocean and the Persian (Arabian) gulf.

The Portuguese were the first to arrive in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, and they were followed in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries by the British, Dutch and French. By the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the United Kingdom had supplanted its European rivals and had established its influence firmly in the Gulf and, to a lesser extent, along the Southern Coast.

The political structure of Arabia was now beginning to develop along its modern lines. Yemen was already a virtually independent Imamate; Lahey broke away in the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, only to lose Aden to the United Kingdom in 1839 and to become the nucleus of the Aden Protectorate to the north of Yemen was the principality of the Asir, generally independent, though both countries were occupied by the Turks from 1850 until the outbreak of the First World War. The Hedjaz continued to be a province of the Ottoman Empire. In 1793, the Sultanate

of Oman was established with its capital at Muscat, and during the 19<sup>th</sup> century all the rulers and chieftains along the Persian Gulf Coast, including Oman, the Sheikdoms of the Trucial coast, Bahrain and Kuwait, entered into exclusive treaty relations with the British Government. The United Kingdom was principally concerned with preventing French, Russia and German penetration towards India, and suppressing the trade in slaves and weapons.

Meanwhile, the Najad, in the centre of Arabia, was the scene of another upheaval with religious inspirations. The puritanical and reforming Wahhabi movement, launched in the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, had by 1800, grown so powerful that its followers were able to capture Karbala and Najaf in Iraq, Damascus in Syria, and Mecca and Medina in the Hejaz. They were defeated by Mohammad Ali of Egypt, acting in the name of the Ottoman Sultan, in 1811-18, and again in 1838, but the Wahhabi ruling house of Saud continued to rule in the interior until 1890, when the rival Rashidi family, which had Turkish support, seized control of Riyadh. In 1901, a member of the deposed Saudi family, Abdal-Aziz ibn Abd ar-Rahaman, set out from Kuwait, where he had been living in exile, to regain the family's former domains. In 1902, with only about 200, followers, Abd al -Aziz captured Riyadh, expelled the Rashidi dynasty and proclaimed himself ruler of the Najd. Later he recovered and consolidated the outlying provinces of the kingdom, resisting Turkish attempts to subjugate him.

Having restored the House of Saud as a ruling dynasty, Abd al aziz became known as Ibn Saud. To strengthen his position, Ibn saud instituted the formation of Wahhabi colonies, known as Ikhwan (Brethren), through out the territory under his control. The first Ikhwan settlement was founded in 1912, and about 100 more were established spreading Wahhabi doctrines to communities in remote desert areas, over the next 15 years. These colonies formed the basis of a centralized organization, which was to prove a powerful instrument in later years. By the outbreak of the First World War (1914-18), Ibn Saud was effectively the master of central Arabia, including the Hasa coast of the Persian Gulf.

During the First World War, in which Turkey was allied with Germany, the Arabs under Ottoman rule rebelled. In 1915, the United Kingdom signed a treaty of friendship with Ibn Saud who was the master of central Arabia, securing his co-operation against Turkey. Relations subsequently deteriorated as a result of the British Government's decision to support Hussain Ibn Ali, who proclaimed himself king of the Hedjaz in 1916, as its principal ally in Arabia. Hussain was also sharif of Mecca (the holiest city of Islam), which had been governed since the 11<sup>th</sup> century by Hashmi (Hashemite) family, rivals of the house of Saud. At the end of the war, following Turkey's defeat, the Ottoman Empire was dissolved. Continuing his conquests, Ibn Saud successfully campaigned against the rulers of four Arabian states (the Hedjaz, Asir, Hayil and Jauf) between 1919, and 1925. In September 1924, his forces captured Mecca, forcing Hussain to abdicate, and in 1925, they over-ran the whole of the Hejaz. In January 1926, Ibn Saud was proclaimed king of the Hedjaz and Sultan of Najd. On 23, September 1932, the dual Monarchy ended when the two areas were merged as the Unified Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

Commercially exploitable deposits of petroleum (the basis of Saudi Arabia's modern prosperity) were discovered in the Eastern province in 1938, and large scale exploitation of the Kingdom's huge reserves of petroleum began after the Second World War. Petroleum royalties were used to develop and modernize the country's infrastructure and services.

### **Saudi Arabia**

Saudi Arabia is presently called as Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (KSA) and in Arabic it is known as Al-mamlakatul Arabiayatus Saudia. It is situated in the southwestern part of Asia, occupying four fifths of the Arabian Peninsula. Its land boundaries total 4,431, km. It is bordered on the north by Jordan 744 km, Iraq 814 km, and Kuwait 222 km; on the east by Persian Gulf, Qatar 60km, and United Arab Emirates 457 km; on the south by the Sultanate of Oman 676 km and Republic of Yemen 1,458, km and on the west by the Red Sea and the Gulf of

Aqaba. Located between Africa and Mainland Asia, with long frontiers on the Red Sea and the Arabian Gulf and with the Suez Canal near to its northwest border, the kingdom lies in a strategically important position. Saudi Arabia has an area of about 2,250,000 sq km. Its total coastline is 2,640 km. The capital and largest city is Riyadh. And other major cities are Jeddah, Mecca, Medina, Dammam, Taif, Dhahran, Khubar and Jubail. Etc.

The official language is Arabic, which is spoken by almost all of the population. Except for the expatriate community, virtually all of the inhabitants are adherents of Islam, the official religion. About 85% of the populations are Sunni Muslims, and most of the indigenous inhabitants belong to the strictly orthodox Wahhabi sect. About 15% of the populations are Shi'a Muslims, principally in the east of the country. And its national flag is green and bears in white, an Arabic inscription (there is no God but Allah and Mohammad is the prophet of Allah), above a white sabre.

Saudi Arabia is a conservative Muslim monarchy ruled by a powerful king whose authority derives from a large, closely knit royal family (al-saud), an influential group of religious scholars (Ulama), and tribal support as expressed by the allegiance of powerful tribal chiefs (sheikhs) throughout the land. The constitutional basis of government is lodged in Islamic law (Shari'a). The two primary supports of the shari'a are the Sunna, or Traditions, and the Hadith or the sayings and actions of the prophet Mohammad (P.B.U.H.).<sup>7</sup> Saudi religious conservatism and support for a strict adherence to the faith are based on the Wahhabite movement, founded by the eighteenth-century religious reformer Mohammad abd al-wahhab in the heart of the Arabian Peninsula. And its royal family has assumed, by fact of geography, the role of defender of the faith and protector of Islam's two holiest places, Mecca and Medina. Special moral significance is even attached to the Saudi monarch's utterances on Jerusalem,

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<sup>7</sup> The two other sources of Sharia according to the classical theory of Islam are the Ijma, or Consensus and the Qiyas or the analogy.

Islam's third holiest shrine. In addition to Saudi Arabia's special position for Muslims throughout the world, much like the Vatican for Catholics, the oil derived wealth has added a new dimension of power and influence, far exceeding the country's size or religious stature. This power and influence has given Saudi Arabia international stature and has drawn the world's attention to the country and its institutions. Saudi Arabia's largest and big cities are Riyadh, Jeddah Mecca, Medina, Taif, Khobar and Dammam etc.

### **Riyadh**

Which lies in the Najd region (central province), is the capital city of the kingdom of Saudi Arabia and now rivals any modern city in the world for the splendor of its architecture. Broad highways sweep through the city, passing over and under each other in an impressive and still growing road network. These now bedeck the broad streets and avenues, giving pleasure to passers-by and shade to those who loiter beneath them. Of all the kingdom's developmental achievements, Riyadh is perhaps the most obvious and accessible to the foreign visitors.<sup>8</sup> From the moment he lands at the King Khalid International Air port, itself a marvel of design wedding the traditional Arab style to the best of modern architecture in a happy marriage of spacious practicality, the traveler is aware that he has reached a city that must be counted one of the wonders of the twentieth century. The history of Riyadh and its growth from a relatively small settlement into a great modern city is inextricably involved with the rise of the House of Saud, Riyadh as the capital of the Saudi Arabian kingdom which Ibn Saud founded; it was inevitable that the city would grow. By 1375 AH (1955 AD), all ministries and government offices had been moved to or established in Riyadh. In the same year, a Royal Decree was issued raising the status of the municipality of Riyadh to that

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<sup>8</sup> . Summer Scott Huyette: Political Adaptation in Saudi Arabia, A study of the council of the ministers, West view Press Boulder and London. P,5,6,11-22

of mayoralty. Its scope of responsibility was greatly enlarged and its resources increased to enable it to cope with its growing size and population.

Today, apart from its importance as a seat of government and as a thriving commercial center, Riyadh is also a center of Arab diplomacy. It is the venue for many international Arab meetings and is the site of the diplomatic quarter an area built specially to accommodate all embassies and their staff.

### **The holy city of Mecca**

The holy city of Mecca, which lies inland 73 kilometers east of Jeddah, was the birth place of the prophet Mohammad (P.B.U.H.) and was the city to which he returned after the migration to Medina in 622 AD. Mecca is the holiest city on earth to the Muslims. Five times each day, the world's Muslims wherever they may be, turn to the holy city of Mecca to pray. And at least once in their lives, all Muslims who are not prevented by personal circumstances. Perform the Hajj. (The pilgrimage to Mecca). Thus each year, the holy city of Mecca is host to Hajjis (pilgrims) from all over the world. The holy Mosque in Mecca houses the 'Kaaba' in the corner of which is set the Black stone which marks the starting point for the seven circuits of the Holy Mosque which every haji must complete.

### **The holy city of Medina**

Medina, which lies 447 kilometers north of Holy city of Mecca, is the second holiest city in Islam. It was to Medina that the prophet Mohammad (peace be upon him) and his followers, faced by the hostility and persecution of the Mecca Merchants, departed in 622 AD. And when the citizens of Medina asked the prophet to live amongst them and to arbitrate in their affairs (an invitation taken to mean rejection of polytheism and submission to the will of the one God .Allah), it was in Medina that the Islamic era began.

## **Jeddah**

The red seaport of Jeddah is a bustling, thriving city. Its location on the ancient trade routes and its status as the sea port and airport for hajjis visiting the Holy city of Mecca have ensured that Jeddah is the most cosmopolitan of all Saudi Arabia's cities.

By the end of the 1970s, the population of Jeddah was estimated to be close to 1 million. Today, it is probably closer to 1.5 million. The extra ordinary growth of Jeddah, demanded by the kingdom's development programs, has been achieved in a remarkably short period. (The expansion of the seaport's capacity is a case study of what can be achieved if the will, the management and the resources are available.).At the same time, aesthetic considerations have not been ignored. Jeddah now boasts some of the most beautiful examples of modern architecture in the world. Three-lined avenues and the generous distribution of bronze sculptures attest to the success of the city's beautification program.

## **Climate**

Climatically, extreme heat and aridity are characteristic of most of Saudi Arabia. The average temperature range in January is 8° to 20°C in Riyadh and 19° to 29° in Jeddah. The average range in July is 27° to 43°C in Riyadh and 27° to 38°C in Jeddah. The Arabian Peninsula is one of the few places in the world where summer temperatures above 48°C are common, while in winter frost or snow can occur in the interior and the higher mountains. Precipitation is sparse throughout the country. Annual rainfall in Riyadh averages 100 mm and fall almost exclusively between January and May; the average in Jeddah is 54 mm and occurs between November and January.

## **Natural Resources**

Because of the general aridity, Saudi Arabia has no permanent rivers or lakes. There are four sources through which the country draws its water. They are



surface water found in west and south-west of the country; ground water held in nonrenewable aquifers; desalinated seawater and reclaimed wastewater meant for irrigation. Other mineral resources, in addition to the predominant oil and gas, include metallic items such as gold, silver, copper, iron, lead, tin and zinc and nonmetallic resources such as diatomite, fluorite, potash and silica.

### **The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia**

Ibn Saud's new status was recognized by the United Kingdom in treaty of Jeddah of 1927, while Ibn Saud in his turn acknowledged his rival Hussain's son, Abdullah and Faisal, as rulers of Transjordan and Iraq, and also the special status of the British-protected Sheikhdoms along the Gulf coast. The northern frontier of his domains had previously been established by the Hadda and Bahra agreements of November 1925, which set the mandate boundaries as the limit of his expansion. The border with Yemen was settled in Taif in 1934, after protected negotiations and brief war. In the years that followed, the new king's priority remained the unification and development of his country. The colonization policy that he had begun in 1912 was pursued vigorously; land settlements were established and unruliness among the Bedouin was suppressed. The modernization of communications was initiated, and the need for economic development emphasized. The main damage that Saudi Arabia suffered during the Second World War was economic. The pilgrimage traffic declined to almost nothing, and in April 1943, it was necessary to include Saudi Arabia as beneficiary of lend-lease, the arrangement whereby the USA supplied equipment to allied countries. Saudi Arabia's production of crude petroleum increased steadily as new oil fields were developed. In October 1945, a petroleum refinery opened at Ras Tanura, and two years later work started on Trans – Arabian pipeline (Tapline), to connect the Arabian oil fields with ports on the Mediterranean sea in Lebanon. petroleum first reached the Lebanese port of Sidon on 02, December 1950, in the same month the Saudi Arabian Government and the Arabian –American oil company (ARAMCO) signed a new agreement providing

for equal shares of the proceeds of petroleum sales. In 1956, a government - owned national oil company was formed to exploit areas not covered by the Aramco concession. Saudi Arabia was a founder member of the League of Arab States (the Arab League) formed in 1945, and initially played a loyal and comparatively inconspicuous part. Ibn Saud sent a small force to join the fighting against Israel in the summer 1948. When the solidarity of the League began to weaken, it was natural that he should side with Egypt and Syria rather than with his old dynastic enemies, the rulers of Iraq and Jordan. In the course of time however, he began to turn once more to internal development, and in 1950 and 1951 he concluded an agreement for a US \$15m. Loan as well as a four point agreement and mutual assistance pact. However, the real basis of development was the revenue from the developing petroleum industry. This was sufficient to justify the announcement, in July 1949, of a \$ 270m. Four year plan whose main feature was an ambitious programme of railway development. Apart from this the king's policy was one of cautious modernization at home and the enhancement of Saudi Arabian prestige and influence in the Middle East and in world affairs generally.

### **Situation after Ibn Saud**

King Ibn Saud remain in power until his death 9, November 1953, and he died at the age of 71, and was succeeded by crown prince Saud Ibn Abd al-Aziz, and another of the late king sons, Faisal Ibn Abd al-Aziz, replaced Saud as crown prince and prime minister. The policy of strengthening the governmental machine, and of relying less on one man rule, was continued by the formation of new ministries and a regular council of ministers. In March 1958, bowing to pressure from the royal family king Saud conferred on crown prince Faisal full powers over foreign, internal and economic affairs, with the professed aim of strengthening the machinery of government and of centralizing responsibilities. In December 1960, however the crown prince resigned as prime minister and the king assumed the premiership himself. In the following month, a high planning

council, with a team of international experts, was formed to survey the country's resources, and there followed steady progress in the modernization of the country.<sup>9</sup>

Throughout his reign, King Saud regarded his role as that of a mediator between the conflicting national and foreign interests in the Arab Middle East. He refused to join either the United Arab Republic (UAR) or the rival Arab federation. Relation with Egypt ranged from the mutual defence pacts between Egypt, Syria and Saudi Arabia in October 1955, (which Yemen and Jordan also signed a year later) to the open quarrel in March 1958, over an alleged plot to assassinate President Nasser. Subsequently, relations improved. The Saudi government also played a leading role in bringing the Arab governments together after Egypt's nationalization of the Suez canal in July 1956, and Israeli, British and French military action in the Sinai peninsula in November. In 1961, Saudi Arabia supported the Syrian in their break with the UAR, and in general relations with that country deteriorated. by 1964, however, in spite of the tensions over the revolution in Yemen, king Saud attended the Cairo conference on the Jordan waters dispute in January, and in March, after a meeting in Riyadh, diplomatic relations with the UAR were resumed.

### **Faisal in power**

King Saud relinquished all real power over the affairs of the country to his brother in March 1964, crown prince Faisal, who had again acted as prime minister intermittently during 1962, and continuously since mid-1963. The rule of Prince Faisal was expected to result in many concessions to westernization such as more cinemas and television, with more profound social and economic reforms to follow. The change of power by which King Saud retired as active monarch, was supported in a statement by the Ulama council of religious leaders (council of

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<sup>9</sup>. The Europa World Year Book, 2004.v,11. Europa Publication, London and New York. P,3648.

ulama ) in the light of developments , the king's condition of health and his inability to attend to state affairs, in November 1964, Saud was forced to abdicate in favour of Faisal . The new king retained the post of prime minister, and in March 1965, appointed his half – brother, Khalid Ibn abd al-aziz, to be crown prince, on 24 August 1965, King Faisal confirmed his stature as an important Arab leader when he concluded an agreement at Jeddah with President Nasser of the UAR on a peace plan for Yemen. Although the Yemen Issue remained UN resolved, there was evidence of Saudi Arabia's genuine anxiety that a solution should be found, even though in April 1966, the construction of a military air field near the frontier brought protests from the Republican government of Yemen and the UAR. Representatives of Saudi Arabia and the UAR met in Kuwait in August 1966, in an attempt to implement the Jeddah agreement, but relations with both the UAR and the Arab League continued to be tense.

#### **Assassination of Faisal, Accession of Khalid**

The king Faisal was assassinated in March 1975, by one of his nephews, Prince Faisal Ibn Masaed Ibn Abd al- Aziz. There were fears of a conspiracy, but it soon became clear that the assassin had acted on his own initiative. The King Faisal was succeeded by crown prince Khalid, who also became prime minister, and who appointed one of his brother, Fahad Ibn abd al-Aziz minister of the interior , to be crown prince and first deputy prime minister.

Accession of Khalid highlighted several characteristics of the Saudi political system that have proved some what surprising to the out side world , neighboring and distant states alike , where the stability of the Saudi political system has of course been the subject of considerable speculation . The first characteristic is the unquestioned power which the royal family still wields in shaping state policy. And other marked characteristics of royal family are loyalty, cohesiveness and political acumen. although the royal family numbers in the thousands , the country's actual governing in terms of wealth , power and influence rests with a handful of brothers and half- brothers of the late king Faisal , all of whom are the

sons Abd al-aziz al- saud, the founder of the modern Saudi Arabia . The most powerful of the brothers are nine : seven full brothers ( the seven sudeiris) whose mother , the wife of Abd al-aziz , was a member of the Sudayri tribe , and two half- brothers ( king Khalid and prince Abdullah) whose mother , an other wife of Abd al-Aziz was a member of the Jiluwi tribe . <sup>10</sup>

Religious influence is yet another powerful characteristic of the Saudi socio-political system. The power of the religious leaders (ulama) was once again demonstrated during the succession of King Khalid to the throne. A brief review of political developments in recent years shows that the Ulama position on royal power has played a crucial role in the drama of the last two successions. during the power struggle between king Saud and Faisal in march 1964, the grand mufti , head of the ulama , issued a religious legal proclamation ( fatwa) supporting Faisal against Saud . The fatwa essentially endorsed the transfer of power from Saud to Faisal, and when Faisal announced in November 1964, that he would rule in accordance with the country's Islamic tradition, the grand mufti pledged allegiance to him. During the events of another March, eleven years later, the ulama again played a decisive role in their support of and allegiance to Khalid's accession to the throne. Perhaps the most basic characteristic of the Saudi system is its remarkable stability, a result of consciously balanced and carefully supported tribal traditions, religious influence, family power and of course oil wealth. This combination is the heart of traditional political dynamics in Saudi Arabia.

### **The six day war, and its post situation**

In the June 1967, Arab-Israel war, Saudi forces collaborated with Jordanian and Iraqi forces in action against Israel. At a summit conference of Arab leaders held in Khartoum at the end of August 1967, Saudi Arabia agreed to provide £50 m. of a total £135 m. Fund to assist Jordan and the UAR in restoring their economic

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<sup>10</sup> The seven Sudeiris, News week, 7, April, p.25( this is a special article on the assassination of King Faisal and Saudi Royal Family)

strength after the hostilities with Israel. An agreement was also concluded with President Nasser on the withdrawal of UAR and Saudi military support for the warring parties in Yemen. By way of recompense for these concessions, Saudi Arabia persuaded other Arab states that it was in their best interests to resume shipments of petroleum to western countries supplies had been suspended for political reasons after the war with Israel.

The internal political situation was disturbed by abortive coups in June and September 1969, plans for both seem to have been discovered in advance, the only visible evidence being the arrests of numbers of army and air force officers. In Yemen the royalist cause which the Saudi government had strongly supported, appeared to be within site of victory in 1968, by mid-1969, however its remaining adherents had largely been driven into exile and the civil war seemed to have come to an end, although further hostilities were reported during late 1969, and early 1970. Discussions between Sana'a representatives and Saudi officials took place in 1970, and the Yemen Arab Republic (YAR) was officially recognized in July. Relations with southern Yemen (subsequently the people democratic republic of Yemen PDRY) deteriorated, however, and in December 1969, the two countries fought an extensive battle on the disputed frontier: Saudi Arabia won easily, mainly because of its superior air power.

### **The process of political and economical dimensions in Arab States**

The struggle for democracy and people's demand to replace autocracy with democratic structures is a relatively recent phenomenon in the Gulf (Arab) societies. The oil revenues enabled the ruling families to embark on rapid modernization of their societies. Focus on infrastructure, oil based Industrial development and on education has led to the rapid emergence of a middle class, desirous of playing an active role in the decision making process. Thus, the process of political change has intensified due to a number of internal and external factors. In the wake of the fall in oil revenues and especially after the 1991 Iraq-Kuwait war.

One can notice mounting demands for wider political participation. Before the Iranian Revolution the prospects for democracy in Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) states were dim but the revolutionary changes in Iran prompted Gulf rulers to initiate political reforms and promise democratization of their absolute monarchies.

But soon this enthusiasm waned as the Iranian revolution was contained and confined within its borders. The eight year long Iran- Iraq war further neutralized the revolutionary zeal of the Iranian clergy. In the 1990-91 Kuwait crisis the Iraqi president Saddam Hussain not only challenged the legitimacy of the GCC rulers, like Ayatollah Khomeini had done earlier, but also presented them as dependant on outside help. Since the 1991 war, two changes of far reaching consequences to the area have taken place: the collapse of the illusion of Arab unity is one and the other is the explosion of the questioning process" that has spurred the incipient process of democratization and test the legitimacy of Arab regimes in the gulf area.

The presence of outside forces posed a challenge to the legitimacy of the Saudi's and others in GCC Where the political process is a family enterprise and also exposed their fragility and their inner weakness despite their enormous oil wealth. The dependence of GCC rulers on outside help is mainly due to the present processes of governance in these states and to their linkages with the outside world. Due to this dependency syndrome, the GCC rulers use their authority against only their own citizens, who thus cease to be productive participants in its political process and overall development? Also, because of being a monarchical form of government, there is no political party or trade union to criticize the government or voice one's grievances publicly. Educated people some of whom have studied abroad are not encouraged to publicly express their critical opinion about the government or on other domestic matters. The reason for lack of democracy and in Saudi Arabia and other GCC states cannot be wholly attributed to the self interest of ruling family members. One should not over look the fact

that these are relatively nascent political systems and democratic structures need time to take roots. The monarchs are playing a crucial role in the nation building and state formation process during which power has to be concentrated and centralized. The massive socio-economic changes which are part of this process, in fact, discourage the rulers from widening their social base and prevent them from accommodating the political demands of the new social groups that are produced by the very same, viewed as instruments of western policy in the area, but they are also seen as actively engaged in the nation building process.

Many in the GCC states want the US to speak for democracy in their states. They are convinced that democracy in all its forms/ dimensions will come soon if America acts quickly and decisively. Even though many in the GCC are convinced that America wants to see democracy in their countries, they find fault with it because they suspect the attitude of the US is not to push the things, but to wish that things will go in the direction of democracy. According to critics that is a mistake. Wishing is not enough. Washington has to clearly say to the world and to the ruling families that democracy must be established in the GCC states.

Due to its victory over Iraq in the Kuwait war, the US has enormous leverage over the GCC rulers and many Arabs feel that there is an excellent chance to bring democracy in the GCC states. The question is whether America has the will to see democracy flourish in the GCC states. Many in the US argue that further democratization would not be in the American interest at all. In any case, there are no signs of US pressure for greater democratization in any of the GCC states. It fears the end of its hegemony and influence in the area if genuine democracy is established, because most of the people realize that the GCC rulers will be under pressure from their people not to follow such policies from which the US is the chief beneficiary, like over production of oil leading to fall in prices, investing surplus funds in US bank / treasury bonds, buying US arms and goods, so on. Saudi Arabia is the major oil producing and exporting country and as such its economy is entirely oil based 26 percent of the world- proven oil reserves are



available here. Oil accounts for about 75% of the country's budget revenues. It also accounts for 45% of the GDP (Gross domestic Product) and 90 % of its export earning. It is the largest producer of oil in the world. Hence it plays a leading role in the OPEC (organization of Petroleum exporting Countries). Saudi Arabia witnessed an unprecedented pace of economic growth during the seventies, when there was surplus flow of oil revenues. The American government has made a conscious effort to encourage trade with Saudi Arabia, especially in the form of exports of American goods and by inducing the Saudi government to invest in the United States, either in government securities and bonds or in the private sector. Although American exports to Saudi Arabia have not risen as dramatically as those of countries such as Japan or France, they have shown a definite increase over the past several years and are continuing to rise. Yet, because of certain negative political attitudes and other political and economic considerations on the part of gulf governments toward the United States. And its interests in the Arab / Persian Gulf and in Saudi Arabia are real, diverse and complicated, they must be faced squarely by American long-range policy planners. They must also be understood by Saudi officials on not only the American-Saudi bilateral level, but also within the world wide context of the United States as a super power concerned about its security and as a major energy consumer concerned about its present and future needs for oil and its products.

#### **A brief note on the origin of Islam**

The history of the Arabs since the Hijrah (the year in which the prophet had migrated from Mecca to Medina, the first year of Islamic calendar-622 AD) reveals the salient fact that only under Islam did Muslims unite, thus becoming more powerful. Once united, they ruled an empire for more than 200 years. Before the rise of Islam in the seventh century, the Arabian Peninsula was under diverse and various external influences. During the fifth and sixth centuries AD the north-west of Arabia was held by the Ghassanids.

Who claimed descent from one of the south Arabian tribes, and were under Byzantine influence in the north-east the Lakhmids of the kingdom of Hira were under the protection of the Sassanid Persians. In the south the remains of the Himyarite kingdom was controlled first by the Christian Abyssinians and later by the Persians.<sup>11</sup>

It was only during the fourth century AD that towns began to take shape in south Arabia, due to the proximity of major trade routes, especially along the west and east coasts. Among these towns was Mecca, which was an aggregation of tribal groups, that most important of which was the Quraysh tribe. It was from the Quraysh that the prophet Mohammad (peace be upon him) was descended.

Before the rise of Islam in Arabia the primitive religion of the desert was restricted to the worship of trees and streams and stones in which the deity was supposed to reside. Nomads had naturally no temples or priesthods; they usually carried their gods with them in a tent or tabernacle, and consulted them by casting lots with arrows while their kahins (high priests) or soothsayers delivered oracles in short rhymed sentences.<sup>12</sup>

Within Mecca it self tribes worshipped idols placed around and over the Kaaba. In such a heterodox religious atmosphere, Mohammad was born in 570 AD. In Mecca of the Quraysh, the keepers and protectors of the Kaaba.

Islam is a religion that informs every part of daily life. The essence of Islam lies in the five pillars and these pillars of Islam constitute the basic

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<sup>11</sup> Source: Area hand book for Saudi Arabia, (Washington D C: US government printing office, 1971).

<sup>12</sup> Source: A history of medieval Islam by JJ Saunders (New York: Barnes and Noble.1965).

religious duties which every Muslims must be perform and these are as follows:

Al-Shahadah (or Testimony).

Al-Salah (prayer).

Al-Siyam (Fasting).

Al-Zakat (Almsgiving).

Al-Hajj (pilgrimage).

### **Way of Life**

Pure Islamic life is seen through out Saudi Arabia .Codes of behavior are strictly enforced. There is no theatre or public cinema. Family is the focus of identity, loyalty, social status and economic prosperity. Saudi households tend to be somewhat large, with every family having 6.1 children on an average, according to 2004 statistics. The roles of men and women are neatly defined by local custom and Islamic practice in many areas of activity. Educated Saudis are well informed on issues of the Arab world, the Islamic world, and the world at large, but public expression of opinion about domestic matters is not encouraged. There are no public forums such as political parties or labour unions. Strict Wahhabi religious outlook discourages intellectual dissent or deviation from accepted purist positions. Saudi clothing is designed to cover the whole body for both men and women as its best fashion dictum is “conceal rather than reveal” reflecting the best Islamic social tradition and the need to protect the body from hot dusty climate. The customary clothing of Najd region dominates through out Saudi Arabia, although there are regional variations in the styles, colours and the kinds of material used in their garments. Men wear their traditional dress called thobes, which will be white in Colour during hot summer but dark wool in cool winter. They also often wear small outer garment called bisht or mishlah over the

thobes. These are long white or coloured cloaks trimmed in gold. Men also wear headdress often in three pieces. They are the *ghutra* -a large square of cloth, the *tagia* -a small white cap and the *iqal*-a doubled black cord that holds the ghutra in place. The ghutra is worn folded into a triangle and centered on the head. Saudi women, when they appear in public, normally wear a voluminous black cloak called an *ibayah*, a scarf to cover their heads, and a full-face veil. Beneath these *ibayahs*, women enjoy wearing fashionable clothing and take pride in their appearance. Their inner garments are made of lavish material in bright colours. A typical meal in Saudi Arabia normally includes mutton, chicken, or fish, with rice, bread, and vegetables. Dates are a local delicacy. Coffee, tea, fruit juices and cold drinks are the most popular beverages among all segments of the population. Alcoholic drinks are prohibited. Special foods, especially sweets, are prepared as special significance during the holy month of Ramzan, when all Muslims including foreigners fast dawn to dusk.

### **The role of women in Saudi Arabian society**

The position of women in Islamic society in general and in Saudi Arabian society in particular is a complex and frequently misunderstood Issue .It is certainly true that Muslim and western views of the role of women show sharp cultural differences, but the stereotype of Muslim women as uneducated, down-trodden creatures with no rights and no opportunities is a caricature born of ignorance or malevolence.

The holy Quran gave women economic and social rights long before such rights were attended by western women. From the beginning of Islam, women have been legally entitled to inherit and bequeath property, holding their wealth in their own names even after marriage, without obligation to contribute that wealth to their husband or their family. The important role played by the wives of the prophet Mohammad(peace be upon him) in the course of his ministry sorts ill with the view that Islam in any way undervalues the female half of humanity.

It is nevertheless true that, under Islam a woman is enjoined to behave modestly in public and that as in the west until recently, is generally expected to give a full commitment to making a family home-a home within which incidentally she enjoys a pre-eminent role. Such expectations are rather different from those now widely required of women in the west, just as the stability of family life and the security of women in Islamic society differs markedly from the conditions which women now face in western society.

This said, it would be a mistake to think that the role of women in Saudi Arabian Society is confined to home-making. The development of the kingdom of Saudi Arabia has brought with it increasing opportunities for women in both education and employment. In 1960. The government of the kingdom of Saudi Arabia undertook the introduction of a national education program for girls. By the mid 1970s, about half of Saudi Arabian girls were attending school. Five years later, education was available to all Saudi girls. By 1980(1400AH),there were six Universities for women. But now in the kingdom a number of Universities are available for boys and girls. In terms of employment, women now play an active role in teaching, medicine, social work and broadcasting and highly ambitious women are certain to succeed in their attempt to occupy high level posts and share executive powers with their male counterparts. Soon there could be even women ministers in Saudi Cabinet as women have got voting rights to contest and participate in all municipal and other elections.

### **Mining and Manufacturing**

Apart from petroleum and petroleum-related products, the other significant minerals extracted in Saudi-Arabia include limestone, gypsum, marble clay, and salt. The gold mine known as Cradle of Gold (Mahad Al-Dhahab) near Jeddah is considered a rich source of gold, silver and copper. But its production that began in the late 1980s goes on a low pace. Silver and base metal deposits such as baukrite, copper, iron, lead, tin and zinc, as well as non –metallic minerals such as bentonite, diatomite, fluorite, potash and high-purity silica and have all been

discovered, attesting to the wealth that remains, still largely unexploited, beneath the Kingdom's soil. The government's support for privatization of its economy has witnessed emergence of large number of diversified manufacturing industries. Besides refining of petroleum products, they include rolled steel, copper wire and cable, truck assembly, refrigeration, petrochemicals, processed food, clothing, fertilizers, pipes, plastics, aluminum products, metal products and cement .Small-scale enterprises cover baking, printing and furniture manufacturing. In 2002, the country produced 138.2 billion kilowatt-hours of electricity. All energy is produced in thermal installations only by using fossil fuel.

### **Growth of manufacturing outlets in the kingdom**

To reduce dependence on the production of crude oil as a primary source of national Income and reduce the kingdom's need for imported goods, the government has encourage the development of a wide range of manufacturing industries. The government has provided a range of incentives to encourage the private sector to participate in the kingdom's industrial effort. Eight industrial estates provide private Saudi manufacturing companies with the necessary infrastructure and services at a very low cost. Credit facilities on generous terms are readily available for such enterprises.

### **Saudi Newspapers and magazines**

Arab press began with the crusade of Napoleon Bonaparte to Egypt in 1798, at that time there were the two newspapers in Cairo in French. In 1828 Muhammad Ali Pasha, issued an official newspaper (*Al waqae Al misriya*), in 1885 issued Rizqallah Hassun in Istanbul, a local Arabic newspaper named, the mirror of Arabic situations.

In the beginnings of the twentieth century there were significant number of Arabic newspapers, particularly in Egypt (*Al moyyed*, *Al liwa*, *As Siyasa*, *Al Balagh* and *Jihad*, old newspapers are still issued so far (*Al Ahram*) newspaper published for the first time in 1875 and compete with *Al-Akhbar* published in 1944, in addition to many literary journals, technical and cultural. As Saudi Arabia issued its first official gazette “*Al-Qibla*” renamed “*Ummul Qura* in 1924.

The Saudi Radio Broadcasting Service with two main stations and several relay stations is actively engaged since its inception in 1948 in transmitting Quran recitations, Prophet’s sayings, news, speeches, interviews, debates, discussions, music and other cultural programmes. In 1973, it started its short wave high frequency broadcasting in foreign languages such as English, French, Persian, Indonesian, Bengali, Somali, Swahili, Turkish and Urdu. There are at present two T.V. channels in the country one in Arabic and the other in English. The T.V. broadcasting complexes In Riyadh and Jeddah have the most advanced production and transmission studios and a complete film production complex with the best equipped and most sophisticated television facilities in the region. Programming is a balanced blend of religious and cultural affairs, entertainment and music. There are also Arabic drama programs, non-Arabic films and serials, children’s programs and news and current affairs programmes. Special programming is produced and broadcast for all the major events of the Islamic calendar, especially during Ramzan month and during the period of Hajj, the annual pilgrimage to the holy Places. The print media includes Arabic dailies like *Al-Bilad*, *Al-Jazeera*, *Al-Madinah al-munawarah*, *An-Nadwah*, *Okaz*, *Al-Riyadh*, *Al-Watan*, *Al-Yaum*, and English dailies such as *Arab News*, *Saudi Gazette* and *Riyadh Daily*. Main Arabic weeklies are *Al Da’wa*, *Al Yam’ama* and *Ikra’*.

In 1992 a total of ten daily newspapers, all privately owned, were published in Saudi Arabia. Seven were printed in Arabic and three in English. The most widely read Arabic dailies were *Ar Riyadh* (circulation estimated at 140,000), published in Riyadh, and *Al Jaeirah* (circulation 90,000), and published in Jeddah. Smaller-circulation papers were published in both cities. The cities of Ad Dammam, Mecca, and Medina also had daily newspapers. All three English-language dailies were published in Jeddah. The largest of these was *Arab News* with an estimated circulation of 110,000. The smaller *Saudi Gazette* (circulation 17,400) and *Saudi News* (circulation 5,000) were specialized publications that emphasized economic news and press releases from the state-owned Saudi Press Agency. In addition to the daily papers, there were fourteen weekly magazines, of which eight were published in Arabic and six in English, and twelve periodicals.

Although there was no prepublication censorship of Saudi newspapers, editors understood that articles expressing opposition to the government or its policies were unacceptable, and they thus exercised self-censorship. The Ministry of Information effectively supervised all periodicals through the Press Law of 1964. This law required the formation of a fifteen member committee to assume financial and editorial responsibility for each privately owned newspaper. The members of these committees had to be approved by the Ministry of Information. In contrast to the local press, the foreign press was heavily censored before being permitted into the kingdom. The objective of the censors was not only to remove politically sensitive materials but also to excise advertisements deemed offensive to public morality.

Since 1990 several editors, reporters, and photojournalists have been suspended, dismissed, fired outright, or detained by Saudi security authorities for violating the unwritten press censorship code. In February 1992, the respected editor in chief of the English-language daily, *Arab News*, Khaled al Maeena, was fired for reproducing an Associated Press wire service report that featured an interview with the Egyptian cleric Shaykh Umar Abd ar Rahman, then residing in exile in



New Jersey. In December 1992, the editor in chief of the Arabic language daily *An Nadwah* also was fired summarily after his paper featured an article about Islamic groups in the kingdom.

Now let me have a look at the beginning of the services of Direct Broadcast Satellite Television.

Direct Broadcast Satellite Television services (DBS TV) began in the states of the Gulf Co-operation Council (GCC) in 1990. Beaming international satellite television services into the Gulf will have profound and enduring implications for the television industry in the six GCC countries.<sup>1</sup> Indeed; the introduction of satellite programming raises a number of questions regarding the suitability of services offered by national television stations in the region. For example, what effect, if any, have satellite channels had on the economic status of national terrestrial television stations? Has legislation regulating the reception of DBS TV signals been successful? Have steps been taken by regional television management to counter market penetration made by DBS TV, and if so, how has this manifested itself? Have the type, quality, and quantity of programmes screened by region's national television stations altered since the introduction of DBS TV services? Moreover, has DBS TV eroded the traditional power-base of national television stations? By applying conflict paradigm theory, and quantitative and qualitative methodologies.

### **Saudi Arabia Television services**

Television services were introduced in Saudi Arabia by the United States Air Force in 1955, the first broadcast in the Gulf, and the second television station in the Arab world. The broadcasts served as entertainment for US expatriates living and working at Dhahran air base. Some local television productions were made by Air Force personnel, though the majority of programmes aired can be categorized as light entertainment imported from the American networks. The second television station in Saudi Arabia was set up and operated by the Arabian-American oil company (ARAMCO) in 1957. This station was built in the kingdom's eastern

province. Transmission was made to Aramco's American employees, though broadcasts could also be received by Saudi national living in the area. Programmes were in English, although some locally produced programmes were in Arabic. This television service is still in operation today.

Television services commenced in Saudi Arabia on July 9, 1965, from stations located in Riyadh and Jeddah. During the 12 years which followed a variety of projects were completed to extend the television coverage in the Kingdom, for example the construction of micro wave relays and television relay stations in Medina, Qassim, Dammam and Abha.<sup>13</sup>

Colour transmission began in 1976, using the French system SECAM 3-B; in 1983, channel 2 was initiated, broadcasting programmes in English.

The Saudi television signal did not reach the kingdom's small towns and villages; in fact it was discovered that to reach in smaller communities, 80 television relay stations would have to be built. Therefore, the Ministry of Information coordinated with the Ministry of Posts, telephones and Telegraph to use the latter's ground network for television transmission, a task which took three years to complete.

In 1978, Saudi television rented an entire transponder channel from Intelsat, and in 1985, began transmitting satellite programmes via Arabsat to the countries of the Gulf region.

In the late 1960s programmes were broadcast from 5.00pm until midnight. During the weekend and throughout the summer months, transmission ran in the morning for more than three hours, and for approximately an hour each evening. Total transmission time was approximately seventy hours per week.

An analysis of the programmes reveals that religious and cultural programmes accounted for twenty five percent of air times, drama programmes fifteen percent, and children's programmes fifteen percent, and News broadcast fifteen percent and music programmes and miscellaneous twenty two percent.

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<sup>13</sup> . What makes Arabian Gulf Satellite TV programmes? Origin and Type of programmes, Abdellatif Alooffy' article in the information revolution and Arab world.

Two channels are operated; Channel 1 transmits in Arabic, Channel 2 in English. Both are domestically oriented, but broadcast internationally via Arabsat. Saudi Television does not relay satellite channels. Riyadh banned the sale and distribution of satellite dishes in the kingdom in 1984 and instructed the Ministry of Information to organize DSB TV transmission via a cable-television service.

- Channel 1: In 1995 Channel 1 began broadcasting programs from 07.45am till 2.00am, except on Thursdays and Fridays when transmission commenced at 1.00pm. Therefore, Channel 1 transmits approximately 116 hours per week. It broadcasts a live program called “The kingdom this morning” which lasts for two hours each weekday morning. The service terminates each night with an Arabic soap opera.
- Channel 2: Transmission time on Channel 2 has been steadily increasing since it began broadcasting in 1983, its services averaging 8 hours per day. Most of the programs screened are imported.
- Saudi Cable: The wide use and spread of satellite dishes in Saudi Arabia became more popular at the end of the 1990-91 Gulf War. Residents bought and connected satellite dishes which were then placed on the roof of their homes and Offices.

In 1994 the Saudi government decided to implement the following:

- Ban the import of all satellite dishes and accessories. It also prohibited the manufacture and distribution of satellite dishes and their accessories in the kingdom.
- The Ministry of Information is the only body in Saudi Arabia which is allowed to directly receive DSB TV services; the Ministry then organizes transmission to viewers in the kingdom via a cable system in adherence to the religious and moral values of the country.

Saudi Arabia has also launched an all news satellite television channel to present a new image of the state by the kingdom’s first female news presenter.

Ikhbariya will broadcast in Arabic for 12 hours a day and programming director Mohammed Barayan said.

“We want to tell the world about our country, to give a new image,” he said. “The American media -- put out things about Saudi Arabia that are not true — like that Saudi Arabia is not fighting fundamentalists”.

And he also said the state-owned channel would correct false perceptions, including some about the role of Saudi women. Breaking new ground in the kingdom, its opening news bulletin was delivered by female presenter Buthaina Al Nasr, modestly dressed in black headscarf and white jacket.

Observers say that Saudi Arabia has launched “Ikhbariya” as an all-news satellite channel to compete with foreign networks, mainly Al-Jazeera.

Channel Four has 140 journalists working in Saudi Arabia and around the world.

Besides news, the channel will air live talk shows and programs on social issues.

Saudi Arabia has three other local channels, all government-owned: Saudi One, the English-speaking Saudi Two, and a sports channel.

Many Saudis say the programs on the three channels are boring and they prefer to watch the live programs aired on Arab satellite channels, such as Al-Jazeera - which is based in Qatar.

The Saudi government accuses Al-Jazeera of insulting the royal family. The network has no correspondents in Saudi Arabia and has been banned from covering news events in the kingdom. Now here I would like to cast a glance on the situations of media institutions in the country.

### **Problems of media institutions in Saudi Arabia**

The media institutions in Saudi Arabia are facing some problems that are affecting newspapers and periodicals, some of them are mentioned here;

- Lessen of national compensations of the writers and editors.
- The Scarcity of qualified citizens for artistic works, as designers, photographers, calligraphers and painters.

- Unavailability of domestic workers for the publishing works.
- Crises of finance.
- Insufficient sources of income as importing.
- Unavailability of solid financial system.
- Doubling of the works between administration and editing.
- Non managing information which helps making decision in sales and advertisements.
- Limitation of distribution.
- Weakness of artistic equipments.

In spite of above mentioned problems, there are other problems also that are being faced by the media institutions:

- Control of external news agencies over local and international incidents and news.
- Unavailability of specified policy for the number of newspaper pages,
- And Unavailability of such standard which clarify the base of publishing permission.
- Individuality of foreign publishing house with such characteristics that is not permissible in Saudi media for freedom of publishing some advertisements.
- Competition of television with newspapers in advertisements.
- Lack awareness and attention of readers and so on.

### **The objectives of media in Saudi Arabia**

There are a lot of objectives of media in Saudi Arabia, but I am trying to give basic objectives in brief.

- Awareness of general views and opinions.
- Contribution in uplifting social and cultural standard.
- Providing national and international news to the citizen and inform them about different external trends.

- To inform all the readers about different subjects.
  - To give informations to the readers about new things that is being introduced in various fields of science and education.
  - To report to the individuals about instructions and daily incidents.
- To convey good thoughts and ideas for the benefits of the society and so on.

### **The services performed by Saudi media**

Saudi media is providing a lot of services for readers, whenever these services became different, attention of readers increased in specific newspapers that reflected on the level of its income, some of them are as follows:

- Directing general views.
- Putting thoughts, debates and discussing views.
- Adding analysis and comments on the local and international news.
- These newspapers are like a historical record one can trust them as a source.
- They are good tools to educate.
- They present important issues and problems.
- They publish good research materials, and so on.

### **The reasons led to the problems faced by the media institutions of Saudi Arabia**

There are a lot of reasons that create this kind of problems which are being faced by media institutions, some of them are as follows:

(A) Limited circle of distribution of Saudi newspapers.

Saudi newspapers are especially suffering from limited circle of distribution for some reasons. These are:

Unavailability of specialists in the field of newspaper distribution.

Weakness of standard of writing essence.  
Increasing percentage of illiteracy among the citizen.  
Insufficiency and inactiveness of communication resources.  
Increasing of Saudi newspapers and magazines.

(B) Particular reasons of human resources:

1, these reasons relate to the none vacating of labours and long stay of editors and standard of wages as well as compensations, and the relation between publishing house and edition.

It seems that some people are taking sample regarding the vacating and non vacating labours in media institutions, the percentage of people are a lot who are not sparing time to work in media.

2, Long stay of editors cleared, that non stay of editors is one of the reasons which leads to human problems that are being faced by Saudi media.

### **The effect of stay or non stay editors**

The effects of stay editors are as follows;

- The success of work and the continuity of its development.
- Making of human groups.
- Benevolence for the magazines.
- Feelings of editors for mental peace.
- Protection of human abilities.

The effects of non stay editors are as follows;

- Publicity of editor encourages him to transfer.
- Freedom of newspapers in the choice of expert editors.

- To arm with the developments in the activities of newspapers.
- standard of wages and compensations is deteriorating:
- The wage which writers and employees get in newspapers is the basic effect on his relation with the specific newspapers.
- In other words, the wage represents fixed cost for the newspaper which helps to maintain the balance between cost and income.

### **The relations between publishing house, administration and edition**

The present relations between publishing house (from where the newspaper issued and published) and administration of newspapers and editors.

To creates particular problems that effect on providing appropriate environment which helps fulfilling the objectives of media.

The relation of publishing with administration and edition.

The relation of coordinating its full control is the benefit of combined works.

The relations vary from newspaper to newspaper and one institution to another institution.

The relation of daily understanding.

Interacting relation with every administration.

The relation creating problems that effect on publishing the newspaper in its time.

### **The number of Saudi newspapers' readers**

Probably one of the most effective reasons in the income of media institution is distribution circle of their newspapers. The number of Saudi newspapers' readers is decreasing.

The reasons of decreasing number of readers of the Saudi newspapers.

The readers of Saudi news papers are limited due to small population of kingdom.

Non diversification of the editing materials.



Decreasing standard of topics.

Competition of Radio and Television.

Reducing number of foreigners with percentage of newspapers in foreign languages.

Difficulties of distribution inside and out side of the country.

### **Competition of foreign media**

A lot of foreign newspapers and magazines are distributed in the kingdom it represent high competition of press, many national and international readers prefer to read them in one hand. On other hand, undoubtedly it leads to decrease the distribution circle of the Saudi newspapers.

### **The reasons of reader's preference to the foreign media**

Diversity of topics.

The educational research, debate and discussion are publishing.

Overwhelming of international important incidents.

## **Third Chapter**

## **Brief history of Egypt**

Egypt is officially called as the Arab Republic of Egypt and in Arabic as Jamahiriya Misr al-Arabiya. It is the country situated in the northeastern Africa. Although most portion of the country lies in Africa, a small portion called the Sinai Peninsula lies in Asia thus forming a meeting point between the two continents. It is bounded on the north by the Mediterranean, on the south by Sudan, on the east by the Gaza Strip, Israel and the Red Sea and on the west by Libya. Its land boundaries total 2,665 km, as it shares with Gaza Strip for 11 km, Israel 266 km, Libiya 1,115 km and Sudan 1,273 km. Its total area is 1,001,450 sq.km of which the area covered by water is 6,000 sq.km and the rest 995,450 sq.km is the land area. The country has a maximum length of 1,105 km from north to south and maximum width of 1,129 km. From east to west. Its Mediterranean coastline in the north stretches for about 1,000 km while its Red Sea coastline along the Gulf of Aqaba in the east goes for about 2,450 km. The Nile River divides the country into two unequal parts. The valley and the delta of Nile are the centers of human habitation and agricultural cultivation. The rest is the desert. Cairo is the capital and the largest city.

Egypt occupies a unique position in all the Arab states. It constitutes the north – eastern part of Africa and is linked to the Asian continent by the Sinai Peninsula. Consequently, Egypt forms a natural bridge between the western and eastern sectors of the Arab world. To the west and south of Egypt lie the African Arab states of Libya, Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco and Sudan. Across Sinai and the Red Sea, Egypt has easy access to the Asian Arab states of Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, the two Yemen republics and the Gulf States of Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar and the United Arab Emirates. Probably more than anything else, it is this geo-strategic position of centrality which explains the traditional persistent Egyptian interest in the area throughout history.

In the African continent, the Egyptian rulers have always perceived the area constituting, present day Sudan as vital to Egypt's strategic and economic

interests. As early as 1365 BC, the area had become culturally and economically incorporated into Egypt. To the west, too, Egypt had experienced continuous interaction with Libya. The great conquests of Pharaoh Remsis 111, owed much to the Libyan mercenaries and slaves in his army. Indeed, around the year 945 BC, the northern Libyans conquered Egypt while the southern Libyans wrested the Sudanese areas from Egyptian control and established an independent monarchy.

Egypt's involvement in Asia is similarly rooted in ancient history. It can be traced back to Thutmose 111 (1502-1448 BC) who extended Egypt's rule as far east as the banks of the Euphrates in Mesopotamia. Indeed, the earliest known treaty between two sovereigns was that signed by Pharaoh Remsis 11 and the Hittite King in the year 1278 BC. This pact recognized north Syria as Hittite and south Syria as Egyptian and was meant to usher peace and good brotherhood between the contending parties forever.

As above, it was primarily the factor of geographic proximity which contributed to the continuing political, economic and strategic interaction between Egypt and her neighbors in the two continents throughout ancient history. Yet the cultural marriage of the two regions did not occur until the year AD 642 when the Muslim Arabs, emanating from the Arabian Peninsula and having already conquered Iraq, Palestine and Syria, defeated the numerically superior Byzantine forces and entered Alexandria to herald the Arabisation and Islamisation of Egypt. Within next twenty-eight years Libya and Tunisia were added to the Arab empire, and by AD 710 the entire lands of North Africa had come under the control of the Arabs. It was this series of successful campaigns which set the seal on the cultural character of area we now call the 'Arab world'.

Egypt's primacy in the Arab world was first initiated during the Fatimi Caliphate (AD 909-1171). During this period, Cairo became the capital, and Egypt the base, of a magnificent civilization that extended to Syria, Yemen and Hejaz, including the holy cities of Mecca and Medina. The country's primacy was sustained and reinforced through the ascendancy of the Ayubid (1169-1252) and Mamluk

(1252-1517) dynasties who centered in Egypt , went on to control vast segments of the Arab world and were responsible for the final expulsion of the Crusader armies from Palestine . Thus for over 600 years, until the Ottomans defeated the Mamluks in 1517, Cairo was the center of gravity in the Arabia and Islamic world.

## Historical Background

Egypt is a country which is an heir to a five thousand years old civilization. The Egyptian civilization may not be the oldest civilization of the ancient world, but it is certainly of great antiquity. The Egyptians had built massive structures like the Pyramids-a major feature of ancient Egyptian architecture, and had developed a unique system of preserving mummies. Egypt also has to its credit the invention of the first solar calendar in the history of mankind. Ancient Egyptians laid the foundation for the study of arithmetic and geometry. They perfected the achievement of irrigation, engineering and making of pottery, glass and paper. They were the first ones to have formulated a clear concept of the aesthetic aspect of art, besides its utilitarian purposes. More significant, still were the Egyptians contributions in the fields of religion, and individual and social ethics. From the land of Pharaohs, thus came the germ and the stimulus for numerous intellectual achievements of later centuries.<sup>14</sup>

The Arab conquest of Egypt in the seventh century brought Egypt in the fold of Arab and thereby Islam and Egypt became heir to another civilization namely Islamic civilization of the middle ages. The Arab conquest gave Egypt a new religion, i.e., Islam, and a new language, Arabic. Arab conquest, however, did not cut off Egypt completely from its Pharaoh traditional culture.

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<sup>14</sup>. Dr.Zohurul Bari, Modern Egypt. (Culture, Religion and Politics)  
Shipra Publications.115-A, Vikas Marg, Shakarrpur.Delhi.p,54-59,61,62,64,65.

The modern history of Egypt could be traced back to the founding of the Muhammad Ali dynasty in the earlier years of nineteenth century. Muhammad Ali, an Albanian soldier, was sent by port to drive out Napoleon who had invaded Egypt in 1798. In the confusion that followed the French invasion, Muhammad Ali established himself as the ruler of Egypt.

It was with the French invasion of Egypt that the process of Egypt's modernization began. Muhammad Ali, an ambitious soldier, set Egypt, which was still a province of Ottoman Empire, on the road of modernization by introducing several reforms, particularly in the fields of education and industrialization.

Muhammad Ali's grandson, Ismail Pasha, sought to accelerate the pace of modernization. Unfortunately, he conceived the process in terms of grand palaces and European-style buildings and spent a colossal amount of money in implementing his plans to raise Egypt's international status. The advanced nations of Europe were ideal. His zeal for Europeanization was so great that at the time of the opening of the Suez Canal (another major event in the history of the country), he proudly declared that he had detached Egypt from Africa and attached it to Europe. Egypt, thus, was the first Arab state fully exposed to western civilization.

During the next few years the country became an arena of Franco-British rivalry and, as a consequence of nationalist revolt of 1881-82, Britain occupied Egypt. Henceforth, the power remained mainly in the hands of British civilian agents, even though technically Egypt still remained part of the Ottoman Empire. It was only in 1914, during the First World War, when Britain found Turkey in the opposite camp, that Britain declared Egypt a protectorate in order to make its position more firm and secure, legally and administratively.

After the war, under pressure from the nationalist Wafd Party, the British government declared on 28 February 1922 that "the British protectorate over Egypt is terminated and Egypt is declared to be an independent sovereign state".

However, there were certain matters which, His Majesty's government reserved for its discretion.

Meanwhile attempts were being made to reach a settlement on the "reserve subjects" which were a part of the 1922 Declaration. These attempts led to the signing of Anglo-Egyptian Treaty in 1936. The treaty replaced the unilateral British Declaration of 1922, but it also put some limitations on Egyptian sovereignty.

The "indignities" that Egypt had suffered at the hands of the British, together with the inefficient, corrupt and feudalistic government that tolerated all these indignities, aroused some young army officers against both Britain and the ruling class at home. These young officers decided to put an end to the prevalent state of affairs. Egypt's defeat in the Arab-Israeli war of 1948, which these young officers attributed to corruption and mismanagement at home, hardened their resolve and they decided to rescue the colony from the morass of corruption. They staged a coup d'état in July 1952 and captured power.

The aims of the Revolution as enumerated by Nasser were:

- i. Extermination of imperialism;(ii) eradication of feudalism;(iii) termination of monopoly and domination of capital over government;(iv) promotion of social justice;(v) establishment of strong national army; and (vi) bringing about democratic life.<sup>4</sup> Though the revolutionary leadership succeeded in achieving some of these objectives, it did not make much progress in bringing about democratic life to any large extent. Nasser Government basically remained a dictatorial government; the leadership did not encourage democratic life and thus getting people's participation and building of modern civil society.

President Anwar Sadat who came to power in October 1970, after the sudden demise of President Nasser, had three achievements to his credit from the point of view of Egyptian state and society. First, by launching an offensive against Israel in October 1973, he redeemed Egypt's honour and prestige that was badly damaged in June 1967 war with Israel. As he put it: "we regained our self-confidence and world's confidence in us". Second, Sadat's decision to visit Israel to remove "psychological barrier" set the peace process in motion, which ultimately resulted in signing the Camp David accord in September 1978. Third, this in turn cleared the way for opening of the Suez Canal-one of the main sources of Egypt's national income. Sadat; thus, redeemed Egypt's lost prestige, regained its lost territory-Sinai desert, and got Suez Canal opened.

Sadat took two other major decisions-one on economic front and another on political front- which any other leader would have found it difficult to take. Sadat moved away from Arab Socialism and liberalized the political arena in order to get rid of the leftist Nasserist wing. On economic front Sadat moved away from the policy of nationalization and opted for Infitah (open door policy) a policy which signaled a switch to market economy. He introduced most comprehensive legislation on foreign investment in 1974. This liberalization apart from stabilizing monetary level, had good effect on the economy, which was growing at the rate of 9 % per annum- of course, this growth was also partly due to world oil boom.

## Climate

The climate of Egypt is characterized by a hot summer from May to September and a cool winter from November to March. Short transitional periods intervene between the two seasons. Hot temperatures remain throughout the year in most parts of Egypt, with 12 hours of sunshine per day in the summer and 10 hours a day in the winter. Summer temperatures range between a minimum of 16° C to a maximum of 46° C while the winter temperatures range between 6° C to 23° C. During winter, night temperature in some desert areas and on the mountain ranges may fall often to zero or below zero degrees Celsius. So also in some dry zones,



the temperature may go well beyond 50° C. When the temperatures reach their extreme levels in both the seasons, they are often moderated by the prevailing northern winds. Along the Mediterranean coast, humidity is high throughout the year. But it reaches the highest level in summer. Rainfall varies from place to place. Annual average shower is about 25 to 30 cm only. Cairo receives just one inch of rainfall per year. Sinai Peninsula receives more rain in the country. South gets much less, where as the Red Sea coastal plains and the western desert areas are almost rainless throughout the year.

### Natural Resources

Compared with physical size of the country, Egypt has scanty mineral resources. Chief mineral resources are petroleum and natural gas found in the Red Sea coastal region, at Al Alamayn on the Mediterranean, and on the Sinai Peninsula. Among other resources are phosphate, manganese, iron, ore, coal, gold, red granite, chromium and uranium. Phosphate is extracted at places like Isna, Hamrawayn, and Safajah. Manganese is tapped in the eastern desert and the Sinai Peninsula. Iron ores are found in Aswan region. Coal deposits are available in Maghara of the Sinai Peninsula. While gold and red granite have been exploited since ancient times, extraction of chromium and uranium has started in recent times. Water source is sufficiently available from the Nile and its tributaries. There are also several artificial lakes such as the Nasset Lake created by Aswan Dam, Birkat Qarun north of the town of Al Fayyun and a few other lakes in the delta.

### Pre-Arab Egypt

Egypt's relative isolation, with the majority of the population living in the Nile valley and the Nile Delta, with desert on either side, has produced a high degree of cultural individuality. Pharaonic Egypt lasted from the end of the fourth millennium BC until conquest by Assyrians in 671 BC. The building of the pyramids and other works in the third millennium BC indicate a powerful

monarchy commanding great resources. After the rule of Rameses II (C.1300-1234 BC.), Egypt entered a decline, but after the Assyrian conquest in 671, native rule was soon restored until 525, when Persia conquered Egypt.

The Persian king patronized the religion of their subjects and were officially regarded as pharaohs. Another change occurred in 332 when the Persian satrap surrendered to Alexander the great, who was recognized as a pharaoh and founded the city of Alexandria. After Alexander's death Egypt fell to his general, Ptolemy and his dynasty was Greek in origin and outlook. On the death of Cleopatra in 30 BC Egypt passed under Roman rule and became a province of a great Mediterranean empire. Christianity was introduced, and the Coptic church of Egypt clung to its Monophysite beliefs in the face of Byzantine opposition.

### The arrival of the Arabs

Except for a brief Sasanian (Persian) invasion in 616, Egypt remained under Byzantine rule until with the birth and advance of Islam in the seventh century AD, the Arab army under Amir ibn al-aas invaded Egypt from Syria. The conquest was virtually complete by 641, but for some centuries Egypt remained an occupied rather than a Muslim country. The copts, who disliked Byzantine rule, had not opposed the conquest. In the course of time, however Egypt became an Arabic-speaking country with a Muslim majority, although there remained a Coptic Christian minority. For over two centuries Egypt was administered as part of the Abbasid caliphate of Baghdad, but the Tulunid and Ikshidid dynasties functioned in virtual independence of the caliph between 868 and 969. Ikshidid rule was ended in 969 by a Fatimid invasion from Tunisia. The Fatimid's were Shia Muslims, and Egypt enjoyed a golden age. The country was a well-administered absolute monarchy and it formed the central portion of an empire which, at its height, included North Africa, Sicily and western Arabia. The city of Cairo was developed and the mosque of al-Azhar founded. However, by the long reign of al-Mustansir (1035-94) decay had set in, and when the Kurdish Salah ad-Din ibn Ayyub, known to Europe as Saladin, rose to prominence as he opposed

the Syrian crusader states in the 12<sup>th</sup> century, he was able to become sultan over Egypt and almost the whole of the former crusader territory.

When Saladin died in 1193, his empire was divided amongst his heirs, one branch of which, the Egyptian Ayyubids, reigned in Cairo. Louis IX of France led an attack on Egypt in 1249, but was stopped at the battle of al-Mansura in 1250. Thereafter Egypt was ruled by Mamluk Sultans until the Ottoman advance at the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

### **Ottoman Egypt: 1517-1798**

By the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century the Ottoman Turks had made dramatic advances. Constantinople was captured by them in 1453, and in their expansion southwards the Turks defeated the Mamluks at the battle of Marj Dabiq, north of Aleppo, in 1516, and overthrew the last Mamluk sultan at a second battle, outside Cairo, in 1517. Egypt became a province of the Ottoman Empire, but the Turks usually interfered little with the Egyptian administration.

At the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century Egypt became a pawn in the war between France and Britain. Napoleon wanted to disrupt British commerce and eventually overthrow British rule in India. He landed at Alexandria in 1798, but in 1801, the French were forced to capitulate by a British and Ottoman force. French interest in Egyptian affairs and culture continued, however.

### **Women**

In the past, only women from poor families used to work and earn money to support their households. Sometimes they used to share the works of their male counterparts within the family in the fields or in the shops owned by them. But the ladies in rich or upper middle class families remained at home as they considered it below their family honour and dignity to go out of their homes to work outside. Today women from all strata of society could be found working in offices and business establishments for wages to support their modern lifestyle. Many

wear head scarves as a way of asserting their modesty and strict adherence to their Islamic culture despite working outside the home. Now in higher education as well as high offices, women compete with men and sometimes outsmart them. They are active in every field including the political and military arena.

### **The Status of Women in Egyptian Society**

An exception to most other ancient societies, Egyptian women achieved parity with Egyptian men. They enjoyed the same legal and economic rights, at least in theory, and this concept can be found in Egyptian art and contemporary manuscripts. The disparities between people's legal rights were based on differences in social class and not on gender. Legal and economic rights were afforded to both men and women.

It is interesting that when the Greeks conquered Egypt in 332 B.C.E., Egyptian women were allowed more rights and privileges than Greek women, who were forced to live under the less equal Greek system.

Egyptian women's rights extended to all legally defined areas of Egyptian civilization. Women could manage, own, and sell private property, which included slaves, land, portable goods, servants, livestock, and money. Women could resolve legal settlements. Women could conclude any kind of legal settlement. Women could appear as a contracting partner in a marriage contract or a divorce contract; they could execute testaments; they could free slaves; women could make adoptions. Women were entitled to sue at law. This amount of freedom was at variance with that of the Greek women who required a designated male, called a *kourios*, to represent or stand for her in all legal contracts and proceedings. This male was her husband, father or brother.

An Egyptian woman could acquire possessions in many ways. She could receive it as gifts or as an inheritance from her parents or husband. Or she could receive it from purchases with goods which she earned either through employment, or which she borrowed. A woman had claims to up to one-third of all the community property in her marriage. For example, the property which accrued to her husband

and her only after they were married. When a woman brought her own private property to a marriage, (dowry), it remained hers, even though the husband often had the free use of it. In the event of a divorce her property had to be returned to her, in addition to any divorce settlement that might be stipulated in the original marriage contract.

On the death of a husband the woman inherited two-thirds of their community property, but the other one-third was divided among their children, followed up by the brothers and sisters of the deceased. To circumvent this possibility and to enable his wife to receive either a larger part of the share, or to allow her to dispose of all the property, a husband could do several things:

In the middle Kingdom, he could draw up an agreement, a "house document," which was a legal unilateral deed for donating property. As a living will, it was made and perhaps executed while the husband was still alive. In this will, the husband would assign what he wished of his private property to his wife.

If there were no children, and the husband did not wish his brothers or sisters to receive two-thirds of the community property, he could legally adopt his wife as his child and heir and bequeath all the property to her. Even if he had other children, he could still adopt his wife, so that as one of his legal offspring, she would receive some of the two-thirds share, in addition to her normal one-third share of the community property.

A woman was free to bequeath property from her husband to her children or even to her own brothers and sisters (unless there was some stipulation against such in her husband's will). A woman could also freely disinherit children of her private property, i.e., the property she brought to her marriage or her share of the community property. She could selectively bequeath that property to certain children and not to others.

## Marriage

Marriage was a very important part of ancient Egyptian society. Some people say it was almost a duty to get married. Compared to today's world, Egyptian marriages were very different; husbands could marry more than one wife, and people of close relations (first cousins, brothers and sisters, etc.) could also wed one another. For the most part, however, incest was frowned upon, except in the royal family, where incest was used to safeguard the dynastic succession. There was no age limit as to when people could be married, but generally a girl did not get married until she had begun to menstruate at about the age of 14. Some documents state that girls may have been married at the age of eight or nine, and a mummy of an eleven year-old wife has also been found. Marriage required no religious or legal ceremony. There were no special bridal clothes, no exchange of rings, no change of names to indicate marriage, and no word-meaning wedding. A girl became universally acknowledged as a wife after she physically left the protection of her father's house and entered her new home. The new husband in no way became the new wife's legal guardian. The wife kept her independence, and still kept control her own assets. Although the husband usually controlled any joint property obtained during the marriage it was acknowledged that a share of this belonged to the wife; if and when the marriage ended, she could collect her share. If the husband died while married, the wife got one-third of her husband's property. Re-marriage after widowhood was very common, and some grave sites indicate three or four marriages between one person.

Divorce was a private matter, and for the most part, the government did not interfere, unless upon the request of the "divorcees". Almost any excuse could be used to end a marriage, and an alliance could be terminated at will. Anyone who had drawn up a marriage contract would have to honor those terms, and those who hadn't could, if they wished, could invest in a legal document. Legal cases, however, were very unusual; most marriages ended with the wife moving back to

the matrimonial home, returning to her family, therefore setting both parties free to marry again.

The more intimate parts of married life were very important to the Egyptians. They saw life as a cycle of birth, death, and rebirth. Much of their theology was based on the "cycle-principal". Sexual intercourse was a very important part of this cycle, and the Egyptians were not modest about sex, like today's society. The Egyptians, unlike us, were not concerned with the spiritual part of the afterlife, but rather about potency and fertility. Consequently, false penises were put on the mummified bodies of men, and artificial nipples were put on the mummified bodies of women. Both of these were designed to be fully functional in the afterlife.

Pregnancy was very important to ancient Egyptian women. A fertile woman was a successful woman. By becoming pregnant, women gained the respect of society, approval from their husbands, and the admiration of their less-fortunate sisters and sterile friends. Men needed to prove their "manliness" by fathering as many children as the possibly could, and babies were seen as a reason for boasting.

Although the mechanism of menstruation was not fully understood the significance of missing periods was clear, and many Egyptian women were able to determine if they were pregnant or not. If women were not sure, they could go to a doctor, who would perform a detailed examination of the woman's breasts, eyes, and skin. If a woman was sterile, and could not produce babies, many men solved this problem by divorcing them. But this treatment was harsh, and for the most part, frowned upon. A more publicly accepted way of solving the problem of sterility was adoption, and due to the short life expectancy and high birth rate, there was always a supply of orphaned children.

A mother named her child immediately following birth, thereby making sure the child would have a name in the afterlife in the unfortunate case of a miscarriage. The Egyptians feared the "second-death" even more than the first one. The

second-death was the complete obliteration of all earthly memory, which is why names were so important to the Egyptians. Spells were painted on the coffin of the deceased to ensure nobody would forget him or her. Many people say the Egyptian time was a good time to live. It seems that it was, at least, a nice place for women to live. It was filled with equality for them, and gave them some basic rights that today's society is lacking.

### **Way of Life**

In spite of Egypt having been a cradle of many ancient civilizations, it undoubtedly remains adhered to a strict conservative tradition that is Arabic and Islamic. This factor constantly determines its views both of itself and of the world. The story of the cultural development of modern Egypt is, in essence, that of the response of this traditional system to the intrusion into it, at first by conquest and later by the penetration of ideas, of the alien and materially superior civilization of the west. The response covered a broad spectrum from the rejection of new ideas and reversion to traditionalism through self-examination and reform to an uncritical acceptance of new concepts and the values that went with them. The result has been the emergence of a cultural identity devoid of self-consciousness, which has assimilated much that is new, while remaining distinctively Egyptian. The process is to be seen at work in all branches of contemporary culture. At socio-economic level there two classes of people in Egypt. One consists of the wealthy elite and the upper middle class. The other urban covers vast majority of all Egyptians including peasants, the urban lower middle class and the working class. There are great differences in clothing, diet and consumer habits between these two groupings. The various liberalization of the economy introduced and actively pursued in 1970s, paved the way for the transfer and elevation of many lower middle class families into becoming upper middle class with easy access to money, material and alien culture. These people suddenly became major consumers of imported consumer items such as luxury cars, European fashion, films and music. But the modern lifestyle of the newly rich



does not suit the poverty of the vast majority of the population. Most Egyptians can not afford, and in some cases do not want, much of what they see advertised on television, in the newspapers, and on urban billboards, or glorified in western television serials. But, both these groupings like to enjoy some of the same aspects of popular culture, which includes soccer, the popular music and indigenously produced films. The most popular items of Egyptian cuisine are flatbread, boiled or deep-fried lava beans, Kushari-a dish of pasta, lentils, and onions, and fresh fruits and vegetables. Tea, coffee and cold drinks are the most popular vegetables and are essential components of social and business gatherings. Egyptians frequently eat European food, especially French cuisine.

### **Industry**

Petroleum is a major source of export earnings of Egypt. Proven reserves of oil were estimated in 2002 to be 3.308 billion barrels. Oil is produced at the rate of 816,900 barrels per day (2001 EST.). Production of natural gas started in the 1980s. First it was meant for local consumption only. Its export began in 1990s. Its annual production is 21.2 billion cubic meters. Its proven reserves are estimated to be 1.264 trillion cubic meters. The main oil and gas fields are located along the Red Sea coast and in the Libyan Desert. Other minerals produced in Egypt include phosphate rock, iron ore, and salt. Since the 1950s, the country's manufacturing sector began to grow. With the help of Soviet Union in 1970, iron and steel complexes in Egypt have been expanded. Ammonium nitrate fertilizer plants were established in Hulwan and Aswan and they have made a substantial contribution to the gross domestic product of Egypt. Spinning, weaving and engineering industries have grown much. So also food processing and chemical products manufacturing are important sectors of the Egyptian economy. The main manufactured goods are textiles, chemicals, metals, and petroleum products. The government has facilitated establishment of a number of private companies involved in automobiles, electronics, consumer durable goods such as refrigerators and other home appliances, and pharmaceuticals. The majority of

factories are concentrated in and around the two major cities of Cairo and Alexandria and in industrial zones along the Suez Canal.

### **Widening rift with Saudi Arabia**

The rift between the UAR and Saudi Arabia widened. In February 1966, Nasser expressed opposition to an Islamic grouping that King Faisal was promoting, and in subsequent months propaganda warfare between the two countries was intensified. In October Tunisia severed relation with the UAR in response to continued differences over Arab league policies.

In Yemen Egyptian forces had been withdrawn from northern and eastern areas and concentrated in the triangle between Sana'a, Hodeida and Taiz. Egyptian control over the republican armed forces and administration was increased, and when in September 1966, after president Sallal had returned to Yemen from a year's absence in Cairo, the republican Prime Minister, Hassan al-Amri, and seven senior members of his cabinet visited Egypt to make a plea for greater independence, they were arrested and detained there. In the following month about 100 senior Yemeni officials were dismissed and arrested and executions were carried out.

### **Gamal Abdel Nasser Period: 1952-1970**

In Egypt the one Muslim organization which had become famous was the Muslim Brotherhood (Ikhwan-al-Muslemeen) founded in 1928 by Hasan al-Banna which went on to become one of the most organized religious organizations whose ultimate aim was to capture political power and set up an Islamic state. It violently opposed the British presence and sympathized with the Palestinian Arabs. Due to its increased popularity the monarchy at several times placed several restrictions on the activities of Muslim Brothers. After the miserable Egyptian performances in the 1948 Arab-Israel war the Muslim Brothers directed their anger at the monarchy and were instrumental in the assassination of the

Prime Minister Nuqarshi Pasha, in 1948. This was an eye opener to King Farook who in turn engineered the assassination of Hasan-al-Banna by the government secret police. This was a major setback to the organization, but they quickly recovered and established secret contacts with the Army Free Officer's group mainly through Anwar Sadat.

Due to the crucial help given by the Muslim Brotherhood, the Free Officers allowed the organization to operate publicly after the 1952 Revolution, under the pretext that the organization was an association with purely religious aims. The relationship between the new government and the Muslim Brotherhood from 1952 to March 1954 was one of "honeymoon". The new regime tried to enlist its support in order to legitimize its role. It unconditionally released all the Brothers arrested by the old regime. More important was its decision to order a new enquiry into the murder of Hasan al-Banna. This policy encouraged the Muslim Brothers to further penetrate and consolidate their hold over the various structures of the system.<sup>1</sup> They were known for their staunch anti-British attitude and when Gamal Abdel Nasser concluded an agreement in 1954 with the British on the troop withdrawal, (making in the process concessions which were thought to be substantial by the Brotherhood), an attempt was made on Gamal Abdal Nasser's life in 1954. As soon as Gamal Abdel Nasser consolidated his power as president he first turned his attention to the Muslim Brotherhood basically for two reasons. Firstly, he was aware of the tacit support given by the Muslim Brothers to the former President Neguib in the power struggle and was waiting for an opportunity to crush their power base. Secondly, since the new regime had banned all the political parties, president Gamal Abdel Nasser had to face a strong challenge from the Muslim Brothers. He concluded that before it seriously creates any further trouble the potential threat had to be eliminated. Hence, President Gamal Abdel Nasser's decision to launch a preemptive strike at the organization. Six members of the Brotherhood were executed, the supreme Guide Hasan al-Hudaybi was condemned and later sentenced for life imprisonment and more than 800 Brothers were given long prison sentences. Thousands were jailed without

proper trial. It was such a deadly blow that the organization took nearly a decade to partially recover. In fact, to this day it can be safely said that it has never fully recovered from that setback which badly crippled their organization.

President Gamal Abdel Nasser after 1954 turned his attention towards Arab nationalism, Arab unity, forging close ties with Islamic states, became more anti-Israel and followed an anti-west policy. Once they were crushed in Egypt, the Muslim Brothers carried on relentless anti- President Gamal Abdel Nasser propaganda from other Arab countries especially from Saudi Arabia and Jordan which among other reasons made president Gamal Abdel Nasser to turn towards Arab nationalism with the express aim to undercut the growing opposition to him from Muslim Brothers.

President Gamal Abdel Nasser unlike other Arab leaders can never be accused of having used religion to legitimize his regime .He created other bases like political party,(National Union and later Arab Socialist Union) Arab nationalism, and socialist policy at home to gain legitimacy. He rejected the concept of a theocratic state but without rejecting Islam totally. He understood the Islamic feelings of his people and one major effort was to raise the level of mass Egyptian consciousness through the propagation of Arab unity / nationalism i.e. pan-Arabism. President Gamal Abdel Nasser justified his economic nationalization programme as “Arab socialism”. Regarding Islam he said: “The Muslim religion is a religion that is 100 per cent socialist”.<sup>4</sup> At the Al Azhar, a traditional centre of Islamic learning and a powerful stronghold of the clergy, president Gamal Abdel Nasser saw that as a likely place from where organized opposition to his regime might emerge. To cut the clergy’s power base, President Gamal Abdel Nasser in 1961 through a law attached Al-Azhar mosque complex to the Presidency of the Republic and he appointed a minister to look after its affairs. The whole mosque and the numerous faculties were put under the direct control of people nominated by president Gamal Abdel Nasser. He brought about drastic changes in its curriculum and included several subjects like medicine, engineering, commerce,

agriculture etc. With a deliberate motive to make it much more secular instead of being a traditional / conservative stronghold of the clergy. This decision had far reaching implications as it undercut the clergy's only secure base and President Gamal Abdel Nasser succeeded in eliminating one major possible source of threat to his regime. Now all significant religious institutions were effectively brought under the control of the state. The wakfs were either totally abolished or brought under the control of the Ministry of wakfs. President Gamal Abdel Nasser ordered the takeover of all the mosques by this department in Egypt. In effect, the nationalization of Islam took place as the clergy manning the mosques became government paid servants. To bring the religion still more under the influence of the state, the Sharia courts were abolished and national (secular) courts took over former's powers.<sup>5</sup> the regime carried on a relentless propaganda against the clergy further discrediting them and also making them virtually dependent on the state. The Sheikh of Al-Azhar through his fatwas was used by President Gamal Abdel Nasser to justify his numerous reforms on family planning, role of women etc. In this way religion came to be directly under the control of the regime. The autonomous base of the clergy was nationalized and they became mere paid government servants. This was one of President Gamal Abdel Nasser's major achievements to reduce the hold of religion on state or control it. The fear of the clergy overthrowing the government was removed. But not so from the Muslim Brothers. After their release in 1964 by president Gamal Abdel Nasser under a general amnesty, the Muslim Brothers made yet another attempt to overthrow the regime of president Gamal Abdel Nasser in 1965. They were accused of planning to overthrow the government in which many were arrested in 1965-66 and major leaders were hanged. This time the blow was much more disastrous as thousands of their members were sent to remote desert concentration camps where several Muslim Brothers died due to heat, thirst. The 1967 Arab-Israel war and Egypt's humiliating defeat brought about a major resurgence of Islam in Egypt. President Gamal Abdel Nasser's secular regime was held responsible for the disaster which had befallen on Egypt and Islam was seen by the defeated Egyptians and the Arabs in general as the only viable alternative to Arab socialism or Arab

nationalism. More and more people in Egypt began to doubt seriously or question president Gamal Abdel Nasser's secular ideology and many sought refuge in Islam as a way out to their misery, sufferings and poverty. This revival of Islamic faith due to Egypt's defeat by Israel did not happen for the first time. It could be traced to the 1971 Balfour declaration. Since the end of the First World War, the Zionist colonization has awakened not only the Palestinians from their deep long slumber after the Mongol invasion in 13<sup>th</sup> century but the whole Arab world. The creation of Israel in 1948 and the successive Arab defeats and humiliations have compelled the Arabs to wake up and catch up with the 20<sup>th</sup> century and in the process, Islam has also been awakened. This resurgence received an added boost due to the oil money in the 1970s. It is no wonder that after the 1967 setback, Muslim Brotherhood once again became powerful in Egypt. Egypt's financial dependence on Saudi Arabia further enhanced the Muslim Brothers role within Egypt. The rising Egyptian population coupled with limited land for cultivation further aggravated the Egyptian problems. One major factor, which greatly strengthened the Muslim Brotherhood, was the inability of president Gamal Abdel Nasser to recover the lost territories to Israel.

### The Anwar Sadat Period

As seen above, the actual control of the state towards religion was gradually extended to all potential fields where it could have posed a serious threat to the survival of the regime. This was carried over under President Anwar Sadat's period but with minor modifications. His liberalization process provided greater opportunities to the elements of the right in the political spectrum. President Anwar Sadat himself had been closely associated with the Muslim Brotherhood organization even before the 1952 revolution. After the revolution he remained as a liaison man due to his close association with it, president Gamal Abdel Nasser appointed him as the Secretary General of the Islamic Congress whose aim was to mobilize the Islamic world's support to Egypt and to the Arab cause. President Anwar Sadat lacked president Gamal Abdel Nasser's charisma and leadership

qualities although he was a famous Egyptian nationalist widely known for his anti-British activities. AS soon as he came to power he released many Muslim Brothers who had been imprisoned by President Gamal Abdel Nasser in middle 1960s. After the arrest in May 1971 of Vice-President Ali Sabri and his associates and the simultaneous purge of the left from the Arab Socialist Union, (ASU), President Anwar Sadat relied more and more on the elements of the right for the survival of his regime and to gain wider legitimacy for his regime. He encouraged the rightist elements as a counter-weight to the powerful left in ASU, universities etc. The 1971 constitution made Islam, state religion and the Sharia law a source of legislation (not the sole source as some fundamentalists desired). President Anwar Sadat started using Islam to legitimize his regime against growing threats to his government from the left .He announced that Egypt was a state of “Science and Faith” and came down heavily on the left and called it inappropriate and irrelevant, to Egyptian and Islamic conditions.

Keeping this enhanced weight of the right to his regime President Anwar Sadat appointed in March 1973 not only a Minister for Al-Azhar affairs as was common under president Gamal Abdel Nasser, but additionally created a post of Deputy premier for Religious Affairs and as Minister of Wakfs. “This was an indication of the importance accorded the religious issues by the regime and clearly implied the effort by the central government to reassert its control over religious matters”.<sup>15</sup>

President Anwar Sadat’s decision to encourage the Islamic elements gave him a rather rude shock in April 1974 when an organization called the Islamic Liberation Organization (ILO) attacked the Military Engineering College near Cairo with plans to kill the Egyptian President himself. After the event many members of ILO were arrested and key leaders of the ILO were subsequently executed.

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<sup>15</sup> . Anwar al Sadat, In search of Identity: Autobiography (London, 1978), p .25.

Closely on the heels of the event, President Anwar Sadat abolished the post of Deputy Premier for Religious Affairs and Wakfs from the new cabinet in 1975. The Muslim Brotherhood as a united organization of the 1940s and 1950s was not to be seen in 1970s. Numerous splinter groups like ILO and Gama al-Takfir wa al Higra sprang up. The latter group's leader was Shukri Ahmad Mustafa who was arrested in May 1975 on charges of attempting to overthrow the Anwar Sadat Government. He evaded arrest but was finally arrested after the June 1977 incident. The former Minister of Wakfs and Al-Azhar affairs Muhammad Husayn al-Dhahabi was taken hostage and killed in June 1977 by this group. This was a major challenge to President Anwar Sadat and he launched an immediate crackdown on the group. The arrests of 620 persons revealed the extence of 50,000 Egyptian pounds in funds, 25 apartments and stores of weapons and explosives. In October 1977 104 members of Jund Allah were arrested. Two days later 80 were arrested from the al-Jihad .Apart from the proliferation of these Islamic groups of the Muslim Brotherhood which had by now fully recovered began to publish its own magazine called "Al-Dawa" but was denied permission to organize as a religious association.

President Anwar Sadat realized the dangerous implications of playing with the rightist fire. He ordered a heavy crackdown in 1977,1979 and again in 1981.But he was attacked by the Islamic groups on 2 counts:(1) His "open door" policy had produced a new class of elites whose life-style was resented by the poor and these grievances were articulated by the Islamic groups. Thus corruption became a major weapon to discredit President Anwar Sadat's regime in the hands of the Islamic groups .(2) He was also attacked by these groups for his visit to Israel (Jerusalem) and his subsequent conclusion of the Camp David Agreements with Israel in1978-79. President Anwar Sadat used the pretext to crackdown heavily on these groups more so because Saudi Arabia could no longer pressurize him due to its boycott of Egypt. President Anwar Sadat was shrewd enough not to antagonize the Al-Azhar Sheiks and in fact enlisted the support of Al-Azhar Sheiks for his visit to Israel. No wonder the 1979 Treaty with Israel was characterized by the



Sheikh as “a blessed Islamic step”. President Anwar Sadat not only denounced the Islamic groups for their criticism of the treaty but described the religious organizations as “a state within a state” which could not be any further tolerated. He then defended the treaty and went on to say that Egypt will not have a Khomeini type Iranian situation because it is too advanced and progressive. He then pointed out that religion and politics should not be mixed and that “we want a structure which will be principally founded on our religion-Islam and Christianity. He was also attacked for giving asylum to the deposed Shah of Iran and his family.

Although President Anwar Sadat released initially hundreds of Muslim Brothers and used them as a counter-weight to the growing challenge from the left, he quickly realized that the Islamic groups were as dangerous, if not more, as the left. Hence his decision to crackdown. He himself became a victim of this crackdown as members of the Islamic group assassinated him in October 1981. The Iranian revolution gave a tremendous boost to these numerous splinter Islamic groups in Egypt. They concluded that the days are not far off when a similar Islamic republic could be set up in Egypt. President Anwar Sadat quickly recovered from this shock and reposted what President Gamal Abdel Nasser did on several occasions’ arrests, imprisonment and execution so that they never pose any serious threat to his regime.

### Mubarak’s coming to Power

When Hosni Mubarak came to power in October 1981 after the assassination of Sadat the country perhaps for the first time since its independence in 1923 experienced a feeling of relative freedom both physical and psychological since Mubarak as a former Air Force Commander had played important part in October 1973 war and also since he had already been appointed by Sadat as Vice president of the country his credibility and legitimacy were never in doubt when he came to power.

Besides in the context of President Hosni Mubarak's rule it must be said that by and large he followed all the major policy initiatives of Sadat - peace with Israel economic liberalization and democratization all the more he was able to wipe out the bitterness caused by Sadat's policy of negotiating peace with Israel. Thus in his first policy statement Mubarak while reiterating his support for the Camp David Accord also stressed the need for peace and justice in the middle east, including justice for the oppressed and dispossessed Palestine " He further said that Egypt would uphold Palestinian's cause"...in all political circles anywhere in the world, thus while on the one hand consolidating the gains from Sadat's policies on the other hand Mubarak wanted to dissociate himself from the unpopular aspect of the latter's policies By reiterating support for Palestine's cause he cleared the deck for Egypt's re-entry into the Arab fold by shifting of the Headquarters of the Arab League to Cairo in due course.

Similarly on domestic front; he opened the dialogue with all opposition groups and achieved a measure of consensus on broad national goals he also released political detainees and even permitted that still outlawed Muslim Brotherhood to resume its political activities Opposition groups publicly expressed their willingness to cooperate with the Government.

During his early phase Mubarak often talked about the importance of democracy and freedom of expression in democracy and hence the need to strengthen democratic structure of government a structure which had to be consolidated lest it should be undermined by extremist totalitarian trends. He declared: I have been and will remain a staunch supporter of democracy. I believe that democracy is the best guarantee of our future and the best means of striking a balance between the interest of the individual and the rights of society it also uphold the dignity of the citizen I totally oppose the centralization of power and I have no wish to monopolize decision making because the country belongs to all of us and we all share a responsibility for it regardless of individual stands.

At this point of time it seemed that Egypt was well on the road of liberal democracy the economy was also doing well during Mubarak's early years in spite of inflation and some reverses in employment and housing schemes Besides Mubarak's government launched many schemes such as establishment of new industrial communities /estates cultivation of desert land and encouragement of rural industrialization and craft for the time being things seem to go well, with Mubarak firmly in the saddle but gradually there developed a gap between the state and society the state agenda became different from society appeared heading for a clash.

### **Legitimacy**

The first item on Mubarak's agenda was to gain legitimacy. Though as pointed out earlier his succession was legitimate but mere legitimate succession was not enough. Naturally the best way to get it was to conduct democratic election The practice was already there Mubarak must have thought that a little dose of political liberalization would not seriously threaten the stability of his government but rather would ease tensions caused by his predecessor's harsh method dealing with the opposition there were also expectations of diplomatic and economic benefits that the regime could achieve through the maintains of liberal facade it was hoped that this would induce Western governments and investors to be more sympathetic towards the country it was also hoped that democratic election would isolate more radical opposition groups.

### **Fighting Against Fundamentalism**

As mentioned earlier, in the early year of his administration, Mubarak's regime tried to accommodate the Muslim Brotherhood, allowing it to resume its political activities as well as publication of its periodicals. Mubarak also released the supreme guide of the Brotherhood, Omar al Tilmissani and other members who were imprisoned during Sadat's so called "Autumn of Fury" in September 1981; however, the regime's relationship with the Brotherhood during the early 1980s

reflected a delicate balance. The regime sought to use the moderate and non-violent Brotherhood as a political counterweight against organizations that were viewed as a threat to the regime, such as radical Islamic groups and other groups, both Islamic and secular, which were politically active. The regime did this in order to enhance its stability. The regime's policy had offered the Brotherhood a wider space to function as technically illegal but informally recognized political entity, allowing it an indirect participation, and the growth of its operation in the field of social services, throughout the country. Taking advantage of this increased freedom, the Brotherhood started spreading its influence and hold among different sections of the society. It sought to give a boost to its ideology by carrying out social service work.

### **Economic Liberalization**

The third item on the agenda of Mubarak's administration was economic reform. As mentioned earlier, Sadat had introduced the Infitah (open door policy) in the 1970s, which signaled a switch from planning and nationalization to free market economy. The world oil boom of early 1970s proved beneficial for Egypt also. However, when the oil boom started receding and the oil prices dropped, it had its impact not only on Egypt's balance of payment regime, but also on the level of home-remittances made by the Egyptians working in oil-producing countries. This had its adverse effect on the gross domestic product (GDP) of the country which dropped to 7 per cent in mid-1980s.

While the Egyptian economy was undergoing crisis, there was pressure from the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank for more liberalization. Thus, these reforms were conditions for further support by international financial institutions and for debt relief by foreign creditors. Though limited in its scope, initial state measures to overcome the crisis were inspired by the IMF and the World Bank as early as 1987. Egypt had reached an agreement on macroeconomic stabilization with the IMF, but had then defaulted. The reasons were obvious.

First, the investment in public sector was huge; and second, institutional arrangement and laws were such that switching over was not easy.

### **A brief Study of Religion and Politics in Egypt**

In the modern West Asian history the decades since 1945 in the 20<sup>th</sup> century has witnessed several land-marks which have left its imprint on the region and the whole world. Some of the major turning points were the establishment of Israel in 1948, the Egyptian revolution of 1952 and the emergence of President Gamal Abdel Nasser, Suez Crisis of 1956-7, formation of UAR in 1958, the 1967 Arab-Israel war, assumption of power by president Anwar Sadat in 1970 after the death of president Gamal Abdel Nasser, the 1971 Soviet-Egyptian Treaty, the 1972 expulsion of Soviet advisers, the October war, the 1974-75 Egyptian-Israeli Disengagement agreements, the 1977 Anwar Sadat visit to Jerusalem, the 1978-79 Camp David Agreements and the assassination of Sadat in 1981. The president Anwar Sadat period was characterized by the liberalization of the economic, political and religious system in Egypt. It signified a rightward turn in internal and external policy (the shift towards the US being yet another major point) in Iran, the consolidation and strengthening of internal power by the Shah, the assertion of Iran's authority in the Gulf, (evidenced by the seizure of three Arab islands belonging to UAE, support to Oman in crushing the rebellion in Dhofar, the massive military build-up), the 1973-74 oil price hike which gave substantial revenues to the Shah's ambitious projects, all were important events. Perhaps the most significant event was the revolution in Iran in 1979 which led to the overthrow of the Iranian (Pahlevi) monarchy and the proclamation of an Islamic Republic under the leadership of Ayatollah Khomeini. The coming to the power of the clergy in Iran sent shock-waves throughout the region. Although no similar upheavals have been repeated, measures were taken by these (mostly Arab) governments to arrest the impact or fall-out from the Iranian revolution. The west was suddenly made aware of the tremendous power of Islam to mobilize and

upset the status quo and they became preoccupied with the “resurgence of Islam” or “Islamic fundamentalism”.

### **Religion and Politics in Egypt**

The Umayyad and Abbasid empires were located in Damascus and Baghdad. Cairo became the centre of Islam under the Fatimids and more particularly after the 1258 destruction of Abbasid Empire by the Mongols. The Ottomans were able to bring once again the area under their control. But after Napoleon’s invasion and occupation of Egypt in 1798-1805, Egypt retained a measure of independence from the sublime Porte under Mohammad Ali who came to power through the active assistance of the clergy in Egypt. Once in power Mohammed Ali shrewdly cut the clergy to size and made them dependent on the state favours by nationalizing their economic base. The revenues of charitable property endowments were transferred to the state. Thus began the process of making the clergy dependent (and hence vulnerable) on the state of their survival. The clergy had their power base substantially curtailed due to a variety of modernization programmes as well. Instead of allowing them to be an independent source of power the state used the clergy to legitimize the monarchy’s rule and undercut the opposition to it. This process continued in the 20<sup>th</sup> century under Kings Faud and Farook. The British it must be effective control of the government and severely controlling their activities.

## **Media in the Country**

Egypt has the largest facilities in the Middle East for the press media and publishing services. All newspapers and magazines are subject to supervision and censorship of the government through its supreme council. There are more than 30 dailies, weeklies and monthlies in Arabic, English and French. Al-Ahram is the largest newspaper in circulation and it is the government's mouthpiece. Other Arabic newspapers include Al Akhbar, Akhbar Al-youm, Al-Ahali, Al-Wafd, Alam, Al-youm, Al -Jumhuriya, Nahdat Misr, Al-Hadara, Al Manar, Al-Jadeed, Al Sahab, Al Masa etc. the international daily Asharq, al Awsat is printed in Egypt at Al Ahram press. Notable English dailies are Cairo Times, Egypt Today, The middle East Times and Business Today. La Revue d'Egypte is a prominent French newspaper. There are 3 short wave radio stations, 14 FM stations and 57 AM stations, 15, of which are repeaters. Egypt's broadcasting system remains the best in the Arab world transmitting programmes in Arabic, English, French and other languages. Television was introduced to the country in 1960. Radio and television, as in all Arab countries, remain solely in the hands of the government. There are five national television channels. Egyptian soap operas are a staple of all Arab television and have, for better or worse, established the standards of broadcasting throughout the region. In addition, the Egyptian Satellite Channel transmits via Arabsat throughout the Middle East and Nile Television broadcasts in English and French to Europe.

## **News papers and journals**

Journalism has a long history in Egypt. The first newspaper appeared in 1798 since which time they have played an important role in politics, in the diffusion of knowledge and in the development of culture and literature. The best known newspaper, al-Ahram (The Pyramids) was founded in 1876 and still exists. It has been the most serious and respected paper in the Arab world and after the revolution had a unique role because of its editor's close link to Nasser. Muhammad Haykal became the second best known man in Egypt and was widely

regarded as Nasser's confident and spokesman. He became far more than a newspaper editor, acting as go-between and even negotiator with world leaders. His editorials in the Friday edition were considered as official comments on events or as the trial floatings of new ideas and policies. Haykal too made the Ahram much more than a newspaper; the head quaters in Cairo, housed in a uniquely clean and efficient building, contain research and documentation centers in its own publishing house. He was the head of a small and seemingly independent empire.<sup>16</sup>

In 1960 the Al-ahram together with other daily newspapers and journals were placed under the supervision of the national union – later the Arab socialist union – which was given wide powers over the publishing of these papers. It amounted to state censorship of the press and, in fact, no editor would step out of line for fear that his paper would be closed down. Well-known writers were appointed editors and a fair number of journals were published each with its own specialization. Al-Talia ( The Vanguard) was the organ of the left wing theorists published by Ahram; al-magalla (the journal) , edited by Yahya Haqqi , was a general cultural journal which included work by many of the leading writers ; al-masrah (The Theatre ) was an interesting publication which printed both original plays and translations of western dramatists. At times of a change of government policy or ministers some journals ceased publication. Changed editor, reappeared under a different title, or confusingly the same title might be used for another publication. It was relatively simple using these methods to keep most of the journals in line if they tended to show any independence.

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<sup>16</sup> . Derek Hopwood: Egypt: Politics and Society – 1945-1981, St Antony's college Oxford, George Allen and Unwin, Pvt. Ltd. Boston Sydney. P, 156-158-160.



## **Radio, television and films**

Whereas written literature and the theater reach relatively small audiences, the cinema and television screens and radio broadcasts are means of presenting mass culture. The spoken word presents no problem to the semi-literate or illiterate listener if it is in the Egyptian dialect and not literary Arabic; radios are relatively cheap, and access to cinema and television screens can be guaranteed by the government. Most states consider control of means of mass communication, specially radio and TV essential to the development of their policies, enabling them both to spread their own propaganda and stifle opposing views. They can be used also to propagate education and culture and to introduce new ideas and techniques. In Africa, Egypt has gone furthest in making use of radio broadcasts both inside and outside the country. In addition to news and entertainment programmes, the radio has been used to spread government messages, broadcast political speeches and haltingly to introduce educational courses, which were dropped because of a lack of direction and planning. The radio comes first in importance in terms of numbers of listeners, followed by readers of newspapers and television viewers.

Television offers more direct entertainment and education than radio. It made its debut in Egypt in 1960 since which time there has been a steady growth in the number of sets. Both TV and radio were arms of government controlled by the ministry of information. Sixty percent of TV broadcasting time was devoted to entertainment, the population, especially the peasants, being particularly addicted to light entertainment and farce, which usually seems rather over acted to Western taste. News, culture and religion took up most of the remaining time. The government used TV to propagate adult literacy campaigns and to try to orientate peasants towards modern method in agriculture, hygiene and family planning. These courses were not too successful because of a lack of follow-up but various Ministers especially of Health, Social Affairs, Culture and Education, continued to be encouraged to sponsor their own programmes. A People Broadcasting System was opened in 1973 to produce educational programmes for students

sitting examinations at all levels. TV sets were put in public places, cooperative centers, cafes and so on, to encourage greater audience participation and they often part of the background to the chatter in a coffee house or even a shop. While programmes open endless vistas of the life of others with new concepts, methods and problems, both in Cairo and abroad, it is difficult to gauge exactly their impact. What is viewed on the screen can easily be taken as unreal and as having no relevance to the viewers own life. Programmes which attempt to influence and educate others have to be produced with care and there is the danger that what is thought relevant in Cairo may seem quite irrelevant to the villager hundreds of miles away.

The cinema has a long history in Egypt, the first films being seen as early as 1905. Since that time there has been a substantial growth of cinemas and local films producers, and Egypt has now one of the most thriving film industries in the Third World. The films produced were made with financial success rather than artistic merit in view. The most popular type was melodrama in which the rich man loved the poor girl, full of sentimentality, sexual frustration, seduction and suicide. Farces and musicals were also popular. A few serious novels were filmed. There was a strict censorship before the revolution which forbade films to attack foreigners, government officials, religion or to show the true situation of peasants and workers, or any thing favorable to socialism or unfavorable to monarchies. Some films took refuge in allegory, but it is difficult to blame producers for not producing more serious films under such conditions.

The revolution altered the situation. Themes changed radically. Censorship was relaxed in some areas, although extended in others. There were to be no apologetics for monarchies, the aristocracy or feudalism, and socialism was to be encouraged. Although the state did not exercise total direction of culture, there was nevertheless a great increase in the number of social realist film which portrayed the real conditions of the urban and rural poor, and of films with patriotic themes such as the Suez war. In addition serious novelists such as Ngib Mahfooz, began to write films scripts and to have their novels filmed. As one

student of the Egyptian film put it: The Egyptian cinema left the salon, the bedroom and the night club, to go in search of the real Egypt.

The government made the decision to allow the public and private sectors to exist side by side after establishing a State Cinema Corporation whose main aim was to raise the quality of production even at the expense of box office success. In addition it sponsors young film makers and export Egyptian films to Europe and elsewhere. The film industry is, however commercially successful and Egyptian films, popular throughout the Arab World, are one of the main channels for diffusion of Egyptian culture and even a knowledge of the Egyptian dialect. They seem to survive whatever the political vicissitudes.

### **The Political Role of the Media**

Under Nasser the media were brought under state control and harnessed as instruments of the revolutionary government for shaping public opinion. Radio and television, in particular, began to penetrate the villages. Nasser used them to speak directly to Egyptians in their own language, and they were major factors in his rise as a charismatic leader. Radio Cairo was a link between Nasser and his pan-Arab constituency in the Arab world and was regularly used to stir up popular feeling against rival Arab leaders. In the print media, however, the government did not speak with one voice. There were identifiable differences in the government controlled press between those on the right of the political spectrum (*Al Akhbar*, The News), the center (*Al Ahram*, The Pyramids), and the left (*Ruz al Yusuf*). Nasser, a voracious reader, appears to have been influenced by the views expressed in the prestigious *Al Ahram*, headed by Muhammad Hassanain Haikal. Criticism in the left-wing press played a role in the drift of his policies to the left in the 1960s.

Thus, the press had a certain role in transmitting opinion upward.

In the post-Nasser era, the broadcast media remained government controlled. Fairly developed radio and television facilities existed. Egypt had sixty two medium waves (AM-amplitude modulation) radio stations, representing at least one for each major town in the country, and three short-wave transmitters that

relayed programs to listeners in Egypt and overseas. Domestically, stations carried a number of national programmes as well as regional programmes designed for different parts of Egypt. In its foreign programmes, Egypt broadcast in thirty three languages, including the most common European languages in addition to such African languages as Amharic, Hausa, Wolof, Swahili, and Yoruba and such Asian languages as Bengali, Hindi, Indonesian, and Urdu. Egyptians were estimated to own 14 million radios in 1989 and about 3.5 million television sets. Television had two national networks, an additional channel in Cairo, and a regional "Sinai network"; programmes were televised in Arabic only. The broadcast media permitted the government to blanket the country with its messages. For example, the government enjoyed a virtual monopoly at election time. To placate Muslim opinion, television programming was increasingly Islamized, and several popular preachers in alliance with the government used the electronic media to broaden their followings.

Newspapers were scarcely more autonomous: government's appointed editors were still expected to "self censor" their products and subjects were to removal when they did not. Generally, Sadat used his prerogative of editorial appointment to eject editors and journalists with left-wing views and to foster conservative voices. For example, the anti Nasser Amin brothers, Ali and Mustafa, reappeared in the journalistic establishment, and Ibrahim Sadat was permitted to turn *Al Akhbar* into a vehicle of anti-Soviet and anti-Arab propaganda. The fall of Haikal at *Al-Ahram* for allegedly trying to turn the paper into a "centre of power" showed Sadat was no more willing than Nasser to tolerate a major journalistic voice at variance with his policy. On the other hand, Sadat permitted the founding of an independent opposition press that reached far fewer readers but expressed much more diverse views than the government press. *Al- Ahali* (The Folk) spoke for the left, *Al- Ahrar* (The Liberals) for the right, *Ad- Dawah* (The Call) and later *Al- Ihtisan* (Adherence) for the Muslim Brotherhood and *Ash- Shaab* (The People) for the center-left Labour Party. The government party published *Al- Mayu* (May). Opposition newspapers were sometimes joined by government papers in investigative journalism that uncovered scandals embarrassing to the government.

The left-wing press, in particular, carried on a campaign against the *infitah* and Sadat's foreign policy that led to the closing of *Al Ahali*.

Mubarak restored freedom to the secular press, allowed the New Wafd Party to publish *Al- Wafd* (The Mission) and Nasserites to open *Sawt al- Arab* (Voice of the Arabs), while repressing the Brotherhood's *Ad Dawah*. The rise of Islamist sentiment was nevertheless reflected in the proliferation of Islamist periodicals put out by the various parties, such as *Al Liwa al- Islami* (The Islamic Standard) by the government party and *An Nur* (The Light) by the Liberal Party (Ahrar). One sign of the growing independence and influence of the press under Mubarak was the 1987 trial of police officers for torturing Islamic activists, a milestone in the protection of individual rights that resulted largely from public pressures generated by the press. But there were limits to the influence of the press: the circulation of the main government dailies did not exceed 1 million each, and except for *Al Wafd*, the opposition papers were all weeklies lucky to get a tenth of that figure.

But it also seems clear that the Egyptian Press is taking a serious turn, and it is also difficult to determine its future overview. So, it has lifted some questions about that would the ongoing dramatic escalation and vigorous shakings that face the Egyptian press, introduce the parturition for the normal birth of opinion and freedom of expression? Or would it continue its self-defense struggles against the various obstacles and misfortunes that face it? Generally, the Egyptian press has been exposed to a wide range of violations, where most of these violations were adopted within laws that would directly affect human rights, amongst which are the freedom of expression and opinion rights, in addition to this, the violations of authorities practice as to impose its guardianship over the press and impose restrictions over it.

Recently, the journalists encountered fierce battles with the Egyptian authorities, which varied from defending their opinion and freedom of expression rights, and their job honour which is considered by the constitution, one of the country's authorities. Where as other journalists struggled for issues related to the nation

interests. During the last year, the Egyptian press has been exposed to unprecedented violations and abuses that desecrated the honour of press and journalists in public. It also witnessed black days and fierce struggling that shook the human conscience and the Egyptian nation, even that it is an important partner in the modern cultural world that denies every limited or closed culture and knowledge.

On the basis of above mentioned status of the Egyptian press, requires for having a brief look on the press scene and then analyzing the contents and terms of all issues and status related to that scene.

### **Conditions of the Press at a glance**

The Egyptian press has reached, and has even surpassed the stage of maturity to match the international press standers, where there are many great press institutions which have acquired highly qualified cadres and generations such as *Al Ahram*, *Akhbar Elyoum*, *Dar Alhelal*, *Rose-Alyousef* and *Al Mosower*, etc. All these newspapers began as a highly qualified and well performing institutional structure that express the Egyptian reality, its values, and habits and at the same time reacting with its issues and events. This was obvious especially before its affiliation to the government, and become governmental newspapers, where this affiliation clogged its progress and ability to publish any real and true incidents and news, just like a man whose body is weakening from diseases, and therefore it needs to be revised in order to treat the weaknesses and to enable it to resume its appropriate participation in building the country.

The Egyptian press is divided into national, party and independent levels newspapers, traditionally, while in practically it can be divided as follows:

#### **First: National Newspapers**

The newspapers owned by the state after it has been nationalized in the 1960s. Therefore it is entitled to participate in the cultural and educational development

and to present the public services in specialized fields as health, population, infancy, education.etc.

However, these newspapers have been affected by the phonetic alteration, which has caused several fundamental weaknesses such as: A- The national newspapers are really great incomparable institutional entities, in compare to the independent and party newspapers, not because they are governmentally supported, but because of their possession ,international standardized printing establishments, its correspondence offices and its international distribution offices, all these made it the Egyptian press backbone, and is considered one of the main distinctive characteristics of the country. Whatever crises these papers encounter, no one can imagine the Egyptian or the Arab press without some newspapers like *Al Ahram* or *Al Akhbar*. However, other national entities like *Dar Al Ta'awon*, and *Al kawmya* could not endure these crises, which entitle us to revise these unuseful structures, where the officials lately are adopting a revising point of view that we hope to be accomplished.

B-These national institutions became loyal only to the ruling party, working according to its policies and methodology, appointing the heads and cadres of these institutions depends only on affiliation and loyalty to a specific policy and on specific security criteria that allowed people having no relation to press to penetrate the press entity and to adopt a kind of bureaucratic policy at the same time.

C-Although these are government run institutions they still have to pay taxes and services fees like electricity and water, etc. The things that made most of these newspapers in debt to the government and are unable to pay these due debts. So, its administrative boards called for writing off these debts, which are about (US \$ 1.2 bn.).

### **Second: Party Organs**

They are administratively and financially parties run newspapers. In practical, they all became weak due to their parties' weakness. Al-Wafd party actions are

one of the vivid examples for the misfortunes of the party press. Also, *Al-Araby*, Al-Nasiry party, which accused its newspapers –Al-Araby, for their party failure, regardless to the success that the newspaper was achieving lately. As a result, the newspaper's editor-in-chief (Abdullah Al Sennawy) decided to resign and hand over the paper to his colleague (Abd El-Halem Kandil).

The same scenario occurred with Nabil Zaki, "Al Tagamoa" party newspaper (*Al-Ahaly*) editor-in-chief. He tried to resign after being personally criticized by the party heads that are not, so ever related to journalism. The governing party newspaper, "Mayo", also has disappeared from the press mainstream till the party leaders revived it in the dress of "Al Wattany" newspaper. In addition to this, *Dar El-Tawan*, paper that has become an evening paper, although it was not directly related to a certain party, however it was affected by the essential need to the press restructuring.

This situation of weakness and decline in the parties press was a result of many factors amongst of them are as follows: A-The parties in general were formed and supervised by the government and therefore having neither realistic programmes' activities nor the mass basis that can support it. This resulted in its failure to communicate and interacts with the Egyptian streets and consequently made people far from participating in the political and civil works. All these factors affected the parties' newspapers, limited its popularity, reduced its distribution and made it unattractive to the ads that can support its budget. All these factors made the parties newspapers no more than weak institutions that cannot afford its expenses or even its journalists salaries. Even the recent parties, like "Al Ghad" party led a fierce political fight with the governing system and raised a dispute over its chairmanship. Moreover, most of these newspapers became in debts due to the high costs of papers, publishing materials and distribution charges. "Al Araby", for example, is indebted to "Al-Ahram" for more than (about US \$ 500m).

B-The parties newspapers lack the basic structures of publishing and distribution, and therefore obliged to resort to the government-owned entities which have already become old fashion and are unable to adopt up-to-date technology. In



addition, these newspapers distribution is limited to a specific small community.

### **Third: Independent Newspapers**

These newspapers exceed the two hundred and are totally independent from the government and political parties and are affiliated to companies or owned by individuals e.g. “*Al Masry Alyoum*” which is issued by Al Masry Institution for Press, Publishing, Advertising & Distribution, it is owned by a group of Egyptian business men in spite of being printed and distributed by Al-Ahram institution. The same applies to” *Al Osbo'a*”, which is issued by Al Osba'a Company for Press Publishing & Distribution, it is a limited company and its broad council, headed by journalist Mustafa Bakry (editor-in-chief) owns its shares. Unlike the national and the parties’ newspapers, these independent newspapers like *Al Masry Alyoum*, *Al Osbo'a*, *Sawt Al Ommah*, *Al Dostor*, *Al Fagr* and *Nahadat Masr* achieved some success in having a good popularity, a good distribution and making a good profit. However, their distribution has not exceeded 40,000 to 50,000 copies a day on average comparing to almost 500,000 copies a day on average for *Al-Ahram* or *Akhbar el Youm*. Although they have managed to treat some of the defects that affected the former newspapers, but still there are some remarks over their performance, some of them are as follows: A- Some of these independent newspapers were established only for commercial profit purposes without the necessary political background. They aimed only at media excitement, turbulence and scoops, which could eventually lead to the courts, and penalties that they could not afford.

B- Some of them are engaged in confronting the government, criticizing the political leaders and officials and running scoops until it became somehow far from its main objective in dealing with the main society axes of development and culture.

C- The uncompleted fundamental institutional structure, where they possess a location for the newspaper, but however lack the necessary printing, distribution and publishing machines, and consequently they depend, same as the parties’ newspapers, on the large national institutions and in accordance to its conditions.

However that still distinguish them are their financial capabilities that enable them to pay its journalists high salaries and to continue in achieving success and attracting more ads. Most of them were established after failing to obtain the publishing license and permission.

They are some other newspapers that are entrusted to express the attitude of the destination; it is licensed for, but only gains a legal status by its name, same as the other newspapers. In other words the identity or entity and publishing may vary, but still one legally license at the end. An apparent example is "*Afaq Arabia*" newspaper, the mouthpiece of the Muslim Brotherhood Group, which has a religious political trend, and it issued through Al-Ahrar liberal Party, where as the later has another liberal newspaper "*Al-Ahrar*" of the secular attitude.

This description of the Egyptian newspapers structure raises some basic issues, such as:

- 1- Ownership and administration issues: it is clear from the previous division that the newspaper is administratively and editorially affiliated to its owners, whether it is a state, stock company, party or an individual. This close relation between ownership and administration makes it no more than a stand to communicate and defend on the part of its owners. This also makes it lose its neutrality and objectivity in discussing matters as an important partner in the cultural system of the nation, and makes it unrenovable and uncompetitive stereotyped newspapers. The national newspapers for example are governmentally run through the Press Supreme Council of the Shora Council. This Supreme Council has the authority to administrate these institutions and is officially in charge to appoint the chairmen of the boards, some board members and the editors-in-chief. Also, it has a strict control over the policy of editing these newspapers. Though there has recently been a separation between administration and editing, this separation cannot prevent affiliation and loyalty.

The same thing happened to the parties-run newspapers, which stand only to defend its policies. In fact, they both are unable to communicate and interact

with the public. On the other hand, some independent newspapers succeeded in overcoming this editing, ownership and administration relationship. A vivid example of such experience is Al-Misryi Alyoum newspaper, which is owned by a group of businessmen, Al-Misry Company, and has an appointed board of editors. However, each party has its definite role independent from the others. This institutional coordination provided a frame of model relationship between the capital, the owner, and the editing policy, of the editors.

2- License Issues: the Press Supreme Council is responsible for all the Egyptian newspapers license matters. These newspapers work according to the Egyptian Press Law. However, there are some other foreign licensed or the so called "Cypriot" newspapers that are in circulation according to the Egyptian Publishing Law. They are usually newspapers that were not permitted from the Press Supreme Council, whether because of incompatibility with the Egyptian Press laws or failing to provide the necessary financials of insurance or because their future is definitely determined not to succeed, and in case of success, they will try to get a license from the relevant authorities. Most of such Egyptian experiences were doomed to failure, such as Al Dostor newspaper, which worked for a period under a "Cypriot" license before being suspended in 1998, and was reopened again by an Egyptian license from the Press Supreme Council. Also, there are some newspapers licensed from foreign press institutions, such as "al-Aalam Alyoum" issued by a British company in London. As for the non Egyptian newspapers, such as: Al-Hayat and Al Sharq Al Awsat, they must have renewable periodic license from the Information Public Authority. In fact, the license matters raise the issue of the law regulating the newspapers issued in Egypt, as we have the press law and the publishing law, and also raise the question of the state institutions' influence over the foreign newspapers.

## **Comparative study of the evolution of Arabic media in the kingdom of Saudi Arabia and Egypt**

The Gulf has a long way to go to catch up with the Western world and other areas in giving freedom to the media. These countries face various dilemmas, among them the need to maintain their heritage and traditions in a fast-changing world, with their oil wealth having given them the comforts and benefits of modern living and conveniences. The leaders realise that their societies will change, but they do not wish the changes to be disruptive, leading their people to the agonies of rootlessness or worse. The history of press freedom in the Middle East and North Africa in the last century is determined by the interaction of several political, economic, social and technological factors. Among the most important of the political factors we should mention is the Arab nationalism which called for independence from the Ottoman, French and British empires, the creation of the state of Israel and its subsequent wars, military revolution, civil conflicts and the Gulf War, as well as the development of a politicized Islam. The petrol boom, the baby boom and its effect of an increase in literacy, as well as radio and television competition, have also influenced the development of the press and the extent of its freedoms.

In a region dominated by the Ottoman Empire, newspapers that had existed from the middle of the eighteenth century were the tools of Turkish authorities or foreign Embassies. The independent Arab written press did not appear until the middle of the nineteenth century, and notably in Egypt in the cultural and intellectual renaissance of the 1860s and 1870s which was encouraged by the liberal Khedive Ismail who governed Egypt between 1863 and 1879. In Syria and Iraq, the written press appeared a few years later, but was the victim of frequent censorship, which drove Syrian-Lebanese journalists abroad to Egypt where press freedom was guaranteed. It was these Syrian-Lebanese journalists, who bent on resuscitating Arab literature in the name of past Arab glory, who were in the avant-garde of modern Arab journalism and launched newspapers which in turn became models for the Arab press. Such was the case of the brothers Salim and

Bishara Takla, who founded "*Al-Ahram*" in Cairo. At the end of the Ottoman period which drew to a close at the culmination of the First World War, journalism did not reach beyond, that it confines of a traditional system which organized the relationship between the political class and the rest of the population according to principles of obedience and respect for the established political authority. Some journalists, inspired by European liberalism, challenged this system by criticizing Turkish authority, but they paid dearly for their activities by prison, torture or simply the banning of their newspapers. Some of them resorted to exile in France or Great Britain, where they set up newspapers and reviews. These journalists were more driven by literature and politics than by the principle of information.

It was only from 1908 onwards, in response to pressure from the Young Turks, that legal and political restrictions were lifted on the founding of newspapers, which allowed an independent press to develop in Egypt, Syria and Iraq. In 1909, for example, there were 144 newspapers and reviews in Egypt, 90 in Cairo and 45 in Alexandria. This press was always animated by young writers and politicians committed to the promotion of a national Arab conscience in the context of Turkish domination.

From 1945 onwards, the press became the privileged instrument in the fight for national independence. The nationalists, who were often journalists by profession, suffered all forms of brutal treatment at the hands of the colonial authorities: prison, torture and exile. Their newspapers were suspended or banned. The Arab press, especially in Palestine, was not only bent to the colonial yoke, but also went on to confront the creation of Israel in 1948.

The 1952 revolution in Egypt, followed by achievements in Iraq and Syria, brought an end to the multiparty system and to the independent press. In North Africa, freedoms gave rise to repressive regimes. President Gamal Abdel Nasser abolished the multi-party system, nationalised the press and created institutional frameworks subject to one party rule by the Arab Socialist party.

From 1960 to 1980 the whole region suffered from a lack of press freedom, with the exception of Lebanon. The Lebanese exception is due to the complexity of the political and social composition of the country. Lebanese journalists basked in a freedom of expression which had no equivalent in the region and their journalism was of a very high technical quality. But the civil war in 1975 forced the press and these journalists into exile in Europe and the United States. The Gulf petrol boom also drew many of these journalists, who took up positions in new newspapers, created thanks to the wealth generated by petrol. Egyptian, Syrian and Palestinian journalists also exploited this goldmine. Unfortunately, these journalists were hemmed in by the traditionalist system governing the countries concerned.

The only journalists who could write in all freedoms were those who had set up a base in Europe, but even their freedom was only a provisional one: the money generated by the petrol bought out most of these journalists. Saudi Arabia, Iraq and Libya all invested in the expatriate press in order to rally support for their power and ally themselves to the most eminent and credible pens in the Arab world. Iraq and Libya founded reviews; the Saudi Arabians funded dailies. Journalists fell over themselves to offer their services to the rich and draw on the benefits due to them, such as cars, houses, or gold watches. A critical press was confined to the limits of the Arab community abroad. Other more powerful dailies and reviews had a regional audience that was much more significant.

The end of the 1980s, which coincided with the end of the Cold War and the lifting of the communist yoke from Eastern European countries, made its mark on more than one country in the region. The three most significant events were the Gulf War, the rise of a politicised Islam and the development of a democratic process in several countries, in particular Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia, Egypt, Jordan and Yemen.

The Gulf War brought about by the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait opened a new chapter in the history of the media in the region. The Gulf States, seeing the impact, that *CNN* had on an international scale, grasped the strategic importance of satellite television in times of conflict. Several governments, in particular Saudi Arabia, encouraged their rich compatriots to invest in the installation of satellite television channels in Europe. *MBC*, *ORBIT*, *ART* were able to build their hegemonomies and set up thrones under the Arab sky. Other countries followed suit by launching their own national channels. Only Al-Jazeera was financed by the Qatar government, dared to jostle traditions and political taboos by the programmes open to all opinions, even the most hostile to established Arab regimes. Al-Jazeera was heavily criticized by governments who did not welcome the space given to their political opponents.

As it is found in the books of history that the Arab press began with the crusade of Napoleon Bonaparte to Egypt in 1798, and Arabic literature also became rich through translation of European literature, and that time there were the two newspapers in Cairo in French. In 1828 Muhammad Ali Pasha, issued an official newspaper (*Al waqae Al misriya*), in 1885 issued *Rizqallah Hassun* in Istanbul, a local Arabic newspaper named, the mirror of Arabic situations.

In the beginnings of the twentieth century there were significant number of Arabic newspapers, particularly in Egypt (*Al moyyed*, *Al liwa*, *As Siyasa*, *Al Balagh* and *Jihad*, old newspapers are still issued so far (*Al Ahram*) newspaper published for the first time in 1875 and compete with *Al-Akhbar* published in 1944, in addition to many literary journals, technical and cultural.

As Saudi Arabia issued its first official gazette “*Al-Qibla*” renamed “*Ummul Qura* in 1924. But this time these countries are counted among most advanced countries and full of newspapers, magazines, periodicals, radio and T.V channels. Saudi Arabia’ most popular papers in Arabic are, *Al-Bilad*, *Al-Jazirah*, *Al-Madinah Al-Munawarah*, *An-Nadwah*, *Okaz*, *Al-Riyadh*, *Al-Watan*, *Al-Yaum*, *Ash sherq Al-Awasat*, and English dailies such as *Arab News*, *Saudi Gazette* and *Riyadh Daily*. Main Arabic weeklies are *Al Da’wa*, *Al Yam’ama* and *Ikra’*.

And its Radio Broadcasting Service with two main stations and several relay stations is actively engaged since its inception in 1948 in transmitting Quran recitations, Prophet's sayings, news, speeches, interviews, debates, discussions, music and other cultural programmes. In 1973, it started its short wave high frequency broadcasting in foreign languages such as English, French, Persian, Indonesian, Bengali, Somali, Swahili, Turkish and Urdu. There are at present two T.V. channels in the country one in Arabic and the others in English. And programmes detail and number of channels have been mentioned in the country related study.

Egypt has the largest facilities in the Middle East for the press media and publishing services. All newspapers and magazines are subject to supervision and censorship of the government through its supreme council. There are more than 30 dailies, weeklies and monthlies in Arabic, English and French. Al-Ahram is the largest newspaper in circulation and it is the government's mouthpiece. Its notable newspapers in Arabic are Al Akhbar, Akhbar Al-youm, Al-Ahali, Al-Wafd, Alam, Al-youm, Asharq, al Awsat, in English dailies are Cairo Times, Egypt Today and Business Today, etc.

There are 3 short wave radio stations, 14 FM stations and 57 AM stations, 15, of which are repeaters. Egypt's broadcasting system remains the best in the Arab world and transmitting programmes in Arabic, English, French and other languages.

There are five national television channels in the country . The Egyptian Satellite Channel transmits via Arabsat throughout the Middle East and Nile Television broadcasts in English and French to Europe.

Egypt likes to portray itself as the leader of the Arab world in all aspects of modern life, including the media. And there is no ban for Egyptian women doing work in the media as mostly male staffs are working in media institutions ,like that there is no shortage of women working in the Egyptian media. In broadcasting many women occupy senior posts also.



In this race Saudi Arabia is also not back , and has launched an all news satellite television channel to present a new image of the state by the kingdom's first female news presenter.

*Ikhbariya* will broadcast in Arabic for 12 hours a day, and its programmes director said, “ We want to tell the world about our country, to give a new image”, he added also. “The American media -- put out things about Saudi Arabia that are not true — like that Saudi Arabia is not fighting fundamentalists” .

And he also said the state-owned channel would correct false perceptions, including some about the role of Saudi women. Breaking new ground in the kingdom, its opening news bulletin was delivered by female presenter Buthaina Al- Nasr, modestly dressed in black headscarf and white jacket.

But although all the advantage and advance journalistic works that are present in the Arab states and freedom that enjoy Arabic media in the states, most media whether it is print or electronic working under government control and its freedom is not sufficient, so freedom of the media, as we understand it, does not exist in the Arab states. Nevertheless, due to day to day increasing importance of media, we can say that media is considered the fourth pillar of the state all over the world, in any republican government system, there must be three administrative bodies, 1- Parliament, 2- Administrative department, 3- Judiciary. To run the government systematically and to apply its norms in a proper way these three bodies are very necessary , but now it is felt that one body more is necessary to be with them, that is media, it is considered more important , it plays an important role as an informative bridge between governing bodies and general public, in absence of media general public can not know about what kind of bills and acts are passed in the parliament, and what are their positive and negative effects in the society in the long run, if media person close their eyes, the government officials will do what they want, so media play a very important and impartial role between government activities and general public, so much so that it is said that the freedom of media is the guarantee of success of excellent government. So in the view of the world media, complete freedom should be given to the Arabic media also.

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