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ABSTRACT

TITLE: IMAGES OF THE WEST AS PORTRAYED IN THE POLITICAL CARTOONS OF THE UNITED KINGDOM-BASED ARAB MEDIA

KEY WORDS: IMAGES, EAST-WEST RELATIONS, POLITICAL CARTOON, ARAB, UNITED KINGDOM-BASED ARAB MEDIA, ARAB MEDIA, STEREOTYPES.

AUTHOR: ALI ABDEL-RAHMAN YOUNES AWAD

DESCRIPTION: The research is divided into five chapters (plus an introduction and a conclusion) as follows:

INTRODUCTION, in which the work is introduced, the problem is identified, and the need for the research is presented.

CHAPTER ONE: The image of the Arab in the West (from the old sources up to the present time).

CHAPTER TWO: The Arab view of the West, The development and the changing approach in viewing the World from pre-Islamic Arabia including the contemporary schools of thought in the Arab world.

CHAPTER THREE: Political cartoons as a medium of communication, their influence and role in opinion changing and image making.

CHAPTER FOUR: UK-Based Arab Owned Mass Media.

A survey of the newspapers and the magazines published in the United Kingdom and owned by Arab personalities, companies, governments and political parties. That includes the 38 daily, weekly, monthly and quarterly publications. This chapter studies the attitudes and presentations of the Arab media in a definite period of time, in regard to the West. (from Dec. 1987 till March 1991)

CHAPTER FIVE: The Case Study.
The image of the West in the Arab-owned press through political cartoons (four London-based daily newspapers). The findings of the field work, categorising and analysing the main features and elements of the image.

CONCLUSION: Room for Improvement. Recommendations for better understanding, presentation and improvement in the Arab-West International relations and presentations.

The major, original, part of the thesis has been devoted to surveying the Britain-based Arab press, as well as an analysis of the coverage of some of these papers and magazines of the West, using the political cartoon as indicators of the public perceptions of the West. The research also makes an attempt to trace the main outline of the historical development of perceptions of the West in the Arab mind.

Appendices:

Appendix(A): Arab Political Cartoonists.
Appendix(B): Cartoons of Arabs in the Western Media.
Appendix(C): Cartoons of the West in the Arab Media.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.
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DEDICATION

TO MY PARENTS
FOR THEIR LOVE, UNDERSTANDING
... AND SUPPORT
INTRODUCTION.

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INTRODUCTION
INTRODUCTION

The Arab image in the eyes of Western public opinion has occupied many Arab researchers. This has revealed that image is not the work of the Western communication media alone, but that its seeds are planted in the minds of children, adolescents and young people through both school books and teachers, novels, art-work and the mass media generally.

Researchers have pointed out that the widespread negative view of the Arabs is due in part to a number of conditions found in the Arab World and to the flaws and negligence on the part of the Arabs themselves. Available materials concerning the Arab world are in very short supply and do not give a positive, dynamic and clear picture of the social, political and economic changes that are taking place in the region. Consequently these researchers have recommended that information officials in the Arab World should endeavour to prepare films and video tapes that describe in a clear and direct manner the changes that are taking place in the Arab World and suitable printed materials geared to the tastes of peoples outside the region.

A few scattered efforts have been made in the past few years to correct that image. In addition to the
routine public-relation activities that each Arab country undertakes, some of these countries, particularly the Gulf states, have launched intensive public relations campaigns (exhibitions etc) on major Arab issues.

The widespread negative image and stereotype of the Arab world and the Arab culture in the West has been mirrored by unfavourable images of the West in the Arab world. This study attempts to reveal some of these images. In chapter two a literature survey is presented in which reference is made to the key experiences and books that have helped shape the image of the West in the Arab mind. Chapter three continues this exploration by examining different schools of thought in the Arab world concerning the non-Arab and non-Muslim world. Although it was not one of the aims of the thesis to provide a review of Arab history, it was thought that such a backdrop was necessary in order to understand the origins of contemporary views and attitudes towards the West. Nevertheless, a historical back ground of the major events in the contemporary Arab history was essential for the purpose of understanding the attitudes and circumstances of such views and attitudes.

At the core of this study is the analysis of how the West has been portrayed in the political cartoons of four Arabic newspapers published in London. The research is based on the analysis of 466 political cartoons that appeared in these newspapers over a period of three years.
and four months. The time period chosen for the research started with the beginning of the Intifada in Palestine in December 1987, and continued until the end of the Gulf War in March 1991. During this period all the cartoons which made some reference to the Western world in the four newspapers were included in the analysis.

This period was a significant one in terms of the relationship between the West and the Arab world. Both the Palestinian Uprising and the Gulf War have been of vital importance in shaping the emerging relationship. Both brought the Arab world into sharp focus in the international media. This study examines the manner in which political cartoonists presented interpretations of these events in a way which was not only intended to entertain but also communicate political messages to the Arab reader. As such, the work of the cartoonists could be seen as both influencing and reflecting to a significant degree the nature of Arab public opinion and perception of the West. For, in the words of one writer:

A political cartoon is worth looking at just because it is enjoyable to stick pins into fools and villains or to watch others doing it. It also provides important data for the student of politics. The cartoonist is part of that linking process which connects the general public and its political
leaders, a give and take rough and tumble out of which comes what the pollsters call pubic opinion.*

As such, political cartoons can constitute an important record and source of insight into the state of popular perceptions and opinion at any point in time. Certainly, with regard to the research upon which this work is based it is interesting to note that although all the newspapers studied were dependent in some way or another upon either particular Arab governments or upon influential personalities associated with such governments, the cartoonists presented interpretations of events and processes that were not simply mirror-images of government positions. In fact the cartoonists appear to use the medium to communicate messages and themes that they would have been unable to say in words. As such it does seem as if the views portrayed in the cartoons are closer to the attitudes and the views of the masses than those of the editorials or commentaries that appear alongside them.

This study does not attempt to explore the impact these political cartoons exercised upon the views and perceptions of their readers. However, what does come across from the study is the generally negative image that is still portrayed of the West. Hypocritical, racist, untrustworthy and duplicitous, greedy to control Arab mineral and financial wealth ... these were the main

features of the images portrayed. As perhaps might have been expected Israel was presented in a particularly critical manner— as racist war-mongers, undemocratic, murderous in its treatment of Palestinians, rejectionist in its attitude towards peace. To set alongside this, however, the image of the Arab world as represented by Arab political leaders in the cartoons was also a negative one. They are represented as uncertain, inefficient, immoral, treacherous, weak and disunited. Indeed, the only 'good guys' to emerge in the cartoons were the Palestinians of the Intifada.

It is the presentation and examination of these images that lies at the heart of this thesis. It is preceded by an attempt to trace the main outline of the historical development of Arab perceptions of the West. There then follows an analysis of the history and practice of political cartooning. The study also includes a survey of the British-based Arab press from which the political cartoons upon which the analysis is based were drawn.
CHAPTER ONE

The Development of the Image of the Arab in Europe
CHAPTER ONE
THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE IMAGE OF THE ARAB IN EUROPE

Introduction:
This chapter is mainly concerned with the study of the origins and historical development of the western image of the Arabs, with particular attention to the British image of the Arabs. By so doing, it is hoped to establish a context within which can be located the main focus of the overall study, which is the other side of the coin, so to speak: how the British and the European have been seen through Arab eyes and the contemporary image held in the Arab world of Europe and the 'west'.

THE OLD IMAGE:
Arabia and the Arabs of the "Jahiliyah" - the pre-Islamic era - were first reported in the works of ancient historians in the sixth century B.C. The Greeks referred to Arabia and its inhabitants as "the land of spices...". Herodotus portrayed an image of a strange and wonderful land populated by weird creatures. These included multicoloured snakes with wings which were said to shield the frankincense trees, these strange serpents had to be
driven off by the fumes of "styrax". The cassia, which grew in shallow lakes, could only be obtained, we are told, by having the seeker cover his body with hides of oxen to protect "himself against animals with wings". (1)

To obtain the cinnamon "first you had to slaughter an ox, then to scatter its flesh below the heights, upon which birds would swoop down and carry the heavy pieces of flesh back to their nests. The conditional weight caused the collapse of the nests and the cinnamon bark fell with it..." (2).

If Herodotus's depiction concentrated on the land of Arabia and its animals, the Romans concentrated on describing the people. Thus the historian Strabo described them as indolent, the majority of the population being nomadic traders. He also referred to the bedouin: tent-dwellers who lived as robbers and camel-drivers, subsisting primarily on animal milk and flesh. The historian Pliny also focused on the 'trading character' of the nomadic desert-dwellers, whose trade involved transporting goods such as ivory, ostrich feathers, gold, pearls, silver, spices and precious stones across the desert. (5)

Perhaps the most important source of information and imagery of the Arabs and their land during the pre-Islamic period was the Bible.

In general the Bible portrayed the image of the Arabs as nomadic bedouin who wandered the desert. This was conveyed in such verses as those that told the story of Abraham who travelled with his family from "Ur" of the
Chaldees (on the southern edge of Babylonia) to "Harran" and elsewhere until he found a place in Palestine.

In other stories of the Bible the Arabs appear as greedy, rough, treacherous, harsh and unfaithful. Thus, Terry Hammond has observed that:

In the story of Ishmael, the mythological father of modern Arabs, no less an authority than God declares: "He shall be a wild ass of a man, his hand against every one, and everyone’s hand against him, in opposition to all his kin shall he encamp..."(4)

Another feature of Arab society that emerges in the Bible is that of sibling rivalry, with the conflict between brothers portrayed as symbolic of the conflict between different tribes and peoples. Thus, to quote Hammond again:

"The Hebrew brother always triumphant, was the rational and civilised ego. The Arab brother was the violent and sensual sibling, rivalry, oedipal traumas, and the resolution of powerlessness were all combined to provide a great subconscious appeal in which Arabs were the consistent villains."(5)

The Bible, particularly the Old Testament, also contains stories to illustrate the Arab’s sexuality and licentiousness. There was Jezebel who led Ahab into idolatry, Delilah who betrayed Samson, Potiphar’s wife who tried to seduce Joseph, and Solomon who was undone by no fewer than seven hundred foreign wives. As a result, "the strong Biblical image of Arab sexuality entered the
language - we still speak of Jezebels, sodomy and onanism". (6)

In many verses of the Bible, the Arabs were mentioned as the "Children of the East", and on many occasions these "Eastern Children" were associated with acts of violence and destruction. Thus we read:

"...and so it was, when Israel had sown, that the Medianites came up, and the Amalekites, and the children of the East, even they came up against them, and they camped against them, and destroyed the increase of the earth, till thou came unto Gaza, and left no sustenance for neither sheep, nor ox. For they came up with their cattle and their tents, and they came as grasshoppers for multitudes; for both they and their camels were without number; and they entered into the land to destroy it". (7)

To pull together the threads of the argument, we can say that the image of the Arabs and Arabia in both Roman and Greek works as well as in the Bible was of a mysterious and remote land of strange and inexplicable things and mythical creatures, where the inhabitants - traders and desert wanderers in the main - were greedy, unreliable and sensual.

It was an image which few could question insofar as there was virtually no direct human contact between the people of Europe and the inhabitants of the Arab world. This situation was to change with the emergence of Islam.
By medieval times the spread of Islam throughout the Middle East, North Africa and beyond was seen as a fundamental threat to Christendom. This threat was to be countered in part by physical force in the form of the Crusades and by the further demonisation of Arabs in general, and of Islam and Mohammed in particular.

**THE IMAGE OF THE NEW Arab, THE MUSLIMS**

The image of Muhammad, Islam and Muslims

R.W Southern outlined the nature of the threat that Islam presented to medieval Christendom:

"The existence of Islam was the most far reaching problem in medieval Christendom. It was a problem at every level of experience. As a practical problem it called for action and discrimination between the competing possibilities of crusade, conversion, co-existence and commercial interchange. As a theological problem it called persistently for some answer to the mystery of its existence...what was its providential role in history; was it a symptom of the world's last days or a stage in the Christian development; a heresy, a schism, or a new religion; a work of man or devil; an obscene parody of Christianity, or a system of thought that deserved to be treated with respect. It was difficult to decide among these possibilities..."(8)
It was generally agreed that the new religion was an amalgam of Christianity and Judaism, and that Mohammad was an impostor who duped his followers. In the words of Norman Daniel:

"A convincing explanation of the rise of Islam required not only that the prophet should be cunning, but that the pagan Arabs should have been ignorant..." (9)

Thus, according to Stobart, "Mahomet was looked upon in Europe as a devil, and the first born child of Satan", claiming that in the eyes of Martin Luther "Mahomet was inspired by Satan because he does not explain what sin is and showeth not the reason of human misery". (10). According to Norman Daniel, the originator of the moral crusade against Islam was St John of Damascus who dismissed Muhammad as a false prophet and "began the long tradition of attacking Muhammad for bringing in God-simulating relations in order to justify his own sexual indulgences." (11)

In this manner the life of Muhammad was seen as an "essential disproof of the Islamic claim to revelation" and to this end "writers believed and wished to show that Muhammad was a low-born and pagan upstart, who schemed himself into power, who maintained it by revelations, and who spread it both by violence and permitting others the same lascivious practices as he indulged in himself". (12)
By portraying Muhammed as "a satyr who founded Islam to mask his own lusts"(13), the image of Arab sensuality was perpetuated. It became linked with the vision of the 'blood-thirsty Mussulman' who was happy to die in battle whilst slaughtering Christians, emboldened by a false belief in his immediate ascendancy to a sensual paradise, a fanatical warrior perpetually poised on the brink of a Holy War.

This moral crusade against the new religion, its founder and his followers led eventually to military confrontation in the form of the Crusades.

DURING THE CRUSADES AND AFTER

It was during the period of the Crusades that direct interpersonal contact between Arab and European took place. Prior to this there had been occasional contacts. Thus, there had been occasional military clashes with the Berbers and Moor Muslims in North Africa. But it is during the period of the Crusades that substantial numbers of Europeans had the opportunity to test, for the first time, their preconceived images of the Arab against their direct experience - as did the Arabs who confronted the European intruders.

At the end of the 10th Century the paramount concern facing the Church hierarchy was the threat posed to all Christendom by the common enemy: the Muslims - the 'outsiders'. In order to mobilise resistance and bring
about unification within the Church, considerable effort was invested into the process of demonising Islam. As Suleiman has observed:

"In formulating these negative views, an attempt was made to discredit Islam by trying to discredit its founder. Arabs and Muslims were viewed as pagans worshipping Muhammad as well as other Gods. Exceptional cruelty and savagery were traits attributed to them. In fact Western literature reflected such attitudes. For example, the main theme represented in Elizabethan literature about the orient were war, conquest, infanticide, treachery and lust". (14)

The result was the creation of a moral and mental climate within which the Muslim Arab came to occupy a position of fear and loathing. As Muhammad Asad has commented:

"The seeds of hatred were sown, the enthusiasm of the Crusades had sequential results in Europe. It encouraged the Christians of Spain to fight for the recovery of the country from the "yoke of the heathens". It was at the time of the Crusades that the ridiculous notion of Islam as being a religion of cruel sensualism and brutal violence, of an observation of formalities instead of a purification of the heart, entered into the minds of Europe and
remained there, and it was then, for the first time, that the Prophet Muhammad (p.b.u.h.) was called in Europe "Mahound". (15)

Such feeling was reflected in the actions of the Crusaders. When the French captured Jerusalem in July 1099 after a 40 day siege, there were reports of "the fair-haired, heavily armoured warriors, spilling through the streets, swords in hand, slaughtering men, women and children, plundering houses, sacking Mosques. Two days later when the killing stopped, not a single Muslim was left alive within the city walls...The last survivors were to perform the worst tasks; to take the bodies of their own relatives, to dump them in vacant, unmarked lots, and then to set them alight before being themselves massacred or sold into slavery..."(16) There were also reports of Richard the Lionheart engaging in cannibalistic practices, serving boiled heads at one banquet of his warriors. (17)

For the Crusaders, it was deemed their Christian duty to slay the idolatrous Arab. Their song was: " who thither fare, and find death there, Heavens joys will gain, and with the saints remain."(18) Insofar as the main arena within which they confronted the Arab was the battlefield, much of their direct experience only confirmed their image of the enemy as fanatic savages, less than human - the only language the Saracen understood was that of the sword.

10
At the same time new versions of old images began to re-emerge on the basis of the experiences of the Europeans who witnessed Arab life and society during the period of the Crusades. The Biblical image of the Arabs as a people of luxurious and exotic wealth entered Western mythology as caravans of spices and silk trailed into Europe. For some Europeans contact with the people of the East led to a revision of their image of the 'other'. They discovered that they were human beings and possessed qualities which could be admired and indeed emulated. Thus, Europe discovered a new hero in Saladin (Salah-El-Din) Although he was the Muslim leader who led the successful military and political campaign against the Crusaders, his honourable dealings with his enemies, his humanity, his mercy towards others, attracted more popularity than even his opponent, Richard the Lion Heart. Maybe because Europe did not expect mercy from Muslims.

Thus, whilst the Church did its utmost to sustain the old established image of the Arab, new images began to emerge in Europe.

**THE OTHER FACE OF THE CONTACT**

The battle field and the sword were not the only forms of contact and communication between European and Arab. The Crusaders were not the only Europeans who
played a role in shaping Europe’s image of the Arabs. There developed other, more peaceful modes of contact, with Europeans visiting the Middle East as travellers, adventurers, traders, and above all pilgrims.

In the middle of the fourteenth century "The Travels of John Mandeville" was published in France. His portrayal of Arabia was an uneven mixture of fact and fantasy. Most of his work was concerned with the "Assassins", whom he considered to be "fanatics that were dedicated to perpetual Jihad". By linking the image of the Assassins to the Muslim society in general he reinforced in Europeans eyes the image of Arab violence, fervour and sensuality. (19)

In 1510 Ludovico Di Varthema published an account of Arabia which echoed much that appeared in Mandeville. He depicted the Arabs as small of stature and of a dark tawny colour. They had feminine voices. They were constantly fighting amongst themselves. They inhabited the mountains, and came down when the caravans passed on their way through to Mecca, in order to lie in wait at the passes for the purpose of robbing the said caravan.(20)

Arabia attracted not only the attention of individual adventurers, but also aroused the curiosity of a number of European governments. In the 18th century there was a Danish expedition. In preparation for the expedition of 1761 the party of six specialists spent 18 months studying Arabic and mathematics. Only one man from
the expedition survived to publish his book, "Travels through Arabia", in 1772. (21)

In this book, Neibuhr presented a highly favourable image of the Arab, especially the Bedouin. He admired the simplicity and unpretentiousness he observed in them. He depicted the Bedouin as practising true democracy, and he criticised some of the prevalent European attitudes which tended to degrade the Arabs:

"The Europeans who lived among Mohammedans would be more beloved and respected if they did not vilify themselves in the eyes of the orientals by amusements which they might surely spare". (22)

The year 1704 witnessed the appearance of Antonine Galland's translation of "One Thousand and One Nights". This book, together with The Bible, has played the most important role in introducing, reinforcing, and creating certain images of the Arabs in the European mind. According to Hammond:

"The Bible and the Arabian Nights, the two books about the Arabs that every literate person knew, worked their wiles on the Western mind. The effect of these books was to create a fantasy warp on the way the Europeans and the Americans perceived the Arabs". (23)
To demonstrate the popularity of the "Arabian Nights" in Europe, it is worth mentioning that this book went through seventy five editions in Europe and America during the nineteenth century. Its characters, tales and places became recognised and popular world-wide. Such success resulted in printing the book in more European languages than any other book except The Bible.

The "Nights" apparently provided the West with an escape from the undesirable realities of their own culture and society. It introduced to them a new world in which men and women interacted freely without any inhibitions, guilt, or shame.(24) For adults it was the book in which they found their utopian world, and the simple moral-laden tales became the favourite bed-time stories of generations of Western children. In the process the book helped shape the image held of Arab life and character - particularly in the context of the paucity of other sources of information.

Perhaps the best-known translation of the work was by Sir Richard Burton, one of the handful of Westerners to penetrate the Holy City of Mecca. He was strongly attracted to the Arabs but mainly because he was in full revolt against the structures and strictures of his own society. Like many other famous Arabists his romanticism conditioned his image of Arabs, and his writings tended to stress Arab violence and sensuality. Burton's version of the stories was prodigiously footnoted, reflecting his
extensive knowledge of the Eastern life. Much of it was sexual and bizarre, which also reflected Burton's interests and predilections. He informed the Western readers that vengeful Arab women tore off their lover's testicles with their own hands, and that Egyptian fellahs gang-raped crocodiles. His Terminal Essay shocked Victorians with its defence of homosexuality, a condition that Burton claimed was endemic among the Arabs.

Reflecting upon the impact of the book with regard to the image it conveyed to the Western reading public, one can identify a number of themes and features of the world that was presented.

- a world of wealth, luxury and fantasy, a world where fortunes were waiting to be discovered, as in the story of Ali Baba and the 40 Thieves.

- a world of sibling rivalry, a world where greedy brothers were turned into black hounds and charcoal statues in retribution for their treachery.

- a world of violence and savage cruelty.

- a world of immorality and sensuality, a world in which every palace had a hareem filled with women whose object was to provide pleasure for their master.
This powerful 'documentary' thus revealed to Europe every aspect of the Arabs' life - the romance, the greed, the violence, the wealth, the feuding, and the sensuality. Although most of the stories were not, by origin, from Arabia or its literature, the West accepted them as the true account of the Arabs' life. Many of these stories came from India, Persia and China - Aladdin, the most famous story, is of Chinese origin.

The stories exercised an important influence over the European imagination, impacting upon the work of writers such as Dickens, Walter Scott, Tennyson, Kipling and others. It was not only literature, however, that was affected by the 'Nights' stories, but also other types of art such as painting and the theatre.

Nineteenth century Romantic paintings also exploited Eastern and Arab themes. The Orientalists, like the French artists Delacroix, Chasseriau and Fromentin, and the Englishmen such as William Holman Hunt and Richard Dale, drew upon travel narratives and personal visits to the Arab lands. Violence, decay, sexuality and indolence characterised the paintings, imagery apparent in their titles: "Fantasy of the Egyptian Harem", (Richard Dale), "Mameluke Restraining a Horse" (Theodore Gericault), "Women of Algiers" (Delacroix), "A Fellah Woman" and "The Capture of Abdel-Kader's Train by the Duc d' Humale" (Lecomte Vernet). (25)
In the fourteenth century a new powerful Muslim enemy had arisen to confront Europe. This time it was not the Arabs, it was the birth of the Ottoman Empire. They gradually built up their empire in Asia Minor. After capturing Constantinople they destroyed the Byzantine kingdom, which separated Europe from the Muslims. By the second half of the fifteenth century the Ottoman empire was in control of all the Arab World and most of the Islamic countries.

For the Arabs, the Ottoman Empire was an Islamic Caliphate (state) with which they could feel some identity. For Europe it represented a threat. The fall of Constantinople to the Muslims was one of the most dramatic events in Europe's relations with the East. It was seen as Europe's bulwark against the 'barbarians' of Asia. The doors were now opened to an Islamic flood as the spirit of Islam extended to reach wider parts of the Old World. (26)

The Europeans were surprised by the speed of the changes in the region. Whilst the Muslim presence was being expelled from the Iberian peninsula, the Islamic threat appeared to be heading towards Europe from the east. The fullest extent of the Ottoman Empire was reached in the sixteenth century when the island of Crete at last surrendered to the Turkish forces. The dominions then included all of present Cyprus as well as Rumania,
Yugoslavia, Greece, Bulgaria, Albania, and parts of Hungary, Poland and Russia's Crimean Coast.

Militarily, Europe looked at the Islamic Empire as the occupying power which was controlling great parts of Christendom. Palestine, the land where Christ was born and his message was spread was once more under Muslims control. Europe once again recognised a moral threat to Christianity. The spirit of the Crusades was dead. The Jihad had taken its place. Richard Knolles, the Elizabethan historian of the Turks, was expressing a common feeling in Europe when he spoke of the Turkish Empire as "the present terror to the World".(27).

Although this period of Ottoman expansion was characterized by military confrontation between West Europe and the Muslims, it was also a period of successful commerce. Trade, industrial exchange and other sorts of economic activities were "granted by the Sultan as special privileges given to the French, English, Venetians and other non-Muslims who had established themselves within the Empire to trade."

Despite this, the image portrayed in Western literature during the 16th and 17th centuries were still cast in the mould of the Elizabethan period. According to Suleiman:

"... the main themes represented in Elizabethan literature about the Orient were of war, conquest,}
fratricide, treachery and lust. These and similar themes were propagated in most of the reports by Western merchants and travellers who visited the Middle-East in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In fact no distinction was made between Arabs and other residents of the area under Ottoman rule. Arabs were referred to by different names and were given slightly different attributes depending on where they lived, for instance, desert (Arabs), levant (Saracens), North Africa (Moors) or Egypt (Mamelukes). They were all viewed as 'wild, cruel, savage or robbers in greater or lesser degree' (29).

The persistence of such threatening images, with the fear of Jihad dominant, is perhaps surprising given the fact that the West benefited greatly through contact with the Muslims. Arab achievements in all fields of knowledge (especially in medicine, optics, chemistry, astronomy, geography and philosophy) were translated into Latin and then into other European languages. As Sari Nasir has remarked:

"For four centuries or more, while Europe lay slumbering in the Middle Ages immediately before her own Renaissance, it was the Islamized countries - under the Arab rulers at the outset - that became pre-eminent on the Earth for their learning, their culture and their material prosperity". (30)
Arab contact with the West increased rapidly during the 19th century after Napoleon Bonaparte conquered Egypt (1798-1799). By then the power of the Ottoman Empire was waning and the term "the sick man of Europe" became an increasingly common expression of European attitudes and views towards the Ottoman Empire.

It was during the 19th century that the West started to view the Arabs as useful tools in dealing with the Empire. A new policy was introduced which showed some improvement in Arab-European relations as the European powers sought to encourage the spirit of nationalism among the Arabs as a way of undermining Ottoman hegemony. In the words of Nasir:

"The French and later the English entertained notions of Arab naivety and simplicity. Both governments used this formula in a variety of ways in their subsequent dealing with Arab leaders. Westerners identifying themselves with the interest of Arabs increased in numbers, believing they were exploiting the simplicity of the Arabs by doing so". (31)

The pattern was set by Napoleon. He was convinced that the easiest way for him to gain the peoples' acceptance was to respect their religion. Thus, in his proclamation to the Egyptians he stated, "...people of Egypt, you will be told that I came to destroy your
religion, don’t believe it. Answer that I came to restore your rights, punish the unsuspecting, and that is more than the Mamelukes do. I respect God, his Prophet and the Koran"(32). And to prove his good faith he went much further when he announced that he "accepted Islam" as his religion, that he considered himself to be a Muslim, and that he was thereby "one of you, Egyptians"(33). To add credence to his words he would on occasion wear the jilbab, the traditional Egyptian dress.

The same game was played later on during the First World War by another military Western figure, but this time in civilian uniform. This man was T.E. Lawrence (known as Lawrence of Arabia). He was a senior officer in British Intelligence and he followed more or less the same steps as Bonaparte: speaking the Arabic language which he 'loved', wearing the Arabic dress that he also 'admired,' and living and working amongst the Arab people. This man played a very important - if not the most important role in the Arab-British dialogue.

Both men, Napoleon and Lawrence came to Arabia to 'restore peoples' rights' and to help them gain their independence and a 'better future'. They both considered themselves as "one of them" who came because they loved the people and the land. They both used the same methods and approaches to a greater or lesser degree. Norman Daniel, in his book "Islam and the West", commented that with regard to their missions, "the difference was in the actors, not in the play".(34)
A great deal of literature was produced early this century to accompany and to support the spread of European colonial power. In general the literature aimed to underline the 'superiority' of European cultures and values, by denigrating the cultures and social values of their subject peoples. A good example of such work is evidenced in the 'letter' written by J.L. Menzes and addressed to his 'Muslim friends'. Published in his book "The Life and the Religion of Muhammad" (1912), the letter concluded with these words:

"Now, do you understand that Mohammad is not the proper leader to follow in preference to Jesus Christ? You have now a true idea of his life and you understand what kind of person he was and how immoral and wicked some of his religious teachings are. Unless you wish to close your eyes to reason and to harden your heart, you have no excuse for continuing in his deceptive service" (35)

During the first decade of this century and during the First World War the Arab leaders sought to play their allotted role - assisting in the defeat of the Ottoman Empire. In return they expected from the European powers some satisfaction of their nationalist aspirations. They were to be severely disappointed as the British and the French divided up the Arab heartland into their respective spheres of interest. The full treachery of the Europeans, and the British in particular, came to light with the Balfour Declaration that promised British
support for the Zionist project of establishing a homeland for the Jews in Palestine. This experience of European duplicity was to cast its shadow over the relationships between the West and the Arab world up until the present time.
THE RECENT PICTURE:

In an article published in "Arab Affairs" in 1986 Dr. Derek Hopwood of St. Anthony's College, Oxford wrote: "There is no doubt about it, the Arabs have had a bad press recently". He added that:

"... the stereotypes that the British public have of other peoples are rooted in the national psyche and are based on a mixture of fact and fantasy, prejudice and ignorance... (The Arabs) have been stereotyped as idle, greedy, selfish, cruel, treacherous, intolerant, lustful, etc. The 'Arab terrorist' has become a staple of 'thrillers', whether in the form of books, films or television series, and jokes and cartoons presenting the grossest image of the Arabs seen to come in for little adverse comment, even by many who have taken an anti-racist position where other peoples are concerned"(36)

Why should it be that the main-stream popular media is prepared to treat the Arabs this way, when it would be more cautious about making racist stereotypical remarks about Afro/Caribbean, Asian or Jewish people, for example?

First of all, it needs to be recognised that in the West Middle Easterners in general are seen as Arabs (which is why so many people here are convinced that Iran is an Arab country), and furthermore their Arab identity
is telescoped into their presumed Muslim identity. This means that negative coverage of Muslims and Muslim affairs (including events in Iran and the Salman Rushdie affairs) tends to colour Western views of the Arabs. Given the modern conflicts between Western Christianity, Western secularism, and Western Imperialism on the one hand, and the Islamic movements on the other, this is an element which unavoidably complicates the way the Arab World is perceived in the West. (37)

Secondly the relationship between the Arab/Muslim World and the West has been an antagonistic one for most of recorded history. When Europe came into contact with most of the third world, it already had a technological edge over it, met it from a position of strength, as a potential and or actual aggressor. However, for over a thousand years, until the defeat of the Ottoman army before Vienna in 1683, most of Europe had encountered the Arab/Islamic World from a position of equality, or, more frequently, weakness. This has had a lasting impact upon European perceptions of Arabs and Muslims. (38)

A third factor that must be taken into account is the impact of the Palestinian conflict. Protagonists of Israel have often been quite ready to go on propagating the most negative images which the West has of the Arabs and the Arab World as part of their activities. They perpetuate anti-Arab views because it suits their political objectives to do so and because their own
perspectives are limited by the constraints imposed by their own pro-Zionist views. (39)

But there is a fourth factor to be considered, and this is where I hope that both the friends of the Arab peoples and Arab concern with their image here will be self-critical. Racism against people from African descent has been made less acceptable in Britain primarily because of the fight which those people have themselves put up against it, a fight in which anti-racism from the majority white community has played a supplementary role. The same is true of the struggle to combat racism against other minorities, such as South Asian peoples, Jews or Irish people. The position of the Arab people is more difficult, as many of them are not British passport holders, and wary of doing any thing which might jeopardise their status here. Furthermore, they are one of the smaller minorities. However, there is a lot that can be done by a community which does organise itself, and if that happens, the anti racist movement here will, I am sure, respond well to the issues and demands raised by Arab people. (40)

That much remains to be done is clear. Jack Shaheen has written of the image of the Arab as portrayed in the American media. He has concluded that "the ugly Arab image exists in part because of ignorance, indolence, and fear - fear of pressure groups that consider any balanced
"The prime time entertainment shows ... depict Arabs as cruel, cowardly and decadent people. Arab leaders and their associates are seen as men who are either blood-feuding Bedouins or oil black-mailers. They are depicted as sex-starved pimps, cheats and back-stabbers. Oil rich desert sheiks own camels and Cadillacs ... Arabs are seen also taking advantage of innocent, fourteen-years-old American virgins. And Hollywood perpetuates the myth that the Arabs take great pleasure in white slavery rings."(41)

This view is echoed by R A Curtis in his review of American perceptions of the Arab-Israeli dispute:

"The leering, hand-rubbing Arab oil sheikh, with a line of fat veiled wives trailing behind his dirty robes, has become a familiar fixture to American newspaper readers".(42)

British attitudes towards the Arab world are inevitability governed by the forces of history. For many years an imperial power, with extensive interests and often direct responsibilities in the Middle East, Britain's strength and prestige has now dwindled, while Arab nationalism and nations have moved in to replace the old quasi-colonial system. The result has been, in the
last half century or so, the fostering of two main streams of feeling. The first reflects the position of a superior power towards what seemed at the time to be its inferior. This has frequently led to a high-handed and inconsiderate attitude towards Arab peoples and their countries. The second main stream of British attitudes is more recent and springs directly from Britain’s decline in the Middle East and the upsurge of Arab prosperity and independence. Arab oil riches, the summer invasion of London by Arabs of both sexes, the purchase of hotels and real estate by Arab money, the withholding or pricing up of Arab oil: these have all combined with the shock of lost power and responsibility to produce in the British mind a series of reactions towards the Arab world which veer between the equivocal and the frankly hostile.

In his paper to the International Press Conference, an Arab journalist complained of the racist view that the West uses in evaluating and dealing with the Arab world:

"We number in the Arab world 120 million human beings. I have the feeling, having been in this country for about four years, that we are looked at as if we were 120 million oil barrels. For us, you know, this is the picture especially in what is called the popular media here in this country. The Sun, The Daily Mirror, television etc. You have The Sun for example, which distributes 5 million copies a day". (43)
The Arabs may be divided in many ways and Arab unity is a long way off. However, a large section of the media appears to unite the Arabs only in the negative sense, as "Arab terrorists", "Arab pigs", "Arab rats", "Arab shoplifters". (44)

THE IMAGE OF THE ARABS IN THE POLITICAL CARTOONS:

As one of the most powerful mass media tools, the political cartoon speaks in the language of stereotypes. As such, they present a particularly clear example of the distorted image of the Arabs in the Western media. The image of the Arabs in the political cartoon is in fact a reflection of the commonly held views and perceptions within the wider society.

Western political cartoons portray the Arabs in a similar light to the film industry or published media. Their image in political cartoons is either of terrorists and kidnappers or of that of the greedy and wealthy oil Sheiks. The first image is usually reflected in the form of the Palestinian terrorists and the second of the Gulf Arabs invading the West spending their money in nightclubs and casinos.

In the 1960s, the dominant image of the Arab was as an incompetent military force led by war-mongering leaders best represented by Nasser of Egypt who lead the War effort against Israel in 1967. In the 1970s the emphasis was upon the Arabs as "Oil-lords" exploiting
their control of the supply of oil and holding the world economy to ransom. This was also the period when the Palestinians were shown as blood-thirsty terrorists. In the 1980s a new dimension was added - that of the hostage-taking religious fanatics.

The nineties opened with the image of the Arabs as marauding armies invading one another, led by inhumane dictators, threatening international peace and security. The image of the Arab leaders have changed very little over the years. However, a point to note is that the old image of the Palestinians as brutal terrorists or helpless refugees was overtaken by that of a strong, uprising people, fighting not only for self-determination but also for their basic human rights.

The Intifada was the most powerful and influential indicator towards a new look at the Arab-Israeli conflict, and the cartoonists had a new set of characters "to entertain" to their readers.

The image of the Arabs in the political cartoon is in fact a reflection of the collection of views and ideas which others have had of the Arabs. A set of symbols, mostly taken from stories like the Arabian Nights tales or Hollywood type productions. These are usually off the shelf ready-to-use images to reflect opinions, expressed in graphic imagery as; a Mercedes driven by a heavy bearded man with dark glasses, and notably well bejewelled around the wrist and the neck. Other classic scenes from the desert, oil fields, the camel, the Kofiyah an Dashdasha (the Arab head-cover and robe).
and in the background there should be at least one heavily draped-in-black figure meant to be one of his wives. Adding to that come images of extreme wealth, belly dancers and singers. This is when dealing with the image of typical Arab family life, but politically and economically they appear as exploiters who want to bring the world to its knees by controlling and raising the prices of oil, as was the view especially in the seventies and the eighties.

Militarily, the Arabs were presented as either backward, cowering, ill-displined, soldiers when facing the Israelis, or fanatic extremists as guerillas attacking the defenceless civilians in Israel or other non-hostile Western targets.

The Gulf war added a new dimension to the image of the Arabs as unreliable, led by dictators, inhumane, thieves and as divided nation. This is at the leadership level, but the Arab masses were seen as Muslim fundamentalists, ignorant and a misled bunch of easy-to-inflame fanatics.

"One concludes that cartoonists felt the freedom to use the Arab stereotypes at a time when there is a noticeable absence of this practice with other ethnic or national groups. This situation signifies the weakness of the Arab-American community's willingness to challenge images that appear here or in other equally pervasive forms, as movies, comic strips, television and textbooks. Among the media forms, the cartoon is the most
likely to be responsive to pressure or change as its practitioners claim to be fierce in their freedom to be negative. The posture of the editorial page of the newspaper is the only vehicle to indirect influence on the cartoon as most are propagandistic in nature" (45).

A study which was conducted by Damon (1983) which involved the analysis of political cartoons from four newspapers for two months each during the 1948, 1956, 1967 and 1973 wars. He found that most of the cartoons fell into the following categories for all four wars: they summarized the events in a neutral way; they attacked an Arab leader, they contained an Arab stereotype, or they were anti-Arab by implication, and a very small portion of the cartoons carried attacks on: Israeli leader, used Israeli stereotype or anti-Israel by implication. The findings of the research was believed "to reflect the editorial positions of the newspapers". Damon stated that the "cartoonists frequently used Arab stereotypes and these increased in frequency over the years", he added; "just like there are some nomads in Arab countries, a frequently used stereotype to depict Arabs, there are some Orthodox Jews in Israel ... Yet only one cartoon in the entire sample included this stereotype and in a positive situation". Damon believes that: "because Israelis are mostly portrayed in Western clothes and with Western features, the sympathy of the reader is easily elicited because the Israeli looks like the American" (46). Concluding his findings Damon stated
that these images reflect the power of the Israeli Lobby and the inability of the Arab-American community to change the predominant images.

CONCLUSION:

As we have seen in the previous sections, the image of Arabia in Roman and Greek works was connected to view Arabia as a romantic mysterious land, containing pearls, gold and other treasures. The people there were seen then as nomads, prosperous and sensual merchants.

"The Bible" gave a great input to the image-making process in the mind of Europe. "The Bible" portrayed them as nomads and "lurking" mercenaries. They were seen as the enemies of Judah and appeared as a people in conflict among themselves and whose main aim was to control the trade routes of Palestine. "The Bible" added some very important features to their images, such as the sibling rivalry, as well as adding some "credits" to their sexuality.

"The Bible", as well as the "Arabian Nights" later on in history, played the most important role in shaping the Europeans' views of the people who lived in Arabia.

Apart from some attempts made by some adventurers, the contact between the Arabs and the West remained almost dead until the rise of Islam, which was the turning point in their relationship at that time. The rapid growth of Islam demanded a certain degree of urgent explanation to the West about its nature. Islam was not studied but it was just mis-represented to the European audiences. It
was attacked at various points: its historical genesis; the character and the motivations of the Prophet; Islam's rituals and cosmology, its purported licentious nature and its effects on individuals and society as a whole. (47)

As a religion Islam has been under constant religious, political and cultural assault from the West since the very beginning. By the Christians among the Arabs, the Christian traditions in attacking Islam and its founder was started with St. John of Damascus and then his 'programme' was widely taught and distributed in Europe in order to create a 'security zone' of hatred among the Christians to prevent any acceptance of Islam.

"Islam was repeatedly dismissed as a jumble of other faiths. Part Christianity, part Judaism and part bedouin and Persian superstition. Muhammad chose elements from each that would provide the greater appeal to the Pagans of Arabia. Commentators also disputed over the divine origin of the Koran, insisting that Muhammad compiled it to compete with the Christian and Jewish Holy Books". (47)

Islam was presented to the West in the ugliest form possible, it was introduced as a false religion which contained myths and fantasies, as well as a collection of stolen ideas from Christianity and Judaism.

The feeling of threat in Europe resulted in a very strong reaction among the Europeans against Islam. Europe
violently responded to its call and then the long-term war took place between the Muslims and the Crusaders.

This tense atmosphere undermined any hope of any improvement in the Muslim and Arab image among the Europeans:

"When Europe first heard of Islam and faced the challenge of Muslim power, it did so without any real knowledge of what it was going to fight, and the combination of fear and ignorance produced a body of legends compared with the Augustian and Roman ideological structure, while both were absurd and virtually all unfair." (48)

The Crusaders who went to the East had their real opportunity to make closer contact with the Arabs and resulted in some case in appreciation to the Arabs culture and traditions, "...their human values, cultures, traditions, food and dress, and general way of life appealed and convinced many of the Crusaders to intermarry and settle there". (49)

Nevertheless, the sound of War-drums and the violent actions and reactions as well as the Church propagation prevented any sort of 'great' changes in the whole situation. The period that followed did not have much to say about any changes in these views.

Travellers and adventurers came back to Europe with more up-to-date views of Arabia, that helped to produce much material about the "Arabian Nights" and "Days". At this period the Arab appeared to Europe as untrustworthy,
unattractive, amorous, and revengeful. In the very generous literature the Arabs were given the image of romantic, simple, free, struggling against great odds, hospitable, rough and strange people! (50)

During the Period of the Ottoman Empire Arabs were referred to as a sect of the Muslim World. They were seen that time, according to M. Sulieman, as: "very superstitious, indolent, excessive, obstinate, submissive to authority ..." (51)

The decline of the Ottoman Empire had brought the Arabs back into the spotlight in European politics. Again the West went to their land. With Bonaparte's conquering Egypt, the East-West contact developed rapidly. New images and 'trust' relations took place between Arabs and the British. This honeymoon lasted a very short time, when the modern European military invaded most of the Arab lands to bring about a new image and new attitudes. At this point the Arabs were viewed as backwards, dispensable, disposable, superficial and unreliable.

The distorted image of Islam and the Arabs does not only exist in the Western states which have a history of confrontation with the Islam, but also extends to other European and American countries. A great part of the distorted image was exported to other countries and nations, through the flow of the American Hollywood version of the Arabian Nights Arabs. And the most starkly clear illustration of the vacuum of knowledge and misinformation in the West concerning the Arab world was
the popular view of the Arabs social life, which was seen as an "Arabian Nights" style of life.

According to published studies, Arabs and Islam have been portrayed unfavourably by the American mass media and perceived negatively by the American public. Studying high school textbooks, Perry (1965) discovered that Islam was presented as an intolerant religion and that Arabs were shown as nomads. Nasir (1976) concluded that Arabs were viewed in the U.S. mass media as an "outgroup" whose religious and cultural values were alien to the West. Such findings led Suleiman (1977) to conclude that: "The Western picture of the Arab has been built up, not through familiarity, but over a long period in which Arabs have appeared variously as non-Christian fanatics fighting Crusaders; as the protagonists for fictitious romantic episodes such as those of Arabian Nights as the source of violent headlines in contemporary newspapers..."(52)

A few years ago a compatriot was introduced by his hostess as an Arab, with a rather apologetic embarrassment, which was further underlined when added: "but he is an intelligent Arab". The obvious reference is that Arabs are expected to be stupid and ignorant, a general notion which was freely aired by Emilia in her words to Othello: "O gull! O dolt As ignorant as dirt!". Such an anti-Arab prejudice has indeed other expressions in the English language, and presumably other European languages. We are familiar with the common phrases often said to a naughty child- "you dirty Arab", "lying Arab", 37
"thieving Arab", ... etc. Of course, it has been suggested that one should take no notice of such ignorant or teasing vulgarities, but people generally accept what they have heard, seen and experienced in their infancy". (53)

The recent picture of the Arabs in the mind of the European public is no brighter than that of the previous few years, and in fact the Arab world has obtained new ugly and dirty images in relation to the aggression in Kuwait and the bloody way that aggression was answered. The old images continued to be brought to light all too often due to the political atmosphere and the level of relations between the (divided) Arab world and the West. This is not helping the process or bridging the gap between the East and the West. The responsibility for improving the picture of each in the other mind is basically a matter of more co-operative responsible reflections of each other. Here the press has special responsibility. Reporting on and writing about the Arab world presents special problems for a western newspaper. Hardly any of the correspondents stationed in the area are likely to be Arabists and are thus unable to talk directly to the people they live among. (Why not? Arab correspondents in London all seem to speak, read and understand English). British papers still have a duty, which some of them fail conspicuously to discharge, to avoid creating false stereotypes, or a false or incomplete picture of a society about which their readers are likely to be largely ignorant of. Equal
responsibility rests, of course, upon Arab editors and myth makers. But because of past history the greater adjustment is demanded of the Western press, and especially of British editors. The mass media controllers and image makers should rerecognise the fact that the Arab world has a place not only in the text books and history references, it has come into being, and as one which is "... proud and conscious of its ancient heritage and determined to occupy once again its full place among the nations of the World". (54)

In the next chapter, an attempt will be made to study the other side of the picture: The image of the West and Westerners in the Arab mind.
FOOTNOTES

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(2)- Ibid. (p.4)
(3)- Ibid. (p.8)
(4)- Ibid. (p.5)
(6)- Ibid, (p.22).
(7)- Ibid, (p.20)

(11)- Daniel, op. cit.( p.5)
(12)- Ibid. (p.79).


(17)- Hammond, op.cit.(P.7)


(19)- Hammond, op.cit.(P.9).

(20)- Nasir, op.cit., (P.11).

(21)- Ibid. (p 8)

(22)- Hammond, op.cit. (P.13)

(23)- Ibid, (P.24).

(24)- Ibid. (P.14).


(28)- Ibid. (P.32)

(29)- Suleiman, op.cit. (P.9).

(30)- Nasir, op.cit.(P.16).

(31)- Ibid, (P.17).

(32)- Ibid, (P.17).

(33)- Suleiman, op.cit. (P.11).

(34)- Ibid, (P.1).

(35)- Hammond. op.cit.(P.101).

(36)- Hopwood, Derek, *Arab Affairs*, (1986), Summer

(38) - Ibid. (P 68)
(39) - Ibid. (P 68)
(40) - Ibid. (P 69)


(43) - Ibid (P 139)


(47) - Hammond, op. cit. (P 101).


(49) - Ibid, (P 8)

(50) - Suleiman, op. cit. (P 9).

(51) - Ibid, (P 9)


(53) - KISHTAINY, Khalid, *Presenting the Arab Case, The Power of Prejudice*, Arab Affairs, (1986), Summer,

CHAPTER TWO

The Arab View of the West
CHAPTER TWO

THE ARAB VIEW OF THE WEST

Introduction

In this chapter an attempt will be made to trace the history of Arab perceptions of the West. Starting with pre-Islamic times, an overview will then be presented of the Islamic view and classification of the world and its implications. The changing perceptions of the West in the Arab mind up to the period of the 1st World War will then be presented, before going on to examine the aftermath, when the Arabs entered a new period of direct military, economic and political relationships with the European powers.

It might be worth pointing out that in using the term 'Arab' I am referring to the citizens of the member states in the Arab League, whose language is Arabic, whose practices and traditions are connected to Arab history and whose destiny is bound to the Arab World. In addition I am including the children of migrant Arabs around the world whose mother tongue is not Arabic, but whose origin and destiny are linked to that of the Arab world.
PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA (AL-JAHILIYAH)

The history of the inhabitants of the Arabian Peninsula can be traced back to more than 1000 years before Christ. The period before Islam is referred to as al-Jahiliyah, meaning the time of ignorance and paganism.

The population of the peninsula at that time was divided into two main groupings: north and south. The northern part was the land of the nomads and consists of Hijaz and Najad. Its people spoke original Arabic (the language of the Quran). In the southern part, which included Hadramaut, Yemen, and the coastal parts of the peninsula, an ancient Semitic tongue was the language of communication.

Distinguishing between the two groups of the Arabs is significant. The south Arabians were the first to rise to prominence and develop a civilisation of their own, while the north Arabians did not step on the stage of international affairs until the advent of Islam. Thus, the north Arabians, due to the nature of their Bedouin life, had very few contacts with other nations apart from some trade links with Palestine and Syria. The Southerners, on the other hand, were "possibly the ones who acted as intermediaries between Egypt, Mesopotomia and the Punjab - the focal centre of earliest trade - and gave their name to the great intervening sea" (1)
Through some of their journeys outside their direct homeland, the Arabs contacted other nations and civilisations which existed at that time, especially the Egyptians, who were simply reached by the Arabs through the Sinaitic Peninsula, and exchanged trade.

The desert acted as an insurmountable obstacle to Roman attempts to extend their rule into Arabia. Likewise, the political and cultural influence of the Greeks was barely felt in the peninsula. It would appear, however, that the Persians had some contact with the Arabs, partly through traders but mostly in the military field due to the fact that some tribes used to work as soldiers in the Persian army. Contact was also made with the Indians through commercial sea-journeys.

Communication with the Jews was either through their commercial links with Syria or with the few Jews amongst the city-dwelling Arabs. Christianity came into contact with Arabia in the same way as Judaism, but both failed to leave a clear mark on the social or religious life of the Arabs.

Socially, the Pre-Islamic Arabian life was fully dependent on a tribal system, known as Qabila, which was the main focus of the Bedouins' ultimate loyalty. The main activity in such a political system was to look after and organise the breeding and herding of certain animals, mainly sheep, goats, horses ... and camels, that could provide them with food, clothing, shelter, fuel, and transportation. The
power of the tribes was measured by the number of animals and possessions. This was a contributing factor causing the continuous feuding between the Bedouins, since self-sufficiency was considered as an ideal thing to be obtained in such a difficult environment.

To conclude, it is worth citing a very famous Arabic text which describes the Arab situation before and after the Prophet started to make changes in their social and political life:

"... Jahiliyah people were we. Worshiping idols, practising immorality, deserting our families, and violating the covenant terms of mutual protection, with the strong among us devouring the weak. Such was our state until Allah sent onto us a messenger from amongst ourselves whose ancestry we know and whose veracity, fidelity, and purity we recognize... He (moreover) commanded us to be truthful in our talk, to render to others what is due to them, to stand by our families and to refrain doing wrong and shedding blood ..." (2)

THE ISLAMIC APPROACH

The most important lens through which Arabs have viewed and evaluated other nations, groups, and peoples has been the Islamic one. The Arab of pre-Islamic Arabia did not have much association with communities and powers outside their immediate desert environment, or rather they did not feel
the need to do so. They were busy finding answers for their daily necessities, within a tribal framework inside the peninsula. This changed with the coming of Islam. In order to spread the teachings, it was necessary for the Muslim Arabs to come into contact with other communities.

As with other cultures, the Islamic world-view involved a particular mode of categorising the nations and peoples of the world. Thus, just as the Greeks distinguished between Greek and barbarian, the Jews between Jews and Gentiles - so Islam developed its own classification.

The Islamic approach of viewing the world is based on a religious-political ideology. Islam does not acknowledge nationalities as the ultimate criterion for analysing people, nor does it recognize geography as a tool for dividing the world. Furthermore, it condemns nationalism by describing it as "stench", which Muslims 'should avoid'. Likewise, the whole idea of slicing the world into separate groups on a racial basis is alien to Islamic teaching. Islam simply divides peoples according to their faith.

Having said this, it also has to be acknowledged that although Islam emphasises the equality of all believers, the Arabs have traditionally been seen as occupying a particularly significant position within the community of believers as the people who carried the light of Islam to numerous parts of the world. They were the people in whose language the Quran was revealed. This particular advantage
made them the guardians of Islam, its traditions and its holy places.

Islam's categorisation of the world and its people is a purely theological one. Three main categories are recognised: Dar-ul-Islam (The House of Islam), Dar-ul-Ahd (The House of Pledge), and Dar-ul-Harb (the House of War). The inhabitants of these categories are referred to as Al-Mo'mineen (the Believers), Ahl-ul-kitab (the People of the Book), and Almoshrikeen (the non-Believers).

DAR-UL-ISLAM

The Arabic term Dar-ul-Islam is used to indicate all the provinces and countries in which the Sharia (the Islamic Law) prevails. It is another term for the Islamic Khilafa (or the Islamic Empire as the Western literature prefers to name it)

"... its unity resides in the community of the faith, the unity of the law, and the guarantees assured to members of the Ummah, established in consequence of the final revelation, also guarantees the faith, the persons and religious organisations"(3).

In Islam the interest of the community comes before that of the individual in the society. The Prophet described
the Ummah (the community of believers) as a 'complete building whose bricks support each other'. Although the term Ummah occurs very frequently in the Quran and the Haddith (the Tradition of the Prophet) to indicate more than one meaning - it has been used to connote excellence, way, length of time, a group, and a people - the latter meaning is the most common one. It has been used in the literature to describe the international Muslim community.

Dar-ul-Islam includes the community of the believers as well as those who entered into an alliance with Islam. The non-Muslim communities (or minorities) living in Dar-ul-Islam are officially known as Ahl-Dhimmah. This term is defined as a kind of permanent agreement to organise political protection for Muslims, and ensure peaceful internal relations with the non-Muslim subjects. In return, the latter accepted Islamic rule and Jizyah, a form of poll tax paid to the Islamic treasury as a substitute for being drafted into the army.

Both Muslims and non-Muslims enjoyed full rights of citizenship and full status as subjects of the caliph, the head of the state, in their claim both to internal security and protection from external attacks. The caliph in the discharge of his responsibilities in foreign relations, spoke in the name of the subjects. So the community of the unbelievers was seen as part of the community of Dar-ul-Islam, regardless of the differences in their beliefs. The relations between the Islamic and non-Islamic communities

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within the Islamic legal superstructure were regulated in accordance with the special charters, originally issued by the Caliphs, recognising the canon law of each tolerated community bearing on matters of personal status(5).

The world surrounding the Islamic political community was known as Dar-ul-Harb.

**Dar-ul-Harb**

Dar-ul-Harb is the term used to indicate the territories of non-Muslim government or authority, which are hostile to Islam and the Muslim community and a threat to their freedom and security. The inhabitants of Dar-ul-Harb were identified as 'Al-Mushrikeen', which is a term derived from the word 'shirk'. The literal meaning of this is 'associating partners'. Religiously it refers to the attribution of partnership or associates to God.

The term, Al Mushrikeen, is used to describe the non-believers living within territories hostile to Islam. It was not used to depict the believers living or working there. The Mushrikeen were classified by Muslim jurists into basic categories: Al-Alkitab (the People of the Book) and Al Wathaniun (the Pagans) Al-Alkitab embraces the Jews and the Christians (and in some sources the Zoroastrians have been also included). The term Ahl Akitab also refers to those Christian and Jews who are living in Dar-ul-Islam and maintain their beliefs.
From the Islamic point of view Dar-ul-Harb lacked the legal competence to enter into intercourse with Islam on the basis of equality and reciprocity. Such territory may therefore be regarded as in a 'state of nature', because it failed to conform to Islam's ethical and legal standards(6).

The subject of Dar-ul-Harb raises the issue of human rights during and after a war or conflict between Muslims and others. Declaring a territory as Dar-ul-Harb or the territory of warfare did not mean it should be exposed to any form of savagery or barbarism. The land of the enemy and its inhabitants were to be treated according to what is referred to as the Law of Jihad. The idea of a law to control the actions of the soldiers was a new understanding and a wave of changes took place in the field of international relations between the Arabs and others as a consequence. Under these injunctions, Muslims were urged to seek every opportunity to end fighting and resolve differences through peaceful methods. Fighting was (and is) allowed as a last resort, if all other means of reaching a peaceful solution have failed.

DAR-UL-AHD

Some Muslim publicists, especially Shafi'i jurists, devised a third division of the world called Dar-ul-Ahd. In many sources Dar-ul-Ahd is referred to as Dar-ul-Sulh, the literal meaning of which is the House of Covenant. This term
has been used throughout the history of Muslim/non-Muslim relations to refer to lands where the law of Islam is not practised but the people are not in military conflict with the Muslims. According to Islamic law the people of this Dar are considered to be in a peaceful relationship with the Islamic governing body for as long as they respect the treaty between them.

_Dar-ul-Ahd_ thus came to refer to "non-Muslim territories involved in treaty agreement giving sovereignty to the Muslim state but maintaining local autonomy. These agreements were considered to extend Muslim Jurisdiction."(7) As such, in the eyes of Muslims, the people of _Dar-ul-Ahd_ had their full right to practise their own social, political, economic and religious activities in full freedom, but not to the extent of co-operating with the enemies of the state. In other words, as soon as they break their agreement with the state they are considered part of _Dar-ul-Harb._

It should be remarked that this third category is a controversial one among Muslim jurists, insofar as some do not recognise it as a category. Thus the _Hanafi_ jurists, for example, never recognised the existence of a third division of the world, arguing that

"if the inhabitants of a territory concluded a peace treaty and paid a tribute, it became part of the pax-Islamica and its people were entitled to the
protection of Islam, because otherwise it would be part of Dar-ul-Harb and object to Islam". (8)

It is important to emphasise that in classifying the world into these categories, Islam rejected all notions of man-made distinctions. As such it provided the 'new Arabs', the Muslims, with a new framework for viewing and evaluating the world around them. This was the Islamic legal theory of dividing the world, but how did it go in practice, and to what extent was the theory adopted by Muslim rulers. That is what I will try to throw some light upon in the next section.

The Practice

In theory, the Islamic state should not recognize the legality or legitimacy of any state other than itself. But in practice, it had to accept certain limitations and accommodate itself to the realities of surrounding conditions. Thus, in theory, Dar-ul-Islam is in a state of war with Dar-ul-Harb, because 'the ultimate objective of Islam is the world', but in practice, the history of Muslims/non-Muslims relations tells another story. Thus, as Abu-Suulayman has observed:

"Unable to incorporate the whole of the mankind, the state tactically accepted the principle of coexistence with other states and conducted its external relations in accordance with principles
derived not only from Islamic doctrine, but also from its long experience with other states".(9)

Dar-ul-Harb, however, was not regarded as no man's land, even though it remained outside the pale of Islamic public order. It was entitled to conduct its relations with Islam in accordance with the rules set forth in Islamic law covering the state of war between Muslims and non-Muslim communities. Muslims were instructed to deal with the non-Muslim community in the best way possible,"...And dispute ye not with the People of the Book, Except with means better"(10) as the Qura'n clearly stated. And Muslims were under obligation to respect the rights of the non-Muslims, both combatants and civilians.

Islam in general offered more religious tolerance than Christianity. Jews and Christians, (the people of the book), were not molested in performing their religious ceremonies. Islam was not racially conceived and thus not confined to Arabs. There is no compulsion for religious conversion, according to a basic Qura'nic concept:

"Let there be no compulsion in religion. Truth stands out clear from error. Whoever rejects Evil and believes in Allah hath grasped the most trust worthy hand hold, that never break".(11)

It is probably true to say that in general the Arab world viewed Europe as intolerant and inhumane when it came
to the question of religious tolerance and relations between different religious communities. By contrast with the treatment of Jews in Europe, during most of the Middle Ages the relations between the Arabs and the Jews were amicable and even cordial. From the eight century on, many Jews used Arabic as their most important means of communication. Jewish scholars wrote about one thousand works in Arabic. Many Jews had Arabic names and had accepted Arabic ways of thinking. Popular etymology even assumed that Hebrew, Aramic and Arabic were basically one and the same language. Arabic was regarded as a Jewish language, a linguistic evidence of the Arabic-Jewish cultural symbiosis. (12)

The coexistence between the Muslims and non-Muslims was very fruitful and produced very good examples of international co-operation and inter-cultural communication. For example, the 'Translation Movement', as it has been called, opened Arab eyes to the European cultural products, as well as communicating Arab intellectual works to the Europeans in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Thus, Arab scholars associated with Christian Nestorians and with the participation of learned Jews translated a great number of Greek scientific works. A couple of centuries later, western scholars translated these works from Arabic to Latin. In such a manner the translation movement which took place between the Arabs and the Europeans resulted in mutual intellectual enrichment. In other words, the closed doors between the civilisations, due to the military conflicts,
were opened by peaceful means which made the works of the two civilisations more accessible to a wider public. (13)

THE INTELLECTUAL CONTACT

The aim of this section is to look at some of the literature produced by Arab historians and geographers in order to be able to examine the development of the Arab image of Europe. What should be borne in mind here is that many of the Arab intellectual works were not necessarily written by an Arab. They were produced by Muslims from different origins and backgrounds, but their work appeared in the Arabic language and thereby contributed to the Arabic cultural heritage and subsequently influenced the Arabs and readers.

One of the earliest references to Europe in Arabic literature appeared in the work of the historian Ibn-Khordathba in 850. He drew upon stories of the European regions from Arab prisoners who were taken to Europe and later released. Likewise, Ibn-Rustah, some years later in 905, recorded the story of Haruon-bin Yahya who described the areas he had seen in that part of the world.

El-Masowdi, the great Arab historian, is considered as the first to produce an acceptable work with the minimum required information and knowledge concerning Europe. El-Masowdi divided the world according to two principles. The first involved the division of the world into seven
"climates" or Iqlims. This classification was a purely geographical one, without any political or even cultural referents. The seven climates ranged from the very cold in the north to the very hot in the south. The Islamic world was located in the region with the most moderate climate - the fourth region. Britain was located in the sixth, whilst France and Russia were situated in the seventh one. It seems that El-Masowdi's image of Europe was a rather gloomy one. In some parts of his description of the inhabitants of the sixth climatic region he referred to its inhabitants as brave, tough soldiers, strong Christians. He gave a rather contradictory view when in other parts of his book he portrayed them as "barbarians, uncivilised, and savage". (14)

El-Masowdi also divided the world into four quarters: East, West, South, North. The inhabitants of the northern quarter which covered Europe were described as

"... Those, who are far from the sun. They are very tough, rough, and cold people. Their eyes are blue, most of them are Christians. They are savage, ruthless and barbarians. Illiteracy is very common amongst them and they seemed to be stupid. These characteristics become clearer and stronger in the far north". (15)

The image of the Europeans as barbarians also entered into Arabic literature through translations of Greek and Roman sources. Thus in the Roman literature Europe itself was
divided into Romans and barbarians. This term was not a purely Arab creation.

Although, Muslim genealogists did not give much consideration to the race or the colour of other nations and peoples, there is an interesting usage of the term *Banu’l-Asfar* (16) in Arabic classical books. It means literally "sons of the yellow one", and was used frequently to indicate Europeans in general. It was first applied by the ancient Arabs to the Greeks and Romans. It was later extended to the natives of Spain and then to the Europeans in general. Muslim genealogists usually derive this term from Asfar, the grandson of Esan and the father of Rumil, the ancestor of the Greeks and Romans (*rum*).

Occasionally, Muslim authors used the term *Rum* to refer to Central and Western Europe, making it roughly the equivalent of Christendom. More commonly, however, Western Europeans were referred to by a different set of terms. The commonest of these was *Ifranj* or *Franj*, the Arabic form of the name of France. This name probably reached the Muslims via Byzantium and was originally applied by them to the inhabitants of the Western Empire of Charlemagne. Later it was extended to Europeans in general. In medieval usage, it was not normally applied to Spanish Christians, to Slavs, or to the Norse people, but was otherwise used in a generic sense to refer to the inhabitants of continental Europe and the British Isles. From these and other Arabic writings of
At the end of the tenth century, new political and military changes took place. The three (super)powers of that time - the Byzantine empire, the Islamic empire and the West Europeans - were expanding their influence, but in directions which did not lead to direct confrontation. Thus, the Muslims were extending their domain into India, middle Asia and the Far East, away from Europe. As a consequence, the Muslims were more familiar with the Far Eastern culture than Europe.

Up to that time, the eleventh century, Europe in Arab scholars' books was still seen as 'the cold land', its inhabitants were seen as barbarians, uncivilised, Christians and, above all, the enemies of the Muslims, due to the Muslim-Christian military confrontations in Spain and Southern France. What was known of Europe came largely from translated works of ancient European thinkers, as well as the stories and observations of travellers, traders and released prisoners. All in all we can say that Europe was not taken so seriously in the Arab world.

This was to change at the end of the eleventh century when Europe came to Dar-ul-Islam in great numbers: the Crusades. Before the Crusades, the Arabs did not see in Europe a direct threat to their security and stability. If anything, the image was of an inferior people. This image of
Europe in the Arab mind had to be changed. For the first time, they felt a great need to improve their understanding of their 'visitors'. The Europeans were no longer distant strangers.

THE BITTER CONTACT (The Crusades)

In 1079 the Christian armies marched down through the Balkans, across Asia Minor, and through Syria to Palestine. Most of Syria and Palestine was captured in 1099, including Jerusalem. The conflict reached its peak in 1187, when Jerusalem was retaken by the Moslem armies under the leadership of Salah-u-ddin. After that, waves of Crusaders continued to march to the area in unsuccessful attempts to regain the holy city and to resurrect the lost power of Europe in the Middle East.

The West's failure to regain control of the area awakened a real threat and created a new worry in Europe, as Islamic counter attacks targeted at the European main land were launched. After almost one thousand years of European success in containing the expansion of Islam in Southern France and Spain, a renewed threat came from a new direction, from the Ottomans to the east.

In this section, I will explore the outcome of this centuries-long conflict in terms of its effects on the Arab view of Europe during and after the Crusades. It should however be remembered that contact between Arabs and Europeans was not confined to the battlefield. There was
also a degree of contact in the cultural, commercial, social fields.

The Europeans came to Dar-ul-Islam with a particular vision of the Muslims (mainly Arabs at that time) which was based on the extensive literature written and published in the West concerning Islam, Mohammad and his people. The preachings, offered by the Church, fully convinced the Europeans that these were Holy Wars, their main aim being to 'recover the Christian land' captured by the 'barbarians'.

The first Crusade started in 1095, the armies reached Constantinople in 1097 and two years later Jerusalem was taken after forty days of siege. After the Christian forces had taken the city, they indulged in indiscriminate slaughter such that:

"Heaps of heads and hands and feet were to be seen through the streets and squares of the city... Two days later, when the killing stopped, not a single Muslim was left alive within the city walls. Thousands lay in pools of blood on the doorsteps of their homes or alongside of the mosques... The last survivors were forced to perform the worst tasks; to heave the bodies of their own relatives, to dump them in vacant, unmarked pots, and then to set them alight, before being themselves massacred or sold into slavery..."(17)
These acts provided enough evidence to form and reinforce the 'view' of the newcomers as barbarians, in the Arab mind. For the next one hundred years Europe's domination of the Middle East was not seriously threatened, until Salh-u-ddin regained control of many parts of Syria and Palestine, including the Holy land, in 1187.

During this period of the Crusades a new vision of the West was formed in the Arab World concerning Europe, Dar-ul-Harb, a vision of threat. But this was only one aspect of Arab-Europe relations during this period. There was also increasing commercial contact, diplomatic exchanges also took place. There was also an increase in inter-communal dialogue generally. This resulted in the appearance of more knowledgeable and more mature works from both sides, supported by a real experience. Both Christians and Muslims were closer to each other which led to the examining of each other's concepts and ideas. Christian soldiers, "considering their vows fulfilled, returned to their countries with new experience and ideas regarding the Arab and their religion. Many others settled in the Holy land and intermarried".(18) Others went so far as to adopt the eastern way of life. Hitti describes the Franks who settled in the Holy Lands as,

"discarding their European dress in favour of the more comfortable and more suitable native clothing. They acquired new tastes in food specially those varieties involving the generous use of sugar and
spices. They preferred oriental houses, with their spacious open courts and running water"(19).

Despite such examples, the dominant impression remains that the image formed in the Arab mind by the Crusades was of the Europeans as barbaric invaders, described by one commentator as "animals possessing the virtues of courage and fighting, but nothing else".(20)

Thus, whilst the Europeans saw the Crusades as wars to liberate the Holy Land, Muslims saw them in a totally contrary light. These wars plagued the Middle Ages, reinforcing hatred and distrust between Muslims and Christians, and from an institutional level, the churches brought the conflict into the homes of the people in the West. They constituted a landmark in the history of the two civilizations, which continues to exercise an influence on perceptions.

Thus, in 1917 General Allenby, on entering Jerusalem, remarked, "Now the Crusades are over". The French commander, General Henri Gouroud, after entering Damascus, stood beside Salah-ul din’s tomb and said; " Here we are back again Saladdin" .(21) Whilst in the words of one Arab commentator,

"It seems clear that the Arab East still sees the West as a natural enemy. Against that enemy any hostile action, be it political, military or based on oil, is considered no more than legitimate
vengeance. There can be no doubt that the schism between these worlds dates from the Crusades, deeply felt by the Arabs even today as an act of rape". (22)

At the end of the day, we can say that the Crusades were one of the first important cultural contacts between Europe and the Arab world. This inevitably led to change in the prevailing European attitudes towards the Arabs and Islam, as well as to change Arabs' images of Europeans. Dominant in these was the new perception of Europe as a threat, which evoked feelings of fear, suspicion and admiration.

The Ottoman Era

With the beginning of the fifteenth century, a new era of East-West relations started to unfold. One of the three existing empires disappeared, leaving the Old World to be controlled by the remaining two (super)powers, the European and the Islamic empire. The collapse of the Byzantine Empire resulted in a major Islamic success and further expansion in the eastern parts of Europe. The collapse of the Muslim state in Southern Europe extended the European influence to the northern parts of Africa. This new status quo created a feeling of threat on both sides, towards each other; Byzantia was no longer the defended front line and barrier between Europe and Islam. At the same time, 'Christian Spain' had emerged and posed a threat to the Arab (Muslim) mainland.
Another clear feature of this period is the striking absence of Arab influences at all levels of the leadership and the governing process. The Islamic world had to adopt a new leadership ... the Ottomans. The capital of the Islamic Empire was transferred to Istanbul where the intellectual and literary works appeared in the language of the rulers, Turkish.

The Turkish Sultan was not only the temporal head of the Ottoman Empire, but also the Caliph, the religious head of all the Muslim Ummah. Whether or not the Arabs liked to see the caliphate held by a Turkish sovereign was of no consequence, he still was, in their eyes, the Caliph, the legitimate authority in the Islamic state to whom obedience was due.

The rise of the Ottomans as the leaders of the Islamic Ummah, marked the end of the Arab succession in the leadership of the Islamic Empire. During this period the Arab World had to adopt the policies and the attitudes handed down by the Ottoman Empire, including its views and attitudes towards the West.

After leadership of the "House of Islam" had passed to Turkey, the traditional view which the Arabs held of the West was reinforced by the successes of the Islamic Empire in expanding through South-Central Europe as far as Hungary. In the Arab historical view, it should be stated that when it came to confrontation with the West then, "Turkey was considered an extension of the Arab world and the Turkish defeats of Christian Europe were looked upon as victories of Islam of which the Arabs were and remained the founders, the
spreaders and the core, even while Turkey became its mailed fist..."(23).

The period of Turkish domination over the Arab world witnessed a clear lack of Arabic literature, from which evidence and examples could be drawn to give an understanding of the attitudes the Arabs held of the West. The available literature praises the Islamic feeling which liberated the Muslim land from the Infidels, whose image was that of aggressors and inhumane exploiters, gained through the experience of the Crusades. The image of Europe as a Christian power countering the Islamic armies was the dominant one in that era and for at least the first two hundred and fifty years of the Turkish Empire.

During the period when the Arab world was subject to the Ottoman Empire, there came the first significant British contact with the Arabs, both culturally and politically. Europe in general, particularly England and France, had increased their interests and efforts in the Islamic World, especially in the Middle East. This period witnessed two main activities in the Orient carried out by the Western Powers; the works of travellers and scholars, followed by what is known as 'The Colonial Period.'

During the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries, a large number of travellers were exploring the far corners of the Islamic lands. Among them were a considerable number of Western scholars who were hard at work unravelling the wealth of works in theology, as well as medicine and
mathematics, written in Arabic. "Arabic studies had then far outpassed public interest in Arabs".(24)

In general, Arabic literature tended to reflect suspiciously the activities of such travellers and scholars(25). They considered their activities and findings as the foundations upon which the West built its colonial interest in the Arab world and elsewhere in the East. The work of those "....who had subversive rather than open motives. If they were so fond of Islam they would have become Muslims. But from their writings it is evident that they were positively hostile to both Islam and the Muslims. So why did they go to much trouble to travel in lands whose people and religion they hated ? To begin with, some wanted to prove the superiority of Christianity over Islam. Later, as the Western World became stronger, their governments and private entrepreneurs wanted to become more expansive. This was done through commercial exploitation and political intelligence."(26)

Spying, for the colonial powers, was a common accusation and a general judgement, which labelled those scholars and their works in some Arabic literature. As Rana the Kabani, in Europe's Myths of Orient, puts it: "The idea of travel as a means of gathering and recording information is commonly found in societies that exercise a high degree of political power. The traveller begins his journey with the strength of a nation or an empire sustaining him militarilly, economically, intellectually..."(27)
In this part of the chapter I will explore the major schools of thought which have appeared in the Arab world during the twentieth century. These different schools of thought, or ideologies, have varied in their views of the West, from the full rejection of the western ideological system because of its immorality and materialistic approach, to a complete endorsement of western scientific methodologies. Some of these schools have defined the West as a 'role model' for the Arab world, whilst others have asserted that by adopting western ethics, Arabs will only add to the problems already prevalent in their countries.

It should also be mentioned at this point that it does make sense to refer to Arab schools of thought or ideologies, despite the different divisions that characterise the Arab world. The media and their messages are not bounded by the frontiers of any Arab country: rather, their natural arena is the wider Arab market. If we exclude communication messages which are related to current events and associated with conflicting political positions, we find that communication materials produced in the Arab World, together with the media of their dissemination and propagation, bear a regional stamp. Films, books, magazines, many daily newspapers, television programmes and songs - almost all circulate freely beyond national boundaries. Their only frontiers are those of the Arab world as a whole.(28)
By the End of the First World War, the Arab world had witnessed an invasion of foreign troops. In addition there was exposure to new ideologies and political philosophies: liberalism, socialism, capitalism, zionism and, above all, nationalism. Arab nationalism can be likened to a fuse waiting for a spark. The spark was the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, which was lit by the First World War.

Apart from the historical factors of the region, any study which proposes to deal with the contemporary different schools of thought in the Arab World must take into consideration, in the first place, the physical characteristics, demography and political geography of the region. Despite substantial homogeneity, the variations in the area, population and life-style of the Arab countries, the differences in their economic situation and stocks of natural resources, in addition to the different ways in which they experienced imperialism at various stages of their history, make for a good deal of variety and diversity within the framework of the basic unity. However, the fact that all the countries of the Arab world share common characteristics—common culture, language and objectives—has reduced the difficulties before the spread and the circulation of different "isms" and different ways of life among them and has facilitated cultural and social convergence. Scholars have classified the schools of thought in the Arab world into three main categories:

Arab nationalism presented itself in three types. First, in order of time, there was the religious nationalism— the assertion that all who adhered to the same religion
should form a single political community. In one sense this had been the fundamental political idea of the region since the Roman Empire became Christian and religious faith, whether personal or inherited, became the characteristic in terms of which a man was defined. The Muslim community, as the pan-Islamic thinkers conceived it, was not held together by common profession of faith or the will to live in accordance with revealed law. It was held together by a common inheritance, not only of religious doctrine or wisdom but of the culture, the habits and the temperaments which had grown up around it.

The second type of nationalism was that which was most familiar in the old and the settled countries of western Europe: territorial patriotism, a sense of a community with all who shared the same defined piece of land, rooted in love for the land itself. This was strongest in those parts of the Middle East where a settled community had lived for a long time, and where that region had relatively clear boundaries and an unbroken tradition of separate administrative or political existence. The best example of this form of nationalism was to be found in Egypt, where the nationalism of the Wafd was purely Egyptian. Other examples can be identified in the mountains of Lebanon, in Tunisia - wherever it existed, it tended to evoke memories of the land and those who had inhabited it in ancient times with whom a sense of continuity was expressed, if only as a counter-claim to that exercised by absorption into a large supranational entity such as the Ottoman Empire.
The third, and in the event the strongest, of the three kinds of nationalism was ethnic or linguistic, based on the idea that all who spoke the same language constituted a single nation and should form one independent political unit. For better or worse this became the dominant political idea in the Middle East and superseded or absorbed others. Thus in the Arabic-speaking countries the assertion that all who spoke Arabic formed a nation and should constitute one state or a group of states proved to be the strongest political force, even though it had not yet embodied itself in a political form. (29)

This is one way of classifying the existing schools of political thought in the Arab world. There are others. What follows is a three-fold classification: the Islamic School, the Nationalistic School and the Secular School.

The Islamic School

For the vast majority of the Arabs, both individually and collectively, Islam remains a living reality. To speak of the Arabs is to speak of the people whose language is that of the Quran and the fabric of whose soul has been woven over the ages from elements of the Quranic revelation. It is still Islam and the Islamic environment into which most Arabs are born and in which they live and die.

There are a number of elements which should be considered in order to understand and evaluate the effects of
Islam in forming and shaping the contemporary Arab mind. The first aspect is that of the shock received by all Muslims, and especially the Arabs during the nineteenth century, from the domination of the European powers, a domination which for Muslims posed a crisis of cosmic dimensions. For the first time in their history, except for the short episode of the Mongol invasion, Muslims experienced political humiliation at the hands of non-Muslims. This shock, at once political, social and religious, was the source of a series of reactions of differing natures, ranging from the reform movements, which sought to purify Islam, to various forms of Mahdiism which saw in the corruption of the times confirmation of the teachings of the Quran, right through to out-and-out secularism. However, the latter did not gain any notable followers until the present century.

The Islamic school holds the view that the environmental crisis, as well as the psychological imbalance of so many men and women in the West, the ugliness of the urban environment and so forth, are the results of the attempt of man "to live by bread alone," to 'kill all the gods' and announce his independence of Heaven" (30). Further stressing the point that humankind cannot escape the effect of their actions, which are themselves the fruit of his present state of being, and the only hope is "to cease to be the rebellious creature he has become, to make peace with both heaven and earth and to submit himself to the Divine". (31)
The literature of this school lays the blame of causing division and conflict in the Arab world today at the doorstep of the West. In the process they attempt to reveal what they call the West's clever conspiracy against the Arab nations in general. The followers of the school believe that the unity of the Arab world is only one stage in the attempt to re-unite the whole of the Islamic world. It is 'Westernization' which has fractured the Islamic world - politically, culturally and religiously. Westernization, in this sense, refers to a process which not only introduced a totally foreign element into the Islamic world, but one that reflects directly an alien world which itself suffers from the most glaring forms of disunity and contradiction. (32) It is westernization or modernism which has sown the seeds of confusion in people's minds and weakened the hold of Islam over them.

Strangely enough, one of the results of the shock received by certain Muslims in their encounter with the Western world has been a re-awakening of interest in the totality of Islam. In these cases, a rediscovery of Islam, and even a kind of renewal of some people's vision of their own faith, has taken place, with all the positive qualities traditionally connected with the term (33). Thus, one of the important notions of the Islamic thought in contemporary life among the Arabs has been the appearance of movements which stand for the re-establishment of the full and the complete practice of the Shari'ah over the every-day life of Muslims. These movements range from the Istiqlal party in
Morocco, which also has definite political and social programmes, to the Ikhwan al-Muslimun, the most important movement of this kind to appear during the past few decades in the Arab World. The writings of the intellectual elite of this movement, such as Sayyed Qutb, emphasise the need for a renewal and vigorous application of the Shari'ah to the whole of human life, and continues to remain very popular amongst the youth and the intellectuals in the Arab societies. An example of the popularity of Sayyed Qutb's writings is the appearance of at least one edition of his books every year in each Arab country.(34)

The Al-Salafiah school holds to this line of thought with the stated intention of purifying Islam by returning to the sources of the religion. The effects of this kind of religious thinking among the educated classes in the Arab world is still considerable. This school is gaining more followers and increasing support in the Arab world today, especially with the failure of the revolutionary regimes to fulfill their promises of establishing free and democratic societies and their overall failure in solving the Palestinian problem. The school's popularity is clearly evident among university students.

The leaders of this school led several, if not most, of the revolutions against the European imperialistic occupation in the Arab world, in their struggle for independence, such as Omar al-Mukhtar in Libya against the Italians, Abdel-Qader al-Jaza'ri in Algeria against the
French, Al-Ikhwan al-Muslimmun in Egypt against the British and in Palestine against the Zionist movement, al-Khassam and al-Hussaini. Also the al-Wahabiah movement in Najd and al-Hijaz (in the Arabian pen insula).

When the West is mentioned in the literature of this school it is referring to all the non-Islamic countries and not just the West Europeans and the Americans. Amongst the targets of criticism is the position of women and the family structure. According to one of their number:

"The aim of the materialist Western civilisation is not to fulfil the needs of human nature but rather to exploit that nature in whatever ways it can in order to perpetuate itself despite its rotten foundations. The position of the women in the West is truly grievous. Their true nature and role in the family and home are being systematically destroyed. They are the main sacrificial victims to the voracious idol of the consumer society".(35)

In similar vein, the literature of this school reveals an emphasis on the immorality of western politics. Western political institutions and processes are associated with western domination, exploitation and opposition to Islam. Instead, it is affirmed that Muslims have an ideology of their own. They have their own history and culture. It is the attempt to thrust Western culture down the throats of the Muslim people which has caused schism in Muslim society.
This schism was fanned into a wide-spread conflict by the ruling powers. Those who revolted against their traditions were called modern and progressive and those who refused to submit to the cultural onslaughts of the West, they were called the vehicles of conservatism and regression. In fact, within the broad Islamic School one can distinguish between the Reformists and the Fundamentalists.

Islamic Reformism is the product of the effort of Muhammad Abduh and Rashid Rida. Whilst asserting the unique and perfect truth of Islam, they aimed at a revival of what were conceived to be certain neglected elements within the Islamic tradition. However, this revival took place under the stimulus of European liberal thought, and led to a gradual reinterpretation of Islamic concepts so as to reconcile them with the guiding principles of European thought of the time. Thus, the literature of this school reveals an admiration for western civilisation's successes, especially in its scientific approach and discoveries. At the same time, efforts were made to link many of these achievements of the westerners in some way or another to Islamic roots. In so doing they were making the claim that there was no contradiction between the ways of the West and Islam.

As such, they have been accused of seeking to bring about a de facto separation of the socio-economic and political sphere from that of religion and so open another door to secular nationalism. (36) The followers of this
school have been severely attacked by the more committed traditional Muslim intellectuals, who have labelled them as secularists in Islamic uniform.

THE SECULARISTS

In opposition to the religious intellectual movements, there developed gradually among the Arabs from the beginning of this century another mode of thought, which preached various degrees of secularism, ranging from mild defence of Western civilisation to the advocacy of the complete adoption of western culture and a total break from the sacred ambience of traditional Islam.

The Liberal secularism of the nineteenth-century of England and France was adopted by some Arab thinkers. It was first expressed in Arabic by al-Bustani and his school, and passed on by them to Lutfi al-Sayyed and the Egyptian nationalist school which he created. It was secular in the sense that it believed that society and religion both flourished best when the civil authority was separate from the religious, and when the former acted in accordance with the needs of human welfare in this world.

The atrocities committed in the Second World War as well as the Palestinian war and its aftermath had a profound impact on those who had advocated the emulation of the West. The blind admiration espoused by so many of the leaders of the previous generation gave way to doubt about
the value of the civilisation for whose sake the Arabs were asked to forsake their own religion and way of life. In addition, secular propagators were compelled to acknowledge the strongly rooted spiritual and religious values in the Arab society. This resulted in the production of a type of literature which was alien to secularism, but which was also not fully accepted by the Islamic school. Thus, a leading secularist such as Qistanteen Zouraik sought to come to terms with Islam by acknowledging "Islam as a nationalistic religion in the first place, which does not contradict the reality of nationalism, if properly understood". He also depicted the Prophet as a real Arab national hero who, "by his strong beliefs laid down for the Arabs the bases of a new civilisation". (37)

Most of the secularists aligned themselves politically with communist, socialist parties and nationalist parties.

ARAB NATIONALISM

Although the beginnings of Arab Nationalism can be dated from the landing of Bonaparte in Egypt in 1798, the clear call for Arab Nationalism was heard loudly around the year 1834, when Mohamed Ali of Egypt declared his ambition to carve an Arab Empire out of the existing Ottoman dominions. This empire would have included: Egypt, a great part of Sudan, the Hijaz, Palestine and Syria. Arabism and Nationalism, as we understand it as political terms today, had seen its rise in the second half of the previous century.
and the beginning of this century, when the political ground was prepared in British-ruled Egypt. It was from here that the call for the expulsion of the Turkish authorities from Arab soil and the establishment of an Independent Arab state (proposed in the form of a Kingdom) was to be made.

The fire of Arab nationalism was first lit by a group of Western-educated, mostly Christian, Arabs from Syria. They transformed the political life of the Arab World. The nationalist movement’s plan was: firstly to help to break up the Ottoman Empire, then to win independence for various Arab states, and finally to unite them all as one single nation. This last phase remained still in the stage of trial and error. But even this force, which was originally of a purely western and secular origin, became gradually Muslimized as it penetrated the masses, to the extent that today Arabism, or urubah, is identified closely by the majority of lay common people almost automatically with Islam. (38)

The nationalist movement was reflected in several political parties (39), ranging from the call for state-nationalism (al-Kata’eb in Lebanon or al-Wafd in Egypt), to propagators for Pan-Arabism (al-Najada, al-Ba’th, al-Nassirioun... etc.) and the third being the proponents of Syrian Nationalism (al-Qaumi Al-Souri). The nationalists succeeded in several parts of the Arab world such as Syria, Iraq, Egypt, Algeria...

The link between the call of the nationalists in the Arab World and that of the secularists is clear, and a
great portion of the literature produced by the two schools could be classified collectively.

The main task or challenge which the nationalists had failed to meet was that of "Arab Unity". The idea of Arab national unity is a very new concept in Arab political life. Historically, the Arab world view was wrapped in the Islamic outlook, which considered all Muslims (including the Arabs) one nation. Although national states have been in existence within the domain of Islam for centuries, Islamic law (the Shari'a) recognises only one entity for the Muslims, and subsequently recognises no borders or races, or languages as the bases for any form of unity. That led many Arab nationalist thinkers to try and "Islamise" their call to secure acceptance among the masses.

The literature of this school produced not just one view of the West. The image of the West ranges from considering it as a "sample worth adopting", as it was stated by Taha Hussain.

To those who consider the West as the "source of evil", as some Arab Nationalists believe, the Arab should have a natural hatred and rejection to the West, because; Nationalism "... was born as a response to a challenge, the challenge of Western colonialism" (40). But in turn, the Arabs should be grateful to such a challenge since "... from the tenth century on, Islamic society had degenerated, became stagnant, tranquil, self-satisfied ... the spirit of innovation was stifled... This state of affairs could have lasted forever if no new stimulus had disrupted the
prevailing equilibrium. But a stimulus was provided by Western colonialism ..." (41)

To many Arab nationalists, the image of the West has to be redrawn in the mind of the Arab masses. The West should not be any more the source of evil, "the infidels", in addition to their "advanced arms and advancing armies, they also represented notions of freedom, justice, industry, education, modern administration and a new idea of nationalism where the bounds of common language and culture replaced the older bond of faith". (41)

To sum up, using the well-known Arab national scholar's argument, " ... The Arabs would have continued in a state of medieval degeneracy, stagnation, and self-satisfied complacency; the contact with the West, however, provided the driving force for a new social and national awakening" (43).

The West, which provided the nationalist movement with the inspiration and the ideas, found itself in the "enmity seat" with the Arab Nationalists. The Western style of Nationalism was represented as a brutal military power, invading and occupying Arab soil. The Arab nationalists fought the war for Arab independence against western colonialism which resulted in a great deal of literature attacking the West and its exploitations of the Arab world. The creation of Israel gave the nationalist movement more ammunition to continue its fight with the West blaming it for the disunity and lack of stability in the Arab world since it (the West) "planted Israel in the Arab land for this aim"(44).
The history of Arab Europe relations could be traced back to as early as the invasion of Alexander many years before the birth of Christ. But real interest and concern for each other, started to grow steadily in the seventh century with the rise of Islam and its expansion. Islam built in Arabia a great empire which united the conflicting tribes, and prepared them to spread the Word of God outside their desert environment.

The basic concept of Islamic international relations theory, which divided the world into two warring communities, the Muslims in Dar-ul-Islam and the Infidels in Dar-ul-Harb, was adhered to by the Arabs throughout the whole period of their leadership of the Islamic Empire, and then by the Turks during the Ottoman rule. In practice the theory was sufficiently moderated so as to allow for some sort of peaceful contact and diplomatic relations between the two worlds.

The Crusades had a lasting adverse effect on Muslim society. The Muslims had been fairly tolerant of the Christians and Jews, the dhimmis or People of the Book (the people of the two other monotheistic religions). In comparison, the brutal treatment of the Muslims by the Crusaders during the period of their occupation made the Muslim leaders, especially the Mamluke sultans and later the Ottoman sultans, much harsher in their attitude towards anyone suspected of collaborating with the infidel invaders,
who came from the West. At the time of the first crusade the Islamic world had declined from the peak of its golden age but was still superior to medieval Christendom in tolerance and breadth of intellectual interest. By the time the Crusaders abandoned their last Syrian castles this was no longer so. For the Arabs, who of all people have perhaps the most lively and most intense sense of history, "the aggressive invasion of the Crusaders is still a vivid popular myth. It is no cause for surprise that Arabs compare Zionists of today with the Crusaders, pointing out that although the latter may have stayed for three centuries they were eventually ejected as an alien body". (45)

Viewed in the proper setting, the adventures called the Crusades were but a Medieval chapter in the long action and reaction between Europe and Asia. For most of this period Europe was seen through Arab eyes as a threatening alien power. A history that started with the invasion of Alexander and continued right up to the withdrawal of the European armies from the Arab territories after the Second World War. Some would argue that the process of colonisation continues to this day in different forms.

At the same time, there has been about the Arab attitude towards the West a certain tension which has been captured by Raphael Patai. He illustrated the situation using an ancient story from the Arabian Nights, which shows the struggle between the temptation of discovering the unknown - which is the opening to the West - and the awareness and
concern to keep with the known, that is to say the Arabian culture.

Such has been the encounter between the Arab World and the West. The Arabs, too, have found in the sea a magic flagon which they could not resist opening. And out of it has come pouring an overwhelming array of Western cultural accomplishments. Soon they began to feel that unless they could control this flood of intrusive Western offerings, their own traditional culture would suffocate. They tried to coax this Jinni of the West back into its flagon, force him to their bidding, fulfill their wishes, enable them to select what they desire and reject what they dislike - but the name of Allah and the magic seal of Solomon did not seem to work any longer. The Arab fisherman and the Jinni of the West became locked in a gigantic struggle which took place simultaneously on both a physical and a spiritual level. A struggle which is all the more dangerous for the fisherman, since he can never be sure in his mind whether he really wants to accept or to reject a particular gift, and whether or not the Jinni offers it to him with a benevolent smile or a sardonic grin. (46)

The strain of ideologies and political thought which flooded the Arab world, since the beginning of this century, was faced with astonishment by the Arabs and attempts were made to understand them. A nation which suffered centuries of desperation, backwardness and lacking came face to face with the advanced West. The Arabs as intellectuals took three different stands in reacting to the western mind. Some did not hesitate to call for the adoption of all the
western civilisation, with all the scientific findings and schools of thought, art and literature. Others denounced this materialistic, decayed civilisation and called for the full adoption of the Arab-Islamic culture and traditions as the only way forward for the advancement and personal development of all Arab societies. While finally some preferred compromising in both, and called for the adoption from each of them selectively.

It is quite difficult to draw a clear line between the various schools of thought, because although they all vary in their approach and view of things, they are interlinked on several grounds. This could explain the appearance of different compromising sects in these schools such as the communist Muslims, the Nationalist Muslims,...

In the Arab World today, besides the purely intellectual and mental factors expressed in currents of thought and the effects of religion on its articulate plane, there are factors of a social and economic nature and elements dealing with everyday life that have as much -if not more- effect upon religious life as theological and philosophical ideas. "In fact in the Islamic world today in general, and the Arab world in particular, Islam is being corroded more by the penetration of foreign modes of everyday living than by the scientific or agnostic philosophical ideas which had affected Christianity so greatly since the Renaissance". (47)

For centuries the hostilities between Christianity (represented mostly by the Europeans) and Islam (represented for a very long time by the Arabs) have been a barrier to any
effort to develop better understanding between the two. It is a barrier which neither Islam, lacking of voice in the West, nor the West, secure in its own position, has been greatly concerned to penetrate. On the bases of this point I believe that a better understanding and more reliable representation of one another is a possibility and vital requirement for better co-operative international peace, security, and understanding. We will come to this point in the coming chapters.
(1)- LEWIS, Bernard, *THE ARABS IN HISTORY*, Hutchinson of London, 1970, (p. 9)

(2)- NUTTING, Anthony, *THE ARAB*, (A Narrative History from Muhammad to present). Hollis & Carter Ltd. London. (p. 7)


(4)- Abu-Sulayman Abdulhamid A. *THE ISLAMIC THEORY OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS*, International Institute of Islamic Thought, Brentwood, Maryland, USA, 1987 (p. 23)


(7)- Abu-Sulayman. op. cit. (p. 23)

(8)- Ibid. (p. 30)

(9)- Ibid. (p. 32)

(10)- the Holy Quran (29:46)

(11)- Ibid. (2:256)

(12)- See ZIADI, Khalid. *THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MUSLIMS VIEW OF EUROPE*, (Chapter one), Institute for Arab Development, Beirut, 1973

(13)- Abu-Sulayman. op.cit. (p. 36)

(14)- ZIADI, op.cit.(p. 156)

(15)- Ibid. (p. 157)

(16)- Some scholars have explained the terms as referring to the lighter skin colour of Europeans, seen as yellow, i.e., blonde in contrast to the brown and black of Asia and Africa. This seems unlikely Arab and Persians authors, usually call Whites white, not yellow. Moreover, they rarely speak of Europeans in terms of race or colour. While aware, sometimes sharply, of the contrast between themselves and their darker-skinned neighbours to the south and east, they
attached less importance to the somewhat lighter complexions of their neighbours to the north.


(20) - Abu-Sulayman. op.cit. (p.19)

(21) - Asad, Muhammad. Islam at the Crossroads. Noor Publishing House, Delhi 1987, (p.65)

(22) - Abu-Sulayman. op.cit. (p.19)

(23) - Patai. op.cit. (p.298)


(25) - A quick survey of the way in which, the travellers and the scholars, were seen through Arab eyes is enough to prove their unpopular image in Arabic literature. Some of the well known names and most influential will be briefly judged through some Arabic literature;

- John Lewis Burkhardt, who was one of the earliest and most important among the English travellers of the Islamic World, under the Muslim name of Sheikh Ibrahim ibn Abdullah, he concludes in his book, Bedouins and Wahabys, that the "Arabs may be styled a nation of robbers whose principal occupation is plunder, the content subject of their thought". He was responsible for creating and reinforcing rather negative images of the Arabs. He died in Cairo 1817.

- Richard Burton,(1821-90), who was another subversive traveller, he used the name Mirza Abdullah which enabled him to visit any where in the Islamic World, even Makkah and Madinah. He is described by some Arabic literature as the Spy. Since he "advised the British to occupy the Middle East, and if necessity required to—even occupy Makkah and Madinah. He also advised the British that the Arabs could be easily guided if one knew how to work on their weak points. He noted that if the British find it necessary to raise regiment of these men, nothing would be easier. Pay them regularly, arm them well, work them hard and treat them with even handed justice, there is nothing else to do, and they would be fit for light infantry.

- William Blunt,(1840-1922), who was less critical of the Arabs than Burton, but that " was because he wanted to win them over so that they could revolt against the Turks...He was interested in destroying the religious bond which unite the Turks and the Arabs from within."(66) But from the works
he produced, the Arabs were depicted as a noble race with a superior culture, who were not contaminated by western civilisation. He sympathised with their aspirations for freedom from foreign domination and, furthermore, he commiserated with the poor common man.

-Charles Doughty, (1843-1926), who used a Muslim name Khalil to travel extensively in Arabia. He, unlike some of his fellow travellers, carried sharp attacks on the Arabs and their traditions and religion, "Doughty seems to have come to the Arab World with a Bible tucked under his arm. His explicit aim was to search for ancient inscriptions to validate his belief in the Holy Book". Doughty stated in one of his books," The Arabian religion of the sword must be tempered by the sword: and were the daughter of Mecca and Madina led captive, the Moslemi should become as Jews".

As a conclusion, one can say, that the works of the Western travellers and the scholars were seen, directly or indirectly, in the Arab world as a work intelligence and spying activity. Some even went further to conclude on their activities by saying, "Such travellers today have been replaced by intelligence agents of western countries like the C.I.A. Its agents have penetrated the Muslim states by posing as journalists or businessmen etc. Intelligence gathering has become more sophisticated through modern technology and is used by the West on the Muslim countries, as these countries are an area of major vested interests".

This era of travellers and scholars had enriched Western societies with a great deal of literature concerning the Arab World, with rather reliable information and fantasies. The next generation of Travellers were military intelligence officers such as G.E. Leachman and T.E. Lawrence, H. St.J. Philby and J.B. Glubb who also specialised in the Middle East. Leachman gathering intelligence in Iraq, Lawrence was working with Sharif Husain of Makkah, Philby had become a close friend of Ibn Saud and Glubb was working in Iran and Jordan. But that was the introduction to a new chapter of the Arab-British relations, in a rather unfriendly tone this time; the colonial period,

(26)- Asaf, op.cit. (p.48)


(28)- Abou-Bakr, Yahya. Labib, Saad, & Kañdil, Hamdy. Op cit. (p 10)


(31)- Ibid. (p. 13)
32) Ibid. (p. 84)

33) Ibid. (p.p. 85-86)

34) Qutub, Mohammad, OUR CONTEMPORARY STATE (Waqiona al-Mu'aser), Al-Madina Publication, Jeddah, 1989


36) Nasr. op.cit. (p 93)


38) Nasr. op.cit.(p. 90)

39) The nationalist movement paid a heavy price, because its leaders tried to unite the Arab world with no real knoweldge or thorugh research of the reality of its differences. They acted emotionally, that led some Arab thinkers to call for Bidmonit or Brosia to unite the Arabs by military force.

- The Socialist Ba'ath Party: which is considered an Arab National, popular, socialist camping organisation. The Party was established in Syria in 1943, under the name of Arab Ba'ath Party, by thre Arab nationalists, Michel Aflak, Salah al-Bitar and Jalal al-Sayed. After joining the Socialist Arab Party in 1952, his name became, the Socialist Arab Ba'ath Party. This Part is nationalist in its belief that the Arab nation is a moral reality, and the national feeling that binds a person to his homeland is a sacred feeling, full of creative power, which can motivate sacrifices, create feeling of resposibilty, and direct to put the humanity of the individual into practical channels, as it was expressed by the Party’s Charter.

- The Syrian Socialist Nationalist Party: which was established secretly by Antun Sa'adih in 1931. The party stands against sectarianism as a divisive force, since the programme of the party is based on national unity. They reject both the Bible and the Qur'an, subscribing an evolutionary theory of life, in which man is the last development in a long process of evolution. In the structure of political unity, the Party viewed "the Syrian nation is of ancient ancestry, reaching back even before known history. The nation is considered to be the result of an ethnic mixture of Canaanites, Akkadian, Chaldeans, Ashoreans, Armenians, Medes and Hities. The Syrian nation is the throbbing heart of Syria, If the Syrians form one complete nation, then the Syrian question is a national one ( that is to say the Palestinian question) which stands by itself, independent of any other question."
The Patri did not see the Arab world as one political component, rather it divided the Arab world into four regions:

- al-Magrib al-Arabi (the North African Arab states without Egypt, i.e. Libya, Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco).
- The Nile Valley (Egypt and Sudan)
- al-Jazirah al-Arabiah (the Arabian Peninsula)
- and, the most important, The Syrian Fertile Crescent (Palestine, Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, Iraq and Cyprus)

The Nassirists (al-Nassirieen) are the followers of Jamal Abdel-Nasir's school of nationalism. They were very powerful in the time of Abel-Nasir and the few years that followed his death. They are the callers of a united Arab republic, which would stretch from the Gulf to the Ocean. The nassirists have traditionally had good links with the Soviet Union and the Eastern Block. They hold a great suspicion of the western imperialistic regimes.

(40) - Patai. op. cit. (p. 245)
(41) - Ibid. (p. 245)
(42) - Ibid. (p. 245)
(43) - Ibid. (p. 256).

(44) - The argument that Israel was planted in the heart of the Arab land as an imperial tool to prevent any type of Arab unity is a very common statement used by all schools of thought in the Arab world.

(46) - Patai. op. cit. (p. 269)
(47) - Nasr. op. cit. (P. 92)
CHAPTER THREE

Political Cartoons
Chapter Three:

POLITICAL CARTOONS

Introduction

Cartoon and caricature are often dismissed as the lighter side of art. The fact of the matter is that millions and millions of political cartoons, caricatures, satire and comic books are published and sold every year; it would therefore be futile to deny the idea that they have helped to shape the views of their audience. Whether or not their effect has been of a positive or negative kind is open to debate. There can be little doubt, however, that the comic work has been and continues to be a positive success as an art form, particularly in the most basic sense of attracting and holding an audience. As such the cartoon can be seen as "exercising a certain kind of power or influence, as evidenced by the eagerness of companies, institutions and individuals to use the cartoon form for commercial gain". (1)

It would appear that the ancient Egyptians and Greeks were familiar with this type of art. Much of their art work, especially the anthropomorphic depictions that
were printed on papyrus, appear as caricatures. As William Feaver has commented:

"This Greek spirit of parody was applied to even the most sacred mythology. People of the mediaeval world were great admirers of animals and so symbolically domesticated them, depicting their peculiarities as a means of commenting on mankind". (2)

Printing technology has played a significant role in the development of the art of cartooning. In particular, the development of lithography revolutionised the process of publication production, which resulted in the speedier production of greater quantity, had a major impact in expanding the audiences of the art.

Changes in technology have also affected the style of cartoons, as new methods of reproduction have become available. The woodcut was superseded by the copperplate engraving, the engraving by lithography, and the latter by photographic and mechanical means. By the nineteenth century, artistic and industrial revolutions in France and Germany had already changed the face of the cartoon. With the passage of time the art of cartooning became a permanent feature in almost all daily, weekly, monthly and occasional periodicals, not to mention the cartoons only publications, which became very popular and widespread.
The art of political cartooning represents only one page of the book of visual humour in its wider sense; other forms of this art are the gag cartoon, the comic strip, the comic print, the animated cartoon, caricature, and other types of illustration. In this chapter I will focus upon political cartooning, its history and its role in society as a powerful mass medium of communication. In doing so I will be paying particular attention to the phenomenon as it appears in the Arab world where, according to one commentator, caricature and cartoon are far from being the artistic luxuries they might seem, but are "a real necessity, for it represents the most expressive voice of the needs and suffering of society." (3).

CARTOONS AND CARICATURES

One simple way of defining a term is to look it up in a dictionary. The terms caricature and cartoon are often used interchangeably, and the dictionaries provide similar definitions; R. Johnson, in his Dictionary of 1755, defined the verb caricature as "to hold up to ridicule" and the noun as "a drawing that is often symbolic and usually intended as humour, caricature or satire and comment on public and political matters". The recent edition of the Oxford Pocket Dictionary makes a further addition to that definition, "...is a grotesque
representation of a person etc. by over-emphasis of characteristics".

The Italian word Caricatura derives from caricare, meaning to load, charge, exaggerate. The word cartoon comes to us from the Italian and French words for card and paper. A cartoon was originally a preliminary, full-sized sketch for a work of art, drawn on paper. This sketch was then transferred to the wall, ceiling, or large canvas where the final work of art was to be completed. With the arrival of the printing press the cartoon took on another meaning. It became a sketch or an image which could be mass produced and transmitted widely.(4) Due to this very characteristic, the art of cartooning, in the political sense, became increasingly effective. Some would even extend the meaning of the term to include any form of graphical art, "any drawing that encapsulates a complete thought can be called a cartoon."(5).

Caricature, cartoon, the comic strip, and the animated cartoon are a connected series of para-artistic creations. They arose historically in the above order, but since the days of the animated cartoon, all have existed together, all use artistic means and the media, Caricature underlies the others and is present in each. Political cartooning is also to be distinguished from other forms of pictorial arts such as photographs, drawings and newsreels.
What we call a political cartoon consists of pictorial images or drawings along with their accompanying words and captions. The drawing is invariably allegorical or emblematic. The cartoon simplifies and exaggerates. It distils and distorts. As such its purpose is not solely to make us smile but to make us think. This usually implies a degree of fantasy or exaggeration, plus an attempt to use a genuinely 'popular idiom'. This last point is crucial. The key to a cartoon is to be found, "not by examining any particular manner the artist happens to adopt, but by trying to discover what kind of audience he has in his mind's eye". (6)

Political cartooning has naturally flourished best when great political issues and figures have held the nation's attention. A significant feature of the political cartoon's power is that they can frequently be understood by people who are illiterate or relatively uneducated. Their message lies in their picture rather than their words. As one political leader is reported to have remarked about the cartoons of Thomas Nast in Harper's Weekly: "I don't care a straw for your newspaper articles, My constituents don't know how to read. But they can't help seeing them damn pictures." (7)

Besides the nature of political cartoon as an easy to understand published form of material, it tends to
simplify a complex news story and make it easier to understand by consolidating it into a single picture. In addition, of course, it draws the attention of people because of its humour. People tend to look at cartoons because they are entertaining. Indeed, some people have coined a new term to depict cartoons as infortainment - they serve to inform and to entertain. (8)

Since the cartoon makes us laugh, it may not seem serious. Nevertheless, by most standards—whether social, psychological, economic, political, or artistic—the cartoon is a unique force in modern society. Moreover it seems to be growing in importance, as one of the leading communication tools in the mass media work.

The cartoon is communication to the quick in several senses. According to Les Daniels:

"It grabs the reader on the run. It is lively, it can tickle the funny bone or hurt to the quick. In an era when the media are increasingly fast-paced and visual, the cartoon seems to capture the best – and perhaps the worst – of modern communication". (9)

What are the requirements of a good political cartoon? The first necessary condition is that it must attract attention. A second requirement is that it should be humorous. A further feature of a good cartoon is its
veracity. The characters depicted must be instantly recognisable and the situation presented must possess at least a rough fidelity to fact. In addition, one could also argue that an important characteristic of an outstanding cartoon is its moral purpose. Unless it is informed by some moral concern, then a cartoon is unlikely to achieve the quality of universality that is the hallmark of any classic form of art.(10)

HISTORY OF POLITICAL CARTOONING IN THE WEST

The history of the art of cartooning in general can be traced as far back as several thousand years before the advent of Christ, even as early as the ancient Pharaonic Egyptian civilisation. Some researchers refer its origin to a few thousand years B.C. Thus, according to Heller,

"Cartoons were born in the far Aurignacian days of 20,000 B.C, when a squat, hirsute, browless man one morning dipped his stick in a dark rooty liquid, bent straight again, and, on the cave wall of Lascaux, drew a joke about men running after buffalo... "(11).

But the art of political cartooning, as it is understood in the contemporary political dictionary, can be traced back to the late eighteenth century and the early nineteenth century. Comic art in Britain during
this period was dominated by James Gillray and Thomas Rowlandson. The Punch artists, on the whole, were much better book illustrators than cartoonists. However, it is important to note that Punch had a tremendous impact on the basic form of graphic humour inasmuch as it was here that the captioned cartoon was perfected. Also significant was Vanity Fair, which published countless colour lithographs by Carol Pellegrini (Ape), Leslie Ward (Spy), and other leading caricaturists and cartoonists (12).

The launching of Punch in 1841 marked the great change from prints to press. It tamed the output of cartoons and channelled them into certain predictable patterns of comment which became cliches of British-middle class humour for almost a century. Recurrent treatment and recurrent themes were established to cover the variety of topics which became programmed structure for family entertainment. Other European societies displayed the same process of development of the art, since the spread of the printing media flourished all over the continent.

The history of political cartooning in the United States during the nineteenth century may, with respect to the media, be divided into four somewhat vaguely defined periods. The first was that of woodcuts and copper engravings, usually issued as separate publications. The second period, in which cartooning became more varied and
abundant, was ushered in by the establishment of commercial lithography. The third began about 1830 and endured until well after the Civil War. Then began the era during which weekly publications reigned over the field, and which has continued into the present century (13).

**POLITICAL CARTOONING IN THE ARAB WORLD**

When Khalid Kishtainy's book Arab Political Humour, was first published in 1985, The Times newspaper included it among the year's ten most bizarre titles (14).

Although the art of cartooning, as mentioned before, could be traced back to the early Egyptian civilisation, the lack of reliable and comprehensive research in this area makes it difficult for me to widen my approach to the subject and present a definitive history of the development of the art amongst the Arabs. Nevertheless, as far as the written literature is concerned, humour and satire has never been in short supply. There are many medieval collections of jokes and anecdotes, especially on fools and their follies. Thus, according to Kishtainy,

"Years before Shakespeare, the Arabs recognised not just the existence of the village fool, but the importance of acting like one in this foolish world. Thus we have Ibn al-Jawzi’s book 'Fools and pretending Fools'. Juha is a typical
Shakespearian fool. You don’t know whether he is ultra-wise or damned stupid." (15).

In general the art of human drawing was not a popular one in the Arab world, because of Islam’s prohibition regarding the drawing of humans or animals, which gave more chance for other forms of arts to be established. Nonetheless there were isolated examples of caricature like the Egyptian colossal statues and some of the glaring figures of ancient Babylonia, and during the Middle Ages al-Wasiti, a book illustrator from Baghdad, produced some funny representational pictures illustrating the humorous stories of al-Hariri’s *Makammat*.

The genuine attempt at caricature art did not begin until the mid-nineteenth century, when a certain Egyptian artist, Yacoub Sannu’, published his satirical magazine *abou-Nadhara Zarqa (The Man With The Blue Spectacles)*, in Cairo in 1877 and then in exile in Paris. In the following year he launched a more mature publication named, *Altankit wa Al-tabkit (Joking and Censure)*, in which Sannu’ was very critical of the East and the social habits and traditions of its inhabitants. Although Sannu’ claimed that his publications were dedicated to humour and that he was not concerned with getting involved in religion or national politics, his work was full of political criticism of the governing system in Egypt and the Turkish personalities. This explains why he was
forced into exile later on. (16) His method of criticism took the form of defending the wrong - in order to highlight it. In such a fashion he 'defended' the corruption and the despotism of Khedive Ismael, the head of the government in Egypt. His other main target was the British and their colonisation of Egypt. He hated the British - both as an Egyptian patriot and as a Francophile. After he was exiled to France, Sannu' launched in Paris a series of newspapers with different names revolving around the same issues, and succeeded in smuggling them back to Egypt.

A few years later, another satirical newspaper was launched in Egypt. Al-Nadim urged the people to rise and fight the foreign occupation of the country. The paper directed its wrath against the Khawajas (the foreigners), who controlled the political and social life of the Egyptians who became strangers in their own land. This particular publication recorded in a short-hand style many of the abuses practiced by the Khawajas in the country. Another satirical magazine issued in Egypt was Misbah al-Sharg (the (torch) light of the East) published and edited by Ibrahim al-Muwaylihi, who was known for his direct, sharp and brutal satire. Cairo was the launching field for most of the satirical (and non-satirical) newspapers and magazines then.

These pioneers paved the way for a series of humorous and satirical newspapers to appear in the early
twentieth century, such as: Khayal al-Zil (Shadow Puppets) of Ahmad hafiz Awad, al-Sayf (the Sword), al-Masamir (the Nails) and as-Sa’iga (the Thunderbolt). (17)

Just after the First World War, Cairo was the birthplace for a considerable number of humorous and satirical magazines which reflected the new social and political environment which dominated the Arab World after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire and the spread of the European civilisation and the adaptation of the western ways of life. In 1921 Sulayman Fawzi started al-Khashkul (The Copy Book) to oppose the anti-British nationalist leader and founder of the Wafd party. This led to the launch of Rose al-Youssef magazine in 1925. Rose al-yousef acted as a virtual training school in this field, and many of the most famous cartoonists and satirical journalists in the Arab world worked with the magazine. This publication was very critical of the Arab society and the Egyptians who connected themselves to the rest of the Islamic culture. The severity of its criticism of the traditions, especially of those based on religious teachings, and its call for the rejection of all that was old in the society and the adoption of western values and practices, made it the most controversial magazine of its time. It became known as an anti-Islamic magazine, and was subjected to a continuous attack upon its team members and its owner; spear-headed by the conservative section of the Egyptian society. "Is it part of Egypt’s destiny that the minds of her sons and their right to
express their opinion must remain subject to a handful of old men afflicted with gout and indigestion?" responded one of Rose al-Yousef's contributors(18). Rose al-Yousef remained the most successful cartoon and satire magazine in the Arab world for a number of years until the Lebanese Ad-Dabour appeared on the market and presented it with strong competition.

In the 1930s and 1940s numerous magazines appeared in Egypt as well as in other parts of the Arab world, committed almost entirely to the subject of humour and satire. They included such publications as Al-masri Effendi which was launched in 1932 by Muhammad al-Tabi'i and Sarikhian. According to Kishtainy, "With these cartoonists, the art of the caricature reached its maturity and began to make a great impact on the politicians, so much so that Hussain Sirri Pasha felt very upset by the white hair which Sarukhan was giving him and invited the gifted artist to have a good look at his real black hair."(19).

In 1934 Mohammad al-Tabi'i launched the second most powerful magazine in the Arab world of that period, Akhir Sa'a (the Last Hour) which became the first challenger to Rose al-Youssef and produced many well-known Arab cartoonists and humorous journalists such as Mustafa Amin and Ahmad al-Sawi.
Egypt acted in this century as the trend-setter and cultural centre for the Arab World. Cairo was the birthplace for many—if not most—of the well-established and influential Arab papers. This remained the situation up to the mid-1940s when Beirut arose to become the home for several newspapers and magazines, especially opposition journalism. It became the publishing centre for the Middle East and most of the international publishers had an office in the city. Again, that was because of the flexibility of the publishing and censorship laws in the country. This was the case up to the beginning of the civil war in 1975 which devastated the country. Lebanon saw some of the most influential caricature papers and magazines, many of which were produced by non-Lebanese Arabs. Al-Dabbour, produced by al-Sayyad Publications was particularly renowned for its severe attacks on the politicians and the political systems in the Arab world. Many Arab cartoonists and satirical journalists based their work in Lebanon before fleeing the country under the pressures of the civil war.

Baghdad was also one of the main centres for an active press. Michael Tays (20) was the first to publish in 1931 a satirical magazine in Iraq, named Kannas al-Shawari' (the Street Sweeper). This was followed by Khalaf Shawki al-Dawoodi's Qarandal. In the same year Nouri Thabit launched his Habazbuz. After the war some new names emerged in the field of the satirical press, such as Al-Wadi (the Valley) by Khalid al-Durra. In
general the satirical press has not been one of the strong characteristics of Iraqi journalism. Iraqi fame in the cultural sphere resides more in the spheres of poetry and linguistics.

Elsewhere in the Arab world, as early as 1929 Syria produced the satirical publication *Al-Mudhhik al-Mubkhi* (The Weeping Joker) by Habib Kahhala which continued for 36 years. Concerning the early satirical press in the Arab Peninsula there is not a lot to report. Nevertheless, it is becoming one of the popular arts in the contemporary press. Some of the well known Arab cartoonists such as Naji al-Ali based themselves in Kuwait after the worsening situation in the Lebanon. In Saudi Arabia Mohamad al-Khonaifer produces a series of cartoon magazine-like publications which are very popular in the Gulf states.

On the western perimeter of the Arab world, in the Maghreb, Bayram al-Tunisi, in association with other humorists, launched in 1932 one of the pioneering satirical publications in the Arab North African countries. Entitled *Al-Shabab* (the Youth), it attracted a number of well known critics in that part of the Arab world. *Al-Shabab* was not the first attempt to start a humorous publication there. Other publications, such as *al-Nadeem*, 1921-1940, were very critical of the western intrusion into the Muslim society. In the contemporary period, the Algerian *As-Sah Affah* (The Truth is Disaster)
could be considered as the most influential satirical newspaper in North Africa.

The general absence of good and influential Arab satirical papers these days can be blamed primarily on the type of regimes which are in control of the Arab world. Many — if not all — of the strong and influential satirical publications disappeared as soon as the Arab countries gained independence. In the words of Khalid Kishtainy:

"Here again we had the same ironical situation in which independence led to the banishment of its champions. The satirical press disappeared in Tunisia as it did in Egypt and other state-controlled societies where the press has been nationalized, and journalists and writers have become the paid hirelings of the government — as dull, ineffective and corrupt as its civil servants". (21)

Whereas virtually every daily newspaper or weekly magazine in the contemporary Arab world carries at least one leading political cartoon/editorial, there is a paucity of specialised satirical publications. For the unfortunate Arab cartoonist there is little possibility of establishing publications which are devoted only to caricature and satire. Even some of the already established caricature newspapers and magazines are not
moving in the right direction, since three of them abandoned their work as a result of financial problems or perhaps as a result of the Gulf War. The Paris-based Al-Hadaf (the Target) had to stop its publication because of the financial pressure, the same could apply to the London-based Al-Sakhir.

This situation, in addition to the lack of democracy and restricted space for criticism, alongside the other obstacles facing Arab cartoonists, has led to the emigration of most of them to work outside the Arab world, either in Arabic newspapers and magazines in the west or in the western media itself, as we can see through a few examples concerning some well-known Arab cartoonists which are given in appendix A.

Such an exodus from the region is a sad reflection on the state of publishing in the Arab world. For, as one Arab writer has reflected:

"If it is true that satire springs from the womb of adversity, then we may regard the whole Arab region as a vast gallery and every Arab a caricaturist. The Arab world is probably the one area that needs cartoonists most". (22)
The Role of the Political Cartoon in Image Making

Does an editorial cartoon serve only as a tool for arousing interest or can a reader’s opinion be changed by means of a cartoon? The cartoon is believed to be quite effective at persuasion because it operates on an emotional level rather than an intellectual one. Many researchers therefore claim that because of its emotional content, it is difficult to disagree with the message conveyed by a cartoon on a logical and intellectual basis. However, it should be pointed out that besides changing opinions, political cartoons can also act to reinforce the viewpoints which people already hold.

For communication purposes, does the cartoon possess any particular advantages or disadvantages? According to one writer the answer would be yes:

"... it has all the advantages of speed and all the dangers of haste. It simplifies and exaggerates, so it has all the advantages of clarity, and all the disadvantages of distortion. It is humorous, with all the advantages of amusement, and all the dangers of diversion". (23)

Some researchers would insist on the role of political cartooning as a means of propaganda rather than a means of communicating information. Thus, it is argued that political cartoons share certain fundamental features with forms of propaganda. Both appeal to the
emotions rather than simply to the intellect. Both seek to advance a position or present a view in a manner which endeavours to persuade rather than to present a balanced overview.

Others would argue against this stance. They claim that if a political cartoon serves to clarify an issue, then it cannot be dismissed as propaganda. (24). Clearly the objective of most cartoons is to make an issue more understandable to the reader. Therefore, it seems reasonable to state that many cartoons may be considered to be propagandistic in nature. However it would be incorrect to attribute such quality to all cartoons since some of them merely seek to clarify political events for the reader.

However, it must be recognised that political cartoons do seek to influence political thought and action:

"Caricature and cartoons, however, do not aim at the immortal art aspect of the cult of beauty but at influence and political practice. Political cartooning thus includes debunking and downgrading, prestige deflation, in sharp contrast to mass-reproduction commercial art in the form of advertising material, which is almost totally concerned with build-up techniques and prestige inflation". (25)
A key part of this process is, of course, stereotyping of individuals, groups, nations and other targets of the cartoonist's pen. At the same time it can be argued that by presenting a stereotype image of something that causes fear in the mind of the reader, by presenting our enemy as small and inferior, despicable or comic, and by causing the reader to laugh at the image presented, the cartoonist is providing the reader with a vicarious sense of victory over that which causes fear. Of course, in the process the cartoonist might be providing the reader with a stereotyped image of an enemy or perceived threat which can become the scapegoat for the reader's fears and frustrations.

Cartoon Symbols and National Character:

In any society and in every culture, a special set of characteristics is always designated as being the key to understanding the others. The national character is based upon these particular features, and usually these characters are nothing but a group of symbols which collectively form the stereotypes. Stereotypes persist in international relations and intercultural communication because they furnish a comparatively easy way to interpret unknown phenomena in a foreign culture. This should not mean that national stereotypes are completely devoid of truth, and consequently worthless. On the contrary, these generalisations provide a starting point which can lead to the creation of remarkable insights.
into national consciousness. The danger to avoid is the perpetuation of myths which do nothing but reinforce commonly-held misconceptions about other peoples.

The cartoonist, in order to be appreciated by his audience, must depict those situations, attitudes, and character traits which his compatriots view as authentic in their particular society. Especially if a cartoonist has achieved national popularity, and has necessarily hit upon a large number of universally recognised features. That is to say that the cartoonist is the "victim of his own cultural codes, and transmits, wittingly or unwittingly, precious information about his own society. It is precisely the cartoonist's cultural entrapment which makes his productions so special as a resource for civilisational inquiry". (26)

Every nation or society maintains a collection of key symbols of others. The cartoonist's job usually is to interpret these symbols into pictorial images which help him in putting the message through, and assist the reader in understanding and, subsequently, re-coding these pictorial images and transferring them into attitudes, views and feelings towards the parties involved.

**STUDYING CARTOONS**

The political cartoon is generally believed to be a form of persuasive communication. It has been credited with the power to create and manipulate public opinion.
In addition, the cartoon itself has been described as consisting of practically pure opinion. Thus the study of political cartoons of a particular period leads to a clear insight of the opinion makers of that time.

The study of cartoons is itself comparatively recent. Justifying the academic investigation of cartoons requires that we first define what the aim of such an investigation should actually be. Here two questions seem to be paramount: Is the cartoon in question worth studying for its intrinsic merit? Does the cartoon in question tell us anything about a particular aspect of society either now or then?

Despite their limitations, political cartoons are invaluable to the student of political history, since they recall the main events which were occupying the minds of the people in previous times. Cartoons are singularly useful in portraying the spell which various personalities have cast over the public mind.

In order to understand the dynamics of conflict and peace between individuals, groups, nations and states, it is vital that attention be paid to the emotions of the participants in the conflict in addition to their cognitive processes. Insofar as cartoons present a more affectively-oriented view of political events than headlines and editorials, then cartoons can be considered a fundamental source of insight into the dynamics and
perceptions of parties to those conflicts which are the target of the cartoonist's attention.

At the same time one has to acknowledge that there are problems in using political cartoons as a source of insight and information about social and political phenomena. The interpretation of media material in general is a very risky business, since the researcher is assuming that the creator of the material is trying to deliver this or that message, while in fact it might not be true because the researcher's comprehension will depend on his/her background. Again, it is true that the message (the material) might not influence all the consumers (audiences) in the same way, due to their different interpretations of the same material and their response will be different according to their backgrounds, personalities, education, interests and so forth.

One of the advantages of choosing political cartoons for research is the relatively international language usually used by the cartoonists to express their ideas of things, personalities and issues. I am aware of the cultural differences and other factors which will differentiate cartoonists from different cultures, but the symbols and codes used to form the overall image are relatively common. Thus, the olive branch or the white dove are fairly universally recognisable as symbols of peace. The gun, the knife, or the sword - and blood -
will invariably remind the reader of violence, war and bloodshed.

CONCLUSION

The ruler's traditional fear of the political cartoon is based upon at least three elements: (a) the cartoon's savage ability to depict in unflattering caricature; (b) the cartoon's ability to crystallize complex issues into a simple metaphor, a mobilizing call for action; and, (c) the cartoon's availability, even to those who may not be especially literate or politically aware (27).

Certainly as typically used, cartoons conjure up connotations or overtones of fun or entertainment. But that which distils and distorts can cause anger and tears in addition to laughter.

Insofar as cartoons present 'distilled images' of how a particular group or collectivity sees itself and others, as expressed through the imagination and skill of the cartoonist, then they constitute an invaluable source of information about the core (and frequently unquestioned) features of a group's view of the world and of the other groups which constitute part of the world. In a similar fashion, the political cartoons of the present will inform future generations concerning the
ideas, views, attitudes, controversial issues and personalities that have dominated our times.

The purpose of the coming chapters will be to analyse and categorise the views and the attitudes of Arabs towards western societies and states, as reflected in the political cartoons of the London-based Arab media.
FOOTNOTES

(1)- Harrison, Randell P. *THE CARTOON, COMMUNICATION TO THE QUICK*, Sage Publications, Beverley Hills, 1981 (P 28)


(5)- Nevins, Allan & Weitenkampf, Frank *A CENTURY OF POLITICAL CARTOONS* Caricature of the United states from 1800 to 1900, Octagon Books, New York, 1975. (p 13)


(12)- Ibid. (p 40-3)

(13)- Nevins, op. cit (p 11)


(15)- Ibid. (P.4)

(16)- Yacoub, annu’ is considered by many of the art historians as a French agent who was financed and used by the French authorities against the Turkish rule, and therefore he was sentenced accordingly. (See, Al-Hayat
newspaper, Feb, 1992, Article "Is Sannu’ An French Agent or a Liberal Artist?)


(18)- Ibid. (P. 70)

(19)- Ibid. (P. 83-6)

(20)- It is interesting to note that Micheal Tays was another of those pioners falling under the impact of western education. He graduated from the American Jesuit College in Baghdad. Tays was unfortunate to try that kind of writing in Iraq, only a few months later he almost died from assassin’s bullet 1932, according to Kishtainy, Khalid (ARAB POLITICAL HUMOUR ) see pages: 85-99

(21)- Kishtainy, (1985) op.cit. (P 99)


(23)-Roger, Malbert, LAUGHING TO SCORN, The Independent Magazine, 10 February 1990 ( pp 40-43)


(27)-Modlin, op.cit. (p 21)
CHAPTER FOUR

The United Kingdom Based
Arab- Owned
Newspapers and Magazines
CHAPTER FOUR

THE UNITED KINGDOM BASED ARAB-OWNED NEWSPAPERS AND MAGAZINES

Introduction:

The people of the twenty-one Arab states feel bound together by strong cultural and psychological ties, most of them share a single culture, language, and religion, and their sense of common destiny is very high. In spite of these commonalities, a great variety of different political and economical systems exist in the Arab world, and that in turn is reflected in the type of mass communication media in the different Arab societies. A considerable number of Arabs live outside the Arab world, some estimates put the number up to twenty percent of the whole population. For some countries like Lebanon, for example, the number of the Lebanese who are living abroad is higher than that of those who are living in the country [four million abroad and three million in Lebanon]. The Palestinians for understandable reasons are dispersed over several countries in western Europe and North America, the Middle East, and elsewhere.

Although it is not the purpose of my study, it would be a very beneficial and greatly interesting research work to study the role and influence of the mass communication media in the different Arab societies. Mass media serve the function.
everywhere of disseminating messages from single originators to mass audiences, and their roles are circumscribed to that degree. But the precise function and structure of the media in a particular country can only be understood within the context of existing political and other factors in that country. Therefore, as there are common cultural and other elements in the Arab world, there are some similarities in Arab media systems. Likewise, the political, economic, and other differences are naturally reflected in their media systems(1). Being part of the collective Arab media efforts, the mass circulation media owned and produced, outside the Arab world, by the Arabs, are in every sense a reflection of the Arab press, due to the fact that these media are effectively under fewer restrictions than those which exist in the Arab societies.

In this chapter we aim to produce an overview and analysis of the London-based Arab newspapers and magazines, with regard to their policy-stance, their financial backing and their style.

MASS COMMUNICATION IN THE ARAB WORLD:

The first newspapers that appeared in the Arab world were not private but official government publications. Napoleon printed in 1798 *Courier de L'Egypt*. The first Arab newspapers - the first periodical publication carrying news written by and for Arabs—was apparently *Jurnal al Iraq* that began appearing in Arabic and Turkish in Baghdad in 1816. Two Arab
newspapers were published in Cairo in the 1820s; Algeria followed in 1847, Beirut in 1858, Tunnis 1861, Damascus 1865, Tripoli (Libya) in 1866, San’a 1879, Casablanca 1889, Khartoum 1899, and Mecca 1908. The first Arabic daily was published in Beirut in 1873 (2).

Growing literacy and the improvement of living standards in the Arab world have helped the mass communication, especially the printed media, to become quite important in the lives of the 170 million people who live in the Arab world. Nevertheless, the Arab press still reaches only a highly select audience. Lebanon is the one Arab country which has surpassed the UNESCO minimum standard of daily newspapers circulation. Low literacy rates are the main inhibiting factor in newspaper circulation; Lebanon’s 86 percent literacy rate is far ahead of that in most Arab countries (3). The situation in Lebanon due to the civil war which has devastated the country’s economic, as well as political and educational systems, has had a great negative impact on the country’s reputation as the Middle East centre for publishing. Many of the international publishers, to whom Beirut used to be an important centre, have closed their offices in the city for somewhere else safer in the Middle East.

There are several ways to classify the press in the Arab world, and elsewhere, according to such factors as: the financial support, the ownership, the style of publication, the policy of the publication and the policy of the regime under which the publication is operating, the duration of
publishing etc. But in this rather brief introduction I will be grouping the Arab press into three subtypes, based on a typology suggested by the work of William Rugh. (4)

The Mobilization Press does not criticise the basic policies of the national government. The government's foreign policies are particularly unassailable, but in addition the major lines of domestic policy are never attacked. The newspapers may carry stories and editorials critical of government service at the local level, such as the shortage of electricity or shortcomings of the public sanitation department. In these cases, however, the lower-level bureaucrat rather than the national leadership is held responsible, and the criticism serves a pedagogical purpose for the leadership as well as providing an outlet for very limited debate. The mobilisation press never criticise the personalities heading the national government. And a third characteristic of this type of press is that there is no significant diversity on important political issues among newspapers in any of the Arab countries where this system of press prevails [Egypt, Iraq, Syria, Sudan, Algeria, Libya, Yemen]. In this type of press the regime influences the press primarily through its control over personnel. Even though the state does not own the press, the regime is able to assure itself of basic press loyalty because of the people who run it. (5)

The Loyalist Press's most prominent characteristic is that the newspapers are constantly loyal to and supportive of
the regime in power despite the fact they are privately owned. As in the previous category, the press in this group tend not to question the ruling regime, criticise the personalities of the governing body or the national and international policies prevailing in the countries where this type of press is found. Nevertheless, although it has some similarities with the mobilization press, the loyalist press can be differentiated from the other two groups by the tone and the style it adopts. The loyalist press tends to be more passive. On the whole, it avoids critical issues, and it is slower to react editorially to events, and tends to be more muted in its commentaries and it avoids the language and opinions of aggressive revolutionary journalism which are characteristics of the mobilization press. Even though the papers in this category are in private hands, government controls are closely exercised over this type of press, especially in a time of national emergency by asserting to editors that the national interest requires loyal support of the regime and its policies during the crisis. The government has another asset which also helps give it practical influence over press content. In all of these countries the government is a major source of revenue to the newspapers, in the form of official government advertisement, subscriptions for government employees, and in some cases direct subsidies. This says something about the important role played by the government in the economy of the paper. This type of press is clearly present in: Jordan, Tunisia, Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Qatar, United Arab Emirates and Oman(6).
The Diverse Press: This category of press can be called diverse because its most significant distinguishing characteristic is that the newspapers are clearly different from each other in content and apparent political tendency as well as style. They are privately owned and reflect a variety of viewpoints. Substantial diversity in the press implies that at least some of the newspapers, if not all, print news and opinion that is not necessarily supportive of the regime in power. The newspapers in this category are relatively free and offer a variety of news and opinion to the reader, unlike those of the other two categories. In the Arab world the best example of this type of press can be seen in Lebanon. Kuwait(7) and Morocco have also developed press systems which in many respects follow patterns similar enough to put them in this general category.

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The following table (table No.1) illustrates the different types of press which exist in the Arab world, their characteristics and the countries where the system prevails.

### Typology of Arab Press Systems

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Press Characteristics</th>
<th>Mobilisation</th>
<th>Loyalist</th>
<th>Diverse</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ownership</td>
<td>regime agents</td>
<td>private</td>
<td>private</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Variety among papers</td>
<td>non-diverse</td>
<td>non-diverse</td>
<td>diverse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attitudes towards regime</td>
<td>support</td>
<td>support</td>
<td>pro and con</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Style and tone</td>
<td>active</td>
<td>passive</td>
<td>varied</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Political condition

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ruling group</th>
<th>Public debate</th>
<th>Public opposition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>revolutionary</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>non-existent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>traditionalists</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>non-existent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Various</td>
<td>active</td>
<td>institutionalized</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Countries where System Prevails

<table>
<thead>
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*(Table No. 1)*

Many communication organisations have no research departments in any meaningful sense: the few that do exist in the Arab countries work under unfavourable conditions and conduct most of their research within a narrow and limited context (such as audience research)\(^8\) These research bodies, moreover, are "administrative units whose boards of directors are responsible for the communication programmes which they are required to evaluate as part of their normal research work. This sometimes puts them in a difficult position, and this condition of dependency means that research departments do not possess the independence necessary for scientific work"\(^9\), and "much of the content of the Arab media is created not by professional journalists in the modern sense but by educated Arabs who have careers outside the mass media"\(^10\).

Communication in the Arab world is in need of a great deal of development based on scientific research to define major problem areas and to provide a comprehensive assessment of needs. "This points to the present lack of data and information concerning communication facilities and activities, the necessity of preparing a realistic inventory of problems and priorities and the issue of communication policies and planning in general. It is noteworthy, however, that to date there has been no very strong realization in many of the Arab states of the importance of these policies"\(^11\). The poor communication policies and ineffective communication Planning in the Arab world could be the result of the following causes \(^12\):
- Long-range planning in the scientific sense is still, in most cases, the monopoly of economic planners. Indeed, the meaning of the term is not entirely clear, as often as not, to those responsible for communication policy-making.

- Communication planning commissions, where they exist, concern themselves for the most part with political events or current situation, with the result that it is almost impossible for them to devote a fair amount of attention to the subject of long-range integrated communication planning.

- Failure to appreciate the extent of the role which the mass media could play with respect to economic development plans, either by economic planners or by economic establishment; and mass communication agencies are not adequately represented in social and economic planning operations.

- In most cases there is still no real spirit of co-operation, at the practical rather than the official level, among government organisations whose work involves social, cultural and communication-related development. (13)

The problems of mass communication in the Arab world also characterise the Arab mass communication abroad. Since they are the product of the same institutes or publishing organisations, the Arab media outside the Arab soil could, in many respects, be considered a good representative of the Arab media in general, and the following section will point out
some of the main characteristics and features of the Arab media abroad or the emigratory press (14) as it is commonly labelled in the Arab world.

Since Arab immigrants exist in large numbers in many parts of the world, especially in Canada and the United States of America, Brazil, West Europe and Australia, many of these countries witness in one way or another some kind of (Arab) media production, either in the form of radio broadcasting or press publishing, and in some cases even television broadcasting such as the Middle East Broadcasting Centre (started in London July 1991). The great bulk of the Arab-operated mass media outside the Arab world is based in London and Paris. In each of these cities there are at least forty publications which appear daily or weekly. The United States and Germany (West Germany) come next of those countries where a good number of Middle-Eastern and Arab-related journals is produced. For practical reasons this chapter will concentrate on the Arab mass media published in Britain only.

BRITAIN-BASED ARAB-OWNED MASS MEDIA

The main objective of this chapter is to provide an introductory background regarding the Arab-owned press in the U.K. in order to gain an overall view of the styles, policies, financial systems, and type of publications which are produced. The main problem I have faced in writing this chapter is the lack of written material on the UK-based Arab press. The only guide I have found useful is the Morris
International Report, Voice, (Morris International, Report No 7, Vol 2, London 1989). I have also drawn upon my own interviews and observations and the replies I have received from the publications' offices in London (mainly) and other cities in the U.K. (Birmingham, Manchester).

The Morris Report dealt with 32 publications (daily, weekly, monthly) which are Arab-owned and published from London. The total number of Arab-owned publications catering for an Arab readership actually exceeds this number. There are at least 38 magazines and newspapers in the country, some are published outside London, like Al-Ghorabaa in Leeds, Al-Sunnah in Birmingham and Falesteen Al-Muslemah in Manchester.

One feature of the emigratory Arab press in London is that quantitatively, the majority of the publications can be considered in one way or another oppositional in character. But qualitatively, the most prestigious and influential newspapers and magazines among the publications are not opposition publications. Many of these are versions of well-established Arab newspapers (usually with the word International added to the original name), e.g. Al-Ahram International, Al-Thaoura International etc.

It goes without saying that, considering the age of the London-based Arab press and their staff, the Lebanese Civil War played a crucial role in establishing and enriching many of these media empires in London, since many of them used to benefit from Beirut's good reputation as an important centre.

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for publishing in the Middle East. The outbreak of the War in May 1975, and its aftermath drove many Lebanese, let alone others, to leave the country for a more secure and more free environment.

In this chapter, I shall not concentrate on the staff behind the production but on the material as it appears in the market, as my main concern is the material itself, rather than the personnel who produce it. It is, however, worth mentioning here the 'flexible' attitude and policies of many of the journalists in London. Many work in two conflicting publications at the same time. Others just shift from one publication to another, regardless of the opposing policies of them.

Another point which is worth remarking upon is that some of the more tabloid-style papers published from London are targeted exclusively at some of the Gulf states' personalities and some of the rich Arab business men based in the West. They operate as virtual extortioners, or even blackmailers, insofar as they are in the business of selling silence - they are paid by their 'targets' or victims in order to stop them printing embarrassing stories.

Another point worth making here is that the Arab owned press in London is seemingly directed (and targeted) at only Arab audiences, that could be easily picked out when considering the language and the style used, as well as the subjects and the areas covered. Very few of them appear to
consider involving the British masses and audiences. So in journalistic terms, these publications could be considered as physically existing in the British society, but practically they do not belong to the British press. Nevertheless, there is evidence that the Arab British-based press is taking a greater interest in British society, especially after the invasion of Kuwait and the Gulf War.

The way the publications have been classified below and reported on is according to their policies and the nature of their subjects, as well as their ownership. The newspapers and the magazines are classified into seven main categories:

1- Independent press.
2- Official and semi-official papers.
3- Religiously-orientated press.
4- Party-owned publication.
5- Opposition papers.
6- Social and cultural papers.
7- Specialist journals

Many of these publications could fit in more than one category, such as being religiously-orientated and opposition at the same time. In allocating them to a particular category, I have focused upon their most dominant feature.

Finally, a clear observation can be made, when dealing with the UK-based mass media: the absence of the North African Arab representation in the journalistic field. Algeria,
Morocco, Tunisia, Mauritania have no newspaper or magazine published in the UK, although the eastern part of North Africa (Egypt, Libya, and Sudan) do have their own papers here. This is due to the small number of immigrants coming to Britain from the Maghreb and their relative concentration in France and other European countries.

Again, I have divided the research into two periods of time - before and after the invasion of Kuwait. I will explain in the second part of the chapter the reason why I choose the invasion as the dividing line between the two periods.

1. INDEPENDENT PAPERS:

This category includes all the newspapers and magazines which are privately owned, by persons or companies and are not party or government owned, and which present themselves in an independent and neutral way. Many of the publications in this category could fit in other categories, such as opposition papers or religious or secular orientated press. They are placed in this category because of their private ownership and the amount of independent opinion that is given space within the publications.

AD-DASTOUR (The constitution)

This is one of the oldest magazines in the Arab World. Its history goes back to as early as 1927 in Lebanon. One year
after the break of the Civil War in Lebanon it was moved to London (1976) to be published by "Ad-dastour Establishment."

It was originally founded by Khalil Abu-Joudeh (a Lebanese Christian) and then changed hands until Ali Ballout owned it before the Civil War, when it became associated with the Ba‘th Party of Iraq. Now it is owned by Dar-al-Orouba (Pan Arab Publishing Company Limited) and published weekly in Arabic.

The policy of the magazine is pro-Iraq and pro-Sudan, very anti-Syria, anti-American and anti-Iranian. Since the early days it has been critical of Saudi Arabia and the Gulf States. It adopts the Ba‘th’s line in Iraq, attacking all its rivals and linking its opponents to the Israeli line.

STAFF: Shawki Mallasi, Editor in chief; Khaldoun Shama, well known names contribute to the magazine: Ismail Kammal Sammari, Salah Faig, Ali Kassen Ballout.

AL-Ahdath (The Events)

The paper is published in Arabic as an eight-page daily newspaper. It is very limited in terms of readership and circulation; its main interest is the Palestinian cause and Palestinian rights and issues inside and outside the occupied land. The chairman and editor-in-chief is Ali Suleman who owns the paper as well.
AL- Arab (the Arabs)

This paper is published daily in Arabic. The paper is chronologically the first Arabic daily paper in London. The first issue appeared in July 1977. Until 1982 it was owned and chaired by another member of the El-houni family, Rashid El-houni, and ever since it has been chaired by the recent editor-in-chief Ahmed Salhin EL-houni who himself was Minister of Information in the Libyan regime.

Although its claim is "working for Arab unity", most - if not all - its staff are from the opposition in their respective countries. The paper adopts a clear Arab-Nationalist stance theory, Nasir's way. Up to a very recent date the paper was most critical of the Arab Gulf States, especially Saudi Arabia. Currently the shift in its policy towards these states appears plainly.

It is similar to Al-Sharq Al-Awsat (another leading Arabic, London-based newspaper) in the style of some of its emotional and outspoken attacks. Iran and its policy remains a permanent target, it being considered the major threat to the Arab World. Islam and Islamic values are subjects which receive special treatment, but Muslim activists are always attacked in the paper.

The paper was under the spotlight when one of its workers (Saeed Hindawi) was convicted of an attempt to blow up an El-Al plane at Heathrow, London in 1987. Its staff are from
various Arab countries: Libyans, Egyptians, Sudanese, Lebanese, Syrians and Palestinian journalists.

The paper attracts widespread attention in most of the European capitals, especially among the Arab opposition. Some of its articles are produced by well-known Arab opposition members and journalists: Shawki Ibrahim (Egypt), Bakr Oweida (Palestine), Mohieddin Kabarddy, Adel-Murad, Mohammed Mahfouz. Zaki Badawi (a well known face on British TV) writes his Friday talk (Hadith Al-jamha) with his strongly-expressed views on Arab political life. Said Farmawy is the art director and cartoonist of the paper.

AL-Hawadeth International (International Events)

This is one of the most influential magazines in the Arab world. It was started in Lebanon in 1911 by Lutfallah Khallaf. Salim El-Lawzi owned the paper in 1965 and chaired the editorial board. In 1980 he was kidnapped and killed, and a few years after that the paper changed ownership and policy.

The tone of El-lawzi's aggressive political attacks on some leaders and countries in the Arab World were softened. Mrs. El-Lawzi (his widow) took over after his death, but this was a transition period and eventually it settled in the hands of Melhim Karam. The magazine has good relations with the Arab Gulf States, particularly Saudi Arabia.
The magazine is owned by Dar-Alf Leila, which is a Lebanese publishing group which produces 15 publications in Arabic, English and French. (three based in London, a further three based in Paris, and the rest in Lebanon). Mr. Karam, editor-in-Chief of the magazines, is the chairman of the publishing group as well. Well-known names in the magazine are Ghada Al-Samman, Nasha’t Taglibi, Mazin Mustafa and some other bright names in the Arab journalistic field. The paper has offices in many Arab capitals and the U.S.A.

AL-HAYAT (The Life)

Again we are faced with one of the oldest newspapers in the Arab World. It was first published in Lebanon in 1964 by a well-known journalist named Kamel Mroue who was assassinated in Lebanon on May 6th 1966, as a result of his pro-conservative (Saudi) views and anti-Nasser attitudes. The paper managed to survive eleven years after its owner’s death. Then the Civil War in the country helped to force it to cease publication for nearly 12 years, to be reincarnated in London in 1988 by Kamel’s son Jamil Mroue. Jihad Al-Kazem, a Palestinian Christian, is Editor-in-Chief. Jihad himself worked in Saudi-owned papers for years. This could reflect more light on the paper’s policy and recent finance.

The paper continued its founder’s policy as a “right wing” trend with a clear and high level of independence, although opponents’ attacks concentrate on connecting its
policy and funding sources to the Saudis. According to the Morris International Report,

Al-Hayat remains unique in the Arab Press in declining to establish a line of editorial opinion which reflects the policy of the Editor-in-Chief, the publisher, or some appropriate governmental department. In short, whilst being itself right wing the paper allows all views, within broad guide lines, although still tilting towards the right.(p12).

The paper describes itself as "a quality Arabic newspaper for a quality reader". Most of its subjects and reports are connected to Lebanon, the Palestine question comes second, then inter Arab affairs. The Islamic minorities and Muslim 'hot'areas are fairly covered in the paper, especially its wider coverage in Ramadan.

The paper attracts some of the best pens in the Arab World living inside and outside Britain: Kistantin Zoraik, Mahmoud Riyad (former Secretary General of the Leage of Arab States), Abdel-Wahhab Badrakhan, George Sama'n, Nizam Erfan-al Deen, Abdullah Aljefry, Salim Nassar, Ghassan Tueni.

**Al-MAJALLA (The Magazine)**

Started in London in 1980, it is considered to be one of the most influential and respected Arab weekly magazines. It is owned by H.H.Saudi Research and Marketing (U.K.) Limited.
Its publishers are Hisham and Muhammed Ali Al-Hafiz, Saudi businessmen who also own other publications in London. According to ABC (report published in June 1989) the magazine sells 115,386 copies every week which makes it one of the most widely read magazines of the Arab world. The publication has a wide audience, especially in the Gulf States, and it is popular among the Arab immigrants.

"The Magazine" reflects the Saudi Arabian government's views on inter-Arab and international issues. It tackles a host of subjects ranging from politics, social life, religious issues, art, military, 'society' news and poetry. It attracts many well-known contributors such as Fahmi Howaidi (Egyptian), Dr. Mohammad Al-Romaihi (Kuwaiti), Naddim Nasir (Lebanese), Micheal Adams (well-known in Britain), Patrick Seale (expert in Syrian affairs, author of many books on Syrian modern history), Peter Mansfield (well-known author on Arab history), Baland Al-heydary (Iraqi poet), Awni Basheer (Palestinian), Edward Said (Palestinian author and academic), El-Tayeb Salleh (Sudanese writer), and above all the splendid cartoonist Mahmoud Kahil whose works appear in Middle East International and other publications.

AL-QABAS INTERNATIONAL

This is one of those Arabic influential papers. It is owned by Dar-Al-Qabas publishers in Kuwait, where it is based, with an international version published in London. It is widely read and has a good reputation as a "subtle paper". Its
readers range from the leaders to the middle-income readers. The international version has more popularity than the home one, especially among Arab communities in Europe and America. It has a special interest in financial affairs and its clear policy is pan-Arabism.

The paper has an international network of contributors from several Arab backgrounds such as Mohammad Hasanein Heykal, Faisal El-Zamil, Dr. Abdullah Al-Omar, Princess Dr. Suad Al-Sabbah. It also published the work of the outstanding cartoonist Naji Al-Ali who gave to the paper more critical weight in its Arab-Israeli and Arab-Arab political relations. Naji was assassinated in London in 1987.

AL-QUDS AL-ARABI (Arab Jerusalem)

This is the "sister" of the original Al-quds which is published in Jerusalem. It has been newly launched in London for easier distribution in Europe and other Arab countries. It is owned by a Palestinian family based in Jerusalem, Abu-El-Zalaf. The publisher in London is Waleed Abu-El-Zalaf and the Chief Editor is Abdul-Bary Abu-Atwan.

Its policy is close to the mainstream of the PLO. Naturally its main interest is Palestinian issues. It is very critical of the Arabs’ disunity and the handling of the Palestinian people and their activities in the various Arab countries. It has a special interest in Arafat's initiatives and fully supports the PLO policies.
This is
A unique Arabic newspaper in London as it is not considered an opposition paper. Well established, financed and produced, it is simultaneously printed in Dharham, Riyadh, Jeddah, Casablanca, Cairo, Marseilles, Paris, London and New York which gives it availability all over the world. It is widely read in the Gulf (especially Saudi Arabia) and by the Arabic speaking communities in Western countries. The publication is another product of the Saudi Research and Marketing Company, published by the same brothers Hisham and Mohammad Ali Hafiz who produce the "Majallah", and who have a long history of working for and establishing media institutions. The policy of the paper is conservative, anti-left, and anti-communist, and allows a wide range of ideas to be expressed in it. It supports the Saudi government's policies and is critical of Arab disunity. This is clearly portrayed by its cartoons. It describes itself as, "The Arab's International Newspaper". In journalistic terms the paper could be called the most powerful, successful, and best produced Arabic newspaper. A distinguishing feature of the paper is its unusual green coloured front and back pages.

The paper has regular contributions from leading figures in Arab politics and intellectual life. These include such as Mustafa Amin, Ahmad Baha'eddin, Samir Atallah, Abdullah Bajubeer, Khalid Khistainy, Dr. Niman, JIhad Al-Khazin (now
Established in London in 1978. Its policy is critical of various Arab personalities and governments, and it describes itself as a 'free and critical paper'. The Chief Editor is Abdul-Bary Abu-Atwan (with long experience of work in Saudi newspapers, Al-madina, Al-Majalla, Al-Sharq Al-Awsat). It is owned by Dar Al-Bordi publications.

ATTADAMON MAGAZINE (Solidarity)

This is a widely read weekly magazine. It is published in Arabic and distributed throughout most of the Arab world. It was started in London in 1982 by its present editor, Fouad Matar, a Lebanese with high level contacts with Saudi Arabia, Libya, PLO leaders, and other top Arab politicians. It clearly favours Iraqi policy and has good relations with the Gulf States. Matar attracted a large number of well-known journalists, but the publication suffered some financial problems which led to the resignation of most of its staff.

The magazine's team currently consists of Ibrahim Berjawi (assistant editor, Lebanese), Tawfiq Gazoulit (Moroccan), Abdel Murad (Egypt).
This magazine is published monthly, in both English and Arabic under the same name. Both the Arabic and English versions are prepared in Geneva and published in London. Its policy is critical of Iran, and the Western policies and attitudes towards the third World. Subjects such as economy, finance, and business in the Arab World are dominant. It is critical of some governments' treatment of opposition and of the handling of human rights issues. Contributions come from journalists such as Bashir Zuhairi, Rabah M. Sheik Alard. The two publications are owned and published by Exclusive Reader and Publishing Limited.

It is circulated monthly in English. Business and finance are the main subjects, although it also highlights Arab achievements throughout history and in modern times. It is not very critical of Arab personalities and governments. Art and Culture are also considered to be important for its discussions and presentations.

It is owned and published by I.C.Publications, which is owned by publisher Afif Ben Yedder (Tunisian). The Editor-in-Chief is Graham Benton. Contributors and staff include Andrew Lycett, Adel Darwish, Dilip Hiro, Jasper Martines, Pat Lancaster and Alan George.
This paper is published daily (Monday to Friday) in English as a digest of the political and business news in the Middle East. It is available only by subscription, its readers are politicians, diplomats, and those with a special interest in the Middle East. It has correspondents everywhere in the Middle East.

The paper has regular interviews with the decision makers in the Middle East, with a reputation for being independent, neutral, and balanced in the coverage. It is owned and published by Media Gen.(UK) Ltd.

2. OFFICIAL AND SEMI-OFFICIAL PAPERS:

This category includes those newspapers which serve as official or at least semi-official organs of the governments that own, or help in producing, them. It includes only two publications: Al-ahram International and Al-Thawra. In the case of Al-Ahram International, the paper is not officially owned by the Egyptian government, but the help it offers in producing the paper makes its policies a reflection of the government's policy. However, in the case of Al-Thawra International, there is no question of Iraqi government's influence - it is considered, even by its editors, as the official voice of the Iraqi government.
The Arab World is very 'rich' in this kind of publication. Government ownership and control of the mass media is common. However, there are variations between countries as to the amount of space allowed for private or non-governmental dissemination of news and views.

Al-Ahram Al-Dawliyah (The Pyramids International)

This is the external version of 'Al-Ahram'. It is published in Cairo, and is one of the most powerful and oldest newspapers of the Arab World. It is considered as a leading paper which plays a crucial role in the decision making process in Egypt. It has a great influence in the African part of the Arab World.

Originally, it was established by two pro-Western, anti-Turkish, Lebanese journalist brothers, Salem and Bshara Takhla. It has since changed hands and policies according to different ruling regimes in Egypt. It played a specially important role during the period when Egypt was boycotted by the rest of the Arab World, after Sadat's peace initiative with Israel in 1977. Always very close to the President of the country, its editor(s)-in-chief made it the semi-official newspaper of the Egyptian government. This was particularly the case in the time of Nasser when Mohammad Hassanen Hieykal was the editor-in-chief.

The international version was first published in London in 1985. It is critical of every opponent of the Egyptian government, anti-Syria, and for a period of time pro-Iraqi. It
is also critical of the Islamic (fundamental) movements in the Arab World, and of Israeli policy towards the Intifada.

The clear opponents and critical subjects to the paper are those who appear to oppose the Egyptian officer ruler. This explains the continuous shifts in support and opposition in the paper's policy according to the conflicting policies in Egypt itself.

The paper usually attracts most of the well known journalists and figures in the Arab World, Egyptians in particular, such as Ahmad Bahjat, M. Hasanain Heykal, Anis Mansur, Salah Muntaser, Ahmad bahaeddine and Ibrahim Nafea who is the recent editor-in-chief.

ATH-THAWRA INTERNATIONAL (The Revolution)

This is published daily in Arabic as an eight-paged, full-size newspaper. It is the London-based version of the Iraqi paper, published by the Iraqi Cultural Centre. Its clear policy is highlighting the Iraqi government's achievements and policies, and pro-Arabism. It is considered as the official voice of the Iraqi Ba'ath Party. As such it is highly critical of Syria. It goes without saying that it is also very critical of Iran and its policies. Its attitudes towards the rest of the Arab countries (e.g. Libya) as well as Western powers and governments are a reflection of Iraq's foreign policy.
3. ISLAMIC-ORIENTATED PRESS:

This category includes the magazines and the newspapers with an Islamic orientation. These publications can be divided into further two groups: the Shi‘ite style-Islamic press, which considers Khomeini’s revolution as the example to be adopted and followed and calls for a similar move in the Arab world. This type of press is supported and financed by Iran. The second group is the pro-Sunni press. The latter calls for a dramatic change in the Islamic societies and for the return to the Islamic law (the Sharia) as it was practiced by the Prophet and his followers.

Both the Sunni and the Shi‘ite press are very hostile to the West, particularly the USA among the Shi‘ite ones who consider it as "the Greatest Evil" (Khomeini’s famous statement). The West in these magazines is seen as "a Christian power hostile to Islam and the Muslim world". The plight of Islamic societies is frequently attributed to western hostility and aggression. These publications are also generally critical of most, if not all, the 'non-Islamic' Arab governments.

Unlike the rest of the Arab-owned press in the UK, the magazines and the newspapers of this category are not based in London. Many operate from other cities, such as Al Sunnah (Birmingham), Al Ghorabaa (Leeds), Falastin Al Muslimmah (Manchester).
AL-ALAM (The World)

It publishes in Arabic, weekly as a 64 page coloured magazine. Its Islamic oriented policy is very clear. It is critical of Iraq and Saudi Arabia, pro-Iranian, anti-communist. Al-Alam started in London in January, 1984. It has a clear interest in the Islamic activists and Islamic movements all over the world; and opposes most, if not all, the Arab governments. It has correspondents in Khartoum, Cairo, Damascus, Beirut, Paris, Bonn, Washington, Algeria, Tehran and Abu-dhabi. No advertisements are carried in its pages and that means it is supported externally (not as a self-sufficient financed body). The magazine claims that its support comes from grants and contributions but according to a G.C.C. report the Iranian government is a main supporter. Some of its editorial staff were charged by the British Home Office in connection with the death threat to Salman Rushdie on 23rd May 1990.

AL-BAYAN (The Eloquence)

It started publishing in August 1986 as a bi-monthly magazine; shortly after that it became a monthly. It is produced by the 'Muntadda al-Islami', an Islamic cultural centre in London. The magazine is very critical of 'the western aggression against Islam', as well as all the Arab governments for not applying the Islamic law (the Sharia) in their governmental structure. It calls for the re-structuring of these governments' political, social, economical and
cultural life on 'the basis of the Quranic teachings'. It is also very critical of the 'so-called Islamic revolution in Iran', considering it a 'mispresentation of the Islamic state we want to see'.

The magazine is very popular among Arab students in the UK and Europe with religious interest. It attracts a good number of well known pens in the Islamic world, such as Mohammed Sallieh Al-Otheimeen, Abd-al Aziz bin Baz, Mohammad el-Abdah, who is the editor-in-chief and general manager of Al-Muntada.

AL-GHORABA’A (The Strangers)

A weekly Arabic magazine, it has been published in Leeds since 1963. It is one of the oldest Arabic magazines in the UK. The magazine is produced by FOSIS (Federation of the Students Islamic Societies in the UK & Eire), in association with the United Islamic Organisations in Europe.

The magazine’s main target are the Arab students in Europe and it is very popular among them, especially those with some Islamic interest. On the political side, the magazine is regarded as the voice of many Islamic movements in the world, especially Muslim Brethren. It is very critical of the West generally, and the USA in particular. It goes without saying that it is very hostile to Israel. Like many other newspapers and magazines in this category, Al Ghorabaa is very critical of most, if not all, the Arab countries for not
adopting the Islamic law, 'as the only law and the only solution for their political and economical problems'. It is especially critical of the Syrian and Egyptian regimes, paying particular attention to their abuse of human rights and their hostile attitudes to the Islamic movements. The PLO is severely criticised for its soft and "ineffective policies".

In journalistic terms, the magazine is very successful and active with a splendid coverage of the hot areas in the Islamic World, particularly Afghanistan and Palestine. A number of well-known pens contribute to the magazine such as Mohammad Al Ghazali, Yousof Al Karadawi, and Ahmad Kamaleddin.

AL MUSLIMUN (The Muslims)

It started in 1980 as a weekly magazine. Later it was suspended for a short while because of financial difficulties, and since then it has appeared as a weekly tabloid-size newspaper. The newspaper is very popular among the Arab immigrants in Europe and northern America, with an acceptable standard of circulation, if compared to other Arab London-based newspapers. It sells over 100,000 copies a week according to an ABC report published in June 1989.

The paper's policy is a reflection of the conservative policy of Saudi Arabia. It is very cautious about criticising any of the Arab leaders or personalities. Such criticism that it does voice usually comes in a very delicate style. But that tone changes when criticism is directed at the Europeans or
the Americans. The bitterest attack used to be directed against the 'atheist communists' for their unfair treatment of the Muslims in USSR. A special interest in African problems and issues is shown in the paper, with rather severe attacks on the 'Christian missionaries and their 'effort to Christianise the Islamic Africa'.

AL-SUNNAH (The sunnah)

It first appeared in December 1989 with a rather artistic style finish. It is published bi-monthly in Arabic by the Centre of Islamic Studies, Birmingham. It monitors the changes in the Islamic world and offers explanations and interpretations from an Islamic viewpoint. It is critical of most Arab countries for 'their anti-Islamic policies', especially Syria and Libya. It is also very critical of Iran and its rulers. It is very critical of the PLO's moderate policies towards the Palestinian cause, in which it offers the 'Islamic answer', that is by creating 'Islamic united power to regain the Holy Land'. It calls for radical changes in the Islamic societies.

ARABIA : The Islamic World Review

This is published monthly in English by the Islamic Press Agency with a special interest in Arab-Islamic affairs. It was started in London, 1981, and was originally launched by Sheikh Zaki Yamani.
AL-THAWRA AL-HUSSEINIYAH (Hussein’s Revolution)

Not much is known about its staff and financial sources, but its policies may help in identifying the latter. It is very critical of Saddam Hussein and his regime, but it is particularly virulent in its attacks against all the Gulf States—particularly Saudi Arabia and Kuwait. Its shi'ite ideology is clear through its sympathetic handling of Khomeni’s Islamic Revolution and its policies.

PALASTIN AL MUSLIMAH (The Muslim Palestine)

Published monthly in Arabic from Manchester, it was launched in 1982 as ‘the voice of the Islamic movements in Palestine and the true voice of the Palestinian Muslims’. The paper attracted more attention in the last three years because of its extended coverage of the Intifada and because it became the voice of HAMAS (the Islamic Resistance Movement in Palestine).

The policy of the paper is very critical of the PLO’s policies and its peace initiatives, and calls for ‘Jihad, as the only answer to the Israeli aggression and the only way to liberate the Holy Land’. The magazine finds interest among the Arab students, especially the Palestinians.

4. PARTY-OWNED PRESS

Publications of this category are those which are owned and controlled by certain political parties, and these are considered as the official voice of such parties. Magazines
and newspapers in this category could also be placed in another category as opposition press. They were fitted in this category because they represent a specific party, but in the case of the opposition press, the publication opposes a particular regime but does not represent a particular party’s policy.

This category includes two magazines (Afamia and Sorakia) as the voice of the SSNP (Syria Socialist National Party), and one newspaper representing the Nasserists of Egypt.

**AFAMIA**

This is the Syria Social Nationalist Party’s voice in London. It publishes monthly in Arabic and was launched in November 1988. The magazine is concerned mostly with issues related to ‘Greater Syria’ and the changes in that part of the Arab world. The policy of the magazine might find support among certain Arabs from Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, Jordan, Iraq, the Sinai Peninsula and Cyprus! These countries together make up the Greater Syria, the "Fertile Crescent". The Syria Social Nationalist Party itself is banned in some of the above mentioned countries. Associated with the publication are Ghassan Zakaria, Abdel Wahab Fattal, Abdullah Mouarrawi, Adnan Ihreib.
SAWT AL-Arab (The Voice of the Arab)

A daily Arabic newspaper which is published in London after having its office closed by the Egyptian authorities, because of its tough attacks on the Saudi royal family and their policies. Its policy is pro-Arabism, Nasser's way. The paper considers itself as the voice of the Nasserists who were not allowed to say their word in Egypt. The paper has a policy of carrying permanent attacks on the Egyptian foreign policy and the handling of opposition in the country. It has an average of 12 pages daily, read by Egyptian opposition and pro-Arabism London-based Arabs. It is owned and published by Dar Al-Mawkef Al-Arabi Ltd.

SOURAKIA

This magazine is published weekly in Arabic. It was founded in 1983 as the voice of the believers in 'Greater Syria', the Syria Social National Party's main aim. The magazine considers itself as "the only way to know the truth", with its ever-present attacks upon almost all the Arab countries, governments and personalities. It appoints itself as the natural Arab voice to express anger at the "unjust, unstable and unfair situation in the Arab World". It shows a clear pro-Greater Syria policy.

The paper does not publish photographs but instead spreads its well-drawn cartoons to accompany its critical style. Advertisements are very rare in the magazine. It
demands a very unusual price for its subscription - £500 in the U.K. and £1000 overseas, although it is sold individually in the shops for £1 a copy. This could be part of its ever-existing sarcastic style.

5. OPPOSITION PAPERS

The publications of this category do not represent a particular party or movement, but they offer a general rejection of the situation in some Arab states. The severe attacks made by these papers invariably are targeted at the personalities and the rulers of a given state instead of criticising their policies. They often offer alternatives which do not allow the reader to take them very seriously. Their attacks are usually directed at the Gulf states' personalities and rulers. Their anger is rarely directed against other Arab personalities, with the exception of Al-Sakhir. They are considered by many as a source of fun. This could well be the reason behind their failure and ineffectiveness. Lebanon used to serve as the natural refuge for this type of publication, and many other opposition press, but the Civil War changed the situation.

AL-KALIMA AL-MAMNUA (The Forbidden Word)

This paper is published monthly in Arabic. It has a very limited readership and circulation, and is taken by most readers as an entertaining piece of work. It is one of those papers which is most concerned with the scandals of the Arab leaders' private lives. However, other issues such as Arabism,
Nasserism, and anti-communism are covered. The paper has a pro-Syria policy in Lebanon, and Syria’s policy is praised usually in the paper’s articles. It is dependent in its work on some known names in the journalistic field, especially opposition writers such as Abdel Wahab Fattal, Jack Khazmou. Abdallah El-mouarrawi is the owner and the editor.

**Al-KUWAITI (The Kuwatian)**

It is published in Arabic. It represents, or at least claims representation of Kuwaitian opposition. Its anger reaches other Gulf States, especially Saudi Arabia. With a limited circulation, not much is known about its ownership and its staff. It is published by the "Free Kuwaiti Centre" and its critical voice is directed also against other Arab governments regarding the bad treatment of their oppositions.

**Al-MATRAKAH (The Hammer)**

It is published monthly in London. It has a very limited circulation and concerns itself with the scandals and the private lives of the Gulf States rulers. It has a reputation as a "blackmail" paper. There is not much to be said about its financial and policy style. It uses pseudonyms for its articles. Its contact and address is not available to me.
AL-RAAI AL-ARHAR (Other opinion)

This publication takes the form of a magazine (16 Pages) and is published monthly in Arabic with a strong tone of rejection of all forms of governing systems in the Gulf, with a particular interest in the Sultanate of Oman and the kingdom of Saudi Arabia. The anger of its only editor and owner, Izzat Al-Tammimi, spreads to reach all the Arab States. The publication is connected in policy, style and personal relations with its sister Al-Sharq Al-Jadid.

AL-SHARQ AL-JADID (The New Levant)

This paper is published monthly in Arabic, with a satirical style, interested mostly in uncovering Arab leaders' personal lives. It is described as a "hot sheet", read by people interested in scandals and political gossip and who are politically frustrated in opposition.

It was started in 1973 to spread its anger and dissatisfaction to all the Arab countries, with special attention paid to Kuwait and other Gulf States - but not Saudi Arabia. Recently the hot and offensive attacks on the leaders of these states have cooled down. The publication has a wide range of Arabs on its editorial staff from different backgrounds: Nadir Hijazi (Palestinian), Abdel-Housein El-rawi (Iraqi), Ma'an zaw'edi (Syria), Nael Mahfouz (Lebanese). It is owned and directed by Abdel Wahab Fattal.
AL-SAKHER (The Critical)

It first appeared in November 1989 as a monthly caricature-style newspaper. It is produced by a group of Arab cartoonists and journalists with very sharp attacks aimed at almost all the Arab politicians and their policies.

The paper, as the editorial of the first issue claimed, aims to uncover the reality of "those so-called leaders, who have stolen the smile from our societies, we promise to return that smile to your faces". The paper receives contributions from cartoonists all over the Arab world, which gives it a rich experience. Mohammad Mahfouz is the editor-in-chief.

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL PAPERS

Unfortunately, this category does not include many items. Only one magazine is interested in cultural and literary issues; another one deals with women issues, society and social change.

AL-NAQID (The Critic)

This is published monthly in Arabic as a cultural magazine. Subjects like poetry, literary criticism and literature are the dominant subjects. The magazine's policy was claimed by its publishers to be "a magazine concerned with inventiveness and freedom of the writers". It is critical of the traditional schools of Arab literature and in favour of a "modern approach" to literature. Also it is critical of the
The contributors are frequently well-known names in the Arab World, such as Nizar Kabbani (a well-known Syria poet, better known for his poems on women and love), Jabra Ibrahim Jabra (Iraqi writer), Ghali Shukri (Egypt), Mohammad Al-Maghout (Syria) known for his successful plays, Unsi El-Hajj (Lebanese, a leading figure among the advocates of modern Arabic poetry) and Al-Sadeq Al-Neihoum (Libyan).

The magazine finds more interest among intellectuals who are keen on cultural and literary affairs. It is owned by Riad El-Rayyes Books Ltd.

SAYIDATY (My Lady)

The magazine's name can tell us something about its readers and subjects. Another publication of the successful H.H. Saudi Research and Marketing (U.K.) Ltd. It deals with women's issues, family life, child care, food, fashion, films, home affairs, sports, beauty. It also covers certain social and health issues in a rather light and delicate style.

Its policy is drawn to suit the nature of conservative societies, such as the Saudi's, where there is a wide market for the paper. The paper is read mostly in the Gulf States and is popular among the Arab female immigrants in the West.

Since it is, as the magazine's logo claims, "the Arab Family Magazine", it distinguishes itself with its clear
elegant, glossy and light finish. It is published weekly in Arabic, with full pages of photographs and drawings. According to ABC report (published September 1989) the magazine sells 110,728 copies a week.

The editor is currently a Saudi male journalist, although the magazine has been supervised and chaired by a lady journalist more than once.

7. JOURNALS AND STRATEGIC STUDIES: (specialists Journals)

Publications of this category are mainly concerned with issues such as economy, military and strategy with some space for the political side. They differ from the other publications in the way that they present their material in an independent and neutral manner, providing it with a rather academic style. This could be connected to the fact that they are published by academic research centres or official bodies, such as the Centre for Strategic Studies and the League of Arab States/London mission. Usually publications of this category are targeted at intellectuals, politicians and experts in the Middle East rather than the ordinary reader.

AL-MUJAS AN-IRAN (Digest on Iran)

The Digest is published monthly by the Centre for Arab and Iranian Studies and deals with Iranian affairs and Arab-Iranian relations.
AL-NASHRA AL-ISTRATIJIYYAH (The Strategic Review)

It is published monthly, specialising in strategic, military and political matters especially in the Middle East. It is aimed at the specialist reader with special interest in this field. It is owned and published by Middle East Research and Information Consultants, London (MERIC).

AL-TAQRIR (The Report)

This publication does not appear in the market, but is available by subscription only. Issues like military strategy, economics and politics are its main interest. Not much is known about its staff, but its publisher is Ali Balout (ex-owner of the AD-DASTUR magazine) with pro-Iraq contributors like Kassam M. Ja'far (Lebanese), a well-known figure who works with the BBC Arabic service and is an expert on military affairs.

ARAB AFFAIRS

This journal is published quarterly in London in English. It is read by intellectuals and people with an interest in the Middle East and Arab-West relations. It is also read by politicians and diplomats in view of its excellent coverage of political and cultural trends in the Middle East. It is published under the supervision of the League of Arab States, London section, which finances it. Contributors to the magazine are both English and Arab experts and specialists.
such as Micheal Adams, Derek Hopwood, George Joffe, Khalid Kishtany, Dr. Keith McLachlan, Peter Mansfield, Ghayth Armanazi.

ARAB BANKER

This is published every two months in English. It provides a specialised coverage of financial and banking activities in the Arab World and abroad.

GULF REPORT

It is published monthly in English by the Centre for Strategic Studies (in agreement with Brassey's Defence Publishers). Editor-in-Chief is Dr. Omar Al-Hassan, who is also the head of the Centre. His wife also publishes in agreement with Brassey's The Middle East Strategic Studies Quarterly.

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The following tables illustrate the Arab-owned magazines and newspapers in Britain, the language used, the period and frequency of publishing, and their policies.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>FIRST PUBLISHED</th>
<th>FREQUENCY</th>
<th>LANGUAGE</th>
<th>POLICY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ADDASTUR</td>
<td>Lebanon 1927</td>
<td>weekly</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>pro-Iraq&amp;Sudan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>London 1976</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Pro-Baath Party Anti-Syria&amp;Iran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Anti-Iran, anti-USA, Israel critical of West</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AFAMIA</td>
<td>1988</td>
<td>monthly</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>Pro-Syria, voice of SSNP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AL ALAM</td>
<td>1984</td>
<td>monthly</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>Pro-Iran&amp;Islamic movements, Anti-Iran, Gulf states</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>USA &amp; Israel.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AL BAYAN</td>
<td>1986</td>
<td>monthly</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>Journal style, well researched Islamically orientated.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AL-</td>
<td>Lebanon 1911</td>
<td>weekly</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>Pro-Arabism, conservative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HAWADETH</td>
<td>London 1977</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Pro-Gulf states anti-Iran, USA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AL-</td>
<td>1963</td>
<td>monthly</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>Islamic approach critical of West &amp; 'non-Islamic' Arab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GOURABAA</td>
<td>Leeds</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>policies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ALMAJALLA</td>
<td>1980</td>
<td>weekly</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>Conservative mirrors Saudis policies, pro-Arab unity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AL SUNNAH</td>
<td>1989</td>
<td>bi-monthly</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>Islamic approach critical of all non-Islamic powers East&amp;West</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AL NAQID</td>
<td></td>
<td>monthly</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>Culture, Art &amp; Literature (Modernism)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magazine/Literary Series</td>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>Language</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AL TAQRIR</td>
<td>monthly</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>Strategic &amp; economy issues pro-Iraq &amp; anti Iran.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ALTHAWRA AL-HUSEINIEH</td>
<td>monthly</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>Pro-Khomieni's Islamic revolution style, Sheiet voice.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arab AFFAIRS</td>
<td>quarterly</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>Well-researched intellectual journal, Academic</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ARABIA 1981</td>
<td>monthly</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>Islamic, moderate 'news magazine'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ATTASREEH 1978</td>
<td>weekly</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>Critical of most Arab leaders and their policies.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ATTADAMON 1982</td>
<td>weekly</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>Pan-Arabism, Nationalism, moderate.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FALASTEEN</td>
<td>monthly</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>Islamic approach critical of PLO's moderate policy, HAMAS voice.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GULF REPORT</td>
<td>monthly</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>Strategic &amp; Military issues</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KHAS JIDDAN</td>
<td>monthly</td>
<td>Arabic &amp; English</td>
<td>Pan-Arabism critical of the West.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAYIDDATY 1980</td>
<td>monthly</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>FAMILY &amp; Women Issues, Conservative.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOURAKIA 1983</td>
<td>weekly</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>Pro-Greater Syria, SSNP voice Radical</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Table No. 2)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>FIRST PUBLISHED</th>
<th>FREQUENCY</th>
<th>LANGUAGE</th>
<th>POLICY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ALAHDATH</td>
<td></td>
<td>daily</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>Indep. anti-western powers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-AHRAM AL DAWLIYAH</td>
<td>1876</td>
<td>daily</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>Egypt govern't.'s voice, moderate critical of some Arab countries.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AL Arab</td>
<td>1977</td>
<td>daily</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>Pro-Iraq, Lybia, &amp; Sudan. (Arabism) hostile to Iran, USA &amp; the West.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AL KALIMA AL MAMNOA</td>
<td></td>
<td>monthly</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>Tabloid-like Scandals sheet anti-'communism revolutionaries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AL-KUWAITI</td>
<td></td>
<td>monthly</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>hostile, Kuwait government, &amp; Gulf states.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AL MATRAKAH</td>
<td></td>
<td>monthly</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>hostile to Saudi Royal family, &amp; Gulf traditional rulers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AL MUJAS An IRAN</td>
<td></td>
<td>monthly</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>critical of Iran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AL QABAS AD DAWLY</td>
<td></td>
<td>daily</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>Pro-Arabism, Conservative well-informed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newspaper</td>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>Language</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td></td>
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<td>--------------------------</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al Quds Arabic</td>
<td>Daily</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>Pro-PLO (voice) anti-extremists friendly /Jordan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al Arabi Anti-Extremists</td>
<td>Monthly</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>Anti-Gulf rulers very satirical style.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al Raie</td>
<td>Monthly</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>Caricatures, very critical of Libya and Iran.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al Akhar</td>
<td>1989</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>Tabloid-like scandal hotsheet hostile to Gulf rulers. Satirical</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al Sakhir</td>
<td>1973</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>Conservative, mirrors Saudis, well informed &amp; well produced</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al Sharq</td>
<td>1978</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>Conservative, first Saudi English paper.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al Jadid</td>
<td>1975</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>Objective, Independent</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arab News</td>
<td>1988</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>Pro-Arabism Nasser's style. Egypt. opposition</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Table No. 3)
Without doubt the invasion of Kuwait by the Iraqis and the aftermath, the Gulf War, was one of the most important events in contemporary Arab history. The invasion and the war which followed played a particular role in restructuring relationships in the Arab world, the Arabs’ views of the outside world and indeed their views of each other. For a number of years the Arab mass media had been trying to present to the world, and to the Arab masses, an image of a united Arab stance on issues concerning themselves, especially the concern about the Palestinian question. But the way the media handled the invasion and responded to the events leading to the war revealed a great deal of disunity and division in the Arab world, which was reflected in the media published in London.

Immediately after the invasion, many of the Kuwait-based newspapers and magazines transferred their work to other places in the Arab world and elsewhere. (al-Anb’a from Cairo, al-Siyasah Jeddah, al-Watan and ar-Ra’e al-Am from other cities in the Gulf states).

The tension which existed after the invasion was also expressed in several newly born newspapers and magazines. The first Kuwaiti newspaper to appear after the invasion was a thin issue of the daily Al-Qabas which resumed publication in London after ten days of the invasion. It was published for a few weeks then ceased, to be taken over by Sawt-al-Kuwait (The
Voice of Kuwait. This was a new publication which led the journalistic propaganda war against the Iraqi regime and the other countries which had supported Iraq. The newspaper attracted a number of well-known journalists and cartoonists and became the official voice of the Kuwaiti government in exile such as Mohammed al-Romaihy. Another newspaper which appeared immediately after the invasion, and which took on a religious tone, was *al-Murabitown*, which expressed the attitudes of the Islamic movement (inside and outside Kuwait) and their stand against the aggression of the Iraqis. The newspaper, unlike Sawt-al-Kuwait, did not take a Kuwaiti national line but committed itself to highlighting the aggression committed from an Islamic approach. The paper was known for its good links with Kuwaiti resistance inside the country. Other publications like Sawt-al-Iraq (the voice of Iraq), *Sawt-Baghdad* (the Voice of Baghdad) appeared in London expressing opposition to Saddam Hussain but from a Shi’it point of view, campaigning to expose the atrocities committed by the Ba’th regime in Iraq.

Whilst a number of new publications appeared in London at the time of the invasion, a number of others vanished. The well-established *ad-Dustour* ceased publication immediately after the Gulf War after 64 years of publishing, fifteen of them in London. *Al-Thawra al-Dawliyah* (the Revolution International) vanished a few days after the invasion but continued publishing in Baghdad. Similarly a number of other Iraqi-supported publications stopped publishing in London. Even more neutral and respected publications such as *Arab Affairs* (which was produced by the Arab League Office in
London) ceased publication. That was because they either stood with Iraq and their financial support was cut, or because the Saudi government cut its "usual blessings" to these publications.

The media which supported Saudi Arabia's line in general, for the first few days in the conflict played down the events in the Gulf. London-based Ashsharg al-awsat took a line of not mentioning Iraq or President Saddam Hussain by name, but criticised him by using such statements as "Our dreams of solidarity and Arab brotherhood have collapsed"(16). This tone of hidden criticism of Iraq and its rulers took a rapid increase after the announcement of the "invitation" of foreign troops to the area. Then a different type of direct attack started to appear with the paper waging a propaganda war against Iraq, its government and noticeably against the person of Saddam Hussain and his family. The intensive and heated atmosphere in the media war against Saddam and the Arab countries who either supported him or took a neutral stand gave birth to a tabloid-like daily newspaper, named Az-Zahera, (Noon), which was under the same management and editorship as Ashsharg al-awsat. The aim was to keep Asharq al-Awsat as a prestige newspaper and use the new tabloid daily to expose the crimes of Saddam Hussain's rule.

Not many newspapers and magazines stood with Saddam Hussain. The Libyan-controlled London-based Al-Arab launched a bitter attack against the Kuwaiti ruling-family, accusing them of conspiring with America "to continue milking its
Wealth and banking it with Jews in the West" (17). Its editorials continued to praise the invasion and the Iraqi leadership, blaming the misbehaviour of the Gulf states in the crisis of the Gulf. Even after the Gulf war it described Iraq as victorious, "since it [Iraq] stood up and challenged twenty-eight united countries, including the superpowers, the industrial nations, and the rotten betraying Arab states" (18).

The Palestinian daily Al-Quds praised Saddam Hussain, because he stood to face "the American eternal dream of controlling oil resources in Arabia", therefore, "Whether Iraq was an aggressor or not, we have to choose the side of Iraq as Arabs and as Muslims" (19).

Other papers such as al-Thawra (The Revolution) did not appear during the crisis, and some other papers and journalists shifted policies - from being very pro-Saddam to full enmity to the Iraqi leader. Such a journalist was Walid Abou-Dahr, who for years was considered the mouthpiece of the Iraqi regime. He wrote a whole range of bitter attacks on the Iraqi government and its corrupt hierarchy accusing them of "leading the Arab world to backwardness and disasters". The famous cartoonist Farmawi, who for years worked for al-Arab newspaper, and who is known for his deep criticism of the Gulf states, moved to work with Sawt al-Kuwait, the official voice of the Kuwaiti government in exile during the crisis.

Very few publications took a neutral line in the sense of attacking both sides and considering them both as criminals.
that will lead the Islamic Ummah to a regrettable end. Al-
Bayan and Al-Sunnah magazines carried bitter attacks on
Saddam's aggression, but also severely condemned the Gulf
States for allowing foreign troops to use Muslim soil to
attack another Muslim land, and called for an Islamic solution

	to the crisis. Al-Sunnah, which used a tougher tone in its
attacks, is banned from both Iraq and Saudi Arabia (as well as
many other Arab countries). Other Islamically-oriented
magazines sided with Saudi Arabia (al-Alam, the Iranian
supported magazine, carried its attacks on Saddam without
praising Saudi Arabia).

Thus, the Arab mass media in London revealed all the
divisions within the Arab world that were occasioned by Iraq's
invasion of Kuwait and the subsequent war. The tables which
follow give a summary of the attitudes and shift of policies
that took place after the invasion.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>FIRST PUBLISHED</th>
<th>FREQUENCY</th>
<th>LANGUAGE</th>
<th>POLICY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AFAMIA</td>
<td>1988</td>
<td>monthly</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>Pro-Syria, voice of SSNP Very critical of Iraq &amp; Saddam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AL ALAM</td>
<td>1984</td>
<td>monthly</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>Pro-Iran &amp; Islamic movements, Anti Iraq, Gulf states USA &amp; Israel.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AL HAWADETH</td>
<td>Lebanon 1911, London 1977</td>
<td>weekly</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>Pro-Arabism, conservative, Pro-Gulf states anti-Iraq.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AL GOURABA</td>
<td>1963 Leeds</td>
<td>monthly</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>Islamic approach critical of West &amp; 'non-Islamic' Arab policies. anti-Iraq and US intervention.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AL MAJALAA</td>
<td>1980</td>
<td>weekly</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>Conservative, mirrors Saudis policies, pro-Arab unity. Very critical of Iraq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AL SUNNAH</td>
<td>1989</td>
<td>monthly</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>Bitter attacks on both Iraq's invasion and the Saudis' betrayal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AL NAQID</td>
<td></td>
<td>monthly</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>Culture, Art &amp; Literature, anti Iraq.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magazine/ Newspaper</td>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>Language</td>
<td>Content Focus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
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<td>---------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AL TAQRIR</td>
<td>monthly</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>Pro-Iraq &amp; anti-Iran.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ALTHAWRA AL-HUSEINIEH</td>
<td>monthly</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>Pro-Khomieni’s Islamic revolution style, Anti-Iraq.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ARABIA</td>
<td>1981</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>Islamic, moderate news magazine.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ATTASREEH</td>
<td>1978</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>Critical of most Arab leaders and their policies.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ATTADAMON</td>
<td>1982</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>Pan-Arabism, Nationalism, moderate.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PALASTEEN AL-MUSLIMAH</td>
<td>monthly</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>Islamic approach critical of PLO’s moderate policy, HAMAS voice. Soft with Iraq and anti-Allied</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GULF REPORT</td>
<td>monthly</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>Strategic &amp; Military issues</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KHAS JIDDDAN</td>
<td>monthly</td>
<td>Arabic &amp; English</td>
<td>Pan-Arabism critical of the West.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAYIDDATY</td>
<td>1980</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>FAMILY &amp; Women Issues, Conservative.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOURAKIA</td>
<td>1983</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>Pro-Greater Syria, SSNP voice Radical, Anti-Iraq</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

(Table No. 4)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>FIRST PUBLISHED</th>
<th>FREQUENCY</th>
<th>LANGUAGE</th>
<th>POLICY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AL AHDATH</td>
<td></td>
<td>daily</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>Pro-Saudi bitter attacks on Iraq.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AL-AHRAM AL</td>
<td>1876</td>
<td>daily</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>Bitter attack on Iraq, support for Gulf states, Pro-Western forces.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AL ARAB</td>
<td>1977</td>
<td>daily</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>Full support to Iraq, propaganda War against the Kuwit &amp; Saudi A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AL HAYAT</td>
<td>1946 Lebanon 1988 London</td>
<td>daily</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>Anti-Iraq, full support for the Saudi camp.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AL KALIMA AL HAMNOA</td>
<td></td>
<td>monthly</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>Tabloid-like Scandals sheet anti-communism &amp; revolutionaries Anti-Iraq.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AL KUWAITI</td>
<td></td>
<td>monthly</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>Anti-Iraq, Critical of Kuwaiti government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AL MATRAKAH</td>
<td></td>
<td>monthly</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>hostile to Saudi Royal family, &amp; Gulf traditional rulers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AL MUJAS AN IRAN</td>
<td></td>
<td>monthly</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>critical of Iran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AL QABAS AD DAWLY</td>
<td></td>
<td>daily</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>boarded publi. after 3 weeks anti-Iraq</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

173
| **AL QUDS** | 1991 | daily | Arabic | pro-PLO & Iraq. Criticise Saudi and Gulf states |
| **AL ARABI** |  |  |  |  |

| **AL RAIE** | 1973 | monthly | Arabic | anti-Gulf rulers very satirical style. |
| **AL AKHAR** |  |  |  |  |

| **AL SHARQ** | 1978 | daily | Arabic | Tabloid-like scandal hotshot hostile to Gulf rulers. Satirical |
| **AL JADID** |  |  |  |  |

| **AL SHARQ** | 1973 | monthly | Arabic | Mirrors Saudis anti-Iraq well informed. |
| **AL AWSAT** |  |  |  |  |

| **ARAB NEWS** | 1975 | daily | English | Pro-Saudi Arabia |
| **anti-Iraq** |  |  |  |  |

| **DAR-ASSALAM** | 1991 | weekly | Arabic | Voice of "Iraq Islamic Party" |
| **MIDEAST MIRROR** |  |  |  |  |

| **PALESTINE TIMES** | 1991 | monthly | English | Intifada Voice |
| **TIMES** |  |  |  |  |

| **SAWT AL-ARAB** | 1988 | daily | Arabic | Pro-Arabism Nasser's style. Egypt.opposition |
| **moved to London** |  |  |  |  |

| **SAWT-AL-KUWAIT** | 1990 | daily | Arabic | Kuwait's Mouth-piece, Bitter attacks Saddam |

| **SAWT-AL-IRAQ** | 1990 | daily | Arabic | Iraqi Opposition |

| **SAWT-BAGHDAD** | 1990 | daily | Arabic | Iraqi-Shi'it voice Attacks on Ba'ath |

| **Al-Zahirah** | 1991 | daily | Arabic | Propaganda sheet against Iraq, Saddam and the Islamic movement |

(Table No 5)
Conclusion

The Arab emigratory press showed a peak period during the second half of the 1970s and the 1980s. (20) This was due to a number of different reasons. At the top of the list was the long-term Lebanese Civil War. Since the country was open to most of the oppositional press in the Arab world, they were forced to relocate. In addition, one must take account of the instability of the political and economic systems in various parts of the Arab world during this period that led people to seek firmer ground for their establishments. Subsequently the increasing number of the Arab immigrants to Europe and the rest of the world helped create a demand for Arabic publications to follow up their problems and to keep them in contact with their homeland.

(2)- Rugh. op.cit.(p. 6)

(3)- Rugh op.cit.(p. 4)


(5)- Rugh. op.cit.(p. 40)

(6)- Rugh. op.cit.(p. 88)

(7)- This can be true before the Gulf War. After that the Kuwaiti press moved dramatically to the previous category, the Loyalist Press.

(8) - Abu-Bakr, Yahya, LABIB, Saad and KANDIL, Hamdy. DEVELOPMENT OF COMMUNICATION IN THE ARAB STATES NEEDS AND PRIORITIES, Reports and Papers in Mass Communication Report No. 94, 1982 (p. 50)

(9) - Abdul-Mu’iss, Mahrus, AL-BUHUTH AL-I’LAMIYA, TATBIQUHA WA MUSHKILATUHA (Communication Research, its application and its problems), paper submitted to the Meeting of Experts on Communication Research in the Arab World, Cairo, December 1978, ALESCO

(10)- Rugh. op.cit. (p. 19)

(11)- ABU BAKR, Y and KANDIL, amdy. op.cit. (p. 12)

(12)- Ibid. (p. 12)

(13)- Labib, Saad. MUSHKILAT AL-TAKHTIT AL-I’LAMI ALA AL-MADA’ AL-BA’ID (the Problems of Long-range Communication Planning), from the proceedings of the meeting of experts in communication planning, Tunis, March 1978, Arab Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation.
I used the word emigratory Press because most of these papers choose to base their publications in a foreign country for understandable reasons, and not because they are in political exile, although some are, otherwise they should be called emigre press.


Al-Sharq Al-Awsat daily newspaper, 6th August 1990 (the Editorial)

Al-Arab daily, 6th August, 1990 (the Editorial)

Al-Arab daily, Such statement is found in every day’s editorial in the paper, particularly the first few days after the official end of the War. Such statement is reflected in all Iraq-Operated and financed mass media. The Iraqi government issued, the first week after the War, a new banknotes in which is written: "THE VICTORY IS OURS".

Al-Quds Al-Arabi daily, 9th August 1990 (editorial).

According to 'Voice' (Vol.2 - No 7/ 1989, p.2), the first migrated Arab paper 'Rajoum wa Ghassaq Ila Faris Al-Shidyaq', appeared in London as early as in 1868. It was published by a Syria from Aleppo called Riza Allah Hassoun (Al-Halabi) who escaped from Constantinople to Russia and thence to London. The paper was used as a platform to denigrate and abuse Ottoman rule. When Hassoun increased his publications to three, the British are understood to have encouraged him with assistance and cash. Later the Ottoman government encouraged an Indian journalist living in London to publish yet another paper 'Al-Ghaira' in 1881, to respond to criticism against the Ottoman State.

* * * * * * * * *
CHAPTER FIVE

(CASE STUDY)

Images of the West
Introduction:

Communication is essentially a relationship between the person who is imparting a message or sending out a signal and the receiver of such signals. Obviously they must use some common signals to be able to communicate(1). Mass communication research has confirmed the great ability of television, newspapers and the other mass media to mould the audiences' mind and to significantly influence the political process in the society(2). Usually through the application of two main communication techniques: reinforcement and crystallization: Reinforcement means buttressing existing attitudes and opinions. The mass media supply the evidence and perhaps social support to back up a position which already exists in the society. The overall attitude may then be held more intensely. On the other hand, crystallization refers to the evolution or learning of an attitude. In the extreme sense, this means acquisition of an attitude where none previously existed. More frequently it means strengthening and shaping some previously vague predilection.

The mass media influence not only individuals, but also the mass media in other parts of the world. The flow of information from the West to the East, from the North to the South, and from the developed countries to the developing and underdeveloped countries is very clear and is particularly
noticeable in the attention given to political news, both in terms of topics and actors.

The main aim of this chapter is to analyse the content of a selected sample taken from the Arab press, in order to obtain an inside view of the way, these papers are reporting and reflecting western societies and politics. It is hoped that this will be achieved through the observation of one of the most powerful media tools, namely the political cartoon. I will explain in this chapter the reasons behind my choice of the subject, the scale by which I measured and selected the sample, and the methodology which is used in the work, ending with a tabled content-review of the different images of the West presented in these publications.

Images and Beliefs:

Images and Beliefs: It is difficult to ever know exactly what the "objective reality" of a situation is because perceptions are mediated by one's beliefs. People construct their own version of reality primarily on the basis of their pre-existing beliefs. Thus, people have their own "definition of a situation" or image of it which may not correspond to reality. (3).

We can say that, in a way, images are like stereotypes: forms or sets of generalisations that are used by people to make sense of complex and confusing phenomena. People tend to find their beliefs and images of things are reliable enough to
base on them their judgments and build upon them their attitudes towards different issues surrounding them. This also makes people extremely reluctant to abandon or change their beliefs and images even when they are faced with information and evidence that clearly contradicts with them. Rather it would appear that when people can not ignore the information that is inconsistent with their beliefs, they will distort it in such a way as to make it compatible.(4).

The impact and significance of images and beliefs on policy-makers is great since they act on the basis of their images of a situation rather than responding to the "reality" of that situation. As K.J. Holsti has written: "...in policy making it is not the state of the environment that matters so much as what government officials believe to be that state."(5). For most people these days the key shaper of these images and beliefs is the mass media.

The question of what is reality then has more than one answer, due to different perceptions of different people. This chapter will explore the "reality" of the West in the mind of the Arabs as revealed in the political cartoons published in the Arab media: The reality of the West, in the Arab mind, is this collection of images and beliefs which together form the overall picture of the West. As such they can be divided into two sets. The personal views of the individual artist that reveal the creator's own idiosyncratic view of the West, and the common views of the West shared by the majority of the people. It is difficult sometimes to separate the two.
In this chapter I am not concerned with examining the impact the cartoons have on the decision-makers and readers in the Arab world. The main questions which this chapter will try to answer are: Who are the main actors? What are the principle themes? What are the symbols which represent the West and indeed what are the main images and themes? I will be trying to see if the image of the West has changed over the past few years in the light of events on the world stage.

The Problem:

Most of the works in the study of persuasion have dealt with the written or spoken words, and not much attention has been paid to the analysis of visual language, such as the language of political cartoons. However, a study of readership data of 130 American daily newspapers showed that political cartoons came at the top of the list of items which attracted the maximum readership (6). This would appear to confirm a common journalistic belief that "a picture is worth a thousand words".

Although I have a strong belief that political cartoons are a great, unstudied source of publicly-held viewpoints and attitudes; I am aware of the fact that political cartoons have their own limitations if one treats them as representing popular perception. There is of course a limit to how much one can infer from any single cartoon. Some cartoons are, indeed, almost wholly a personal expression, or are so poorly crafted
as to be obscure in their meaning, or are too frivolous to be considered relevant statements of a political viewpoint. Even if a cartoon is a well-executed, serious expression of a broadly-held perception, one can not go so far as to assume it represents majority perception or even a dominant perception. It may well be the view of a powerless minority(7).

Therefore, the research is based on the assumption that political cartoons in any given society should, in some ways, reflect the attitudes and the views of that society towards the important events of the time. The research will involve a content analysis of a selected sample of political cartoons published in some of the Arab mass media, on the assumption that these cartoons will reflect the attitudes and the views held by these media of the West.

The Method:

Content Analysis

Content analysis, a term which I will be using throughout the research, means the research technique which aims to explore and measure the amount of something (in the case of my study the stereotypes and images) in a representative sampling of some mass-mediated popular art form such as television production, theatre, magazines, books and so forth. In my case I will conduct the analysis of newspapers.
The basic assumption underlying my use of content analysis in my work is that: "any investigation of messages and communication gives insight into the people who create the message and communication. These materials (it is assumed), provide vicarious experiences, inform, reinforce values and beliefs, and offer a variety of uses and gratifications"(8). It is a basic assumption in content analysis that "behavioural patterns, values, and attitude found in this material reflect and affect the behaviours, attitudes, and values of the people who create this material"(9). On this basis the content analysis of the written Arab press in London is meant to be an inside exploration of the attitudes, values and behaviour of this particular mass medium to the outside world.

Among researchers in the field of mass media there is an ongoing controversy about how much we can know about the people who partake in media production. To what extent can we regard the product as a fair indicator of the producer? There is also the question of the degree to which one can assume that the mass media product in some way or another reflects the attitudes, the values, and mentality of the consumers. However, since the Arab press in Britain is produced by, and directed at, Arabs, I found it fair to assume that the content analysis of their production reflects, to some degree, the values and the attitudes of the Arabs towards one another and indeed, to others.

The main requirement for a successful content analysis is obtaining a fair sample to be examined from a comparative
point of view. Analysing the content of television news concerning the Middle East could, for example, tell us something about a given period of time, but that would not reveal much about the trends, unless we compare it to the results of another period of time. In the case of my research it was not possible for me to extend the span of the analysis very far back in time because the majority of Arab London-based newspapers are not very old. With a few exceptions they have been launched during the last two or three years.

The period covered in the research, from November 1987 up to March 1991, is vital because many important changes and events took place during this period which attracted the attention of the international media. There has been the intifada, the declaration of the PLO's recognition of Israel, the invasion of Kuwait and its aftermath, the Gulf War, which again threw the Middle East into the spotlight.

One of the main problems which arise when conducting a content analysis research is the matter of defining terms, and indeed measuring them. The research aims in the first place to provide an internal picture of the Arab's view of the West, through one of their cultural mass media. The area to be covered is wide and controversial. Since total objectivity is impossible, there is a real problem in content analysis concerning "coder reliability"(10). A related problem with content analysis is the ever present one of obtaining a sufficiently representative sample. To overcome the problem of sampling and selecting the amount of material to be examined,
content analysts tend to examine a sizeable amount of material. Another problem facing researchers is how do they know what they "find" in the material they analyse is in fact what the creators of the material being analysed "put" into it?

Despite such real problems, researchers agree that content analysis has many advantages over other types of mass media research techniques(11): (a) Content analysis allows researchers to deal with subjects that are very recent. (b) Content analysis is an unobtrusive method. It has been discovered that one of the problems of conducting research is that the presence of researchers influences what they find. People tend to act differently when they feel they are observed, which in turn makes the validity of the sample representation unreliable. Although content analysis does to some extent help the researcher to overcome this obstacle by trying to avoid the researcher's influence on individuals, it is not possible to completely escape the impact of the researcher on research design: "The researcher himself is a variable in the research design. He influences the course of any research he undertakes, and his actions are in turn structured by the broader society in which he lives" (12).

The Sample: Why these publications in particular?

I have chosen to analyse cartoons from four daily newspapers out of the forty which were discussed in detail in the previous chapter: Al-Sharq Al-Awsat (the Middle East), Al-
Arab (the Arabs), Al-Hayat (the Life), and Al-Quds Al-Arabi (the Arab Jerusalem). These papers were chosen for a number of reasons. Each of them has at least one daily cartoon. Moreover, the four newspapers are the leading Arab dailies published from London. They have the largest circulation of the British-based Arab press, and two of them (al-Hayat and al-Sharq al-Awsat) compete for the largest circulation amongst the Arab press throughout the world. Bearing in mind how recent most of the Arab press in Britain is, Al-Arab is the oldest daily Arabic newspaper in Europe (established 1977), Al-Sharq Al-Awsat comes second (established 1978). Al-Hayat is an old newspaper (in Lebanon 1946, ceased publication in 1976, resumed publication in London 1988). Al-Quds Al-Arabi is a relatively old daily newspaper in Jerusalem, but publishing from London started in 1989. In general, the four newspapers which have been chosen for the analysis are the leading dailies among the Arab press in London.

With regard to the cartoons themselves, Al-Sharq Al-Awsat publishes two daily cartoons. One is a political cartoon, by Mahmoud Kahil, usually to be found on the editorial page, and the other is by George, which is not always political. It deals with social, educational, cultural, and political issues under the title the Honourable Hypocrite. For the research, Kahil's cartoon has been chosen since it is the editorial one. The same goes for Al-Hayat since it contains two cartoons, sometimes three (the third is by Adel Shahadeh). One is political (by Habib) and the other is critical of various issues, usually social problems (by Mustafa Hussain). The
political cartoon in *Al-Hayat*, which also appears on the editorial page, was taken for the research. *Al-Arab* has one political cartoon by Ouras (up to the invasion of Kuwait it was produced by Farmawi), and it publishes on an irregular basis another political cartoon by Ahmad Hussain. *Al-Quds Al-Arabi* publishes one daily political cartoon by either Yousef Abdelki or Qasi. In addition, the paper also reproduces (re-publishes, as it calls it) a daily political cartoon from various newspapers and magazines, usually from the Israeli press.

Another aspect which adds more strength to the sample I have chosen is that these four dailies are in practice a reflection of the different Arab countries, although they all claim to be "the International voice of the Arab".

* **Al-Arab**: is owned and financed by Libyans (Al-Houni family) and reflects support of Libya, Iraq, Sudan, Yemen.

* **Al-Sharq Al-Awsat**: is owned by Saudi Arabians (Al-Hafiz family and members of the Royal Family). It mirrors the Saudi policies, supports the Gulf states, including more recently support for Egypt and Syria.

* **Al-Hayat**: is owned by members of the Saudi Royal Family (most shares are owned by Prince Khalid Ibn-Sultan, the chief Commander of the Arab and Islamic forces in the Gulf during the liberation of Kuwait) but is also shared by a few Lebanese. All the staff and most of the workers are of Lebanese nationality (the editor-in-chief is a Palestinian who lived most of his life in Lebanon). The paper reflects the Lebanese line loyal to the Saudi camp in the Arab world. This
paper, unlike the others, allows more space for difference of opinion).

* Al-Quds Al-Arabi: is owned by the Jerusalem-based Abo El-Zalaf family, and reflects and approves of the policies of the PLO. It has good links with Jordan. During the Gulf War it showed full support for Iraq.

However, all of these papers and others claim to be a national Arab press. Therefore it seems reasonably valid to take these four dailies as representative of views and perceptions held throughout the whole Arab World. However, one may be inclined to ask why I have chosen the Britain-based press for my research and not other newspapers from the Arab world.

**WHY NEWSPAPERS IN THE UNITED KINGDOM?**

No doubt the best and most reliable way (from the research point of view) of exploring the image of the West in the Arab mind, through the mass media, is to study the Arab press which is produced in the actual Arab world. However, the research does not claim to have studied the Arab view of the West through the Arab press in general. On the contrary, the research has intended to explore the presentation of the West in one important portion of the Arab media, which is the Britain-based press, although the findings may, with some reservations, be extended to other types of mass media for the reasons mentioned in this section.
The British-based Arab-owned press has been chosen for the research for the following reasons, some of which were indirectly mentioned in other parts of the work:

- It is a fact that the British-based press is, relatively, the "only national press the Arab world has, compared to the provincial press published in each and every country. Thus, as a pan-Arab press, it should serve a much needed purpose in the Arab World today, in that it fills the gap left by the demise of the Lebanese press, the last pan-Arab press of its kind" (25).

- The Institutes which produce the press in the United Kingdom, are generally better established than most of those which operate in the Arab World, from both economic and journalistic aspects.

- It is a clear phenomenon that the British-based Arab press attracts, for understandable reasons, the best-known pens in the Arab world. In fact most of the famous journalists and specialists in the Arab world prefer to express themselves in this press, due to its popularity and the freedom of expression available.

- The Arab press in Britain can take advantage of the freedom of expression available in its host country, such a vital requirement for a successful and efficient press is not easily obtained in many parts of the Arab World. So, at least in theory, the Arab Britain-based press is bound to express more pan-Arab views.

- And finally for practical reasons I found it more convenient to research the London based press, considering the limitations of time and resources, and since I have been in
the country for a number of years which made it familiar to me.

Choosing Cartoons:

Some mass media researchers believe that the political cartoon is more powerful than any other media channels, including the editorial, since it is superior in two aspects: it aims at all types of readers, from the poorly educated to the specialist, unlike the political editorial. Also it "evokes a visceral reaction that not even the most stirring editorial can duplicate"(13). Other researchers forward further reasons for its superiority over other types of media messages such as:

"The political cartoon is stronger even than the written editorial for the simple reason that it is a picture, because it communicates more surely with the emotion of the reader, because it speaks visually in a tongue that knows no barrier of language or education, because it often strikes some half forgotten aspiration that transcends geography and is common to all men everywhere"(14).

Another rather important observation leads me to believe that political cartoons may be taken as a more reliable representation of the Arab press than other type of media arts. I notice that the cartoon could in all cases say what the editorialist can not do or can not afford to do. This is
in fact a valid observation not only in the Arab media, but also in other parts of the world: "Cartoonists have become the collective journalistic id, drawing what some of their colleague would secretly like to write"(15).

THE RESULTS:

* Introductory remarks.

Although the main purpose of the study is to explore the image of the West in the Arab media (London-based newspapers), images of the other parties such as the Israelis, the Arabs and, especially, the Palestinians also needed to be explored, because of the importance of these factors and their role in contrasting the image of the West. The images of the West were invariably portrayed in relation to these other parties or actors.

In the course of the research, symbols used to portray each of the main actors in the cartoons were noted and the frequency recorded. In some cartoons, there was more than one actor or symbol of more than one country in the same cartoon, in such case the number of appearances (frequency) was recorded and not the number of cartoons.

* The number of cartoons used for the analysis.

The data for this study consisted of cartoons only. The cartoons which were collected from the four daily Arabic newspapers in London were selected on the basis of representations of the West in relation to the Arab world. The
period which the sample covers begins in November 1987 and ends in March 1991, the idea behind choosing this period is to monitor the possible variation of the images. November 1987 was chosen as the start of the period because the Palestinian Intifada (uprising) began and more international focus was paid to it. March 1991 was chosen as the end of the period because this month marked the official end of the Gulf War, in which the West came closer to the Arabs' attention. In fact, not all the newspapers were in existence in November 1987. Al-Arab and Al-Sharg Al-Awsat were, but Al-Hayat and Al-Quds Al-Arabi started publishing at a later date.

The number of cartoons which were selected for the analysis is 466. From Al-Sharg Al-Awsat 180 cartoons were used, 139 from Al-Arab, 122 from Al-Hayat and only 25 cartoons came from Al-Quds Al-Arabi.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the paper</th>
<th>From : TO</th>
<th>Number of Cartoons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Al-Arab</td>
<td>Nov. 87 - March 91</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Hayat</td>
<td>Oct. 88 - March 91</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Sharg Al-Awsat</td>
<td>Nov. 87 - March 91</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Quds Al-Arabi</td>
<td>Jan. 90 - March 91</td>
<td>025</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Nov. 87 - March 91</td>
<td>466</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Table No. 6 )

The table shows the number of cartoons used in the analysis, indicating the number of cartoons used from each paper and the period of time covered.
The appearance of the West as individual countries.

The frequency of appearance of different Western countries.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>No of cartoon</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The United States</td>
<td>227</td>
<td>58.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The United Kingdom</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>6.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Soviet Union</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>13.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>World Community</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>9.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others (Japan etc)</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>9.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Together</td>
<td>385</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Table No. 7)

The Frequency of appearance of The Different Western Countries, in relation to the west Europeans and the United States.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>No of Cartoons</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The United States</td>
<td>227</td>
<td>85.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The United Kingdom</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>9.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Europeans</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Together</td>
<td>265</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Table No. 8)
The appearance of the West as different countries in relation to other countries

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>AL-HAYAT</th>
<th>AL-QUDS A</th>
<th>Sh. AWSAT</th>
<th>AL-ARAB</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>U.S.A.</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.K.</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FRANCE</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GERMANY</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S.S.R.</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>World Community</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arabs</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Israelis</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No of cartoons</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>466</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Table No. 9)

Tables 7 & 8 show that in all four newspapers, the United States was the most frequently presented western country in the cartoons (227 times), whereas Germany received the smallest attention (appeared only 4 times).

The second most frequently represented country was the Soviet Union which occurred more than one fifth as often as the United States and twice as frequently as the United Kingdom. Although the Germans (4 times) were only slightly less frequently seen than the French (5 times), the images of both the French and the Germans were more or less the same. Even before German unity, the cartoons portrayed both East and West Germany in a similar way.
The United States was the most dominant single western country in the cartoon if compared to the West Europeans. The imbalance between the two is striking. US is represented 227 times while Britain 26 times, the French and the Germans were represented almost equally (4 times the French and five times the Germans). When the appearance of the United States is compared of that of the Europeans we find that 85.6% of the sample was a representation of the United States, while only 9.8% represented the British and only 1.5% represented the French. (See table 8). Less significant countries such as Poland are listed in table No. 9, and they appeared only in 1.1% of the whole sample that represented the Europeans.

In the following sections, a detailed account of the symbols and images of the individual countries as they appeared in each newspaper is recorded as well as the percentage.
THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
"...you are my father, my mother, and everything..."
"He will change the colour and the decor, and he will name it the Red House"
SYMBOLS REPRESENTING THE U.S.A. IN THE CARTOONS

(1) AL-ARAB/(2) AL-HAYAT/(3) AL-QUDS AL-ARABI/(4) SHARQ AL-AWSAT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SYMBOL/CHEARACTER</th>
<th>(1) A</th>
<th>(2) H</th>
<th>(3) S</th>
<th>(4) Q</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Uncle Sam</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>28.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George Bush</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>21.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American flag</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>5.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soldier</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>5.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tank/Aeroplane</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soldier Boots</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prostitute/Naked lady</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regan</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dancer</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cowboy, Western</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberty Statue</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congressmen</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Donkey or Ox</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baker</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crusaders</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kesinger</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guard dog (Israel)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worshipped idol</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rambow</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schultz</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tom and Jerry</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Superman</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Snake</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dragon</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>270</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Table No. 10)

* Symbols representing the United States in cartoons.

The United States was most often symbolized by "Uncle Sam", accounting for over a quarter of the portrayals, and secondly by President Bush which accounted for over 20 percent of all the symbols that represented the USA. The image of a soldier or a tank, aeroplane, warship and/or other military equipment symbols accounted for over a fifth of the portrayals of this country. A common scene or representation of the Americans was the portrayal of a naked woman, prostitute or half-naked female-soldiers - especially when the
Americans "came to the Holy Land". Other symbols included the Christian Crusaders, Israeli guard dogs, and a dragon. In addition the Statue of Liberty was a common scene in the cartoons (occurred 5 times) to represent the Americans, and was used in particular to illustrate American hypocrisy. The snake, the dragon and the boot of the American soldiers were used as symbols of the American intention to control/exploit the world.

The American leaders, Reagan, Kissinger, Bush and Baker were all seen as servants of the Jewish lobby in America (and the World). Kissinger, in particular, was seen as the godfather of the Jewish lobby that controls the American governing body. In the case of Bush, he was portrayed as more tough with the Israelis than Reagan, but still he left a lot to be desired.

The two pro-Saudi newspapers Al-Sharq Al-Awsat and Al-Mayaat, although they were very critical of President Bush before the Gulf War, during and after the war did not carry direct attacks on the American policy in general except in relation to the Madrid Peace Conference and the Israeli settlements. (See table No.11)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IMAGE</th>
<th>(1)</th>
<th>(2)</th>
<th>(3)</th>
<th>(4)</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>US wants to control the Arab world (3rd World)</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>10.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>US supports Israel’s aggression</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>8.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>US deals with the Arabs and the Israelis in double standard.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>8.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The American media is controlled by the Jews</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>8.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>US does not want Peace Conference</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>US steals the Arabs’ oil money, resources...</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>6.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>US uses its power without the need for it.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>6.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>US is not serious about the Peace conference</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>5.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>US supports Israel’s policy</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>US does not like/tough/Israel’s policy</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USA &amp; USSR together against the Arabs</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>US supports Israel by Money and Technology</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>US draws Arab’s policies</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>US hypocrisy</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>US abuses human rights</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>US has the policy of &quot;No-Policy&quot; in the M.E.</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>US wants to speak to the Palestinians, Arabs</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>US worshipped as idol</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>US as Christian power against Islam</td>
<td>US controls the world through immoral means (Women, tricks, alcohol)</td>
<td>US wants peace in the ME</td>
<td>The Americans as Killers</td>
<td>Defeated by Arab power</td>
<td>US does not want to speak to the Arabs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.4</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>1.4</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
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<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Table No. 11)

* Images of the United States in the cartoons.

Table No. 11 demonstrates that a number of images of the United States predominated, accounting for more than half of this particular sample. The most frequently presented image was that of the United States as an "imperial power whose ambition is to control the Arab resources" (occurred 29 times, 10.3% of the sample). The second most frequent image was that of the American policy as "blindly supporting" and encouraging the Israeli aggression/abuse of human rights, this occurred 25 times (8.8% of the sample). The image of the American policy towards the Middle East as a clear double-standard based policy in favour of the Israelis was also frequent. The fourth most frequent image of the Americans was of the American media as owned and exploited by the Jews to present a poor image of the Arabs and thereby to undermine Arab-West relationship. This image occurred nearly as frequently as the previous two (24 times, 8.5% of the sample).
Other images of the United States were related to the question of peace or war in the Middle-East. On 16 occasions the USA was represented as not serious about the peace (5.7%), opposed to any peace conference (occurred 20 times, that is 7.1% of the sample). Only on four occasions (1.4%) was the USA portrayed as serious about the peace process, being prepared to talk with the Palestinians but afraid of the Israeli lobby - and these were all in the pro-Saudi papers. Images of the USA as unhappy with Israel's policies and treatment of Palestinians occurred in only ten instances (3.5%) - this was during the first weeks of the Intifada. On nine occasions (3.2%) America was portrayed as the source of life for Israel, seen as totally dependent upon US economic and military aid. In no cartoon was the USA portrayed as a friend and ally of the Arab world.

However, there were some noticeable changes. Prior to the Gulf War America was attacked in all the papers. During and after the War the attacks increased in Al-Arab and al-Quds al-Aрабی, whilst the critical tone softened or disappeared in the pro-Saudi ones - although they were still not portrayed as friendly allies.

The second most frequent theme in all the papers related to Arab resources and wealth. America was seen as stealing/exploiting/dominating Arab financial resources on 18 occasions (6.4% of the sample). More frequently the USA was presented as seeking to control the whole Arab world (and the
third world in general) - 29 times, 10.3% of the sample. In nine of the cartoons the USA was presented as the Godfather figure responsible for creating and sustaining Arab dictators who ruled over the Arab world.

It should be noted that another image that occurred four times was of the USA as a Christian power confronting/paralysing/defeating Islam (and Moslems). Al-Arab went even further when in five of its cartoons America was portrayed as an "idol" worshipped by the (Gulf) Arabs.

Less significant images are detailed in table No. 11. They included portrayals of the USA as defeated by an Arab coalition, the USA as a child-killer, and as a human rights abuser. Most of these images were in Al-Arab newspaper.
THE EUROPEANS
"A ship with two captains would sink. That's why I bought four."
TEXT BOUND INTO

THE SPINE
PEACE
IN THE MIDDLE EAST

EUROPE
أوروبا
SYMBOLS REPRESENTING THE EUROPEAN COUNTRIES IN THE CARTOONS

(1)AL-ARAB/(2)AL-HAYAT/(3)AL-QUDS AL-ARABI/(4)SHARQ AL.AWSAT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SYMBOL/CHARACTER</th>
<th>(1)</th>
<th>(2)</th>
<th>(3)</th>
<th>(4)</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Britain:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thatcher</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>17.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Union Flag</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prostitutes</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Navy/Soldiers</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6.6</td>
</tr>
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<td>British Businessman</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crusader</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homeless people</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kohl</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crusaders</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mitterand</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crusaders</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prostitutes</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others:</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>17.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Table No. 12)

* Symbols representing the Europeans in cartoons.

Depictions of the political leaders were the most popular way to portray the European states. Tables No 12 and 13 show that the British were most frequently symbolised by the image of its then Prime Minister Mrs Thatcher (accounting for a third of the symbols representing Britain). Mrs Thatcher appeared eight times while other European leaders such as the French President Mitterand and the German Kohl appeared only three times each. Other symbols such as the Union jack (4 times), British Soldier (3 times) and a "typical (black hat and suit and umbrella) British businessman (3 times), were
used equally often and accounted each for nearly ten percent of the sample. Christian Crusaders were used to indicate Britain's imperialistic intentions to control Arab resources and to contaminate or pollute the Holy Land. Finally, occurring with no less frequency were images of the British as an immoral and filthy society (play-girls, prostitutes, and homeless drunks). These last images appeared only in the Libyan-owned pro-Iraq daily Al-Arab newspaper. The other three did mention the first few images but there was no reference to the immorality of British society or the social behaviour of the British.

The image of the British as "controlled by the Jews" is again a dominant one among the images of Britain. It was symbolised by portrayals of Mrs Thatcher obeying the Jewish lobby, while ignoring the pro-Arab voices (and we will come to that in detail in the next section).

France was most often symbolised by its President Mitterand. The image portrayed of him did not differ significantly from that of Thatcher - a pro-American leader and a contemporary Christian Crusader raiding the Holy Land for its sacred oil. Once again, France was also depicted by half-naked woman, playgirl figures.

Germany appeared only four times in the sample: it was represented three times by the image of its political leader (Kohl) and once as a Christian Crusader who "joined other Europeans to conquer the Arab land". (table No. 12)
### Images of the Europeans in the Cartoons

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IMAGE</th>
<th>(1)</th>
<th>(2)</th>
<th>(3)</th>
<th>(4)</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Europe steals the Arabs' resources.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Europe's double-faced policies (Arabs/Israel)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Europeans as disunited</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Europe wants to speak to the Arabs/Palestinians</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Europe as a Christian-power/anti Islam</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Double standard policies in Israel's favour</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Europe wants peace in the Middle East</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Europe bows to the hostage takers</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Controlled by the USA</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hate the Arabs (racists)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they fear/hate Japan</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Controls the Arab lands</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of images</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Images of the Europeans in the cartoons.*

Equally prominent in the cartoons were these themes. **First**, the doubled-standard policy towards the Arabs (occurred four times (13.7% of the sample). **Secondly**, Europe steals Arab money and resources (four times, 13.7%), and, **thirdly**, the "disunited Europe". In both of these latter images, Europe was seen to be controlled by the Americans. "The hypocrisy" of the
Europeans' politics was presented twice as "double faced policy" in favour of the Israelis.

On the question of Palestine, and the peace conference, Europe was seen three times to be happy to speak to the Palestinians (10% of the sample) and twice (6.8%) as willing to help bring peace to the Middle East — although this commitment was seen as jeopardised by the Americans.

Only once the Europeans were portrayed as racists who hate the Arabs for their origin (or culture), and prepared to betray Arab-European friendship in favour of Israel. In one scene only, Europe was seen as the Godfather of many Arab regimes such as those of North Africa and Lebanon.

Economically Europe was depicted as worried because of the Japanese takeover of the industry in the heart of Europe. This was represented by a weak Bush and Thatcher facing a giant Sumo wrestler (occurred once, 3.4% of the sample).

Militarily, Europe was seen as a Christian power encountering Islam (occurred twice, 6.8%), This was represented in the portrayal of Crusaders, with a clear cross in their flag, invading the Arab land with the intention of subjugating any revolt against European domination over Arab resources. (See table No. 13).

There was another image of Europe, that of Europe bowing to the demands of the hostage taker in Beirut. (occurred once, 3.4% of the total sample)
SYMBOLS REPRESENTING THE U.S.S.R. IN THE CARTOONS

(1) AL-ARAB/(2) AL-HAYAT/(3) AL-QUDS AL-ARABI/(4) SHARQ AL-AWSAT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SYMBOL/CHARACTER</th>
<th>(1)</th>
<th>(2)</th>
<th>(3)</th>
<th>(4)</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gorbechev</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>65.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KGB man</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>20.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hammer &amp; Sickle</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bear-like man</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total:</strong></td>
<td><strong>3</strong></td>
<td><strong>10</strong></td>
<td><strong>24</strong></td>
<td><strong>3</strong></td>
<td><strong>40</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Table No. 14)

*Symbols representing the USSR in cartoons.*

The Soviet Union was most often symbolized by the character of its president, Mr. Gorbechev, accounting for nearly two thirds of the portrayals, and secondly by a KGB man and/or bear-like man. These last two symbols accounted for nearly a quarter of the portrayals of this country. Other symbols include the communist symbol (Hammer and Sickle), the word Russia, the word (USSR), or reds.

In most cartoons Gorbechev was portrayed as a peace seeker forced to beg for financial aid from the West. The Soviet military was portrayed as presenting an impressive external image, whilst collapsing from the inside. The KGB were seen as laughing at Gorbechev’s Perestroika, and the Soviet Communist symbol was used for oppressing the people, like the hammer drop on the heads of Muslims in the Central Asia Soviet States.
THE SOVIET UNION
*Images of the USSR in the cartoons.

Most frequent in the case of the Soviet Union was the theme of the Soviet Union as betraying the Arab world through allowing thousands of Jews in the Soviet Union to travel to Israel and settle in the "Occupied land". The most dominant image was that of the Soviet Jews as the greatest obstacle that threatens peace in the Middle East. This image occurred twenty two times (accounting for 57.95 percent of the total Soviet Union sample). The Soviet Jews were seen as making the most of the opportunity of the disunity among the Arabs and the likely collapse of communism to move and settle in Palestine. Therefore, the Soviet Union is supporting Israel by providing 'human resources', whilst the Americans provided money.
The second most frequent theme in all the papers was that of the Soviet Union as peace seeker, with Gorbachev begging for economic aid in the name of peace (occurred seven times, 18.4% of the sample).

Images of the Soviet Union joining efforts with the Americans against the Arab world appeared twice (5.2%), and by the same percentage of the sample, the Soviet Union was seen abusing human rights, particularly of the Muslims of Central Asia such as the Azerbaijanis. Only once, the Soviet Union was seen as not keen about peace in the Middle East, but it is acting as "peace lover", for the sake of impressing the West, and not for the sake of peace in the Middle East. (See table No. 15)
THE UNITED NATIONS
علم الأمن

Pyramidal مناهضات حول
الوضع في النادي
الفاشلة تتضور بشكل
منطقة التحري

Al-Hayat 9-6-1989

Al-Sharoq Al-Awsat No 3928 / 30-8-1989
Al-Sharq Al-Awsat 19-5-1988

Al-Hayat 30-11-1988
A cartoon featuring the word "UN" with a tag labeled "WAR" hanging from it. Below the "UN" is a figure with a headscarf and a sign that says "UN." The background is dark with a moon and grass.
Symbols representing the United Nations in cartoons.

The United Nations was most often symbolized by illustrations of the globe (with some reference to the word UN or so), accounting for 44 percent of the portrayals, and, secondly by the character of its Secretary General Perez de Cuellar, which accounted for almost a quarter of all the illustrations which represented the United Nations. Other symbols such as a football indicated that it is always used by the superpowers, certainly the United States, to play the international game. Two symbols often used were the UN Building (usually a collapsing building to indicate lack of trust and/or respect), and the "Wailing Wall" for the Arabs. Finally, occurring less frequently, was the image of the United Nations as a "rubbish bin". (See table No. 16)

Other symbols were used to symbolise the United Nations such as the letters UN, the word United Nations, and the symbol of the United Nations. These three symbols were used equally often and accounted for (almost) all the portrayals where the United Nations occurred in the sample. (See table No. 16)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SYMBOL/CHARACTER</th>
<th>(1) A</th>
<th>(2) H</th>
<th>(3) S</th>
<th>(4) Q</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Globe</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>44.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perez de Cuellar</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>24.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ball</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>16.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wailing Wall (Arabs)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rubbish bin</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collapsing building</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Table No. 16)
### IMAGES OF THE UNITED NATIONS IN THE CARTOONS

(1) AL-ARAB/(2) AL-HAYAT/(3) AL-QUDS AL-ARABI/(4) SHARQ AL-AWSAT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IMAGE</th>
<th>(1)</th>
<th>(2)</th>
<th>(3)</th>
<th>(4)</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>UN ignores the Israeli abuses/aggressions</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>23.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UN deals (…) in double standard.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>17.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UN is ineffective body</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>14.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UN tries peace seriously</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UN wants war in the Gulf</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UN is controlled by USA</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UN as &quot;Rubbish bin&quot;</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UN wants peace in the ME</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UN tries to convince Israel.</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UN tries to solve the Palestinian problem.</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total:</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Table No. 17)

* Images of the United Nations in the cartoons.

Looking at table No 17 we see that there was no one theme that was especially prevalent in any of the four papers. The most frequent theme in the cartoons was that of the UN ignoring the human right abuses committed by Israel against the Palestinians, accounting for one quarter of the sample (11 times out of the 47 appearances of the United Nations in the sample). The third most frequent theme or image in the four papers was that of the UN as an inadequate political...
institution - this occurred seven times, 14.8% of the sample. Twice it was portrayed as a "rubbish bin", used and abused by the Americans to further their policies and interests. This occurred five times (10.6% of the sample). The role and/or policies of the United Nations in "solving" the Palestinian question was a dominant one of the cartoons. While the UN appeared five times (10.6% of the sample) to be serious about the peace conference and talks in the Middle East, it was slightly more often portrayed as pursuing a dual-standard policy vis-a-vis the Arabs and the Israelis, in favour of the latter. This occurred eight times (17% of the sample). In one cartoon only the UN, in the person of its Secretary General, appeared to be trying very hard to convince the Israelis to agree to talks with the Arabs.

In the case of the Gulf war, The United Nations appeared more frequently in the cartoons during the period of the Gulf War, but there were not many changes in its image. It continued to be portrayed as a puppet controlled by the USA, a body which is normally paralysed and which can only walk when the United States decides it should do so. (See table No. 17)
THE ISRAELIS
11/5/1990
Al-Hayat
HOME SWEET HOME
SHAMIR: ...From the Nile to the Euphrate
Uncle Sam: Make it from the Litani to the Suq for me.

Land for Peace

Al-Sharg Al-Awsat 6-8-1989

Al-Quds Al-Arabi 9-1990
"... You Bastard, stop it, give us a break"

Al-Arab 11-10-1990
SYMBOLS REPRESENTING ISRAEL IN THE CARTOON

(1) AL-ARAB/(2) AL-HAYAT/(3) AL-QUDS AL-ARABI/(4) SHARQ ALAWSAT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SYMBOL/CHARACTER</th>
<th>(1) A</th>
<th>(2) H</th>
<th>(3) S</th>
<th>(4) Q</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PM Shamir</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>33.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soldiers killing -</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>children &amp; women</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>13.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heavy-bearded man</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>7.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Well-equipped Soldier</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>7.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Military equipment</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>7.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the Star of David</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>6.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blood-stained hands</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Dove' Killers</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slaughter house</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perez</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sharon</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graveyard/Skeleton</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crocodile</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rats eating pigeon</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Devil</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>210</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Table No 18)

* Symbols representing the Israelis in cartoons.

Depictions of well equipped soldiers, images of murdered children as victims of the Israeli aggression and the star of David were the most popular ways to portray Israel. In terms of leaders and personalities, Israel was most frequently symbolised by its Prime Minister Shamir (who accounted for one third of the sample, 33%).

Symbols of a laughing/smiling soldier shooting at unarmed civilians, usually using an American made rifle, were also used to represent the Israelis, this accounted for more than 20 percent of the sample. The Star of David was another common symbol to represent Israelis or Jews (14 times, 6.4% of the sample). The Star was also used to portray the aggression of

237
the Israelis by using the sides of the star as knifes or rifles. Other symbols included the representation of Israel as the murderer of the dove of peace (five times, 2.5% of the sample).

Prime Minister Shamir whose image appeared the most frequently (accounting for 33% of the sample) was always seen fighting or struggling against peace, often symbolised by a white dove. Shimon Perez and Ariel Sharon were among other symbols which represented the Israelis in the sample. Sharon appeared only once, Perez three times - very small proportions compared to Shamir's 72 appearances.

A heavy-bearded man in a black suit and briefcase, often with a Star of David on his forehead or stuck onto his black hat was another symbol used to represent the Jewish community inside and outside Israel. This kind of symbolisation was used to represent the Zionist lobby in the West and elsewhere.

Israel, in 2.2% of the cartoons, was portrayed as a slaughter house where blood, Palestinian blood, was everywhere. It was also depicted as a graveyard, where the dead bodies of Palestinian children were dumped (1.3% of the sample). These symbols go together with the image of the soldiers shooting at the children and the women (accounting for 13.3% of the sample) and the depiction of Israel by blood-stained hands (5.5% of the sample).
A crocodile, rats, thieves - these are other symbols used to portray an image of Israel as stealing the Arabs' land (appeared three times).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IMAGE</th>
<th>(1)</th>
<th>(2)</th>
<th>(3)</th>
<th>(4)</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Israelis as child-murderers/ abusers/...</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>13.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Israel abuses human rights/ oppression</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>9.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Israel does not want peace.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>8.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Israel does not respect the international will</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>8.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Israel controls the US policies.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>8.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Double standard, Israel favoured..</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>6.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>False democracy/myth of the civilised Israel</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>6.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>US supports Israel's policy in the M.E.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>6.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Israel as a fanatic/religious establishment</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>5.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thieves/exploiters</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Jews control the western world (&amp; the UN)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The West supports Israel (technically, economic.)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Israel lives from the US money/support</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Israel does not want to solve the Palestinian issue</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Israel does not want to solve the Palestinian issue</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Israel exploits Western sympathy to the Jews</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disunity in Israel about peace.</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
US disagree with Israel's policies in ME | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0.3
Israel wants peace | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0.0
Total: | 73 | 82 | 159 | 40 | 354 | 100%

(Table No. 19)

* Images of the Israelis in the cartoons.

In the sample, Israel's most frequent image was that of an aggressor, murderer, and exploiter. Looking at the table we see that there was one theme that was especially prevalent in all of the four papers, which is the image of Israel as "child murderers" (it occurred 49 times that is 13.8% of the sample). This is the most recurrent theme in the cartoons. Secondly comes the image of Israel as human rights abuser, occurring 32 times (accounting for 9.0% of the sample).

Israel was viewed in the cartoons as an anti-peace country. It was seen as trying to jeopardise any peace attempt, usually represented by an imprisoned white dove of peace, with occasional images of the dove being hunted and prepared for Shamir's dinner. This type of view presented itself in 30 portrayals, that is 8.4% of the sample. America was seen as helping Israel in a number of the cartoons in order to hunt down the dove which was released by the Europeans and other parties. Israel was not seen in any of the cartoons as willing to co-operate for the sake of peace, in only one case was an image presented of division within Israeli leadership ranks over the question of peace, with Shamir rejecting the talks whilst Shimon Peres was portrayed
as more moderate. Other common images were of Israel exploiting the Palestinian issue in order to justify her claims for military aid from the West (14 portrayals), whilst on eight occasions Israel was presented as exploiting the West's support (2.5%).

From the social, cultural and religious standpoint, Israel was presented in the cartoons as a fanatical religious Jewish community. The image of heavily-bearded old men teaching young people to kill their Arab counterparts was quite common in the cartoons. On 21 occasions (5.9% of the sample) Israelis were presented as fanatics, seizing Arab land in the name of the chosen people of God.

Politically, images of the Israeli (Jewish and/or Zionist) lobby, controlling United States politics were very common, if not dominant in the cartoons. For 29 portrayals (8.1% of the sample), the American leadership were seen kissing the hands (even the feet) of the Jewish leaders asking for satisfaction. These interests were supported, according to the cartoons, by the Jewish-owned mass media in America (24 cartoons). Jewish control was also exercised indirectly over the United Nations through the control of the American decision making process (19 instances, 5.3% of the sample). In similar fashion, Israel was typically portrayed as serving American interests (23 times, 6.5%), and only in one case were the Americans presented as unhappy with the Israeli line (over the settlement of the Jewish immigrants in the occupied land).
Smiling soldiers shooting at little children and unarmed civilians (usually seen as women, children and old people), lakes of blood, blood-stained hands [cleaned by the American flag], young people put in jails, lack of concern about the international condemnation or reaction to such abuses ... such were the portrayals of the Israeli treatment of the Palestinians in the occupied land (49 times the Israelis were seen as murdering children and women, 13.8% of the sample). Israelis were also presented as thieves, stealing Palestinian land (19 times, 5.3%). Israeli lack of concern with United Nations resolutions and the opinion of the international community was illustrated 29 times (8.1%), whilst Israeli dependence on Western aid was illustrated 18 times (5.0%) and the double standard treatment occurred 23 times (6.5% of the sample). Finally, through the political cartoons the media tried to portray to the world the image of Israel as a false democracy and racist state. In 23 cartoons (6.5% of the sample) Israel was presented as a dictatorship state where killing, imprisonment, and the brutal suppression of freedom is common. One of the cartoons illustrated that clearly by portraying Shamir raising a banner on which is written: 900 killed + 10000 injured = Democracy.
In the process of collecting the samples to the study I did not include all the cartoons of Arab characters or issues, but only those of relevance to the West.
God Bless you...America...الله معك يا أميركا!
"A Very Nice and Clean Investment"

THE 45th Anniversary of the establishment of the Arab League

Al-Hayat, 21 - 7 - 1990
VICTORY IN THE GULF

I LOVE YOU
NO YOU DON'T!
YOU LOVE USA
"...Also we got rid of the muezzin whose voice was annoying you."
## SYMBOLS REPRESENTING THE ARABS IN THE CARTOONS

(1) AL-ARAB/(2) AL-HAYAT/(3) AL-QUDS AL-ARABI/(4) SHARQ AL-AWSAT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SYMBOL/CHARACTER</th>
<th>(1)</th>
<th>(2)</th>
<th>(3)</th>
<th>(4)</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Man with a Khofiya</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>21.2</td>
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<td>Al-Sabbah</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.37</td>
<td>12.0</td>
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<td>Gulf Rulers</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.34</td>
<td>11.1</td>
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<td>Globe with Moustache</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.26</td>
<td>8.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conflicting Arabs</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.19</td>
<td>6.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oil fields, barrels</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.17</td>
<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>King Fahad</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.12</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arab Sheikhs (oil)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.09</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bandar</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.09</td>
<td>2.9</td>
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<tr>
<td>Camel(s)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.09</td>
<td>2.9</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tank (Military eqpt)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.08</td>
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<tr>
<td>Religious people</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Donkey (animal)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wearing US uniform</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.05</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maktoum</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.05</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Broken gun (talks)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.05</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PLO, (Leader/Member)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.05</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hubarak</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bisharah</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sheep (people)</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luxury cars</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asad</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian Crusades-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(the Gulf rulers)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>King Hasan</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arafat</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saddam</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qusaibi</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total:</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>306</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Table No 20)

* Symbols representing the Arabs in cartoons.

The Arab world was most often symbolized by a globe-headed man with moustache and/or with Kofiya, (Arab head dress). This accounted for nearly one third of the portrayals (occurred 82 times, 29.6 % of the sample) And second by some oil barrels or oil fields (17 times, 5.5%). Table No.20 shows that the Arabs were most frequently symbolised by conflicting...
people, a man fighting with himself, or backbiting other brothers (accounted for 19 times/6.2% of the sample).

The Arab as fighters (PLO members) or soldiers was not very common. Only five times (1.6%) the Arab appeared as intending or preparing to fight. Their military equipment were symbolised by a poor tank 18 times, and a broken gun occurred 5 times (to symbolise negotiation and denouncing violence). The rich oil sheikhs appeared as money spenders and joy seekers, luxury cars appeared four times — usually in Al-Arab newspaper's cartoons.

A reference to the Arabs as Moslems, or to Islam, was made 14 times in the sample, with seven references to mosques or religious symbols and seven references to the Arab's hypocrisy in relation to Islam — these mostly appeared in Al-Arab newspaper to indicate the Saudis, portrayed as devils underneath an Imam (religious scholars) robe, to indicate that the Saudis used religion for their political aims.

A donkey (to indicate the stupidity of the leadership) and sheep (the people) were among other symbols which were used to refer to the Arabs.

Finally there was the symbol of Arabs wearing USA uniform, to indicate that they are agents for the West. This occurred six times in the sample, usually with reference to the Gulf rulers.
The pro-Iraq Al-Arab and pro-PLO Al-Quds Al-Arabi were the two papers where a clear (negative) portrayal of the Gulf rulers was dominant, as hypocrites, playboys, money spenders. This was not a new departure for these papers. Before the war Al-Quds Al-Arabi used to portray the Gulf rulers in bad images but without carrying a direct and personal attack on any particular personality, but they used to be attacked collectively under the image of a bearded-Arab with Kofiya and a lot of wealth, this was not the case during and after the War. During the Gulf War period the Gulf leaders and the leaders who stood with them, such as Hafiz al-Asad (Syria), Hosni Mubarak (Egypt), King Hasan the Second (Morocco) were invariably presented as the servants of the United States and the West in general, in addition to being hypocrites, playboys, money-spenders and dictators. Al-Sabah Family of Kuwait and King Fahd of Saudi Arabia bore the majority of the attacks and the rest of the Gulf rulers were seen as humble followers of them.
### IMAGES OF THE ARABS IN THE CARTOONS

(1) AL-ARAB / (2) AL-HAYAT / (3) AL-QUDS AL-ARABI / (4) SHARQ AL-AWSAT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IMAGE</th>
<th>(1)</th>
<th>(2)</th>
<th>(3)</th>
<th>(4)</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>As peace seekers</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>12.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...Running after &quot;the peace conference lie&quot;</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>12.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>As American Agents</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>9.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>As disunited/conflicting dictators, unfair,..</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>8.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the Arab media is not to be trusted. (liars)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>8.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rulers (the Gulf) are the product of the West</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>6.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>..as betrayals of the Palestinians/Intifada</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>6.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>..give their money &quot;to Jewish banks&quot;.</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>6.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>As money spenders</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>6.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>As the victims of the American policy in ME</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>As Muslims (unfaithful)</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>As unable to solve their internal problems</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leading the third world to oppose the Americans/Saddam, freedom fighters</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>..betrayed by the USSR</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>As enemies (opposing) to the American policies</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>As Muslims (real)</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total:</strong></td>
<td>116</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>249</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Table No. 21)
* Images of the Arabs in the cartoons.

As seen in table No. 21, the most frequent image of the Arabs, accounting for 31 instances (12.4% of the sample), was of them as peace-seekers, by contrast with the war-loving Israelis. This type of image is rather a new "positive" dimension in the image. A more common image in the past was of the Arabs determined not to make peace with the Israelis. In a considerable number of the cartoons dealing with this point, however, those Arabs who favoured peace talks were portrayed as betraying the Palestinians, prepared to sell Palestine to the Jews — sometimes as agents of the Americans. This occurred 23 times, and usually it was the Gulf rulers who were presented in such a light.

In nearly 12.0% of the sample (30 instances) the Arab world was portrayed as pursuing the myth of a peace conference, which was portrayed in the cartoons as a mirage in the desert with the thirsty Arabs hoping that they had found water. The second most frequent image of the Arabs, as can be seen from table No. 21, was that of their disunity. The Arabs appeared to be, in the eyes of the cartoonists, a disunited gang of greedy rulers (occurred 22 times, that is 8.8% of the sample). This image of disunity implied, in the cartoons as well that: (1) They are unable to solve their own problems [occurred 8 times], (2) Their Arab media cannot be trusted because they tell us that they are united. The media cover up the fact, and instead give us a bright image of the Arab world (occurred 22 times, 8.8% of the sample).
In nearly one tenth of the sample (23 cartoons), the Arab leaders appeared as "made in America". In general this image of the Gulf rulers was present in the pro-Iraq newspapers, even during the time of "brotherly" relations. In some of the cartoons, the Arabs appeared to be opposing the American policies, and leading a revolt of the third-world in the person of Saddam Hussain against American imperialism. This became a familiar image during the period of the invasion of Kuwait and after. Saddam was seen as the real Arab leader who opposed/encountered/defeated/or frightened the western world. This image occurred six times (2.4% of the sample) in the pro-Iraq Al-Arab and Al-Quds Al-Arabi.

A clear distinction is to be made between the cartoons of the Saudi-owned press and that of the pro-Iraqi ones. The Saudi-owned press did not mention Saddam or portray him directly during and after the War. On the other hand the pro-Iraqi papers carried more open and personal attacks on all the Gulf personalities and leaders, even the people of their states.

Religiously, the Arab leaders were seen as faithful and practicing Muslims only once, represented in the person of Saddam Hussain who was presented as making Jihad to liberate Mecca from the Americans (and their agents) and Jerusalem from the Jews. This occurred in Al-Arab newspaper. In contrast, a bitter campaign was carried out by Al-Arab and Al-Quds Al-Arabi to reveal the hypocrisy of the Saudis (and the other
Gulf emirs) and others who stood with them. Images of the Saudis and the Kuwaitis declaring a holy Jihad against Saddam Hussain from London’s Soho or Washington’s night clubs were familiar images of the pro-Iraqi press. A series of cartoons appeared in Al-Arab entitled "Riyad-0 Janeiro Jihad Carnival" as a response to the Saudis’ call for Al-Jihad Conference in Riyadh. These cartoons were the most accusatory of the propaganda war fought by the Arabs against each other. Illustrations of religious leaders calling for Jihad while carrying in their hands naked American girls, instead of the Holy Book were a common theme among Al-Arab and Al-Quds Al-Arabi’s cartoons. This occurred eleven times (4.4% of the cartoons) In addition there were other images of the Arabs worshipping the "American Idol" (occurred five times, see table No. 41); Arab leaders (usually the Gulf rulers) carrying the Crusades banners, wearing the cross, and marching behind the Sheikh (Bush), or Salahadin (Shamir) to liberate Jerusalem (occurred three times).

Economically, the Arab leaders were seen as Kings of the money-spenders. They spend their money on every "evil" thing. Perhaps most scandalously of all, they deposit their money in the Jewish banks, which means they are supporting the Israelis indirectly (this image occurred 17 times, 6.8% of the sample). It should be made clear that this image of money-spenders was not directed at the Gulf rulers only, but it is an image of the "revolutionary" Arab regimes as well.

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Politically, the Arabs were portrayed as the victims of American policy in the Middle East, used by America for its interest and for the safety of Israel. In 17 of the cartoons the Gulf rulers were pictured as the product of the West, planted in the Arab world to prevent it from ever achieving any degree of unity. Another political image of the Arabs was of them trying to suppress or restrain the Intifada in Palestine - by not aiding it, supporting the Israeli economy through investing in the Jewish banks in the West, and through suppressing the Palestinians in other Arab countries. This image occurred 17 times, 6.8% of the sample. In the next section we will deal in more detail with the Palestinians and the Intifada.

Finally, an image which should be noted is that of the Arabs as being stabbed in the back by the Soviet Union, the traditional ally, providing Israel with the most important resource for the Zionist state, people to settle on Arab land.
THE PALESTINIANS
"You have to be moderate.

Shouting is not helping the Peace process"
US-Palestinian Dialogue
Al-Sharq Al-Awsat 12 - 8 - 1410

Al-Quds Al-Arabi 4/1/91
SYMBOLS REPRESENTING THE PALESTINIANS IN THE CARTOONS

(1) AL-ARAB/(2) AL-HAYAT/(3) AL-QUDS AL-ARABI/(4) SHARQ AL-AWSAT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SYMBOL/CHARACTER</th>
<th>(1)</th>
<th>(2)</th>
<th>(3)</th>
<th>(4)</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Peace seekers (Olive branch holders)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>11.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PLO (member, sign)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>9.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catapult</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>9.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Man with Kafiyaf</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>9.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jerusalem</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>9.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palestinian flag</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>8.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children throwing - stones</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>8.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palestinian leaders</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>8.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youth (Kufiyah round their neck)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>8.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children killed by the Israelis</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hooded men</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>6.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Little girl (killed)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imprisoned child</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total:</strong></td>
<td>46</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>266</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Table No 22)

* Symbols representing the Palestinians in cartoons.

Table No. 22 illustrates how frequently the Palestinians were symbolised by dead children and civilian victims as well as prisoners. This occurred 30 times, more than half of them were of a little girl killed by the soldiers. The most common symbol of the Palestinians was the catapult which occurred 25 times (9.35% of the sample). In most cases the catapult encountered the sophisticated Israeli weaponry. Stone throwers were no less common than the catapult - children throwing stones at the soldiers occurred 25 times. The Intifada was represented almost always by a young tough boy, with a Keffiyah round his neck and a stone in his hand. In some cases the Intifada was represented in the form of a hooded man who is throwing stones at the soldiers.
The Palestinian symbol most frequently used was the Olive Branch, which meant that the Palestinians are seriously thinking of peace. The PLO was not, in the cartoons at least, the only representative of the Palestinians since a reference to the PLO, PLO members or the leadership (Arafat) appeared only 25 times (9.3% of the sample). Although Arafat always appeared as the leader of the PLO, he was always challenged by the "catapult", and the stone-throwing children of Palestine as the representative of the Palestinian people. As such, Table 22 shows that Arafat is not the most popular symbol to depict the Palestinians.

Jerusalem was referred to as one of the symbols which represented the Palestinians 24 times. In many cases it was presented as a deep-rooted (like a tree) mosque which is threatened by the Israelis.

These are the most frequent illustrations which were used to symbolise the Palestinian people. I separated their image from that of the Arabs because of the special treatment and circumstances which the rest of the Arabs do not bear.
Table No. 23 shows that in all four newspapers the most frequent image of the Palestinians was that of children throwing stones at the armed Israeli soldiers. That occurred 39 times (17.1% of the sample). Names like "the children of
the Intifada", "the stone children", and slogans like "the stone is the way", "the stone achieved what the gun could not" were common commentaries which accompanied the illustrations. Images of children filling their school bags with stones instead of books on their way to school - these were the common images and the dominant illustrations of the Intifada. In other words we can confidently say that the stone was the most frequently representative in the Intifada, whereas the Palestinian official leadership, the PLO, received less attention in this issue.

The portrayal of reaction towards the Intifada was (1) anger in the Israeli side (and the Americans), which reacted in the most ruthless way possible (occurred 21 times, 9.2% of the sample), (2) appreciation by some Europeans (4 times, 1.7%), and (3) in 13 of the cartoons (5.7% of the sample) the world seemed unaware of the suppression and the Israeli treatment of the Intifada, (4) betrayal by the Arabs (occurred 16 times, 7.0%).

The Palestinian anger was not only expressed through the stone-throwing at the Israelis, and in some cases at the Arabs' "sleepy" leaders, but also it was symbolised through the portrayal of Palestinians carrying knives and catapults. Young Palestinians carrying knives occurred 17 times (7.4%). The second most frequent theme was the Olive Branch which accompanied the Palestinians in most of the images. In 18 of the cartoons (7.9% of the sample) the Palestinians were shown holding the olive branch, presenting a contrast to the "anti-
peace Israelis" who always appeared to be holding a gun and smiling while shooting at the Palestinian children.

The image of the Palestinians as victims of the Israeli brutality, Arab absence, and international deafness was a dominant image. 31 cartoons represented the Palestinians as murdered children (usually as a little girl), imprisoned youth and suppressed elderlies. (13.6% of the sample).

The most dramatic change in the perception of the Palestinians was revealed in the images of strength and resistance on the civilian level. The old image of the Palestinians as defenceless, hopeless, and dependent refugees seems to have somehow shifted. They were represented with a new dimension of power and representivity in the whole process. Another change which can be noted is that of the shaking, worried, uncertain Israelis who are faced with the unexpected giant and their unbalanced reaction to it.
"Thank God, I Lived to See a Khalifa Carrying the Banner"
الكونغرس الأمريكي يدعم بناء جبل النجد عاصمة إسرائيل في القدس
Table No. 24 shows the main political actors. It is clear that Israel was represented by its political leaders more than any other country. Shamir accounted for 33% of all the symbols which represented the Israelis. He was presented in the image of a terrorist, a child-killer, aggressor, and anti peace and war-lover. Other leaders such as Peres and Sharon also represented the Israelis.
Secondly comes the United States of America. President Bush represented USA in nearly 21 percent of the symbols representing the Americans. Bush in most cases was seen as a hypocrite who deals with Arabs and Israelis using double standards in favour of the Israelis. Leaders such as Reagan, Baker, Kissinger (who was always represented as a Jewish leader) and Schultz were also used to represent the Americans in the cartoons.

Gorbachov was the only political leader who represented the Soviet Union and his image accounted for 65% of all the symbols which represented the Soviet Union. He was always seen as either a peace lover and/or pleading with the world in the name of peace.

It is clear that the Arab leaders were absent from any representation in the cartoons. In the two pro-Saudi newspapers Al-Sharg Al-Awsat and Al-Hayat, there was almost no mention at all of the political leaders in the cartoons although the Arab political leadership was portrayed in the shape of a man with Keffiyah and/or in the form of a globe-headed man with a moustache. The world community was represented as a globe-headed man without the moustache and usually with a western type of suit and tie.

The pro-Iraq Al-Arab and pro-PLO Al-Quds Al-Arabi were the two papers where a clearly negative representation of the Gulf rulers was dominant. There was nothing new about this.
Al-Quds, before the war used to portray the Gulf rulers in bad images. However, they refrained from direct and personal attacks on particular personalities. They used to be attacked collectively under the image of a bearded-Arab with Keffiyah and a great amount of wealth. This changed during the Gulf War and in the period after it, with the two papers carrying severe and bitter attacks on the Gulf leaders and the leaders who stood with them, such as Hafiz al-Asad (Syria), Hosni Mubarak (Egypt), King Hasan II (Morocco). They appeared as the servants of the United States and the West in general. The Gulf rulers in general were also portrayed as hypocrites, playboys, money spenders and dictators. The Al-Sabah Family of Kuwait and King Fahd of Saudi Arabia bore the majority of the attacks and the rest of the Gulf rulers were seen as their blind-followers. Other Arab leaders usually appear in the cartoons but not that often, and as we have seen not very regularly.

The Europeans were most often symbolized by their political leaders, accounting for nearly one third of the portrayals. In the case of Britain, the then Prime Minister Mrs Thatcher appeared in a third of the cartoons representing Britain. Germans appeared four times in the cartoons, three of them represented by Kohl. France was represented by President Mitterand three out of the nine times that France appeared in the cartoons. Other Europeans were rarely seen in the cartoons.
Table No. 16 shows that the UN was most frequently symbolised by "the globe", and the words of "UN" or "United Nations". In terms of personalities and leaders the U.N. was represented only in the person of its Secretary General Mr. Perez de Cuellar who accounted for nearly 25% of all the symbols that represented the United Nations.

As far as the frequency of appearances, Shamir was by far the most common image accounting for slightly less than a quarter of the sample of all the leaders and personalities who appeared in the cartoons. The second most frequent was President Bush who was represented by nearly one fifth of the sample, and in third place came the Kuwait Al-Sabah Emir who was represented by about 12% of the sample. Mr Gorbachev, and King Fahd of Saudi Arabia came next (see table 24).
ISSUES:

In the previous sections the analysis concentrated on categorising the figures, actors, images and themes into sets according to the countries and peoples. This section will categorise the findings of the sample in relation to two important issues concerning the Arabs, Israelis, and the West, using the same analytical methodology. These two issues are crucially pertinent to the problems of peace and war in the Middle East. The two issues are: The peace conference and the Gulf War. It should be made clear at this stage that some of the findings of the next two sections were mentioned in scattered parts of the different countries, but I believe that gathering them in one table can identify the various parts clearer.
### DURING THE GULF WAR

(1) AL-ARAB/(2) AL-HAYAT/(3) AL-QUDS AL-ARABI/(4) SHARQ AL-AWSAT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IMAGE</th>
<th>(1)</th>
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<th>(3)</th>
<th>(4)</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>War for Oil</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>11.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clear division among the Arabs</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>8.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the War has no winner</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>7.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The bitter victor</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Israel is the only winner from the War</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>7.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the Victims are the .... innocents/civilians</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>US wants war in the Gulf</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>5.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Soviet Jews benefit from this opportunity.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the Invasion/War divert focus from the Intifada</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>4.7</td>
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<td>the Arabs(oil producers) fought the War from Soho/night clubs</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the (alliance)Arabs are America servants/agents</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USA occupies/exploits/the Holy Land</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Christian West is fighting the Muslims</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iraq is aggressor.</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saddam stands/defeats/frightens the West</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>US wants to control the Arabs' (their resources)</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UN is useless and/or used to legalise the war</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Statement</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the media distorted the reality/misled people</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iraq's poor army</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>US wants to destroy the Islamic nation/unity</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the Gulf Arabs are Israeli agents</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iraq wins/US is defeated</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Sabah family/ Neiro</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Europe follows the US</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>US as children killers</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The War was fought for Israel's safety</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the way to palestine is not through Kuwait.</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USSR's peace efforts was paralysed by US</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Arabs were tricked to do as they behaved</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>peaceful solution was not possible/acceptable or/ the World gave Iraq enough time to withdraw</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>US under the pressure from Arabs and Israel</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Israel disabled the UN</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oil prices dependant on peace possibilities</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Israel showed restraint for commercial reasons.</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Europe does not want War</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UN wants war in the Gulf</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UN does not want war</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>318</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Table No. 25)
...and by that we will not be wrong... وهمذا... أقول النسبات ضارة مخلوطة...
"AND HOW MUCH IS THIS LION-HEART IS GOING TO TAKE?"

Al-Araby 1/10/90
Themes relating to the Gulf War.

The Gulf War marked the most recognisable western involvement in the Arab world since the creation of Israel, and undoubtedly had the greatest impact on Arab-West relations as well as inter-Arab relations. The Gulf War was the turning point where the Arab world came to recognise that it can not live in separation from the international arena.

The invasion of Kuwait by the Iraqi army and the tragic sequences produced totally different views and attitudes to the West, ranging from complete moral and material support to the full rejection of its "imperialistic plans and intention to control the Arab world". The Arab media clearly reflected the disunity and division that existed on the political level. The positive attitude towards the West was a familiar theme that was echoed in the pro-Saudi papers. On the other side of the coin was the effort to revive the faded image of the West as the imperial power which is still dreaming of occupying the rich soil of the Arabs. This bitter conflict was represented in all sorts of media communications, and was particularly well illustrated in the political cartoons. This propaganda war started with the invasion of Kuwait. It continued until the end of March 1991 in the pro-Saudi press when King Fahd instructed the media to stop all sort of material which contributed to disunity between "brothers". It is still waged in the oppositions' press until this moment.
Two main themes could be spotted in the whole process during the "propaganda war":

(1) From the Saudi side; portraying Saddam Hussain (and those who sided with him) as the cause of all the problems in the Arab world (if not the whole world), portraying him in the same light as Hitler was during the Second World War.

(2) From the pro-Iraqi press the Saudis were portrayed as the West's agents who used religion for their political purposes. They were portrayed as hypocrits who worship the West under the cover of Islam. Saddam Hussain was presented as the twentieth century's Salahadine who is "going to liberate Jerusalem from the Jews and Mecca from the Christians' agents".

Turning now to the symbols and images used to represent the main actors, attitudes and themes in the cartoons, table 25 shows that in all the four newspapers oil was defined as the main motive behind the "Invasion" and the "War". Direct references to this factor occurred 34 times, 11.0% of the sample. There were many other indirect references which I did not include under this heading but were classified under different direct headings.

The second most frequent factor was the image of the conflicting Arabs as playing with fire, which occurred just less than a tenth of the sample (23 times). Although the Iraqis were portrayed in the Saudi-controlled media as the aggressors, the end of the War was portrayed as "the war has no winner", or "a bitter victory" because of the tragic loss
of lives among the civilians (the brothers). This image was seen only slightly less frequently than the previous one and occurred 23 times.

The image of the United Nation was not a dominant one. It was represented as wanting war on only one occasion. More frequently it was presented as a tool of the western powers, eight of the cartoons (2.5%). Most of the attention was focused upon the United States and the West European powers.

The United States, although not praised by the pro-Saudi media, was not attacked in the cartoons. The severe and clear attacks came from the pro-Iraqi Al-Arab and the pro-PLO Al-Quds Al-Arabi. In eight of the cartoons (2.5% of the sample), the United States (and the Europeans were included in most of the following images) was seen as using the United Nations to legalise its attacks on Iraq. In three of the cartoons the United States was seen as jeopardising the Soviet efforts to stop the War. Twelve of the cartoons showed the USA as exploiting/occupying/ the Holy Land (3.7% of the sample.) Five of the cartoons portrayed the Americans as killers, particularly of children, and in 18 of the cartoons the victims of the War were seen as defenceless civilians. Eight of the cartoons told us that the American-led international media distorted the realities of the War. Seven of the cartoons showed America as trying to destroy Arab unity for Israel's sake, and in eight cartoons the American government was seen as trying to controll the Arab resources, wealth, and politics.
The most frequent image of the Arabs was that of division, conflict, hate, and disunity. Twenty eight of the cartoons (8.8% of the sample) portrayed them as such. In nine of the cartoons Saddam Hussain was seen as the "hero" that stood to oppose the western exploitation of the Arab world. In another six cartoons he was seen as defeating "the Americans and their agents". While in the pro-Saudi press he was seen in nine of the cartoons as the aggressor, who diverted by his action the focus from the Intifada (occurred in 15 cartoons, 4.7% of the sample), and who was given enough time to prevent the War from taking place by the international community (occurred twice, 0.6% of the sample). The Iraqi army was seen as poor/weak/ill-equipped/misled in seven of the cartoons (2.2%). On the other hand the Gulf rulers, especially King Fahd and the Al-Sabbah family of Kuwait, were portrayed in Al-Arab and Al-Quds Al-Arabi as (1) agents/servants of the West (occurred 12 times/4.0% of the sample) (2) Israeli agents (occurred six times, 1.9%) (3) Hypocrites who used religion to serve their political and personal ends (and fought the War from the Western nightclubs) which occurred 13 times (3.4% of the sample. And (4) As war-thirsty "Neros" who planned to burn Iraq (six times, 1.9%).

Finally, a clear religious dimension appeared in some of the cartoons. The image of the hypocritical Saudis waging an "American designed Jihad" against their fellow brothers was reflected in a similar view of the Iraqis as acting like a "devil in the Imam's robe". In twelve cartoons of the sample,
the allied forces were seen as a Christian crusade against Islam (3.7% of the sample).

The image of the Israelis showed no change at all. The typical picture of the Israeli aggressor was presented with some other dimensions relevant to this particular event. These were as follows: (1) Israel is the only beneficiary of this war (occurred 23 times, 7.2% of the sample). (2) The war was fought for the sake of Israel's safety (occurred five times, 1.5%). (3) Israel frustrated any peaceful resolution of the conflict (occurred once). (4) Israel showed restraint in not retaliating because of the economic gains that she had got from the Arab allied side (occurred once). (5) The Soviet Jews had their best chance of travelling to Israel without any restrictions or international focus, which occurred 16 times (5.0% of the sample).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Image</th>
<th>(1)</th>
<th>(2)</th>
<th>(3)</th>
<th>(4)</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pal. Olive branch holders (peace seekers)</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Arabs as peace seekers</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Israel does not want peace.</td>
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<td>.9</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>8.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Arabs running after &quot;the peace conference lie&quot;</td>
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<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>8.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Israel does not respect the International will</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>7.5</td>
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<tr>
<td>US deals with the Arabs and the Israelis with double standard.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>6.4</td>
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<td>US supports Israel's policy in the M.E.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>5.9</td>
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<td>The Soviet Jews as the main obstacle in the M.E</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>5.9</td>
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<td>Israel as a fanatic/religious establishment?</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>5.4</td>
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<tr>
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<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>5.1</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>4.1</td>
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<td>Israel can only come to terms with US pressure</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Israel does not want to solve the Pal. issue</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UN ignores the Israeli abuses/aggressions</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
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<td>US does not like/tough/Israel's policy.</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<td>Israel exploits Western sympathy to the Jews</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Freq</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Total</td>
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<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
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<tr>
<td>UN deals (…) in double standard.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1.9</td>
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<tr>
<td>UN is controlled by USA</td>
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<td>US wants to speak to the Palestinians, Arabs</td>
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<td>0</td>
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<td>1.5</td>
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<td>UN tries peace seriously</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
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<td>Europe’s double-faced policies (Arabs/Israel)</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<td>US wants peace in the ME</td>
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<td>Europe wants to speak to the Arabs/Palestinians</td>
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<td>0</td>
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<td>0.5</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>UN tries to convince Israel/Peace Conference</td>
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<td>0</td>
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<td>USSR is not serious about peace in the M.E.</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disunity in Israel about peace.(Yes/No)</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>US disagree with Israel’s policies in ME</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.3</td>
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<td>US does not want to speak to the Arabs</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Israel wants peace</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total:</strong></td>
<td><strong>74</strong></td>
<td><strong>85</strong></td>
<td><strong>189</strong></td>
<td><strong>41</strong></td>
<td><strong>389</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*(Table No. 26)*
Shamir meets De Culear in the UN

Al-Hayat, 14 - 4 - 1989

10/3/89

Al-Sharg Al-Awsat

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Conference for Peace: Themes.

Table 26 shows that in all four newspapers Israel was the main actor, exerting a negative impact on the process of peace. The word "NO" or the rejectionist stance of Israel was the most frequently presented factor. This theme occurred 30 times (8.7% of the sample), with Israel presented as the only obstacle in the face of any peace talks and subsequent peaceful settlement to the Arab-Israeli dispute. Images of Shamir rejecting the United Nations proposals and standing against the United States' and the whole world's tendency towards peace talks in the region were very common. Images of Shamir putting down the European and American initiatives (white doves) were dominant themes in the sample. Israel was not seen in any of the cartoons as willing to compromise/negotiate or even think of peace with the Arabs, apart from the only cartoon which was in Al-Sharq Al-Awsat which showed disunity/disagreement inside Israel concerning peace. Shamir appeared to be refusing the idea of peace all together while Peres appeared with his knife behind his back whilst talking peace to the world. Other images show Israel as a fanatic racist establishment which can not be at peace with other nations. In 21 cartoons the Israelis appeared to be reared to hate Arabs and reject any notion of living in peace with them (5.4% of the cartoons).

The second most frequent theme in the cartoons representing peace was that of the Arabs "running" after the
"peaceful carrots". Their image as sincere and enthusiastic about peace was severely criticised in those cartoons where they were presented as the donkey who is running after the American carrots, led unwittingly on a collision course with either a brick wall or towards a cliff.

The peace conference was also represented as a mirage for the Arabs, a water-like image observed from far distance which the thirsty Arabs are trying to reach, and having reached it they find that it is only a mirage. Other similar images, such as the stupid Arab gambler who reveals all his cards even before sitting at the table, appeared 30 times (3% of the sample).

This leads to the image and the role of the Americans who appeared as lacking any serious commitment to the peace process, with such illustrations as the one where they are giving the Arabs sleeping pills named "peace conference" to keep the American order unchallenged in the region. Such portrayals of the Americans as not being serious about peace occurred 16 times (4.1% of the sample). In four cartoons America appeared to be serious about the peace conference (1.0%), with the Americans portrayed as playing with time until the Gulf "challenge" was answered or for other unscrupulous and selfish reasons. The United States appeared in twenty of the cartoons as unhappy with the peace conference - sometimes because it is not an American-made product and/or because Israel said so. Thus, with regard to the question of talking to the Arabs and the Palestinians in particular, the
United States was presented six times as wanting to talk to the Palestinians (1.5%), but twenty cartoons portrayed the United States as not wanting to engage in dialogue with them (5.1%). At the same time 15 of the cartoons showed America to be the only party which could put pressure on Israel with regard to the peace process.

The third theme in the cartoons was that of the Americans and the Europeans as dealing with the Arabs according to double standards in favour of Israel. This received great attention in more than 25 cartoons (6.4%) where the Americans were portrayed in this light. Similar images of Europe appeared in four of the cartoons (1% of the sample). Although the Soviet Union was portrayed as a peace-seeker in most of the cartoons, with regard to the Middle East there was no real representation of a Soviet effort for peace in the region. Furthermore, the Soviet Union appeared to be a major obstacle to the peace process since it allowed the mass migration of Soviet Jews to Palestine. This was presented as the main problem for peace 23 times, or 5.9% of the sample, and as a Soviet betrayal of its Arab friends.

Looking at table No. 26, we see that there was no one dominant theme that was especially prevalent in any of the four papers concerning the United Nations. The most frequent theme in the cartoons, accounting for one tenth of the sample, was that of the United Nations as an ineffective body (2.2%) and as controlled by the United States (in seven of the cartoons, 1.7%). The question of double standards was present
but received slightly less attention, this theme occurred in eight of the cartoons (1.9%). The third most frequent theme relating to the United Nations in the cartoons was that of it working hard to convince the Israelis to come to the peace conference (five cartoons, 1.3%), but in eleven of the cartoons the United Nations appeared to be ignoring the Israeli abuses of human rights and bad treatment of the Palestinians in order not to upset the Israelis (2.8%). And in twenty nine (7.5 % of the sample) the Israelis appeared to be unaware of the international will/tendency for peace in the Middle East.

Looking at the image of the Palestinians we see that they are portrayed as playing an active role in the attempt to solve their own problems rather than waiting for the politicians of the Arab world to do something for them.

As far as images of Syria, Jordan, and Egypt are concerned, there was not much to say about them in the cartoons, apart from the very rare and quick reference to them in a collective (Arab) stand. The danger of drawing any conclusions from these findings is that the sample is too small since it only consists of a few portrayals of these actors. Their image was included in the "Arab image" which was mentioned previously. The same could be said for Lebanon. Where specific reference to this country was made, she was portrayed as playing a passive role in events. This is not surprising since this country has been torn apart by 16 years of war and cannot afford to take an independent stance. In
general Lebanon's position is a mirror image reflection of the political decision making in Syria. As I mentioned before, the significant observation regarding the Arab stance in relation to the peace conference process is of them as peace seekers (olive branch holders), which occurred 31 times. By contrast the rejectionist stance of the Israelis was illustrated 30 times.

- CONCLUSION.

It is clear from the literature survey of the Arab's approach to the West that most of the studies which have dealt with the Arab media have been generally very limited, contrary to the considerable number of works that have dealt with the Arab's image in the West. This project sought to examine the other side of the mirror in order to obtain a clear insight of how the West is perceived and presented in the Arab media. The project could have been more representative and scientifically more reliable if the analysis had included other media channels such as editorials, headlines, commentaries, photographs etc. But within the limitations of the time and material the researcher was convinced that the results of the content analysis in this project could be an indicator of the general themes that exist in the mind of the Arabs towards the West. Nevertheless, a similar analysis of the editorials, or the headlines of the Arab media would establish the usefulness of political cartoons as a source of information on the issue.

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My conclusion would be a set of tentative observations. It was not one of the project's aims to evaluate and judge the fairness, or the lack of it in the Arab media. The question of whether the Arab press is biased or not is a matter of individual evaluation and perception. Instead, there was the tendency to direct the analysis (project) towards examining, with as much objectivity as can be, what exactly the content of the media coverage is like, particularly as it is revealed by the political cartoons.

As Joanne Modlin, in a similar research concerning the Middle East conflict from the viewpoint of the American political cartoons, stated: "In understanding political events — particularly events of conflict and peace — both cognitive and affective dimensions are essential. (This research) demonstrates that studies of American perceptions of the Middle East which rely solely on the analysis of editorials and/or headlines limit their understanding to the cognitive level and thereby leave out the essential affective dimension. Thus, this investigation proves that adding political cartoons to the set of data examined in research of the Middle East conflict would not produce redundant information. Rather it would add a kind of information — the affective level of perception — which is critical in understanding the dynamics of conflict and peace". (16)

A primary interest of my research was to show the value of political cartoons in terms of learning about national perceptions of international issues. My argument is based on
the belief that political cartoons are not just singular expressions of opinion, but are indicators of broad social, political and cultural perceptions. The study revealed that the political cartoon is more to the point in directing the reader's attention to the main factors, actors and dimensions of any particular event. This is done clearly, sharply and simplified in one single image.

However, I believe that the political cartoons in a given society will not only give the image of the issue tackled, how is it seen and understood, but also provides the reader with a reflection of the nation that is producing that cartoon and the way it thinks, and reacts to different issues. As such, it would be an interesting research project to analyze different cartoons from different countries that deal with the same event; to examine the similarities and differences in the national images.

I believe that this project indicates that political cartoons can be a useful supplemental data source which should be taken into consideration in any attempt to explore the popular perceptions of a given nation or a group of people to another.

The research's main conclusion would be that not too many changes had taken place throughout the period of the research in the image of the West in the Arab media.
It is clear from the content analysis of the political cartoons that the term (West) as a political term in the contemporary Arab mind has a direct reference to the United States of America. That could easily be spotted through comparing the frequency of appearance of the individual western countries to that of the United States in the sample, (USA occurred in 85.6% of the sample, while Britain occurred in not more than 9.8%, France 1.5%, the Germans appeared in 1.8% of the sample, and 1.1% for the other Europeans). Moreover, although the four papers studied generally present different pictures (and attitudes) of the West, they also reveal an area of common ground on which the view of the West looks identical. The pro-Saudi press, even during and after the Gulf War, refrained from open praise of the Americans. Indeed, prior to August 1990 there was virtually no difference in the images of the USA (West) presented in the Arab press (at least in the London-based Arab press).

Historically, the period of greatest mistrust appears to have been the early days of the establishment of the state of Israel and the subsequent support of the Western powers. The policies and the actions of that time set the pattern for decades to come, thus turning the largely unjustified fears on both sides into self-fulfilling prophecies. Certain threats were perceived where none existed, but the perception led to policies which made the threats real.

The West has changed very little in the eyes of the Arab political cartoon. The Arabs still see in the West the old
aggressive imperial power who is still trying to control and exploit Arab resources and land through the use of Israel as its surrogate agency in the region. This was illustrated in many of the cartoons which presented the Westerners as the "Oil-Crusaders" and "Christian invaders". Exactly the same sentiment was expressed in editorial comments. Thus, in the words of one editorial:

"We do not distinguish between the enemies of yesterday and those of today. There is no difference between the Crusaders who came to the Arab world in the Middle Ages and those who came in the twentieth century. They are the same Christian fanatics who massacred the innocents in Jerusalem in 1099, they are back with the same game..."(17)

This is a particularly unambiguous statement of a common Arab perception that the West has no genuine interest in the well-being of the Arab world and cannot be trusted to honour any agreements. Thus, perhaps the most common feeling is that the Arab world is treated by the West unfairly and according to hypocritical double-standards - one rule for the Israelis, another for the Arabs. The disgust and outrage engendered by the aspects of "unfairness" and "racism" is the most consistent element in Arab attitudes towards the West.

What remains clear is that the transcendence of this tension between the East (Arab and Islamic world) and the West will require better understanding and serious effort. As a
conclusion to my observations I would like to cite the words of David Horsey writing of the possibility of moving beyond the old Cold War relationship between the United States and the Soviet Union:

The wishful thought that the Soviets "are just like us" is accurate only regarding human biology; there are differences which are historic, profound and intractable. On the other hand the belief that the USSR is the vortex of evil on earth which must be obliterated at any cost is both simple-minded and suicidal. A safe path through this dichotomy can be discovered only if our perceptions are broad and accurate. (18)
Footnotes


4 - Ibid (p.33)

5 - Ibid (p.34)

6 - Swanson, C.E. WHAT THEY READ IN 130 DAILY NEWSPAPERS, Journalism Quarterly, Fall 1955 (p 414)


9 - Ibid. (p. 25)

10 - Ibid. (p. 28)

11 - Ibid. (p. 28)

12 - Sjoberg, Gideon and Nett, Roger. A METHODOLOGY FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH, 1968 (pp. 2-3)


15 - Alder, op. cit. (p.19)
16 - Modlin. (p. 275)
18 - Horsey. op.cit.(p. 121)
CONCLUSION
CONCLUSION

The purpose of this study was to analyse the images and the views of the West that exist in the Arab mind. The investigation focused on the editorial cartoons of four daily Arabic newspapers based in London; *Al-Arab, Al-Hayat, Al-Sharq Al-Awsat, and Al-Quds Al-Arabi*.

The period covered in the investigation was from December 1987 until March 1991. In this period a number of events of great importance took place, which involved the Arab world and the West. In the political engagements that took place between the Arab world and the West during this period the cartoonists found a vital source of information from which to draw their political cartoons and make political statements. The cartoon in this sense played two major roles; primarily, it was used as a vehicle for releasing some of the tension that exists in the mind of the masses, and secondly they kept the reader with the required level of awareness informed regarding the political situation. In so doing they played the role which has been described as follows:

"... coaxes (our) minds to move them out of their established conceptual grooves and liberate them for a fresh, creative look at reality. It tries to get us to practice a new kind of response to
ourselves and the world. Yet all the while it keeps our fears down low enough by a certain amount of reassurance that things will all work out all right at the end". (1)

As a reflection of the public views and attitudes, the political cartoon in the (Arab) press was better received than the editorial or other sorts of media arts. That is partly because of the courage and the directness displayed in the cartoons. The political cartoons addressed the reader in a direct form which contrasted with the euphemisms and vague allusions of the editorials and commentaries in the papers.

The political cartoons expressed anger at both the Western world and the Arab one. The Arab leaders were represented as divided against one another, by contrast with the Arab citizens (masses) who were united by their common unfortunate situation. Some of the papers' anger exceeded the level of acceptable criticism, especially during the Gulf War, when Al-Arabi newspaper, as well as Al-Quds Al-Arabi, used the same dirty images and perceptions that existed in the western mass media and the Zionist propaganda in portraying the Arabs. Such images of the Arabs as invading the night clubs in London and Paris, spending millions for their pleasure, greedy, dirty, unreliable, and sex-manics were common portrayals in these papers. In fact a considerable number of the images that existed in the Western press for years, and
were less common these days, were brought to life by the warring Arab media in London, and indeed elsewhere. The two pro-Saudi papers, Al-Sharg Al-Awsat, Al-Hayat, were no less critical and angry, but their criticism was not channelled at such a personal level as was the case with the pro-Iraqi papers. A point should be made, that the pro-Saudi press in general, especially in Saudi Arabia, were no less aggressive in their attack on Saddam Hussein and the Iraqis, but the two London-based papers concerned in the study displayed a less aggressive style.

It goes without saying that the image of the Arabs' traditional enemies, the Israelis, had their share of the cartoonists' anger. The inhuman Israelis were seen killing the civilian Palestinian children in cold blood, with no respect for the international community and law. The Intifada won the respect of every cartoonist and was presented as the only victorious battle that the Arabs had started and won in contemporary history. As such it presented the cartoonists with a rich source of material to highlight both the Israeli barbarians and the Arab political failure.

The portrayal of the West changed very little in the cartoons throughout the period covered by the research. Their duplicity and racism were the most obvious elements which the cartoonists tried to highlight. The Cold War between the East (USSR) and the West (USA & W. Europe) which came to an end during the period covered by the
research was never alluded to in the cartoons. Instead reference was made to a Cold War between the East (the Arab & Islamic World) and the West (including the USSR in this category.)

Another observation I feel worth mentioning is that the humorous content of the cartoons varied considerably according to the topic. Especially during the Gulf War the cartoons tended to reflect the seriousness of the situation.

Since many Arabs have never visited the West, their knowledge must come from other sources such as the mass media, and without any doubt these images of the West as they occurred in the cartoon would help either to reinforce the already existing stereotypes or may help establishing some new ones in the mind of the Arab readers. In this conclusion, I am not going to concentrate much on the findings of the content analysis of the political cartoons which were selected for the study, since the previous chapter extensively covered this point. Instead I will deal with three main points which were underlying concerns of the research: the image-exchange between the Arab and the West; criticisms of the Arab-owned London based press; and recommendations for a more understanding presentation of both sides that might give grounds for hope for better relationships between the West and the Arab world in the future.
ABOUT THE IMAGE:

This study was an attempt to examine the image of the West in a section of the Arab mass media. As such it focused on a dimension of the relationship between the West and the Middle East which has been relatively neglected. There has been more research on the image of the Arab presented in the Western media.

According to one British commentator, describing the stereotypical images of the Arabs in the media,

"The leering, hand-rubbing Arab oil sheikh, with a line of fat veiled wives trailing behind his dirty robes, has become a familiar fixture to (western) newspaper reader ... They have been stereotyped as idle, greedy, selfish, cruel, treacherous, intolerant, lustful, etc. The 'Arab terrorist' has become a staple of 'thrillers', whether in the form of books, films or television series, and jokes and cartoons presenting the grossest image of the Arabs seem to come in for little adverse comment ..." (2)

Why should it be that the mainstream media is prepared to treat the Arabs in this way, when it would be more cautious about making racist remarks about or stereotyping Afro/Caribbean, Indian or Jewish people, for example? (3)
First of all, it needs to be recognised that in the West, Middle Easterners in general are seen as Arabs (which is why so many people here are convinced that Iran is an Arab country) and further more, their Arab identity is telescoped into their presumed Muslim identity. This means that negative coverage of Muslims and Muslim affairs (including events in Iran and the Salman Rushdie affairs) tends to colour Western views of the Arabs(4).

Given the contemporary conflict between Western secularism, and the fear in the West of 'Islamic Fundamentalism', we have to recognise this as an element which unavoidably complicates the way the Arab World is perceived in the West. Secondly the relationship between the Arab/Muslim World and the West has been an antagonistic one for most of the 1,400 years. When Europe came to contact with most of the third world, it already had a technological edge over it, met it from a position of strength, as a potential and or actual aggressor. However, for over a thousand years, until the defeat of the Ottoman army before Vienna in 1683, most of Europe had encountered the Arab/Islamic World from a position of equality, or, more frequently, weakness. It can be argued that this experience has had a lasting impact upon European perceptions of Arabs and Muslims(5).

A third factor that must be taken into account is the impact of the Palestinian conflict. Protagonists of Israel have often been quite ready to go on propagating the most negative images which the West has of the Arabs.
and the Arab World as part of their activities. They perpetuate anti-Arab views because it suits their political objectives to do so and because their own perspectives are limited by the constraints imposed by their pro-Zionist views.

But there is a fourth factor to be considered. According to John Gee the Arab community in Britain itself must take their share of responsibility, insofar as they have failed to mobilise themselves or organise themselves to combat racist and negative stereotyping of themselves in the media. According to Gee,

"Racism against people from African descent has been made less acceptable in Britain primarily because of the fight which those people have put up against it, a fight in which anti-racism from the majority white community have played a supplementary role. The same is true of the struggle to combat racism against other minorities, such as South Asian peoples, Jews or Irish people. The position of the Arab people is more difficult, as many of them are not British passport holders, and wary of doing any thing which might jeopardise their status here; further more they are one of the smaller minorities. However, there is a lot that can be done by a community which does organise itself, and if that happens, the anti racist movement here will, I am
sure, respond well to the issues and demands raised by Arab people". (7)

On the other side, as I mentioned in previous sections of my research, the widespread negative image and stereotype of the Arab world and the Arab culture in the West has been reflected with unfavourable images of the West in the Arab world. Hypocritical, racist, untrustworthy, immoral, and duplicitous, greedy to control Arab mineral and financial wealth... these were the main features of the images that exist in the Arab mind. It is the presentation and examination of these images that lies at the heart of my research.

This exchange of negative images is helping very little in the process of better future relations and popular perceptions of one another.

THE ARAB PRESS CONNECTION:

In chapter four an overview was presented of the Arab-owned London-based press. Here I shall try to evaluate its role and impact and make some practical recommendations concerning how it might more effectively be used to narrowing the gap between the Arab societies and the Western world.

In his paper to a conference in London in 1990 Riyadh El-Rayis addressed the position of the Arab press in Britain. He criticised it for failing to cater for the
Arab community in Britain. According to him there were four factors to which this failure could be attributed.

1) The Arab community does not consider itself to be an immigrant community, which puts down roots here forever and cuts its ties with its homeland. It sees itself as transient, and neither wishes, nor attempts, to participate fully in the various aspects of the British way of life; neither does it wish to associate or identify itself with British society.

2) The Arabs are well-known for carrying with them, wherever they go, the political allegiances and divisions they practised and know back home. Although this makes them first class 'political animals', it nevertheless alienates them from the mainstream of politics in their country of residence.

3) The Arab community may be rich enough, but it is not big enough to support a newspaper primarily concerned with its own local affairs. The prospect of an 'Arab Chronicle' to compete or compare with the 'Jewish Chronicle' does not exist, simply because the Jews in Britain are part and parcel of British culture and its way of life. They belong to the same Judeo-Christian heritage as the rest of Europe, whilst the Arabs are simply alien in the cultural as well as social sense. They are ex-colonial misfits, brandishing the sword of Islam and sowing the seeds of fundamentalism - or so say many Britons.
4) To the Arab press, Britain is only a flag of convenience, and as such the Arab press in this country publish only for export, to attempt to influence Arab politics and Arab opinion and not to impress any British politician or government official.

It might also be added that a major reason for the failings of the Arab press is the constraints placed upon Arab journalists, subject as they are to the traditional shackles of the ruling parties and dictators, harsh censorship, mediocre ideas and the almost total absence of the opportunity to practice investigative journalism. I am sure all my fellow Arab journalists will bear me out when I say that it is becoming increasingly more difficult to be a proper working journalist nowadays.

Efforts: What can be done?

What can be done to counter the negative stereotypical images of the Arab world portrayed in the West, and in Britain in particular, if the Arab-owned press in Britain is so restricted in its scope and impact?

In addition to the routine public-relations activities that each Arab country undertakes, some of these countries, particularly the Gulf states, have recently begun to launch intensive public relations campaigns on major Arab issues. For example, in 1979
Saudi Arabia organised a symposium in London on the subject of Jerusalem and its future. The United Arab Emirates also organised a seminar in London that year on the Arab image in the Western media. Iraq organised a conference in Baghdad in 1980 about Arab-European cooperation in developing the flow of information between the two regions. All the Gulf states joined in organising a Gulf Cultural Week at Unesco headquarters in Paris in March 1980. The Gulf states are currently considering the establishment of an institution abroad for spreading Arab thought and culture. Similarly, ALESCO called a founding meeting to plan international co-operation for the development of Islamic and Arab thought abroad after a special fund had been set up within the organisation for that purpose.

Other Arab organisations are also actively seeking to improve the Arab image abroad and to explain the point of view of the region on different issues. These include the Arab Journalists Union and ASBU, which organises an annual festival of films and television programmes on the Palestinian question. Joint Arab efforts along these lines, however, are often organised within the framework of the League of Arab States. The League has twenty two public information offices, mostly in Europe and North America, which undertake this task. A council composed of the Ministers of Information themselves supervises the formulation of general policy.
In addition, there are the marginal efforts of private organisations. Even though most of these are motivated by profit, their activities sometimes achieve results that governments could not achieve - as for example the production of feature films such as *The Message*, which has recently been circulated world-wide. Moreover, a number of foreign governments have assisted the Arab countries in correcting the exchange of images between the Arab world and the Western societies, such as the Government of Canada and the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. In Montreal, one half-hour programme on the Arab World as well as two additional half-hour programmes, one Egyptian and one Lebanese, are broadcast weekly. It is generally believed, however, that such programmes do not make much of an impact because they lack appropriate material.

Erfan Arab, from the Arab League office in London, has suggested establishing a voluntary British/Arab Media Monitoring Committee, to act as a "watch dog" in encouraging impartial reporting of Arab and Middle Eastern affairs, and to create a fair and more reliable image of the Arabs abroad, that would be more fruitful in producing better attitudes in the Arab world towards the West. The suggested establishment could deal with such issues as:

- An independent voluntary media monitoring group/committee be set up, made up of dedicated and committed individuals of various professions who would be
willing and prepared to write letters, articles and commentaries to editors of papers and magazines for publication, as well as, writing letters, participating by telephone and/or playing a part in interviews or debates in radio and television. They shall also lobby their MPs, and complain to the press council, the commission on Racial Equality and others, when necessary.

- The main purpose of the group would be to act as a "watch dog" to encourage accurate and impartial reporting of Arab and Middle Eastern promoting racial harmony in the UK and Arab/British relations.

- The group should not wait to react to certain subjects which appear in the press, television or radio, but should take the initiative by using historical anniversaries, which may merit a letter or article or commentary.

- It should also thank and congratulate editors, writers and television and radio programme producers whenever they have shown fairness and objectivity.

- The Co-ordinating committee should establish good relations with members of the media and the Arab embassies to provide the former with access to Arab personalities and instant and continuous sources of reliable information.

- It shall monitor and assess all media coverage of Arab and Middle Eastern affairs. It shall prepare a monthly or quarterly detailed and analytical critique or report on media coverage and identify all elements of bias, inaccuracies and omissions, or vice versa.
-It shall have a database list of all sympathetic writers, journalists, authors and speakers on Middle Eastern and Arab affairs, together with their full names and addresses, and assessment of their professions and preparedness to participate in the activity of the group.

Hopes:

"The image of the friend may be no less illusory than that of the enemy, it seems preferable to have no illusion at all"(10). It is not a simple matter of achieving understanding, The more we understand, the more we may discover that, at this moment in history, we can not be friends.

By revealing some of the myths and illusions we have of each other we are setting the first step in the one thousand mile journey between "East" and "West", anticipating that a more reliable "reality" could be achieved, hoping that I made a contribution to this process by identifying some of the recurring images of the West portrayed in political cartoons.

The responsibility for breaking down the "Wall" between the Arab world and the Western societies needs a radical reform in our perception of each other. It is a collective responsibility.
FOOTNOTES:


(3) - Ibid. (p. 67)

(4) - Ibid. (p. 68)

(5) - Ibid (p. 68)

(6) - Ibid (pp. 68-9)

(7) - Ibid (p. 69)


(10) - HORSEY, David Raymond, VISIONS OF THE BEAR, Western Perceptions of the Soviet Superpower, 1947 to 1980, as Evidenced by British and North American Political Cartoons, A dissertation for the degree of M.A. in International Relations, University of Kent at Canterbury, 1986. (p. 120)
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APPENDIX A
POLITICAL CARTOONISTS IN THE ARAB WORLD
APPENDIX A

The Arab Cartoonists

The genuine attempt by Yacoub Sannu in the mid nineteenth century marked the primary step towards publishing the first Arab satirical magazine. Although his work was very tentative and poor, his attempt made him a pioneer in the Arab humorous press. Several attempts were made to produce some imitative western-style publications which were not so successful until Ros al-yousuf came into being, such a production marked the beginning of the mature Arab caricature journalism. After which this type of press boomed in several parts of the Arab world, especially Cairo, Beirut and Baghdad, to produce the best of the Arab caricature ever made, especially in the period of striving for independence after the Second World War, when cartoon magazines and newspapers were calling people to rise against the foreign occupation of their lands, and had gained great popularity in the Arab world, especially when we consider the advantage that the cartoon has over other sorts of journalistic arts, which does not require a high level of literacy to be read and eventually got the message across.

The Arab states took independence at different dates some of them in the late forties and the fifties, and for others it was in the sixties (for some the independence came as late as the late seventies such as Djiboty) and a new strive for independence began..."Following the military coups which spread out in many parts of the Arab world, especially in Egypt in Egypt, Syria, Libya and the Sudan, political humour was
suppressed by the new military rulers with their single parties and the Arab world recovered yet from that development" (28). Many Arab humorists and cartoonists shifted their homes to Paris, London, and West Germany like George Bahjuri, Nabil abou-Namad, Naji al-Ali and Burhan Karkulti. With the deterioration of the political situation in Lebanon, more cartoonists like Mahmoud Kahil followed to Europe.

This situation, in addition to the state of lack of democracy and little space for criticism and the rest of the obstacles facing the Arab cartoonists lead to the mass emigration of most of them to work outside the Arab world, either in an Arabic newspapers and magazines in the west or in the western channels, as we can see through the few examples which I will mention concerning some well-known Arab cartoonists.

Raid Arrawi (Born in Bagdad, Iraq 1955),

In 1977 he graduated from the Faculty of Arts and drew cartoons in the Iraqi press, including children’s papers from 1970 until he left for the USA in 1980. He participated in the following exhibitions:
2- First exhibition of Iraqi cartoonists in 1974.
3- Annual World Cartoonist held in Belgium in 1980 and 1984, when he received a prize. Now he works as a cartoonist for an American advertising agency, while publishing his drawings in some U. S. magazines.

Abdul-Rahim Yasir (Born in Iraq, 1951)

He studied at the Bagdad Academy of Fine Arts, in 1969 worked in the children press. In 1979 he produced a cartoon movie in
collaboration with the artist Raid Nuri. He took part in the 2nd, 3rd, 4th and 5th exhibitions organized by the cartoon commission as well as making significant contributions to the art of cartooning in the Arab press.

Osama Abdel-Karim (Born in Iraq, 1954). He participated in cartoon exhibitions in Baghdad from the year 1975 until 1980, as well as taking part in a Bulgarian display of cartoons in 1983, and in Florence in April the same year, where he lives and works these days.

Nuayyad N’ima (Born in Baghdad in 1951). He graduated from the Academy of Fine Arts, in 1969, and worked in the children press. In 1972 he was involved in making his first cartoon movie. Between 1976 and 1988 he took part in various exhibitions such as, the 1987 International exhibition of Cuba, and in the Arab cartoonists display in Paris which took place in 1988. Muayyad is well known for his cartoons made in ceramic murals.

Walid Naif (Born in Bagdad 1960) Between the 1977 and 1982 he staged ten displays of his own cartoons, in 1982 he contributed to the Sabra & Shatila Masscrses exhibition. He staged several Arab and International exhibitions over the period 1983-85.

Ali Osman (Born in Cairo, 1943) In 1967 he obtained a bachelor’s degree from the college of Applied Arts, Cairo. He worked with the Libyan national theatre
and television in 1968, as well as receiving a diploma in movie direction from the Experimental Centre of Cinema in Rome in 1972. He continued his study the following year in TV direction in the Italian RAI. He has held several one-man and collective exhibitions, claiming at least forty prizes of merit to his name. In 1975 he worked on animated cartoons for Britain's ITN television, since then he has worked for several magazines, particularly the London-based Al-Hawadith.

**Habib Haddad** (He was born in Tripoli, Lebanon)

A well known Lebanese cartoonist, worked for several publications in Beirut, Paris Kuwait and London, alongside his participation in a number of Arab and International exhibitions. He lives in Paris and works for the Arabic London-based daily Al-hayat. His book EVEN IN CARICATURE was published in 1979. [Haddad's cartoons are particularly important for this study because he is one of the cartoonist of Al-Hayat which is one of four newspapers chosen as the case study for my research].

**Yusuf Abdulki** (Was born in Syria, 1951)

Yusuf has graduated from the College of Fine Arts in Damascus in 1976 and staged several one-man displays in Damascus: 1973, 1974, 1977 and 1978, and participated in several international festivals and exhibitions, including Berlin, Baghdad, Paris, Bulgaria, Belgium and Italy. He has provided illustration for more than thirty books, and designed many posters and other book covers. He has been a cartoonist in the Arab Press since 1968, and now works as a cartoonist for the London-based Al-Quds newspaper. He wrote several articles, studies and books on the
Abdullah Ahmad Al-Muhrragi (Born in Manama, Bahrain 1939)
After completing his studies in Bahrain he studied art at the Faculty of Fine Arts in Cairo and went on to earn his B.A. (hon) in decorative Arts at the University of Damascus in 1967. This was followed by a Diploma in Printing and Design at the London College of Printing. He had been an art advisor to the Ministry of Information since 1963. Muharraqi’s main speciality is that of recapturing of the fading traditions and customs of the Arabian Gulf. His cartoons appear in a number of Arabic publications, and as an individual he has made a substantial contributions to several exhibitions.

Salman Al-Mailk (Born in in Doha, Qatar 1958)
He obtained a bachelor’s degree in education and arts from Cairo in 1982. He is the head of the decor division of the Department of tourism and Antiquities at the Ministry of Information and culture. Al-malik presents the daily and weekly cartoons through Arraya daily newspaper and Akhbar el-Ustub magazine, he has also made many contributions to the design of book covers and illustrations, as well as well various emblems and posters. He is one of the founders of Qatar’s Society of Graphic Arts, and he posts its Vice-Presidency. Not only he worked as art director of the Doha magazine, but also took part in several Arab and International graphic art exhibitions, such as those held in Japan, Paris, London, Cairo, Tunis, Ankara, Kuwait, Frankfurt, and Abu-Dhabi.
Al-Arabi Assabban (Born in Quneitra, Morocco, 1948)
He was involved in teaching the Arts of drawing and Arabic calligraphy for a while, then moved on to journalistic work as a cartoonist. Assabban has represented internal relations in the Association of Arab Cartoonists established in Damascus in 1980. He held many exhibitions and cartoon displays both internally and externally such as the one has as one-man exhibition in Quneitra in 1963, and he is making annual participation in the Arab Cartoon exhibitions staged in Damascus since 1979, and participated in the International Cartoon Display held in Tunis (1984). He took part in other exhibitions organised in Franco, Moscow, Bulgaria and Cairo.

Nabil Abou-Hamad (Born in Haifa, Palestine, in 1943, to a Lebanese father and Palestinian mother).
Nabil completed his secondary school in Damascus and then studied at Damascus Higher Institute of Arts and then attended a special artistic course in Paris. He started his career as a cartoonist for the Lebanese, Syrian and Kuwaiti press, and then became a prominent cartoonist while working for Al-Muharir, Al-Jumhur Al-Jadid, the Magazine and Al-Hawadith (where he works as the art director at the moment). Wellknown for his distinctive style of depicting caricatures with a highly developed technique. Nabil staged a number of exhibitions of his work (cartoons and graphic paintings) in Lebanon and Europe, his book FACE FACTS was published in London 1986.

Mohamad Zwawi (born in Banghazi, Libya, in 1936).
He worked as a painter for the audio-visual section of the Ministry of Information and Guidance, Libya. In 1963, he was commissioned to work on the Radio Magazine as a director and drawer. Some of his works have been published in a volume called "The Other Face", which is a collection of his drawings from 1966 to 1972, and his second volume "You", contained the collection of his drawings produced between 1973 and 1983 was published in 1987. He experimented with animated cartoons, of which he produced footage running over 50 minutes. Zwawi has also held many exhibitions both domestic and international.

Qasi Rashid (Born in Algeria in 1949)
He has been living and working in Paris since the early seventies. He won the International prize of the International salon of caricature in Montreal, Canada, in 1983. His works have been published in several Arabic and international publications, including the New York Times and the Economist.

Bani Mazhar (Born in Assamawa, Iraq, in 1955)
He received the Baghdad Institute of Fine Arts Diploma in 1978, and contributed in several joint exhibitions in Iraq, Morroco and Kuwait. He won the Gold Medal in both the 15th and 16th public exhibitions organised by the Kuwait Society of Graphic Artists, and has been working as an editorial artist since 1979.

George Bahgouri (Born in Luxor, Egypt, 1939)
A pioneer of Egyptian caricature since the sixties, his work appeared in most Egyptian and several Arab newspapers and magazines. He was once blacklisted on account of his book "Sadat"
in which he mocked the Egyptian President's visit to Jerusalem.
He was granted an honorary testimonial by the Secretariat of Arab Journalists in 1980, and received the silver shield for 1983, 1985, 1987 and 1989. Bahgouri is a graphic artist, sculptor, and illustrator of children books as well as the author of humorous books, such as *Bahjar fi al-Mahjar*.

**Ali Farazat**

From the Syrian city of Hamah, he became a professional newspaperman in 1965, succeeded the late Naji al-Ali as president of the Arab Cartoonists' Association. Farazat participated in 14 cartoonist and graphic art shows worldwide. Staged six displays of his cartoons in various parts of the world, Won the 1982 first prize as an Arab cartoonist in Damascus, and received the prize of merit at the Afro-Asian exhibition held in Peking in 1968. He has also won the first international prize at the festival of Sofia, Bulgaria, in 1987.

**Mohamed Al-Khuneifer** (Born in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia)

Al-Khuneifer had an early start in the Saudi press as an editor, painter and advertising designer, collaborating with the Saudi Television as a painter, particularly in children's programmes. Having spent seven years in Italy between the Academy of Fine Arts, Rome, and the animation department of the Higher Institute of Cinema, he spent five years in London where he supervised the preparation and the production of 47 Arabic-speaking short animated pictures and worked for the London-based Arabic press. His drawings have been published in specialised Saudi, Arab and European papers, such as the Italian EURIKA and the French
CHARLIE, and some of his works are studied in a department of George Washington University, U.S.A.

Mahmoud Kahlil (Born in Tripoli, Lebanon)
First worked as a drawer for an advertising agency, then he turned to the press work as a director and cartoonist for Al-Usbu al-Arabi magazine in 1961; his work appeared in most of the leading Arabic magazines such as Al-Diar, Lisan al-Hal, the magazine, Al-Hasnaa, the Daily Star, etc. For sometimes he was a lecturer at the Institute of Information, in the Lebanese University. He came to England in the early 1980s, where he has been working ever since as a director and cartoonist with the Saudi Research and Marketing Ltd. His cartoons appear in several publications of the company such as Al-Majalah, Al-Sharq Al-Awsat, Arab Gazite, and some other western publications such as Middle East International, etc. His book "Without Comment" was published in London 1990, which contained some of the best drawings he has ever produced. [Kahlil’s work is of special importance to the study I am carrying because he is the cartoonist of Assharq al-Awsat one of the newspapers included in my case study., which we will come to in the encounter chapters.]

Samih Husni (Born in Cairo, 1952)
He is considered as one of the most prominent cartoonists in Jordan, his work is characterized by intellectual depth and keen political satire. Samih was educated at the American University of Cairo, majoring in political science, and staged several art shows in Jordan and Syria, and worked for the two Jordanian newspapers Al-Sha'b and Addustur. In addition to political
cartoons, he draws social and local caricature expressing public problems and concerns. He has been described as "a writer with a brush" who depicts the interests of both the average person and the intellectual equally well.

Ali Al-Mandalawi (Born in Iraq, 1958).

He graduated from the Institute of Fine Arts in 1979 and from the Academy of Fine Arts in 1986. In 1977 he staged his first personal exhibition of illustrated Kurdish Folk Tales and in 1983 he staged his second exhibition of Painting for Childhood, and his third display was in 1986. Apart from the thirty children's books he has illustrated, his cartoon works appear in many Arab newspapers, and joined other cartoonists in several shows in Iraq and abroad.

Chedly Belkhamas (Born in Tunis, 1947)

He graduated from the Higher Institute of Graphic Arts and worked as a cartoonist for a French-language paper publishes in Tunis. His cartoons appear in several papers in Tunis. Belkhamas has illustrated a number of children's books, and won the prize for cartooning for the Association of Tunisian Journalists in 1982. Having participated in various exhibition, including those of Carthage (1980), Switzerland (1983), Algiers (1987), Canda, Syria and France. His drawings were also published in an anthology of world cartoons published in Sweden in 1985.

Naji Al-Ali (Born in Al-Shajara, a village in Palestine)

In 1948 he left Palestine with his family, to live in exile in the South of Lebanon, in the Palestinian camp (Ein-al-
Hilwe). In the early sixties he entered an art institute in Lebanon, his studies were later interrupted because of the harsh conditions which face the Palestians in exile, he then moved to Kuwait to work in al-Taliiia magazine, later he moved to London to work with al-Qabas and continued his contribution to al-Kalij magazine. Naji was shot on July the 22nd, 1987 at close range a few yards from al-Qabas building, and after spending few weeks in hospital in a coma he died on saturday the 30th August at the age of forty nine. Naji's works were republished in several books by different publishers, the most famous one is the one published by Al-Safir Lebanese newspaper where he worked for a number of years in the seventies.

Besides, the few examples I have referred to in this appendix, the Arab satirical press has produced a countless number of gifted cartoonists and caricaturists operating in the Arab world or in the Arab press abroad. It is also a clear feature of the Arab cartoonist these days that he can be described as a pan-Arab artist rather than a regional one, as was the case in the early days where the Egyptian cartoons dealt only with the Egyptian issues, and so on. Today, we find the Arab political cartoons are highlighting the more general issues. Thus we can find Algerian cartoonists, giving prominence to the Palestinian issue, They also concern themselves with problems in the Gulf, at the same time as they are trying to deal with the more regional and local problems.

"Under the impact of Western art, the Arab caricaturists are now experimenting with various mediums and styles. Their artistic accomplishment is as good as any. What they lack is ideas. Their problem in this respect is compounded by the various constraints,
political, religious and social, as well as the general bewilderment which has now seized the Arab political thought. Over the above, no one wants to face the same bullet which ended the life of my good friend the young and promising, Naji al-Ali".*

*Khalid Kishtainy, in a lecture presented at Al-Kowfa Hall in London, Nov. 1989
APPENDIX B
THE ARAB IN THE WESTERN POLITICAL CARTOONS
"OF COURSE, THESE THINGS HAVE A RANGE OF THOUSANDS OF MILES."
"I don't care where he's taking us, Ethel - it may be the Aga Khan!"
THE DARK MIRROR

ATHENS AIRPORT SECURITY

I DUNNO, ANDREAS... THAT AMERICAN WITH THE HEAVY SUITCASES LOOKS SUSPICIOUS TO ME!

Evening Standard

THE DARK MIRROR 3/1/1947
DO YOU MEAN ... OUR NEW SCUD MISSILE LAUNCHER?
"A bomb? That's a relief, I thought someone had farted!"
"TROUBLE, NOW THE PIGS OBJECT TO BEING CALLED ARABS!"
Only done 200 nights! Hailey ever used sir-she's used just a model.
"I can assure you Sheikh, I only joined the bank from Barclays last week!"
"Actually, mine haven't been WHITE for some time"
"Women! They're all alike!"
24 juin 1983 : Yasser Arafat est expulsé de Damas.
NOUVEAU DÉPART DES PALESTINIENS


* Il ne faut pas permettre à Arafat de partir vivant de Tripoli. *

ARIEL SHARON (décembre 1983).
'Okay, guys - duck and prepare for the world's reaction!"
LE PROBLÈME PALESTINIEN SE RÈGLE ENTRE PALESTINIEN

POUR LA PALESTINE

HIP!...HIP!...HIP!

TATATATATA
TATATATA

"The Palestinians Solve their Problem Amongst Themselves"
DEPORTATION—THEN AND NOW

(Patrick Oliphant, Bridgeport Post)
TROCA SOB PRESSÃO

"I WOULD LIKE TO HAVE A WORD WITH YOU AND
ABDULLAH WOULD LIKE TO HAVE A WORD WITH
YOUR WIFE."

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WE SUGGEST YOU INVADE KUWAIT SOON... AND THERE WILL BE A LITTLE SOMETHING EXTRA IN YOUR PAY ENVELOPE NEXT MONTH...
Midsummer Night's Dream
"WE WILL NOT TOLERATE ANY PUPPET GOVERNMENTS!"
APPENDIX C

THE WEST IN THE ARAB POLITICAL CARTOONS
(CARTOONS OF THE CASE STUDY)
FOREIGN POLICY
EFFECT OF TV VIOLENCE IN CHILDREN
...Joar TALKS
TALKS, AMERICAN WAY.
BALANCE IN ARMAMENTS
FOREVER HOSTAGE
"I thought we don't worship idols any more."
Tourists from the Arab World

Tourists from the Western World.

Europe's Airport

Cold War
SHAFIK VISIT TO LONDON
العلاج في الخارج
TREATMENT ABROAD
FIRST TIME

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HATE

INTERNATIONAL ACCORD

ANAR ACCORD
Every time you get angry you come to ride the camel.
OUR AIM IS TO UNCOVER THE IMPERIALISTS.

RADIO JIHAD CONFERENCE

THE FRENCH HELP IS OK... WE DON'T NEED YOURS.
CHILDREN, UNDER TEN YEARS OLD, IN THE ISRAELI JAILS.
الآن في أيامنا الحالية، مع التطورات الحاسمة في الخلافة العراقية، يُثير الاهتمام القلق معنويًا. يُظهر الرسم العديد من الزيوانات والطيرانات، مما يرمز إلى قوة وتعاقب الأحداث في المنطقة. من خلال الرسم، يمكننا رؤية الدور الهائل الذي يلعبه الخلافات في الحياة اليومية والسياسية.

السراج الزعبي

الرئيس

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