

# **GOVERNMENT-PRESS RELATIONS:**

**A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF  
SYRIA, JORDAN AND KUWAIT**

**Thesis submitted for  
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at  
the University of Leicester**

**by**

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**TO THE SPIRIT OF MY FATHER**

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## INTRODUCTION

Conducting research on the issue of freedom in the Arab world is not an easy task. This is mainly due to the lack of previous research upon which a scholar can base hypotheses and objectives for his study. It is also due to a lack of freedom for researchers and scholars to tackle this important topic of inquiry. Governments in Arab states control and direct what can be researched, and for which purpose. It is in this kind of situation that most Arab students find themselves, when they go abroad, sponsored by their governments to carry out their studies. It is a real dilemma and a difficult one to overcome.

Having consulted some studies which have dealt with the topic of freedom in general and press freedom in particular, I came to the conclusion that most of the studies looked at many factors which hinder the freedom of the world press. However, one important factor has not been analysed; that is the process of foreign policy and whether it constitutes a restraint on the freedom of the press. I wish to test the extent to which foreign policy can play a part in directing the press and the way it covers events concerning one country with another, and to what extent such direction is effective. I assumed that this could be tested in the Arab world by taking some case studies. Arab states are divided in their foreign policies and international relations with the two superpowers. Some countries support the USA and the capitalist system, and some support the USSR and the socialist system. This political division provides an opportunity to explore this topic and to compare the differences between the two. My case studies were chosen with regard to this division of Arab countries.

All over the world governments govern, and the press observes the actions of governments and comments on their policies or decisions. This is the kernel of conventional Western theories of the press, to function as a watchdog. But, both the government and the press accept that there are certain issues, like national security, morality, and public safety, on which restrictions are necessary to be able to maintain internal and external security, and to preserve civil order.

Government-press relationships constitute an indispensable function in the realisation of political and civil rights. The extent of freedom of the press, however, depends on these two human rights. In a totalitarian political system the press represents the voice of the government, whereas in a democratic system the press is supposed to be a "watchdog" of the government.

Merrill points out that:

*"the courageous newspaper exists, serving its reader as the guardian of his interest and protector of his right, exposing abuses of power and criticizing failures, and wrong decisions, it is a thorn in the side of government".*

*(Merrill, 1983, p.29)*

No press in the world is free from government or government institutions, legal or illegal pressures, but such control is present in various degrees. We should point out, however, that this degree of freedom is measured by the type of political and civil rights that exist in a society. Freedom of the press in the world is mainly curtailed by political constraint rather than by economic, social, or other factors. This is particularly so in Third World societies. In Western capitalist countries, or even socialist states, economic and social pressures do

however play a role in hindering, directly or indirectly, freedom of the press.

According to Merrill, government pressures on the press may be divided into the following categories:

1. Legal pressures
2. Economic and political restrictions
3. Secrecy
4. Direct censorship and force.

(Ibid, 1983, p.30)

This study considers the foreign policy of governments as one source of political pressure on the press. The media perform a variety of functions in the foreign policy process. It is believed that most people get their information about international events and relations through the media, and they base their image of foreign countries on information obtained through the media. Cohen argues that even in a liberal democracy the media can be either an instrument or a critic of government foreign policy and sometimes even a policy maker (Cohen 1963, pp.31-46). Most governments of the Third World, in varying degrees, use the media to gain better support and understanding of their policies especially in international relations.

Relations between the Third World and advanced countries, especially the United States and the Soviet Union, are very sensitive. It seems that many Middle Eastern countries, such as Syria, Jordan and Kuwait, cannot be secure without relying on one or other of the superpowers. The relationships with the two superpowers are largely determined by

domestic as well as external factors and constraints. However, much emphasis in this thesis is given to the domestic factors in relation to particular regional or external issues which shape the foreign policies of Syria, Kuwait and Jordan. These domestic factors include the country's history, the geopolitical location, and the socio-economic structure.

The contention of this thesis is that relations with one superpower which in fact have largely been determined according to internal factors interrelated with external complexities does ultimately affect media policy and even the notion of the press as practised and experienced by each country.

## SYNOPSIS

### Chapter 1

The first chapter examines factors and constraints by which the foreign policies of Jordan, Syria and Kuwait are shaped. It sheds light basically on the domestic (internal) factors which largely enhance or constrain foreign policies particularly towards the two superpowers: the United States and the Soviet Union.

The argument of this chapter is that historical, economic, social and political structures in relation to regional and other external factors form the basis of the understanding of foreign policies of Kuwait, Syria, and Jordan vis-a-vis the external world especially the two superpowers.

## **Chapter 2**

~~This chapter explains the basis on which Jordan, Kuwait and Syria have~~ been chosen as case studies in the Middle East, bearing in mind the differences of their foreign policies, especially towards the United States and the Soviet Union. It also sets out the design of the empirical work. It also reviews the different studies which have attempted to assess the impact of foreign policy on media output.

## **Chapter 3**

This chapter examines basically the concept of the freedom of the press. It reviews the different approaches which analysed this concept. These include the liberal, socialist and authoritarian models. Freedom of the press in the Arab world in general and Syria, Jordan, Kuwait in particular has been analysed from the authoritarian approach.

## **Chapter 4**

This chapter gives an historical background on the development of the press in the Arab world with particular emphasis on Syria, Jordan and Kuwait as case studies. It deals with the different historical, economic and political factors which contributed directly, or indirectly, in the development process of the media in the Arab region.

## **Chapter 5**

This chapter is an attempt to provide a comparative analysis of the structure of the Syrian, Jordanian and Kuwaiti constitutions and how they deal with freedom of the press. It attempts to examine critically how far the media laws are similar or dissimilar in the three countries given that their foreign policies particularly towards the two superpowers are different. Therefore this chapter looks particularly at two main points:

1. The legal pressures on the press.
2. The direct censorship on the press.

## **Chapter 6**

Chapter 6 presents the findings of a content analysis of the United States and Soviet news stories in the Syrian, Jordanian and Kuwaiti newspapers on the following main points:

1. The amount of coverage of the two superpowers' stories.
2. The tone of the news stories (favourable, unfavourable or neutral).
3. The selection of the topics.
4. The selection of the sources.

## **Chapter 7**

Chapter 7 reviews the result of a survey of the three countries' journalists in order to try and answer the following questions:

1. How do the journalists define the meaning of *'freedom of the press'*?
2. Do the journalists' opinions (image) about the United States and the Soviet Union affect the way in which the newspapers write and edit news stories about the two superpowers?
3. General questions: from where did the journalists obtain their education, which international radio station do they listen to, and which international newspapers and magazines do they read?

## **Chapter 8**

This chapter provides the conclusions reached in this study.

# CHAPTER ONE

## CONTEMPORARY, SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL STRUCTURE OF SYRIA, KUWAIT AND JORDAN

The Arab world encompasses a number of characteristics or factors which in theory should contribute to the establishment of co-ordinated political actions (ie similar foreign policies and political resolutions vis-a-vis the external world). Although various, the main characteristics are: geographical unity, common language, common history, common religion and common interests, aims and destiny.

### **The Geographical Unity**

The Arab world forms a geographical unity. It contains a number of Arab countries which are not separated by any natural or geographical barrier. This, in turn has facilitated and encouraged communication between different parts of the Arab world and hence strengthened family relationships between members of the Arab world. (See Fawzey, A. 1970, Hussari 1961, p.96).

### **The Common Language**

Language might be regarded as the most important aspect. It is the means by which members of a nation communicate, understand each other, think, gain and inherit ideas from their parents and previous thinkers and the like.

Basically, it is because of the common language that we find aspects of common ways of life, ideas and feelings between members of a nation. The language in this sense does not only form and shape aspects of people's life but also creates more or less a unique way of life which is shared by different members of society. (See Fawzey, A. 1970, p.46)

Not surprisingly, the Arabic philosopher "*Sataa E-Hussari* claims that Arabic language is the fundamental axis of nationalism. He believes that the language is the spirit and the life of a nation. It is the main axis upon which it stands and also the most important aspect of its personality. "*Hussari, 1964, p.28.*" German philosophers in fact took the lead during the second half of the 18th Century in considering and arguing that the unity of language is a cornerstone of a nation given that the language and the nation are always interrelated and also based on the point that those who speak the same language are related and linked if not subject to forces and laws of nature, which in turn make of them a unity which does not accept division. (See Hussari, 1963.)

Before the coming of Islam, the Arabic language used to be the language of the Arabian Peninsula and other parts of Iran and "*El-Sham*" and after that, when Islam came with the message of Muhamed, the Arabic language spread and became the language of 94% of the population of the Arab world. And since then, all the people of that area have contributed to a common culture and common intellect, despite some differences in dialects from one region to another. However, the classical (formal) Arabic language still retains the whole Arab nation in its language unity.

Now, because of its capability of uniting the Arabs the Arabic language has been subject to attacks by colonialist powers throughout history. Being aware of its impact, both old and new colonialism, that is the Persian and Turkish colonialism in the past, and more recently European colonialism, have fiercely attacked the Arabic language by constantly encouraging and introducing different dialects in different regions in an attempt to destroy the Arabic language. Yet despite these attempts, colonialism has failed to replace the Arabic language with the various dialects found in the Arab world.

There are two main reasons for this failure.

Firstly, the *Kuran*, the sacred book of the majority of the Arab world, is written in Arabic and because people are so attached to their religion, they will not be diverted from their faith nor accept dialects or languages other than the one in which the Kuran and the message of Islam has been sent to *Muhammed*.

Secondly, the process of modernisation and cultural development at present in terms of technology dissemination has assisted in the implementation and foundation of Arabic presses etc., which in turn have enhanced the preservation of the Arabic language as the language of the Arab world. Of course, this is besides the different attempts which aim at approaching classical Arabic with different dialects on the one hand and attempts to unify thought and culture among members of the Arab nation on the other hand.

## **The Common History**

Their common history is another aspect which brings members of a nation together. It produces emotional attachments and leads to a pattern of similarities in remembrance and pride of the past. It is often used to motivate people in order to realise the hopes of a better future. However, the efficiency of history as an aspect of nationalism depends almost entirely upon the kind of events the nation has witnessed and to what extent it has contributed towards the creation and the shaping of such events. Thus the more the history of a nation is full of events, crises, challenges and pride, the more efficient is the solidarity of that nation because the generations of any nation do not always remember events except the big ones which have indeed contributed to changing the nation's way of life in the past and which still have an impact on their present social environment and way of life.

In this context, the history of the Arab world is very long and full of events. It goes back thousands of years. The Arab country was a fertile land for the ancient civilisations, (i.e. the Ferra in the Nile, the Babel and Ashur in Dejala and Furat, the Aramia and Syriana in Syria, the Finiki in the eastern coast of the Mediterranean and the ancient civilisation of Yemen.

Since the seventh century Islam has been a decisive factor in unifying the Arabs and, more than that, it became the turning point and the beginning of the long and common history of the Arab world. (See Fawzey, A. 1970, p.43.)

## **The Unity of Religion**

The role of the previous aspects of nationalism in the solidarity of the Arab nation depends also on other interrelated aspects, notably religion. (See Edmond Rabbath, 1976.)

Religion creates a kind of shared feeling amongst the members who belong to it, and instils in them certain emotions which have a great influence on their behaviour. Therefore, within this context, religion is one of the basic social relations between members of a society.

## **The Common Interests, Aims and Destiny**

Historical evidence proves that the people of the Arab world witnessed and went through phases of a long common history which instilled in them a strong feeling of belonging to one nation. The suffering of Arab people from colonialism until fairly recently in most places, and the continuity of this colonialism in the heart of the Arab world at present in the form of an Israeli state in Palestine, helps extend the feeling that an Israeli state is in fact an obstacle facing the whole Arab nation which seeks liberty, unity and development.

According to the classic statement in the science of political sociology which claims a positive relationship between external dangers, challenges and the national unity (Lewis A. Coser) it can be said that both in theory and practice, this constant feeling of danger and fear from the enemy has developed the feeling of belonging to the same

nation and the inspiration amongst Arab people towards a nationalist Arabic state. (See Lewis, A. Coser, 1956.)

However, these characteristics do not seem to have a substantial impact on the making of foreign policies. In other words, they do not seem to have an equal impact on every individual Arab country in terms of foreign policy orientation. For instance, the foreign policy of one country might be different from that of another country on one particular political issue but, also, it might bear some resemblance in relation to other external issues. This means that the foreign policies of the Arab world are subject to a complex web of constraints.

Foreign policies are affected by external stimuli, they react to initiatives and situations created by external forces. However, we cannot dismiss or undermine the role of internal or domestic factors which affect the decision making process and orient foreign policy in one direction or another. In their attempt to outline a framework for analysis of foreign policies in the Arab world, Bahgat Korany and Hillal Dessouki (1984) stressed the existing intimate relationship between domestic and external policies. According to them, the foreign policy process cannot be separated from the domestic social structure and domestic political process. (See, H. Dessouki and B. Korany, 1984, pp.7-8.)

The links between domestic and foreign policies are intricate and domestic political considerations are crucial in the choice between foreign policy alternatives. Because of these links, decision makers in any political system are always confronted by a complex situation of socio-political and economic constraints, military vulnerabilities, and a

number of domestic political demands (on religious, national, or ethnic grounds).

The domestic factors which can either enhance or constrain the foreign policy options of a country are numerous. They include the country's history, geographical location, population and social structure, economic and military capabilities and political structure. Hence, in order to understand the foreign policy of any political system, one has to first understand the socio-economic and political structure of the system as a whole. This chapter is an attempt to analyse the domestic environment, i.e., the socio-political structure of the three countries which affect their foreign policies particularly vis-a-vis the USA and USSR.

## 1. SYRIA

### **The Historical Element**

For the Syrians, the formation of foreign policy is mainly linked to the frustration of Syrian nationalist aspirations by Western imperialism. In the wake of the 1917 "*Arab Revolt*", Syrians expected the creation of an independent Arab state in historic Syrian (Bilad-Al-Sham). Instead, betraying their promises to the Arabs, the Western powers subjugated this land and dismembered it into four ministates: Syria, Jordan, Lebanon and Palestine. They also collaborated in the colonisation and establishment of the State of Israel in Palestine. (See, A.Tibawi, 1969.)

In time, Syria gained political independence, but its aspiration for territorial unity with Lebanon, Palestine and Jordan proved unattainable, and in Israel Syria encountered a formidable enemy entrenched on its borders. These developments, however, have produced as Hinnebusch (1984) puts it, '*a powerful brew of anti-imperialist, anti-Zionist, Pan-Arab sentiment that has imparted an enduring revisionist and irredentist thrust to Syrian foreign policy.*'

In mid-1971 Syria continued to be of strategic importance in the context of Arab-Israeli hostilities and of regional Arab relations. Since the mid-1950s and early 1960s Syrian governments have maintained close and cordial relations with the Soviet Union, in part because of Soviet support for the Arab

position in the Arab-Israeli dispute but also because of Syria's heavy dependence on the Soviet Union for technical, economic and military aid.

It can be argued, however, that Syria has had her view of the global arena and the rival great powers shaped by Arab nationalist reaction against the historical victimisation of the Arab nation by Western imperialism. Moreover, her attitude toward the East and West has been determined by their positions on issues of importance to Arab nationalism, in particular the Palestine question. By this standard the record of the Eastern bloc has been far superior to that of the West, hence Syria's friendship with the socialist states and hostility to chiefly the US. *"Imperialism"* has been a traditional feature of Syrian foreign policy under the Ba'th (Arab Socialist Resurrection) party.

### **The Economic Dimension**

Contrary to her foreign policy which has largely been marked by strong antagonism to the United States and her allies the Western capitalist states, Syria's economic policies, however, seem to be more Western-orientated. The provisional constitution of February 1971 provided for a planned socialist economy with the ownership of natural resources, utilities, banking and large-scale industry residing in the state. The rights of certain types of private ownership and inheritance were guaranteed and protected by law, within the limits of the general welfare. (See, Richard Nyrop, 1971, p.193.) Under the

radical Ba'th, Syria embarked on a socialist course that sought to curb economic ties to the West, seen as an obstacle to integrated national development, and put constraints on a nationalist foreign policy. But, the regime's simultaneous commitment to an ambitious development programme, populist welfare, and an active foreign policy put severe strains on its resources; defence expenditure alone consumed 15-20% of the GDP (Gross Domestic Product) and around a third of public expenditure by the 1970s. (See, R. Hinnebusch, 1984, p.286.)

Despite the fact that the Syrian economy enjoyed a good rate of growth, it has remained transitional, mainly agrarian; it has only a modest industrial sector. The regime was forced to look to the Western market in a search for new resources. By 1973-74, an open-door economy was devised and a set of decrees was issued in that direction. Controls on hard currencies were lifted, frozen assets were released, and foreign investors were given tax exemptions. Foreign companies were allowed, through private middlemen, to obtain government contracts. In early 1975, a US oil company was given a contract to explore for oil and US hotels were constructed. This was followed by a 1976 agreement which guaranteed US investments in Syria. Also, it is claimed that due to this open-door policy, the private sector officially controlled a maximum of 40 per cent of all exports and 35 per cent of imports. (See, Syed Aziz-Al-Ahsah, 1984, pp.311-12, and E. Longuenesse, 1979, p.7.)

However, these economic measures which led Syria to establish close economic relations with the Western capitalist system have

not affected her foreign policy and her position vis-a-vis the USA. This is mainly due to Syria's concern for its national security. Syrian policy, however, confirms the thesis that interstate conflicts in the Third World and military security considerations can be just as important as a focus of foreign policy. In this context, Raymond Hinnebusch (1984) argues that the military pre-occupation of the conflict with Israel far overshadows development as a concern of foreign policy makers. Indeed, developmental considerations sometimes appear peripheral to Syria's main security concerns.

### **The Political Dimension**

Syria's political structure is another important domestic factor which shapes the country's foreign policy and affects its orientation. In his article 'The Alawi Community of Syria: A New Dominant Political Force', Mahmud Fraksh (1984) pointed out that the most important fact of post-independence Syrian political life has been the complete political, social and economic collapse of the leading families in each "*agro-city*" coupled with the eclipse of the old power structure, which had been dominated by men of Damascus and Aleppo. Concomitantly, a new political elite made up of men of minoritarian background has emerged, representing specific sectarian, regional, socio-economic and political groups.

This newly-emerging political elite is the product of a nationalist movement whose power is based on the military, has created a political system which has developed, as Hinnebusch (1984)

observed, into a huge authoritarian "*national security state*" that harnesses society to the exigencies of foreign policy. The concentration of power by this elite permits the making and implementation of foreign policy decisions relatively free of institutionalized constraints; government control of the economy readily permits the commitment of the country's resources toward realising foreign policy goals. (See, Hinnebusch, 1984, p.286.)

Foreign policy decision-making in Syria is concentrated at the apex of the Ba'th authoritarian single party state. The state establishment is dominated by a powerful presidency resting on three institutional pillars: the party, the military, and the ministerial bureaucracy. The leaders of these institutions make up a power elite that the president both leads and consults in the decision-making process. Foreign policy matters, however, are decided by a circle of key leaders of varying scope, dominated by the president and top foreign policy and defence specialists. Top military leaders have been very prominent in this circle because the president himself (Hafiz Asad) is dependent on military support and because most foreign policy decisions have had immediate military-security implications. The political apparatus, the single party, its "*mass organisations*", and the mass media have until now managed to mobilise indispensable support for the regime and its foreign policy.

## **2. KUWAIT**

### **The Geopolitical and Historical Elements**

Comparatively speaking and contrary to Syria, Kuwait is less concerned with her national security. Geographically she is relatively far from such a threat and it seems obvious that Kuwait's relationship with the USA should be different. However, historical conditions and other domestic and regional circumstances suggest that Kuwait foreign policy is not dissimilar to that of Syria in relation to the United States. In other words, although the Kuwaiti government might not maintain the same policy vis-a-vis the USA on all issues, she has the same policies as Syria on particular determining political issues.

The geographical location of Kuwait suggests that her foreign policy is inclined to take a middle course vis-a-vis the two superpowers. Kuwait lies at the head of the Arabian Gulf bordering two regionally and politically different countries. Iraq, as a socialist-oriented country and Saudi Arabia as a conservative-oriented one. Both countries, under the influence of the two superpowers in the region, exert in one way or another pressures on Kuwait which eventually contribute to the shaping of Kuwaiti foreign policy in the region as well as at the level of the superpowers themselves. Examples of such pressures could be observed as early as the 1960s. When Kuwait gained independence, for instance, in 1961 following the termination

of the 1899 UK-Kuwaiti agreement which had given the UK responsibility for Kuwait's foreign policy, Iraq claimed sovereignty over Kuwaiti territory, alleging that a group called Kenaat, which formed a considerable part of the Kuwaiti population, came originally from Iraq. (See Fisher, 1988.)

However, historic factors which represent a form of liaison between the Kuwaiti people and others in the region urged policy makers in Kuwait to establish a similar direction to that of Syria.

On the Arab-Israeli conflict, one of the most important issues to the two superpowers, Kuwait has by no means been reluctant to support the Palestinian cause, notably after the Arab defeat in the 1967 war with Israel. Kuwaiti support for the Palestinian cause stems from the response to the pan-Arabianism call and the internal (domestic) structure of the Kuwaiti society itself.

Although the socio-political structure of Kuwaiti society is dealt with in some detail in one of the following sections, it is worth mentioning here that the Palestinian intelligentsia exert a hidden influence on the Kuwaiti government in relation to the Arab-Israeli conflict. This is because the Palestinian community of over 300,000 is the second largest community in Kuwait. (See Nasser H. Aruri, 1980, pp.48-50.)

Partly as a reflection of these factors, Kuwait has given considerable financial support since 1967 to the countries affected by the war as well as to the Palestinian guerrillas.

Moreover, Kuwait cut off financial aid to Jordan in September 1970 following the Jordanian massacre of Palestinians.

During the Arab-Israeli war of October 1973, Kuwaiti forces stationed along the Suez Canal were involved in the fighting and Kuwaiti financial support to the Arab cause reached K.D. 100M. In addition, while the war was still in progress, Kuwait called for a meeting of OAPEC to draw up a common Arab policy for the use of oil as a weapon to put pressure on Western countries, particularly the USA to force an Israeli withdrawal from occupied Arab territories. When the members of OAPEC decided to reduce petroleum production by at least 5% progressively each month, Kuwait went further and imposed a total embargo on petroleum shipments to the USA. (See, Fisher, 1988, p.522, Aruri, pp.48-50.)

Another substantial issue linked to how Kuwait's foreign policy towards the two superpowers could be determined was the armaments issue. Kuwait's pro-Western character and its ties with the capitalist world markets does not ensure her armaments needs.

Sophisticated weapons, which might be seen by the United States as a threat to the military order in the Middle East are never sold to Kuwait. Hence an alternative source for Kuwait is the USSR. In 1984, when Kuwait approached the USA to purchase armaments and the latter refused to provide the stinger anti-aircraft missiles which Kuwait had particularly requested, Kuwait turned to the Soviet Union and signed a

military agreement which later resulted in the delivery of a consignment of Soviet surface-to-air missiles, and in 1986 a £230m arms sales agreed between the two countries.

### **The Economic Dimension**

Kuwait seems to be more orientated towards the West and in particular the United States as far as economic relations are concerned. Her relationships with the Eastern bloc and the Third World seem to be less substantial. In order to understand this tendency, one needs to look at the factors which enhance and form Kuwait's economic policy.

There are two main factors. One is the national economic policy which remarkably is determined by the nature of domestic characteristics and needs of the country. Second is the ambitious climate, so to speak, offered by the Western capitalist system.

However, it is difficult to argue that by her strong economic orientations towards the West, Kuwait's foreign policy reflects a friendly attitude towards them. Her strong economic relations with the Western bloc do not seem to have a direct effect on Kuwait's foreign policies in connection with other associated historic, social and political factors, especially in relation to the the Arab-Israeli conflict.

## 1) **The Nature of Kuwait's Economy**

As Dr. T.H. Unwin describes it, Kuwait is a relatively small arid country with a severe climate. Fresh water is scarce and agriculture extremely limited; 0.1% of the land is arable. Before the discovery of oil, the inhabitants depended for their livelihood on fishing, pearl-diving and trading. But since the discovery of oil, Kuwait's economy has been radically transformed to a high level of material prosperity. Income from petroleum sales has contributed enormously to promoting every aspect of the country's development. (T.H. Unwin, 1988, pp.524-6.)

Scholars of economics and development (i.e. Carl Bazarian, 1980) classify the development of Kuwait's economy according to two major periods and in both periods relations with the Western bloc seem overwhelming.

During the first period which extends from the early fifties up to the late sixties, the primary emphasis was on building a modern social welfare state. The public sector was given the responsibility for the development of the water, oil and gas industries, as well as other vital domains. The private sector, however, was less dominant in this domain.

Within this period, the construction of a modern city whose citizens were guaranteed comfortable housing and

sophisticated medical care at government expense was achieved. (See C. Bazarian, 1980, pp.50-1.)

The second period is referred to as the post-1973 developments, in which two major aspects have taken place in relation to the overall Kuwaiti social economy. One has been the rapid growth of oil revenues which invited a lot of controversy about the future of the country's economy namely how to rationalise government spending; the other has been the growing number of expatriate labour.

Criticism of government policy stems from the fact that the Kuwaiti population has increased from 15,000 in 1950 to 280,000 in 1960, and 1,697,301 in 1985, only 40% are Kuwaiti nationals, the remainder immigrant workers.

Critics say that large government expenditure is likely to encourage instability and a whole range of attitudes and customs of foreigners who come mainly from unstable parts of the region. The implication of this criticism has been the necessity to bar foreigners from the power and privileges enjoyed by Kuwaiti citizens.

Besides this, and in relation to the rationalisation of government expenditure, there has been the argument that the small Kuwaiti population is not suitable for expanding development potentials. Unless markets can be found within the region or the larger world economy it is

difficult to guarantee a healthy economy. Instead, government opponents advocated two policy lines which, by and large, have been adopted at later stages by the government. These are: the necessity for foreign investment and the reservation of oil for the next generation. (See Bazarian, 1980, op.cit.)

**2) Oil Revenues Investments: The inspiration is towards the West.**

In the process of development, Kuwait was strongly geared towards the West which supplied her with modern technology and other needs.

Figures indicate that until 1985 Kuwait's main trading partners were the same as in previous years. Japan supplies her with 26.7% of her total imports, the USA 9.6% and the federal republic of Germany 8.81%. Only fairly recently has Kuwait diversified her economic ties with the Eastern bloc by signing co-operation agreements with China in 1985 and the Soviet Union in 1984. In addition to the technological dependency on the West, Kuwait has relied heavily on foreign or expatriate labour, but this began to produce negative social implications in Kuwaiti society such as the rapid population increase and fear of harming its national culture. Criticism of government policy has resulted, among other things, in the government investing Kuwait's oil revenues abroad. The encouraging market for this was North America and

Western Europe. The government established, in late 1976, a reserve fund for future generations with initial capital estimated at \$7 billion and it was decreed that the fund would automatically be increased each year by an amount equal to 10% of the state's total revenue.

The reserve fund for future generations has assets with commercial yields, such as equities, bonds, certificates of deposit and direct investment in real estate. It is estimated that nearly 60% of the commercial assets are invested in the United States through the major US banks. Other commercial portfolios are diversified throughout Europe and Japan. (See Bazarian, 1980, pp.50-4.)

### **The Socio-political Structure**

The social structure of Kuwaiti society is a further dimension in the complex web by which foreign policy is shaped and directed. Kuwait, the capital city where the majority of the Kuwaiti population is concentrated, is divided into two areas. The Al-Sharq area is relatively poor and most of the inhabitants are of Iranian origin; the Al-Qiblah area is rich and is inhabited by the ancient Kuwaiti families who completely control the main structure of the Kuwaiti economy.

Before the discovery of oil these families represented the merchant oligarchy who controlled the country's trade, owned merchant fleets that worked in pearling and regular commerce and, after the emergence of oil, these families hastened to assert

their control of the country's commerce. Their origins go back to the ancient tribes which came from the Arabian desert, therefore they encourage and stress their links with the Arab nation.

The merchant oligarchy group was behind the creation of a parliamentary government at the time of independence. In 1938, when oil was discovered, the fairly autonomous commercial bourgeoisie was transformed into a dependent upper-class which invested in speculative construction and became a distributor for the West. This commercial upper-class, having become tied to external interests, lost its economic leverage on the ruling dynasty.

In turn, the dynasty became dependent economically upon British Petroleum, and dependent politically and militarily upon the British government. The merchant oligarchy, which was represented in the consultative assembly was repressed by the ruling family. When the merchants in the assembly attempted to institute what amounted to legislative checks on the ruler with regard to international agreements and franchises, the ruler dissolved the assembly, in 1938, suppressed an armed rebellion by merchants who were protesting at their loss of economic privileges, and created a royal advisory council consisting exclusively of Sabbahis. (See Aruri, 1980, pp.44-6.)

Supported by the overall tide of an Arab nationalism which opposed Western dominance in the Gulf region and the implementation of an alien settler regime in Palestine in 1948,

the oligarchy merchants exerted pressure on the Sabbahis royal family which consequently offered them the opportunity to work within the system by the establishment of parliament in 1962, which was attributed broad legislative powers and checks on the executive branch. The constitution also recognised the basic freedoms of speech and press assembly.

Although the oligarchy merchants' group constituted the first opposition in the newly created legislature and ranked with the nationalists, later on in the 1970s they seemed to have redefined their relationship to the nationalist opposition of the 1960s. *"Conscious of its vested interests in stability and aware of the setbacks to Arab nationalism caused by the defeat by Israel in June 1967, by the subsequent death of Nasser and by the ascendancy of conservative Saudi influence in the Arab world, this sector began to break away from its nationalist allies and lean towards the government."* (Aruri, 1980, p.45.)

Thus, when the government decided in 1976 to dissolve the National Assembly and suspend parliament and democratic freedoms, the oligarchy group showed no active opposition.

Politically speaking, the democratic parliamentary experience in Kuwait has assisted in the emergence of the traditional political forces of the right and left, even though the nature of the conflict between these forces is quite different from that of other capitalist countries.

The left-wing group in Kuwait is depicted so mainly because its members are followers of the pan-Arab tendency who have connections with the Arab Liberation Movements and the pan-Arab unity call. The development of the situation in the Arab region following the Nasserite tide in the region and the Palestinian immigration to Kuwait had a direct effect on the left wing tendency in Kuwait, and as indicated above, even the oligarchy merchants were identified with this group in their opposition to the government at earlier stages of the parliamentary experience.

The Kuwaiti left-wing group is not based on Marxism or Marxist ideology given Kuwait's special circumstances and its status as a rich country enjoying the highest degree of social prosperity. The left-wingers were not able to exploit gaps between the various classes in Kuwaiti society, as the ruling family was showering the society with money and services and providing opportunities and jobs for all Kuwaities. Thus, the most fertile area for the left-wingers was the country's foreign policy.

As a result of this, the government was pressurised into following a balanced policy towards the two superpowers. Kuwait was the first country in the Gulf region to establish diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union. It has also adopted a balanced policy with the Arab countries regardless of their regimes. It has played the role of mediator in most of the Arab disputes without actually taking sides in these disputes. (See, The Democracy of Sheikhs, 1987.)

The right-wing group benefits most from the present political situation in the country and the free economic system. This group is led by M. Adl-Al-Aziz al-Saqr, Chairman of the Chamber of Commerce and first speaker of the National Assembly. He is the head of the Al-Saqr family which enjoys a social influence possibly second only to that of the ruling Al-Sabah family. The family directly controls the banking and insurance sectors, industries such as gas and petro-chemicals, and also the transportation of oil through its ownership of the Kuwaiti oil tankers companies. Politically, they oppose the increased Shi'ite minority influence and to some extent foreign immigration to Kuwait. However, although conservative, this group still shares some policy principles with the first group, especially in relation to the Arab-Israeli conflict. It grants financial aid to the Arab frontline states and has collected donations in every Arab-Israeli war.

Other groups which influence the formation of foreign policy include the religious forces but mainly the Shi'ite minority group which has links with Iran. This group is bound by ties of sectarianism and intermarriage and refuses to marry outside this sect. The political power of this group became more apparent in 1975 when 10 Shi'ite deputies succeeded in representing two constituencies. The group's success in entering parliament contributed to the ruling dynasty declaring an end to parliament in Kuwait.

### **3. JORDAN**

#### **The Historical and Political Dimension**

Though Jordan shares its border with Israel, the government has not pursued a similar foreign policy to that of Syria. Historic and political events which took place during the 50s, 60s and up to the mid-seventies, showed that the Arab-Israeli struggle was vital to Jordan from the domestic angle with the establishment of what came to be called the United Arab Kingdom which, in theory, consists of the East Bank, the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, and which is headed by the Hashemite monarchy.

To this end, it can be argued that Israel was mostly viewed as an obstacle in so far as the establishment of the Hashemite monarchy was concerned. It is also within this historic-domestic context, that cordial relations with the West and particularly with the USA should be interpreted.

Unlike Syria and other Arab countries in the region, throughout the Arab-Israeli conflict Jordan never explicitly supported the idea that war should be carried out against Israel and the Palestinians must regain all the territories that were occupied in 1948. As a result, tension and distrust was created with neighbouring countries, namely Syria, and this encouraged Jordan to maintain a close relationship with the USA.

If we are to look in some detail at the historical background against which Jordanian political decisions both regionally and

internationally were made, we need to trace the main aspects since Jordan's independence.

The 1928 treaty signed with Britain which was to grant independence to Transjordan was delayed by the outbreak of World War II. It was not until 1948 that Abdullah was proclaimed King of Transjordan and in April 1949, he changed the name of the country to the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, which comprised the East Bank and West Bank.

Before the outbreak of World War II, the population of Transjordan, which never had clear cut borders, did not exceed 500,000. It was not until 1948 that the population under the umbrella of Jordanian Kingdom increased. As a result of the war with Israel, some 500,000 Palestinians willingly took refuge in Transjordan. However, in 1949, King Abdullah annexed the West Bank to Jordan which comprised about 500,000 indigenous Palestinian residents. This move of forcing Palestinians to be under the Jordanian regime brought condemnation from the Arab league. And therefore the King was largely viewed and denounced as a reactionary monarch and a tool of British imperialism. Such an act and other similar political acts, explains that King Abdullah seemed to be searching for a long-term peaceful treaty with Israel; however, other religious and security reasons seemed to have prevented him from favouring the immediate internationalisation of Jerusalem as well as establishing any substantial treaty with Israel.

Consequently, in 1951, he was assassinated by the Palestinians and his son Tallal took over the throne. But because of mental illness, he was soon replaced by his son Hussein.

King Hussein, his successor claims to be of the Hashemite dynasty which traces its lineage to the Prophet Muhammed and that he feels a personal responsibility towards the city of Jerusalem. Based on this, the newly-appointed Jordanian King granted the West Bank Palestinians a share, with the Jordanians, in the framework of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. (See Adnan Abudeh, 1981, p.9; Richard F. Nyrop, 1979, pp.35-8.)

Despite the 1967 six-days war with Israel, which resulted in the occupation of the West Bank, Palestinian inhabitants still retain their legal status as Jordanian citizens.

At the diplomatic level, by contrast to the other Arab countries in the region, Jordan accepted the United Nations Resolution 242, advanced by the United States, which basically laid down a set of principles relating to the withdrawal of the Israeli armed forces from territories occupied in the 1967 conflict. In this respect, Jordan and the United States maintained close consultation in an attempt to settle the Arab-Israeli conflict on the basis of the United Nations Resolution.

Following acceptance of the American peace proposal, tension gradually mounted between Palestinian guerrillas in the Jordanian camps and the Jordanian army. In 1970 a confrontation between the two sides led to a Palestinian massacre. At this stage, the Jordanian government held talks with the USA about direct military assistance when the neighbouring Arab countries, namely Egypt, threatened to intervene on the guerrillas' behalf namely Egypt. However, the diplomacy of other Arab states, notably Saudi Arabia, brought about the signing of an agreement between Arafat the head of the PLO and King Hussein to end the war and release the Palestinian detainees on condition that they leave for other Arab states or return to normal life in Jordan.

After the liquidation of the Palestinian guerrillas in 1971, during the ensuring of political stability, King Hussein sought to strengthen his internal political position by allotting some key positions to Palestinians who had qualifications and experience in the highly specialised and technically-oriented field of economic planning and other relating aspects.

In 1972 King Hussein renewed his proposal of a United Arab Kingdom to be created after an Israeli withdrawal, and also the prospect of peace in the region as suggested in United Nations Resolution 242. (See Richard F. Nyrop, 1979, p.66.)

However, pressure exerted on Jordan by the Arab countries in the aftermath of the 1973 War with Israel resulted in Jordan's participation in the Arab summit held in Rabat in 1974, in

which Hussein abandoned his claim to the West Bank and recognised the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinians and its right to establish national authority over any liberated Palestinian territory. This led to an improvement in Jordan's relations with the Arab world. (See Fisher, 1988, pp.492-6.)

The changing political position of Jordan vis-a-vis the question of the Palestinians and its inclination to pursue a middle of the road policy in the region since then, must be understood in the light of other related socio-economic and political complexities and constraints which faced Jordanian domestic policies. Many of these constraints stem from the economic situation of the country, which will be examined in the next section.

However these constraints did not thwart the Jordanian-American intimate relationship, since the military order in the region was sustained and not threatened by Jordan's newly proclaimed political position in disclaiming the West Bank as a part of the Hashemite Kingdom. Jordan still maintained a policy of not allowing Palestinian guerrillas to conduct military operations against Israel from Jordanian territory. Therefore, military and economic assistance still poured into Jordan. By 1970, it had reached \$200 million annually. (See Fisher, op cit. p.189.)

Communism remains inimical to the Jordanian monarchy: however this has not prevented Jordan from maintaining contacts with the Soviet Union. Diplomatic relations were

established between the two countries as early as 1963 and visits exchanged. In the wake of the 1967 war, Hussein himself visited the Soviet Union to further the Arab cause but the obvious reason for his visit was a signal to the West in general and the United States in particular to increase its overall support for the Arab cause. (op.cit. p.190.)

### **The Economic Dimension**

The economy is a decisive factor in the making of Jordanian foreign policy. Claims to the West Bank as part of Jordanian territory during the sixties, and the search for a peaceful settlement with Israel, stemmed to a great extent from domestic economic imperatives.

Considering the disruption to the already poor economic sector created by the war, and the increase in population as a result of the massive influx of Palestinian refugees after the 1948 war, Jordan's economic situation was severely affected notably following the 1967 war and the occupation of the West Bank. (See op. cit., pp.501-3.)

Although the Jordanian economy was dependent on foreign aid and assistance, the West Bank was a major source of income before the 1967 occupation. It was efficiently farmed agricultural land. After the occupation, Jordan was deprived of 80% of the fruit and 45% of the vegetable growing areas but, more importantly, the area used to represent a growing tourist

industry. Large sums of foreign currency used to come from the tourists who visited the old cities of Jerusalem and Bethlehem.

Although some of the immediate problems brought about by the 1967 war were met by aid and assistance from Arab countries, the long-term economic situation was insecure, especially because with the price of oil still low, Jordan could not depend solely on Arab aid. This obviously had an impact on how Jordan's foreign policy, in the region as well as vis-a-vis the two superpowers, was to be shaped.

The main concern of Jordanian policy makers up to the mid 1970s, the eve of the Arab Summit at Rabat, was the search for a settlement with Israel. In this connection, the United States was pragmatically approached from two angles. One was the political influence which the United States could exert on Israel, given their close relationship, in order to force the latter to withdraw from the territories occupied in 1967 and, second, was the traditional relations between the USA and Jordan because of which the latter received economic and other kinds of assistance. These traditional relations, are based among other things, on Jordan's loyalty to the ideological capitalist line in the region.

During the second half of the seventies and onwards, the balance of power in the Middle East changed slightly so far as Jordan was concerned. The price of oil increased tremendously following the 1973 war with Israel and Jordan was guaranteed substantial financial aid by the Arab oil producing countries on

condition that King Hussein dropped his claim to the West Bank and Jordan ceased recriminations with the PLO.

The Arab Summit in Rabat which gave the agreement a political framework in October 1974, allocated further financial aid to the Palestinians in the West Bank through Jordan in order to sustain stability and prevent immigration particularly to the East Bank and other areas of Jordan. Although in the beginning of the Summit King Hussein showed some opposition, eventually he agreed to a reconciliation with the PLO. The Rabat Conference was beneficial to the Jordanian political system from at least three angles.

First, the financial assistance assured by the other Arab countries. Second, the much improved security and absence of Palestinian threats and other operations which were often directed against Jordan. And third, the continuing cordial relation with the United States.

Other regional changes during the seventies and the eighties have ensured that Jordan's foreign policy towards the Arab-Israeli conflict and the two superpowers has remained more or less static. The outbreak of war in Lebanon in the second half of the seventies, and particularly the Iran-Iraq war, contributed immensely to the increased trade with Iraq. As a result, the Jordanian economy has enjoyed sustained economic growth. Between 1974 and 1984 Jordan had one of the highest growth rates in the world. The real GDP increased by 17.6% in 1980, and by 9.8% in 1981. This growth is remarkable in view of the

fact that the aid and assistance provided by the Arab countries was mostly cut off following the severe decrease in oil revenues in the first half of the eighties. (See Fisher 1988, p.500, Wilson 1988, pp.325-44.)

### **The Political Structure**

The domestic political structure is another vital factor in Jordan's foreign policy making. The Jordanian political system as described in the constitution is a hereditary monarchy with a parliamentary form of government. The King is the central policy maker and legislative and executive authority. He maintains tight control over key government functions such as national defence, internal security and foreign affairs.

The continuity of Hussein's power in Jordan is basically due to the loyalty and support of the original Transjordanian population, particularly the Beduin who revere him as a descendant of the family of the Prophet. These Beduins, who form the prominent segment in the army, have supported him through a number of crises and have served as a stabilising force within the country.

Transjordanians occupy most of the top, civil judicial positions in Jordan. Palestinians, who increasingly pressurised the government, have peripheral powers in economic and administrative key positions.

Hussein's power was further consolidated by the liquidation of any political challenge to his constitutional order after the termination of the Palestinian guerrillas in 1971. Fisher, 1979, indicates in this respect that:

*"In 1979, political parties and the house of representatives, the two principal outlets for partisan politics were discouraged and left dissolved respectively. The absence of these outlets has stifled the evolution of partisan politics and forestalled the emergence of any group or movement independent of the government."*  
(Fisher, 1988, p.168.)

Jordan's foreign policy reflects the concentration of political power with the Transjordan elites.

## **SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS**

This chapter has examined how the foreign policies of the countries under study are shaped basically in relation to the role of internal or domestic factors which, it is argued, have a great impact on the orientation of foreign policies. However, external forces, which obviously also affect a country's foreign policy, cannot be ignored. To this end then, the historical, socio-economic and political structures of each country were investigated.

Syria's geographical location, facing the military state of Israel, and the historic inspiration of creating the independent Arab State (Bilad Al-Sham) with what it encompasses of pan-Arabism, has maintained a hostile political position towards the United States and a close

relationship with the Soviet Union, particularly in terms of military security.

However, at the economic level Syria seems more dependent on the Western bloc particularly the United States.

The contradiction between the political antagonism vis-a-vis the United States and economic dependency seems absurd. However, it appears that though internal (domestic) factors orienting foreign policies might be different and contradictory at times, other powerful factors, in this case the military (security) factor, are the most overwhelming in shaping foreign policies.

Kuwait's foreign policy seems to take a middle course particularly in relation to the two superpowers, given her geopolitical location away from the Arab-Israeli conflict, and despite the contradictory ideologies of the bordering countries, conservative Saudi Arabia and socialist-orientated Iraq.

However the middle-course policy seems more latent concerning economic issues and other less important issues (i.e. regional conflicts between Arab countries such as the two Yemens). But when it comes to determining issues such as the Arab-Israeli conflict, Kuwait's case is not dissimilar to that of Syria. This is not only explained by pan-Arabism but also and mainly by the domestic socio-political structure and the influence of the Palestinian intelligentsia which hold some key positions in the Kuwaiti social structure.

Jordan's foreign policy was more inclined towards the West particularly the United States. Her policy-making might be said to have moved through two principal stages. During the first stage, from the day of independence until the mid-seventies, Jordanian foreign policy was heavily orientated towards America and was antagonistic to the Palestinian cause. This was partly due to the historic interest of the Jordanian dynasty to annexe the Palestinian West Bank to Jordan and with it a considerable economic wealth, and partly by the weak economic situation and therefore the dependency that characterised her relations with the United States.

The second stage, beginning after the Arab Summit in Rabat in 1974, was characterised by Jordan dropping its claim to the West Bank, a move explained again by economic imperatives: namely the assistance provided by the Arab oil producing countries and other changes or events which took place in the region and contributed to the economic growth of the country (i.e. the Iran-Iraq war).

Nonetheless, the changing Jordanian position towards the Palestinian cause has not affected her cordial relationship with the United States. since for Jordan to disclaim the West would not affect the military order in the region. However, having discussed the internal factors which shape the foreign policies of Syria, Jordan and Kuwait, especially in relation to the two superpowers, we need also to point out that such policies are not framed merely according to internal imperatives. External factors are also involved, namely those related to the superpowers themselves. Economic, political and other interests of both superpowers in the region which were not of central focus in this chapter, also contribute in one way or another in orientating or

sustaining the direction of the foreign policy of the countries under study.

Having shed light on the socio-economic and political structure which largely shaped the foreign policies of each country, and having explained the latent differences of these foreign policies, we now look at the mass media aspects. To what extent do the media reflect such differences, and what influence do foreign policies exert on the media, and on what particular issues is this influence found particularly in relation to the two superpowers? This is what forms the basis of our field work: the content analysis and the interviews with journalists, which look at the extent of press coverage given to the two superpowers and also the perceptions held by journalists about the two superpowers.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **PREVIOUS RESEARCH AND RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

Research on foreign news and government press relations particularly in relation to the issue of foreign policy influence on the press can be broadly divided into two main areas. Our aim in this chapter is to highlight these two areas by unveiling namely their weaknesses and thereafter we shall introduce the communication framework within which we conduct our study. Then we shall outline and explain the research methods we used.

As we have indicated, the two areas of research include:

- a) a general or a broad area which focuses on the study of news content and, in most cases, looks thoroughly at the balance and the imbalance of foreign news coverage without establishing a strong link or concern to the political system under which the newspapers are run or even the legal, economic or normative constraints to which they are subjected.
- b) The second area, compared to the former is more specific in that it deals with the government press relations (ie through an analysis of the foreign policy of one country towards another. Hence freedom of the press and other legal and institutional constraints are highlighted.

However, as we are going to reveal in our criticism of these types of studies later on in this chapter, most of them were conducted according to a liberal perspective and therefore they failed to establish a link between the influence of foreign policy on the press and the journalistic mechanisms of ideology which are in the last instance a reflection of a whole range of economic, political, social and cultural structures of a particular society.

As we shall see, these factors might differ in their influence and implications from one society to another, but an overall consideration of such factors is a central point to understanding the function of both foreign policy and news values of the press.

If we are to start by looking at the first type of research, we have to point out that although the foreign policy factor was regarded as crucial in influencing the news coverage, very little was done in relation to the linkage between the foreign policy and the whole economic, social and political structure. In this context therefore, although valuable most of these studies' analysis depended largely on the results obtained from technical correlations. In this respect, Vilanilam carried out a study entitled '**Foreign policy as a dominant factor in foreign news**', in which he aimed at examining empirically the process of foreign news selection as reflected in the manifest content of foreign news in two geographically and culturally distant press systems, the USA and India, in the period January-June 1979. Specific questions were sought for completion of his investigation, such as how much foreign news appeared in each system? What were the inter-newspaper and inter-system differences in the quantity of news? Which countries or regions received most attention? What were the main themes covered

by each system? Which news agencies supplied the largest number of items to each press system? etc. In the findings of the study, Vilanilam argues that the selection and presentation of news about other countries in a country's press is largely influenced by the foreign policy of the system country. In other words, each system selected countries and themes in consonance with the foreign policy of the state. (J.V.Vilanilam, 1983, pp.75-84.)

Another study was carried out in 1981 to assess the difference between the various systems in the world. Hachten compared five press systems and discovered that all of them reflect the political and economic outlook of the nation within which they operate, and that the Western news media, which is relatively independent of their own governments, tend to report foreign news from the view point of their country's foreign policy concerns. (W. Hachten, 1981, pp.62, 8c 94.)

Similarly, Paletz and Entman (1981) in their book '**Media, Power and Politics**', by taking as an example the USA, pointed out that while disputes may be prevalent between the press and the government on domestic politics, when it comes to foreign policy, government-press interaction changes to consensus, because the basic assumption in foreign affairs/policy coverage is, as the authors put it: America's diplomatic aims are honourable ... and if there is disagreement, it is not on goals, only on tactics. (D.L. Paletz and T.M. Enteman, 1981, p.215.)

Also, in the USA, Mazharul Haque (1983) conducted a study on three elite daily newspapers, the New York Times, the Washington Post and the Christian Science Monitor to assess whether there was an imbalance in the US coverage of news in the Third World. In his

findings he argues that the United States diplomatic interests or political interests in a country influences greatly the news attention given to that country. Western Europe did not receive a high coverage compared with Third World states, even though Europe is the first ally of America. Forty-four per cent of the front page stories in the three dailies were international; the Third World accounted for 82% of the foreign stories, 6% dealt with the developed world. This shows that the daily press coverage followed the foreign policy interests of the state at that particular time, where much US foreign interests were devoted to the Middle East, Asia and Africa.

Bledso et al. (1982) in their study '**Foreign Affairs Coverage in Elite and Mass Periodicals**', found that *"the public is presented with a world image characterised by sharp inter-state conflicts with little attempt to tie diverse events together"* (p.304.) The study concluded that the *"bias in the media reinforces the bias already in the foreign policy process, which is to deal with immediate crisis rather than long term policy. It found that the biases were amplified by the general orientation towards political events ... while excluding more fundamental problems."* (Bledso et al. 1982, pp.305-25.)

Another study by R.H. Trice (1979) on '**The American Elite Press and the Arab Israeli Conflict**' provides hints that the American editors may have been predisposed to follow the lead of the American government; to adopt an open minded cautiously supportive stance toward Israel. Trice explains that:

*"It is certainly the case that decision makers often seek the support of editorial writers and columnists in the hope of structuring opinion in favour of these policy positions when such efforts are successful, they may lead to a broadening base of support among the attentive and mass public, but they may also jeopardise the independent role of the press."*

Similar studies were carried out on the issue of foreign policy-press relationships in different parts of the world. In Latin America, for instance, Wayne Wolfe's study in 1964 represents the first of its genre. This study entitled '**Images of the United States in the Latin American press**', was a content analysis of 20 leading dailies in Latin American states. From the emphasis on news of government and particularly of foreign affairs, the study showed that there was a picture of the USA as a major power playing a decisive role in world affairs and as one of the chief antagonists in the '**Cold War**'. But the image was of the United States facing primarily towards Europe and resting its foreign policy on two basic problems: reaction to Soviet Russia, and the maintenance of unity and co-operation between its European allies. Latin America, consequently, was seen as playing a minor role in the thinking of the State Department and other governmental agencies. (Wayne Wolfe, 1964, p.83.)

In this area, other studies were carried out, Burke (1983 and 1985) in two studies on the coverage of the two superpowers in the Nicaraguan press, and the role of censorship before and after the comparison of the superpowers coverage. It concluded that the Nicaraguan press presented more unfavourable news stories about the USA than the Soviet Union and the allies. This was further increased in the findings of the second study in which he noticed that no news item presented dealt with the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, and that this was apparently regarded as a "*taboo subject*".

John Merrill concluded in his study (1962) '**The Image of the United States in Ten Mexican Dailies**', that if the

*"Mexican reader exposed himself regularly to the editorials and opinion columns as well as to the news content, he would find*

*the overall neutral or bland image of the news affected by a series of antagonistic themes ... would leave him with a basically negative or unfavourable image of the United States." (p.209.)*

In the Arab world, Munir Nasser (1983) chose three main international events which dominated the international scene in 1981 and which made headlines in the Western media, these included:

1. Martial law in Poland.
2. The US government's charges that Libya's President Gadaffi sent 'hit teams' to assassinate top government officials, and
3. Israel's annexation of the Golan Heights.

He argued that these same headlines flashed across mass media in the Third World countries, but with a political slant. He explained that:

*"The mass media in a socialist country with leaning towards Moscow for example, would probably have presented martial law in Poland as 'a legitimate move by the Polish government against the disruptive Solidarity labour movement'. The same media would have featured the news of Israel's annexation of the Golan as an outright aggression against friendly Syria. The Libyan hit team story would have been presented as an alleged plot by the US to discredit Gadaffi and justify military action against Libya, and the media of the Third World country friendly to the United States would probably have used a different yardstick to judge these stories."*

(M.Nasser, 1983, p.45).

Another study was conducted in 1973 by Dajani and Donahue. It was a content analysis of six daily newspapers in Algeria, Kuwait, Syria, Lebanon, Egypt and Saudi Arabia. The objective was to analyse the foreign news in the Arab press. This study found that ideological affinity with foreign countries, and former cultural ties established with

foreign countries during the colonial period, favourably affect the volume and content of news concerning these countries. The foreign news in all six papers studied was predominantly political news. The United States got first place in the amount of coverage followed by the Soviet Union, but the USA news was negative in direction because of its direct support of Israel. The Soviet Union with a clear pro-Arab stand received positive coverage in all but the Saudi papers.

A third study of foreign news in nine Arab countries, conducted by Gehan Rachty in 1978, found a heavier reliance on news from Western news agencies than from communist or Third World news agencies. This was mainly due to the relationship of most Arab states with the Western world rather than the Soviet Union and the Eastern Bloc. (Rachty, 1978.)

Finally, a study by Mohammed El-Sorayrah confirmed that foreign relation stories dominate the news coming from abroad in the Jordanian press (El Sorayrah, 1986). The focal point of these Arab studies is the process and gathering of international and foreign news without directly relating to the foreign policy process.

All of these studies have in one way or another succeeded in pointing out that the foreign policy, even in the so-called free societies, has had a major impact on media coverage and content; and that foreign policy cannot be ignored as a major factor in influencing the media. In retrospect, however, most of these studies failed to explain the reason for foreign policy impact on the press. For instance, if we take the studies carried out in the Arab world, we find, for example, that the study conducted by Gehan Rachty in 1978 neither explains why nor

how foreign news in nine Arab countries relies heavily on Western news agencies rather than the communist world. Instead of illustrating and explaining the kinds and levels of relationships between the West and the Arab world and the ways in which influence on media content is more latent, she only states that the influence is due to a simplistic causal relationship which is that most Arab states have more relationships with the Western world than the Soviet Union and the Eastern Bloc.

Similarly, Dadjani and Donahue in their study (1973) of the foreign news in the Arab world, although they point to some of the key factors which direct the selection of foreign news, remain general and do not explain how or to what extent former cultural ties established with foreign countries during the colonial period affect the content of news of these countries.

All in all, these studies failed to look in any depth at the mechanisms of the different press systems and they also failed to pinpoint the socio-economic and political factors which can direct both foreign policies and press systems. They largely underestimated issues central to the relationship between foreign policy and media content such as freedom of the press, news values and journalistic ideology within media institutions.

The second area of research, as we indicated previously is more specific in that it deals primarily with the issue of foreign policy in a given country and therefore posits the question of the relation between the government and the press. This trend of research also takes into consideration other aspects beside the content analysis of newspapers.

Having said that, most of this research also was largely dependent on content analysis, and most of it has been carried out from a liberal perspective as we shall see from the review of the studies. This type of research can also be divided into two main trends. The first concentrates on the analysis of constraints facing journalists in dealing with news or issues related to foreign policy. The second focuses on the interrelated process by which foreign policy is shaped - between foreign policy-makers, diplomats etc. and the media as a body which plays a role in the process of enhancing, making or directing a political or diplomatic decision.

According to Pool (1973), in liberal democratic societies, journalists face a critical dilemma: on the one hand the dependence on government for news (and the consequent media professional-government elite ties) and on the other, the professional subscription to autonomy from government. This dilemma is exacerbated in foreign affairs coverage where nationalism may become a factor and where dependence on government information sources increases. In this sense, the press accordingly face two levels of pressure: one is derived from a sense of loyalty to the government and the other is dependence on government for information on foreign affairs.

However, this type of pressure on journalists or media institutions is not presented by liberal scholars as a type of control. Rather, they were described as pressures and linked to concepts such as nationalism. The dilemma in this respect becomes not control and constraints from the political order as such but a journalistic self conscious control derived from a sense of loyalty to the government as the representative of nationalism.

In this connection Alexander (1981) says: *"If our system reference shifts from the national to the international level, we can see quite clearly, that even the most differentiated independent national medium will usually be closely linked to particularistic, national loyalties in terms of its relationship to extranational events ... whereas the direct link between newspapers and a particular social group remains a distinct possibility on the national level, the de-differentiated identification of newspapers with the interests of a particular national community is standard practice on the level of international social relations ... Events in the international arena are ... almost always interpreted from the particularistic perspective of the nation within which the news medium operates ... Consequently ... international news appears to outside observers to be biased in the extreme."* (Jeffrey C. Alexander, 1981, p.38.)

It is within this context that a great deal of research was carried out in America in a qualitative content analysis. Mills (1969) examined editorial reaction to the 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion, an incident which in Mill's interpretation involved a limitation on the press to form editorial judgement because it entailed a choice between patriotism on the one hand and the responsibility to criticise a questionable national policy that failed on the other. In this respect, Mills does not explain the constraints put on the media by means of control of political order on media institutions and personnel, be it direct or indirect, but he covers that by the legitimational process, so to speak, which he presents. He explains the limitations on the press by the so-called national interest without discussing the aspects of such national interest and what social group it really affects and why.

In this incident, which involved the United States and Cuba, the American press was found to have supported Washington foreign policy. However, the interpretation of such support by mere reference to nationalistic or patriotic grounds only legitimizes social and political control on the press.

In the same vein, Wang (1979) carried out a study on the press coverage of Communist China between 1969 and 1975. He found that the reporting of the New York Times, Chicago Tribune and Washington Post showed a favourable attitude toward China between 1971 and 1973. These were, according to the study, the years in which the United States and China were engaged in the process of normalising relations. Moreover, Wang found that the attitude expressed differed among content news categories. For example, "*domestic politics*" was covered mostly unfavourably, while "*foreign relations*" were covered favourably.

Again though Wang's study does not point to a particular factor which affects the favourable or unfavourable stories, it does imply in one way or another that nationalism or patriotism is the most prominent factor behind the trend direction of the newspaper stories. In fact, most of these studies depart from a positivistic framework. They tend to build their assumptions and hypotheses according to the distinction or difference between the American political system and the Cuban or Chinese political systems, that is, without analysis of the whole range of aspects surrounding these different systems.

The second set of research within the second trend differentiates itself from the one above in that it does not clearly posit the problem as being a problem of control or constraints facing the press in the process of debating or discussing foreign news or foreign issues. Rather, it presents it in such a way that although conflict might arise over the issue of foreign policy between the media and foreign policy makers, diplomats etc., this conflict is assumed to be somehow necessary because the media is assumed to play an active role along with that of the foreign policy makers in the discussion or the making of foreign policy decisions and resolutions. In this context, the media are assumed and perceived to be involved in the policy-making, and thus the idea of control be it conscious or unconscious, accordingly is carefully swept away.

However, a critical look at the notion of interactionism between foreign policy makers lead us to pose more than one central question (ie who must have the final decision over the conflict which might arise between the so-called independent or free media and the foreign policy makers or the government, and to what extent are journalists or the media equal in raising or being actively involved in foreign policy issues. Such questions and many others are never raised in the liberal tradition of research in relation to government press relations particularly vis-a-vis the subject of foreign policy issues.

Following this trend of research which ascribes the media more freedom and advocacy towards the government, with regard to foreign policy and international relations coverage, Grossman and Rourle 1976, and Rivers 1982 argue that the media have changed from the 1940s the 1950s and the first half of the sixties. During these periods, they

were emotionally attached to and supportive of US policies. However, now *"many political, intellectual and cultural events were involved in the change that took place afterwards, but the most important were the Vietnam war and the Watergate scandal."* (Rubin, 1977, p.34.)

The emphasis here on the Vietnam war and the Watergate affair indicates clearly how Rubin strongly believes in the power or the active role of the press. This is apparent in a study carried out by Becker in 1977, in which he looked at the relationship of press coverage to a shift in US government policy away from India and towards West Pakistan during the 1971 Indo-Pakistan war. He compared the New York Times coverage with that of the London Times. The latter provided a "control" because the British government did not change its policy of neutrality towards India. Paragraphs from sample stories were classified as either presenting the perspective of East Pakistan and India or the perspective of West Pakistan, or neither perspective. Becker found that the New York Times actually shifted its news perspective away from the official one, while the London Times coverage remained relatively constant.

In this case Becker was only interested in proving the point that the press in the United States is no longer under severe control of the government. However, in trying to prove his point, he glossed over a central point - the political or economic importance of India or Pakistan vis-a-vis the United States. Is one of these countries, or both of them, really important enough for the United States to exert pressure on the media to take a similar line: historical, economic, ideological and political factors should also be taken into consideration along the line of shifts in media policies.

Only fairly recently studies have shifted away from this tradition, namely studies which can be categorised within the Marxist approach. Some of these studies have examined media production (see Tuchman, 1973, Glasgow) and others have investigated the question of control and occupation and other related issues within media institutions and organisations (see Golding 1977, Murdock 1977, Tuchman 1978, Curran 1977). However, these studies were largely interested in the media at the internal level.

In our adoption of the framework of communication which relies quite strongly on the sociological approach which emphasises the social, economic, historical and political factors, we need to establish a relationship which links these factors with the issue of foreign policy in the production of news stories vis-a-vis the two superpowers. In this context, therefore, we introduce the foreign policy factor as a further decisive factor by which foreign news is shaped. Our aim is to examine the extent of this influence on both media production (news content) and journalists' opinions. In this vein, therefore, we need to test the following hypotheses.

1. News stories covering the two superpowers in relation to foreign relations and international issues. That is to say the involvement of these superpowers in other external events are expected to outnumber news stories covering simply the internal or domestic affairs of the two superpowers which bear no relation to external and international relations.

This hypothesis is based upon the fact that the two superpowers are politically the most important nations in the world. Thus, events are expected to be extensively covered by a large number of pictures and the front pages will get the greatest proportion of the news items.

2. There is very little difference in the distribution of the Soviet and American news stories in the three countries' newspapers.
3. The Syrian newspapers' coverage and content is going to be unfavourable to the United States and positive to the Soviet Union, and that news stories about the USSR will be gathered or received from Tass News Agency.
4. The Jordanian newspapers' coverage and content is going to be favourable to the United States and unfavourable to the Soviet Union.
5. The Kuwaiti newspapers' coverage and content about the United States and the Soviet Union is neutral.
6. The Kuwaiti press is freer than the Jordanian and Syrian press. The assumption that Kuwait possesses freer publication and press laws which guarantee freedom of the press and fair trial to the Kuwaiti journalists.

## **SELECTION OF THE COUNTRIES**

The three countries selected for this study are Kuwait, Jordan and Syria. Jordan and Syria were not my first choice when I decided to carry out my research. My first choice was Yemen as it is a country divided into two parts. North Yemen is a pro-American country with a right wing regime, and South-Yemen is a pro-Soviet country with a left-wing regime. I intended to carry out my field work in these two parts of Yemen and to outline the extent to which the foreign policy of each part in relation to the two superpowers affects the press policy and press system in these countries. I first visited North Yemen where I collected enough material for my thesis. Unfortunately, I could not go ahead with this case study because, for unknown reasons, I did not get a visa to enter South Yemen. This created a big problem as I had to find an alternative country. I finally substituted Syria for South Yemen as a pro-Soviet regime, and Jordan for North Yemen as a pro-American regime.

Kuwait, however, has been chosen as a neutral state and a country where the press has been experiencing greater freedom in the last few years compared with many Arab states.

## **METHODOLOGY**

The main objective behind this study is the examination of the extent to which the freedom of the press in the countries of the Middle East is influenced by foreign policy and international relations.

This study is mainly based upon the comparison between three countries of the Middle East: Syria, which has good relations with the Soviet Union; Jordan, which has good relations with the United States; and Kuwait, which has good relations in terms of interests and diplomatic relations with the United States and good diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union. From this standpoint Kuwait is considered for the purpose of our research as a neutral country.

In order to achieve the objective outlined, this study mainly used two research methods:

1. Content Analysis
2. Surveys with journalists.

## 1. **CONTENT ANALYSIS**

As Berelson (1952) indicated, content analysis is:

*"a research technique for the objective and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication"*  
(p.18)

However the terms 'objective', 'quantitative' and 'manifest' content are best explained by Stempel who defines these concepts as follows:

*"Objective ... means the opposite of subjective or impressionistic. Objectivity is achieved by having the categories of analysis defined so precisely that different people can apply them to the same content and get the same results. If content analysis were subjective instead of objective, each person would have his own content analysis. That it is objective means that the results depend upon the procedure and not the analyst. Systematic means, first, that a set procedure is applied in the same way to all the*

*content being analysed. Second, it means that categories are set up that all relevant content is analysed. Finally it means that the analyses are designed to secure data relevant to research question or hypothesis. Quantitative means simply the recording of numerical values or the frequencies with which the various defined types of content occur. Manifest content means the apparent content, which means that content must be coded as it appears rather than as the content analyst feels it is intended.*

(Stempel, 1981, p.120.)

It is in this context, that our study deals with the content analysis. It investigates the news on both the Soviet Union and the United States in the newspapers of Jordan, Syria and Kuwait. However, news concerning other countries is excluded unless it bears some relation or is connected to the Soviet Union or the United States. In other words, only news which has a connection with the two superpowers is included.

In order to discover whether there is a relating factor or rather an influential factor between the foreign policy of every country under the study and its policy of communication, we use both quantitative and qualitative methods.

Our use of quantitative analysis of newspapers is conducted for the purpose of answering the following questions.

1. To what extent does any country under study - Syria, Jordan or Kuwait - cover the news of the United States and the Soviet Union and is there any difference or diversification in terms of news about the two superpowers in the newspapers of Syria, Jordan and Kuwait?

2. What kind of issues are heavily tackled in the Jordanian, Kuwaiti or Syrian newspapers?

Of course the answer to this question would tell us if foreign policy has any influence on the emphasis on certain issues and not others and the degree or extent of difference between one country under examination and another.

3. What are the sources of the selected news? This seems to be an important factor to our understanding of how and on what basis newspapers select their news.

Also, this would show us the extent to which a certain paper relies for its news on a single press agency.

4. A further point of investigation which is crucial to the whole purpose of the study is to know the quality of the news selected on both superpowers in terms of internal and external news. To illustrate this, the internal news comprises news about internal affairs of either the Soviet Union or the United States that has no connection with other countries. External news on the other hand, includes news about America or the USSR which bears some relation to other countries, be it countries of the First or the Third world. The overall objective is to discover to what extent news on the superpowers is related to other countries, in order to understand the foreign policy influence of these three countries. For example, do

newspapers, in conveying news about the relationship between the United States or the Soviet Union and other countries, report mostly about countries which are considered friends or countries they consider as enemies.

Having raised the questions which form the basis of our investigation in terms of quantitative analysis, we now turn to illustrate our use of the qualitative analysis.

The qualitative analysis in this respect is very important in that it directs us towards understanding the trends of those newspapers and this in fact is an objective in itself because it will show us whether there are other influential factors such as economic, social and political ones which may determine how news about the two superpowers is presented in the newspapers, that is considering the impact of these powers on the international scene and particularly in the Middle East.

The analysis of news on both the USA and the USSR and whether this news is positive, negative or neutral will indicate to us the extent to which journalists in Syria, Jordan and Kuwait enjoy freedom if they do, in shaping and writing news about the two superpowers.

As we shall explain in more detail later on in this chapter, the term 'positive' is related to all news stories which favour and praise the superpowers, the term 'negative' on the other hand is referred to the hostile tone and issues of criticism raised by the media towards the superpowers, and by 'neutral' we refer to news which neither supports nor criticises these powers.

## **2. SURVEYS**

In the same connection, the study also includes a survey conducted with 48 professional journalists of each country who work in the same newspapers chosen for content analysis, in order to find out how journalists of Syria, Jordan and Kuwait perceive the definition freedom of the press. What are the aspects of resemblance in such definition between journalists of one country and another if any? And what influence do the political relations of each country with the United States and the Soviet Union have on journalists' minds?

Or, is there an ultimate ideological influence of the country regardless of the two superpowers' influences on them? And how do journalists categorise the two superpowers in terms of press freedom, compared to other developed countries which might be said to enjoy freedom of the press?

What are the perceptions of Syrian, Jordanian and Kuwaiti journalists vis-a-vis the United States and the Soviet Union as developed countries working to establish peace in the world and

as powers which ought to respect other countries' rights? And what changes do they think have characterised the two superpowers' policies in the world during the last twenty years or so?

Related to the questions on journalists' perceptions, there is also a need to know about the type of education these journalists have undertaken. That is, how have they acquired their education, more precisely in relation to the field of journalism? Have they had formal visits or educational exchanges with either of the two superpowers? What external broadcasting services do they listen to, if any? Eastern, Western or other broadcasting stations?

Having shed light on quantitative and qualitative methods and the journalists' backgrounds for the purpose of examining the influence of foreign policy on the press in the Middle East, we should point out that the study has also taken into account, for the study to be more comprehensive, three other main aspects. These are:

- (1) The media laws of each country; that is to say the internal laws which govern all uses of the press notably in relation to our research (i.e. how the freedom of the press is determined and shaped by law in relation to issues of foreign policy? What limits are there?)

- (2) The social, economic and political structure of each country and what kind of impact this has on its foreign policy.
- (3) To give a clear picture about this particular objective, I have included one important chapter in this thesis by which an attempt will be made to look at and analyse the development of the press in the three countries and the different social, economic and political factors which contribute directly or indirectly in this development

## **SELECTION OF THE PAPERS**

The newspapers selected for this study are:

1. The two Syrian newspapers:
  - a. Al-Ba'th, the Syrian political party newspaper founded in 1964.
  - b. Al-Thawrah, the Ministry of Information newspaper, founded in 1964.
2. The two Jordanian newspapers:
  - a. Al-Ra'y, founded by the government in 1971 and privately owned.
  - b. Sawt Al-Shaab, founded in 1976, and government owned.

3. The two Kuwaiti newspapers:
  - a. Al-Siyassah, founded in 1960.
  - b. Al-Watan, founded in 1974.

The reasons for choosing these particular newspapers are as follows: In the case of Syria these two newspapers were chosen because the Al-Ba'th is owned by the party and represents this party's views. The second, Al-Thawrah, is owned by the Ministry of Information and represents the Syrian government's views and the '**Syrian people's opinions**'. These two newspapers were chosen to give a clear picture of the differences that might exist in both institutions (political party on one side and the government on the other).

With regard to Jordan, the two newspapers were chosen because I intended to discover whether privately owned newspapers like Al-Ra'y differ in their journalistic analysis from government newspapers like Sawt Al-Shaab. Al-Ra'y was chosen as it is the most circulated private newspaper in the kingdom. However, Sawt-Al-Shaab is the only government-owned newspaper in Jordan.

Concerning Kuwait, the two newspapers were chosen because one of them, Al-Siyassah, is pro-government and moderate (pro-Western). The second, Al-Watan, is critical of government policies and can be considered a left-wing newspaper.

However, these particular newspapers were not chosen in a haphazard way. Before deciding on them, I also considered many other newspapers. I discovered that these newspapers are the most important and popular in their countries. This is not to undermine the

value and importance of other existing newspapers but this study requires an analysis based on choosing very prominent newspapers. (Other newspapers are listed in Chapter 4 of this thesis.)

## **THE SAMPLING**

This study covers a four-year period (1980-84). However, 1982 is not included as it was difficult to trace all the issues of this particular year, especially in Syria.

During these years the international scene experienced very important events in almost every corner of the world, especially the Middle East, for example:

- \* The Lebanon War of 1982 and the direct involvement of the USA in the war between Israel and the Arabs.
- \* The Iran/Iraq war in the Gulf Region.
- \* The American involvement in Central America (Nicaragua and Salvador).
- \* The assassination of Egyptian President Sadat and its consequences in the Middle East and on inter-Arab relations.
- \* The American hostages in Iran.
- \* The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

Twelve issues were selected to represent the whole of one year. This took into consideration Stempel's study in 1952. He drew separate samples of 6, 12, 18, 24 and 48 issues of a newspaper and compared the average content of each of the sample size in single subject category against the total for the entire years. He found that *"increasing the sample size beyond 12 does not produce marked differences in the results"*. (Stempel 1952, pp.333-34.) Each issue must have the chance to represent the whole year. For that, this study will start on the first day of the first month of the first year and the second day of the second month and continues as in the following table:

As mentioned before, the Syrian data for 1982 was not found therefore as an accurate comparison the data for the other two countries was not used for this year.

A total of 1659 news stories were coded from 6 newspapers, as shown in Table One.

TABLE 1

**THE NUMBER OF NEWSPAPERS' NEWS STORIES**

Newspapers	Number of news stories	Country
<u>Al-thawrah</u>	239	Syria
<u>Al-Ba'th</u>	254	Syria
<u>Al-Ra'y</u>	258	Jordan
<u>Al-Shaab</u>	141	Jordan
<u>Al-Siyassah</u>	409	Kuwait
<u>Al-Watan</u>	298	Kuwait

The primary goal of this project was to determine in a systematic fashion what the newspapers of the three countries felt and projected publicly about the various aspects of American and Soviet news. Any news item which contained information on both the USA and USSR was not considered by the study. Only news items which dealt with one country at a time, either the USA or the USSR, were considered. This was done in order to avoid any misunderstanding and to facilitate the placement of the news item, because if a news item contained information on both countries it would be impossible to determine for which particular country it aimed, and this type of misunderstanding I have tried to avoid in my analysis.

This study is to establish from each news story the following: (news categories)

1. The quantity of each superpower news story.

2. The type of items, news, features, editorial, letters and pictures or cartoons.
3. The source of the news story. To what extent the Syrian, Jordanian and Kuwaiti newspapers rely upon the international news agencies in their coverage of the two superpowers' news.
4. If the two superpowers' news stories include foreign relationships with other countries, and if so with whom?
5. The topics (see Appendix 1 for more details).
6. The tone of the news story, is it favourable, neutral or unfavourable?

The tone of the news story is determined or decided according to the following:

**Favourable:** Items which reflect a positive image of the two superpowers. Items which describe economic, social and political stability and harmony. Items which describe or depict the superpowers' good diplomatic relationships with other countries for a peaceful purpose. Items which describe or depict the people of a superpower as hard-working, peace-loving, intelligent, and/or lawful. Items which are optimistic in tone, for example, an item which is optimistic about the prospects of improving relations between the two

superpowers and other countries. Items which portray attempts to fight corruption, crime and/or fraud within and outside the superpowers. A story which attempts to cut down the crime rate is favourable even though the topic '**crime**' has a negative value attached to it.

**Unfavourable:** Items which describe disorder, riots, disagreements among the superpower's citizens and dissatisfaction with government, and/or the two superpowers' aggressions towards foreign countries. Items which portray the public as lazy, incompetent, exploitive, weak and/or unco-operative. Items which show neglect or poverty with nothing being done to change these conditions. Items which are pessimistic in tone. Items which document criticism of the country by other nations and disapproval of the way it conducts itself externally and internally. Items which describe or depict a poor economy, low morale and/or mismanagement of funds, projects, relief efforts, etc. Natural disasters should not be included here unless inefficiency or corruption is implied or the events are described as being responsible for social and economic problems.

**Neutral:** This category includes items which place no clear emphasis on either the favourable or unfavourable aspects of an event, be it political, social or economic.

For the coding unit this study took the entire article (the whole story) to meet the requirements of the research problem, to examine the position of the three countries' newspapers. Are they favourable, unfavourable or neutral to the Soviet Union and the United States? The entire article or the whole story will clearly give us their position.

## **SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS**

In this chapter we have covered two central areas; one is the review of research related to media and foreign policy studies and the other is an explanation of the methods used in our research. In the first part we have examined studies which have dealt with the issue of foreign policy from a communication perspective. We divided these studies basically into two main areas on the grounds that the first area of research is a general area which hardly establishes a strong link between the foreign news coverage and the political system under which newspapers or the media in general are run. As we indicated, the central point of this type of research in most cases is the examination of the balances and imbalances of foreign news coverage by which researchers deduce the influence of foreign policy. Obviously, such research depends entirely on using content analysis as a method of research.

The second area of research is more specific since it takes into consideration government-press relations and most of it was carried out with regard to another single foreign country, that is to say, that most of these studies have singled out a particular country towards which they measure the trends of news coverage.

In our criticisms of these studies, however, we have suggested that because most of these studies have been carried out according to the liberal and conventional approach, they failed to show the ways in which foreign policy exerts influence on the press. Of course, most of these studies have found a correlation between the general political trend of a certain country towards another and the news coverage of it, and in order to escape issues of control, economic, political constraints and the like, most of the research and its findings was conducted and interpreted either by reliance on concepts such as "nationalism" in order to legitimise the status quo, or by pretending that in any issue which involves the relation between the government and the press, in such case the press is actively involved in the discussion and the making of diplomatic or political decisions.

Having highlighted our criticism of this research, we have introduced the framework within which we conduct our study which borrows mainly from the work of scholars such as Golding and Tuchman. Our framework of analysis uses a sociological perspective which looks at the influence of foreign policy on the press within the whole range of other economic, political, social and historical imperatives.

In the second part we have explained the methods we have used. That is, the basis on which we selected the countries under study as well as the newspapers and how we carried out both the content analysis and the surveys among the journalists.

## CHAPTER THREE

### SECTION ONE

#### **THE SIGNIFICANCE OF FREEDOM OF THE MEDIA**

Throughout the history of mankind, the concept of "*freedom*" has always been an issue of great value to individuals and societies alike. It is seen as a basic need, like food and shelter, which have to be provided. Academically, however, few studies have tried to assess the value of this concept especially when it is related to the press or the media in general and their freedom to write and publish what is important for society to know or read.

Having discussed in the last chapter the different factors which shape the foreign policy making in the Arab countries and having found that each foreign policy directed towards the two superpowers is largely dependent on domestic contingencies and conditions, in this chapter we look at another aspect which together with the foreign policy forms the axis of our study. This is the freedom of the press.

In this chapter we shall discuss and examine the definition of the freedom of the press in two main parts.

In the first part, we shall review and examine the concept of freedom in both capitalist and socialist societies, and we shall devote the second part of the analysis to freedom of the press in the Arab world.

First, it should be made clear that there is no ready-made or precise definition of press freedom. There seems to be a realisation that such freedom varies across time and across the nations of the world. Until now, only a few countries, mostly in the West, have gone far in experiencing freedom of the press, which has become a necessity. For Third World countries (including Arab states) however, a free press remains a luxury. In these societies, freedom of the press has been neglected. It is not regarded as a fundamental requirement for people or for society as a whole.

In their study of press freedom of 134 nations between 1950-1979, Weaver et al. (1985) claimed that most Third World spokespersons have come to believe that they cannot afford to own a free press due to certain factors that characterise their countries, namely the colonial legacy, poorly educated populations, tribal and ethnic rivalries, and a subservient position in world economic and information systems. For them, a free press can easily lead to an inability of government to function and so to internal chaos. (See Weaver et al. (1985) .) Developing countries still see some form of press control as both necessary and desirable for national development and political stability.

As already mentioned, the issue of freedom and press freedom has attracted the attention of not only scholars in the field of communication but also of philosophers, lawmakers, journalists and laymen. Herbert Muller (1960) in his book *Issues of Freedom* observed that freedom in society can be divided into two categories: the first is "*negative freedom*" which is the absence of any restraints, and the second is "*positive freedom*" which relates to the viability of means to achieve a particular goal. In the second category, Muller claimed that

it is necessary to provide society with the need to achieve goals before freedom can be achieved. (See Muller, 1960.)

With regard to Muller's distinction between negative and positive freedom, it can be argued that positive freedom cannot be achieved unless the means as well as the need to achieve particular goals are provided. Freedom in this context is a right whose achievement depends on what is provided for society as a whole.

Similarly, on the issue of freedom of the press (our concern in this study), Weaver's article (1977), *"The Press and Government Restriction"* is an interesting illustration for this topic. In the conclusion drawn from various consulted studies, Weaver noticed that the concept of press freedom has been defined in three different ways:

1. As the relative absence of government restraints on the media,
2. As the negative absence of governmental and all other restraints on the media,
3. As not only the absence of restraints on the media but also the presence of those conditions necessary to ensure the dissemination of diverse ideas to a relatively large audience.

Like Muller, Weaver considers the first two definitions that exclude government or any other restraints on the media as *"negative freedom"*. (Positive freedom on the other hand exists within the third category

where there are no restraints - government and others) but other conditions exist. It is a positive freedom, because it is seen as the ability to achieve a goal, the dissemination of diverse ideas to a large audience.

Both scholars agree, however, that there are two types of freedom, positive and negative; and that the positive freedom is the one that exists within certain constraints and can be achieved by individuals or society at large. For them, it is not the lack of restraints that hinders the existence of freedom. Freedom is determined by the presence and the provision of the means of the ability to achieve particular goals and objectives. But, both Muller, who speaks about freedom in general, and Weaver, who speaks about press freedom in particular, did not point out who provides the means, the needs for, and the ability to achieve certain objectives; is it the state, or individuals? This is a crucial question because it is important for individuals to know that they can achieve certain objectives and for which purposes, and will this achievement satisfy their own needs or of those who set the rules and provide the means and the ability to do so?

The question of freedom has also been raised to distinguish between democratic and authoritarian socio-political systems. Here, I shall discuss the two models, the main characteristics of each model and the differences that exist between the two.

## **I. THE CLASSICAL LIBERAL MODEL**

This model discusses the issue of freedom through the analysis of democracy. Democracy is seen as self-government through reasoned choice, as opposed to guidance by authority or custom. It is also essentially dynamic, in that it builds on the potential of a minority to become a majority by virtue of rational persuasion (see C. Wells, 1987, p.24.) Under this model, freedom of the press or information is necessary, and any monopoly of information by any single set of interests is considered to act as a restriction on rational choice and thus on both individual and social development. As such, monopoly is seen as inefficient and damaging to the general interest of the community. (Ibid, p.25.) For the classical liberal model, freedom belongs primarily to the individual, who is placed above the group, and the press should fulfil this priority. In this context, Jefferson pointed out that *"while the press could be subject to punishment for damages to the individual it could not be held liable for injuries to the reputation of the government"* (quoted in Schramm, 1956, p.50.)

The role of the press in this model, as defined by Clare Wells (1987), is that of a public intelligence service fulfilling three principal functions:

1. It fulfils an information function, keeping the citizens fully supplied with information on matters of public relevance and identifying the range of options available at any given time.

2. It performs a "*watch-dog*" function. The press in this sense plays a monitoring role vis-a-vis state activities. It acts as an observer and its main task becomes one of checking against abuse of power by any group.
3. It fulfils a liaison function, ensuring a two way flow of information between state and citizens.

Concerning government-press relations, the liberal model believes that the media in a free society can serve man and benefit the state by being free and independent of government. But Merrill (1983) has observed that in the liberatarian-press nations, government pressures are usually a gradual application of legal, political and economic restraints with the lid of secrecy opening and closing from time to time. (See Merrill, 1983, p.29.) These restraints will be discussed later.

## **II. THE SOCIALIST MODEL**

The concept of press freedom in this model or theory is part of the overall concept of freedom; that is to say, it is what the government agrees to grant citizens in order to achieve certain goals. This theory finds its roots in the work of K. Marx and V. Lenin.

According to Marx, the functions of the press in a communist society should come from the central function - the perpetuation and expansion of the socialist system. Means of communication

should exist to transmit social policy and not to aid in searching for truth. (See J.C. Merrill, 1983, p.24.)

Lenin on the other hand, saw the press as an instrument of organisation, not only a radical socialist opposition but an entire society. His writings on press freedom were aimed mainly at proving the meaninglessness of this concept in the capitalist system.

*"Capitalists call '**freedom of the press**' that state of affairs when censorship is removed and all parties are free to publish any newspapers. In this very thing there is no freedom of the press, but freedom to deceive the oppressed and exploited masses by the rich, the bourgeoisie ... Publication of a newspaper is a large, income producing capitalist enterprise in which the rich invest millions and millions of rubles. '**Freedom of the Press**' of a bourgeois society consists in freedom of the rich systematically, increasingly and a daily in the millions of copies to deceive, corrupt and fool the exploited and oppressed masses of the people, the poor."*

Lenin (quote in H.Dietrich, 1970, p.31.)

For Lenin, however, the mass media is seen as only one instrument among many engaged in the endeavour to educate, indoctrinate and to organise. In this context, Lenin has claimed that *"a newspaper is not only a collective propagandist and a collective agitator; it is also a collective organiser."* (See James Warkham, 1970, p.99.)

For the socialist model, ideas such as *"man's inherent rationality"*, *"minority rights"*, and the *"Fundamental right of every citizen to know government business"*, are considered

unrealistic and simply "*bourgeois concepts*" by those adhering to the communist press philosophy.

Supporters of the socialist model and the Marxist-Leninist analysis, as C. Wells (1987) pointed out, do not explicitly support state-control of information. On the contrary, they object to the Western definition of the press debate in terms of '**free**' versus 'state-controlled' presses. Nor do they take issue directly with liberal ideas in this sphere. Rather, they argue that freedom and pluralism are achieved in the Soviet bloc where, they claim, media are produced by and for the workers, but that such freedom is not ensured in the West where information media are held to be disproportionately concentrated in the hands of a comparatively small section of the population (the business class), whose interests for information purveyed by these media it can only be expected to reflect. (See C. Wells, 1987, p.23.)

Objectives of the press and information in general under the socialist model are to serve the interests of the state, the interests of all the people, it should be precise and accurate; it also plays an important role in the communist education of workers, in the shaping of public opinion, in the proper orientation of the people on questions of domestic and foreign policy of the party and the country, and in combating a hostile ideology. (See C. Wells, 1987, p.33.)

### III. RESTRAINTS ON PRESS-FREEDOM

As already mentioned, restraints which hinder the freedom of the press can be divided into the following categories: legal, political and economic restraints.

Legal restraints or pressures derive from constitutional provision. Almost every regime in the world, be it liberal, socialist or authoritarian, claims that its constitutions (written or unwritten) are used only to provide and guarantee the existence of freedom in society. But, as Merrill observed, in many cases constitutions are imposed as official documents not to guarantee this freedom but in fact they constitute legal restraints and legal pressures towards the achievement of this freedom.

The Soviet Union's constitution of 1936, in Article 125 as an example, claimed that:

*"In conformity with the interests of the working people, and in order to strengthen the socialist system, the citizens of the USSR are guaranteed by law: (a) freedom of speech; (b) freedom of the press; (c) freedom of assembly, including the holding of mass meetings; (d) freedom of street processions and demonstrations. These civil rights are ensured by placing at the disposal of the working people public buildings and streets, communications facilities and other material requisites for the exercise of these rights."*

On the contrary, and as Merrill (1983) noticed, in the Soviet Union as well as in the various Communist people's republics of Eastern Europe, the constitutional guarantee or its economic adjunct limits the guarantee and the means (communications

facilities, printing equipment, paper and other materials) to the working people. Since the Communist Party in each of these countries is the self-appointed spokesman for the working people, the effect has been to limit the proclaimed freedoms to itself. (See Merrill, 1983, p.30.)

However, the Soviet Union is just an illustration. The same arguments can easily be applied to every country in the world including the so called democratic states such as the United States and Great Britain.

## **PRESS LAWS**

If constitutions are not used as direct means to restrain the freedom of the press, press laws are however meant to deal specifically with the rights and restrictions of the press. Throughout the world press laws are imposed by governments as direct guidelines that the press should fully understand and follow. They are the most important legal pressures imposed on the freedom of the press and most of them in different regimes are more restrictive than protective.

## **NATIONAL SECURITY**

Perhaps this is the second most important legal means used by governments throughout the world to legitimise the limits and restrictions of press freedom. In the name of national security, governments can even forbid the publication of truth, which is seen as not always in society's interest. Recent events in Britain on the

publication of Peter Wright's book, and the '**Irangate**' affair in the USA are clear indications and proof of this trend. A clear example of the role of national security as a legal proof of the way to restrain press freedom is the British '**Official Secrets Act**' which was first imposed in 1889 and renewed with more restrictions in 1911. It is an act which is meant to forbid any publication of any information which affects directly or indirectly the national security and which might be important to the enemy.

The Frank Committee which was set up by the government in 1972 to consider the '**Official Secrets Act**', found that '**Section 2**' of the Act "*catches all documents and information*", and recommended in its report that it should be "*repealed and replaced by narrower and more specific provision*". Because of the Act, Britain is now regarded as perhaps the most secretive state in the world.

## **PENAL LAWS**

These laws are being included to further strengthen the power of governments in determining the limits of press freedom. The press under such laws are made responsible for the published material. These laws can be restrictive however, when such phrases as "*incitement to disorder*" are too strictly interpreted, and when provisions dealing with defamation are too harsh, or when the stamp of "*immoral publications*" is applied too widely and too often.

In the American context, the first amendment that "*congress shall make no law ... abridging the freedom of speech or of the press*", does not protect the following:

- a. Obscene ideas.
- b. Obscene material.
- c. To publish national security information.
- d. To publish false ideas.
- e. The publication of information which injures the reputation of a private person if certain conditions have been met in challenging the press for using that kind of information.

## **ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL PRESSURES**

In most societies freedom of the press is seen to be limited and restricted only through the legal pressures already mentioned. However, only recently studies have started to raise the issue of economic restraints and their major impact in increasing, much further, the limits of media freedom. Merrill for instance believes that economic and political pressures are the less apparent means of abridging the freedom of the press. (See Merrill, 1983, p.33.)

In dealing with this particular issue, economic restraints and their analysis can be divided into two types:

First, economic pressures imposed by governments. This type is mainly found in both socialist and Third World countries. An analysis that deals with this topic (Merrill, 1983, for example) found that governments exercise this kind of pressure by offering bribes and subsidies to newspapers and journalists, by granting pro-government publications special favours and privileges, by placing official

advertising in friendly papers and withholding it from anti-government papers, by selectively distributing newsprint, by restricting newspaper distributing in the case of anti-government papers, and by giving grants of various kinds to selected newspaper men. (Ibid, 1983, p.33.)

However, it is neither possible nor desirable to underestimate the role that this kind of government tactic plays in hindering the existence of press freedom in society. In this context, Hijab (1985) a Jordanian scholar pointed out that the Jordanian government uses this economic factor very effectively in direct ways to influence the press and to gain its support for government policies. Just by the government cutting, or reducing, this source of income, most newspapers in Jordan could suffer severe damage, which might put some of them out of business. Those that run press establishments are aware of this factor and its impact, and this will make them practice anticipatory self-guidance based on sensitivity to the government and its policies. (See Hijab, 1985, p.91.)

The second type of economic restraint can be applied mostly in Western capitalist states where the mass media (including the press) are first and foremost industrial and commercial organisations which produce and distribute commodities. They are interlocked with wider economic situations mainly through reciprocal investments and shareholdings, as well as interlocking directorships with other large industrial concerns and through advertising. In the United States, for example, by the 1980s the majority of all major American media newspapers, magazines, radio, television, books and movies, were controlled by fifty giant corporations which were interlocked with

other massive industries and with a few dominant international banks.  
(See Bagdikian, 1983, p. IV.)

Because of this emerging situation of the media in the present time whereby the capitalist system has led to the emergence of multi-media conglomerates, scholars such as P. Golding and G. Murdock (1974) contend that the ideas, concepts, and facts which people use to make sense of their lives are, to a large extent, dependent on media output, and the information made available within the nexus of capitalist interest. Under this newly-emerged capitalist situation, cultural artifacts or products legitimate the consensus, and any threat of opposing the status quo is illegitimate and punishable. Thus the fragmentation of the consensus, for example politically motivated strikes, alternative life-styles and so forth are condemned, ignored, or emptied of their political meaning. This is related basically to the orientation of news to the concentration on certain aspects of drama and form rather than content. In this context demonstrations become happenings rather than manifestations of political processes. (See G. Murdock and P. Golding, 1973, pp. 205-34.)

After having briefly discussed the main characteristics of each approach on the issue of press-freedom and the different restrictions imposed, it could be argued that both models favour and claim the existence of press freedom for people and society. Unfortunately, these arguments cannot be accepted as facts which reflect the existing situation in both systems. In fact, there is no press in the world which is free from government and non-government pressures. Both liberals and socialist systems accept the state legal pressures and restrictions over the press and the media in general.

## SECTION TWO

### FREEDOM OF THE PRESS IN THE ARAB WORLD

#### AN EXAMPLE OF THE AUTHORITARIAN MODEL

As already stated, the significance of freedom as a general idea and freedom of the press in particular, has not yet been tackled by Arab scholars. In recent years, however, freedom and democracy have become very crucial for individuals as well as institutions, mainly media establishments. This is so because today and in every Arab state, political systems have ensured that authority remains in the hands of presidents, soldiers and a few elitists; newspapers and publishing houses have fallen under state control; editors are still appointed by governments; the educational system and the arts have deteriorated; intellectual decline has reached its nadir; and, most of all, Arab citizens have long been betrayed by their leaders. People in the Arab world, as Saad Ibrahim (1986), an Egyptian social scientist noticed, *"have been told for years that their political participations, human rights, and freedom, had to be put aside for other Arab goals - the liberation of Palestine, destruction of Zionism, Arab unity, rapid development. None of these goals has been achieved. I don't think Arabs will buy anymore trade-offs"*. For him the next Arab revolution will be one for democracy. (Quoted in David Lamb, 1986, p.36.)

The press in the Arab world is perhaps the only press in the world that has never experienced freedom of any kind. The first newspapers that appeared in the Arab world in the nineteenth century were not private but official government publications intended to tell government bureaucrats and the people what the government wanted them to hear.

Arab governments tended to control the early newspapers and colonial administrations in the Arab world sought to do the same.

After the Second World War most Arab states gained their political independence; the press however, came under more government influence and control. This direct influence has been justified by proclaiming that the newly-independent nations face overwhelming external and internal problems requiring unity and a minimum of dissent in the public debate.

Following this trend, the Arab press has remained primarily a medium for reaching elite groups and a highly select audience. Access to information is very restricted. For ordinary citizens, however, access to any kind of information is a privilege or a dream that might never be achieved. According to Rugh (1979), there are probably not more than six or seven million regular newspaper readers in the Arab world or under 5 per cent of the population which exceeds 150 million. (See W. Rugh, 1979, p.5.)

Furthermore, the Arab press under the existing restrictions is neither allowed nor able to question the policies of the regime or attack the personalities at the top of the national leadership. Negative or unfavourable information or news about the leaders and highly-placed personalities does not find its way into print. In other words, it is a press that serves and protects the status quo. *"The main problem we are facing is the lack and non-existence of criticism. For that, our communication and information systems are not critical and analytical. The system is simply generalising and informative. It is an information system of hints rather than of precision and accuracy. It deals with*

issues that touch our daily lives superficially not by deep analysis. It legitimizes the status-quo and does not mobilize the people against their critical situation." (See Omar-Azraj, 1983, p.10.) As a result, the press in the Arab world conducts itself within the following non-official guidelines:

- \* The press gives a lot of attention to the leaders, placing their news in the prime location of the news bulletin, greatly amplifying the cleverness and wisdom of the leaders' policies, normally with saturation and daily coverage, and through every media channel.
- \* Lord Acton said "*power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely*". The absolute power of the government creates many problems unseen by the public through the media, as with hidden corruption, no matter how well these problems are known by the journalists or the people. For this knowledge the people have to look to external sources for information about their own country which they cannot obtain through their own media. This has been proven in a recent survey carried out by 'Al Majalla' magazine with 300 Arab readers from Morocco, Egypt and Saudi Arabia. This survey has discovered that 77 per cent of Arab readers look for news about their own countries through alternative sources, mainly foreign radio stations. (Al Majalla, 1988, p.56.)
- \* The press has to accept and support the foreign policy adopted by the state. For example, in pro-American countries, the press cannot undermine American foreign policy (for example the

Jordanian press). Similarly, in pro-Soviet countries the press is not allowed to criticise the Soviet Union's foreign policy (for example, the Syrian press).

## **METHODS TO RESTRICT FREEDOM IN THE ARAB WORLD**

We have already classified the different restrictions imposed by governments in both liberal and socialist regimes and which were divided as legal, political and economic restrictions. In the Arab world, however, governments do not only try to implement and impose such pressures but extra harsh methods are included to achieve their objective of limiting totally any kind of freedom for the press and journalists alike.

One of the most important and dangerous methods which can be applied at any time, is the killing of journalists who try to challenge government policies or leaders. This method is regarded by Arab regimes as the best way to impose pressures on the freedom of the press.

Arab regimes have the power and the means to reach journalists everywhere, at home or abroad, to silence their voices. The Syrian President's brother Colonel Rifat' Assad has been reported as saying:

*"The Syrian's enemies would be struck down at home or abroad, we know where they are locally in the Arab world and internationally we shall shut them down here and abroad."*

(Index on Censorship, 1985.)

The General Assembly of the Arab Journalists Union report that without exaggeration, the period of 1980-81 saw the peak of journalists' assassinations in the Arab region, with on average a journalist being eliminated every two months.

The journalists killed during 1979-80 and reported by the Arab Journalists Union were:

1. The Iraqi journalist Adel Wasfi, killed in Beirut in 1979.
- 2 The Lybian journalist Mostaf Ramadam, killed in London in 1980.
3. The Lebanese journalist Riyad Taha, killed in Beirut in 1980.
5. The Syrian journalist Salah Al-Bitar, killed in Paris in 1980.
6. The Syrian cartoonist Aziz Ali, killed in 1980.

(The Arab Journalist's Report, 1981, pp.34-5.)

All these crimes were registered against anonymous assassins.

There are also many journalists who have been arrested, for instance:

1. Narwan Hamawi, a journalist and former director of the Syrian agency, SANA. He was arrested on March 21, 1975 without charge or trial.
2. Dr. Hussain Qasim Al Azize, writer and editor of the Iraqi newspaper Al-Fikr Al-Jadid, arrested in 1980.

3. Zuhair Al-Jazzari, Iraqi journalist and short-story writer, arrested in May 1979,
5. Dara Tawfiq, former chief editor of the Kurdish newspaper Al-Talaki, arrested in November 1981.
6. Wadi Ismander, Syrian journalist arrested in 1980.
7. Imad Naddat, Syrian journalist arrested in 1980.
8. Rita Haddad, Syrian journalist arrested in 1980.

Hana Moqbel, the General Secretary of the Arab Union of Journalists stressed that:

*"If we want to be accurate to find a right definition for freedom of the press in the Arab region we should call it without hesitation freedom of suppression ... we find ourselves inside a terrorist bath ... we cannot say that we could do a big thing, the war against the press is a living example of the war against democracy and development"*  
(Moqbel Hana, 1981, The Arab Journalist Report, p. 5.)

The Jordanian newspaper Sawt Al-Shaab, **'The voice of the people paid the price of its indirect criticism of the Prime Minister Moder Badran.'** It was closed down for around five years because it claimed that the Prime Minister was out of the country.

The editorial was written by the Chief Editor, Ibrahim Sikjha.

*Eid\* and Agitation talk:*

*"During the Eid people demanded to know the whereabouts of the Prime Minister who was not present at*

*the official government ceremony held for that occasion in 'Aquba'. If there were newspapers on that day they would have told us that the Prime Minister Moderbadran was tired and needed a rest in the Palestinian Island in the Mediterranean Sea."*

(Sawt Shaab, 1976.)

*\*Eid is an Islamic religious celebration which follows the end of Ramadan*

This hint by the editor was believed by the authorities to mean that the Prime Minister was on a secret visit to Israel.

Jirjees pointed out that a disregard for facts and logic, pursuing agitation and levelling accusations, as well as a neglect of facts, by the Arab media will not serve serious and constructive information action, but rather will prevent the Arab masses from participating in political life and in shouldering the responsibility for defending the nation and peoples interests, as well as for safeguarding sound democracy. (I'laamul-Khaleej, 2 February 1986.)

In its meeting in 1976, the General Union of the Arab Journalists came out with a set of what it called basic foundations or principles for freedom of the press. It presented it to Arab opinion in general and in particular to the institutions and bodies concerned with the question of public freedom, with the intention that these principles would establish a basis for defending the freedom of the press.

The General Union of Arab Journalists, who regarded freedom of the press as one of the most crucial matters for the Arabic people. expressed their trust that all the national Arabic forces would react positively in the support of this matter.

These principles include:

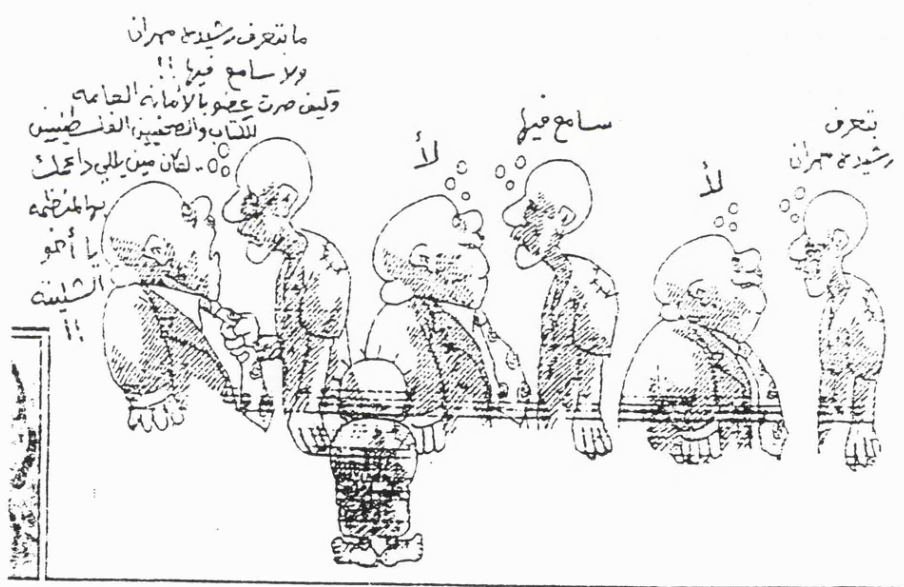
1. The freedom of the press; that is the right of expression and the editing of both news and opinion are an essential part of public freedom.
2. The right of the masses to know the news and have access to information should be safeguarded, and such right cannot be obtained without enabling the journalist to have access to the news and without expressing his/her opinion freely. Only the civil court and not the executive authority has the right to allow the publication or suppression of the press.
3. The authority, be it a state or a political party must not overthrow or move journalists from their journalistic posts, and the questioning of a journalist, in case he(she) disobeys the job charter, must take place with the presence of the union and with a condition of providing him(her) all the legal guarantees to protect and defend himself(herself). And journalists must not be taken to exceptional or military courts.
4. The journalist must not be detained or imprisoned for expressing his(her) opinion.
5. The chief editor or the publisher must not prevent journalists from expressing their opinions freely as

long as this would not contradict the constitutions of the country, the laws or the newspaper's policy.

6. Make eligible efforts in order to change the existing laws of the press and publication in the Arab countries, so that the articles restricting and handicapping the freedom of publishing and also the freedom of other journalistic publications should be abolished. Moreover, articles which provide the authority the right to censor and control the journalistic publication should be abolished.
7. Emphasis upon keeping a strong relationship between the practices of the freedom of the press and the union of journalists and also stressing the point that the legally-elected union of journalists must not be dissolved according to bureaucratic orders.
8. Emphasis upon attributing freedom to the journalists' union in its organisational tasks and condemnation should be expressed by all means in case of any infringement to the freedom of the press.
9. Arab journalists should be guaranteed freedom of movement within all Arab countries and therefore all restrictions imposed on them should be lifted.

Naji Ali, was a famous Arab journalist who was gunned down in London on 22 July 1987 and died in hospital on 29 August. He received a telephone call from a senior member of Yaser Arafat's "PLO" in mid-June and was told *"You must correct your attitude. Don't say anything against the honest people otherwise we will have business to sort out with you."* (Observer, 30 August 1987, p.1.)

This is the cartoon of the joke that cost him his life, which was published in the Kuwaiti newspaper Al-Qubass.



In this cartoon the first man from the right asks: *"Have you heard of Rushida Mehran?"* (meaning Yaser Arafat's girlfriend). *"No!"* says the man. The first man: *"Oh! you haven't seen her, you haven't heard of her, then how come you became a member of the General Committee of the Palestinian Union of Journalists and Writers, who helped you then? you..."*.

After Naj Ali was gunned down in London, the Saudi magazine El-Majala (August 11, 1987) asked fifty Arab journalists in London the following questions:

<b>The answers</b>			
1.	Do you feel that you are in danger?	50%	Yes
		50%	No
2.	Do you think London is a safe place to live?	22%	Yes
		70%	No
		8%	Sometimes
3.	Have you taken any kind of self-protection?	10%	Yes
		90%	No

(El-Majala, August 1987)

By and large, fear of assassination has forced Arab journalists to accept one of the following three alternatives:

1. To give up their jobs as journalists (silence their voices).
2. To work with any government or group even if they differ from what he believes is "*honest*", and that is what is happening for most Arab journalists now.
3. They continue writing to earn a living and for status, but they write with no conviction.

In order to perform their jobs, journalists have to exercise a high degree of caution and self control. In other words, they have to keep clear of subjects which fall into the category or the list of prohibitions, so to speak, which include:

- a. Specialists on economic aspects of the country cannot indulge deeply in discussion or analysis of the country's economy. They cannot discuss the right ways and aspects of spending for example, because if this happens, the existing political reality will be uncovered and challenged and the whole system will be in danger.
- b. Criticism of the army is forbidden.
- c. Criticism of the president as a person or even relaying a statement without official approval is prohibited.
- d. Raising any question or observation in relation to any minister or official statesman, no matter what mistakes he makes, is not allowed.
- e. Criticism or even suggestions addressed to any government organisation are unbearable. This is because the authorities consider criticism directed towards these organisations to be criticism of the government itself or the head of the state himself.
- f. Criticism of senior officials and relatives of the president who might get involved in corruption and/or taking bribes is prohibited.

- g. Publishing any expression of irritation at or boredom with, the repeated daily programmes which glorify and praise the government, notably the president, is forbidden. These programmes, which consider anything good that happens in the country is a result of the cleverness and ability of the leader, must not be interfered with as this might create dubious ideas amongst the people about the leader. This is despite the fact that the majority of people know quite clearly that it is simply a kind of propaganda which functions to maintain the status quo.
- h. Criticism or the expression of a reforming view towards friends and allied countries is prohibited. This means that it is difficult for journalists to examine and write about international affairs.

Though Jordan, Syria and Kuwait are in a region of international conflict which invites controversy and ideas, journalists are confined to convey and tell what the government says, and follow its line even if it is against their convictions as well as against reality.

- i. Individuals or groups who oppose the government are regarded as trying to harm the people. Similarly, any opposition to the regime is considered a real threat to the state as a whole. This is what the media always conveys and repeats.

a real threat to the state as a whole. This is what the media always conveys and repeats.

More details and explanations regarding these restrictions can be found in the Chapter Five (Media Law).

## **CONCLUSION**

This chapter has examined the concept of freedom of the press according to two main sections. The first section reviewed the concept in both liberal and socialist models.

On the liberal model, it has been argued that in theory the media is free and independent from government control, and therefore its role lies in providing information and seeking a two-way flow of information between state and citizens. However, in practice, constraints on the freedom of the press in the capitalist societies takes the form of economic, political and legal restraints which the government and other capitalist institutions use to control the media.

In the socialist model, Marxist scholars object to the Western definition of the press debate: 'free' versus 'state controlled' press and believe that freedom of the press is achieved where the media are produced by and for the workers. The state in this case, it is argued, is to serve the interests of all the people. The criticism which has been directed towards this approach, however, emphasises that the constitutional guarantee, in practice, limits the means of

communication to the working people. The party is usually the legal institution that speaks on behalf of the workers and thus workers' freedom would be limited.

The second section investigated the press in the Arab world from an authoritarian approach or model. It reviewed the major constraints and restrictions which face the press in the Arab world.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **HISTORY OF THE PRESS**

In this chapter we shall examine the historical development of the press in the Arab world in general and look in more precise terms at the history of the press in Syria, Jordan and Kuwait. Basically, we shall examine the different economic, political and social factors which contributed to the development process of the media in the countries under study.

If the history of the press in different parts of the world has had its share of coverage by historians and communication scholars, the history of the press in the Arab world has yet to be written. As already mentioned, the progress of the press in the Arab region has been hampered by a great many restrictions and pressures imposed on it.

Today, the press in many parts of the world sees itself as an art and an industry, whereas in the Arab world it is still regarded as something without any respect and status. As yet the journalist has no social status. He is not considered a reputable person.

In other parts of the world, the development of the press has been the result of different socio-economic, political and socio-cultural factors. The press has reached this stage through different social, political and economic struggles that people and society experienced for centuries. But at the same time, the press contributed, directly or indirectly in this process. In other words, there has been a dialectic relationship

between the development of society and that of the press. In the Arab world however, the press has been neglected, or excluded from contributing to the development process of society. It has remained isolated from the many events which the Arab people have experienced. Even at a time of war, the Arab press was left to observe rather than to contribute. In this context, John Hohenberg (1971) observed that in the 1967 Arab-Israeli war, when Arab forces were so quickly and utterly humiliated, the press in Arab countries from North Africa through the Middle East was under severe imposed censorship which was directly responsible for the confused state of public opinion in the Arab world. (See, J. Hohenberg, 1971, pp.404-05.)

Hence, it is for these reasons, and the lack of academic research on the topic, that it is impossible to give a critical analysis on the history of the Arab press. Instead, a brief description of its rise is the only alternative.

The emergence of Arab journalism has no fixed date. The general belief is that the print media started in the Arab region after Napoleon's invasion of Egypt. But, it appears, that the Arab press is more deep-rooted than all its counterparts in the Third World, as its origins go back at least a century and a half. In this context, Awatif Abdurahman (1983) observed that there are two views concerning the start of the Arab press. The first view is that the El-Khadewi journal published in Egypt in 1827 represents the beginning of the official press in the Arab world. The second view is that the Iraqi Journal published in Iraq in 1816 was the start of the Arab print media. (See A. Abdurahman, 1983, p.53.) However, the emergence of the press in Egypt and Iraq was followed by many newspapers and magazines in the

Arab region. In North Africa, for example, the first newspaper, **El-Mubachir**, appeared in Algeria in 1847. This was followed by the Tunisian paper **El-Rached** in 1865, and the Lybian **Tarablus-El-Gharb** in 1866. In the Middle East, the Lebanese **El-Anba** appeared in 1858, the Syrian **Suriya** in 1865, the Yemen **Sanai** in 1867. In Sudan, the **Gazette** was published in 1899, and **El-Hijaz** in Saudi Arabia, in 1908. (Ibid, p.54.)

In the course of its evolution, as Abu Bakr et al (1985) observed, the Arab press has passed through a number of stages, having begun under the Ottoman, French, British or Italian occupations. The objective at that stage, they claimed, was that the press should become an instrument of propaganda, designed to defend the authorities' view and to draw them and the masses closer together. However, the nationalist press soon made its appearance and established links with the people's hopes and their cultural and spiritual values which they claimed gave the Arab press a special place in the history of Arab nationalism. (See Abu Bakr, et al, 1985, p.28.) This is rather a rosy picture of the history of the press and its role in the Arab world. The press, either under colonial rule or nationalist movements, did not reflect the people's social, political and cultural beliefs. It was, in both cases, supporting the existing situations that were in complete contradiction with the ordinary Arab citizen's need.

The nationalist press, however, was more progressive in its objectives, confronting the Western capitalist occupation of Arab lands and the exploitation of its natural and human resources.

The third stage experienced by the Arab press was politicisation after independence. In this stage, the press found itself in close relationship with governments who imposed more restrictions to orient the press towards the protection of their own particular objectives. In his book The Arab Press which covers the present situation of the Arab press, William Rugh (1979) distinguished three types of media systems in the Arab regions:

1. The first type includes the Arab republics which consider themselves socialists and have undergone the most political change in recent years, Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Algeria, Sudan and South Yemen. Each of these states has experienced European Colonialism, and their media systems have developed during periods of political turbulence, rising nationalist and anti-imperialist sentiments, and episodes when political parties participated in national life. These regimes attempt to mobilise the media, giving them considerable guidance on goals which should be emphasised, on how to interpret events, and even on news presentation.
2. The second type includes countries like Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Tunisia, Qatar, the United Arab Emirates and Bahrain. The media system under these states has experienced a more even linear development along traditional authoritarian lines. Political parties have played little or no role in the development of the media in these states. Ownership

of the press remains largely in private hands but the degree of government influence is high. The systems and the styles are quite different.

3. The third type or category, according to him, includes Lebanon, Kuwait and Morocco. Though less authoritarian in nature than the others, it exhibits a clear degree of diversity and freedom of expression not found elsewhere.

In the different systems that exist in the Arab world, the press has always been subject to restrictions and restraints, which has not allowed its progress and development. The Arab systems share a common characteristic - authoritarianism. Furthermore, Rugh's distinction is based on the official view of the existing regimes. But the reality is that it is the foreign relationships and foreign policies adopted by those systems, mainly in connection with the two superpowers, that determine the type of media system in each regime.

After this brief description of the history of the Arab press, we will be looking at some case studies with more emphasis.

## **A BRIEF OUTLINE OF THE BIRTH OF THE PRESS IN SYRIA**

In Syria, as in other parts of the world, many factors contributed, directly or indirectly, to the creation and development of the press. The most important factors took place in the 19th century.

### **1. The Contact with the West**

Contact between Europe and the Middle East started early in the 16th century. This contact has increased enormously with the missionary groups from the West to the Middle East, and the educational missions from the Middle East to Europe. These contacts opened up doors for Arabs to discover the Western Renaissance and civilisation, as well as the type of development which the West had already started to achieve. The press benefited from these European and Middle East relationships.

### **2. The Birth and Development of Syrian Printing**

Printing is the corner-stone of the newspaper industry, and Dr. Khalil Sabat points out that until the end of the 16th century, the oldest book printed in Arabic was the Book of Christian Teaching, which was printed in Italy. And the oldest known printing office in the Islamic East was established in Istanbul (Turkey) where the Bible was printed in Hebrew. (See Sabat, 1958, p.22.) Arabic was first used in Istanbul in the 18th century. The oldest printing machine in the Middle East was the one brought by the Maronite Monks from Italy in 1610, and established in Dir Qazahya in Lebanon (ibid, p.34.) However, the first printing machine using Arabic letters in the Arab East was brought from Bucharest by Bishop Athnathius al-Dabbas, to Aleppo in 1706. The first book published

in that printing office was the Psalms in 1711. Because of this Syria became the first Middle East country to print in Arabic. After the Aleppo printing office, came the printing office of Dir al-Shuayr in 1733, then St. Giogios for the Greek Orthodox in Beirut in 1751, after which printing offices in Lebanon became numerous.

### **3. Schools, Libraries and Societies**

The first known modern library in Syria was the American College Library, which was founded in 1866, then the al-Zahiriyah Public Library in Damascus in 1880. The first society in Syria was the Syrian Society in Beirut in 1847, whose members included Ali Shamth, Dr. Vandyke, teacher Butrus al-Bustani, and Sheikh Nasic al-Yazji. This society was followed by the Jesuits in Beirut in 1850.

Joseph Illias (1982) pointed out that:

*"This public awakening and this intellectual and social movement have formed a public opinion and a generation, however limited, of readers. Therefore an expressive tool was necessary for the new Arabic readers in Syria, and it was necessary to keep up with the West. In the beginning, the press was born as a weak impotent tool, but thinkers and writers kept working on it until they developed it and raised its standards to become a modern press. With its progress and development, the press commenced its vocation of protecting and developing thought and preparing a generation able to shoulder his responsibility, and became another important factor in establishing the current awakening."*

(See J. Illias, 1982, p.17.)

The first Arab to publish a newspaper was the Syrian journalist Rizqallah Hassum al-Halabi, who published Mir-at al-Ahwal in Istanbul in 1854. This newspaper recorded the events of the Crimean War between the Ottoman empire and Russia, and other Syrian and Arab world news; however, it

also published some essays and news which included a criticism of the Turks. The Sublime Porte decided to arrest al-Halabi, but he escaped to Russia, and then to London where he again published Mir-at al-Ahwal until the eruption of Lebanese events in 1860. He lived in London until he died in 1880.

The Pioneers of the Arabic press include the Syrian journalist Adib Ishaq, who edited al-Funun in Beirut; he then worked on the al-Taquadum newspaper. The Syrian journalist Adb al-Rahman al-Kawakibi founded al-Shahba, the first Arabic weekly newspaper to be published in Aleppo.

Since its birth, the Syrian press has gone through a number of stages, the most important of which are as follows:

### **The Syrian Press during the Ottoman era**

In January 1857, Sultan Adb al-Hamid issued new regulations, which were the first of their kind in the history of the Ottomon and Arab press. The regulations specified that the requests of the printing organizations should be subjected to an examination by the Department of Public Culture to ensure that every book published should not harm or damage the state, and that any printed matter, which included news harmful to the country or state, should be confiscated.

In 1865 a new law for the press was issued, according to which a special bureau for censoring the press was founded. With the inception of this law, the suspension, banning and persecution of the unwanted papers began. The stance of the Syrian press was as follows:

1. Resisting the policy of preferring the Turks to the Arabs and calling for equality,
2. Calling for freedom and reform.
3. Mass demonstrations in defence of freedom of the press.

(See the Jordanian and Syrian News Agencies Publications, 1976.)

From 1908 until 1916, during the Ottoman era, 36 newspapers were issued in Damascus, and others were issued in other cities such as Aleppo.

### **The Era of Faysal**

After the defeat of Turkey and the victory of the Allies, with whom the Great Arab Revolution co-operated, Faysal arrived in Damascus, where he became King of Syria, and where a constitutional royal democratic government was formed. Immediately, the newspapers which had been issued in Turkey were cancelled, as also was the censorship imposed by Turkish rule, and only one law concerning the press was issued, on 5.7.1920. This law requested the proprietors of newspapers to register their licences at the Publications Department, and to submit two copies of each newspaper, signed by its Director-in-Charge, to the Publications Department. During the whole of this era, no newspaper was suspended or its Director-in-Charge or Editor arrested.

## **The Era of the French Mandate**

When the French Mandate was introduced in 1920 the press entered a new stage of suppression and censorship. Restrictions more severe than those of the Ottoman era were introduced.

The French suspended any newspaper which showed any hint of patriotism, pro Arab spirit or longing for the days of Faysal. Most of the journalists who published articles which included terms such as 'Arab unity', 'independence', 'freedom', 'revolution' and the like were punished or imprisoned.

In 1920, when the French occupied Syria, the newspapers which had appeared during the independence period disappeared and were replaced by others which sought to raise the banner of the national movement against French colonialism.

The journalists' writings fanned the fire of the Syrian revolution which continued approximately for two years, 1925 and 1926. In order to avoid the censorship imposed on the national press, the journalists and writers resorted to secret distribution of the news and leaflets, which was done by nationalists.

## **The Era of Syrian-Egyptian Unity 1958-1961**

With the declaration of Syrian-Egyptian unity on 22.2.1958, a new era commenced in Syria's modern history, which brought new ideas, projects and ambitions. Important changes took place in the form of government

as the political parties were abolished and replaced by a single organization, namely the National Union.

Decrees, laws and regulations were issued to liberate the press from control of the capital and link it to the political organization. The old newspapers were closed and new ones appeared, mostly the mouthpieces of this new organization.

However, on 29.9.1961 the era of unity came to an end. The National Union was abolished as a result of the new laws and regulations which cancelled all the resolutions and organisations of the era of unity. Thus, private ownership was restored and the press became under the control of private individuals or institutions.

### **The Era of the Ba'th Party**

When the Ba'th party ended the Syrian-Egyptian union, the media started a new stage, compatible with the course of the revolution, aimed at achieving the following goals:

1. Explaining and clarifying the aims of the revolution and refuting the ideas and theories hostile to the people's progress cause;
2. Spreading humane, national and socialist awareness in Syria;

3. Attracting national and international public opinion to the national and pan-Arab causes of the Arabs, and to the people's causes and consolidating basic liberties;
4. Linking Arab emigrants everywhere with their mother countries and with their national causes.

(See the Jordanian and Syrian News Agencies Publication, 1976, p.82.)

The Statement issued by the 6th National Congress of the Socialist Arab Ba'th Party, held in October 1963, specified the objectives of communication as follows:

*"Adherence to the truth is a basic factor in practising people's democracy in a revolutionary way. The truth is revolutionary and moral at the same time... hiding the truth from the masses is a denial of the simplest requirements of democracy, and is tantamount to doubting the wisdom of the masses and their ability to distinguish between right and wrong .... Declaring the truth will never frustrate the masses' revolutionary commitment".*

(See The Jordanian and Syrian News Agencies Publication, 1976 p.82.)

When examining the goals of the Ba'th Party, it appears quite clear that the communication policy of the political system in Syria revolves around two major issues. One is the support of pan-Arabism and the other is the inherent consolidation of the ruling party.

A closer look at these two issues suggests that the communication policy in Syria is largely determined and shaped by the existing domestic factors as well as by regional factors which impinge on the making of Syria's

foreign policy. In other words, the mass media (e.g. the press) in Syria seems to be shaped according to the same factors which influence and shape the making of foreign policy.

As we have seen in the socio-economic chapter, foreign policy making in Syria is determined by several factors. However the military or the security factor seems to be the most important role.

While economically Syria is largely dependent on the United States and other Western countries, politically speaking she conducts a hostile and antagonistic foreign policy towards the United States. As revealed in the chapter on the socio-economic structure, Syria's antagonism towards the USA stems basically from the fact that the United States provides not only political but also material support (ie military assistance) to Israel, of 3 million dollars a year. Israel has always been a major threat to the political system in Syria ever since the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948.

It is within this context of political and military factors which form and shape the issues of Syrian policy, that the media issues generally and the content of the press in particular should be grasped and understood given the fact that the mass media are controlled by the ruling party.

One implication of the influence of the military factor in Syria after the Ba'th gained power in 1963 has been the encouragement provided to the military press which encompasses the mobilisation of the Syrian people against Israel as well as the United States.

Also, it is within the same context of military security and other domestic factors that the communication policies towards the USSR should be

understood. The Soviet Union is the only alternative, apart from other countries from the Eastern bloc, in terms of ensuring military security of the Syrian territories and hence maintaining order within Syria as well as in the region.

Therefore, a thorough examination of the Syrian communication policy towards the two superpowers, as revealed in Syrian documents, seems to emphasise that the relation with both superpowers is largely determined by domestic or local factors, namely military security.

## **HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE PRESS IN JORDAN**

After the collapse of Ottoman rule and the Allies' victory in World War I, Jordan remained a part of Syria under Faysal's government which was formed in Damascus.

In spite of its brevity, Faysal's Arab rule of Syria and Jordan was distinguished by complete freedom and could be described as a golden age in the history of the press. This atmosphere of freedom was reflected in the Syrian press, which at that time defended Faysal's Arab rule.

However, the freedom experienced by the Syrian press was not reflected in the Jordanian press because of the accumulations of cultural, economic and social backwardness caused by the Ottoman Empire, and because the French colonialists severed the contacts between the two countries.

The development of communications was closely linked to the birth of the Jordanian state at the hands of King Abdullah Bin al-Husayn in 1921. Mass, personal and other types of communications did not start to develop until the establishment of the principality of East Jordan in 1921. Communications were closely linked to the prevailing social life. The mosque, the club, the preacher, the orator, the bazaar and social occasions were the means of mass communication for broadcasting the news and ceremonies and even incitement against Ottoman rule and the decrees supporting it. (See Mazin Armuti, 1981, p.7.)

During the Ottoman rule, Jordan was deprived of the press, but after the establishment of the principality of East Jordan, Prince Abdullah adopted a positive stance towards the press. He used to meet the journalists and teachers and discuss scientific and literary subjects and issues with them. He also wrote some essays; he used to write in al-Jazirah, and other newspapers.

### **The Press under the British Rule**

Although the press experienced severe pressure during the 1920s, 30s and 40s while under British colonial power, it managed to make some progress in terms of expansion to cover a variety of issues in quite different fields. One factor that contributed to this was the flexibility of the press regulation laws during this period. For instance, the Press Law of 1939 did not require any financial or educational background to have a licence for publishing a newspaper. Another factor was the influence of the Arab press of Syria and Palestine. These two countries' newspapers were sold in the markets of Amman. Most of their contents were based on raising feelings of brotherhood and a common destiny.

As a result, the press in Jordan came to reflect this atmosphere, and it motivated the political issues of the area during this period. It worked constantly in informing the public and formulating public opinion regarding the request for independence from Britain.

This commitment to the political and social issues has been described by the Jordanian Ministry of Information as heroic and crucial in gaining independence. It says that the journalists' writings had a

crucial effect on enlightening the people and achieving independence, which reveals a patriotic press which fought all kinds of colonialism and bore all kinds of sacrifices (Jordanian Ministry of Information Book, 1980, p.20.)

However, the government regulations which called for the revocation of many newspapers' licences and the financial problems they faced led to the failure of many newspapers. Thus, most publications of this period were issued monthly or weekly due to the economic obstacles. The major newspapers of this period were:

Al-Mithaq, a weekly newspaper published in Amman in 1932.

Al-Wafa, another weekly newspaper which was published in Amman for almost ten years.

Al-Jazeera, a political, economic, literary and social newspaper which was first published in 1938. It ceased publication in 1954.

Al-Jaish Al-Arabi, a military magazine first published in 1945 on behalf of the Jordanian People's Party.

Al-Jihad, another weekly, political social and literary paper published in Amman in 1947 on behalf of the Arabian Nahda Party. It ceased publication in the same year.

An El-Ba'th, a political and social newspaper published in 1947 in Jerusalem. Its licence was revoked in 1951. (see Hijab.1985.)

## **The Jordanian Press during the post-independence era**

During the independence era, the press was shaped and characterised according to a number of factors. These were basically the events that took place in Palestine during the 1950s decade in which the West Bank was added to Jordan and the Palestinians became a major part of the population. The Palestinians had their own newspapers, notably Falastin and Al-Difaa, which began to appear on a daily basis.

The other factor was the strength of the Arab nationalist movement and the rise of Arab nationalist and Islamic political parties which in turn assisted in the spread of more than 40 periodicals throughout the country. Consequently, many newspapers, namely those of Palestinian origin, started to announce a growing opposition to the Jordanian government's cautious position on the Palestinian issue, and began to raise ideas and principles against the political order. It was within this political context that the growth of publications and the expansion of journalism in Jordan reached a peak during the 1950s.

Not surprisingly however, the Jordanian government intervened and revoked the licence of most of these newspapers, claiming that their continued publication would threaten national security. As a result, many newspapers ceased publication. For instance Al-Akhbar the independent, political newspaper first published in 1950 ceased after just 6 months. Al-Hadif, a political weekly newspaper published in Jerusalem in 1950 and moved to Ramallah in 1951, ceased publication in the same year. Al-Jihad, a daily newspaper founded in Jerusalem in 1953, ceased publication in 1967.

Furthermore, during the 60s and 70s decades the press in Jordan remained subject to a variety of restrictions due to the political and social atmosphere which shaped this period. Following Israel's attack on November 13, 1966 on the large West Bank village of Al-Sumu and the demonstrations which took place against the government, the newspapers criticised the government's and the army's response to the Israeli raids and did not put any blame on the anti-government demonstrations. In response to this, the then prime minister declared that the newspapers had failed to meet the level of responsibility expected of them in a crisis and he had all publishing licences revoked.

A new press and publication law was enacted in March 1967. It required that papers be published by joint stock companies with a minimum capital of JD 15,000, one quarter of which must be provided by the government. In addition, each paper must obtain a special licence after submitting the name of its editor-in-chief to the government. Therefore, although the government allegedly claimed that the new law was intended to raise journalism standards and establish minimum educational requirements for writers and editors, the move was widely seen as a government measure to reduce and restrict the journalistic voice of Palestinian supporters. (See Hijab, 1985, p.70-9.)

The government continued its pressure on opponents' ideas and newspapers during the 1970s, and this was more evident than ever before during the events of 1970, when many Palestinians were massacred by the Jordanian army.

As a reflection of this, many newspapers were put under severe pressure. Many journalists were replaced and consequently the press that emerged after the events showed less opposition to the political order. For, newspapers no longer criticised official policies namely those concerned with foreign relations, and the treatment of the Palestinian question was more compatible with the government view.

Official Jordanian information claims that the prosperity of the Jordanian press in the 1970s and 1980s was advanced in:

1. the artistic, printing, formation, distribution and advertising sides.
2. improvement in the methods of presenting the subjects.
3. benefiting from national and international news agencies as a source of news.

However, the qualitative development of the press should start with the creation of a free atmosphere where the press would be able to develop its content - improvements in the methods of presenting subjects and printing alone do not reflect aspects of a free press.

TABLE 2

## MAJOR CURRENT DAILY AND WEEKLY NEWSPAPERS IN JORDAN

Name	Location	Language	Frequency	First
	published			published
<u>Al-Rai</u>	Amman	Arabic	Daily	1971
<u>Al-Dustur</u>	Amman	Arabic	Daily	1967
<u>Sout Al-Shab</u>	Amman	Arabic	Daily	1976
<u>Jordan Times</u>	Amman	English	Daily	1975
<u>Jerusalem Star</u>	Amman	English	Weekly	1982
<u>Al-Liwa</u>	Amman	Arabic	Weekly	1973
<u>Akhbar Al-Osbou</u>	Amman	Arabic	Weekly	1959

Hence the Jordanian press, as W. Rugh observed, is loyal to the government (Rugh, 1979) despite the fact that it is not under complete censorship, and is not owned by the government. But, the Jordanian government uses direct and indirect methods to exert pressure on the press. The suspension and banning of newspapers is not restricted to the periods of Ottoman rule or British Mandate, as there are cases after independence which demonstrate the presence of severe press laws and the tyranny of authority officials, and which prove that the press is unable to participate freely in the national development. (These cases are listed in Chapter 4 of this study.) Hijab (1985) pointed out that the major problem that faced the Jordanian press was the lack of freedom which was necessary for the press to fulfil its mission. The press in Jordan functions in an atmosphere of confusion and apprehension. Journalists work under

the pressure of fear, fear that what they publish may be interpreted as against the public interest, the national interest or general morality, and will lead to government intervention in the form of suspension or revoking the newspaper's licence. (See Hijab, 1985, p.79.)

Looking back at the historical dimension of the Jordanian press, especially from post independence onwards, it seems quite clear that the political system in Jordan which controls the media is opposite to that of Syria vis-a-vis the Arab-Israeli conflict. Censorship and other restrictions on the media are mainly connected to the question of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

The record of events that took place in Palestine and Jordan up to the mid-seventies runs parallel with the new laws concerning the restriction of freedom of the press. In order to explain how Syria and Jordan differ in relation to the Arab-Israeli conflict, we need to review, briefly, how this regional factor influences both countries in terms of domestic circumstances on which the political order is sustained.

As we have discussed earlier in this chapter and more intensively in the chapter on socio-economic structure, Syria's territorial security is the most important factor which orientates her foreign policy towards the two superpowers. Jordan, on the other hand, although constantly affected by the Arab-Israeli conflict in the region, is more affected by other internal factors - namely, the economy.

As indicated in the chapter on socio-economic structure, Jordan historically sought to implement the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan

which was to consist of the East Bank and the West Bank which is largely inhabited by Palestinians.

The West Bank, which was occupied by the Israelis after the 1967 war, was vital to the economy of Jordan, given the fact that most of the Jordanian land is arid and contributes very little to the economy.

In this respect then, quite contrary to Syria, through the Arab-Israeli conflict and up to the summit of Rabat in 1975, Jordan had never announced or expressed the idea that Palestinians should have their own independent state. On the contrary, for Jordan, the Arab-Israeli conflict has always been looked at from the angle that Jordan would annexe the West Bank which was occupied by the Israelis in 1967. In this context, therefore, the economic historic factor seems to play a substantial role in the orientation of foreign policy particularly towards the two superpowers.

As a result of this Jordan has built political links with the United States and the West far more than it has with the Eastern bloc. Economic ties have been strengthened with the United States and the West and many American projects to establish 'peace' in the area have been passed through Jordan.

It is within this context of economic stability of the political order, which was dependent on the United States and the West up to the late seventies, that the freedom of the press in Jordan should be seen.

The substantial criticism of the political line taken by the monarch vis-a-vis the Palestinian cause which often appeared in the Jordanian

press before the censorship laws, was due basically to the Palestinian intelligentsia which is mainly in this domain. However, as revealed in this historical sketch of the Jordanian press, control has tightened and issues of political interest are likely to be viewed through the political order.

## **HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE EVOLUTION OF THE KUWAITI PRESS**

The history and development of the press in Kuwait can be divided into two main periods; and the nature of the existing newspapers and magazines will be revealed by giving examples of this press.

### **The First Period**

In this period, no daily newspaper was established. Instead, there were periodicals and magazines which were printed either weekly, monthly or quarterly.

The development and evolution of the press in Kuwait differs completely from that of Syria and Jordan. The first Kuwaiti magazines which were published during the first period were not of a political nature. The Kuwaiti press, unlike the Syrian and Jordanian press, was not interested in the different political events that marked the era, mainly in the Middle East. It was a press of a cultural and social nature. This can be clearly shown in the case of the following magazines.

The first magazine in Kuwait was issued in 1928 A.D. by Sheikh Abd al-Aziz al-Rashid. Therefore it is considered as the first linguistic, ethical, and historical monthly magazine in the Arabian Gulf. It was published in Cairo. At that time, it enjoyed wide fame because of the famous writers from most Arab countries who contributed to it. (See A. Badr, 1979.)

**Al-Bithah magazine:** A monthly magazine which was established in order to inform the Kuwaitis about their sons in Egypt. The first issue was published in December 1946; it ceased publication in 1954.

**Kazimah magazine:** A cultural social monthly magazine. It was the first magazine to be published in Kuwait. First published in July 1948, it continued until 1949.

**Al-Ba'th magazine:** A cultural monthly magazine, first published in 1952. It was published by the press and publication committee of the Teachers' Association. It had an educational character.

**Al-Iman magazine:** A monthly magazine, first published in January 1953 A.D. It dealt with social and political affairs. It was published by the Pan-Arab Cultural Club.

**Al-Irshad:** A religious monthly magazine, first published in August 1953. It was published in Beirut.

**Risalat al-Naft:**

A monthly magazine which dealt in particular with petroleum affairs. It was published by the Kuwaiti Petroleum Company. First published in 1957, it ceased publication in 1961; it resumed publication under a new name, al-Kuwaiti.

**Al-Mujtama':**

A cultural social monthly magazine issued by the social guidance department of the social affairs directorate on 1.3.1958, it ceased publication in December 1958.

**Al-Arabi:**

A monthly magazine which deals with health, social and cultural affairs, science and history and also contains photographic journalistic reviews of Kuwait and the Arab countries. First published in 1958. It is published by the Ministry of Information, and still appears.

**Al-Ra'id:**

A financial commercial economic monthly photographic magazine. First published in November 1960, it ceased publication in 1967.

**Tabib al-Mujtama':**

A monthly magazine published by Public Health since 1.12.1960. The first issue appeared under the title Tabib al-'A'ilah, then it was changed to Tabib al-Mujtama.

- Huna al-Kuwait:** A monthly magazine published by Kuwaiti Radio and TV since April 1961; now known as al-Kuwait magazine.
- Al-Wa'i al-Islami:** A cultural Islamic monthly magazine published by the Ministry of Islamic Trusts. First published in 1965.
- Al-Ra'id al-Ushu'l:** A weekly newspaper first published on 14th January 1954, and which continued until 1955.
- Al-Yaqazah:** A general political weekly newspaper first published on 24th April 1967.
- Al-Hadat:** A general political weekly magazine first published on 8th March 1961.

### **The Second Period (1961 - onwards)**

As we mentioned before, the Kuwaiti press began as one of weekly, half-monthly and monthly magazines before it commenced printing daily newspapers. It has a cultural, social character which attempts to enlighten, cultivate and educate the citizens. Kuwait has never been a colony and the press did not stem from the concept of nationalism against colonial rule as had happened in Syria and Jordan.

**Al-Tali'ah:** A general political weekly magazine first published on 13th June 1962.

**Medical Society:** Magazine of the Kuwaiti. A quarterly magazine first published in 1967.

**Usrati:** A twice monthly magazine. The first women's magazine in Kuwait. First published on 8th February 1965. Editor-in-Chief: Ghanaymah al-Marzuq.

**Al-Nahdah:** A weekly magazine which deals with internal affairs and social issues, in addition to Arab and international matters. First published on 15th July 1965, it still appears.

**Aiyal:** A general Arab twice monthly magazine which deals with youth affairs. First published in April 1967, it ceased publication in 1967.

**Humat al-Watan:** A military magazine issued in 1960 by the general command of the army and armed forces. It ceased publication in April 1964.

**Hayatuna:** A cultural social medical magazine. First published in May 1967.

## **Daily Newspapers**

### **Al-Ra'i al-'Am:**

An Arabic political daily newspaper, first published on 16th April 1961. Interested in Kuwaiti affairs in particular, and Arab and international affairs, its interests cover all fields of arts, sociology, science and politics. Its proprietor and editor-in-chief is Abd al-Aziz al-Masa'id. First published on 23rd September 1961.

### **The Daily News:**

An English political daily newspaper published by al-Ra'i al-'Am publishing house. First published on 8th July 1963.

### **Al-Qabas:**

A political daily newspaper published by Al-Qabas publishing house. First published on 2nd February 1972. Its proprietor and editor-in-chief is Jasim Ahmad al-Nasaf.

### **Al-Siyasah:**

A political daily newspaper which deals with internal affairs and is published by al-Siyasah publishing house. Beginning as a weekly paper, on 8th April 1986 it became a daily. Its proprietor and editor-in-chief is Ahmad Abd al-Aziz al-Jarallah.

### **AL-Anba':**

A political daily newspaper which deals with internal and external affairs. First published

on 5th January 1976. Its editor-in-chief is Fayasal al-Marzuq.

**Al-Watan:**

A political daily newspaper. Commenced publication on 17th January 1974. It was originally a weekly newspaper which commenced publication in 1962. (A. Bodr, 1979.).

Perhaps the most important factor which led to the appearance and spread of many daily newspapers was the improved Kuwaiti economic conditions that followed the discovery of oil. This is clearly reflected in the Kuwaiti people's standard of living compared with many other Arab countries, especially Syria and Jordan. Since then the Kuwaiti press has been financially able to use more sophisticated methods of printing, photography, presentation and advertising.

However there are other important factors which have played a major role in granting the Kuwaiti press its freedom. These factors concern the social structure of the system. The notion of freedom is central to the structure of the political system itself.

As we noted in the chapter on socio-economic structure, the social structure of the Kuwaiti society is basically divided into two main sections; the left-wing group and the right-wing group. Members of the left-wing group within the Kuwaiti parliament, by contrast to the conventional definition of left-wing, do not find much ground on which to criticize the government in terms of economic or material differences between different people or even between regions.

Therefore their major concern has been directed towards the issue of the Arab-Israeli conflict. This group intends to pressurise the government on the basis of what it has provided to the Arab cause. This group largely consists of Palestinian intelligentsia who emigrated to Kuwait and other Kuwaiti members who are loyal to Arab nationalism. The right-wing group on the other hand consists mainly of merchants and bourgeois who benefit from the economic and political order of the country. Members of this group are almost exclusively Kuwaitis and they control the mechanism of the economic and the political order. Besides these two main groups there are other minorities, namely inhabitants of Iranian origin. (For more details see chapter on the socio-economic structure.)

If we examine the conditions which were conducive to the establishment of parliament in Kuwait and the prevalent freedom of that era, again as revealed in the socio-economic chapter, we find that before the establishment of parliament, the Kuwaiti monarch used to restrain the economic ambitions of the merchant oligarchy group and prevented them from exerting their economic power. This is why they collaborated with other groups and sections of the Kuwaiti society in order to implement an institutional organ where they could pursue their interests.

This is why we find at the political level that Kuwait undertakes a middle course policy towards the two superpowers generally. And at the economic level she tends to have more links with the West than with the Eastern bloc. However her economic ties with the West, particularly America, do not seem to have any direct effects on her

foreign policy especially in relation to prominent or vital issues such as the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Unlike Jordan, Kuwait's economic ties with the United States are not based on assistance from the latter. And this is why perhaps Kuwait's political attitudes towards the United States seems quite independent from the economic imperatives.

Hence, it is within this context of the relative independence of economic and political dimensions that we should understand the freedom of the press in Kuwait particularly vis-a-vis the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Freedom of the press in relation to local and internal issues is mainly grasped and understood according to the notion of the parliament experiment and the social groupings which form the basis of it.

However, recently, following events in the Gulf area, i.e. the Iran-Iraq war, the press has already started losing its prosperity and its freedom. An Amir Decree was issued suspending the National Assembly (Parliament), and the press has come under complete censorship implemented by the Ministry of Information. Today, in every newspaper office there is a censor from the Ministry of Information to read all the information and materials especially those dealing with international affairs. This is for fear that the Kuwaiti press might be divided into supporters and opponents of Iraq or Iran. Therefore, the Government and the press unite to support Iraq and not criticise its regime. Freedom of the press is obviously linked to the stability of the country.

## **CONCLUSION**

This chapter has traced the history of the press of the countries under study. It has looked at the development of the press with due respect to the different circumstances and conditions which either assisted or hampered it. Emphasis has been placed on the notion of freedom of the press. Each country has been investigated according to two main eras of time: the era of colonialism and the era of independence. However, what has been of central interest to this part of the study is the situation of the press during the era of independence in relation to the question of freedom and, to a certain extent, control.

A further central point has been the investigation of the ways or the context within which the understanding of the attitude of the press of each country towards the two superpowers can be grasped, namely in relation to the Arab-Israeli conflict.

For Syria, the development of the press has witnessed certain circumstances which include contacts with the West, the introduction of printing and the missionary campaigns. Thus, from this angle the Syrian press right from the beginning seemed to be strong.

Aware of this, the Syrians tried to utilize their press in confronting first the Ottoman ruler then the French Mandate in Syria. This gave their press a distinguishable political character. This is why the Ottomans, and the French after them, were sensitive to the press which called for the mobilization of the people against them and why severe laws were issued against the press during this period.

The Syrians entered into a union with the Egyptians. The policy of both states was to oppose colonialism, whatever kind it might be. However, since the secession from Egypt and the establishment of the current Ba'ath party rule, Syrian enthusiasm against colonialism and against the previous backwardness still exists but in another form, which opposes capitalism and imperialism. It considers that the USA constitutes a form of colonialism, which deals with the problems of the world through its power, and tries to break up and destroy the Arab people, and it also interferes in the Middle East, Arabian Gulf, Central America and other places. On the other hand, Syria admires the Soviet Union and the socialist system. As illustrated through this chapter and the chapter on the socio-economic structure, this antagonism towards the USA is best understood from military security angle. The USA is a close ally of Israel, with which Syria shares her borders and faces constant threat, whereas the USSR supplies her with military equipment.

In Kuwait, the development of the press is relatively new. In contrast to Jordan and Syria, the Kuwaiti press was not initially associated with nationalism or colonialism.

Economic prosperity, but mainly the political stability which resulted in the parliament experiment, has contributed immensely to the freedom of the press.

The birth of the press in Jordan was delayed, and the development of the Syrian press was not reflected on the Jordanian one due to the accumulations of social, cultural and economic backwardness prevailing

at that time. In addition, French colonialism prevented the Syrian press affecting Jordan's press.

With the establishment of the East Jordan principality in 1921, it became apparent that Jordan did not inherit anything in the press field from the Ottoman era apart from the accumulations of four centuries of backwardness. (Jordanian Press, p.9.)

However different in their attitudes towards the two superpowers because of their different domestic circumstances, in both Syria and Jordan the freedom of the press has been absent. This is due to reasons which can be summarised as follows:

Lack of criticism of governments and the different interested political institutions.

- Lack of civil bodies (e.g. civil courts) which are free from government control, and under which the press find a degree of protection to publish certain types of information.
- Lack of freedom to publish political opinions opposing the existing regime.
- Lack of free distribution of printed matters.

Because of these restrictions and many others, there are many topics which the press not only in Syria and Jordan, but in most Arabian states, cannot discuss freely. Therefore the press is unable to play a

positive role in the development process of the country and most of the needs of Arab citizens. The role of the press has become limited to supporting the status quo.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### PUBLICATION & PRESS LAWS

Having examined the social, political and economic factors of the foreign policy of Syria, Jordan and Kuwait, particularly in their relations with the United States and the Soviet Union, and having shed light on the differences of such factors from one country to another, we now turn to investigate whether these socio-economic and political factors actually have an impact on the making of legislation (ie the constitution) and on media laws especially in relation to the issue of freedom of the press in these countries, bearing in mind what impacts the socio-economic and political factors might have on the shaping of laws concerning the media. In this respect, we shall look at the constraints put on the press and uncover the similarities in the laws of these countries.

The central point of the study is the examination of the relation which binds the three countries to their media. And the point of emphasis has been the investigation of political influence in relation to the press. By political influence, we mean, in particular, the influence of the foreign policy of each country vis-a-vis the press.

It is very important to look at the Syrian, Jordanian and Kuwaiti constitutions before analysing their publication and press laws, to see if there is a contradiction between the three countries' constitutions and their publications and press laws. Before that it is also imperative to look at the United Nations articles on Human Rights.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (United Nations), Article 19, which was adopted in 1948, guarantees freedom of opinion and expression:

*"everyone has the right to freedom of opinions and expression, this right includes freedom to have opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media regardless of frontiers."*

(Universal Declaration of Humans Rights, 1948.)

The Universal Declaration is regarded by most international lawyers as having acquired the force of customary international law. (See McBride, 1979, p.8.) The force of customary law is developed by the consideration of cases debated under the auspices of the United Nations and is regarded as such by most international lawyers. In December 1966 the United Nations passed the international covenant on Civil and Political Rights. Article 19 states:

1. Everyone shall have the right to hold opinions without interference.
2. Everyone shall have the right to freedom of expression. This right shall include freedom to seek, receive and impart information and ideas of all kinds, regardless of frontiers, either orally, in writing or print, in the form of art or through any other media of his choice.
3. The exercise of the rights provided for in paragraph 20 of this article carries with it special duties and responsibilities, it may therefore be subject to certain

restrictions, but these shall only be such as are provided by law and are necessary:

- a) for respect of the rights or reputations of others;
- b) for the protection of national security or of public order (order public) or public health or morals.

(United Nations Declaration on Humans Rights, 1966.)

This article not only guarantees the right to seek and impart information and ideas, but also the right to receive information and ideas. Article 20 of this covenant added two more restrictions:

1. **Any** propaganda for war shall be prohibited by law.
2. **Any** advocacy of national, racial or religious hatred that constitutes incitement to discrimination, hostility or violence shall be prohibited by law.

These restrictions in the international convention in Article 19 of the United Nations are less demanding than the restrictions in the European Conventional Article 10(2). The European Convention Article 10 states:

*"Everyone has the right to freedom of expression. This right shall include freedom to hold opinions and to receive and impart information and ideas without interference by public authority and regardless of frontiers. This Article shall not prevent States from requiring the licensing of broadcasting, television or cinema enterprises."*

*The exercise of these freedoms, since it carries with it duties and responsibilities may be subjected to such formalities, conditions, restrictions or penalties as are prescribed by law and are necessary in a democratic society, in the interests of national security, territorial integrity or public safety, for the prevention of disorder or crime, for the protection of the reputation or rights of others, for preventing the disclosure of information received in confidence or for maintaining the authority and impartiality of the judiciary."*

(European Convention, 1950.)

The restrictions in Article 10(2) are weakened and they take away some of the guarantees in Article 10(1). The restrictions on individual freedom embodied in the international conventions for human rights as applied in Third World constitutions are fewer in number than those contained in the European conventions. However, the application of these principles results in far less individual freedom in the Third World than in Europe which is contrary to expectations, because theoretically the European conventions as written are far more restrictive on freedom. Any infringement to the freedom of speech and opinion must be tested by the courts in Western democratic countries and not by the governments, as in the Third World. The European courts operate independently for the social needs of the people and do not necessarily agree with the governments desire. (See Robertson and Nicol, 1984, p.4.)

In the three countries examined in this study, the press or publication laws are the basic principles governing the communication of information and the way of communication, but let us examine the Jordanian, Syrian and Kuwaiti constitutions to see their guarantees of freedom of expression and freedom of press. We find:

## **A      Freedom of Expression**

All three countries (Syria, Jordan and Kuwait) define freedom of expression and freedom of press under the freedom of press under freedom of 'opinion' and they guarantee freedom of opinion within the limits of the law (Jordan), as the law (Kuwait) or according to the law (Syria).

The Jordanian constitution in Article 15 states that:

*"The state shall guarantee freedom of opinion. Every Jordanian shall be free to express his opinion by word of mouth, in writing, or by other means of photographic representation and other forms of expression, within the limits of the law."*

(Blaustein and Gisbert H., 1984, p.31.)

The Syrians guarantee to ensure the freedom of opinion in Article 38 in their constitution:

*"Every citizen has the right to freely and openly express their views in word, in writing and through all other means of expression. He also has the right to participate in supervision and constructive criticism in a manner that will safeguard the soundness of the domestic and nationalist structure and will strengthen the socialist system. The state guarantees the freedom of press, printing, and publication in accordance with the law."*

(Ibid, 1974, p.9.)

The Kuwaiti constitution in Article 36 guarantees freedom of opinion:

*"Freedom of opinion and scientific research shall be guaranteed. Every person shall have the right to*

*express and propagate his opinion verbally, in writing, or otherwise, in accordance with the conditions and procedures specified by law."*

(Ibid, 1971, p.10.)

## **B. Freedom of the Press**

The three countries (Syria, Jordan and Kuwait) guarantee the freedom of the press within the limits of the law or as specified by law. The Jordanian constitution, Article 15 (ii), states that:

*"Freedom of the press and publication shall be ensured within the limits of the law."*

(Ibid, 1984, p.31.)

The Syrian constitution, Article 38, states that freedom of the press is guaranteed:

*"The state guarantees the freedom of press, printing and publication in accordance with the law."*

(Ibid, 1974, p.10.)

The Kuwaiti constitution, Article 37, guarantees the freedom of the press:

*"Freedom of the press, printing and publishing shall be guaranteed in accordance with the conditions and manner specified by law."*

(Ibid, 1971, p.11.)

## **C. The Freedom of Religion**

Freedom of religion is guaranteed in the Jordanian, Syrian and Kuwaiti constitutions.

The Jordanian constitution, Article 14, guarantees freedom of religion:

*"The state shall safeguard the free exercise of all forms of ownership and religious rites in accordance with the customs observed in the Kingdom. Unless such exercise is inconsistent with public order decorum."*

(Ibid, 1984, p.34.)

The Syrian constitution, Article 35, guarantees freedom of religion:

*"The freedom of faith is guaranteed. The state respects all religions."*

*"The state guarantees the freedom to hold any religious rites provided they don't disturb public order."*

(Ibid, 1974, p.9.)

The Kuwaiti constitution, Article 35, guarantees freedom of religion:

*"Freedom of belief is absolute. The state protects the freedom of practising religion in accordance with established customs, provided that it does not conflict with public policy or morals."*

## **F. Privacy**

The three countries' (Jordan, Syria and Kuwait) constitutions are concerned only with postal correspondence, telephone and telegraph communications. Their constitutions state:

The Kuwaiti constitution guarantees in Article 39:

*"Freedom of communication by post, telegraph and telephone and the secrecy thereof shall be guaranteed censorship of communication, and disclosure of their contents shall not be permitted except in the circumstances and manner specified by law."*

(Ibid, 1971, p.11.)

The Jordanian constitution, Article 18, states:

*"All postal, telegraphic and telephonic communications shall not be subjected to censorship or suspension except in circumstances prescribed by law."*

(Ibid, 1984, p.31.)

The Syrian constitution states in Article 32:

*"The privacy of postal correspondence and telegraphic contacts is guaranteed by law."*

(Ibid, 1974, p.9.)

The problem of access to people's files or computers is more serious in Western than in Third World countries.

The Jordanian, Syrian and Kuwaiti constitutions show that there is a limitation on the freedom of opinion and there are also press restrictions. Their press and publication laws contain many restrictions. This really affects the guarantees which were given in their constitutions. These guarantees will then have less force.

There is a strong similarity among the Syrian, Jordanian and Kuwaiti press and publication laws in the following aspects:

## 1. Definition of Terms

The three countries start their press and publication law by explaining the meaning of:

**publication**

**publisher**

**bookshop**

**journal**

**printing press**

**journalism**

These terms are shown in the Syrian Article 2, the Jordanian Article 2 and the Kuwaiti Article 1.

The Kuwaiti press law, Article 1, defines the following:

*"In the application of this law, by the word 'publication' is meant all writings, drawings, musical pieces, photographs or any other means of expression opinions, whether printed, drawn, photographed or sound recorded if it is able to be circulated.*

By the word 'circulation' is meant the sale of publications, or their display for sale or distribution, the fixing of them to walls, their display in shop fronts or any other action which may in any way be construed as communicating with a number of people.

By the word 'journal' is meant newspapers and magazines and likewise any publication issued under a single name periodically at regular or irregular intervals.

By the phrase 'printing press' is meant any machine or group of machines or equipment set up for the printing of words, drawings, photographs or sounds with the intention of publishing or circulating them. Not included in the definition are photographic equipment, sound or visual recording equipment, ordinary typewriters and equipment for making copies of documents if it be for private use.

By the word 'publisher' is meant any person, either real or juries, who undertakes to publish any number of publications.

By the word 'bookshop' is meant any institution which practices the trade of publications of all their various types."

The Syrian Article 2 defines the following:

- "a) printing press is any machine or equipment set up to transfer words, pictures and signs onto paper, cloth or any other material. Excluded in this definition are photographic cameras, ordinary typewriters used in offices, commercial enterprises and institutions, and any equipment which is used for purely commercial purposes or for taking copies of documents such as the machines used by commercial concerns.
- b) a publication is any printed thing and any published drawing or map.

- c) a periodical publication is any publication issued under a particular name, in consecutive parts, containing news, events, pictures, articles and comments.
- d) publishing is the display of publications to the public, their sale and distribution.
- e) a bookstore is any institution which seeks to make money from the sale of books, writings and periodical publications, or which display them to the public for commercial ends."

The Jordanian Article 2 defines the following:

"a publication: all types of publication in which are recorded words or forms made up of letters of the alphabet, photographs or pictures.

a journalistic publication: various kinds of periodical and serial publications of the type mentioned in this law.

a periodical publication: comprises the following two types:

- (i) a political publication issued daily on a periodical basis. Under a particular name and in sequence, and which is prepared for public distribution (i.e. a daily newspaper).

(ii) a press agency publication prepared for the provision of information, articles, photographs or pictures to journalistic institutions.

a serial publication: a publication issued once a week or over a longer period, comprising weekly, monthly or quarterly papers and magazines, whether of a political nature or not.

journalism: the profession dealing with the issues of journalistic publications.

journalist: anyone who adopts journalism as a profession or earns a living in accordance with the statutes of this law.

printing house: any institution for the production of publications of whatever type or form. Excluded in this definition are photographic equipment, ordinary typewriters, duplicators and photocopying machines.

bookstore: any institution occupied in the sale or distribution of publications and books in a particular place.

publishing house: any institution occupied in the preparation of publications, their production or their marketing.

distributor: any institution occupied in the distribution or sale of publications through bookstores or vendors.

## **2. Licensing**

The publishers are required to have permission for the publications as is shown in the Syrian Article 15, the Jordanian Article 10 and the Kuwaiti Article 2.

### **Syria - Article 15**

*"The issuing of a periodical publication is not permitted without obtaining a licence according to the regulations found in this law."*

### **Kuwait - Article 2**

*"No one is permitted to own or run a printing press except if he be Kuwaiti, whether he be an individual or a company, and conditional upon obtaining permission for the same from the Ministry of Information."*

### **Jordan - Article 10**

*"It is forbidden to issue any journalistic publication prior to the obtaining of a permit for that purpose as laid down in the statutes of this law."*

## **3. Leaders' Criticism**

It is forbidden to publish any criticism of the three countries' leaders. The Jordanian publication law prohibits any news about the King or his family unless cleared by government officials.

#### **Kuwait - Article 34**

*"It is forbidden to publish anything intended:*

- (i) to lay down the state debts open to verification or criticism;*
- (ii) to lay the Emir open to criticism or touch upon any act of the government or to burden him with responsibility".*

#### **Syria - Article 78**

*"The publications are forbidden to publish anything intended:*

- (i) to lay the president open to criticism."*

#### **Jordan - Article 38**

*"The proprietor of any publication is forbidden to publish:*

- "a) news relating to the king and the royal family except with permission in advance from the relevant member of the king's Secretariat."*

#### **4. The Heads of Friendly Countries**

Any criticism (defamation) of the heads of friendly countries is forbidden. That is the impact of the foreign policy on the press.

#### **Jordan - Article 38**

- "g) Articles or information defamatory of the heads of friendly states."*

### **Syria - Article 38**

*"ii) to lay down the foreign countries' leaders or their representatives or to disturb the purity of the foreign relations"*

### **Kuwait - Article 36**

*"It is forbidden to publish anything intended as an:*

*(i) infringement of the rights of the head of an Arab or Islamic state, or of any other state with which Kuwait maintains diplomatic relations;"*

## **5. Army Information**

Any information or criticism relating to the army is forbidden unless there is permission from the Ministry of National Defence.

### **Syria - Article 39**

*"All publications are forbidden to publish:*

*v) Articles or news related to the Army's security, integrity, movements, size, weaponry, readiness and encampments excepting that which is issued by the Ministry of National Defence or of which the Ministry allows publication;"*

### **Jordan - Article 38**

*"The proprietor of any publication is forbidden to publish:*

- e) any information about the Jordanian armed forces' size, weaponry, munitions, emplacements, or movements except if permission to publish had been granted by a responsible source within the Jordanian Armed Forces; nor may any item of news, picture or other comment which touches on the Armed Forces, the Security Services or the General Intelligence Agency and may give rise to a distortion of or anxiety in public opinion, be published".*

### **Kuwait - Article 36**

*"It is forbidden to publish anything intended:*

- iv) ... of details relating to the armed forces ..."*

## **6. Qualifications**

Not everyone is qualified to be a publisher or journalist, as shown in the Syrian Articles 187, 20, Jordanian Articles 5, 6 and the Kuwaiti Articles 17, 18, 20.

### **Syria - Article 18**

*"The proprietor of a periodical publication must comply with the following conditions:*

- i) To have been Syrian for at least five years;*
- ii) To enjoy full civil and political rights;*
- iii) To be proficient in the language in which he issues the periodical publication;*
- iv) to be not less than 25 years old;*
- v) To be in receipt of a certificate of higher education or in possession of a periodical publication licence at the time this law was published;*

- vi) Not to be in any way in the service of a foreign state;
- vii) Not to have been sentenced to imprisonment (for non-political reasons) for a period in excess of six months, nor to have been sentenced for a scandalous crime, nor to have been dismissed from a job by a disciplinary board or by a court ruling, nor to have previously held a publication licence which was later revoked;
- viii) Not to practice simultaneously the profession of political journalism and any other profession or general employment, with the exception that a Member of Parliament has the right to be the proprietor of a political publication provided he is not its Managing Director;
- ix) To be resident in Syria."

#### **Syria - Article 20**

"The Director of a periodical publication must comply with the following conditions:

- i) To conform to the conditions found in clauses 1,2,4,6,7,8 and 9 of Article 18 above;
- ii) To be in receipt of a certificate of secondary education or carry a journalist card issued by the General Department for Propaganda and Information on the basis of a legalised letter from the Press Association, establishing the journalist's practice of that profession for more than six years, dependent on the regulations of the third section of this law;
- iii) Not to combine with his profession any office or membership of Parliament;
- iv) Not be Managing Director of more than one journal."

#### **Jordan - Article 5**

"It is conditional on the journalist that he:

- a) Be a Jordanian, over the age of twenty-three years;
- b) Be resident within the kingdom;

- c) Be in possession of the Jordanian Certificate of Secondary education or its equivalent;
- d) Have practiced journalism in an actual, continuous way for five years, or that he be in possession of a University degree in journalism. As for those with other University degrees, they must have practiced journalism for a period of one year;
- e) Have no record of crimes or moral infractions committed;
- f) Be not employed by any foreign country;
- g) Enjoy full civil and political rights;
- h) Supports himself actually and solely by the practice of journalism."

#### **Jordan - Article 6**

"The following conditions must be fulfilled by the Editor-in-Chief:

- a) That the Jordanian fulfilling all the conditions required to be fulfilled by the journalist as laid down in the previous article, and that he practices his profession actually for the publication on which he works;
- b) That his actual place of residence be in the locality where his publication is issued;
- c) That he be not Editor-in-Chief of more than one publication;
- d) That he be proficient in the language of the publication for which he is Editor-in-Chief and if the publication is published in a number of languages then the Editor-in-Chief must be proficient in the principal language of the publication and be sufficiently familiar with the rest of the languages of the publication."

### **Kuwait - Article 17**

*"Conditional upon the proprietor of a journal are:*

- i) that he be of Kuwaiti nationality, resident in Kuwait with the exception of periodical publications issued by diplomatic and consular mission and the circulars of foreign news agencies licenced to work in Kuwait;*
- ii) that he be not less than twenty five years old;*
- iii) that he be of good conduct and praiseworthy reputation, and never convicted of crime relating to indecency or dishonesty, except if his name were subsequently cleared;*
- iv) that he be not an employee of a foreign state or company."*

### **Kuwait - Article 18**

*"Every journal must have an Editor-in-Chief exercising actual supervision of all of its contents or a group of editors each one responsible for exercising actual supervision of one particular section thereof; and the proprietor of a journal is permitted to act as Editor-in-Chief or one of several editors provided that he comply with the conditions stipulated in this law.*

### **Kuwait - Article 20**

*"It is conditional upon any editor or writer working for any journal;*

- i) that he be legally competent;*
- ii) that he be of good conduct and praiseworthy reputation, and never convicted of crime relating to indecency or honour;*
- iii) that he be not an employee of a foreign state or company;*
- iv) that he hold no public office;*
- v) that he be registered with the organized associations for journalists in his own country if he be not Kuwaiti,*

*for a period of not less than five years prior to starting work in Kuwait; and if there be no organized associations for journalists in his country then he must have been working for one of his country's newspapers for at least five years prior to his beginning to work in Kuwait, or that he have worked in Kuwait newspapers for a period of not less than five years prior to the issue of this law;*

- vi) that he obtain permission from the Ministry of Information to work as a journalist ...."*

## **SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION**

It is clear from the regulations (restrictions) which were listed in the Syrian, Jordanian and Kuwaiti press and publications law that the government has control over the press. The government has the legal power to:

1. licence all newspapers and magazines.
2. withdraw the licence when the government wanted.
3. suspend the publications.
4. punish the journalists.

The press became an instrument or a tool (megaphones) in the hand of the government.

There are two methods of punishment for journalists and newspapers in the Arab regions:

1. In the case of government newspapers (government owned) they mostly adopt imprisonment and the killing of journalists in preference to closing down the newspapers. This for example is adopted by the Syrian government;
2. For the privately owned, the government close down the newspapers, a system adopted by the Jordanian

government, for example, in March 1967, the press criticised the Jordanian army's inability to reply to the Israeli raid on the borders. This made the Prime Minister, Wasfi al-Tal withdraw the licences of the newspapers and issue a new publications law claiming that the press did not shoulder its responsibilities.

(Brady, 1967.)

In 1970, the government closed al-Dustur and al-Daffah newspapers when they published, on the first page, an official statement by the Palestinian Commandos which considered the Jordanian government responsible for the dispute with the Palestinians. (Index on Censorship, 1972, p.84.)

In 1975, the government closed al-Sha'b newspaper because it was accused of having contacts with the PLO. (Index on Censorship 1976, p.83.)

On 21st September 1977, the government suspended al-Sha'b newspaper because of its editorial in which it indirectly claimed that the Prime Minister, Mudir Badran, was outside the country, "*in the most famous Palestinian Arab Island*". The government took it that the editor meant that the Prime Minister was in Israel. (Al-Sha'b, 1977, p.2.)

In 1976, al-Ra'i newspaper was suspended because it published an official statement by Jordanian officials in which they criticized the Syrian involvement in Lebanon. (Index on Censorship, 1981, p.45.)

In 1977, al-Ra'i was again suspended because of a news item about the Jordanian army. (Ibid, p.45.)

In 1981, the government suspended al-Ra'i for 18 days, claiming that the newspaper published a commentary which harmed the public interest and violated the press laws. (Ibid, p.45.)

Article 35 of the old Kuwaiti press law specifies that the right to suspend newspapers is delegated to the national courts of justice and not by a decree by the Minister of Information as it was in the past. This article, which was issued according to the unanimous request of Kuwaiti journalists, has played a great role in granting Kuwaiti press a larger amount of information freedom compared to the press of Syria, Jordan and the other Arab countries. Article 35 specifies the following:

- "1. A newspaper cannot be suspended or its licence withdrawn except by a final sentence issued by the criminal court. The period of suspension of a newspaper should not exceed one year.
2. The proprietor and editor-in-chief of the newspaper could be referred to the court by the concerned chief prosecutor's decision after investigation by the offices of the public prosecutor of a charge filed by the Minister of Information.
3. However, at the request of the public prosecutors offices, the chief of the criminal circuit can, if necessary, temporarily suspend the newspaper during the investigations or the trial for a period which does not exceed three weeks."

Ahmad Badr (1979) pointed out that the majority of court cases against the Kuwaiti press were related to the charge of damaging Kuwaiti relations with fraternal or friendly countries. In 19 cases, in which

some newspapers were accused of disturbing the relations between Kuwait and fraternal Arab countries, 10 cases were dismissed, and six resulted in fines. For instance, Al-Siyasah was accused of disturbing the relations between Kuwait and Egypt (during Sadat's period). The newspaper published an article entitled *"Egypt, which is pregnant with events, might give birth to a coup d'etat against al-Sadat"*. The case resulted in a fine of 100 Kuwaiti dinars against al-Siyasah. Al-Siyasah published an article which included sentences damaging to the person of President Anwar al-Sadat, this case was dismissed, and when the prosecution appealed Al-Tali'ah was accused of disturbing the relations with Sudan and Morocco. The magazine published an article entitled *"From the scandal of rigging the elections to the scandal of the secret American military bases in Morocco"*. The court dismissed the case against al-Tali'ah. In 1981 the Kuwaiti government asked the cabinet to pass some additional restrictions to the publication laws, and Article 35 was removed from the new press and publication law.

The Chief editor of Al-Taliaa Magazine, Sami Al-Manise, said:

*"Contrary to what one expects in that the Law should restore the basis which ensures fair justice, this one does in fact restrict the freedom of the press."*

*The least it can be said about the new law of publication is that it kills senses of creativity and good thoughts of the journalist or the writer when he wants or intends to write about a particular matter. The journalist gets the feeling as if being in a field surrounded by explosions. This is because of the various warnings and the long list of punishment inherent in the Law."*

(Al-Resaleh Magazine, 29 December 1981.)

The chief editor of Al-Watan newspapers, Jasim Al-Motawaa, said:

*"The publication laws which the government passed are incomplete because the professional people in communication and the journalists did not review it."*  
(Al-Resaleh Magazine, 29 December 1981.)

The chief editor of Al-Qabas, Jasim Alnesf, criticized the new publication law and conducted a study of all the articles he said that Article 36:

*"Which is the main obstacle to the freedom of the press which will lead the Kuwaiti press to present similar views to those of the official periodicals."*  
(Al-Resaleh Magazine, 29.11.81.)

The editor of Al-Qabas, Ahmed Al-Deiune, said that the new restrictions are:

*"Undemocratic and a dangerous proposal".*  
(Al-Gabas, 5.1.85.)

The Kuwaiti journalists who criticized the government's restriction proposals did not know in 1981 that in 1986 they would have complete censorship, which is now operating, or that each newspaper or magazine would have an official person from the Ministry of Information censoring the publication.

Siebert pointed out:

*"Area of freedom contracts and the enforcement of restraints increase as stresses on the stability of the government and of the structure of society increase."*  
(Siebert 1952, p.10.)

What has happened to the Kuwaiti press proves Siebert to be correct. Because of the war between Iraq and Iran the Kuwaiti government censored publications to avoid any involvement in the war, and they want the media to reflect the government (Amir) opinion rather than the press views.

It can be concluded that the guarantees provided by the Syrian, Jordanian and Kuwaiti constitutions do not function in practice. These institutions do not in reality assure the freedom of speech or the freedom of the press. That is because all three countries laws of the press and publication have assigned the government the absolute power to issue or withdraw the licence of any publication without even providing good reasons for doing so. This is why Hijab (1985) recommended in his thesis that the Jordanian Law of Press and Publication should be re-organised and improved so that it could be active in serving the public. He says in this perspective that:

*"the Regulation determines the press obligations and responsibilities to the government"*

The strong similarity in the three countries' press and publication law came from sharing the same characteristics of the authoritarian press law. The three countries' restrictive laws make the journalists indulge in self-control (self-censorship) to avoid politics or any criticism to their governments.

Self-censorship is really something different from the machinery control.

*"The machinery is not necessarily one of censorship, it is something built into the professional training and the morals of the articulate in a given society."*

(Smith, 1980, p.151.)

The number of Arab journalists who have faced death penalties, prosecution and imprisonment is lower than the number of politicians and civilians. However, the important thing is that although the government does not intervene directly in any attack against the expression of freedom in the press, journalists find themselves in a

position where they themselves form a kind of self-control quite unwittingly and therefore they often do not get involved in subjects of criticism. And this includes all sorts of journalistic materials; editorial features, critics in general of cartoons.

*"The fight against censorship is open and dangerous therefore heroic, while the battle against self-censorship is anonymous, lonely and unwitnessed, and it makes its subject feel humiliated and ashamed of collaborating"*

He added that self-censorship is dangerous to the mind of the writer.

*"Self-censorship means reading your own text with the eyes of another person, a situation where you become your own judge stricter and more suspicious than anyone else. Self-censorship is dangerous mental manipulation with grave consequence literature and human spirit."*

(Index on Censorship, pp.43-5, 1986.)

Baffour Ankomah writes that he lived in a country (Ghana) in which the truth was on holiday. Every day before he picked up his pen to write an editorial, he prayed:

*"Mighty Father who created the earth, you know we live in a country where truth hasn't returned from holidays. They expect praise when bitter criticism does not suffice to portray the magnitude of the situation and I have the unpleasant job of commenting on these situations."*

(Index on Censorship, pp.33-4, 1986.)

He censored himself and everybody working with him so as to live longer.

## **CONCLUSION**

Although there is ample evidence that the factors which influence the making of the foreign policy of Syria, Jordan and Kuwait are different, namely, in terms of their relations with the two superpowers, this study, having examined the constitutions of the three countries and the media laws, has not found that these countries' relations with the two superpowers has had any impact on their legislations and media laws.

For example, the laws of the media in Jordan have not influenced the laws of the media in the United States given the good relations which exist between the two countries. And the same thing applies to Kuwait.

This study, on the contrary, has found that there are many similarities in the way the media laws of the three countries are written, that is albeit the difference in their foreign policies towards the superpowers.

The three countries' media laws share one particular article, which clearly indicates that the media should not criticize or humiliate friendly countries. In fact, it is from this article that we come to understand the influence of the political factors in shaping the freedom of the press.

Examples in this connection show that most Jordanian and Kuwaiti newspapers which were censored had been involved in some kind of criticism towards other Arab countries.

And in order to understand the extent of the influence of this article which prohibits criticising friendly countries, we have devoted a whole

chapter (Chapter Six) to the examination of news about the United States and the Soviet Union in the newspapers of Jordan, Syria and Kuwait in an attempt to understand the influence of such laws on their media policies.

## CHAPTER SIX

### THE RESULTS OF THE NEWSPAPERS' CONTENT ANALYSIS

#### Introduction

In this chapter we shall examine and provide the analysis of our field work. We shall look at the news stories on both superpowers in the Syrian, Jordanian and Kuwaiti newspapers.

We basically treat four main topics. These are: first the amount of coverage devoted by newspapers to both superpowers; second the attitude of the news stories vis-a-vis the two superpowers; third the selection of the topics and finally the selection of the sources.

This study is testing the portrayal of foreign relations between the Third World countries and the two superpowers (the United States and the Soviet Union) in the Third World press. To measure the effect of the foreign policies in the Third World countries, in editing and writing, the two superpowers' news stories, two newspapers from each country, covering a four-year period, were selected for this study.

TABLE 3

## THE SELECTION OF THE THREE COUNTRIES' NEWSPAPERS

NEWSPAPER	COUNTRY
<u>Al-Baath</u>	Syria
<u>Al-Thawrah</u>	Syria
<u>Al-Ra'y</u>	Jordan
<u>Sawt Al-Shaab</u>	Jordan
<u>Al-Siyassah</u>	Kuwait
<u>Al-Watan</u>	Kuwait

## SECTION 1

### THE QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS

There is a wide disparity in the distribution of news concerning the two superpowers. The United States received by far the largest proportion of news in the Syrian, Kuwaiti and Jordanian press.

TABLE 4

#### THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE TWO SUPERPOWERS' NEWS STORIES

Countries	United States		Soviet Union	
	News	Stories	News	Stories
Syria	407	82.6%	86	17.5%
Kuwait	561	79.2%	146	20.7%
Jordan	309	77.4%	90	22.6%

In general there was strong agreement between the three countries in the distribution of the two superpowers' news stories. There is no great difference in publishing a large amount of news about the United States rather than the Soviet Union even in the Syrian press which is the closest ally of the Soviet Union amongst the three countries studied.

The possible explanation for the large distribution of the American news stories in the Syrian, Kuwaiti and Jordanian press is that:

1. The amount of American political and military involvement in the world and especially in the Middle East.
2. There are more Arab countries who have diplomatic interests with the United States than with the Soviet Union.
3. Most of the American news stories are negative, especially in the case of Syria.
4. There are more American news agencies supplying the countries newspapers than Soviet news agencies.

Around eighty per cent of the items analysed dealing with the two superpowers were news.

TABLE 5

**THE NATURE OF THE TWO SUPERPOWERS NEWS STORIES**

	Syria		Jordan		Kuwait	
	N		N		N	
News	358	78.1%	326	81.7%	627	88.8%
Features	96	19.5%	60	15.6%	64	9.1%
Editorials		9	1.8%	5	1.3%	8 1.1%
Cartoons	3	0.6%	8	2.0%	7	1.0%

The Syrian newspapers published most of their news stories about the two superpowers on pages one and two (65.3 per cent). 20.3 per cent of the Jordanian news stories were published on page one and the rest distributed throughout the paper. Only 13.6 per cent of the news stories about the two superpowers was printed on page one in the Kuwaiti press. From that we can say that the Syrian press is concentrating on the news from the two superpowers. To reflect the importance of the news coverage it is normally assumed that such stories will appear on the most prominent pages (pages one and two). The Kuwaitis preferred to publish local Arab news and the American and Soviet political news which was linked with Kuwait or other Arab countries on page one. Page one of the Kuwaiti press is not devoid of American or Soviet news. The rest of the Soviet and American news stories were distributed throughout the paper.

TABLE 6

**THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE TWO SUPERPOWERS' NEWS IN THE  
THREE COUNTRIES' PRESS**

Page	Syria	Kuwait	Jordan
1	35.9%	13.6%	20.3%
2	29.4%	.3%	1.1%
3	7.5%	1.1%	-

The two superpowers news stories are rarely linked with pictures in any of the Syrian, Kuwaiti or Jordanian press. This was especially true

of the Syrian press (7.5 per cent). The Jordanians did not fare much better (14.5 per cent). The Kuwaiti press had 26.0 per cent of the news stories linked to pictures, most of which were featured on the front page.

## **FOREIGN RELATIONS NEWS**

This study found that foreign relations stories dominated the news dealing with the two superpowers; domestic news from the two superpowers was of less importance. 73.0 per cent of the Syrian news discussed the two superpowers' relations with other countries. 65.4 per cent of the two superpowers' news in the Jordanian press reflected their relations with foreign countries. The Kuwaiti press published 61.5 per cent of the two superpowers' news linked with world countries.

Table 7 shows that around 30 per cent of the two superpowers' news which contained foreign relations news was with Arab countries, and this is explained by the fact that the three countries are also Arab countries and they are politically, and socially similar to the other Arab countries. The second foreign country which linked the two superpowers' news stories was Israel; this was especially true of the United States. Around 12 per cent of the American-Israeli news was published in the Syrian and Jordanian newspapers. The Kuwaiti press was not interested in publishing American-Israeli news, this being reflected in the low percentage of only 6.2 per cent.

**TABLE 7**  
**THE COUNTRIES WHICH WERE LINKED WITH THE TWO**  
**SUPERPOWERS**

<b>USA RELATIONS WITH:</b>	<b>Jordanian Press</b>	<b>Kuwaiti Press</b>	<b>Syrian Press</b>
Arab countries	29.8%	35.2%	37.8%
Israel	14.6%	6.2%	11.6%
East Europe	.6%	.4%	-
West Europe	3.2%	3.2%	3.7%
Central America	2.9%	2.7%	5.7%
South America	-	.2%	1.0%
South Asia	3.9%	2.3%	4.4%
Others	8.7%	11.0%	15.0%
<b>SOVIET UNION RELATIONS WITH:</b>	<b>Jordanian Press</b>	<b>Kuwaiti Press</b>	<b>Syrian Press</b>
Arab countries	41.2%	39.1%	31.5%
Israel	6.7%	1.2%	2.7%
East Europe	1.1%	4.7%	2.7%
West Europe	5.6%	11.6%	6.8%
Central America	-	-	-
South America	-	-	-
South Asia	7.8%	4.4%	4.1%
Others	5.6%	24.4%	19.2%

## THE TOPICS

The percentage of the United States and Soviet Union political, military and economic news in the Syrian, Kuwaiti and Jordanian press was higher than the news relating to education, sport, culture, health, accidents, science or human interest. The first priority in the three countries was the political news from the two superpowers.

TABLE 8

### POLITICS IN USA NEWS STORIES

Syria	Kuwait	Jordan	
15.0%	6.6%	20.1%	Visiting, co-operation, cablegram
2.9%	4.5%	8.1%	Elections, party re-shuffle
			<b>Peace negotiations in:</b>
2.7%	6.1%	6.8%	Middle East
.2%	.2%	-	South Africa
.2%	.3%	.6%	Central America
.2%	-	-	Afghanistan
-	-	-	South Asia
.2%	7.1%	-	Others

TABLE 9

## POLITICS IN SOVIET NEWS STORIES

Syria	Kuwait	Jordan	
48.8%	20.5%	28.9%	Visiting, co-operation
1.2%	3.4%	2.2%	Election, party reshuffle
			<b>Peace negotiations in:</b>
3.5%	6.8%	2.2%	Middle East
-	-	1.1%	South Africa
-	-	1.1%	Central America
1.2%	.7%	1.1%	Afghanistan
-	-	-	South Asia
7.0%	6.2%	-	Others

TABLE 10

## POLITICAL AND MILITARY INVOLVEMENT OF THE USA

	Syria	Kuwait	Jordan
Middle East	22.4%	9.1%	10.4%
South Africa	.5%	.2%	-
Central Africa	5.7%	.5%	.3%
South Asia	.7%	-	.3%
Others	11.3%	1.8%	2.2%

TABLE 11

**POLITICAL AND MILITARY INVOLVEMENT OF THE SOVIET UNION**

	<b>Syria</b>	<b>Kuwait</b>	<b>Jordan</b>
Middle East	-	-	-
South Africa	-	-	-
Central Africa	-	-	-
Afghanistan	1.2%	10.3%	2.2%
South Asia	-	-	-
Others	1.2%	.7%	5.5%

TABLE 12

**MILITARY IN USA NEWS STORIES**

<b>Syria</b>	<b>Kuwait</b>	<b>Jordan</b>	
4.9%	2.5%	7.6%	Exercises
3.2%	3.2%	4.2%	Star wars, peace.
1.0%	.5%	.6%	Selling weapons
8.8%	8.6%	7.4%	Co-operations
1.7%	2.7%	1.9%	War

TABLE 13

**MILITARY IN SOVIET NEWS STORIES**

<b>Syria</b>	<b>Kuwait</b>	<b>Jordan</b>	
-	2.1%	1.1%	Exercises
7.0%	6.8%	5.6%	Star wars, space
-	-	1.1%	Selling weapons
1.2%	10.3%	7.5%	Co-operation
-	-	-	War

TABLE 14

**ECONOMICS IN USA NEWS STORIES**

<b>Syria</b>	<b>Kuwait</b>	<b>Jordan</b>	
.5%	1.6%	2.0%	Exchange trade
.5%	.2%	.3%	International aid
1.5%	3.4%	.6%	Oil prices and companies
.2%	.5%	.6%	Agricultural matters
7.8%	6.6%	8.0%	Others

TABLE 15

**ECONOMICS IN SOVIET NEWS STORIES**

<b>Syria</b>	<b>Kuwait</b>	<b>Jordan</b>	
-	2.7%	-	Exchange trade
1.2%	-	-	International aid
1.2%	4.1%	1.1%	Oil prices and companies
1.2%	.7%	-	Agricultural matters
4.7%	-	3.3%	Others

TABLE 16

**ACCIDENTS IN USA NEWS STORIES**

<b>Syria</b>	<b>Kuwait</b>	<b>Jordan</b>	
-	1.2%	.3%	Disaster
1.2%	4.5%	1.9%	Kidnapping
.2%	-	-	Famine
3.3%	5.8%	5.8%	Others

TABLE 17

## ACCIDENTS IN SOVIET NEWS STORIES

Syria	Kuwait	Jordan	
-	3.8%	-	Disaster
-	-	-	Kidnapping
-	-	-	Famine
1.2%	4.9%	7.7%	Others

TABLE 18

## RELIGION IN USA AND SOVIET NEWS STORIES

Syria	Kuwait	Jordan	
.2%	1.9%	2.3%	USA
1.2%	.7%	3.3%	SOVIET UNION

TABLE 19

## SCIENCE IN USA AND SOVIET NEWS STORIES

Syria	Kuwait	Jordan	
-	1.4%	.6%	USA
4.7%	.7%	1.1%	SOVIET UNION

TABLE 20

**EDUCATION IN USA AND SOVIET NEWS STORIES**

<b>Syria</b>	<b>Kuwait</b>	<b>Jordan</b>	
1.2%	1.8%	2.3%	USA
2.2%	1.4%	3.3%	SOVIET UNION

TABLE 21

**HEALTH IN USA AND SOVIET NEWS STORIES**

<b>Syria</b>	<b>Kuwait</b>	<b>Jordan</b>	
-	1.3%	1.0%	USA
-	1.4%	1.1%	SOVIET UNION

TABLE 22

**ARTS AND CULTURE IN USA NEWS STORIES**

<b>Syria</b>	<b>Kuwait</b>	<b>Jordan</b>	
1.2%	10.9%	2.9%	Films
-	.2%	1.3%	Law and state
-	1.2%	1.0%	President's life
-	.2%	.3%	Others

TABLE 23

**ARTS AND CULTURE IN SOVIET NEWS STORIES**

<b>Syria</b>	<b>Kuwait</b>	<b>Jordan</b>	
4.7%	3.4%	1.1%	Films
-	-	1.1%	Law and state
-	.7%	-	President's life
-	1.4%	3.3%	Others

TABLE 24

**SPORT IN USA NEWS STORIES**

<b>Syria</b>	<b>Kuwait</b>	<b>Jordan</b>	
-	2.5%	1.3%	International
-	1.1%	1.9%	National
-	-	.3%	Others

TABLE 25

**SPORT IN SOVIET NEWS STORIES**

<b>Syria</b>	<b>Kuwait</b>	<b>Jordan</b>	
7.0%	4.8%	5.5%	International
-	.7%	5.6%	National
-	-	1.1%	Others

## NEWS SOURCES

Table 26 shows that the Syrian home news agency got first place amongst the international news agencies as the main source for the Syrian newspapers (36.3 per cent). The French news agency (AFP) is considered to be the first foreign source with 6.1 per cent for the Syrian newspapers, followed by the Soviet News Agency (TASS). Both AFP and TASS supply the Syrian press with major news stories about the two superpowers.

In this connection, from what we recorded, the Syrian newspapers do not appear to be heavily dependent on the American and British news agencies, but we do not know the source for the unidentifiable or unwritten resources.

Around 30 per cent of the stories in the Jordanian newspapers were taken from Reuters the British news agency or Agance France Presse news agency (36.6 per cent). These two news agencies said services in Arabic to the Jordanian newspapers and that is a possible explanation for using them. Around sixty per cent of the Kuwaiti items did not publish the real source of the news.

TABLE 26

**THE DEPENDENCE OF THE THREE COUNTRIES ON THE  
INTERNATIONAL AND HOME NEWS AGENCIES**

<b>Syria</b>	<b>Kuwait</b>	<b>Jordan</b>	
36.3%	3.8%	5..8%	Home News Agency
1.6%	2.3%	18.3%	Reuter
5.1%	.3%	-	TASS
2.6%	1.1%	.5%	AP
.4%	.4%	-	UPI
6.1%	2.1%	18.3%	AFP
.4%	.6%	8.5%	Arab News Agency
22.3%	9.2%	15.0%	Own correspondent
14.8%	5.8%	8.0%	Agencies
2.6%	11.2%	23.3%	Others

## **SECTION II**

### **THE QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS**

#### **THE EVENTS AND THE TONE OF THE NEWS STORIES**

Six events which took place during the period of this study that were in all the three countries' newspapers:

1. The American involvement in Lebanon
2. The American hostages in Iran
3. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan
4. American attacks on Libya
5. Camp David Treaty (peace)
6. American involvement in Central America (Nicaragua)

The tone of the two superpowers' news stories depends to some degree on the effect of foreign policy in the three countries' newspapers.

TABLE 27

**THE TONE OF THE TWO SUPERPOWERS' NEWS STORIES WHICH  
THE SYRIAN, KUWAITI AND JORDANIAN JOURNALISTS ADOPTED  
WHEN THEY EDITED THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET  
UNION NEWS**

**US NEWS STORIES**

	<b>Favourable</b>	<b>Unfavourable</b>	<b>Neutral</b>
<b>Syria</b>	.2%	67.6%	32.2%
<b>Kuwait</b>	.4%	11.8%	87.9%
<b>Jordan</b>	5.6%	18.1%	76.4%

**SOVIET NEWS STORIES**

	<b>Favourable</b>	<b>Unfavourable</b>	<b>Neutral</b>
<b>Syria</b>	51.2%	-	48.8%
<b>Kuwait</b>	6.8%	6.2%	87.0%
<b>Jordan</b>	14.4%	11.1%	74.4%

## **SYRIA**

The following are examples of positive Soviet news in the Syrian press:

*"Soviet Union affirmed their support for Syria".*

*"Millions of Soviets declare their support for Syria"*

*"The Soviets helped the Afghanistans to protect them from the Western influence"*

*"The German Economic Minister said: - It is good for the Europeans to co-operate with the Soviet Union"*

*"Zia Al Haq (the President of Pakistan) said:- The relations between the Soviet Union and Pakistan serves the cause of peace"*

*"The Soviet and the development in the Arab countries"*

*"The Peaceful and friendly Olympic Games"*

The Syrian press saw the United States as the greatest supporter of their enemy (Israel) with money, arms, and anything else which was required. They perceived the United States as the dominant nation in the conflict (troublemakers). The Syrian press published around sixty per cent of the United States news as negative news, while trying to explain their situation and their foreign policy.

The following are examples of negative American news stories in the Syrian press:

*"The United States is working to keep the famine in Ethiopia"*

*"The United States launched a secret war against Afghanistan"*

*"Syria condemns the American foreign policy"*

*"The Indian people said no to America"*

*"The United States uses their power to answer world problems"*

*"Reagan administration is behind the Israeli military involvement in Lebanon"*

*"Central America Intelligence (CIA) is working for making more problems in Afghanistan"*

*"America asks the European countries to withdraw from UNESCO"*

*"Voice of America is enemy of the Nations"*

*"Washington warned Nicaragua government"*

*"The C.I.A. controls American policy"*

*"Berlin:- Terrorism is the basic stand of American policy"*

The degree of foreign policy influence on the media is the main guide in designing the political policy. The effect of foreign policy in the Syrian press is very high, because you can easily understand Syrian government foreign policy when you read their press. Through examining news stories about the two superpowers in the Syrian press we found the following:

1. The Syrian press gave the Soviet news stories a kind of positive meaning to national and international Soviet policy. They project the Soviet Union as being a friend of the Third World countries, and an ally of the Arabs in their conflict with Israel.

2. The Syrian press did not label the Soviet troops in Afghanistan as an invasion force. They explained the Soviet Union's presence there, as helping the Afghanistan Government; they condemn the guerrilla activities of the "*Mojahideen*". The journalists believe that the "*Mojahideen*" are sponsored and backed by the United States.
3. The Syrian press did not publish any negative news stories about their close friend, they published around fifty per cent of the Soviet news as positive news. The rest are neutral news stories.

## **JORDAN**

The Jordanian press published a high percentage of neutral news stories about the United States (76.4 per cent) and less than twenty per cent of negative news. Jordan criticized the United States foreign policy was by keeping away from their foreign policy positions - this way they avoided the polemical news stories against their close friend the United States. The negative American news stories in the Jordanian press focused on President Reagan's foreign policy and most negative news stories were translated from the American and Western press.

The following are examples of negative USA news stories in the Jordanian press:

*"The ambitions beyond the American involvement in Lebanon"*

*"America detains the peace in Lebanon"*

*"Two centuries of American hostility to the Arabs"*

*"The illusion of Reagan's economic policy"*

*"The American aid to Israel helps to destroy the Arabs' rights"*

Most Soviet news stories in the Jordanian press are neutral (74.4 per cent). Around ten per cent of the Soviet news stories are negative and focus especially on the Soviet invasion and involvement in Afghanistan. The following are examples of negative Soviet news stories in the Jordanian press:

*"Moscow continues to increase their military presence in Afghanistan"*

*"China announced their strike against the Moscow Olympics"*

*"China asks the world to adopt reciprocal policies against Moscow"*

*"Western countries warned the Soviet Union from any military action in Poland"*

The Jordanians published some positive news stories about the Soviet Union, more than they published about their close friend the United States. The positive Soviet news focused on Jordanian-Soviet relations, not to prove or defend Soviet policy but to inform their readers about their political relations with the Soviet Union. The following are examples of the positive Soviet news stories in the Jordanian press:

*"The Soviet Union is the Arabs best friend"*  
(Al-Telhonu)

*"Acclaimed by the relations between Jordan and the Soviet Union"*  
(Al-Tarownah)

*"The Soviet delegates visited the King Hussain Bridge"*

*"Gromico announced that the Soviet Union wished to develop relations with Jordan"*

## **KUWAIT**

Government control of the Kuwaiti press is less than the Syrian and Jordanian and this was reflected in the two newspapers' writing style. The Kuwaiti newspapers do not reflect a general judgement, positive or negative, of the superpowers; each newspaper chooses a different policy.

First we will examine Al-Siyassah where over eighty per cent of the American news stories in this newspaper are neutral and only a small percentage are negative. The following are examples of negative American news stories in the Al-Siyassah:

*"The biggest operation to destroy the Arabs reputation is made by the CIA"*

*"Habib and Botras attacking the Washington policy in Lebanon"*

*"Egyptian newspapers attack the American and Israeli exercises"*

*""Where does America stand vis-a-vis the massacre of Beirut?"*

*"The non-aligned countries condemn Camp David"*

In the case of the Soviet Union they criticized the Soviet invasion and involvement in Afghanistan and they considered it a major threat against the Islamic nations (League). The following are examples of negative Soviet news stories:

*"The Soviet Union invasion of Afghanistan mobilised the Islamic world to a confrontation with communists"*

*"Afghan demonstrations in Iran against the Soviet hostility in Afghanistan"*

*"What is happening in Afghanistan is a plan to reach the Gulf"*

*"Mohammed Ali attacks Moscow"*

In Al-Watan over eighty per cent of the United States news stories were neutral and a small percentage were negative. They criticized American foreign policy in the world, especially in the Middle East. The following shows the negative United States news stories in Al-Watan:

*"The American CIA is behind the death of Morow"*

*"The Iranians suggest to change the name of the CIA"*

*"We are fed up of American peace"*

*"The Americans attack Libya"*

*"America is planning to divide Libya"*

They did not publish many negative news stories about the Soviet Union (.4 per cent). They did not criticise the Soviet Union for its invasion of Afghanistan, but they did publish positive news about the Soviet Union:

*"The Soviet project is an answer to Arab peace wishes"*

*"Moscow distrusts the Western calls to neutralise Afghanistan"*

*"Moscow succeeded in grade excellent in Moscow Olympic"*

*"Brijnev proposition is a support to the nations freedom"*

## **SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION**

Because of sharing common interests and problems, the three countries' press are similar in linking the two superpowers with certain countries, like:

1. Arab countries. They give the two superpowers' news attention when it is connected with Arab countries, and thirty-five per cent of the United States and Soviet Union news which contains foreign relations is with Arab countries, and this may also reflect a similarity in designing the press agenda setting.
2. Israel. The Syrian, Jordanian and Kuwaiti press share one major problem (Palestine lands). They consider Israel as the number one enemy and any country which co-operates with Israel is as much an enemy as Israel is. So the United States is seen as enemy number two for these Arab countries because of its huge co-operation and support for Israel. The Syrian press, when it gave news of the United States-Israel co-operation, gave more space than the Jordanian and Kuwaiti press to show their people how the United States involve themselves in the Middle East and all over the world. Relations between Middle East countries and the United States are the main reason behind the huge amount of news stories about

the United States in the press of Syria and Jordan. The Kuwaiti press did not cover the United States relations with Israel to anything like the extent the Syrian and Jordanian press did. Publishing more neutral news reflects the Kuwaiti government's political policy which wants to keep the Kuwaitis as a neutral country.

We can say that the Syrian political, economic and military relations with the Soviet Union created a kind of admiration of Soviet policy and ideology in the Syrian press. The press is the best carrier for government messages (foreign policy) to gain more government support from the people.

To sum up, it can be said that the Syrian press was ideologically biased in its coverage and treatment of the two superpowers. It published a great deal of polemic against the United States. There were clear tones of disfavour in the news against the United States foreign policy. According to the analysis of the Syrian press, this was due to a large extent to the capitalist ideology which stands against the Syrian ideology.

Jordanian foreign policy did not guide the press in Jordan to be pro-American or anti-Soviet. The government did not put much pressure on the press to be negative or positive vis-a-vis the two superpowers. It remained more or less neutral. Thus, compared to Syria, the degree

of Jordanian government foreign policy influence on the press was much less.

Similarly, the Kuwaiti government did not put pressure on the press to operate according to the foreign policy line. On the contrary, it encouraged self-determination in understanding the country's policy. It seems that the Kuwaiti government had no intention of plunging the country into a war of words with foreign countries. This is why most news stories about the two superpowers were of a neutral tone. It is evident then that the Kuwaiti foreign policy did not exert much influence as to how the press should plan or adopt its agenda setting. Hence, the Kuwaiti press tended to avoid polemical news and reflected, instead, neutral news.

## **CHAPTER SEVEN**

### **THE SURVEY FINDINGS**

Chapter 6 shows how the three countries' newspapers write and edit their news stories when dealing with the United States and the Soviet Union. This is illustrated by the results presented which suggest that this coverage was influenced by the countries' foreign policies.

Chapter 7, however, discusses the problem in general, i.e. the government pressures on the press; considers the effects of foreign policy and gives further evidence and explanations. The objective is to review the results of the survey of journalists in order to answer the following questions:

1. How do journalists in Syria, Kuwait and Jordan define the meaning of press freedom?
2. Does the journalist's opinion (image) about the United States and the Soviet Union support the way in which newspapers write and edit news stories about the two superpowers.
3. General information, which includes the journalists' educational background, and which international media such as radio stations, newspapers and magazines do they listen to and need?

Each of these three sets of questions will be reviewed in the context of the surveys results in the following sections:

**Section 1** : The open questions (what is the meaning of '**freedom**' of the press?) and general statements regarding freedom of the press.

**Section 2** : The journalist's image of the two superpowers.

**Section 3** : The journalist's education and reading profile.

## **SECTION ONE**

### **THE MEANING OF PRESS FREEDOM**

#### **AS SEEN BY THE SYRIAN, JORDANIAN AND KUWAITI JOURNALISTS**

The Syrian, Jordanian and Kuwaiti journalists gave different meanings or definitions of the freedom of the press as seen by themm or because of their own experiences. These definitions were obtained through open questioning about the meaning of the press. The answers have been broken down into fourteen parts reflecting the meaning of the freedom of the press in the three countries. Summing up the views of each individual country the general meaning of freedom of the press can be seen by examining the views of the journalists in the above mentioned countries.

The findings of this study (section) are that there are clear differences in the definitions and implications of freedom of the press between Syria and the other two countries (Jordan and Kuwait) as shown in Table 28.

TABLE 28

## MEANING OF FREEDOM OF THE PRESS

The Definitions		The Countries		
		Syria	Jordan	Kuwait
*	Free from government control	...	8.3	12.5
*	Freedom of the press in the development and education of the people	6.3	6.3	20.8
*	Freedom of collecting and distribution of information	...	10.4	8.3
*	Free and responsible press (not to attack national security and morality)	2.1	20.8	27.1
*	Free choice of subjects with no fear of punishment	8.5	27.1	22.9
*	The right to speak	2.1	2.1	10.4
*	Privacy of the people	2.1	...	10.4
*	Financial guarantee for the journalists	...	8.3	...
*	Telling the truth (reflecting what is happening in society)	4.2	23.3	41.8
*	The press should be free from the economic dependence on profit	14.6	2.1	...
*	The press should serve the interest of the people and the nation (not the owners of the newspapers)	21.9	4.2	10.5
*	New system for the distribution of news to and from the Third World	10.4	2.1	...
*	Freedom of the press under Islamic Law	...	...	2.1
*	I'm not free if I don't have money to buy newspapers	10.4	...	...

As already pointed out, none of the three countries has a democratic political system. They all can be regarded as authoritarian regimes. But, the main difference between Syria and the other two countries can be found in the orientation of the three systems. Syria has a socialist orientation whereas Kuwait and Jordan are more or less liberalist orientated. This is a statement that has been clearly proved by the journalists opinions on the question of press freedom.

Furthermore, it can easily be seen through the foreign relations of the three countries. Syria has a close relationship with the Soviet Union, whereas Jordan and Kuwait are pro-American and pro-capitalist systems as a whole. Through these foreign relationships we can deduce the impact of the ideological orientation on the opinion of journalists. In Syria, for example, journalists believe that the press should be free from any economic dependence based on profits i.e. private ownership and advertising; they also believe that the press should exist to serve the nation as a whole and not to reflect the opinion of the owner be it private or government. In Kuwait and Jordan journalists also believe that the press should be responsible and serve the development and education of the nation but they do not give too much importance to the question of control over ownership of the press as long as it is not government owned. They believe that being free from government control will facilitate the task of choice without fear of punishment.

## GENERAL STATEMENT FOR FREEDOM OF THE PRESS

Concerning the existing press and publications laws, there is a strong agreement among journalists for a change in these laws. Around 90 per cent in Kuwait, 80 per cent in Jordan and 78 per cent in Syria agree that to allow a free press governments have to change the existing press and publication laws as they constitute a major restriction towards the achievement of press freedom.

Generally speaking, journalists in the three countries believe that the existing laws should be reconsidered by their governments. On this particular point, the journalists opinions do not differ from the general principles set and supported by the Union of Arab Journalists where there has been a strong agreement to change the laws in favour of more freedom rather than more restrictions.

TABLE 29

### PROPORTION OF JOURNALISTS WISHING TO SEE A CHANGE IN THE PRESS LAW

Country		Agree Strongly		Agree		Disagree		Disagree Strongly		Don't know		No answer
	N		N		N		N		N		N	
Syria	9	18.8	29	60.4	8	16.7	2	4.2		-		-
Jordan	30	62.5	13	27.1		-		-	3	6.3	2	4.2
Kuwait	33	68.8	13	27.1		2.1	1	2.1		-		-

There is also agreement among journalists in the three countries on the question of whether the governments should introduce laws to protect the journalists themselves. The Kuwaitis (97 per cent) and the Jordanians (93 per cent) strongly urge the creation of these laws. In Syria, however, 71 per cent support the principle, but more than 18 per cent do not agree with the implementation of such laws because they believe that the Syrian regime is not putting them under any pressure.

TABLE 30

**A SURVEY CONCERNING WHETHER THERE SHOULD BE A LAW TO  
PROTECT JOURNALISTS FROM THE GOVERNMENT**

County		Agree Strongly		Agree		Disagree		Disagree Strongly		Don't know		No answer
	N		N		N		N		N		N	
<b>Kuwait</b>	36	75.0	11	22.9	1	2.1		-		-		-
<b>Jordan</b>	36	75.0	9	18.8		-		-	2	64.2	1	2.1
<b>Syria</b>	10	20.8	27	50.3	5	10.4	4	8.3	1	2.1		12.1

Changing the government publications and press law and finding laws to protect the journalists from government interference, is not totally negating government influence over the press, and this is clear in the case of the Syrian journalists as they believe that the government has little influence over the press. But most of the Jordanian and Kuwaiti journalists disagree that the government should have such influence over the press.

Table 31 shows that there is strong agreement among Syrian journalists that the Government can influence the press. But a small percentage

(10.4) disagreed with the majority that the government should not exert influence over the press.

77.1 per cent of the Kuwaiti journalists rejected and disagreed with the idea that the government can influence the press, but 22.9 per cent of the Kuwaiti journalists were in favour of the government having such powers. A high percentage of Jordanians, 66.7 per cent agreed with the Kuwaitis, that the government does not have the right to influence the press. 33.3 per cent of Jordanian journalists agreed that the government should be able to influence the press.

TABLE 31

**VIEWS CONCERNING GOVERNMENTAL INFLUENCE OVER THE PRESS**

Country	Agree that the government should have influence over the press		Disagree that the government should have influence over the press	
	N		N	
<b>Kuwait</b>	11	22.9	37	77.1
<b>Jordan</b>	16	33.3	32	66.7
<b>Syria</b>	13	89.6	5	10.4

## **THE FREEDOM OF THE PRESS IN THE CONSTITUTION**

In the case of the Third World constitutions, they do, as written, guarantee freedom of expression and opinion, but they are adversely influenced by government publication laws. In Syria, Jordan and Kuwait the constitutions guarantee the freedom of the press, but the practical reality refutes this guarantee; the ideals in the three countries' constitutions are one thing and practices another. 91.7 per cent of the Kuwaiti journalists agreed that these constitutions are useless because they see that the people in the Third World do not practice these rights. 6.3 per cent of the Kuwaiti journalists disagreed with that statement.

97.9 per cent of the Jordanian journalists agreed about the ineffectiveness of these constitutions.

In Syria only 29.2 per cent of the journalists agreed with this statement. The highest percentage of disagreement with this statement, 20.8 per cent, came from the Syrian journalists.

TABLE 32

## THE AGREEMENT WITH THE THIRD WORLD CONSTITUTIONS

Country	Agree Strongly		Agree		Disagree		Disagree Strongly		Don't know	No answer
	N		N		N		N		N	
Kuwait	3	62.5	14	29.2	3	6.3	-	-	1	2.1
Jordan	25	52.1	22	45.8	1	2.1	-	-	-	-
Syria	8	16.7	30	62.5	10	20.8	-	-	-	-

Table 33 shows that there was a high percentage of Syrian journalists who disagreed with the principle that newspapers should be in private ownership, with 45.8 per cent disagreeing, and 33.3 per cent disagreeing strongly; only a small percentage, 10.4 per cent, agreed that the newspapers should be in private ownership. A high percentage of the Kuwaiti journalists agreed strongly, 37.5 per cent, and 39.2 per cent agreed that newspapers should be private. 18.8 per cent of the Kuwaiti journalists disagreed and thought that newspapers should not be private.

The Jordanian journalists were in close agreement with the Kuwaitis that newspapers should be private. 27.1 per cent agreed strongly and 43.8 per cent agreed with private newspapers; however, 16.7 per cent disagree that newspapers should be private

TABLE 33

**THE DEGREE OF AGREEMENT WITH THE PRIVATE OWNERSHIP OF  
NEWSPAPERS**

Country	Agree Strongly		Agree		Disagree		Disagree Strongly		Don't know		No answer	
	N		N		N		N		N		N	
Kuwait	18	37.5	19	39.2	6	12.5	3	6.3	1	2.1	1	2.1
Syria	1	2.1	4	8.2	22	45.8	16	33.3	1	2.1	1	8.3
Jordan	10	20.8	27	50.3	5	10.4	4	8.3	1	2.1		12.1

**THE POLITICAL DECISIONS OF THE NEWSPAPERS**

Table 34 shows that most of the journalists in the three countries are playing only a small part, or no part at all, in making political decisions in the newspapers. The percentage of Syrian journalists who believe that they are playing a large part in the political decisions of their newspapers is greater than that of journalists in the other two countries.

TABLE 34

**THE DEGREE OF JOURNALISTS CONTRIBUTION IN MAKING A  
POLITICAL DECISION**

Country	Large part		Small part		No part at all		No answer	
	N		N		N		N	
Syria	11	22.9	18	37.5	17	35.4	2	4.2
Kuwait	7	14.6	19	39.6	20	41.7		
Jordan	9	18.8	20	41.7	19	39.6		

Table 35 shows that more than half the Syrian and Jordanian journalists believed that the Ministry of Information was responsible for making the political policy decisions of the newspapers. Most of the Kuwaiti journalists believed that the Chief Editor was the person responsible for making political decisions.

**TABLE 35**

**WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR MAKING THE POLITICAL DECISIONS OR  
POLICY FOR THE NEWSPAPERS**

N	Syria	N	Kuwait	Jordan		
1	2.1	1	2.1	-		Political Editor
8	16.7	30	62.5	11	22.9	Chief Editor
29	60.4	1	2.1	29	60.4	Ministry of Information
1	2.1	11	22.9	7	14.6	Both
9	18.8	1	2.1	1	2.1	Other

**THE WESTERN MEDIA ARE BETTER THAN .....**

Table 36 shows that there was strong agreement amongst all the journalists in the three countries that the Western media are better than the Third World media and the reasons for this are as follows:-

1. The journalists of the three countries (Syria 75 per cent, Kuwait 70.8 per cent and Jordan 52.1 per cent) consider

the use of modern technology to be the main factor in the development of the Western media.

2. The three countries' journalists believe that Western journalists are protected by law from the government influence (Kuwait 79 per cent, Jordan 68.8 per cent. Syria 43.8 per cent).

TABLE 36(a)

**RESPONSES TO THE STATEMENT THAT THE WESTERN MEDIA ARE  
BETTER THAN THE THIRD WORLD MEDIA**

Country	Agree strongly		Agree		Disagree		Disagree strongly		Don't know	No answer
	N		N		N		N			
Syria	7	14.6	30	62.5	6	12.5	4	8.3	-	-
Kuwait	27	56.3	18	37.5	2	4.2	1	2.1	-	-
Jordan	15	31.3	30	62.5	1	2.1	2	4.2	-	-

TABLE 36(B)

**VIEWS ON THE CAUSE FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF WESTERN MEDIA**

	N	Syria	N	Kuwait	N	Jordan
They use modern technology	36	75.1	34	70.8	25	52.1
They are educated	13	27.1	15	31.1	12	25.0
There is a law protecting the journalists from the government	21	43.8	33	68.8	38	79.2
The media are owned by individuals	5	10.4	11	22.9	11	22.2
Truthful broadcasting	6	12.5	25	52.1	11	22.9
Others	4	8.3	9	18.6	9	18.8
No answers	1	2.1	-	-	4	8.3

**THE MOST BELIEVABLE SOURCE FOR INTERNATIONAL NEWS**

The Syrian journalists (85.4 per cent) believe that their home news agency (SANA) is the most accurate and trusted source for the international news. About half of the Kuwaiti journalists consider their home news agency (in the first place) to be the most believable source for international news. But the highest percentage of the Jordanian journalists (33 per cent) believe that the French news agency is the most believable source of international news.

The Syrians' second priority is the Soviet Newsagency (TASS); 58.3 per cent think it is the most believable source for international news. The Kuwaiti and Jordanian's second choice is the British newsagency (Reuter).

TABLE 37(a)

## THE MOST BELIEVABLE SOURCE FOR INTERNATIONAL NEWS

Country	Your home news agency		Ap		AFP		UpI		Reuter		TASS	
	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Syria		85.4		-		6.3		-		4.2		2.1
Kuwait		52.1		4.2		6.3		-		31.3		4.2
Jordan	14	29.2	2	4.2	16	33.3	4	8.3	9	18.8	2	4.2

TABLE 37(b)

## THE SECOND MOST BELIEVABLE SOURCE

Country	Your home news agency		Ap		AFP		UpI		Reuter		TASS	
	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Syria		2.1 58.3		4.2			25.0		-			6.3
Kuwait		2.1 4.2		8.3			31.3		14.6			39.6
Jordan	1	2.1	6	12.5	7	14.6	4	8.3	19	39.6	5	10.4

## THE RANKING OF THE FREE PRESS IN THE WORLD

Table 38 shows how the three countries' journalists rank the following countries: Britain, Soviet Union, Third World and the United States, as

having a free press. The highest percentage of Jordanian and Kuwaiti journalists consider England to be the country with a freer press. The United States came second as far as the Jordanian and Kuwaiti journalists defined the free press. On the other hand, the Syrian journalists consider the Soviet Union to be the country with a freer press, with the Third World countries in second place.

It is difficult to establish the exact reasons behind these choices, but it can be argued that ideological and foreign policies influence the journalists' choices in one way or another.

TABLE 38(a)  
THE RANKING OF THE FREE COUNTRIES' PRESS

Syria		Kuwait		Jordan	
	N		N		N
1. Soviet Union	16 33.3%	England	17 35.4%	England	21 43.8%
2. Third World Countries	14 29.3%	USA	19 39.6%	USA	18 37.5%

TABLE 38(b)

## A MORE DETAILED RANKING OF TABLE 38(a)

## ENGLAND

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Rank	N	Syria	N	Kuwait	N	Jordan
1.	11	22.9%	17	35.4%	21	43.8%
2.	11	22.9%	18	37.5%	4	8.3%
3.	14	29.9%	8	16.7%	4	8.3%

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## SOVIET UNION

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Rank	N	Syria	N	Kuwait	N	Jordan
1.	16	33.3%	6	12.5%	6	12.5%
2.	8	16.7%	5	10.4%	8	16.7%
3.	10	20.8%	13	21.1%	15	31.1%

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## UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

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Rank	N	Syria	N	Kuwait	N	Jordan
1.	12	25.0%	1	2.1%	15	12.5%
2.	9	18.8%	19	39.6%	18	37.5%
3.	5	10.4%	18	37.5%	7	31.1%

---

### THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES

Rank	Syria		Kuwait		Jordan	
	N		N		N	
1.	3	6.3%	5	10.4%	7	14.6%
2.	14	29.3%	7	14.6%	3	6.3%
3.	7	14.6%	23	47.9%	21	43.8%

We discussed in detail in the first section of this chapter the definition of 'the freedom of the press' as seen by Syrian, Kuwaiti and Jordanian journalists. The aim of this study is to explore in depth the degree of the effect of foreign policy on the freedom of the press. However, we surveyed journalists from the three countries to ascertain their image of the Soviet Union and the United States on the human rights issue.

## SECTION TWO

### THE JOURNALISTS IMAGE OF THE TWO SUPERPOWERS

Table 39 shows that a high percentage of the three countries' journalists, Syria (48 per cent), Kuwait (35.5 per cent) do not agree that the United States is a civilized, technological and humanitarian country. The remainder of the journalists, however, agree that the United States is a civilized country, Syria (50.1 per cent), Kuwait (60.4 per cent). There is little difference between the three countries' journalists in deciding whether or not the United States is a civilized country.

TABLE 39

#### RESPONSES TO THE STATEMENT THAT THE USA IS A CIVILIZED, TECHNOLOGICAL AND HUMANITARIAN COUNTRY

Country		Agree strongly		Agree		Disagree		Disagree strongly		Don't know	
N		Total		N		N		N		N	
Syria	3	3.6	21	43.8	14	29.2	9	18.8	1	2.1	(100) 48
Kuwait		7	14.6	22	45.8	9	18.8	8	16.7	2	4.2
Jordan		4	8.3	26	54.2	8	16.7	10	20.8		-
		48									

Table 40 shows that there is strong agreement that the Soviet Union is a civilized, technological and humanitarian country, Syria (100 per cent), Kuwait (77.1 per cent) and Jordan (89.6 per cent). Not one of the Syrian journalists considered the Soviet Union to be an uncivilized country. 18.7

per cent of Kuwaiti journalists disagree with the statement that the Soviet Union is a civilized country.

TABLE 40

**RESPONSES TO THE STATEMENT THAT THE SOVIET UNION IS A  
CIVILIZED, TECHNOLOGICAL AND HUMANITARIAN COUNTRY**

Country		Agree strongly		Agree		Disagree		Disagree strongly		Don't know	
N		N		N		N		N		N	
Syria	20	41.7	28	58.3		-		-		-	48
Kuwait		7	14.5	30	62.5	5	10.4	4	8.3	2	2.1
		48									
Jordan		5	10.4	38	79.2	3	6.3	1	2.1	2.1	

Table 41 shows that journalists from the three countries did not agree that the United States is working for peace in the world. Only a very small percentage of Kuwaiti and Jordanian journalists agree that it is so. Most of the the three countries' journalists disagree with the statement that the United States foreign policy is working to establish peace in the world.

Here, the journalists' opinions on these matters which influence the two superpowers are largely influenced by the United States foreign policy in the world, particularly the way America looks at and deals with Arab problems mainly in the Middle East area where American bias and support of Israel is clear.

TABLE 41

**RESPONSES TO THE STATEMENT THAT THE UNITED STATES IS  
WORKING FOR PEACE**

Country	Agree strongly Total	Agree	Disagree	Disagree strongly	Don't know
N	N	N	N	N	N
Syria		18	37.5	30	62.5
Kuwait	1	2.1	15	31.3	30
Jordan	3	6.3	16	33.3	28

Table 42 shows that 90 per cent of Syrian journalists agree that the Soviet Union does have an acceptable foreign policy working for peace in the world. The Jordanian journalists also agree on this question. The Kuwaiti journalists agree but not with a very high percentage.

TABLE 42

**RESPONSES TO THE STATEMENT THAT THE SOVIET UNION IS A  
COUNTRY WORKING FOR PEACE IN THE WORLD**

Country	Agree strongly	Agree	Disagree	Disagree strongly	Don't know	No
N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Syria	27	56.3	20	41.7	1	2.1
Kuwait	4	8.3	15	31.3	17	35.4
Jordan	4	8.3	25	52.1	11	22.9

Table 43 shows that there is strong agreement among the three countries' journalists that the United States works only for its own interests and does not consider the cost or problems caused to the other nations of the world.

TABLE 43

**RESPONSES TO THE STATEMENT THAT THE UNITED STATES IS  
SELF-SEEKING**

Country	Agree strongly total		Agree		Disagree		Disagree strongly		Don't know	
	N		N		N		N		N	
Syria	29	60.4	18	37.5	-	1	2.1		-	
Kuwait		31	64.6	13	27.1	2	4.2		2	2.4
Jordan		33	68.8	13	27.1	1	2.1	1	2.1	-

Table 44 shows that the Soviet Union, unlike the United States, considers the interests of other nations in conjunction with its own endeavours to avoid making problems for other nations. Syria (93.7 per cent), Kuwait (41.7 per cent) and Jordan (41.6 per cent). However, there are some journalists from Kuwait and Jordan who believe that the Soviet Union considers its own interests only.

TABLE 44

**RESPONSES TO THE STATEMENT THAT THE SOVIET UNION IS SELF  
SEEKING**

Country	Agree strongly		Agree		Disagree		Disagree strongly		Don't know		No
	N		N		N		N		N		N
Syria	1	2.1	2	4.2	29	60.4	16	33.3		-	-
Kuwait	6	12.5	19	39.6	15	31.3	5	10.4	2	4.2	12.1
Jordan	7	14.6	17	35.4	16	33.3	4	8.3	3	6.3	12.1

Table 45 shows that most of the three countries' journalists disagree that American foreign policy in the Third World has improved during the last twenty years. Syria (97.9 per cent), Kuwait (79.2 per cent) and Jordan (89.6 per cent).

TABLE 45

**RESPONSES TO THE STATEMENT THAT THE UNITED STATES HAS  
IMPROVED ITS FOREIGN POLICY MAKING DURING THE LAST TWENTY  
YEARS**

Country	Agree strongly		Agree		Disagree		Disagree strongly		Don't know		No
	N		N		N		N		N		N
Syria		1	2.1	16	33.3	31	64.6		-	-	
Kuwait	1	2.1	6	12.5	21	43.8	17	35.4	2	4.2	2.1
Jordan	1	2.1	2	4.2	23	47.9	20	41.7	1	2.1	2.1

Table 46 shows that there is strong agreement among the Syrian journalists that the Soviet Union's foreign policy has improved during the last twenty years. However, some journalists from Kuwait and Jordan do not believe that to be so.

TABLE 46

**RESPONSES TO THE STATEMENT THAT THE SOVIET UNION HAS  
IMPROVED ITS FOREIGN POLICY DURING THE LAST TWENTY YEARS**

Country	N	Agree strongly	N	Agree	N	Disagree	N	Disagree strongly	Don't know	N	No
Syria	18	37.5	30	62.5		-		-	(100)		48
Kuwait	2	4.2	24	50.0	14	29.2	4	8.3	3	6.3	2.1
Jordan	4	8.3	30	62.5	10	2.8	3	6.3	1	2.1	-

**THE COVERAGE OF THE TWO SUPERPOWERS**

There is strong agreement between all three groups of journalists, in that they believe their press is providing enough news about the United States (very and fairly high coverage), but in the case of the Soviet Union only Syrian journalists agree that their press is providing fairly high news coverage. This is not true because the result of the content analysis shows little coverage of the Soviet Union in the Syrian press. The other two countries' journalists do not agree with the Syrians that their press is providing (fairly high) news coverage about the Soviet Union. The strong

economic ties with the Soviet Union is one factor behind the Syrian journalists' feelings that their press is providing sufficient news stories about the Soviet Union. Table 47 shows how the journalists feel about the amount of coverage of the two superpowers.

TABLE 47

**SHOWS THE AMOUNT OF THE TWO SUPERPOWERS' NEWS COVERAGE  
IN THE THREE COUNTRIES' NEWSPAPERS**

	N	Syria	N	Kuwait	N	Jordan	
USA	2	4.2	21	43.8	23	47.9	Very high
Soviet Union	9	18.8	6	12.5	2	4.2	
USA	40	83.3	17	35.4	19	39.6	Fairly high
Soviet Union	36	75.0	16	33.3	21	43.8	
USA	4	8.3	9	18.8	5	10.4	Fairly low
USA	2	4.2	1	2.1	1	2.1	Very low
Soviet Union		-	9	18.8	10	20.8	

### SECTION III

#### THE PROFILE OF THE JOURNALISTS

The study is based upon the definition of press freedom as provided by journalists of each country under investigation. As well as their impressions or perceptions vis-a-vis the United States and the Soviet Union. To this end therefore, it is necessary to know about the journalists educational background, their visits to the USA or the USSR if any, the types of books they read, the journals and newspapers they possess.

The aim is to examine how influential these factors are in determining the impressions or the perceptions of these journalists towards the two superpowers. But more interesting than that is to discover the extent to which the journalists of each country are attached to the two superpowers, that is in order to locate ultimately the foreign policy influence over the media output.

A high percentage of the journalists in the three countries have had seven or more years' experience in journalism. The survey showed that the Syrian journalists have, on average, more experience than those from the other countries.

TABLE 48

## THE PRESENTATION OF JOURNALISTS EXPERIENCES

Country	1-3 years		4-6 years		7-10 years		Over 10 years	
Syria	6	12.5	13	27.1	9	18.8	20	41.7
Kuwait	12	25.0	8	16.7	9	18.8	19	39.6
Jordan	14	29.2	11	22.9	7	14.6	15	31.3

Table 49 shows that there is strong agreement among the three countries' journalists who enjoy being journalists. Less than 20 per cent said that they do not actually enjoy working as journalists.

TABLE 49

## HOW THE JOURNALISTS ENJOY WORKING IN THEIR PROFESSION

Country	Yes		No		Sometimes	
Syria	38	79.2	2	4.28	8	16.7
Kuwait	40	83.3	3	6.3	5	10.4
Jordan	35	72.9	4	8.3	8	16.7

Table 50 shows that more than half of the journalists in the three countries have a Bachelor Degree. First place is achieved by Jordan (72.9 per cent) and Syrian journalists have the highest percentage with post graduate degrees (22.9%).

TABLE 50

## THE THREE COUNTRIES JOURNALISTS' LEVEL OF EDUCATION

	Syria		Kuwait		Jordan	
5	10.4	7	14.6	6	12.5	High School
28	58.3	26	54.2	35	72.9	Bachelor degree
11	22.9	6	12.5	5	10.4	Postgraduate degree
	-	5	10.4		-	Training Certificate
3	6.3	4	8.3	1	2.1	Journalism diploma
1	2.1		-	1	2.1	Others

Table 51 shows that about half of the three countries' journalists got their education in their home country. Less than thirty per cent of the Kuwaiti and Jordanian journalists obtained their education from other Arabic countries. 20.8 per cent of the Syrian journalists obtained their education from Eastern Block countries. 10.4 per cent of the Kuwaiti and Jordanian journalists achieved their level of education from Western countries.

**TABLE 51**  
**FROM WHERE THEY OBTAINED THEIR EDUCATION**

	<b>Syria</b>		<b>Kuwait</b>		<b>Jordan</b>	
34	70.8	28	58.3	24	50.0	From home country
2	4.2	14	29.2	14	29.0	Arabian countries
10	20.8		-	3	6.3	Eastern countries
2	4.2	5	10.4	5	10.4	Western countries
	-	1	2.1	2	4.2	Others

Table 52 shows that the Syrian journalists listen to the international radio much more frequently than the Kuwaiti and Jordanian journalists; the Syrian journalists also listen to the Western and Eastern radio stations more frequently than the Jordanian and Kuwaiti journalists. The Kuwaiti and Jordanian journalists spend only a small percentage of their time listening to Soviet radio stations. The native language (Arabic) shows us that the Syrian journalists mostly listen to the International Radio confined to the Arabic language but the Kuwaiti and Jordanian journalists listen to both English and Arabic language.

TABLE 52

## THE PERCENTAGE OF THOSE LISTENING TO INTERNATIONAL RADIO

	Syria		Kuwait		Jordan	
34	70.8	9	18.8	10	20.8	Radio Moscow
27	56.3	17	35.4	15	31.3	Voice of America
42	87.5	34	70.8	39	81.3	Radio Monte Carlo
30	65.2	25	52.1	39	81.3	BBC
9	18.8	2	4.2	2	4.2	Israel
11	22.9	11	22.9	5	10.4	Others

TABLE 53

## THE TIME SPENT LISTENING TO INTERNATIONAL RADIO

	Syria		Kuwait		Jordan	
20	41.7	11	22.9	16	33.3	More than 4 hours a day
9	18.8	5	10.4	9	18.8	Between 3-4 hours
10	20.8	12	25.0	11	22.9	Between 2-3 hours
9	18.8	11	22.9	9	18.8	Between 1-2 hours
	-	1	2.1	1	2.1	None
	-	2	4.2	2	4.2	No answer

TABLE 54

## THE LANGUAGE THEY LISTEN TO ON INTERNATIONAL RADIO

	Syria		Kuwait		Jordan	
36	75.0	22	45.8	22	45.8	Arabic
1	2.1	1	2.1	1	2.1	English
7	14.6	15	31.3	22	45.8	English and Arabic
4	8.3	1	2.1		-	Others
	-	2	4.2	3	6.3	No answer

Table 55 shows that the Syrian journalists are not interested in reading the foreign press, especially the Western press. Pravda, the Soviet newspaper got the highest percentage amongst the Syrian journalists (16.7 per cent), followed by Alazfsta (10.4 per cent). From the following table we can observe that Pravda is only read by Syrian journalists. 47.9 per cent of Syrian journalists do not read the foreign press because they cannot read another language.

The Western press is read by the Jordanian journalists much more than the Syrian and Kuwaiti journalists. Table 56 shows some of the reasons why journalists do not read the foreign press.

TABLE 55 A,B,C,D

## THE PERCENTAGE OF THE THREE COUNTRIES' JOURNALISTS

## READING THE FOREIGN NEWS

## A. AMERICAN PRESS

Syria	Kuwait	Jordan	
4.2	12.5	20.8	<u>Herald Tribune</u>
-	6.3	4.2	<u>Wall Street Journal</u>
-	2.1	6.3	<u>New York Times</u>
-	4.2	-	<u>USA Today</u>
-	4.2	2.1	<u>Washington Post</u>
4.2	16.7	31.3	<u>Time</u>
8.3	16.7	37.3	<u>Newsweek</u>
-	10.4	4.2	<u>Financial Times</u>
	6.3	2.1	<u>Sunday Times</u>
-	2.1	4.2	<u>National Geographic</u>

## B. EURO PRESS

Syria	Kuwait	Jordan	
4.2	10.4	20.8	<u>The Times</u>
2.1	4.2	12.5	<u>Economist</u>
2.1	8.3	10.4	<u>The Guardian</u>
4.2	8.3	2.1	<u>Le Monde</u>
-	2.1	-	<u>France Soir</u>
2.1	4.2	-	<u>Observateur</u>
-	2.1	4.2	<u>Spiegel</u>
-	-	4.2	<u>Stern</u>

### C. SOVIET PRESS

Syria	Kuwait	Jordan	
16.7	-	-	<u>Pravda</u>
4.2	-	-	<u>The Way to Socialism</u>
4.2	-	-	<u>The Red Star</u>
10.4	-	-	<u>Alazfsta</u>
4.2	-	-	<u>Zeriobgorn</u>

### D. THIRD WORLD PRESS

Syria	Kuwait	Jordan	
10.4	4.2	-	<u>Asia and Africa Today</u>
-	-	4.2	<u>Jerusalem Post</u>
2.1	2.1	8.3	<u>Middle East Report</u>

TABLE 56

### THE REASONS WHY SOME JOURNALISTS DO NOT READ THE FOREIGN PRESS

Syria	Kuwait	Jordan	
47.9	20.8	25.00	No knowledge of other language
4.2	-	4.2	Do not trust them
14.6	39.6	12.5	No free time
-	-	8.3	Others
-	-	4.2	No answer

Table 57 shows that around twenty per cent of the Kuwaiti and Jordanian journalists have been to the United States. The Syrian journalists prefer not to visit the United States, only 6.3 per cent have been there. Many more Syrians (37.5 per cent) have been to the Soviet Union. Around twenty per cent of Jordanian journalists and 12.5 per cent of Kuwaiti journalists have also visited the Soviet Union

TABLE 57

**THE PERCENTAGE OF JOURNALISTS WHO HAVE VISITED THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION**

Syria	Kuwait	Jordan	
6.3	27.9	27.9	USA
37.5	12.5	20.8	Soviet Union Union

**NATURE OF VISIT**

Syria	Kuwait	Jordan	
4.2	8.3	8.3	USA
2.1	6.3	8.3	Soviet Union
2.1	8.3	8.3	USA
25.0	6.3	8.3	Soviet Union
-	6.3	6.3	USA
10.4	-	4.2	Soviet Union

The Syrian journalists revealed that they read books (politics, arts) about the United States and Soviet Union much more than the Kuwaiti and Jordanian journalists. The Syrian tourists books about the Soviet Union are more readable than the American tourist books as shown in Table 58.

**TABLE 58**  
**WHAT THE JOURNALISTS READ**

	<b>Syria</b>	<b>Kuwait</b>	<b>Jordan</b>	
USA	4.2	29.2	27.1	Academic books
Soviet Union	20.8	16.7	-	
USA	68.8	45.8	47.9	Arts books
Soviet Union	89.6	47.9	-	
USA	77.1	60.4	75.0	Political books
Soviet Union	85.4	56.3	-	
USA	6.3	10.4	6.3	Religious books
Soviet Union	2.1	8.3	-	
USA	14.6	29.2	16.7	Tourist books
Soviet Union	47.9	25.0	-	
USA	6.3	14.6	-	Others
Soviet Union	8.3	2.1	-	

With the results achieved by this survey of the three countries' journalists, we can trace the role and impact of the foreign policies adopted by each government through the journalists' opinions concerning different issues, namely the meaning of press freedom, the image of the two superpowers in the world, and the educational background.

On press freedom, however, we found that journalists in the three states believe that governments should change the existing press laws and implement instead laws that bring about more freedom not further restrictions. They consider other countries (liberal and socialist) as good examples to imitate. Press freedom is regarded as a fundamental objective which the journalists strongly believe should be implemented to allow a free press in society.

#### **A summary of the Syrian journalists' view of the USSR**

The Syrian journalists unanimously agreed that the USSR is a technologically developed country. This development notion is also conceived in terms of humanitarian aspects. Most of the Syrian journalists believe that the USSR works for the establishment of peace in the world and the striking example of this is that its policy vis-a-vis Third World countries has progressively developed during the last twenty years or so.

Concerning the categorisation of countries, Syrian journalists regard the Soviet Union as the first country to have freedom of the press, followed by the Third World countries.

This unanimous answer in considering the Soviet Union as the first country to have freedom of the press can be explained and understood from the definition journalists have given to the term 'freedom of the press'.

The main characteristics they have attributed to freedom of the press are as follows:

- \* The press should be independent from economic profit, be it private ownership or advertising.
- \* The aim of the press is to promote the benefits of the nation as a whole, not to reflect a particular interest such as government's interests or owner's interests.
- \* The ability of people to buy newspapers.
- \* The necessity of establishing a new information order which guarantees the freedom of flow of information in the Third World.
- \* Syrian journalists provide more credibility and trust to the Soviet agency TASS, than any other international agency when it comes to international issues.
- \* In addition to the definition of press freedom itself, there are other objective factors which have in one way or another contributed in the positive view of journalists towards the USSR.

The results of our research show that 20 per cent of Syrian journalists acquired their educational degrees from socialist countries. And besides visits to the Soviet Union, a considerable number of them listen to Radio Moscow and read Soviet newspapers such as Pravda, Red Star, The Way of Socialism, Alazfsta, Zeriobgorn, and academic books which are familiar among cultural circles in Syria. Furthermore, and perhaps more importantly, the essential factor which influences and controls the mass media in Syria is the Media Law, which precisely indicates that journalists must not abuse or criticise friendly countries. Bearing this factor in mind, even journalists with opponent views are unlikely to reveal them in so far as the Soviet Union is concerned.

Another crucial factor relating to the above is the political and economic treaty which relates to the two countries. As a result, it is not surprising that the number of Syrian journalists who have followed their studies in the Soviet Union outnumber those who have sought their education in the United States.

With this in mind therefore, one might safely argue that the positive tendency of Syrian journalists towards the Soviet Union reflects the direction of Syrian policy towards the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. This in turn reflects, so to speak, the hegemony of foreign policy to a greater extent over the shaping and definition of freedom of the press.

In this respect, journalists hold the same view as the government in that they do not consider the United States a developed country because to them technological development does not hold sway. What really matters

is how to use such development and for whose interests. The United States in this connection is perceived as a power which works to meet its own interests and does nothing towards establishing peace in the world.

### **A Summary of the Kuwaiti journalists' view of the USA**

Most Kuwaiti journalists consider the USA to be a developed country both in terms of technology and humanitarianism. However, they are not convinced that the United States works to establish peace in the world. They believe that the USA works for its own interests and that its policy has not radically changed vis-a-vis Third World countries.

In terms of categorising the developed countries and the developing countries, Kuwaiti journalists put the United Kingdom first and then the United States of America.

According to these journalists, the main basis (characteristics) upon which the freedom of the press is based are:

1. Freedom of the press from government control.
2. Freedom of the press in terms of tackling freely issues of development and educating people.
3. With a combination of freedom and responsibility, the press should not attack national security and morality.
4. Freedom of discussion without fear of punishment.

## **Kuwaiti journalists' view of the USSR**

Most journalists regard the Soviet Union as a developed country in both humanitarian and technological terms. However, there is no unanimous view as to whether the Soviet Union works to establish peace in the world; there is also no unanimity as to whether the Soviet Union works only for its interests. But more than half of the journalists interviewed considered that the Soviet Union's foreign policy towards Third World countries has improved during the last twenty years or so.

## **A summary of the Jordanian journalists' views the USA**

### **Their View of the USA**

Most Jordanian journalists consider the USA to be a developed country in both humanitarian and technological terms. However, they do not believe that the United States works to establish peace in the world because they think it works to realise its own interests and its policy has not changed during the last twenty years or so vis-a-vis the Third World. The reason behind this unanimous view might be the negative position of the United States vis-a-vis the Arabs, and its continuing support of Israel.

Jordanian journalists have revealed this point of view, although they cannot write about it because of government censorship and control over the newspapers. The Jordanian government does not allow journalists to criticise friendly countries and the United States is considered to be one of them.

The content analysis shows that 70 per cent of news on the United States is neutral and roughly only 18 per cent is negative. However, most of this negative news is translated from American and German newspapers and is directed towards criticism of American economic policy, not towards the ideology or the basics of the capitalist system.

On the whole this is a reflection of the Jordanian foreign policy towards the United States.

As for the categorisation of countries, Kuwaiti journalists think that Britain comes first then the United States, and the main basis upon which freedom of the press is founded, according to the Kuwaiti journalists, is very similar to those raised by Jordanian journalists. In other words, they include such things as freedom of the press from government control and the duty of the press to tell the truth and, again in the case of Jordan, there are several factors which might have affected the Jordanian journalists' definition of freedom, which in turn shows the extent to which the press in Jordan is subject to foreign policy influence. These are, as in the case of Kuwait:

1. Some journalists have acquired their qualifications from the United States.
2. Listening to Western broadcasting stations such as Radio Monte Carlo, BBC and reading American journals and magazines such as Newsweek, The Times, New York Times and Herald Tribune.
3. Visits to the United States.

## **Their views of the USSR**

Most of Jordanian journalists consider the USSR to be a developed country both in technological and humanitarian terms. And more than half the journalists interviewed emphasised that the USSR works to establish peace in the world. These journalists do not believe the the USSR works for the realisation of its own interests and that its policy has not changed during the last twenty years or so.

## **CONCLUSION**

From the answers acquired, a general set of characteristics forms the basics of the influence of foreign policy upon the press. The study has shown that Syria's foreign policy had a predominant influence on the press. The general political direction was clear in the journalists' responses in that they had a negative impression as far as the United States was concerned, but they showed a positive reaction towards the USSR.

As for the definition of freedom of the press, Syrian journalists contextualised it in a similar perspective to that of communist theory, or what is known as the social responsibility theory.

The Syrian political trend is clear, obviously influenced by the high number of journalists who obtained their qualifications from socialist countries besides the facilities provided to journalists in terms of visits to the Soviet Union and availability of Soviet newspapers in Syria.

In the case of Jordan, and considering the contradiction between the journalists' views on the United States and those found in the newspapers, that is the negative views raised by journalists during the interviews as opposed to the positive views inherent in the newspapers, one can argue that Jordanian foreign policy is very influential towards the United States in that it restricts the journalists from revealing their own views. Moreover, the Jordanian journalists' definition of freedom was much closer to the theory of freedom and social responsibility.

The Kuwaiti journalists were close to those of Jordan in terms of showing a negative response towards the United States as well as their definition of freedom of the press and their tendency of having a positive point of view vis-a-vis the USSR.

## CHAPTER EIGHT

### CONCLUSION AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS OF RESEARCH

This chapter deals with the basic conclusions reached by this study. It mainly sheds light on two basic areas. Firstly, the conclusions achieved in relation to the field work, that is: the content analysis in so far as the attitudes of the media towards the two superpowers are concerned and the survey of journalists concerning their opinions about the two superpowers. This is to examine and detect to what extent the foreign policy of each country enhances or constrains the freedom of the press. Secondly, to look at foreign implications of the countries under study.

In dealing with the first part, the presented images of the two superpowers and the journalists' opinions, one has constantly to bear in mind the legal framework within which journalists perform their tasks.

Analysis of the press and publication laws in the three case studies found that all three countries share one major similarity, that journalists perform their task according to a set of prohibitions which require that:

1. The publishers require permission to publish, a licence being necessary for the publication of any periodical.

2. The press is prohibited from criticizing the rulers and political leaders, and heads of '*friendly*' states.
3. Not everyone is qualified to be a publisher or journalist. In the three countries, a journalist must be a national of the country. He should not be less than 23 years of age (Jordanian Law), or 25 years (Syrian and Kuwaiti Laws).
4. The journalist is required to have practised journalism for a minimum of five years or hold a University degree in journalism (Jordanian Law). Those with no journalistic degree must have practised journalism for one year (Syrian and Kuwaiti Law).
5. He must have no criminal record or be known to have dubious morals.
6. He should not have been employed by or have served a foreign country.
7. Publication permits are conditional on meeting certain requirements concerning the frequency of publications, and these may be revoked if those requirements are not complied with.

8. Executive discretion. The executive branch may suspend publication of a journal and all copies are subject to seizure.
9. Special sentencing. Certain convictions in relation to the breach of government press controls may receive special sentences. For example, a conviction for seditious libel may be followed by exclusion from journalistic activity for a period of time.

The quantitative and qualitative findings analysed in Chapter 6 give some indication of how the Syrian, Jordanian and Kuwaiti press handle news stories about the two superpowers (the United States and the Soviet Union). They also show that news stories about the two superpowers are mainly limited to news of a political nature, and especially to those that affect Arab interests.

This indicates quite clearly, as has been illustrated in the chapter about contemporary socio-economic structure of the countries under study, that each country is strongly affected by the Arab-Israeli conflict. However domestic circumstances play a substantial role in determining and shaping the foreign policy of each country towards the two superpowers. In other words, each country is affected by the Arab-Israeli conflict but in an interrelated way with internal factors which in the last instance directs the foreign policy making towards the two superpowers.

In Syria, the picture of the United States presented to Syrian readers seems to correlate quite strongly with the country's foreign policy. The strong economic ties between Syria and the United States do not seem to have much effect in directing political opinion. Rather, the national security imperative seems more powerful in determining policy towards the United States. The quantitative analysis of the Syrian press found that 67% of the United States news stories were hostile to the USA.

The image of the United States presented by the Syrian press is negative and reflects the antagonistic official position of the state towards the United States political and military involvement in the Middle East and her support of Israel. On the other hand, the image of the USSR in the Syrian press is positive. In fact, the qualitative analysis did not find any negative or unfavourable news stories about this superpower. This can be explained by the political and economic ties which exist between the Soviet Union and Syria. According to the Syrian press, the Soviet Union is a respectable socialist country (ideological affinity) which works for peace. This Syrian support can be seen in many examples. For instance, the Syrian press did not label the Soviet troops in Afghanistan as an invasion force. The press claimed that the Soviets were there to help the Afghanistan government, and condemned the guerilla activities of the '*Majahideen*'.

In discussing the development of the Syrian press, it was found that it experienced two important stages. Firstly, the nationalist phase in

which both the Syrian people and the press were mobilised against the Ottoman ruler, and the French Mandate; and secondly, the phase which started with the accession of the Ba'ath party in 1962. In this second phase the press was mobilised to confront the United States and its foreign policy, particularly in the Middle East. This foreign policy is seen as a new form of colonialism which is trying to break up and destroy the Arab people. This has been discovered through the content analysis of the Syrian daily papers which maintained a hostile line towards the USA, particularly when dealing with her foreign policy at the international level.

Turning to the images of the two superpowers as held by the Jordanian press, it seems that the press takes a middle course. Unlike Syria, the Jordanian press does not seem to create and recreate the image of the enemy in order to mobilise the people behind the political order. As we have examined in the chapter on the socio-economic and political structure of the countries under study. Jordan seems to have started building a strong political and economic relationship with the Soviet Union in the 1970s, while she kept her strong ties with the United States. To Jordan, both in political and military terms, the Soviet Union does not represent a threat. Thus, while leaning towards the United States for support, she cannot evoke the image of the threat of the Soviet Union in the region in order to mobilise the people against a danger that does not exist. Unlike the United States, the Soviet Union does not seem to have a direct interest in the Arab-Israeli conflict and therefore there is no

convincing reason for the Jordanian press to be hostile towards the Soviet Union.

However, political and economic ties with the United States do affect the nature of stories about the United States in the Jordanian press and the way Jordanians handle them. On major issues, especially those linked to the relations between the United States and Jordan, the Jordanian press seems to be loyal and uncritical. It reveals a positive image of the United States. However it still maintains some criticism which touches upon some aspects of the United States' foreign policy rather than the capitalist ideology. But most of the criticism, or what might be labelled as unfavourable news stories about the United States, is taken from American and German newspapers and magazines.

This in fact, explains two points: firstly, that in order to keep her good relationship with the United States the government seems not to intervene or interfere when journalists direct their criticism against the United States from the same angle as her European allies do. Second, trivial criticism of the United States enables the government to appear neutral vis-a-vis the two superpowers and hence hides her strong affiliation towards the United States in an atmosphere of 'neutrality' and freedom of the press illusion. The Jordanian press also criticises the Soviet Union in some of its foreign policies, especially those linked to the invasion of Afghanistan.

In Kuwait, most (87%) of the news concerning the two superpowers

seems neutral. There are, however, some variations within the Kuwaiti press. Two newspapers, Al-Siyassah "*the Politics*" (a right-wing supporter) and Al-Watan "*the Homeland*" (considered to be a left-wing supporter) shows considerable differences. However their differences in attitude did not affect their selection editing of the two superpowers' news stories to any large extent. Nevertheless, they still reflect the conflict at the social level between the two factions. (See the chapter on contemporary socio-economic structure for more details.)

To this end then, it appears evident that in Syria, Jordan and Kuwait the foreign policy, determined mostly by internal and domestic factors plays a major role in determining the way the press deals with both superpowers.

For Syria, the foreign policy, orientated by the ideology of socialism adopted by the Ba'ath party and hostile vis-a-vis the United States, stems mainly from the military threat which she constantly faces along the border with Israel, taking into account America's strong support for Israel.

For Jordan, the nature of foreign policy, because of domestic factors and constraints especially economic ones, seems to follow a middle course. Our study reveals that 14% of the news stories were positive towards the Soviet Union. However, as we have shown, it does not mean that the press portrays the two superpowers on equal terms.

The political order seems to have been guaranteed through political and economic ties with America, especially during the sixties and seventies and even up to the eighties.

For Kuwait, domestic factors also seem to play a big role in orientating and shaping foreign policy and the press reflects this atmosphere.

### **THE JOURNALISTS' OPINIONS**

The findings of the survey showed strong agreement among the Syrian, Jordanian and Kuwaiti journalists that the Soviet Union is a civilised, technological and humanitarian nation. They believe that the Soviet Union has an acceptable foreign policy which has improved during the last twenty years towards Third World nations, and which is working for peace in the world. This superpower, the journalists believe, considers its interests in conjunction with its endeavours to avoid making problems for other nations.

Most of the three countries' journalists consider the USA to be the trouble-maker in the world. They believe that the Americans always favour their own interests. They do not think that the foreign policy of the United States in the Third World has improved during the last twenty years. In fact this brings our research to two conclusions: that the support of the Jordanian press for the USA only reflects the monarch's interests and, second, that in private, journalists do not

necessarily reflect the political order.

Furthermore, this survey with the three countries' journalists found that political and economic aspects shape the meaning of the freedom of the press. This means that the definitions of the press are dependent on how the political and economic systems operate within their country, that there are clear differences in the definitions and implications of freedom of the press between the Syrian and the Jordanian and Kuwaiti journalists. This leads us to some of the aspects related to the mechanisms which link foreign policy with the journalistic ideology as well as journalistic production.

As we have already indicated, the foreign policy factor is a substantial controlling factor on journalists and media production along with the other legal and institutional laws which function vis-a-vis the freedom of the press.

Foreign policy as a controlling factor can influence the press laws and might impose more restrictions than in normal circumstances. It can also be inherent within the laws which control the functioning of the press. In either case, the foreign policy factor seems to have a powerful effect on the press because of the highly sensitive connection to the political order. In this sense therefore, the examination or the selection of news on the two superpowers becomes in fact a process of selection of the news of the political system itself. Selection procedures and news values are dealt with as if they touch directly

upon the internal political system.

One of the substantial factors involved in the process of sensitivity of news selection is the very criteria of selecting news. To decide what is news in connection to the two superpowers is a complex process. This is why the majority of news about the superpowers in the press of all three countries is limited to the political arena, most of it in connection with the Arab-Israeli conflict.

In this connection we argue that the selection of news about the superpowers takes into consideration two main points. One is the sensitive and careful selection of news which might otherwise jeopardise the relationship with these superpowers and we can refer here to the example of the Jordanian press vis-a-vis the United States. As we have revealed, given the political affinity between Jordan and the United States, the press in Jordan rarely raises subjects which direct criticism to the United States and when it does, it mostly copies or takes it from Western European sources, magazines, etc. This indicates clearly that the press in Jordan selects news about the United States which is less likely to cause conflict in its relation with the Jordanian political system. In other words, the news values borrowed from the West, so to speak, in connection with the United States provide insurance to the press function in Jordan. Western Europe, the prominent ally of the United States who can criticise the Reagan administration on certain issues, can also be copied or dealt with in the press of a pro-American Third World country.

The second point is that most foreign news issues are linked to the Arab-Israeli conflict as far as the two superpowers are concerned. The selection of news about the two superpowers in relation to the Arab-Israeli conflict are to be perceived in the institutional ideology of the press which is a result of two factors: the relevance of the news to Arab public opinion and second, but more vital in terms of consideration, the political order. In this sense, the reporting of news vis-a-vis the two superpowers is in fact a process of sustaining the political order.

In Syria, the most critical factor for sustaining the political order is the military defence against the constant threat presented by Israel. Thus the Soviet Union is respectfully approached from this angle. Thus, the legitimacy of the political system is predominantly built on this.

Kuwait is less affected by the threat of Israel and the two superpowers are less influential in being conducive to a certain political line.

In Jordan, there is more inclination towards the United States which holds similar political perspectives to that of the Hashemite monarch of Jordan.

However, in all three countries, journalists do not necessarily intentionally or consciously confine their news stories or hold opinions according to the ideological institutional order.

The evidence collected from our research indicates that there is a strong correlation between the foreign policy of each country towards the two superpowers and the opinions of the journalists. However, this is not due to direct control exerted on journalists to confine themselves to the ideological order; journalists are not fully aware of this influence of foreign policy, they are likely to perform their task in a spontaneous way. All journalists seem to agree with the policies of their countries. However, when the questions arises as to whether the United States has in any way helped the Arab cause all journalists, including Jordanians and Kuwaitis who believe that the Soviet Union like the USA looks to its own interests and does not necessarily work to establish peace in the world, agreed that the United States has always been the enemy of the Arab cause.

This clearly shows that though ideological influence might relate to certain areas of journalists' work, in other areas where they have some sort of connection (ie blood ties, etc.) and where they live with constant threats and so on, such influence does not exist. In such cases, they might write something in order to fall in line with the ideological order yet believe something different. This might be termed self-censorship and be the reason, in the survey, for Jordanian journalists attacking the United States policy.

By and large, this study has discovered that the Syrian, Jordanian and Kuwaiti press are not free to report the news of the day, the economic and social scandals, or to discuss or write truthfully about the

economic aspects (correct spending) or to criticise the government or government institutions.

It has also emerged that there are severe government pressures, including assassination, suspension, etc.

The three countries' journalists' claims are largely connected to the principles adopted by the General Assembly of the Arab journalists held in Algiers in 1976, which include:

1. The rights of the masses should safeguard their access to information.
2. The Civil Court (independent judiciary) should be the only power with the right to allow publication or suppression of the press.
3. The journalists should express their opinion freely, unless in contradiction with the country's constitution or the newspaper's policy.
4. To change the publication and press law in the Arab region to abolish articles which obstruct and handicap the freedom of journalists.
5. Freedom of the journalists' movement inside the Arab region.

The Arab Organisation for Human Rights (1987) believes that it is absolutely essential that basic civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights of the Arab individual should be guaranteed. Firstly, the citizens should be informed of their rights through publications, information and education and urged to use all peaceful means to exert pressure on Arab regimes to observe and protect such rights. This can be achieved only through independent legislative and judicial institutions in which all citizens are equally entitled to participate. Such institutions should be guaranteed unrestricted rights to question the executive about any action which contravenes the rule of law.

### **POLICY IMPLICATIONS OF RESEARCH**

In contrast to studies which dealt with freedom of the press and foreign policy, this study did not confine itself to an examination of the different factors and constraints which hinder the freedom of the press, nor considered it sufficient to look at the influence of foreign policy on media production by a simple examination of the content analysis of the media.

As we revealed in our review, most of the studies which dealt with the issue of foreign policy, or with the issue of press-government relations based on foreign policy, were carried out according to a liberal perspective which ultimately maintains the status quo more than it

challenges it. Most of these studies utilise, or evoke concepts such as nationalism which are presented not as external or governmental constraints on journalists, but as "internal" or "self-control" factors. In this sense, journalists were still described as having the freedom of expression. According to this liberal approach therefore, "self-control" is not or at least does not sound an obligatory external constraint which one has to conform to. Other studies in the same vein, as we have seen, tried to go a little further by pretending that journalists have a say in foreign political and diplomatic resolutions or decisions. Such studies, in trying to prove the freedom of the press in the liberal world, pointed to cases such as Watergate. However, as we indicated in our review, proponents of such research failed to answer some critical questions, such as: to what extent are journalists equal in raising questions and discussing matters of diplomatic or international and political affairs compared with policy makers, powerful groups in the society etc., and who really benefits from this so-called "freedom of the press"?

However, opposed to this kind of research our study looked at freedom of the press in the light of foreign policy implications within the socio-economic and political structure.

Hence, the study started by investigating the meaning of freedom as a general concept in relation to press freedom. It attempted to give a brief analysis of the meaning of freedom in the different political systems of the world in general and in the Arab world in particular.

Freedom of the press is not a luxury but a necessity for the creation of a free and democratic society where the press and journalists find the right atmosphere to carry out their job.

Furthermore, there are restrictions imposed in different socio-political systems, be they liberal, socialist or authoritarian. The first of these restraints has more or less been accepted by the press in every system, and includes legal, political and economic pressures. But, by taking the Arab region as an example, this study has discovered other restrictions which are perhaps more dangerous in the way in which, in the twentieth century, they limit the freedom of the press as well as that of individuals. These restrictions include self-censorship and assassination of journalists by Arab regimes.

Despite these attempts, this study, however, did not go deeply into analysing some important issues which are relevant to this thesis. The first of these is the role of economic restrictions imposed on the freedom of the press either by governments or private institutions. The second, which is also of great importance, and has not been dealt with in this thesis, is the assessment of public opinion concerning the issue of freedom, and whether it constitutes a basic need for their development and progress. This issue has to be studied especially in the Third World societies where development strategies, followed until now, neglected totally the human element which constitutes both the means and the end of development efforts.

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## APPENDIX 1

### THE QUANTITATIVE AND QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION STORIES IN JORDAN, SYRIA AND KUWAIT NEWSPAPERS

1

2

3

4

#### THE CONTENT IS FROM THE FOLLOWING NEWSPAPERS

Al-Siyassah	0	
Alwatan	1	
Althawra	2	
Albaath	3	5
Al Raiy	4	
Sawt Al-Shaab	5	

#### WITH WHICH ONE OF THESE TWO COUNTRIES DOES THIS STORY DEAL?

USA	0	
Soviet Union	1	6

#### PAGE NUMBER

7

8

#### TYPE OF ITEM

News story	0	
Feature	2	
Editorial	2	9
Readers letters	3	
Pictures, cartoon only	4	

**SOURCE OF ITEM (NOT MORE THAN THREE) Yes 1 - No 0**

Home country News Agency	10
REUTER	11
TASS	12
AP	13
UPI	14
AFP	15
Arabian News Agencies	16
Own reported or correspondent	17
Agencies	18
Other	19
Unidentifiable	20

**IS THERE A PICTURE?**

Yes	0	21
No	1	

**DOES THIS STORY HAVE A RELATION BETWEEN THIS SUPERPOWER AND OTHER COUNTRIES?**

Yes	0	22
No	1	

**IF YES, WITH WHICH COUNTRY**

Jordan	00	
Syria	01	
Kuwait	02	
Other Arab countries	03	23
Israel	04	
The other superpower	05	
Eastern Europe	06	

Western Europe	07
Central America	08
South America	09
South Asia	10
Other	11

## TOPICS

### Politics

1. Visiting, co-operation, cablegram	0
2. Election campaigns, party reshuffle	1

### Peace negotiations in:

Middle East	2	
South Africa	3	
Central America	4	
Agfghanistan	5	25
South Asia	6	
Other	7	

### Politics, Army involvement in:

Middle East & Arabian Gulf	0	
South Africa	1	
Central America	2	
Afghanistan	3	
South Asia	4	26
With more than two places	5	
Other	6	

## TOPICS

### Army

Exercises	0	
Star wars, space	1	
Selling weapons	2	27
Other	3	

### Economics

Exchange trade	0	
International aid	1	
Oil prices and companies	2	
Agricultural matter	3	28
Other	4	

## ACCIDENT

Disaster	0	
Kidnapping	1	
Famine	2	29
Other	3	

## RELIGION

30

## SCIENCE AND INVENTION

31

## EDUCATION

Media	0	
	1	
	2	32

## HEALTH

33

**ARTS AND CULTURE**

Films	0	
Law and state	1	
President	2	34
Other	3	

**SPORTS**

International	0	
Non-international	1	
Other	2	35

**DOES THE WHOLE STORY GIVE YOU A FAVOURABLE, UNFAVOURABLE OR NEUTRAL ATTITUDE TOWARDS THIS SUPERPOWER?**

Favourable	0	
Unfavourable	1	
Neutral	2	36

## APPENDIX 2

### POLARIZATION OF THE MEDIA IN THE THIRD WORLD

Coding Schedule January 1986

Col

1

2

3

#### HOW LONG HAVE YOU BEEN A JOURNALIST?

1 - 3 years 0

4 - 6 years 1

7 - 10 years 2

over 10 years

4

#### DO YOU ENJOY BEING A JOURNALIST?

Yes 0

No 1

5

#### WHAT CERTIFICATE DO YOU HAVE?

High School 0

Bachelor degree 1

Postgraduate degree 2

Training certificate 3

Journalism diploma 4

Other 5

6

**WHERE DID YOU GET YOUR CERTIFICATE FROM?**

From my country	0	
Arabian countries	1	
Eastern countries	2	7
Western countries	3	
Others	4	

**THE UNITED STATES IS A CIVILISED, TECHNOLOGICAL AND HUMANITARIAN COUNTRY**

Agree strongly	0	
Agree	1	
Disagree	2	8
Disagree strongly	3	
I don't know	4	

**THE UNITED STATES IS A COUNTRY WORKING FOR PEACE IN THE WORLD**

Agree strongly	0	
Agree	1	
Disagree	2	9
Disagree strongly	3	
I don't know	4	

**THE UNITED STATES IS SELF-SEEKING FOR THEIR OWN INTEREST**

Agree strongly	0	
Agree	1	
Disagree	2	10
Disagree strongly	3	
I don't know	4	

**THE SOVIET UNION HAVE IMPROVED THEIR FOREIGN POLICY  
DURING THE LAST TWENTY YEARS**

Agree strongly	0
Agree	1
Disagree	2
Disagree strongly	3
I don't know	4

**DO YOU LISTEN TO INTERNATIONAL RADIO?**

If yes	0
If no	1

Radio Moscow	11
Voice of America	12
Radio Monte Carlo	13
BBC	14
Israel Radio	15
Others	16

**HOURS LISTENING?**

More than 4 hours	0
Between 3 and 4 hours	1
Between 2 and 3 hours	2
Between 1 and 2 hours	3
None	4

**WHICH LANGUAGE?**

Arabic	0
English	1
Arabic and English	2
Others	2

**IF YOU DON'T LISTEN WHY?**

I don't have free time	0	
I don't trust them	1	
Others	2	19
N/A	9	

**DO YOU READ FOREIGN (NON ARABIC) NEWSPAPERS AND  
MAGAZINES**

If yes 0, if no 1

Herald Tribune	20	Newspaper Art	41
Wall Street Journal	21	Sunday Times	42
The Times	22	Jordan Times	43
Economist	23	Daily Mirror	44
The Guardian	24	Financial Times	45
New York Times	25	National Geographic	46
Time	26	Middle East Report	47
USA Today	27	Jerusalem Post	48
Newsweek	28	Express	49
Washington Post	29	Arab News	50
Monday Morning	30	Pravda	51
Spiegel	31	Asia & Africa Today	52
Le Monde	32	Rudy Pravo	53
Soviet Magazine	32	Bulgarian Art	54
Stern	34	Observateur	55
Horizont	35	Figaro	56
Aligour	36	Dialogue	57
France Soir	37	L'Humanite	58
Zeriobgorn	38	The Way to Socialism	59
The Red Star	39	Soviet Women	60
Alazfsta	40		

**IF YOU DON'T READ WHY?**

I don't know any other language	0	
I don't trust them	1	
I don't have time	2	61
Others	3	
N/A	9	

**HAVE YOU VISITED THE U.S.A.?**

Yes	0	
No	1	62

**IF YES**

Private visit	0	
Professional visit	1	
For study	2	63
N/A	9	

**HAVE YOU VISITED THE SOVIET UNION?**

Yes	0	
No	1	64

**IF YES**

Private visit	0	
Professional study	1	
For study	2	65
N/A	9	

**HAVE YOU READ ANY BOOKS ABOUT THE U.S.A.?**

If yes 0, if no 1

Academic books	66
Art books (story, poetry, play)	67
Political books	68
Religious books	69
Tourist books	70
Others	71

**HAVE YOU READ ANY BOOKS ABOUT THE SOVIET UNION?**

If yes 0, if no 1

Academic books	1
Art books (story, poetry, play)	2
Political books	3
Religious books	4
Tourist books	5
Others	6

**WHAT ARE THE MOST BELIEVABLE SOURCES OF INTERNATIONAL NEWS?**

Your home agency	7
AP	8
AFD	9
UPI	10
REUTER	11
TASS	12
N/A	9

**THE MEDIA ARE PROVIDING ENOUGH NEWS (USA)**

Very high	0	
Fairly high	1	
Fairly low	2	13
Very low	3	

**THE MEDIA ARE PROVIDING ENOUGH NEWS (SOVIET)**

Very high	0	
Fairly high	1	
Fairly low	2	14
Very low	3	

**WHICH ONE NEEDS MORE NEWS STORIES**

U.S.A.	0	
Soviet	1	
Both	2	15
None	3	

**THE WESTERN MEDIA ARE BETTER THAN THE THIRD WORLD MEDIA**

Agree strongly	0	
Agree	1	
Disagree	2	16
Disagree strongly	3	
I don't know		

**IF YOU AGREE (REASONS) Yes 0, No 1**

They use modern technology	17
They are educated	18
There is a law protecting the journalists from the government	19
Owned by individuals	20
Truthfully broadcasting	21
Others	22

**TO CHANGE THE GOVERNMENT MEDIA LAW TO HAVE FREEDOM OF SPEECH**

Agree strongly	0	
Agree	1	23
Disagree	2	
Disagree strongly	3	
I don't know	4	

**EDUCATE THE JOURNALISTS**

Agree strongly	0	
Agree	1	
Disagree	2	24
Disagree strongly	3	
I don't know	4	

**TO HAVE LAWS TO PROTECT THE JOURNALISTS**

Agree strongly	0	
Agree	1	
Disagree	2	25
Disagree strongly	3	
I don't know	4	

### **BUYING THE NEWSPAPERS**

Agree strongly	0	
Agree	1	
Disagree	2	26
Disagree strongly	3	
I don't know	4	

### **CHASING THE TRUTH**

Agree strongly	0	
Agree	1	
Disagree	2	27
Disagree strongly	3	
I don't know		

### **EXCELLENT CONSTITUTIONS**

Agree strongly	0	
Agree	1	
Disagree	2	28
Disagree strongly	3	
I don't know	4	

### **THE PUBLIC SHOULD KNOW THE TRUTH EVEN IF THAT EFFECTS...**

Agree strongly	0	
Agree	1	
Disagree	2	29
Disagree strongly	3	
I don't know	4	

**MAKING THE DECISION (GOVERNMENT)**

Yes	0	30
No	1	

**WHICH PART DO YOU PLAY?**

A large part	0	
A small part	1	31
No part at all	2	

**IN WHICH WING?**

Right wing	0	
Left wing	1	32
In the centre	2	
No political position	3	

**(POLITICAL DECISION)**

Political editor	0	
Chief editor	1	
Ministry of Information	2	33
Other	3	
Both	4	

**AS THE REAL THREAT TO THE FREEDOM OF THE PRESS**

( ) Media Law	34
( ) Media owned by the government	35
( ) The polarization of the media	36
( ) National security	37
( ) Religion	38
( ) The high percentage of illiteracy	39

**AS THEY HAVE FREE MEDIA (RANKING)**

( )	Britain	40
( )	Soviet Union	41
( )	Third World	42
( )	U.S.A.	43
( )	N/A	

**THE DEFINITIONS**

- \* Free from government control
- \* Freedom of the press in the development and education of the people
- \* Freedom of collecting and distribution of the information
- \* Free and responsible press (not to attack national security and morality)
- \* Free choice of subjects with no fear of punishment
- \* The right to speak
- \* Privacy of the people
- \* Financial guarantee for the journalists
- \* Telling the truth (reflecting what is happening in society)
- \* The press should be free from the economic dependence on profit
- \* The free press should serve the interests of the people and the nation (not the owner of the newspaper)
- \* New system for the distribution of news to and from the Third World
- \* Freedom of the press under Islamic law
- \* I'm not free if I don't have money to buy newspapers and books

## **APPENDIX 3**

### **KUWAITI PUBLICATIONS LAW**

**In the name of God, the compassionate, the merciful**

#### **DRAFT LAW ON PRESS AND PUBLICATIONS**

After examining Articles 36 and 37 of the Constitution, and Law No. 3 of 1961, being the Press and Publication Law and the laws amending it,

and Law No. 16 of 1960, being the Penal Code and the laws amending it,

and Law No. 16 of 1960, being the Criminal Proceedings and Prosecutions Law and the laws amending it,

and Law No. 31 of 1970, to amend some of the regulations of the Penal Code,

and Law No. 38, being the Code of Civil and Commercial Procedure,

Parliament agreed to the law, the text of which follows, and we have legalised and issued it.

## PART ONE

### REGULATIONS SPECIFIC TO PUBLICATIONS

#### SECTION ONE

##### DEFINITION OF TERMS

###### Article 1

In the application of this law, by the word "**publication**" is meant all writings, drawings, musical pieces, photographs or any other means of expressing opinions, whether printed, drawn, photographed or sound recorded if it is able to be circulated.

By the word "**circulation**" is meant the sale of publications, or their display in shop fronts or any other action which may in any way be construed as communicating with a number of people.

By the word "**journal**" is meant newspapers and magazines, and likewise any publication issued under a single name periodically at regular or irregular intervals.

By the phrase "**printing press**" is meant any machine or group of machines or equipment set up for the printing of words, photographs, or sounds with the intention of publishing or circulating them. Not included in the definition are photographic equipment, sound or visual recording equipment ordinary typewriters and equipment for making copies of documents if it be for private use. By the word "**publisher**" is meant any person, either real or juristic, who undertakes to publish any publication.

By the word "**bookshop**" is meant any institution which practices the trade of publication of their various types.

## **SECTION TWO**

### **REGARDING PRINTING PRESSES AND THE ISSUING OF PUBLICATIONS**

#### **Article 2**

No one is permitted to own or run a printing press except if he be Kuwaiti, whether he be an individual or a company, and conditional upon obtaining permission for the same from the Ministry of Information.

- (i) the name, surname, nationality and place of residence of the proprietor of the printing press;
- (ii) the name, surname, nationality and place of residence of the director responsible for the administration of the printing press;
- (iii) the name, location and type of the printing press and description of the machines used therein;

and any changes in these details must be brought to the attention of the Ministry for Information in writing within fifteen days of their taking place.

#### **Article 3**

The proprietor of a printing press may transfer ownership to another after receipt of a written note of approval from the Ministry of Information following an application presented by him, containing the name, surname, nationality and place of residence of the person to whom ownership will be transferred.

The new proprietor may take the place of the previous owner according to what is stipulated in this law only upon issue of the note of approval indicated.

In the event of the death of the proprietor of a printing press, his heirs must notify the Ministry for Information of that fact in writing within three months of the date of death, and they must obtain the transfer of the licence to their own names should they wish to keep the business running.

#### **Article 4**

The proprietor of a printing press or its managing director must maintain a record in which are registered in sequence the titles of the publications prepared for the publishing, the names of their publishers and the number of copies of each printed; and he must show this record to the administrative or judicial authorities whenever required to do so.

#### **Article 5**

The names of the author, printing press and publisher, the title and date of printing must be mentioned on either the first or last page of every publication, with the exception of private or commercial publications.

If the publication is not composed of pages then these details should be clearly mentioned on the cover or container in which the publication is held.

#### **Article 6**

The proprietor of the printing press or its managing director must deposit three copies of each publication with the Ministry for Information immediately upon issue and two copies with the Central Public Library and two copies of every book relating to religious affairs to the Ministry of Religious Endowments & Islamic Affairs, and he must obtain a receipt for each deposit, with the exception of periodical publications or those of a commercial or private nature.

#### **Article 7**

The proprietor of a printing press or its managing director, prior to undertaking to issue any periodical publication, must send written notification to that effect to the Ministry for Information.

#### **Article 8**

The proprietor of a printing press or its managing director, before printing any publication for a foreign organisation, agency or individual, must obtain prior permission to do so from the Ministry for Information; and the Ministry will issue its decision regarding the application within fifteen days of the date of its presentation.

### **Article 9**

The proprietor of a printing press or its managing director are not permitted to reprint a publication, circulation of which has been prevented, just as they are not permitted to print an unlicensed periodical publication, or one which has its licence revoked or annulled, or has been forced to cease issue.

### **Article 10**

The perpetrator of any contravention of the regulations in the preceding articles will be punished by imprisonment for a period not exceeding six months and a fine of not more than one thousand dinars, or one of these two penalties, together with an order authorising the closure of the printing press and the confiscation of the publications.

### **SECTION THREE**

#### **REGARDING THE CIRCULATION OF PUBLICATIONS**

##### **Article 11**

No publication may be circulated except after obtaining prior permission for the same from Ministry for Information.

No bookshop may be set up or run except after obtaining a licence for the same from the Ministry for Information, and the Minister for Information must issue a decision on the system pertaining to these licences, and the rules and conditions regarding the granting and withdrawal of them.

##### **Article 12**

Publishers and all who are responsible for the circulation of publication must deposit two copies of every publication with the Ministry for Information prior to its display for circulation.

Importers of publications must conform with the regulations on deposits in relation to publications printed abroad, and these copies may be returned after approval of the publication's circulation.

Publishers and improters must deposit two copies of every publication relating to religisious affairs with the Ministry of Religious Endowments & Islamic Affairs.

##### **Article 13**

The Minister for Information may on his own decision prevent the circulation of issues or copies of any publications if as a result of their circulation were to arise a disturbance to the serenity of national security or to Kuwait's relations with other Arab, Islamic or friendly states, or to be harmful to religious freedom, public well-being or moral standards.

##### **Article 14**

For the preservation of public order, morals, religious freedom or any other considerations related to public well-being, the Minister for

Information is permitted to take a decision to prevent the entry and circulation within Kuwait of any publications issued abroad.

**Article 15**

Any publication for which a decision has been taken to prevent circulation or entry in accordance with the two preceding articles will be seized and confiscated, and no right to seek compensation for seizure will be granted.

**Article 16**

Whoever opens or runs a bookshop without a licence or publishes or circulates publications for which permission to circulate has not been granted, for which a decision has been issued to prevent their circulation or entry into the country, or of which copies have been confiscated through the applicaiton of the regulations of the preceding articles, will be punished by imprisonment for a period not exceeding one year and a fine no greater than two thousand dinars or one of these two penalties.

## **PART TWO**

### **REGULATION PERTAINING TO JOURNALS**

#### **Article 17**

Conditional upon the proprietor of a journal are:

- (i) that he be of Kuwaiti nationality, resident in Kuwait, with the exception of periodical publications issued by diplomatic and consular missions and the circulars of foreign news agencies licenced to work in Kuwait;
- (ii) that he be not less than twenty-five years old;
- (iii) that he be legally competent;
- (iv) that he be of good conduct and praiseworthy reputation, and never convicted of crime relating to indecency or dishonesty, except if his name were subsequently cleared;
- (v) that he be not an employee of a foreign state or company.

#### **Article 18**

Every journal must have an editor-in-chief exercising actual supervision of all its contents or a group of editors each one responsible for exercising actual supervision of one particular section thereof; and the proprietor of a journal is permitted to act as editor-in-chief or one of several editors provided that he comply with the conditions stipulated in this law.

#### **Article 19**

In addition to the conditions with which the proprietor of a journal must comply, an editor-in-chief or editor must comply with the following two conditions;

- (i) that he hold no public office and that he be not a member of Parliament;

- (ii) that he be of a sufficient level both as regards culture and work experience for the practice of the profession.

## **Article 20**

It is conditional upon any editor or writer working for any journal:

- (i) that he be legally competent;
- (ii) that he be of good conduct and praiseworthy reputation, and never convicted of crime relating to indecency or honour;
- (iii) that he be not an employee of a foreign state or company;
- (iv) that he hold no public office;
- (v) that he be registered with the organized associations for journalists in his own country if he be not Kuwaiti, for a period of not less than five years prior to starting work in Kuwait; and if there be no organized associations for journalists in his country then he must have been working for one of his country's newspapers for at least five years prior to his beginning to work in Kuwait, or have worked in Kuwaiti newspapers for a period of not less than five years prior to the issue of this law;
- (vi) that he obtain permission from the Ministry for Information before starting to work as a journalist.

What is meant by editor or writer in this text is whoever works regularly, though not necessarily full-time, in the editing, directing or compilation of a journal or a number of journals, or who obtains items of information for them.

Whoever works as an editor or writer for a journal without obtaining permission so to do from the Ministry for Information will be punished by imprisonment for a period not exceeding one month and a fine of not more than five hundred dinars or by one of these two penalties.

## **Article 21**

No journal may be published prior until permission for its publication has been given by the Ministry for Information.

Action will be taken through administrative channels to seize and confiscate any journal issued without a licence, and in addition its editors, publishers and printers will be punished by a period of imprisonment not exceeding two years and a fine of not more than five thousand dinars, together with an order authorising the confiscation of all equipment and material used in its printing and publication.

## **Article 22**

Anyone wishing to issue a journal must present a written application to the Ministry for Information, containing the following details:

- (i) the name, surname, nationality and place of residence of the applicant for a licence, and in the case where the applicant is a company, society, organization or club that should be stated in the application and accompanied by a legalised copy of the rules of its constitution, in addition to which should be mentioned the name, surname, nationality and place of residence of its representative;
- (ii) the name of the editor-in-chief or any of its editors and of the publishers, if there be any, and the surname, age, nationality, place of residence and qualifications of each of them;
- (iii) the name of the journal, the language in which it will be published, its regulatiy, address and type;
- (iv) a declaration as to whether the journal will be political or non-political;
- (v) the name of the printing press where the journal will be printed;

and the proprietor of the journal must sign the application, and also the editor-in-chief or editors and publisher, if there be one, and he should obtain a receipt for his application.

## **Article 23**

The Minister for Information will decide either for acceptance or rejection within a period not exceeding thirty days from the date of

presentation of an application which fulfils all the conditions stipulated in the preceding article. If the period of thirty days mentioned should elapse without the Minister's issuing a decision the application should be deemed rejected.

The applicant may complain about a rejection decision before the Council of Ministers within thirty days of the date of the rejection decision, be it actual or implied, and the decision of the Council regarding the complaint will be final.

#### **Article 24**

Prior to the publication of the journal, its proprietor must present to the Ministry for Information a cash or bank security to the value of ten thousand Kuwaiti dinars in the case of daily journals or five thousand Kuwaiti dinars for all other journals; and that security is to cover any fines or costs which may be imposed, and any deficiency in the amount of security must be made up in full within fifteen days from the date of the ruling otherwise the journal will cease publication by order of the Minister for Information, as it would if the security be not sufficient to cover the amounts imposed until such a time as full payment has been made.

In the case of the final closure of a journal or of revoking of its licence, its proprietor may seek the refund of the security stipulated in the preceding clause or what remains thereof, and that after one month has elapsed from the date of the closure or of the revoking of the licence.

#### **Article 25**

The name of a journal's proprietor, its editor-in-chief or editorial director, the printing press where it is printed and the date and place of publication of the issue together with the price of a single copy and the subscription rates must all be mentioned in an obvious position, either on its first or last page.

#### **Article 26**

A journal's editor-in-chief or its editorial director must ensure that the signature under which each of the articles or drawings is published be the real name of the article's writer or of the picture's artist, although it is permissible for the signature to be either in code or a pseudonym provided that the editor-in-chief or the editorial director has notified the Ministry for Information in advance of its use of the real person using the coded or pseudonym's signature.

### **Article 27**

The proprietor of a journal must deposit with both the Ministry for Information and the Central Public Library two copies of each issue immediately on publication, and receive a receipt for the deposit.

### **Article 28**

The Ministry for Information must be notified in writing of any change in the statements made in the application for a journal publication licence eight days prior to its taking place. In the event of a sudden, unexpected change, notification must be presented within eight days of its taking place.

The Minister for Information may decide to close down a journal which continues publication without attention to the regulations of the preceding clause until such a time as the measures stipulated therein have been complied with.

### **Article 29**

The proprietor of a journal may, after written approval of the Ministry for Information, hand over ownership thereof to someone else who conforms with the conditions found in this law, and he may in this case seek a refund of the amount of the security paid by him or of what remains thereof.

The new proprietor may only take over from the former proprietor regarding all that is stipulated in this law after the issuing of the approval indicated.

The approval of the Ministry for Information is also required for any change of editor-in-chief or of editorial director, of regularity of issue, or of the type of the journal if in this last change the intention be to change a non-political journal into a political journal or vice versa.

### **Article 30**

A supplement to a journal may be issued on the same day as supplemented issue appeared following the obtaining from the Ministry for Information in writing.

The supplement is required to bear the same name and details and must submit to the same regulations as for the journal itself, in addition to which its publication must not be repeated more than once per week in the case of daily journals and twice per month in the case

of weekly journals, and it must be sold with the journal at no extra cost.

### **Article 31**

A journal's licence will be automatically revoked in the following cases:

- (i) if six months should elapse after the date of issuing of a licence without the licenced journal's being published, or if its proprietor should delay in paying the security stipulated in Article 31 or if he request the revoking of the licence;
- (ii) if issue of a daily journal should be interrupted for a period of seven consecutive days or of thirty days in a single year without a legal excuse, and similarly for all journals other than dailies should they cease publication for four consecutive issues without a legal excuse;
- (iii) if it becomes clear that the proprietor of a journal is not complying with, or fulfilling all or some of the conditions stipulated in Article 24 of the law;
- (iv) if the editor-in-chief or the editorial director should cease to comply with one of the conditions stipulated in Article 26 and the proprietor of this journal fail to exchange him for another who fulfils these conditiions by a deadline set by the Ministry for Information.
- (v) if the proprietor of a journal be a juristic person whose personality ceases to be legal;
- (vi) if the proprietor of a journal should die without his heirs being able to return to publication on a regular basis within one year of the date of death.

In all cases there will be issued a decision for the revoking of licence by the Minister for Information by way of implementation of this article, and it will be published in the *Official Gazette*.

### **Article 32**

Foreign diplomatic and consular missions to the State of Kuwait may issue and distribute periodical publications with permission from the Ministry for Information and the agreement of the Ministry of the Exterior on reciprocal basis and on the condition of the deposit of five

copies of every publication with the Ministry for Information and a like number with the Ministry of the Exterior prior to its distribution.

The Minister for Information may, with the agreement of the Minister of the Exterior revoke a licence should an infraction of the regulations of the preceding clause occur, or if a mission published anything considered to be interfering with Kuwait's internal affairs or criticizing its political, social or financial order, or if it publish anything, publication of which is prohibited according to the regulations of this law.

## **PART THREE**

### **REGARDING THE CRIMES PERPETRATED THROUGH JOURNALS AND OTHER PUBLICATIONS**

#### **Article 33**

Except in the case of an offence for which a more severe penalty has been stipulated in the Penal Code, the following crimes will be punishable by the penalties stipulated for them. Any incidental or supplementary penalties stipulated in Article 41 of this law will be added to penalties stipulated in the Penal Code if the crimes were perpetrated by means of publication.

#### **Article 34**

It is forbidden to publish anything intended:

- (i) To lay the basis and principles of the State debt open to vilification or criticism;
- (ii) to lay the Emir open to criticism or reproach for any act of the Government or to burden him with responsibility therefor;
- (iii) to incite anyone to commit the crimes of murder, robbery, or arson, or any crime harmful to the security of the State, if the consequences of this incitement be not clearly stated.

The penalty for any infraction of this prohibition is imprisonment for a period not exceeding one year and a fine of not more than two thousand dinars or one of these two penalties.

#### **Article 35**

It is forbidden to publish anything intended:

- (i) to incite hatred of any group or groups of people or contempt thereof, if the intention behind this incitement be to disturb public safety or to spread a spirit of unrest in society;

- (ii) to ignore moral standards or to adversely affect the honour of individuals or their private lives;
- (iii) to incite people to disregard the Law or to put forward as right anything deemed to be a crime or a misdemeanour by the eyes of the Law;
- (iv) to disturb the purity of Kuwait's relation with other Arab and Islamic states.

The penalty for any infraction of this prohibition is imprisonment for a period not exceeding six months and a fine of not more than one thousand dinars or one of these two penalties.

### **Article 36**

The penalty stipulated in the preceding article will be exacted for the publication of anything containing;

- (i) infringement of the rights of the head of an Arab or Islamic state, or of any other state with which Kuwait maintains diplomatic relations;
- (ii) contempt or mocking of Parliament, the courts or any other institutions of law and order;
- (iii) publication of false news or of unauthentic or forged papers maliciously incriminating anyone, when the purpose of their publication be to disturb public safety or to bring harm to the public good;
- (iv) publication of secret official information or communiques, or of details relating to the armed forces or to the security of the State, the consequences of the broadcasting of which would be harmful to the public good, or of that which the government has forbidden to be published; and the penalty will be doubled should the crime be committed in wartime or during the general or partial mobilization of the army.

criminal proceedings may not be brought in the cases mentioned in Clause 2 of this article except following a request from the head of the organisation or agency concerned.

### Article 37

Publication of the following is punishable by imprisonment for a period not exceeding three months and a fine of not more than two hundred dinars or one of these two penalties:

- (i) whatever occurred in a lawsuit, which the court decided to hear *in camera* or the publication of whatever occurred in the plenary sessions thereof maliciously and in a corrupt form;
- (ii) whatever occurred in meetings of the Council of Ministers without permission;
- (iii) whatever occurred in the secret sessions of the legislative councils or the publication of whatever occurred in the plenary sessions thereof maliciously and in a corrupt form;
- (iv) sentences issued for crimes of sexual assault, rape and incitement to immorality or debauchery;
- (v) news of any crime of which the authorities responsible for investigation thereof have forbidden publication;
- (vi) information intended to affect the value of the national currency or to unsettle the opinion regarding the country's economic position, or the publication of news on the bankruptcy of certain merchants, commercial or banking concerns without special permission from the relevant court;
- (vii) whatever consists of an infringement of the rights of the representative of a foreign state recognised by the State of Kuwait on account of actions relating to his occupation;
- (viii) any article or photographs capable of exciting one's natural urges or of pushing one to immoral or debauched behaviour;
- (iv) any advertisement or declaration by a foreign state, individual or organization prior to approval from the Ministry of Information.

### **Article 38**

The editor-in-chief and the author of the article will be punished according to the penalty for calumny laid down in the Penal Code if any defamation amounting to calumny be published regarding the actions of a public employee or person acting as a public representative or charge with a public service, except if he prove the honesty of his intentions in his belief of the truth of the alleged events, and this belief must be based of logical reasons which stand up to probing and investigaitons, in his acting solely with a view to protecting the public good and in his restricting whatever was published to what was strictly necessary.

### **Article 39**

Dependence on an argument that the writings, drawings, photographs, signs or other means of expression were either translated ortranscribed from other publications issued in Kuwait or abroad, or that they merely reiterate rumours or stories from another source, will not relieve one of the criminal liability of what is stipulated in the foregoing articles.

### **Article 40**

In cases where criminal liability does not lie with the writer of the article or the author of the drawing or other means of expression, the editor-in-chief - or editorial director of the section of the journal in which the publication appeared if there be no editor-in-chief - will be punished as the original perpetrator of crimes committed by means of journals.

### **Article 41**

If an editor-in-chief or an editorial director be convicted of a crime committed by means of their journal, the court may order the closure of the journal for a period not exceeding three months.

If an editor-in-chief or an editorial director be punished a second time with the same journals for one of the crimes mentioned, and that during the year following the issuing of the previous sentence, then the journal will be ordered to close for a period not exceeding six months with the possibility of an order to revoke the licence. A judgement for closure or to revoke a licence may not be implemented except after the appearance of the final judgement.

In every case the confiscation and seizure of the published issue will be carried out.

## **PART FOUR**

### **REGARDING THE PROCEEDINGS FOR CRIMINAL PROSECUTIONS**

#### **Article 42**

Crimes relating to the publishing by means of journals and other publications must submit to the Judicial Proceedings and Criminal Prosecutions Law taking into account the regulations contained in the following articles.

#### **Article 43**

Crimes indicated in the preceding article will be heard before the Crime Department of the High Court

#### **Article 44**

The head of the Crime Department may, on request from the General Office of the District Attorney, or from the injured party or from the Ministry for Information, order the temporary closure of a journal if it published anything deemed criminal during the period of investigation and prosecution.

The period of temporary closure must not exceed three months, but it may be extended for a similar period upon the order of the head of the criminal court once the journal's editor-in-chief has testified.

#### **Article 45**

Proceedings for crimes found in Part Three of this law will fall if six months has elapsed from the time of publication. Regarding the lapse of time for civil proceedings, reference should be made to the regulations relevant to compensation for illegal acts.

#### **Article 46**

The investigation of crimes committed in contravention of this law, and the conduct thereof come automatically under the jurisdiction of

the General Office of the District Attorney, or on the basis of a request from the Ministry of Information, the injured party or any other direction stipulated in this law in accordance with the regulation of the final paragraph for Article 36.

#### **Article 47**

In the event of a guilty verdict for a crime committed by means of publication in a journal the court issuing the verdict may order that it be published verbatim, either in full or an extract thereof, in the first issue to appear after the verdict and in the same place as the article object to was published.

#### **Article 48**

In cases where the journals or publications relevant to the objection have been printed abroad, and in all cases where it is impossible to discover the identity of the author or publisher, the importers, printers and circulators will be punished as the original perpetrators.

## **PART FIVE**

### **CONCLUDING REGULATIONS**

#### **Article 49**

Financial support may be given to journals to assist them in payment of their functions; and the decision limiting the amount of support and the rules and conditions surrounding its granting is issued by the Council of Ministers.

#### **Article 50**

A national press council will be set up, and an order from the Council of Ministers will be issued regarding its formation.

#### **Article 51**

The Ministry for Information may warn a journal should it publish anything which contravenes the regulations of this law or those of the Penal Code, and the editor-in-chief responsible must publish the text of the warning in the first issue to appear after receipt thereof.

This warning will not prevent the exacting of penalties over that which caused the warning to be issued, as laid down in this law.

#### **Article 52**

The proprietor of a journal must maintain orderly ledgers in which are displayed the journals accounts, its sources and receipts, and a statement of all disbursements supported by invoices.

An order will be issued by the Minister of Information regarding the structure of these ledgers and the means used by the Ministry for supervision thereof.

#### **Article 53**

If it be proven that a journal is serving the interests of a foreign state or organisation, or that its politics are in opposition with national

interests, or if it is evident that it has been in receipt from any foreign state or agency, of support, funding or profit, however or for whatever reason and under whatever circumstances or name it came by them except with permission from the Ministry of Information, the principal of the high court, or whoever may take his place, on the basis of a petition presented to him by the Minister for Information, may issue an order for the closure of the journal for a period not exceeding sixty days.

The principal of the court will issue his order regarding the petition on the day after its presentation at the latest, and no mention need be made of the reasons behind the decision.

The Minister, if the order issued rejects his application, or whoever the order was issued against may complain to the high court; and the complaint will proceed along the lines set out for the filing of a suit within one week of the order's being issued as regards the Minister or from the time of its announcement and implementation as regards whoever the order was issued against.

The judgement issued on the complaint is open to challenge in the ways laid down for the judgement.

#### **Article 54**

Should a journal be closed down, banned or have its licence revoked, and in spite of that continue to appear, its proprietor and its editor-in-chief in their capacity as original perpetrators will be punished by a period of imprisonment not exceeding two years and by a fine of not more than five thousand dinars or one or other of these two penalties.

#### **Article 55**

Official warnings and directives will be deemed to have reached the journal's proprietor or its editor-in-chief by the mere fact of being delivered to him or of being stuck to the door of the building used by the journal's administration.

#### **Article 56**

The competent authorities may request of any journal that it publish any correction or refutation sent it; and the journal must publish any correction or refutation without delay in the very next issue to appear and in the same place and with the same font as that used in publishing the items requiring correction or refutation.

### **Article 57**

Whoever is mentioned or alluded to in a news item, article or the like published by whatever journal has the right to reply in the manner stipulated in the preceding article, and this must be accomplished through the Ministry for Information.

If the person whose right it is to reply should die the right to reply will be transferred to his heirs to exercise either collectively or singly on one occasion. The heirs retain the right to reply to any article of news item published regarding their legator after his death.

The publication of the reply will be free of charge provided that it does not exceed twice the length of the article mentioned, and if it be more than twice as long the editor-in-chief has the right to request payment for that portion of the publication in excess prior to its publication on the basis of the rates for advertisements.

### **Article 58**

The Ministry for Information has the right to refuse to publish a reply, correction or refutation in the following cases:

- (i) if the reply or correction is written in a language other than that of the contentious article or news item;
- (ii) if the reply be in contravention of the law or contains certain phrases offensive to moral standards or which abuse individuals or any other phrases which would lay the journal open to liability;
- (iii) receipt of the reply after three months had elapsed since the contentious article or news item was published.

### **Article 59**

All official communications which reach the journal in good time before printing, must be published *in toto* in the first issue to appear.

### **Article 60**

Correspondents for foreign newspapers, magazines or press agencies may not work in Kuwait until they have obtained a licence for the same

from the Ministry for Informaiton, and the licence will be for a period of one year renewable.

The Minister for Information may warn the reporter or correspondent of any foreign newspaper, magazine or press agency if it is evident that the news items published by him consists of exaggeration, fabrications, deception or distortion; and it should not be repeated by him the licence granted him may be withdrawn by order of the Minister.

### **Article 61**

The regulations of this law are not valid for publications issued by the Government, its departments, institutions or public bodies.

A declaration will be issued by the Council of Ministers to determine the rules, conditions and procedures governing the issue of this type of publication.

### **Article 62**

The Minister of Information will issue a declaration to determine which employees of the Ministry for Information or any other ministry are empowered to enter printing presses, bookshops, publishing houses and stalls for the sale and distribution of books, an order to investigate the implication of this law and to curb the occurrence of any contraventions; and they also have the right to check registers, papers and ledgers and to compile all necessary reports.

### **Article 63**

Law No 3 of 1961 will be revoked upon issue of the Press and Publication Law and the laws which amend it.

### **Article 64**

Everyone required by this law to obtain a licence or permission to practice their profession must present an application within two months of this law's coming into effect in order to obtain the licence or permission. Should they find that no licence or permission is forthcoming within three months of the date when the application was presented, then the application should be deemed refused.

### **Article 65**

The Prime Minister and the Ministers - insofar as it concerns them - must implement this law, and it will come into effect three months after the date of its publication in the Official Gazette.

**The Emir of Kuwait**

**Jabir al-Ahmad**

# JORDANIAN PUBLICATION LAW

## PRESS AND PUBLICATION LAW

NO.33 OF 1973

### Article 1

This law is called **The Press and Publication Law of 1973**, and it comes into effect after one month has elapsed from the date of publication in the *Official Gazette*.

### Article 2

The words and clauses of the law or any order issued in accordance with it have the meanings defined below except where a context other than that is indicated.

**the Kingdom:** the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan

**the Ministry:** the Ministry of Information

**the Minister:** the Minister for Information

**the Director:** the Director General of the Department of Press and Publication

**a publication:** all types of publication in which are recorded words or forms made up of letters of the alphabet, photographs or pictures.

**a journalistic publication:** various kinds of periodical and serial publications of the type mentioned in this law

**a periodical publication:** comprises the following two types:

- (i) a political publication issued daily on a periodical basis, under a particular name and in sequence, and which is prepared for public

distribution (i.e. a daily newspaper).

(ii) a press agency publication prepared for the provision of information, articles, photographs or pictures to journalistic institutions.

**a serial publication:** a publication issued once a week over a longer period, comprising weekly, monthly and quarterly papers and magazines, whether of a political nature or not.

**journalism:** the profession dealing with the issue of journalistic publications

**journalist:** anyone who adopts journalism as a profession or earns a living in accordance with the statutes of this law

**printing house:** any institution for the production of publications of whatever type or form, excluded in this definition are photographic equipment, ordinary typewriters, duplicators and photocopying machines

**bookstore:** any institution occupied in the sale or distribution of publications and books in a particular place

**publishing house:** any institution occupied in the preparation of publications, their production or their marketing

**distributor:** any institution occupied in the distribution or sale of publications through bookstores or vendors.

### **Article 3**

Included within journalistic work are each of the following:

- a) the holder of the licence to issue a journalistic publication
- b) its editor-in-chief

- c) whoever edits and checks its subject matter
- d) whoever furnishes it with news, comments, investigations and other journalistic material by way of photographs and pictures;
- 4) Jordanian correspondents of press agencies and foreign newspapers.

#### **Article 4**

By journalistic publication are not intended official or academic publications, or specialist professional publications - other than those dealing with the practice of journalism - or those issued by licenced associations for the purpose of informing their members.

#### **Article 5**

It is conditional on the journalist that he:

- a) be a Jordanian, over the age of twenty-three years;
- b) be resident within the Kingdom;
- c) be in possession of the Jordanian Certificate of Secondary Education or its equivalent;
- d) have practiced journalism in an actual, continuous way for five years, or that he be in possession of an university degree in journalism. As for those with other university degrees, they must have practiced journalism for a period of one year;
- e) have no record of crimes or moral infractions committed;
- f) be not employed by any foreign country;
- g) enjoys full civil and political rights;
- h) supports himself actually and solely by the practice of journalism.

## **Article 6**

The following conditions must be fulfilled by the editor-in-chief:

- a) that he be Jordanian fulfilling all the conditions required to be fulfilled by the journalist as laid down in the previous article, and that he practice his profession actually for the publication on which he works;
- b) that his actual place of residence be in the locality where his publication is issued;
- c) that he be not editor-in-chief of more than one publication;
- d) that he be proficient in the language of the publication for which he is editor-in-chief, and if the publication is published in a number of languages then the editor-in-chief must be proficient in the principal language of the publication.

## **Article 7**

- a) The proprietor of a publication is entitled to be editor-in-chief of that publication or of another provided that he fulfils the conditions of an editor-in-chief.
- b) A person other than a journalist is entitled to be editor-in-chief of a publication - other than a political one - the subject matter of which falls within his speciality provided he complies with the special conditions laid down for such as him in the Code of the Association of Jordanian Journalists.

## **Article 8**

The conditions regarding academic qualifications, mentioned in Clause (c) of Article (5) of this law, do not apply to those who have been practising journalism or journalistic editorship in an official or private information organisation for more than three consecutive years prior to the issuing of this law and if the following documents can substantiate that actual practice:

- a) a certificate from the Ministry confirming that he has been in receipt of a journalist's card for a period of three consecutive years;
- b) a certificate from a press or information institution or institutions in which he has worked, confirming his continuous employment in journalism for a period of three consecutive years.

### **Article 9**

Any journalist not in possession of an academic qualification as stipulated in Clause (c) of Article (5), who has acquired the right to be described as a journalist as stipulated in Article (8) of this law, loses that right either by waiving it or when three years has passed since his leaving journalism for any other profession with the exception of journalistic editorship in an information organisation. Nor is he permitted to re-enrol on the register of practising journalists except after fulfilling the conditions drawn up for journalists in accordance with this law.

### **Article 10**

It is forbidden to issue any journalistic publication prior to the obtaining of a permit for that purpose as laid down in the statutes of this law.

### **Article 11**

No permit for the issue of journalistic publications will be granted except:

- a) to a journalist as recognised by the requirements of this law;
- b) to one in possession of a university degree;
- c) to journalistic companies established and registered for the purpose of issuing journalistic publications on condition that one of the partners therein be a journalist;
- d) to foreign press agencies, with the similar provision that their representative or acting director within

the Kingdom be a journalist according to the requirements of the law.

### **Article 12**

- a) A permit for the issue of a professional (other than the profession of journalism) or academic publication, or one which is issued by a licenced association for the purpose of informing its members will be granted provided that, in applying for the permit, the publications fulfils the conditions stipulated in Article (6) of this law;
- b) the publication of advertisements is forbidden in professional and academic publications.

### **Article 13**

It is not permitted to transfer ownership of a journalistic publication from one proprietor to another unless the conditions stipulated in Articles (6) and (11) preceding are complied with, with the exception of the heir.

### **Article 14**

The following conditions will be taken into account when granting a permit:

- a) Regarding the periodical publication (i.e. daily newspaper) it is prerequisite that its capital be not less than ten thousand Jordanian Dinars either in money, or printing or both, on the basis of certificates with which the Minister is satisfied, and that there be a bank security to insure the issue of the publication;
- b) if the periodical publication be from a press agency, it is prerequisite that the registered capital be not less than ten thousand Jordanian Dinars on the basis of a certificate from the Register of Companies together with sufficient documents confirming its tenure of all the necessary technical equipment for the issue of its daily circular;

- c) regarding the serial publication it is prerequisite that its capital be not less than three thousand Jordanian Dinars either in money, or printing equipment or both, on the basis of certificates with which the Minister is satisfied, and that there be a bank security to insure the issue of the publication, with the exception of professional publication or those destined for associations and educational institutions;
- d) it is incumbent on the proprietor of a journalistic publication to produce a cash guarantee or bank security made out to the Government, and that in order to insure the payment of any fines, indemnities or charges as may arise in accordance with this law. The amount of this security will be:
  - i) one thousand Jordanian Dinars for a periodical publication
  - ii) five hundred Jordanian Dinars for a political serial publication
  - iii) one hundred Jordanian Dinars for a non-political serial publication;
- e) it is not permissible to reserve the security for any other use for the duration of issue of publication, and the proprietor of the publication must return the security to its original amount within fifteen days from the date of any remittance thereof or else the issue of the publication will be stopped by order of the Minister;
- f) in the case of the final ceasing of issue of publication, the Minister will return to its proprietor the amount of the security or what remains thereof after payment of any fine levied.

### **Article 15**

- a) The editor-in-chief will be deemed to have relinquished his responsibilities should any of the following cases arise:
  - i) he resigns from his job,
  - ii) he loses his competence to work,

iii) he absents himself from his job for the period of two consecutive months and in so doing the proprietor of the publication is obliged to nominate an editor-in-chief to take his place;

- b) where the editor-in-chief absents himself for the period of one month due to the pursuit of legal action, the publication will be closed down by the order of the Minister should a new editor-in-chief not be appointed.

### **Article 16**

- a) The Council of Ministers in consultation with the Minister may grant the licence to issue a publication to reinstate its permission, to refuse to grant it, to withdraw or to revoke it, provided that the decision of the Council to issue a licence or of reinstating its permission be in conformity with the Royal wishes;
- b) the decision of the Council of Ministers issued in accordance with the rulings of Clause (a) of this article will be final and will not be open to challenge before any administrative or legal body, and the Minister will undertake the notification of the decision to the applicant for the licence or the proprietor of the journalistic publication whichever the case may be.

### **Article 17**

Any journalistic publication issued prior to the receipt of the licence and the filing of the statement or the money or bank security will be suspended by order of the Minister, and all copies of it will be confiscated; and the proprietor will undergo the penalty stipulated in Article (75) of this law, and he will be denied the right to exercise any permission granted for the period of one whole year as will the editor-in-chief to exercise responsibility for any other publication over a similar period.

### **Article 18**

The amalgamation of two or more journalistic publications will be subject to the conditions governing the issue of a new journalistic publication, including the rulings of one Article (16) of this law.

### **Article 19**

- a) The proprietor of a publication must present a declaration of any change or alteration in the content of the statement to the Ministry within one month of its taking place, and for any publication to be issued thereafter its proprietor must give notification in advance and allow a two week time lapse for the implementation of the requirement or else the Minister will stop its issue;
- b) if the change concern the editor-in-chief then the proprietor of the publication is required to sign a declaration and to attach to it a statement giving notice of the new editor-in-chief's acceptance of the responsibility.

### **Article 2**

- a) The proprietor of a journalistic publication must maintain ordered accounts according to commercial principles and stick rigidly to the law for the drawing up of the publication's yearly balance sheet.
- b) Either the Minister or the Director have the right at any time secretly to investigate all declarations, accounts and the balance sheet.

### **Article 21**

A journalistic publication licence may be legally revoked in any one of the following cases:

- a) if, from the date of issue of the licence, six months has elapsed without the periodical publication's being issued or, in the case of a serial publication, three months;

- b) if issue of a periodical publication should cease for the period of one month and the issuing of it should not resume on a normal basis after the month has elapsed, or should four consecutive issues of the publication fail to be published and, after the above-mentioned period had elapsed, normal issue had not been resumed;
- c) the non-adherence to any of the conditions of its licence;
- d) if its proprietor fails to comply absolutely either in whole or in part with those conditions, or if he contravenes the rulings of Article (27) of this law.

## **Article 22**

According to this article no proprietor of a publication whose licence has been revoked will be granted a new licence before one year has elapsed from the revoking of the licence.

## **Article 23**

- a) If a journalistic publication publishes anything which threatens national existence or places the security of the State in jeopardy, or is reckoned to impinge on the interests of the public or on the constitutional foundations of the Kingdom, then the Council of Ministers has the right to decide in consultation with the Minister to revoke the licence to issue a publication or to ban the publication for a period of not less than one week; or else the Prime Minister may decide on a fine of not less than 150 Dinars and not more than 500 Dinars, and that in consultation with the Minister;
- b) the decision of the Council of Ministers is final and is not open to challenge from any quarter,
- c) no request for the granting of a new licence to a revoked publication will be considered before one year has elapsed from the time the licence was revoked.

## **Article 24**

The proprietor of a journalistic publication must comply with the following restrictions:

- a) the number of journalistic editors on a periodical publication must be not less than three or, in the case of a serial publicaition, two editors;
- b) to be supplied with news the proprietor of a daily journal must be affiliated to at least two international press agencies;
- c) the number of pages in a daily journal published in Arabic must be not less than eight pages;
- d) the number of pages in a serial journal publISHED in Arabic must not be less than sixteen pages.

## **Article 25**

Each issue of the publication must carry at the head of one of its pages the name of its proprietor and of its editor-in-chief, the place and date of publication, the subscription rate, the price of a single copy and the name of the printing house where it is printed.

## **Article 26**

As soon as it has been produced, the editor-in-chief of a journalistic publication must send five copies of every issue to the Ministry (Department of Press and Publication) for permission from the Director or his representative to distribute it.

## **Article 27**

- a) The proprietor of a daily or serial publication must present to the Minister a detailed account of returns and expenses for the previous year up to the thirty first day of the month of January..
- b) should the proprietor of the journal delay in presenting the aforementioned yearly account the Minister has the right to stop publication of the journal until that account is forthcoming;

- c) should it be established that the proprietor of a journal is in receipt of any aid or donation from a foreign or local source for the purposes of disseminating policies dangerous to the interest of the country, he will receive the penalty laid down in this law.

### **Article 28**

It is the Minister's duty to lay down the general guidelines for the pricing of journals and the tariffs for advertising therein, taking account of the opinion of the Association of Jordanian journalists.

### **Article 29**

- a) It is now lawful for the proprietor of a journalistic publication to make use of a name used by another publication or to adopt this name with alterations or in translation in a way which might lead to confusion;
- b) if the publication should cease to be issued, and the period of its cessation extends to three years or if it was granted a licence to issue but was never issued and for that reason the licence was revoked, it is permissible for the proprietor of a new publication to use its name.

### **Article 30**

- a) The proprietor of any journalistic publication who wishes to hand it over to another person either completely or in part must notify the Minister one month prior to the hand over;
- b) the person to whom he is handing over must fulfil all the conditions which the law demands for the granting of a journalistic publication licence, and he must present his application to the Minister two months prior to the hand over, and this application must conform with the regulations of Article (16) of this law.

### **Article 31**

Should the proprietor of a publication die then his heirs must notify the Minister two months from the date of death explaining their wishes regarding the continuity of the publication's issue; at the same time they must comply fully with the regulations of Articles (67 & 71) of this law or else the issue will be deemed unlawful. The validity of the licence will cease where a return to the requirements of the law has not been observed within three months of the death.

### **Article 32**

- a) If a journalistic publication publishes articles or news of a deceitful or false nature pertaining to the public interest then the Minister or his representative has the right to request the editor-in-chief to publish a correction or denial, and that correction or denial to be published verbatim by the editor-in-chief gratis in the next issue and in the same place as the rejected article or item of news appeared; and should the person in charge refrain from publishing the correction he will receive the penalty stipulated in Article (75) of this law;
- b) the regulation of this article governs all foreign publications distributed in the Kingdom, and if those responsible do not implement what is laid down in this article the publication will be prevented from entering the Kingdom by order of the Minister.

### **Article 33**

- a) Should a person, either real or juristic, be alluded to, or a particular person be intended even indirectly, by any item of news or article published by one of the journalistic publications, then that person has the right of reply in the manner explained in the preceding article. And the right of reply is an absolute right and it may be exercised also by authors of literary, artistic and scientific works when their work is criticised;

- b) if the reply should exceed the bounds of the article or item of news which gave rise to it, then the publication has the right to withhold publication of it until such a time as the writer of the reply pays the publication fee for the extra sentences; and should the person whose right it is to reply, die then that right is passed onto his heirs to exercise once only either collectively or singly. Reply is also permitted to any article or item of news published about their testator after death.

### **Article 34**

The proprietor of a journalistic publication has the right to refuse to publish a reply, correction or denial in any one of the following cases;

- a) If the publication has already corrected the article or item of news in a fitting manner;
- b) if the reply, correction or denial is in a language other than that of the article or item of news to which the reply pertains, or if the signature is either illegible or that of a pseudonym;
- c) if it contains anything deemed to contravene the law, or phrases which, if published, would lay open to criminal prosecution, or phrases inconsistent with morals or abuses of the publication or the people employed therein;
- d) if the period of three months has passed since the publication of the article or item of news to be corrected.

### **Article 35**

- a) If the person responsible for a journalistic publication refuses to publish a reply, using as a pretext one of the reasons found in the preceding article, then the person whose right it is to reply may request that the Minister make a statement requiring that it be published, and he should present that request to the opposing party, who in turn has the right to present a written reply within three

days, after which the Minister has a week to issue a final, binding decision;

- b) if the Minister decides that the reply should be published then it must be published in the first issue of the publication to appear.

### **Article 36**

If the person responsible for the journalistic publication should refuse to implement the decision of the Minister then the editor-in-chief will be deemed to have committed an infraction of the regulations of this law and will undergo the penalty stipulated in Article (75) and will publish the reply at his own expense in another publication.

### **Article 37**

The circumstances of foreign newspapers and press agencies and their correspondents will be dealt with in accordance with the regulations of this law.

### **Article 38**

The proprietor of any publication is forbidden to publish:

- a) news relating to the King and the royal family except with permission in advance from the relevant member of the King's Secretariat;
- b) events of secret meetings of Parliament;
- c) reports, books, letters, articles, pictures or news contrary to public morals;
- d) articles which are defamatory of any of the religions or sects, the freedom of which is assured in the constitution;
- e) any information about the Jordanian Armed Forces' size, weaponry, munitions, emplacements, or movements except if permission to publish has been granted by a responsible source within the Jordanian Armed Forces; nor may any item of news, picture or other comment which touches on the Armed

forcees, the Security Services or the General Intelligence Agency and may give rise to a distortion of or anxiety in public opinion be published;

- f) letters, papers, files, information, news and communiques which the Minister considers to have been classified as secret;
- g) articles or information defamatory of the heads of friendly states;
- h) political declarations issued by accredited foreign representatives inside the Kingdom except if the publication has been permitted by the Minister.

#### **Article 39 -**

It is forbidden to advertised the opening of a fund to offset any fines, fees or securities imposes of those charged with contravening this law.

#### **Article 40**

The proprietor of a non-political publication is not allowed under penalty of punishment to publish studies, news, pictures or comments of a political nature.

#### **Article 41**

Included in studies of a political nature, the publication of which is forbidden, are all pictures and comments relating to official persons, and any picture, eulogy or satire of people with a view to political or electoral propaganda either for or against those people.

#### **Article 42**

- a) For any contravention of the regulations of Article (38) the perpetrator will receive the punishment of not less than one year's imprisonment and a fine of not less than five hundred Dinars;
- b) for any contravention of the regulations of articles (39 & 40) the perpetrator will receive the punishment of not less than one month's imprisonment or a fine of not less than ten Dinars.

#### **Article 43**

- a) The proprietor of a journalistic publication is forbidden under penalty of punishment to publish false news if the purpose of this news was to disturb public safety;
- b) if the false news related to official persons and was not intended to disturb public safety the prosecution will be concluded with a cautionary complaint;
- c) the effective punishment may be increased by half as much again if the publication should contain scandalous accusations or if it expressed defamatory remarks discrediting the morals, honour or reputation of the person.

#### **Article 44**

Whoever aspires in a publication to the committing of a crime will be deemed to have committed the crime if as a result of the incitement the crime was carried out or attempted. However, if the incitement remained as such without any carrying out or attempt at the crime then the perpetrator and those responsible - insofar as they are affected by this law - will receive the penalty stipulated in Article (75), and the punishment may be increased by half as much again if the incitement was directed against the well-being of the State, its national unity or its authority.

#### **Article 45**

Whoever, by means of a publication or advertisement or in any other way, threatens an ordinary juristic person by disclosing any matter or disseminating it or information concerning it, and that matter was of a nature to affect the honour of that person or his standing or honour of his relatives or their standing in order to accrue unlawful benefit for himself or someone else, or to attempt to do so, will receive the penalty stipulated in Article (75) of this law.

#### **Article 46**

In the case of journalistic publications crimes the editor-in-chief and the writer of the article will be prosecuted as the original agents; the proprietor of the journalistic publication will be responsible for joint liability with them regarding personal rights and the legal costs, but he will not share criminal responsibility except if his participation in the crime be established.

#### **Article 47**

- a) The responsibility for crimes perpetrated by means of a publication which are not described in the preceding article, lies with the author as the original agent and on the publisher as partner; and if neither the writer nor the publisher admit then the responsibility lies with the printer;
- b) the proprietors of printing houses, bookstores and publishing houses are responsible for joint liability for personal rights and legal costs incurred by their employees in cases regarding publications.

#### **Article 48**

The relevant Court of First Instance in all cases related to publications crimes will be subject to the regulations of this law and the Principles of Criminal Proceedings Law, Number (9) of Year 1961, or any equivalent legislation or any which may supersede it.

#### **Article 49**

There is no detention in publication crimes except in the circumstances stipulated in Articles (44 & 45) of this law.

#### **Article 50**

- a) The Public Prosecutor is responsible for investigations regarding publications crimes and the issuing of his decision for the need to prosecute or to refrain from prosecution according to the principles;
- b) the Deputy General must ratify, annul or amend any decision to refrain from proceedings according to the requirements of the situation.

#### **Article 51**

- a) The person convicted in absentia may appeal against the judgement during the ten days following the date of notification of the decision;
- b) the convicted person or the person responsible for financial matters has the right to appeal to the Court of Appeal against the judgement issued during the ten days following the date of his instruction if it be contradictory or of his notification if the judgement be contradictory; and the decision of the Court of Appeal will be final.

#### **Article 52**

Cases regarding publications stipulated in this law will be dealt with speedily whether it be at the stage of investigation or of legal proceedings.

#### **Article 53**

The court which issued the judgement may order its publication free of charge or a synopsis in the first issue of the publication to be published verbatim after notification of the judgement and in the exact place where the article which gave rise to the complaint was published, and it may also decide to publish the judgement

simultaneously in other newspapers at the expense of the convicted person at the usual advertisement rates.

If the sentenced person should contravene the regulations of this article he will receive the penalty stipulated in Article (75) of this law.

#### **Article 54**

No one may own or manage a printing house except after obtaining permisison from the Ministry.

#### **Article 55**

A printing house must have a managing director, conditional upon whom is that he be Jordanian, at least twenty-one years old, not convicted of any crime or infraction regarding morals.

#### **Article 56**

An application for permission should include:

- a) the name, place of residence and nationality of the proprietor of the printing house,
- b) the name, place of residence and nationality of the Managing Director,
- c) the name of the printing house, its location, the type of machinery and letters used therein.

#### **Article 57**

Any change in the text of the licence must be declared within seven days of its deposit; and if the proprietor of the printing house should die then his heirs must present the Ministry with a declaration of the event within two months from the date of death, and if they wish to continue in operation they must make that clear in the declaration; and any false or defective declaration will receive the penalty laid down in Article (75) of this law.

### **Article 58**

The proprietor of the printing house may be its managing director, in which case he must make this clear in the declaration which must be presented.

### **Article 59**

If there is a change of proprietor in the printing house its proprietor must obtain permission in accordance with the regulations of this law; its previous proprietor and manager will remain responsible for any contraventions committed up to the issuing of the new licence.

### **Article 60**

The proprietor of the printing house or its managing director must deposit with the Ministry examples of all the letters used in the printing house and perform the same whenever there is a change in them.

### **Article 61**

The proprietor of the printing house or its managing director will make a register in which are recorded in sequence the title of the writings printed there, the names of their authors and the number of copies of them printed; and he must produce it to the competent authorities whenever required.

### **Article 62**

The proprietor of a printing house or its managing director must deposit free of charge with the Ministry two copies of every non-journalistic publication printed in his printing house prior to its distribution, and this directive applies to all publications produced by lithography, typography, embossed type, drawings, photography, engravings and musical compositions.

### **Article 63**

The Minister may confiscate any publication described in Article (62) if he sees that its publication would be harmful to the public good.

### **Article 64**

The proprietor of a printing house is forbidden to reprint a banned publication or an unlicensed or prohibited journalistic publication.

### **Article 65**

The name of the author, printing house, publisher, his address and the date of going to press will be recorded, and whoever contravened that will be penalised with a fine not exceeding fifty Dinars or a week's imprisonment or both penalties.

### **Article 66**

Whoever wishes to establish a publishing house, bookstore or distributors must present the Ministry with an application signed by himself, consisting of the following information:

- a) The name of the applicant for permission, his nationality, place of birth and age,
- b) his place of residence and address,
- c) the name of the managing director, his nationality, place of birth, age, place of residence and address,
- d) the name of the printing house where the publishing house's publications will be printed and the name of its proprietor,
- e) the name of the managing director of the printing house and his address.

### **Article 67**

If the publishing house, bookstore or distributors' is an ordinary company its deputy director may sign it; however, if it is a joint-stock

company then the chairman of its board of directors should sign, and in this case the application should include the names of the members of its board of directors, their nationalities, the place of residence and address of each, and the company's capital, and attached to the application a copy of its rules and of its certificate of registration with the Ministry of Economics.

#### **Article 68**

The Minister will grant the licence if the application contains all the required information.

#### **Article 69**

- a) The managing director of a publishing house, bookstore or distributors' is required to comply with the conditions laid down in Article (6) of this law, as it is also required that he be in receipt of a Jordanian Certificate of Secondary Education or its equivalent.
- b) A single person is not permitted to be the managing director of more than one publishing house, bookstore or distributors.

#### **Article 70**

Whoever prints a book or thesis within the Kingdom must present two copies of his publication to the Ministry prior to its distribution, and the Director may confiscate the publication if he is of the opinion that its publication would be harmful to the public good.

#### **Article 71**

- a) The proprietor of every bookstore or distributors' and every vendor must submit to the Ministry a copy of every publication imported from outside the Kingdom for its permission prior to its display for sale or distribution, and the Director may confiscate the publication if he is of the opinion that its circulation would be harmful to the public good;

- b) The decision of the Director is justified on the basis of Article (70 & 71).

### **Article 72**

Whoever wishes to sell newspapers, books, magazines, photographs, pictures or any other types of publication must obtain a licence from the Ministry.

### **Article 73**

Street Vendors or distributors are forbidden under penalty of the punishment stipulated in this law to sell a publication by shouting out any item of news not found therein or which is incompatible with public morals or which impinges on nationalistic or religious feelings.

### **Article 74**

The proprietors of publications of all types and of printing houses, bookstores, distributors' and advertising agencies must straighten out their affairs in accordance with the regulations of this law within two months of its implementation.

### **Article 75**

Taking into account the preceding regulations, whoever commits an infraction of the law or of a legal opinion issued in accordance therein will receive a penalty of either imprisonment for a period not exceeding one year or a fine not greater than one hundred dinars or of both penalties together.

### **Article 76**

The Council of Ministers in consultation with the Minister will issue the rules for the implementation of the regulations of this law.

### **Article 77**

The Publications Law, number 16 of year 1955 is revoked and any legislation either Jordanian or Palestinian contrary to the regulations of this law.

### **Article 78**

The Prime Minister and the Minister for Information are responsible for the implementation of the regulations of this law.

**Minister for Information**

**al-Hysayn ibn Talal**

**Adnaad Abu Awdah**

**Prime Minister**

**Aayd al-Rifa'l**

1. Published in the Official Gazette, Number 2429, dated 1/July/1973
2. A temporary law, number 2 of Year 1978, amending the press and Publication Law has been issued, and it has been published in the Official Gazette, Number 2756, dated 16/January/1978.

# SYRIAN PUBLICATION LAW

Ministry of Information  
Publications -

General Law on

Statute number 53

## GENERAL LAW ON PUBLICATIONS

### General Regulations

#### Article 1

Freedom exists for printing presses, bookstores and publications of all kinds, and there are no restrictions to their freedom except within the scope of this law.

#### Article 2

The following terms will imply the definitions given in this article:

- a) **printing press** is any machine or equipment set up to transfer words, pictures and signs onto paper, cloth or any other material. Excluded in this definition are photographic cameras, ordinary typewriters used in offices, commercial enterprises and institutions, and any equipment which is used for purely commercial purposes or for taking copies of documents such as the machines used by commercial concerns;
- b) **a publication** is any printed thing and any published drawing or map;
- c) **a periodical publication** is any publication issued under a particular name, in consecutive parts, containing news, events, pictures, articles and comments;
- d) **publishing** is the display of publications to the public, their sale and distribution;
- e) **a bookstore** is any institution which seeks to make money from the sale of books, writings and periodical publications, or which displays them to the public for commercial ends.

### **Article 3**

The administrative authority according to this law is the Director General for Propaganda and Information in the capital and the governor in the provinces where there is no branch of the General Department for Propaganda and Information.

### **Article 4**

Those responsible as original perpetrators for penalties to be exacted in the case of actual infractions in accordance with this law are the director general, editor-in-chief and the author.

However, the proprietor of the publication, whether it be an individual or a company is financially responsible for the cost of legal proceedings, fees, and the payment for loss or damages which may be imposed for the benefit of certain individuals, and it is established that the proprietor plays an active role in the administration and editing of the publication then he will be deemed to be its managing director.

Every proprietor, whether of a printing press, bookstore or publishing house, is financially responsible for payment of loss or damages imposed because of legal infractions committed by people in their employ.

## **PART ONE**

### **CONCERNING PRINTING PRESSES AND BOOKSTORES**

#### **Article 5**

Whoever wishes to establish a printing press must first of all present a statement to the administrative authority; and it is required that every printing press has a managing director to bear the responsibility of any infraction committed by means of the printing press and that the proprietor of the printing press be financially responsible for infractions arising from the acts of the aforementioned director, where such a director does not exist this responsibility falls on the shoulders of the proprietor of the printing press.

#### **Article 6**

The statement stipulated in the fifth article comprises:

- (i) name, surname, place of residence and nationality of the press's proprietor;
- (ii) name, surname, place of residence and nationality of the managing director;
- (iii) name and location of the printing press.

Any change in the contents of this statement must be declared within five days of its taking place under penalty of the punishment stipulated in Section One of Part Four of this law; a false or incomplete declaration will be deemed equivalent to no declaration, and whenever there is a change of proprietor or of managing director at the printing press they will remain responsible for infractions committed until such a time as the declaration stipulated in this article has been made.

#### **Article 7**

The regulations of this law apply to anyone involved in printing regardless of whether he be proprietor of a printing press or in the printing trade.

### **Article 8**

The proprietor of a printing press or its managing director must submit samples of all the letter used to the administrative authority, and this must be carried out whenever the letters are changes within a period not exceeding fifteen days.

### **Article 9**

The proprietor of a printing press or its managing director must maintain a register in which are entered on each occasion and in order of date the title of writings or publications prepared for publishing, the names of their authorities and the number of copies thereof printed and must show this register to the administrative or judicial authority whenever required to do so.

### **Article 10**

The proprietor of a printing press or its managing director must deposit two copies of every publication other than periodical publications with the administrative authority on the day of its publication, one copy to be retained by the General Department for Propaganda and Information and the second in the National Library, and must mention on the deposit slip the title of the publicatiton, the name or names of its authors and translators and the number of copies printed; and if the publication is of a political nature a third copy must be sent to the regional Post Office of the District Attorney.

### **Article 11**

In every publication the name or pseudonym of its author, the title of the publisher, name of the printing press, date of printing and the number in the continuous register mentioned in the ninth article.

This directive applies to all types of publications and pamphlets produced lithographically and the number in the continuous register mentioned in the ninth article, and also photography, engraving, drawings and musical pieces prepared for circulation by means indicated in the second article of this law.

### **Article 12**

Within one month of founding his business every newsagent or publisher must submit to the administrative authorities a statement containing the name, level of education, place of residence and nationality of the proprietor of the business together with the name of the bookstore and its location.

And the regulations of this law apply to reading rooms.

### **Article 13**

Every newsagent or entrepreneur who imports foreign periodical publications must deposit two copies of each publication with the General Department for Propaganda and Information prior to its distribution on the market.

### **Article 14**

The Prime Minister may, on the suggestion of the Minister of the Interior or the Minister for Information, prevent the entry or circulation of foreign publications if it appears that they are damaging to national sovereignty or violate security or offend public morals.

## PART TWO

### PERIODICAL JOURNALS

#### SECTION ONE

#### CONDITIONS FOR PUBLISHING

##### Article 15

The issuing of a periodical publication is not permitted without obtaining a licence according to the regulations found in this law.

##### Article 16<sup>1</sup>

A licence is granted following a decree issued on the basis of a decision by the Council of Ministers to those who fulfil the legal requirements

The council of Ministers has the right to refuse to grant a licence to those who fulfil the legal requirements for such reasons as it may consider fit.

No reason for the decision of the Council of Ministers need be given, and it is irrevocable and not open to challenge before any judicial or administrative body, however it is permissible to re-apply for a licence after a period of not less than one year has elapsed since the refusal decision.

The proprietor of the publication and its managing director should sign the licence application, which must contain:

- (i) The name of the publication, its type (Magazine, newspaper etc), its scope (political, scientific, literary, sporting, cultural, etc.) and the frequency of issue (daily, weekly, fortnightly, monthly etc.);

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1: As laid down in Statute number 16, dated 5.6.1962

- (ii) the name, surname, nationality, place of residence, age and academic qualifications of its managing director;
- (iii) the name, surname, nationality, place of residence, age and academic qualifications of the editor-in-chief;
- (iv) the name, surname, nationality, place of residence, age and academic qualifications of the publications proprietor, the partners therein or the shareholders, and the amount of money invested or of financial gain granted; if the publication is issued by a joint stock company it must contain the company's address and capital as well as the names, surnames, nationalities, places of residence and occupations of the members of its board of directors, and the proportional amount of capital contributed by each, to which must be attached a copy of the company rules;
- (v) the printing press where the publication is printed;
- (vi) the place of publication and the administrative and editorial headquarters;
- (vii) the language or languages in which it will be edited.

In addition to the above conditions every applicant for a licence to issue a political daily newspaper must comply with the following order under penalty of the refusal of application or the revoking of the licence:<sup>2</sup>

- a) to issue of the paper six times per week, having at least six pages no smaller than 57 x 82 cm in size and with a minimum print run of one thousand five hundred copies in Damascus, and having at least four pages of the same size with a minimum print run of one thousand in Aleppo and eight hundred in all other provinces.
- b) the appointment of at least three editors to assist the editor-in-chief and one reported attached to that particular newspaper in Damascus, and two editors and one reported in the other provinces; and the names of all of them must be mentioned on the application;

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<sup>2</sup>:The operation of this Clause refers back to law number 169, dated 12.5.1954

- c) membership of at least two international news agencies in Damascus and at least one agency in Aleppo. The size of political weekly publication must be no less than the size of two issues of a daily newspaper, and the monthlies not less than four issues of the above mentioned newspaper. Any change in the contents of this application not connected to the regulations of Article 24 of this law must be declared within five days of its taking place otherwise the contravener will receive a fine of between 100 and 500 Syrian pounds. The licence may not be transferred from one town to another, nor may a publication be printed elsewhere than the place of issue, except with special permission from the Prime Minister acting on a suggestion from the Director General for Propaganda and Information. A licence may be sold provided that the conditions stipulated in Article 18 of this law are adhered to and it may also transferred to the heirs of its legal proprietors, or to one of the heirs acting on behalf of them all provided that either he or they complied fully with the conditions mentioned.

### **Article 17<sup>3</sup>**

The publishing of a licenced periodical publication is subject to the payment of a guarantee deposited in the State Treasury or to a bank security for the sum of one thousand Syrian pounds. A commerical security of the same amount will be accepted from daily and political publications and two hundred and fifty Syrian pounds from other periodical publications.

### **Article 18<sup>4</sup>**

The proprietor of a periodical publication must comply with the following conditions:

- (i) to have been Syrian for at least five years;
- (ii) to enjoy full civil and political rights;

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<sup>3</sup>: As laid down in Statute Number 5, dated 21.12.1949. amended by Statute Number 6 (i.e. 106?), dated 13.3.1950)

<sup>4</sup> As laid down in Statute Number 106, dated 13.3.1950.

- (iii) to be proficient in the language in which he issues the periodical publication;
- (iv) to be not less than 25 years old;
- (v) to be in receipt of a certificate of higher education or in possession of a periodical publication at the time this law was published:<sup>5</sup>
- (vi) not to be in any way in the service of a foreign state;
- (vii) not to have been sentenced to imprisonment (for non-political reasons) for a period in excess of six months, nor to have been sentenced for a scandalous crime, not to have been dismissed from a job by a disciplinary board or by a court ruling, nor to have previously held a publication licence which was later revoked;
- (viii) not to practice simultaneously the profession of political journalism and any other profession or general employment, with the exception that a Member of Parliament has the right to be the proprietor of a political publication provided he is not the managing director.
- (ix) to be resident in Syria.

### **Article 19**

The proprietor of a periodical publication must maintain three ledgers as stipulated in the Law on Commerce, and submit these ledgers to financial and administrative examination by the competent authorities on a written order from the Prime Minister and in the presence of the periodical publications proprietor or of its managing director, who must produce all written clarifications required of them regarding the text of these ledgers.

### **Article 20<sup>6</sup>**

The director of the periodical must comply with the following conditions:

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<sup>5</sup> As laid down in Statute Number 106, dated 13.3.1950 and Statute Number 16 of 1962.

<sup>6</sup> As laid down in Statute Number 106, dated 13.3.1950 and Statute Number 16 of 1962.

- (i) to conform to the conditions found in Clauses 1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 8 and 9 of Article 18 above;
- (ii) to be in receipt of a certificate of secondary education or carry a journalist card issued by the General Department for Propaganda and Information on the basis of a legalised letter from the Press Association, establishing the journalist's practice of that profession for more than six years, dependent on the regulations of the third section of this law;
- (iii) not to combine with his profession any public office or membership of Parliament;
- (iv) not to be managing director of more than one journal.

### **Article 21**

(Abrogated by State Number 5, dated 31.12.1949)

### **Article 22<sup>7</sup>**

The Editor-in-Chief of a periodical publication must conform to the following conditions:

- (i) to comply with the conditions found in Clauses 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9 of Article 18;
- (ii) to be in receipt of a certificate of higher education, or to be working as an editor-in-chief or a periodical publication current when this law was issued, or to carry a journalist card issued by the General Department for Propaganda and Information on the basis of a legalised letter from the Press Association, establishing the journalist's practice of that profession for more than ten years, dependent on the regulations of the third section of this law;
- (iii) to be editor-in-chief of not more than one periodical publication.

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<sup>7</sup>: As laid down in Statute Number 106, dated 13.3.1950 and Statute Number 16 of 1962.

### **Article 23**

(Abrogated by Statute Number 5, dated 31.12.1949)

### **Article 24**

Before the execution of any change in the director, proprietor or editor-in-chief of a periodical publication, a declaration to that effect must be presented to the administrative authorities; and the validity of that change will be deemed to be temporary from the day the declaration was presented, and it will become legal once the authorities have agreed thereto.

### **Article 25**

The director of a periodical publication must send a copy of each issue to the Public Office of the District Attorney and three copies to the administrative authorities on the day the publication is published.

### **Article 26**

The proprietor of a periodical publication must immediately inform the administrative authorities of the fact should issue cease either temporarily or completely. If the stoppage of the publication is temporary there must be a lawful excuse, which is accepted by the competent authorities, and the period of time, provided that the application of the regulations of the following article do not prevent it, should be mentioned.

### **Article 27<sup>8</sup>**

A licence will be deemed revoked by a letter issued by the Prime Minister on the suggestion of the Minister for Information in the following cases:

- a) if a periodical publication has failed to appear regularly three months after the granting of the licence;

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<sup>8</sup>: As laid down in Statute Number 16, dated 5.6.1962

- b) if a third of the publication's normal issues, which have been published by a similar publication, have not appeared over a period of three months;
- c) if five penal cases be decided against a publication within one year;
- d) if one of those responsible for the publication be found guilty of one of the two crimes laid down in Article 68 of this law.

### **Article 28**

A licence to publish periodical publications may be granted to a representative of ordinary organisations such as societies, clubs and chamber of commerce provided that its purpose be of a documentary nature in relation to the running of these institutions and that the aims for which they were set up be inside the regulations of this law.

### **Article 29<sup>9</sup>**

The legally sanctioned political parties will, on application, be given a licence to publish a periodical publication as the organ of that party, and the party in its capacity as a juristic body will be the holder of the licence; and the publication should also have a managing director and an editor-in-chief, both of whom submit to the conditions of this law. If the party is disbanded its licence will legally be deemed revoked.

Publication issued by state or municipal departments are not subject to the regulations of this law.

The Prime Minister with the agreement of the Council of Ministers may refrain from granting a licence to a periodical publication or from accepting a particular person as a proprietor, managing director or editor-in-chief if he is satisfied that they support, either collectively or individually, unconstitutional practices.<sup>10</sup>

- (i)<sup>11</sup> Whoever is refused a licence by the Council of Ministers, within one month of the date of notification of the refusal decision may refer to the

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9: As laid down in Statute Number 106, dated 13.3.1950.

10: In accordance with Article 7 of Law Number 1969, dated 12.5.1954

11: In accordance with Article 7 of Law Number 169, dated 12.5.1954

court of first instance in the region chosen for the issue of the periodical publication.

- (ii) decision issued in this way is open to appeal and judgement within the dealines stipulated in the Principles of Civil Proceedings Law.
- (iii) Every citizen has the right before the regional court of first instance to object to a licence decision within a month from the publication thereof in the *Official Gazette*.
- (iv) the decision issued on the basis of this referral is open to appeal by either interested party within the dealines stipulated in the Principles of Civil Proceedings Law.

## SECTION TWO

### PROTECTION OF THE DROIT D'AUTEUR

#### Article 31

Periodical publications and press agencies, within the restraints of the special agreements which bind them to authors, enjoy an absolute right to anything pertaining to literary and cultural compositions protected by the requirements of international agreements effective in Syria and they also enjoy a temporary right to anything pertaining to journalistic information obtained by dint of special efforts.

#### Article 32

Intended by the phrase '**literary or cultural compositions**' is whatever is produced by human talents whether written, oral, vocal, artificial or by movement as raised in Article 708 and what follows it in the Penal Code.

Intended by '**journalistic information**' are in particular items of news whose value lies in their precedence, ignoring for the moment how they are expressed, and items of information arrived at by dint of special efforts and transferred from one place to another by whatever means, specialised articles on whatever subject (reportage), items of news gained from a special reported or to which the right of ownership is reserved, and in general all items of information which accredited employees of the editorial organisation of a periodical publication or of a press agency and any items of news bearing a signature may be considered to be within this class.

#### Article 33

Under no circumstances is it permissible to reprint any literary or artistic composition or a translation or transcription thereof during the twenty-five years following the death of its author without the express authorisation of its author, its purchaser or its rightful owners; as for political, scientific articles where no special instruction prohibiting re-publication, translation and transcription has been made, re-printing or translation is permitted conditional upon mention being made of its original source and its author, although this restriction does not include partial transcription (i.e. quotation) provided that it

does not exceed a third of the complete text or, if the text be a long one, one hundred lines at the very most.

#### **Article 34**

No periodical publication or news corporation may under any circumstances re-publish or transcribe either in written form or orally journalistic information as noticed in Article 33 unless it obtained that information by itself and by means of its own private resources, and this protection will last as long as this information retains its commercial value, ie. at least forty-eight hours after its first being published by a periodical publication issued within state territory or after the distribution which includes the information mentioned. However, if this news becomes widespread within twenty-four hours of its publication in a particular place, then periodical publication have the right to re-publish it in this or any other place.

#### **Article 35**

The owner of an item of news may, after his right has been established, take legal action in pursuit of compensation from the periodical publication or press agency which made wrongful use of it and re-published an item of news which its owner had obtained within the conditions stipulated in Article 32 and the relevant court will decide on the amount of compensation.

The defendant may counter the suspicion laid against him with documents (e.g. postal, telegraphic or telephone documentation or receipts) proving that he had translated the news item in a legal manner or that the delay noted in the preceding article had elapsed.

#### **Article 36**

The use of the name of another periodical publication or the registered mark of a press agency is not permitted until ten years after the closure of the publication or company's ceased business.

## **SECTION THREE**

### **THE RULES REGARDING PROFESSIONAL JOURNALISTS AND THEIR RIGHTS**

#### **Article 37**

A professional journalist is anyone whose principle work is the practice of that profession regularly for a periodical publication published in Syria or for a press agency, and from which he derives the major part of his professional income towards his livelihood.

Correspondent, cartoonists and photographers who work in the Syrian territories for a periodical publication issued in Syria, or for a periodical publication licenced in this country, or for a Syrian or foreign press agency are deemed journalists if they do not earn a fixed wage and the conditions mentioned in the preceding clause of this article apply to them. To practice journalism is not considered a profession except if a person possesses a press card as indicated in Article 38 following, and if he is aged at least eighteen years. Cards granted prior to the implemetation of this law are excepted.

#### **Article 38**

A press card will be granted to a professional journalist following his application and within the conditions laid down in the relevant rules. It will be granted by the Director General for Propaganda and Information. This card, on which is mentioned the name of the publication or press agency for which the journalists work, is valid for that year only in which it was issued and must be renewed at the beginning of every year upon presentation of a document issued by the proprietor of the publication or agency, stating that the journalist is remaining in his employ and that he practices the profession on a regular basis. The administrative authorities have the right to investigate the truth of this statement at any time.

## **SECTION FOUR**

### **THAT OF WHICH PUBLICATION IS PROHIBITED**

#### **Article 39**

All publications are forbidden to publish:

- (i) bills of indictment or means of investigation for criminal or lesser undictable offences prior to their being read out at a public hearing;
- (ii) events regarding lawsuits for abuse, slander and censure;
- (iii) events of secret court proceedings, all proceedings relating to divorce, separation or lawsuits pertaining to kinship, all events relating to lawsuits, publication of which has been forbidden by the court or investigations departments, and medical examiners reports regarding sexual offences;
- (iv) secret memoranda of Parliament;
- (v) articles or news related to the army's security, integrity, movements, size, weaponry, readiness and encampments excepting that which is issued by the Ministry of National Defence or of which the Ministry allows publication;
- (vi) books, letters, essays, drawings and news on anyone's private life, which are of a slanderous nature.

## **SECTION FIVE**

### **ON CORRECTIONS AND REPLIES (OR OBJECTIONS)**

#### **Article 40**

Periodical publications must publish free of charge any correction or reply sent by its ministries, public departments or official institutions, following any article or news relating to their affairs, which is printed by the publication; and the reply or correction must be printed in the first issue after receipt thereof and prior to its appearance in any other periodical publication. Should the publication publish a comment of its own to this reply or correction then the ministry, public department or official institution involved may send a second correction in accordance with the conditions stipulated in this law.

#### **Article 41**

Periodical publications must circulate free of charge all replies and corrections sent them by individuals or institutions named or alluded to in articles or news items published by them. The reply must be published no later than the first issue to appear on the day following receipt of the letter containing it. The request for publication should be sent by registered mail.

During the period when the doors are open for candidature in the elections, the reply must appear in the first issue which after reaching the publication, provided that it arrive at least six hours before the hour set for its distribution the market.

Should the person mentioned in the article or news item objected to or corrected die then the right of reply or correction is transfered to his heirs to exercise once only either collectively or one of them, and the heirs also have the right to reply to any article or news items published about their legator after his death.

#### **Article 42**

The reply or correction must be published without any comment which would give the right to a new reply or correction according to these very conditions. Similarly in the case of the abridgement of anything in the reply or correction, for which no justification can be found in the regulations of the next article, the person objecting or correcting has the right to request an order for publication of the

reply or correction, circulation of which was rejected either in full or in part, from the magistrate of summary justice for the region in which he resides or in which the publications are issued. The magistrate will consider the request in his consultation chamber and will issue his decision without the applicants having to pay any costs; and the decision must be circulated with the reply or correction in the first issue of the periodical publication to appear after their notification of the decision.

### **Article 43**

It is permitted to refuse publication of a reply or a part thereof in one of the following cases:

- (i) if the reply to be redacted in a language other than that used in the article objected to;
- (ii) if a suitable, direct correction to the article object to has already been published in the periodical publications;
- (iii) if circulation of the reply or part thereof would result in the penalizing of the periodical publications;
- (iv) if the reply or correction reached the publication after six months had elapsed from the issuing of the article calling for reply or correction;
- (v) if the reply or part thereof breaks any law, is offensive to public morals or contains insults or slander against the publication or individuals;
- (vi) if the length of the reply exceeds half that of the article objected to, except if the person replying pays the usual rate for the portion exceeding half;
- (vii) if the signature of the reply be illegible.

### **Article 44**

If it be established after publication of the reply that the correction was false and that the news item was actually correct the periodical publication is permitted to apply to the replier for payment of publication of the reply in line with the publications's usual rates; and that will not prevent the publication's applying for compensation if so

ruled, and the ruling on this matter issued by the relevant court will be published in the periodical publication at the expense of the convicted person in accordance with the same rates and in the same place as the correction was published.

#### **Article 45**

The regulations in this section together with the amendments mentioned below apply to advertisements stuck to walls and any circulated publication other than a periodical publication.

The correction or reply should be sent to the printer, and it must not exceed half the advertisement in size, and it should be stuck up by the printer and at his expense on the day following receipt thereof at the latest next to each copy of the advertisement objected to.

Regarding publications other than advertisements and periodical publication, any reply or correction should be sent to the proprietor of the printing press, or to the publisher should the former be absent, to print the reply at his expense, the number of copies being equal to that of the publication objected to. The publication containing the reply or correction should be placed at the disposal of the originator of the reply or correction, who may rely on the publisher of the publication objected to to publish it at his own expense.

## PART THREE

### ON THE USE OF PUBLICATIONS

#### SECTION ONE

#### ON THE HANGING UP OF PUBLICATIONS

##### Article 46

The designation of places for hanging up of laws, reports, rules, all official papers lies with the leader of the municipal districts or the mayor in non-municipal council in municipal districts, as does the designation of particular places at election time for the sticking up of the candidates manifestoes in accordance with the General Elections Law.

##### Article 47

The hanging of publications is prohibited:

- (i) on buildings of historical interest listed by the relevant authorities;
- (ii) in places set aside for official advertisements;
- (iii) on the walls of properties, where the owners have prohibited bill sticking;
- (iv) on official buildings and places of worship and inside them;
- (v) inside places set aside during the election periods for candidate's posters.

##### Article 48

It is prohibited for individuals to hang up coloured posters resembling the colours of the national flag or the Syrian emblem.

#### **Article 49**

Whoever sticks up an advertisement must assure himself of the existence of the name of the writer or printer therein or he will be deemed responsible. Whoever sticks up an advertisement, knowing it to be in contravention of the regulations of the law is liable to prosecution as an associated in the offence.

**GOVERNMENT PRESS RELATIONS:  
A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF SYRIA,  
JORDAN AND KUWAIT**

**BY**

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**ABSTRACT**

This study attempts to determine the effect of foreign policy on the freedom of the press through analysing newspapers from three Middle Eastern countries (Syria, Jordan and Kuwait) to test hypotheses regarding the direction and trends in the coverage of the two superpowers (The United States of America and the Soviet Union). The coverage was examined in the light of trends in Syrian, Jordanian and Kuwaiti foreign policies towards the United States of America and the Soviet Union.

This study is trying to assess any correlation between foreign policy and the freedom of the press, and to look at internal factors (press and publication law) which might influence both foreign policy and press.

This study found out that the meaning of freedom of the press is shaped by political and economic factors. There are clear differences in the definitions and implications of freedom of the press between journalists in Syria and in the other two countries (Jordan and Kuwait).

This analysis leads us to the conclusion that the Syrian, Jordanian and Kuwaiti press and publication laws share one major characteristic that is the laws of these countries are more restrictive than protective. The ideals in the three countries constitutions which guarantee freedom of the press are one thing and practices are another.